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***‘(Re)Writing on the Wall: Disarming  
Weaponised Murals and Masculinities in  
Loyalist Northern Ireland’***

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PhD

2022

*‘(Re)Writing on the Wall: Disarming  
Weaponised Murals and Masculinities in  
Loyalist Northern Ireland’*

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the University of Northumbria at Newcastle for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Design & Social Sciences

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## **Abstract**

Despite considerable interest in Northern Ireland and its tradition of muralism, the relational dynamics to its host communities have yet to garner serious scholarly attention. This research contributes to addressing this omission in the literature on Ulster loyalism and serves to strengthen our understanding of intricacies seldom acknowledged. Originality of this commentary is derived not just from a gendered analysis of murals but a consideration of their psychosocial impact on the environmental construction of masculinities. This thesis, both theoretically and through inclusion of practical fieldwork, should be understood as a work of applied history in its study of the past to explicitly illuminate current challenges and opportunities in the present. This is achieved by comparing what the symbolic loyalist landscape is and what it could be. Part one documents an evolving weaponisation from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century to the present-day, defined in three periods. The hegemonic and hypermasculine archetypes throughout confirm a persisting dominance of highly restricted themes as expressions of cultural violence in their glorification of conflict. These tropes also make blatant appeals to deeply gendered behaviours, expectations, and emotions. These ultimately act to reinforce a siege mentality of insularity and aggression. Part two argues for a radical reversal of both form and function, a counter-hegemonic vision undoing the representative imbalances of women, ethnic minorities and alternative masculinities, including non-violent and queer varieties. By shifting authority away from the few to the many, murals may ‘speak’ the visual voice of the once powerless. The relevance of this thesis’ implications are abundantly clear given the ongoing threat of paramilitaries, their control over mural production, and the underlying instabilities in the region which propagate such contested misuse. Ultimately this project’s contribution is not limited to a description of difficulties but seeks to advance viable solutions.

## Contents

### Contents

<i>Abstract</i> .....	3
<i>List of abbreviations</i> .....	6
<i>List of figures</i> .....	7
<b>Chapter One: Introduction, literature review, and structure</b> .....	<b>1</b>
<i>1.1 Research questions</i> .....	<i>1</i>
<i>1.2 Literature review</i> .....	<i>2</i>
<i>1.3 Main conclusions &amp; recommendations</i> .....	<i>30</i>
<i>1.4 Structure of thesis</i> .....	<i>36</i>
<i>Conclusion</i> .....	<i>41</i>
<b>Chapter Two: Methodology</b> .....	<b>44</b>
<i>Introduction</i> .....	<i>44</i>
<i>2.1 Theoretical framework</i> .....	<i>46</i>
<i>2.2 Description of fieldwork</i> .....	<i>59</i>
<i>Conclusion</i> .....	<i>70</i>
<b>PART ONE: THE WEAPONISATION</b> .....	<b>73</b>
<b>Chapter Three: Origins: From ‘Misrule’ to Direct Rule (1908-1972)</b> .....	<b>73</b>
<i>Introduction</i> .....	<i>73</i>
<i>3.1 Establishing the norm</i> .....	<i>74</i>
<i>3.2 Home Rule</i> .....	<i>78</i>
<i>3.3 Jacksons of the Fountain</i> .....	<i>83</i>
<i>3.4 Partition</i> .....	<i>87</i>
<i>3.5 1930s &amp; 1940s</i> .....	<i>91</i>
<i>3.6 Decline &amp; Direct Rule</i> .....	<i>96</i>
<i>Conclusion</i> .....	<i>101</i>
<b>Chapter Four: A Troubled Landscape (1972-1998)</b> .....	<b>104</b>
<i>Introduction</i> .....	<i>104</i>
<i>4.1 A Visual Calm before the Storm</i> .....	<i>105</i>
<i>4.2 The Streets are Armed</i> .....	<i>112</i>
<i>4.3 Turning a Freedom Corner (1990-1994)</i> .....	<i>129</i>
<i>4.4 ‘Si Vis Pacem, Para Bellum’</i> .....	<i>145</i>
<i>Conclusion</i> .....	<i>159</i>
<b>Chapter Five: Pictures of Peace? Transitioning into the ‘Post-Conflict’ Age</b> .....	<b>162</b>
<i>Introduction</i> .....	<i>162</i>
<i>5.1 Marring the Next Millennium (2000-2007)</i> .....	<i>163</i>
<i>5.2 From St. Andrews to Flagging up a Crisis</i> .....	<i>180</i>

<i>5.3 Looking Back to Move Forward</i> .....	198
<i>Conclusion</i> .....	217
<b>PART TWO: THE DISARMING</b> .....	220
<b>Chapter Six: Beyond the Sanctuary: External Sources of Disarming</b> .....	220
<i>Introduction</i> .....	220
<i>6.1 From Northern Ireland to Southern Africa: An Alliance of Engagement</i> .....	224
<i>6.2 My Love is the Revolution</i> .....	237
<i>6.3 ‘Feel Deeply Any Injustice against Anyone in Any Part of the World’</i> .....	246
<i>Conclusion</i> .....	272
<b>Chapter Seven: Radical Alternative Media: A Transformative Paradigm</b> .....	276
<i>Introduction</i> .....	276
<i>7.1 What is ‘radical’?</i> .....	278
<i>7.2 What is ‘alternative’?</i> .....	293
<i>7.3 What is ‘media’?</i> .....	306
<i>Conclusion</i> .....	316
<b>Chapter Eight: Loyal Dissidence: Counter-hegemonic Visions of Ulster</b> .....	320
<i>Introduction</i> .....	320
<i>8.1 New Loyalism</i> .....	322
<i>8.2 Feminism to the Frontline</i> .....	334
<i>8.3 Queering the Stage</i> .....	344
<i>8.4 From Super Prods to Rotten Prods</i> .....	351
<i>8.5 Between the Binary: Ulster-Scots as Thirdspace</i> .....	360
<i>8.6 Subcultural Identities and an Anti-war Cry</i> .....	370
<i>Conclusion</i> .....	387
<i>Thesis conclusion</i> .....	389
<i>Bibliography</i> .....	401

### **List of abbreviations**

AIA Anglo-Irish Agreement  
C-HV Counter-Hegemonic Vision  
CIRA Continuity Irish Republican Army  
CBRJ Community-based restorative justice  
DUP Democratic Unionist Party  
GFA Good Friday Agreement  
LVF Loyalist Volunteer Force  
OIRA Official Irish Republican Army  
OO Orange Order  
INLA Irish National Liberation Army  
IPLA Irish People's Liberation Organisation  
IRA Irish Republican Army  
NI Northern Ireland  
NICRA Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association  
NILP Northern Ireland Labour Party  
NIWC Northern Ireland Women's Coalition  
PIRA Provisional Irish Republican Army  
PSNI Police Service of Northern Ireland  
RAM Radical Alternative Media  
RHC Red Hand Commando  
RUC Royal Ulster Constabulary  
SEFF South East Fermanagh Foundation  
UVF Ulster Volunteer Force  
UDA Ulster Defence Association  
UFF Ulster Freedom Fighters  
UUP Ulster Unionist Party  
UYM Ulster Young Militants  
VPP Volunteer Political Party  
WSN Women Support Network  
YCV Young Citizens Volunteer

### List of figures

Figure 3.1 King Billy, Henryville Street, east Belfast, early 1900s. Source: Extra Mural Activity, unattributed, ref no. XO9226; BBC in top left corner.

Figure 3.2 King Billy flanked by Prince of Wales and Lord Edward Carson. Maria Place, Shankill Road, 1934. Source: Extra Mural Activity, unattributed image, ref. no. X09158.

Figure 3.3 The Bobby Jackson mural, The Fountain estate, Derry, 2008. Source: Peter Moloney Collection, ref. no. M04604.

Figure 4.1 ‘They fought then for the cause of Ulster we will fight now’ UVF mural, Percy Street, west Belfast, 1987. Digital ref. mni00120. N.B. Unless stated otherwise, all images featured in chapters three and four reproduced by permission of the Claremont Colleges Digital Library, Honnold Mudd Library, Claremont University Consortium; copyright remains with the photographer, Tony Crowley.

Figure 4.2 Apprentice Boys shutting the gates of Derry, Shankill Road, West Belfast, 1988. Digital ref. mni00496.

Figure 4.3 "The New Era" UVF Active Service Unit Ardoyne 89' Ohio Street, West Belfast, 1989. Digital ref. mni00140.

Figure 4.4 UVF ‘For God and Ulster A Company Here Lies a Soldier’, Canmore Street, west Belfast, 1996. Digital ref. mni00874.

Figure 4.5 ‘Cú Chulainn – the “ancient defender of Ulster from Irish attacks over 2000 years ago’, UDA mural, Newtownards Road, east Belfast. Originally painted 1992, photograph taken 1996. Source: Lelivrescolaire.fr online textbook, ‘English 1<sup>st</sup>’ chapter 15 ‘Troubled Times’, p. 230, 2019.

Figure 4.6 ‘Ulster’s Past Defenders’ (B-Specials and the Ulster Defence Regiment), Freedom Corner, East Belfast, early 1990s. Photograph taken in 2009/ Source: Peter Moloney Collection, ref. no. M04883.

Figure 4.7 Ulster Democratic Party Common Sense, Bellevue Street, Belfast, photograph taken 2005. Source: Peter Moloney Collection, ref. no. M02441.

Figure 4.8 Eddie the Trooper, Bonds Street, Waterside, Derry. One of a number of murals painted by a group called ‘Attitude Artwork’. Photograph taken 2005. Source: Martin Melaugh, CAIN.

Figure 4.9 ‘We are the pilgrims, master. We shall always go a little further’ UVF mural, Newtownards Road. Reimaged version by Dee Craig from 2011, photograph taken 2014. Digital ref. mni08722.

Figure 5.1 ‘Oliver Cromwell: Lord Protector, Defender of the Protestant faith’, Hopewell Cresecent, 2000-2002. Digital ref. mni00213.

Figure 5.2 Glen Branagh, Tigers Bay Young Guns, Edlingham Street, North Belfast. Photograph taken 2008. Source: Extra Mural Activity, ref. no. X00280.

Figure 5.3 'The People's Army 1912-2002 - 90 Years of Resistance', Canmore Street, Shankill, West Belfast, 2002 (photograph date 2012). Digital ref. mni05611.

Figure 5.4 Cú Chulainn/’Indigenous Ulster people’, Shankill Parade, Belfast, photograph dated 2010. Source: Peter Moloney Collection, ref. no. M06180.

Figure 5.5 Home Rule/36<sup>th</sup> Ulster Division mural, West Winds, Newtownards, 2014. Source: The Purple Standard Twitter account.

Figure 5.6 German soldiers attacking British positions at the Somme, Union Street, Portadown, North Armagh, 2016. Digital ref. mni03501.

Figure 5.7 ‘I’ve served my time in hell’, The Larches, Carrickfergus, 2016. Digital ref. mni03705.

Figure 5.8 Great War-era soldier, Victoria Cross, poppies and orange lily, Ballee estate, Drumtara, Ballymena, 2014. Source: The Newsroom, Northern Ireland World.

Figure 5.9 Stephen ‘Top Gun’ McKeag ‘remembered with pride’, Lower Shankill estate, 2014. Source: Kevin Scott/ Belfast Telegraph.

Figure 6.1 ‘Cutting out roots’, Ana Taban collective, Juba, South Sudan, 2016. Source: BBC News/Ana Taban.

Figure 6.2 Screenshot from ‘murals project’ page, Cape Town, South Africa. Source: Sonke Gender Justice.

Figure 6.3 ‘Perception’, Manshiyat Nasr, Cairo, 2016. Source: eL Seed.

Figure 6.4 ‘Yatra’, Lucknow, India, 2020. Source: Fearless Collective.

Figure 6.5 ‘Gotagagama’, Colombo, Sri Lanka, 2022. Source: Fearless Collective.

Figure. 6.6 ‘Ishq Inquilab Mohabbat Zindabaad’, Shaheen Bagh, New Delhi, 2019-2020. Source : Fearless Collective.

Figure 6.7 ‘The Women’s Quilt’ (foreground), an outcome of Reimaging between community members and artist Leslie Cherry, 2015. Memorial to ‘Top Gun’ (background). Source: Struan Kennedy.

Figure 6.8 ‘Culture Contains the Seed of Resistance, Which Blossoms into the Flower of Liberation’, Miranda Bergman and O’Brien Thiele, Balmy Alley, San Francisco, 1984/2014.

Source: Janelle Garcia/Xpress magazine.

Figure 6.9 Events programme for community celebration of 'PLACA: Living legacies of creative resistance', 2014. Source: Facebook profile of 'These Walls Speak: PLACA Living legacies Project'.

Figure 6.10 'Great Wall of Los Angeles' project description, 1976. Source: Office of Historical Records/Social and Public Art Resource Centre (SPARC) Archives.

Figure 6.11 'Remembering a Forgotten Hero', Universal Charter School, South Philadelphia, 2018. Source: Steve Weinik/Mural Arts Philadelphia.

Figure 6.12 'Tribute to Lt. Robert Neary & FF. Daniel Sweeney', Fishtown/Kingstown, Philadelphia, 2014. Source: Steve Weinik/Mural Arts Philadelphia.

Figure 6.13 'Tribute to Herman Wrice', West Philadelphia, 2014. Source: Steve Weinik/Mural Arts Philadelphia.

Figure 6.14 Dedication of 'Cecil B. Moore Freedom Fighters', North Philadelphia, 2021. Source: Thomas Hengge/Philadelphia Inquirer.

Figure 6.15 'Peace Wall', South Philadelphia, 1997. Source: Jack Ramsdale/Mural Arts Philadelphia

Figure 7.1 Armed and masked members of the UVF pictured in 2000 at a memorial to Trevor King, shot dead by the INLA in 1994. Source: Allison Morris, Irish News, 4 May 2018.

Figure 8.1 UDA mural on the road to Progress, Kilburn Street, The Village, South Belfast, 2012. Photograph dated 2018, digital ref. mni04201.

Figure 8.2 Portrait of John McMichael/'Common Sense & Beyond the Religious Divide', Lemberg Street, the Village, 2010. Photograph dated 2014, digital ref. mni08608.

Figure 8.3 Front cover of album '*The Troubles*' by Jun Tzu, 2014. Source: Bandcamp profile.

Figure 8.4 Commemoration of Hugh Smyth, Canmore Street, Shankill, 2014. Source: James Bright, Writing the Troubles, 2020.

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## **Declaration**

I declare that the work contained in this thesis has not been submitted for any other award and that it is all my own work. I also confirm that this work fully acknowledges opinions, ideas and contributions from the work of others.

Any ethical clearance for the research presented in this commentary has been approved. Approval has been sought and granted through the Researcher's submission to Northumbria University's Ethics Online System on 16 August 2022.

**I declare that the Word Count of this Thesis is 101,460 words**

Name: Struan Kennedy

Date: 30 November 2022



## Chapter One: Introduction, literature review, and structure

### **1.1 Research questions**

This thesis is based on the turbid relationship between the visual environment and the development of the self. The environment under consideration are loyalist communities, more precisely those whose very homes have become a staging ground for the contested pictorial performances of murals. By ‘development of the self’ we are focused on the construction of masculinities from late childhood up to early adulthood, which is to say a formative period of gendered identity. The first research question posed is what effect could the visually invasive gallery of murals have on the masculine construction? Initially we are concerned with their potential to promulgate traits that are generally considered to be toxic. These refer primarily to a thoroughly negative perception of ‘the other’. The implications of this first research question address a rather incessant tension in NI. We are therefore compelled to contemplate the extent to which murals contribute to civil hostilities, sow further seeds of discord and even escalate this tension into open violence. These tensions should not be understood in a limited fashion, referring only to ethno-national sectarianism but a series of prejudices against demographics deemed to be in ‘opposition’ to hegemonic masculinity.

The second question this research will answer is, despite a pattern of problematic depictions, how might this cultural practice be amended to repair some of this damaged society? In other words, if murals are part of a problem, could they become part of a solution? To be clear, the latter is not solely conditional upon confirmation of the former. Even if hard evidence of causality between murals and masculinities was somewhat wanting, this does not discredit the hypothesis that they could still act as a force for good. In essence

we will see when we move from part one to part two, how murals have helped to keep a social distance, to the detriment of desiring peace, and wonder how they might assist in closing this distance. This second question takes over from the risks of representation set out in part one and embraces a socially conscious responsibility of representation. It examines what role public art and history can play in the disarming of weaponised mentalities expressed in hypermasculine behaviours and visually embodied in a symbolic landscape of murals.

## **1.2 Literature review**

The literature review is divided accordingly into three sections, each dealing with one of the fundamental components to this project. Firstly, is an analysis of relevant trends in the historiography of Ulster loyalism, covering crucial aspects such as conceptions of the past, siege mentality and a spectrum of internal differences. Next, we delve into the rationale behind a study of masculinity. Here we observe the need for intersectionality, define the core term ‘weaponised’ and explore the lesser-discussed victims of this weaponisation, both the tarnished individual self and demographics such as the LGBT and BAME communities. Thirdly, notable works and ideas around the medium of the mural are evaluated. This involves debating their existence as either advertising or propaganda, defining another core term ‘disarming’ and placing loyalist historical traditions and contemporary practices in the context of a culturally globalised view.

### **1.2.1 Why Northern Ireland?**

This project, though focused on one of the most researched conflicts in the world, deals specifically with Ulster loyalism and a conspicuous gap in its visual culture. In relation to

their republican counterparts, loyalist muralists were vexed by their inability to draw from a global vocabulary of anti-imperialist imagery. Their surfaces were repetitively and predictably populated with paramilitary men—heroes, masked and armed, calling upon history, God and the use of force in a cause that is politically, religiously and morally legitimate.<sup>1</sup> These brutally militarised scenes came to almost monopolise the symbolic landscape throughout much of the 1980s and 1990s. Even with non-figurative subject matter: flags, shields, banners and other heraldic-like emblems, the apparent confidence in the solid, competent depictions can seem somewhat forced.<sup>2</sup> For in their presence they spoke of an absence of non-militarised role models. Since the dark days of the Troubles, more light has been cast upon forgotten narratives, but the source of light is often within academic research. Whenever situated within the cultural environment, their presentation has been both decidedly limited and overtly gendered.<sup>3</sup> A common example would be how loyalists, among many others— Irish and Russian nationalists to name a couple— refer to the nation in the feminine. From the field of political psychology, David Winter discusses men’s traditional role in protecting the otherwise vulnerable and defenceless nation.<sup>4</sup>

Not only can republicans position their struggle as one opposing a mighty imperialist foe, they can also access a rich reservoir of imagery. Whether in the roots traced back to the Easter Rising of 1916 or gazing wistfully across the ‘Celtic mists’ of the 6<sup>th</sup> century and before, culture is sometimes regarded as the sole intellectual property of nationalists.<sup>5</sup> This

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<sup>1</sup> Martin Forker & Jonathan McCormick, ‘Walls of history: the use of mythomoteurs in Northern Ireland murals’ *Irish Studies Review*, Vol. 17, Issue 4 (2009), p. 424.

<sup>2</sup> Bill Rolston, "From King Billy to Cú Chulainn: Loyalist and Republican Murals, Past, Present, and Future." *Éire-Ireland*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (1997), p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Sara McDowell, ‘Commemorating dead ‘men’: gendering the past and present in post-conflict Northern Ireland’ *Gender, Place and Culture* Vol. 15, No. 4 (August 2008), p. 335.

<sup>4</sup> Sandra McEvoy, ‘Loyalist Women Paramilitaries in Northern Ireland: Beginning a Feminist Conversation about Conflict Resolution’, *Security Studies* vol.19 issue 2 (May 2009) p. 277.

<sup>5</sup> Bill Rolston, *Politics & Painting: Murals and Conflict in Northern Ireland* (Vancouver: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, U.S.,1991), p. 33.

republican wellspring contrasted with a veritable loyalist drought is just one glaring misconception this project seeks to rectify. The political value of an attractive narrative was not lost on the Young Unionist Council, who in 1986 bemoaned: ‘for too long we have been content to neglect our culture while Gaelic nationalism has made every effort and used every opportunity to propound Irish culture.’<sup>6</sup> In their search for greater cultural depth they embraced the dramatic Cruthin theory of Dr. Ian Adamson. This served as an alluring origin story counteracting nationalist mythology but also had profound revisionary implications.<sup>7</sup> In a direct case of applied history, the pre-Gaelic Cruthin identity found emotional sympathy in the UDA leadership though failed to embed itself in the mainstream.

Often a time-honoured approach can underpin a failure to adjust accordingly to morphing circumstance. So it was that rapid social and political change in post-war Britain diluted a sense of UK-wide Britishness. Continuing secularisation, immigration and multiculturalism have signposted an increasing divergence between the ‘mainland’ and Northern Ireland (NI hereafter).<sup>8</sup> Aside from broader societal transitions, there is a marked difference in how the crucial transition from conflict to peace was reflected in murals. By the time the IRA declared its ceasefire in August 1994, republican communities had essentially been prepared for it via this painterly mass media. Furthermore the murals did not predict or worse promise any sudden, radical breakthroughs, but rather suggested that a painstaking task lay ahead. In anticipation of their own ceasefire— issued a few months later— loyalist imagery, conversely became even more militaristic.<sup>9</sup> This does not, however, indicate there was no appetite to record other aspects of the changing times, for no muralist acts

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid p. 35.

<sup>7</sup> According to Adamson’s version of history, the 17<sup>th</sup> century Scottish planters were actually descendants of a pre-Celtic people called the Cruthin whom, after being expelled to Scotland following their defeat at the Battle of Moira (637 A.D.), were returning to reclaim their ancient homeland.

<sup>8</sup> James W. McAuley, Jonathan Tonge & Andrew Mycock, *Loyal to the Core? Orangeism and Britishness in Northern Ireland* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press Ltd., 2011), p. 15.

<sup>9</sup> Rolston, ‘From King Billy to Cú Chulainn’, p. 23.

independently, especially within the circumscribed artistic freedom of loyalist commissions and intense control. Whilst the opportunity exists for muralists to take a lead in historical education, they could not be expected to do so in isolation. In illustrating the limitations of optimism, Rolston claims they may reflect, even popularise ideas but they do not create them.<sup>10</sup> This notion that murals cannot be expected to articulate what has not yet been articulated within a contemporary community is one that this thesis will question. The educational significance of loyalism's rhetorical visions should not be overlooked. They seem to leave little room for flexibility and illustrate an historical consciousness 'interred...petrified...locking in an unresolved memory.'<sup>11</sup> Without any resolution, memory bias will likely contribute to the egoism of victimhood which hinders a group's capacity to empathise with another's suffering. A further consequence in extreme conditions is a group's dehumanisation; this is linked to enemy imagery and an attack on victims' basic dignity.

#### 1.2.1.1 Structures of loyalist history

Any project wishing to understand loyalism must grapple with how the past informs the present, the fundamental structuring of time. Ireland is often considered to be deeply troubled by evocations which inhabit a mythic time and space—which yet continue to reverberate with resonance.<sup>12</sup> Consequently, from its inception, the new state in the north of Ireland was a world where fantasy and lived experience co-existed on a daily basis. Along with these reverberations, successive unionist and nationalist generations hand down a catalogue of

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid, p. 26.

<sup>11</sup> Forker & McCormick, 'Walls of history', p. 453.

<sup>12</sup> Guy Beiner, 'Between Trauma and Triumphalism: The Easter Rising, the Somme, and the Crux of Deep Memory in Modern Ireland', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 46, Issue 2 (2007), p. 366.

historical sins, underscoring the ‘imprisoning power of the Irish past’.<sup>13</sup> In addition to national myths feeding and shaping grand narratives which solidify either group identity, a spectral quality hovers over the island. In reference to the Somme legacy, Evershed calls historical performance a ‘ghost dance’ when facing ontological uncertainty: ritualising the past is therefore not exclusively, or even predominantly, about looking back, but about looking to the future.<sup>14</sup> Among their contemporary functions, these ghosts establish a palliative continuity in moments of acute political flux. Though many themes seem defensive and pessimistic they serve to conflate past difficulties with those of the present thereby setting them in an overarching narrative that weaves back through history.<sup>15</sup> Rendered as a singular strand, complex issues become more intelligible. A similar desire for a straightened and simplified endurance is observed with the Orange Order (OO) claiming—somewhat dubiously given Protestantism’s diversity—to be the ‘common thread in the fabric of the Protestant community.’<sup>16</sup> Despite an apparent simplicity, the loyalist experience is more complex, in part due to the collapsing of linearity. The untidy reality evinces that the unbroken line stretching back to the ‘glorious victory’ of 1690 is as fallacious as a cultural continuity over three centuries. Contrary to the neat weave, reality is entangled in what Alvin Jackson calls ‘the skeins of historical reference.’<sup>17</sup> Momentary collapses do not completely disrupt a linear model, loyalist formulations of memory can simultaneously incorporate a cyclical mechanism of commemorative repetition: invariably these pivot on the ‘menstruus

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<sup>13</sup> Jane G. V. McGaughey, *Ulster’s Men: Protestant Unionist Masculinities and Militarisation in the North of Ireland, 1912-1923* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2012), p. 22.

<sup>14</sup> Jonathan Evershed ‘Ghosts of the Somme: the state of Ulster Loyalism, memory work and the ‘other’ 1916’ in Richard S. Grayson and Fearghal McGarry (eds.) *Remembering 1916: The Easter Rising, the Somme and the Politics of Memory in Ireland*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 244.

<sup>15</sup> Kris Brown (2007) ‘Our father organization’: The cult of the Somme and the unionist ‘Golden Age’ in modern Ulster Loyalist commemoration, *The Round Table*, Vol. 96, No. 393 (2007), p. 711.

<sup>16</sup> McAuley, Tonge & Mycock, *Loyal to the Core?* p. 20.

<sup>17</sup> Alvin Jackson, ‘Unionist Myths 1912-1985’, *Past & Present*, Vol. 136, Issue 1 (August 1992), p. 185.

mirabilis (month of miracles) of July, compressing three years into a mythical time frame.<sup>18</sup> Given the sensitivities around a living dimension of culture, this thesis engages in a process of critical and creative interpretation of myths. This—argues philosopher Richard Kearney—is what is required should the different cultural traditions in Ireland be reconciled.<sup>19</sup> A problematic distinction in this process is to what extent some traditions can be considered ‘genuine’ while others ‘invented’; many scholars note that all traditions are inventions.<sup>20</sup> Of concern for this thesis are those elements of heritage infused with the epic imagery of war. This not only being a cornerstone for myths of a warrior masculinity but also standing in direct opposition to a modernist rejection of such epic romance.

#### 1.2.1.2 Siege mentality

A commonly useful point of departure of this kind of investigation are the dramatic events of the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. The Williamite War (1688-90) in Ireland split along already entrenched sectarian lines stemming from a prior period of colonisation and resistance. From the victors’ view, salvation was confirmed by privileges granted by the crown during the Protestant ascendancy. Yet, for all the triumphalism, Protestant memory never shook off the foundational fear of ‘papist’ atrocities resurfacing. Rebellious episodes of 1641, 1689 and 1798 were perennially recycled in the deep memory of loyalist suffering. Though derived from earlier conflict, this siege mentality was updated for more recent threats: the 1921-22 IRA campaign against the infant state, the Border Campaign (1956-62), as well as two

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<sup>18</sup> Battle of the Boyne (1 July 1690 Old Style [O.S.]) is placed alongside the subsequent decisive Battle of Aughrim (12 July 1691 O.S.) and the prior “breaking of the boom” that lifted the siege of Derry (31 July 1689 O.S.) Beiner, ‘Between Trauma and Triumphalism’, p. 372.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, p. 389.

<sup>20</sup> Such a distinction was made by Hobsbawm in his seminal 1983 work. Gregory Goalwin, ‘The Art of War: Instability, Insecurity, and Ideological Imagery in Northern Ireland’s Political Murals, 1979–1998’ *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* Vol. 26, No. 3 (September 2013), p. 193.

propaganda campaigns against partition from Dublin governments in 1938 and 1948.<sup>21</sup> Given this traumatic series of experiences, it is unsurprising that the social capital of strong bonding should be a feature of close-knit communities: their insularity seen as necessary for survival. Amid peaks of anxiety, groups can seek comfort in clarity and the emotional forcefulness of striking mnemonics. Murals as condensation symbols are saturated with such devices and allow for communities ‘to drop their heaviest cultural anchor’<sup>22</sup> in the hopes of withstanding the buffeting of socio-political transformation. A ‘siege’ can therefore be waged without overt physical challenge or open conflict: fluidities in definition or identity formation are sufficient as a covert clash of values. How this mentality is manifest in the visual environment breaks down the most ultimate form of insularity— one’s own mind. It has been suggested that ‘politics is no more than a series of pictures imprinted in our minds’.<sup>23</sup> Though not often expressed in militarised terminology, we can also consider the crises of masculinity to be another siege layered on top and triggered by the same stimuli namely uncertainty and change.<sup>24</sup> Any crisis emerging from the contradiction between experience and expectation is exacerbated in a post-conflict context, leading former combatants to grip onto entrenched, outmoded and violent masculine identities.

### 1.2.1.3 Differences among the ‘PUL’ (Protestant, Unionist, Loyalist)

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<sup>21</sup> John Whyte, *Interpreting Northern Ireland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 147.

<sup>22</sup> Anthony P. Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (Chichester: Ellis Horwood, 1985), pp. 101-112.

<sup>23</sup> Edelman ‘*Symbolic Uses*’ quoted in Forker & McCormick, ‘Walls of history’, p. 428.

<sup>24</sup> MacInnes (1998) states crisis has dogged masculinity as a result of ongoing transformation of modernity [as]... ‘men’s material privileges in the law, economy and politics are under increasing scrutiny and attack’ in Alan Bairner ‘Masculinity, Violence and the Irish Peace Process’ *Capital & Class* Vol. 23, Issue 3 (October 1999), p. 127.

It is incumbent for any research to acknowledge that every part of the facile ‘PUL’ shorthand is complicated by internal distinction. Some of this compelling detail is too often drowned out by incendiary rhetoric or display. Those stressing the religious dimension to the Troubles should ingest the bridge-building work of church leaders and members in assuaging community division.<sup>25</sup> Though perhaps a truism, in a climate painted as black and white, it is worth reiterating the many shades of grey that lie between (whether a liberal/fundamental or progressive/regressive spectra, religious or political respectively). Whilst unionism too has undergone splintering, the OO was an integral part of the Ulster Unionist Council from its inception in 1905. Indeed this alliance remained firm from the 1920s until the 1960s with the arrival of O’Neill’s modest reforms heralding a new direction.<sup>26</sup> More recently the Order has engaged in an extensive rebrand of its image and activities within Northern Irish civil society since 1998. The public relations behind ‘Orangefest’ seem a sincere attempt to explain heritage with educational outreach, though another motive maybe the priming of Ulster-Scots music, dance, drama and storytelling as further ammunition in the ongoing ‘culture wars’.

While loyalism is usually marked out from unionism by its minority position of militancy and vigilantism it persists as an influential actor. The twisting, turning branches of loyalist identity are summarised by Jarman: political loyalism, lacking a clear constituency; cultural loyalism, defending traditions; community loyalism, developing projects to tackle crime and anti-social behaviour; and paramilitary loyalism, looming large over other components and in the public imagination.<sup>27</sup> When this diversity goes unrecognised, an attitude of sole representation heaves into view, such is the DUP’s insistence of their role: strength is in their

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<sup>25</sup> This view according to Gallagher and Worrall’s ‘*Christians in Ulster, 1698-1980*’ (1982) as well as Ian Ellis’s directory ‘*Peace and Reconciliation Projects in Ireland*’ (1984) lists 84 projects, 36 of whom have an explicit religious basis both mentioned in Whyte *Interpreting Northern Ireland*, pp. 27-28.

<sup>26</sup> Though we should note that O’Neill remained an Orangemen, indeed it would not be until Mike Nesbitt when a UUP leader was not in the OO. McAuley, Tonge & Mycock, *Loyal to the Core?*, p. 112.

<sup>27</sup> Neil Jarman, ‘Ulster loyalism is a rather curious beast, beyond mere allegiance’, *Irish Times* 31 March 2018 <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/crime-and-law/ulster-loyalism-is-a-rather-curious-beast-beyond-mere-allegiance-1.3446052> accessed 10 October 2019.

defence just as weakness and treachery is found in others. A more sophisticated account is revealed by the PUP's crystallising self-awareness:

The Unionist/Loyalist is a particularly elusive entity to track down, constantly shifting, subject to a myriad of influences, opinions, beliefs and external trends...When a community is struggling to identify itself in acceptable terms, and when uncertainty prevails, it is vulnerable to the overtures of political opportunists.<sup>28</sup>

Such astute observations are fittingly expressed by a party linked to the UVF, itself a curious contradiction, responsible for both some of the most blatant sectarian barbarity and most imaginative policies for peace.<sup>29</sup> At the forefront of the latter's evolution was Augustus 'Gusty' Spence, the hard man 'gone soft' whose emotional intelligence led him to call for 'abject and true remorse' for all innocent victims.<sup>30</sup> For all the merging of democratic socialism and bold commitment to human rights, none of this new ideology appeared on the walls, instead murals doggedly celebrated paramilitary 'heroism'. This dearth of habitual inclusion in the public cultural sphere may partly explain why such work is 'under-recognised, under-appreciated and, therefore, depressingly under-valued.'<sup>31</sup>

The importance of class cannot be under-stated: a certain social behavioural hegemony may reside in working-class males, but politically hegemonic power is reserved for an upper socio-economic tier of men. Rolston goes as far as to dress this uneasy relationship in military garb with the aristocracy and business elite as 'generals' commanding

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<sup>28</sup> From the journal *'Progressive View'* (June/July 1997) quoted in Alan Finlayson 'Loyalist Political Identity After the Peace' *Capital & Class* Vol. 23, Issue 3 (October 1999), p. 63.

<sup>29</sup> Tony Novosel *Northern Ireland's Lost Opportunity: The Frustrated Promise of Political Loyalism* (London: Pluto Press, London, 2013), p. 162.

<sup>30</sup> Peter Shirlow 'Loyalists stop riots, create jobs, challenge racism and promote inclusion, so why do we only ever hear about regressive elements who want to turn the clock back' *Belfast Telegraph* 23 October 2019 <https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/opinion/news-analysis/peter-shirlow-loyalists-stop-riots-create-jobs-challenge-racism-and-promote-inclusion-so-why-do-we-only-ever-hear-about-regressive-elements-who-want-to-turn-the-clock-back-38624488.html> accessed 23 October 2019.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

working class ‘foot soldiers’.<sup>32</sup> When musing over class, one should be mindful of assumptions of class unity around collective interests. Such reductionist idealism has been a characteristic of left-wing analysis of NI.<sup>33</sup> A further attack on a Marxist interpretation is made by Rose: when conflict is over the sharing of material benefits it is more bargainable than those over religion or nationality.<sup>34</sup> This point suggests that, given the intransigence rife in NI, the conflict must belong to issues which are harder to resolve. According to Connolly’s ideas, updated by Farrell and McCann, two devices were deployed to prevent interdenominational solidarity (e.g., the Outdoor Relief Riots, 1932). First was the beating of the sectarian drum: stirring up Protestant fears of a takeover when unity was nascent. Secondly was the technique of differential discrimination as Protestant workers, though exploited, had a narrow margin over their Catholic colleagues. Consequently, an anxiety to maintain this privilege swayed allegiance toward the bosses.<sup>35</sup> Class impresses upon mainstream politics in the comparing and competing for the title of true representatives of ‘the people’. While the DUP portrays itself as the only defenders of Ulster, the PUP also claim a superior knowledge of the working class. The latter’s focus on horizontal linkages between societal concerns (poverty, unemployment, gender and housing) gives the impression of ‘organic intellectuals’ rising up from below.<sup>36</sup>

Since labour constitutes another site of gendered violence, its inclusion may advance the aims of this research. Among social movements worth considering are ‘Commonists’ fostering harmony but based on an isolated point of salience e.g., housing rent increase or gentrification. Transformationists however seeks a more ambitious overturning of a zero-sum

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<sup>32</sup> Rolston makes this metaphor in the context of a Protestant alliance blocking the series of three Home Rule bills between 1886 and 1912 in *Politics & Painting*, p. 17.

<sup>33</sup> Finlayson, ‘Loyalist Political Identity After the Peace’, p. 48.

<sup>34</sup> This argument appears in Richard Rose’s *Governing without Consensus* (1971) quoted in Whyte *Interpreting Northern Ireland* p. 192.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid* p. 180.

<sup>36</sup> Finlayson, ‘Loyalist Political Identity After the Peace’ p. 66.

ethnonational frame of mind. Such non-partisan thinking promotes ‘a renewal and realignment of Northern Irish politics’ in order to eradicate ‘the intolerance and introversion which still bedevil this society.’<sup>37</sup> In warding off accusations of the aforementioned idealism, Nagel references the encouraging turnout of the 2005 Belfast May Day march: 6,000 people protesting racism against the city’s migrant population.<sup>38</sup> What’s more is that this political tradition occurred in the late 1960s and 1970s, when sectarian violence was most intense. Despite representing another viable mural subject matter, May Day has only figuratively provided an image for working-class unity.

### 1.2.2 Why masculinities?

There is a glaring paradox in that research on men is as old as scholarship itself, whilst masculinity has only recently been explicitly examined.<sup>39</sup> By a crude ‘logic of enumeration’, men— generically recognised as ‘human’— were the categorical default. It was against them that a familiar list: women, minorities, indigenous populations, children and the elderly, were judged to have somehow deviated. During the early years of second wave feminism men remained analytically genderless. By the 1980s a studied category began opening up before a profusion of curiosity occurred in the 1990s. But while masculinities became an inquisitive gold rush in many geopolitical contexts, in NI it remained ‘politically uncharted territory’.<sup>40</sup> For example, most discussions around segregation and its impact concentrate on the basis of religion with far less attention paid to gender. In Western Europe and North America

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<sup>37</sup> Statement from ‘Platform for Change’ (Belfast, 2011) in Nagle ‘Unity in Diversity’, p. 80.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid p. 8.

<sup>39</sup> Kimberly Theidon ‘Reconstructing Masculinities: The Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration of Former Combatants in Colombia’ *Human Rights Quarterly* vol. 31, No.1 (Feb 2009), p. 4.

<sup>40</sup> Fidelma Ashe & Ken Harland, ‘Troubling Masculinities: Changing Patterns of Violent Masculinities in a Society Emerging from Political Conflict’ *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* Vol. 37, Issue 9 (2014), p. 747.

especially, social adjustments that weakened traditional models and identities were a catalyst for interrogations into masculinity. While not immune or cut off from these forces, the onset of the Troubles insulated the region creating conditions that resulted in the ‘fortification of men’s power.’<sup>41</sup> Throughout this thesis an intimate causality between genders is not only pragmatically sound but theoretically consistent with the origins of critical studies of men and masculinities (CSMM). The framework, set out by Hearn and Morgan, was designed to consolidate and extend feminism’s critical scope onto the foreign terrain of masculinities. The kernel of their argument was that masculinities are context dependent, shifting and multi-faceted, none of which are biologically determined.<sup>42</sup>

#### 1.2.2.1 Intersectionality

As Coupe points out, nationalism and unionism share at least one distinct trait; the use of images of masculine stoicism.<sup>43</sup> Just as a community of friends is dependent on enemies so too lies a connectivity between men and women. It is recognised that men are never alone in their self-image; women are always present. Likewise, it is impossible to speak of women’s experience without due reflection on a mirrored male perspective. A less combative version of manhood— replacing the tough, militarised model of the Troubles— would be one easier to live with for both women and men. Relational dynamics challenged the now defunct ‘universal male dominance thesis’ originally advanced by some Western feminists. The later theoretical development of intersectionality is, as Rooney remarked, peculiarly pertinent in NI, where it is stunningly clear that gender cuts across class, sect, age and other dimensions

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid p. 748.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid p. 749.

<sup>43</sup> Alexander Coupe, ‘Unionism’s obsession with masculinity hurts its cause’ *Irish Times* 3 April 2018 <https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/unionism-s-obsession-with-masculinity-hurts-its-cause-1.3445769> accessed 25 August 2019.

of inequality.<sup>44</sup> It is instructional to record the interaction of genders and how they moulded contemporary understandings of masculinity. From the inception of stereotypes pervasive even today, the greatest threats were posed by the gendered other: languor, softness and sensuality were traits of a counter-masculinity.<sup>45</sup> Effeminacy and androgyny additionally were perceived to be conspiring nefariously to weaken the ideal. Several idealised characteristics can be maintained by female complicity. The idea that true masculinity engages in action, rather than exercising caution is found in Lillian Spender's chiding comment on Carson's participation in the Buckingham Palace conference of 1914: 'Oh, for a strong man to rally the forces of Unionism...one looks in vain for such a man. Nowadays men seem so terrified of responsibility and "consequences"'.<sup>46</sup> Though distanced in time and space, Theidon's research mentions young women who are attracted to the 'gran hombres' (big men), a desirability which underscores the role of women in 'making men'.<sup>47</sup> Relational networks help us wear down essentialist myths that support the belief that men are prone to inhumanity, a fallacy matched by the supposed innately peaceful or communicative aspect of women. In their illuminating study, Gray and Neill's female participants used phrases such as 'pushing it all to one side', 'getting on with things' and 'survivor mentality'.<sup>48</sup> They demonstrated a reticence induced by perceived vulnerability; a behaviour more usually attributed to men. It is obvious that, due to our sociological complexity, significant attention to possible effects on the entire matrix is required before any attempt to influence a constituent is made.

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<sup>44</sup> Cockburn 'What became of 'frontline feminism'?' p. 113.

<sup>45</sup> Joanna Bourke, review of *The Image of Man. The Creation of Modern Masculinity* by George L. Mosse, review no. 23 <https://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/23> accessed 7 October 2018.

<sup>46</sup> McGaughey, *Ulster's Men*, p. 77.

<sup>47</sup> Theidon, 'Reconstructing Masculinities' p. 18.

<sup>48</sup> Ann Marie Gray and Gail Neil 'Creating a Shared Society in Northern Ireland: Why We Need to Focus on Gender Equality' *Youth & Society* Vol. 43, Issue 2 (2011), p. 480.

Fittingly some strategies for defusing testosterone-fuelled tension can be found in the vibrant history of NI's women centres organising outside formal political structures to provide support, training and a raft of services from child-care, education, and drug addiction. The extraordinary courage in disregarding the lines of cultural demarcation is epitomised in the transversalism of the Women's Support Network (WSN), merging centres across the Shankill/Falls divide in 1989.<sup>49</sup> This community activism is an example of politics situated—just like murals—in the everyday life. Exposure of this magnitude disrupts the segregation of public from private and resonates with a democratising of culture, as muralist Orozco said: '[the mural] cannot be made a matter of private gain; it cannot be hidden away for the benefit of a certain privileged few. It is for the people'.<sup>50</sup>

While the Good Friday Agreement (GFA) could have heralded a progressive, gender equity-centred agenda from the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (NIWC), the non-partisan project was short-lived. In serving the cause of smooth negotiations, the NIWC served as buffer between unionists and republicans, denying it the chance to tackle the highly patriarchal politics.<sup>51</sup> Casting the net out to the wider world should not be seen as replacing local exemplars of inspiring, gender-aware work, but rather bringing in complimentary material. *'Men-As-Partners'* (MAP), undertaken by EngenderHealth, operates in more than 15 countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. It assists men to realise the extreme costs of the patriarchal privilege and how they may play a constructive role in their families and communities.<sup>52</sup> Another initiative, *'One Man Can'* (OMC) implemented by Sonke Gender Justice, supports boys and men to take action to end domestic and sexual abuse while

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<sup>49</sup> Gilmartin, 'Gendering the 'post-conflict' narrative' p. 93.

<sup>50</sup> Quoted in Jean Franco, *The modern culture of Latin America, society and the artist* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1970), p. 157.

<sup>51</sup> McEvoy 'Loyalist Women Paramilitaries', p. 282.

<sup>52</sup> Porter, 'What is Constructed', p. 499.

promoting healthy, equitable relationships.<sup>53</sup> Of additional salience is how MAP disseminates this gender reconciliation, they employ a variety of methods in their public education campaigns: street theatres, rallies, and murals.

#### 1.2.2.2 Defining core terminology I: Weaponisation

Since peace is far from synonymous with a post-violence status, it behoves this thesis to consider a wider definition of weaponisation. A helpful start in this endeavour is situating research within the continuum of violence. This states that rather than a more defined period of ‘war’, violence is not a solitary phenomenon but perseveres along several scales: force, from fist to bomb; time, peacetime, prewar, wartime, postwar; and place, bedroom, city, to continent.<sup>54</sup> In its entirety, however, the most consistent weapon is masculinity itself. The setting aside of literal weapons often triggers an emasculation whereby violence is domesticated— transferred from the public theatre of conflict to private daily life. The resilience of militarised masculinities is marked by a sharp spike in domestic abuse, a trend noted throughout several post-conflict settings.<sup>55</sup> Statistics from Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) and Women’s Aid Federation confirm this in the instance of NI: a 130% rise in reported incidents from 1996 to 2003<sup>56</sup> and 30,595 domestic abuse incidents from July 2017 to June 2018.<sup>57</sup> The hyperbole of ‘stranger danger’, though highlighting real threats in the public realm, can also conceal the private hell for many women. Without blithely

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Cockburn, ‘World disarmament?’

<sup>55</sup> Theidon ‘Reconstructing Masculinities’ p. 21.

<sup>56</sup> Police statistics cited in Margaret Ward, ‘Gender, citizenship and the future of the Northern Ireland peace process’ *Eire-Ireland: Journal of Irish Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (2006), pp. 262–283.

Ward 2006 from Cynthia Cockburn, ‘What became of ‘frontline feminism’? a retrospective on post-conflict Belfast’ *Feminist Review* Vol. 105, Issue 1 (November 2013), p. 112.

<sup>57</sup> In addition to these figures, Women’s Aid also reported 14,714 women and 14,356 young persons and children received refuge between 1999 and 2013 in Niall Gilmartin, ‘Gendering the ‘post-conflict’ narrative in Northern Ireland’s peace process’ *Capital & Class*, volume 43, issue 1 (2019), p. 96.

sweeping away the idiosyncratic circumstances of each society, some post-conflict norms of masculinity do appear in congruity. Porter succinctly describes some of the more extremely negative: highly rigid militaristic associations, toughness, objectification and instrumentalisation of women, and repression of all emotions other than anger.<sup>58</sup> This repression is regulated through social taboos against articulating difficulties and can consequently drive men into profound isolation and loneliness. Another feature linking post-conflict societies is the capricious nature of male-led violence. After decades of conditioning, both black and white men in South Africa had been bound by the militaristic standards of combatant brotherhood. Mired in the hopelessness of sustained socio-economic inequalities as well as lingering trauma, many found ostensible solace in what Thokozani Xaba calls ‘compensatory manhood.’<sup>59</sup> This reared its head in the form of gangs, a situation with similarities in NI. Fusion which complicates the delineated narratives of ‘war’ and ‘peace’ also apply to alternative male spaces. In his study of Brazilian shanty towns, Barker observed such spaces existing cheek by jowl with enduring patriarchal structures.<sup>60</sup> The entanglement of these juxtaposing details proves, optimistically, that such alternatives can surface in toxic atmospheres, but that their actuality does not necessarily remove or even challenge an overall male dominance.

### 1.2.2.3 Other ‘otherness’ (LGBT & BAME)

In a gendered hierarchical arrangement those relegated are typically of an oppositional identity to the few that reserve their space at the top. With this tier invariably being occupied,

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<sup>58</sup> Antonia Porter, ‘What is Constructed can be Transformed’: Masculinities in Post-Conflict Societies in Africa,’ *International Peacekeeping* Vol. 20, Issue 4 (2013), p. 492.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid* p. 497.

<sup>60</sup> Groes-Green, ‘Philogynous Masculinities...’ p. 94.

not just by men, but white, heterosexual men, women are in the company of LGBT and Black, Asian and minority ethnic men. NI has moved on from its ‘Save Ulster from Sodomy’<sup>61</sup> days, though a historically staunch conservatism has delayed the legal fight against homophobia.<sup>62</sup> In other arenas, the struggle for equality continues in gaining visibility in the public space or marriage rights, with the first ceremonies being held at the time of this writing. The objectives of women’s groups and LGBT activists encounter the same obstacle in being muted by an ‘either/or’ approach to social identity. In trying to clear the path of this dilemma, pluralism aims to make wider society appreciate difference rather than it be a stimulus for fear and anger. It is the cross-cleavage supportive tendency of pluralist politics that has elevated Belfast Pride from just over 50 participants singing gay rights anthems in 1991 to over 15,000 participants in 2010.<sup>63</sup> Though we should not detract from such success stories, we must be wary of growing complacent when the menace of hate crimes still blight the country.

The transition out of conflict is fraught with problems and some of these can have damaging repercussions. Some former prisoners and combatants suffer from a lack of paramilitary discipline that once moulded their routine; others may feel betrayed by co-fighters basking in the limelight of a prosperous post-conflict career (whether in grassroots reconciliation or power-sharing politics). Bereft of purpose and identity, their aggression can manifest as violence which locates new but all too familiar targets. In an increasingly diverse ethnic demography racist attacks are recorded, particular against the Chinese and Eastern European minorities in Belfast where an anti-Roma sentiment has also surfaced.<sup>64</sup> Admittedly

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<sup>61</sup> The DUP once campaigned under this slogan with one of its representatives stating that homosexuality ‘disgusting, loathsome, nauseating, shamefully wicked’ and ‘an abomination’ (Mail on Sunday, 2008) in Nagle, *Unity in Diversity* p. 85.

<sup>62</sup> Homosexuality was decriminalized in England and Wales in 1967, it remained criminalized in Northern Ireland until LGBT mobilization won the case in the European Court of Human Rights in 1981, *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> Cockburn, ‘What became of ‘frontline feminism’?’ p.114.

accounting for an extremist fringe, Harris detects some related values espoused by the UDA and the English Defence League. The theme of governmental failure to protect the state is reminiscent of an enlarged siege mentality.<sup>65</sup> In their contribution to this paranoia, the Northern Irish 'United Defence League' appears to have simply revised prejudice for the times, supplementing Islamophobia with the age-old loyalist demon of republicanism.

#### 1.2.2.4 Further implications (mental health)

With certain properties throwing a shadow over the labelling of NI as a 'post-conflict' society, we might well ponder where trauma is in the bigger picture. The emotional scars of conflict are lengthened since some painful memories are legacy related. These include imprisonment or death of a family member, witnessing the 'punishment beating' of a friend, house raids and living in a residually militarised community. Though technical accounts classify the Troubles as a 'low-level war' the intensity looms large proportional to the population. A survey of 2,000 households in 2005 discovered one in ten people experiencing symptoms of PTSD.<sup>66</sup> With such high numbers at stake, some take measures to self-medicate through alcohol and drugs. This has been documented among Vietnam veterans where, as a psychic defence mechanism, substance abuse enabled dissociation from echoes of violent behaviour.<sup>67</sup> It is reasonable to suggest that instances of self-harm, alcoholism, drug abuse and suicide may be magnified through a post-conflict lens. It may be a tragic conclusion of an

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<sup>65</sup> Lyndsey Harris, 'Addressing a 'New' Form of 'Loyalist' Extremism? Reflections on the Legacy of the Northern Ireland Conflict' *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, Vol. 51, Issue 5 (2012), p. 526.

<sup>66</sup> Those experiencing symptoms were disproportionately of the lower socio-economic stratum. Orla Muldoon et al. *The Legacy of the Troubles: Experience of the Troubles, Mental Health and Social Attitudes* (Belfast: Queen's University Belfast, School of Psychology, 2005).

<sup>67</sup> Malose Langa and Gillian Eagle, 'The Intractability of Militarised Masculinity: A Case Study of Former Self-Defence Unit Members in the Kathorus Area, South Africa', *South African Journal of Psychology* Vol. 38, Issue 1 (2008), p. 160.

emotionally repressive environment that men's own minds and bodies can become a weapon turned on themselves. As questions hang in the balance over the extent of the power of murals, we can appreciate efforts to pre-empt the answer. There have been efforts to eradicate the quotidian images of the nightmare of the past.<sup>68</sup> These may, at the very least, intervene such that the tradition of dead generations does not weigh quite so heavily on the hearts of the living.

### 1.2.3 Why murals?

Throughout the trajectory of the Troubles a parallel war of words and symbols was fought. The astounding progress made toward peace should never be forgotten but, as Foucault wrote in an inversion of Clausewitz's maxim: 'politics is the continuation of war by other means.'<sup>69</sup> The murals, as just one fragment of a politicised constellation, attest to a battlefield running through post-agreement NI. This front extends outside the urban hubs of Belfast and Derry, with an increasing number appearing in many towns and villages. As interventions in the socio-political environment, they are deserving of long-term study due to their permanence which exceeds the comparably transient parades.<sup>70</sup> However, some analysis treats them as little more than backdrop to social movements while others may run the risk of using them too mechanistically, as tools to simply categorise rather than critically understand.<sup>71</sup> By their very nature they elude a straightforward classification because both product (art object) and production (cultural practice) are firmly enmeshed in the serpentine intersection between the

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<sup>68</sup> Tony Crowley 'Hegemonic Shifts: The Latest from the Walls of Northern Ireland' *Estudios Irlandeses*, Issue 10, (March 2015), p. 71.

<sup>69</sup> Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France.*, edited by Mauro Bertani and Alessandro Fontana (eds.), translated by David Macey (New York: Picador, 2003), p. 47.

<sup>70</sup> Jonathan McCormick & Neil Jarman, 'Death of a Mural' *Journal of Material Culture* Vol. 10, Issue (2005), p. 69

<sup>71</sup> Bill Rolston & Amaia Alvarez Berastegi, 'Taking Murals Seriously: Basque Murals and Mobilisation' *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* Vol. 29, Issue 1 (March 2016), p. 34.

politics and poetics of national identity. Unsurprisingly these do not always sit comfortably together but can convey, as loaded signifiers, the collision between official and vernacular memories. Even though they are both located in the past, memory and history are clearly not interchangeable though they overlap as repositories requiring critical interpretation. The living archives of murals can be thought of as the conscious and purposeful staging of memory. This blends nicely with Goffman's notion of 'impression management'<sup>72</sup> where the dramaturgical presentation of self takes a guise akin to role-playing. When positioned in a milieu of distrust, aggression and even bloody episodes of unrest this posturing is essential as bodily armour. Furthering a theatrical analogy is the fact that murals also serve as rallying points for ritualised events. The unveiling of a new mural— often in July, the loyalist 'marching season'— was usually performed by an MP, judge, an army officer or minister while the local crowd listened attentively to a quasi-religious address.<sup>73</sup> They are therefore not as static as the medium itself would suggest but rather, through engagement, are fluid with message projection. There is a loyalist proclivity for compressing timelines such that men of the past stand literally shoulder to shoulder with those of the present. This projecting an image of unfaltering strength and power, a kind of all at once mental, physical and even spiritual giantism is palpable in the larger-than-life men in murals. Sadly, symbols can be manipulated for the morbid advantage that they are 'perfect channels for deathly political ventriloquism'.<sup>74</sup>

Yet (ab)uses of the past should not restrain those of the present or future if anything they may inspire as counterexample. After all, semiotics dictate that the artwork itself has little intrinsic meaning and is fashioned by the preconceptions and perceptions that we, the

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<sup>72</sup> Theidon, 'Reconstructing Masculinities', p. 24.

<sup>73</sup> Rolston, *Politics & Painting*, p. 24.

<sup>74</sup> Katherine Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies: Reburial and Post Socialist Change* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), p. 29.

viewers, bring to it. When regarded in this light, the pre-mural wall is but a blank canvas onto which theoretically limitless forms and themes may take shape. It seems, therefore, that NI is at a crossroads. One road, extensively journeyed, only reinforces gender roles; the other, hardly ventured, leads toward a reconstructing of said roles. It is wise, however, not to bestow an excess of faith in murals, but be slightly dubious as to the extent to which they can be an accurate barometer for their surroundings. Viewed in all their layered intricacies, they resemble a cultural stratigraphy or, as signs to be read, a palimpsest. They may not furnish us with the precision that a 'barometer' evokes, nevertheless, they indicate shifting public opinions and significance and, as such, are ideal subjects for the study of Northern Irish society.<sup>75</sup>

### 1.2.3.1 Advertising vs. Propaganda (Cultural to direct violence)

When exploring how people and paintings interact a useful comparison is that of advertising. In her reflection on the subject, Loftus sees a connection emanating from the declarative statements made by both advertising and wall paintings of identity.<sup>76</sup> Other terminology that supports this comparison posits that we are consumers of meaning that occurs in civic ideology. Holt and Cameron's work on cultural branding is discussed as a strategy of the 'myth markets'.<sup>77</sup> One method for evaluating the success of an ideological advertisement campaign is the extent to which it develops organically. Judging by their longevity and proliferation one gets a sense that the murals of NI resoundingly meet this criteria and that

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<sup>75</sup> Laura McAtackney 'Peace maintenance and political messages: The significance of walls during and after the Northern Irish 'Troubles'' *Journal of Social Archaeology*, Vol. 11, Issue 1 (2011), p. 87.

<sup>76</sup> Oona Woods, chapter from *Seeing is Believing: Murals in Derry* (Derry: Guildhall Press, 1995)

<sup>77</sup> Downey, Hilary & Sherry, John F., 'Modulating mythology in a post-traumatic era: Murals and re-imagining in Northern Ireland' in *Myth and the Market: Proceedings of an interdisciplinary conference held in Carlingford, Ireland 19–21 June 2014*. University College Dublin, Press, 2014. p. 282.

they are treated as a normative facet of urban reality. This is only emphasised by their frequent appearance in television programmes, documentaries, newspapers, and online sources.<sup>78</sup> The banality of these impressions should perhaps be handled with some suspicion when we ponder the subliminal impact. A worrying similarity is noted by Lisle in that, when most successful, advertising images circumvent rational thought and embed themselves in subconscious desires.<sup>79</sup> With all the debate around emotion and memory in a post-conflict society, this could call attention to some insidious ramifications. Thus, young men, historically the most susceptible to these immersed cravings, in NI are not only bombarded with the typical slew of cultural products with a militarised content (video games and films) but an extra layer in mural form. Much like the effect with social welfare reform, the Troubles again created something of a pocket or bubble around NI in which violence has been valorised to an even greater extent than most western societies.<sup>80</sup>

Reminiscent of zero-sum politics, defeating the enemy (another man) simultaneously affirms the perpetrator's manhood while lowering the victim's status to non-man, commonly through feminised humiliation.<sup>81</sup> This then sets off a chain reaction in that the victim feels the best way, or only option, for him to shake off this weak position and regain vigour is by affirming his manhood. This may entail participating in ultra-manly activities such as violence, emotional repression, and sexual conquest. Commenting on the ease with which this behavioural cycle begins to turn, a UNESCO report stated: 'humiliation might not happen so easily if it were not for exaggerated ideas of masculine honour.'<sup>82</sup> This self-fulfilling prophecy also further shrinks the nurturing of non-violent forms of masculinity. Loyalism is

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<sup>78</sup> McCormick & Jarman, 'Death of a Mural' p.50.

<sup>79</sup> Lisle, 'Local Symbols, Global Networks' p. 28.

<sup>80</sup> Bairner, 'Masculinity, Violence and the Irish Peace Process' p. 127.

<sup>81</sup> Antony Whitehead, 'Man to Man Violence: How Masculinity May Work as a Dynamic Risk Factor', *The Howard Journal of Crime and Justice*, Vol. 44, Issue 4 (September 2005), p. 416.

<sup>82</sup> UNESCO Expert Group Meeting, 'Male Roles and Masculinities in the Perspective of a Culture of Peace', (September 1997), available at [www.unesco.org/cpp/uk/declarations/oslorapp.htm](http://www.unesco.org/cpp/uk/declarations/oslorapp.htm).

far from lacking these radically alternative messages, but when they did materialise their potential was denied, as in the case of the media's reluctance to publish the UVF's conciliatory statements of the mid-1970s.<sup>83</sup> Naturally this seriously hindered the UVF in getting this message heard, keeping such attitudes in the margins. Nor did they have the precedent of the republican effective mural campaign following the 1981 hunger strikes. The crux of the matter lies in the proximity between cultural and direct violence, described in Galtung's template of conflict. Cultural violence includes the glorification of martial culture, blood sacrifice or armed struggle as part of a community's foundation myth.<sup>84</sup> Clearly representations of this ilk abound in the mural tradition and persist long after direct violence, that is physical acts regularly associated with conflict, has been brought under control. Yet the argument exists that cultural violence can justify, reinforce, or even produce direct violence.

Of course, there is no all-encompassing simple equation between seeing violence and committing it. However, as documented in Colombia the army ran a 24-hour television station with non-stop advertising campaign featuring uniforms, guns and power. Radio stations also raised drug dealers and thugs to a quasi-mythical status.<sup>85</sup> Meanwhile, in NI, with proscribed organisations banned from appearing on television, murals stood in as a suitable proxy. This meant that the media almost exclusively presented the more intimidating and forceful images. With their masked off, obscured countenance, these faceless men of violence that were and are chosen for broadcast also offer up the plausible metaphor of 'talking to a brick wall'.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Novosel, *Northern Ireland's Lost Opportunity*, p. 103.

<sup>84</sup> Neil Ferguson, Shaun McDaid and James W. McAuley 'Social Movements, Structural Violence, and Conflict Transformation in Northern Ireland: The Role of Loyalist Paramilitaries' *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* Vol. 24, No. 1 (2018), p. 20.

<sup>85</sup> Theidon, 'Reconstructing Masculinities' p. 34.

<sup>86</sup> Woods, *Seeing is Believing*

### 1.2.3.2 Defining core terminology II: Disarming

As strenuously as formal military institutions may distinguish themselves from paramilitary activities, they both put the same image of masculinity on a pedestal. For much of their histories, the perfect recruit displayed physical toughness, endurance of hardship, rugged heterosexuality, unemotional logic and refusal to complain.<sup>87</sup> Since rigorous training encourages soldiers to deny any feminine part of themselves, analysis should not outright blame men but instead level against a system that deforms men. The motive for disarming arises from the recognition by social science of the interdependence between masculinity and militarisation. A central contention is that while a phallogentric ideology is not necessarily the sole cause of war, it is often involved in socialising young men to war. In the process it shuts down options in constricting the definitions of what it is to be a man. All of this is of course no accident, rather it is essential and conscious maintenance; ‘militarism requires a sustaining gender ideology as much as it needs guns and bullets.’<sup>88</sup> Campbell condenses a key problem, that principal actors in conflict are often branded a hazard as ‘*armed men*’ and not ‘*armed men*’.<sup>89</sup> Though it may at first appear a subtle divergence, this amounts to peace-making defined as decommissioning arms, while the decommissioning of masculinity is neglected. Abstract theory is substantiated by an international committee that noted that ‘what is really needed is the decommissioning of mind-sets in NI’.<sup>90</sup> The same source was also sceptical that true resolution could be reached until parties no longer resorted to their

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<sup>87</sup> Whitehead & Barrett (1994) cited in Langa & Eagle, ‘The intractability of militarised masculinity’ p. 153.

<sup>88</sup> Theidon ‘Reconstructing Masculinities’ p. 4. See also Joshua S Goldstein, *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

<sup>89</sup> Beatrix Campbell, *Agreement! The State, Conflict and Change in Northern Ireland*, (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 2008), p. 206.

<sup>90</sup> George J. Mitchell, John de Chastelain, and Harri Holkeri, ‘Report of the International Body on Arms Decommissioning’, (Belfast, 1996), art. 15.

vast inventories of historical recrimination. If the streets themselves are a sprawling gallery, then recriminations are curated as a permanent exhibition of murals. As articulations of gender, they also play into the normalising and rationalising of a subordinated femininity. Scholarly research focused on a mutual transition of gender and conflict has repeatedly uncovered the ‘inextricable links between violent masculinity and the ending of armed action.’<sup>91</sup> On the symbolic level NI, particularly the loyalist landscape, has yet to draw a phase of cultural conflict to an end. Official removal of guns is of course hugely beneficial but, visually, murals keep the gun on the streets —and in minds. In times where the gun is exalted to cult status the defence of its ownership is on par with defending a hegemonic position. Thus, both sides of the conflict may have physically surrendered their guns, they enjoy a different fate in defiant representations of masculinity. This is even before agents advocating for a more comprehensive disarming reckon with the fact that, for some people in some areas, it is precisely these images which get to the heart of their aspirations.<sup>92</sup> This may only apply to a minority but what does relate to them and indeed most men globally, is that not meeting localised standards of manhood can induce shame, humiliation, feelings of inadequacy and a loss of dignity.<sup>93</sup>

In the ‘frustration-aggression’ hypothesis, humiliation is identified as a key factor in prolonging cycles of violence. Fraser makes use of this when arguing that every culture needs an out-group, especially in a period of change. The outgroup functions as a scapegoat for the majority’s frustrations.<sup>94</sup> However, a consensus in psychological literature is that this theory is out-dated as subsequent studies have shown that causality does not necessarily follow in

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<sup>91</sup> Gilmartin, ‘Gendering the ‘post-conflict’ narrative’, p. 97.

<sup>92</sup> Tony Crowley, ‘The Art of Memory: The Murals of Northern Ireland and the Management of History’ *Field Day Review*, Issue 7 (2011), p. 30.

<sup>93</sup> Porter, ‘What is Constructed can be Transformed’ p. 488.

<sup>94</sup> Morris Fraser, ‘*Children in Conflict*’ (1973) in Whyte *Interpreting Northern Ireland*, p. 94.

either direction. Regardless of this debunking, emotions are still highly gendered and the belief that an internalised demilitarisation lies partly in accessing a wider range of emotions still seems reasonable. Given their attributes of size, colour and location, murals operate not only at the intellectual level but stir up emotions, whether positive or negative. This potential for emotion to bypass rational thought could have significant implications for this research if Harold Jackson's assessment still retains some validity. In his pamphlet *'The Two Irelands'* (1971) NI is described as 'a society suffering from a deep psychosis...[and] emotional spasms the moment it comes under stress.'<sup>95</sup> One response to the stress of uncertainty seems to be reassurance in resilient performativity, i.e., the rituals and symbols of militarised masculinity. This performance is showcased in murals and through the carefully cultivated 'impenetrable bodies',<sup>96</sup> men may come to think of themselves as 'untouchable' both physically and emotionally. These highly charged figures are settled in, and contribute to, sites of social centrality. That is: places where hegemonic power is inscribed, often imbued with an almost sacred aura giving them the impression that they are timelessly beyond all scrutiny. By disputing this previously unchallenged identity, disarming through agency amounts to what Bhabha calls a 'decentring' of old paradigms.<sup>97</sup> The second part of this thesis, concerning disarmament, is not only interested in centring peripheral identities and surfacing submerged narratives, but also in arguing for an inverting of murals' function. Instead of war, they would 'sell' peace and related masculinities to young loyalist men. Antonio Gramsci's 'counter-hegemonic vision' avails us when clarifying this potential material, the search for which is situated internally and externally to loyalism.

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<sup>95</sup> Harold Jackson, *The Two Irelands: A Dual Study of Inter-Group Tensions*, Minority Rights Group, Report no.2 (London: Minority Rights Group, 1971), p. 4.

<sup>96</sup> Theidon, 'Reconstructing Masculinities' p. 27.

<sup>97</sup> See also Stuart Hall (2000) in Omolola A. Ladele, 'Deconstructing Masculinities, Feminist Reconstructions' *Interventions*, Vol. 12 (2010) p. 462.

The task of decentring certainly has attractive outcomes, but we cannot lose sight of the resistance it would encounter. Ian McBride's comparison of loyalist and republican commemorations reveals more than differing accounts of the same events, but a rival cultural code used to structure the past itself.<sup>98</sup> On the rare occasion that women do appear in murals, it is in a manner which does not threaten or disturb the masculine codes; theirs is far from a destabilising presence to an embedded patriarchy.<sup>99</sup> What is needed in divided cities is the opening up of alternative spaces which close down the programmed uses of segregated space. The mocking of conventional hierarchy at Pride, with the crowning of the 'gay queen' and 'lesbian king'<sup>100</sup>, demonstrates humour as resistance as well as fluidity of the gendered body. Related to this expression of personal identity are several other challenges that Mosse portrays as freeing men from restrictive norms: popular music and dance, and more controversially, drugs and sexual experimentation.<sup>101</sup> While it was his hope that these experiences might soften the sharp contours of masculinity, he admits it is not so much whether youth culture will break the mould but rather how far it will make it bend.

### 1.2.3.3 Internationalism/cultural globalisation

Though predictably varied across global contexts, the view that manhood is not automatically 'given' but must be achieved is remarkably consistent. Moreover, should a man not acquiesce to what is specifically and socially expected of him, he is deemed to have failed in the perpetual testing of male legitimacy. Yet when access to the vast constructions of masculinity is made available, as it is in a globalising world, people have more choice in the meaning-

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<sup>98</sup> Ian McBride, "Memory and National Identity in Modern Ireland," in his *History and Memory in Modern Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 27.

<sup>99</sup> Debbie Lisle, 'Local Symbols, Global Networks: Rereading the Murals of Belfast' *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* Vol. 31, Issue1 (2006), p. 42.

<sup>100</sup> Nagle, 'Unity in Diversity' p. 89.

<sup>101</sup> Bourke, review of *The Image of Man*

making of gender.<sup>102</sup> This thesis will be open to globalising discourses, not simply for the variety it affords, but because, as a term, ‘globalisation’ is regularly considered in an economic sense. When this occurs it becomes the impetus for rampant deindustrialisation and the export of opportunity. Considered in its cultural form, however, it may yet yield some positive findings. Furthering the argument of its potential is that murals— as a delivery system of new ideas— may influentially transcend national boundaries. An inspirational image stands not just as a sensation but can represent more collective movements, such as Sudanese protestor Alaa Salah.<sup>103</sup> Other examples from the global south range from the organisational (Sonke Gender Justice, addressing male violence, and ‘Engaging Men’ information network)<sup>104</sup> to the conceptual (the Changana notion of ‘ndota’ refers to a man who is considerate toward women, showing restraint and control).<sup>105</sup> Technically ‘ndota’ implies seniority but it can still exist as an aspirational category for young men. The erosion of state power, often attributed to the forces of globalisation, can expedite a ‘cosmopolitan sensibility’<sup>106</sup> unfettered to nationalism. Whilst this places greater emphasis on global concerns e.g., climate change, nuclear weapons over parochial questions of self-determination, a countervailing dynamic can send us back into an assertive defence of inner

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<sup>102</sup> Beasley (2008) quoted in Jack S. Kahn, Jessica R. Holmes & Benjamin L. Brett, ‘Dialogical Masculinities: Diverse Youth Resisting Dominant Masculinity’, *Journal of Constructivist Psychology* (2011), p. 32.

<sup>103</sup> In April 2019 the image of Salah leading a chant against President Omar Hassan al-Bashir went viral. Sudanese women were at the forefront of the pro-democracy movement by some estimates making up as many as two-thirds of protests Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, ‘In Sudan, Women Showed the World How It’s Done’ *New York Times* 15 October 2019 (15/10/19) <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/15/opinion/sudan-women-government.html?fbclid=IwAR00FrRrUztu46RRP54a6uQf2Z2OmAU3fGBGuab4v4zmjcOpVFX4jAzuO9g> accessed 15 October 2019.

<sup>104</sup> Cynthia Cockburn, ‘World disarmament? Start by disarming masculinity’ *Open Democracy* (April 2015) <https://www.opendemocracy.net/cynthia-cockburn/world-disarmament-start-by-disarming-masculinity> accessed 16 July 2019.

<sup>105</sup> Christian Groes-Green, ‘Philogynous Masculinities: Contextualizing Alternative Manhood in Mozambique’, *Men & Masculinities*, Vol. 15, Issue 2 (2012), p. 97. The same study also recorded informants referencing ‘bom pico’: a man who prioritises women’s sexual pleasure and who is caring and attentive to women.

<sup>106</sup> John Nagle ‘Unity in Diversity’: Non-sectarian Social Movement Challenges to the Politics of Ethnic Antagonism in Violently Divided Cities’ *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* Vol. 37, Issue 1 (January 2013), p. 87.

differences. Indeed ethnic conflict can be worsened by the deleterious impact of global integration.<sup>107</sup>

### **1.3 Main conclusions & recommendations**

#### 1.3.1 Main conclusions from part one

This section summarises the main findings from this research, firstly by outlining the conclusions from part one and then setting out key recommendations from part two. The most fundamental conclusion that we can reach throughout part one is that the contemporary loyalist landscape can be understood as an expression of cultural violence. This in turn being defined as the glorification of conflict and the masculinities integral to it. This conclusion is based on thorough assessment of relevant gender theory, visual analysis and significant critical literature. In addition to this theoretical input from scholars across a range of disciplines such as history, sociology and psychology, observations recorded from fieldwork provide further insight to substantiate the author's original hypothesis. Whilst we can and should recognise that the threat to a fragile peace posed by murals is relatively low, a priority to tackle such obstacles to reconciliation should not be overlooked as it can legitimise the use of violence in its more direct or structural forms. Broadly speaking this legitimatisation takes shape in two directions. Outwardly murals can attack the integrity of an outgroup (in this case those who identify as Catholic, Irish nationalist or republican) this involves a lowering of one groups' status. Often this constitutes a crude essentialism which contributes to an othering of those labelled as different, an enemy and a threat. Conversely murals can elevate the esteem

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<sup>107</sup> Michael Ignatieff, *The warrior's honour: ethnic war and modern conscience* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1998), p. 58.

of an ingroup (here we mean those identifying as Protestant, British and loyalist). In these scenarios, imagery exalts aspects of this insider culture as the proud warriors, defenders of the realm and protectors of the true faith. All of this has a heavily gendered dimension, and all heroics are performed by honest, decent and honourable men. So, one process lowers/degenerates the image and idea of a people through misunderstanding and mythmaking, the other heightens/regenerates the ingroup image, collective pride and sense of worth. This also requires the mythmaking and space-claiming functions of murals to persuade an internal audience of a selective and specific narrative which advances their interests. A major conclusion of part one is that the practices and presentations of masculinity and history in murals can be summarised rather easily since they do not deviate from inveterate models. The landscape is a closed system of communication, its symbolic content amounts to a gallery with a very exclusion-based criteria. All three periods of production documented look through a tunnel vision which only allows a few accepted versions of loyalism and masculinity to be showcased.

Besides this general conclusion, the author would like to stress a few salient features from each chapter. In chapter three, the origins of weaponisation, the patriarch King William III is in a sense a founding father again in 1922 since partition marked the creation of a unionist state, the Stormont regime that the author refers to as a '2<sup>nd</sup> Protestant Ascendancy'. This encompasses the structural violence of the state, its discriminatory policies and practices around housing, education, political representation and criminal justice. The imbalance of power between the two dominant cultures in NI was writ large in the early landscape which was inhabited exclusively by subjects favoured by a loyalist perspective. Emblematic of sectarian interpretations, the use of Williamite memory is highly selective to a partisan agenda and erasures of complexity existed around the broader geopolitical context, the war itself and the man whose name is given to the campaign. In lieu of any nuanced portrait, he is

depicted as an infallible ruler whose theatrical and triumphal performance of masculinity towers over the new and flawed state. From chapter four we can conclude that, after an initial delay in production, loyalist murals during the Troubles followed a similar formula: a modern militarised template was established and then replicated with little alteration. In this case the template was the contemporary conflict and combatants elevating themselves, their organisations and actions to a pantheon of illustrious fighters. The number of archetypes discussed could give the impression of an assortment of subjects with modified purposes, but this is not so. Rather they are in accordance with exaggerated stereotypes and adhere to the emotional rudiments underpinning the siege mentality. Finally, chapter five contains the unavoidable conclusion we arrive at by the end of part one which is that, despite a quarter century of peace, the symbolic landscape does not reference the improvements made nor does it indicate the overwhelming desire of a majority not to return to violence. One major reason for this is that the majority do not possess the means to communicate collective intentions. We see at several junctures in the thesis that murals are under the influence of what the author terms a tyranny of the minority. This addresses the stranglehold that paramilitaries have over this vast communicative network. That virtually the same militarised and masculine messages continue to resound in the echo chamber should be more likely explicated as a pictorial summation of this power imbalance. There seems a fundamental disconnect between the will of the people and the way their interests and identities are supposedly represented. Another by-product of this tyranny is that the current state of young loyalist masculinities remains a thoroughly unexamined aspect of NI society. If searching questions are not posed then problematic expectations, routines and performed habits around loyalism, murals and masculinity will march on undeterred. Ultimately an absence of criticality on gender is subsumed into a broader culture of silence. This stunts not only the

growth of an evolved, mature style of muralism but more historically sensitive and emotionally sophisticated masculinities that the medium could promote.

### 1.3.2 Recommendations from part two

Since this project is intended to be a work of applied history, it is appropriate that this thesis offers up some practical points for future consideration. These should be understood not as any prescriptive dogma, a feature itself of weaponisation, but rather as a series of six suggestive and constructive comments. The first and simplest recommendation is that murals should stand as the declarative visual voice, loud and proud statements of purpose in stark contrast to imagery resulting from prior interventions into the symbolic landscape. Indeed, it is the author's view that weaknesses of previous attempts could serve as caution for future efforts. The overarching recommendation is that murals act as radical alternative media, by alternative the author means that murals should unveil a multitude of counter-hegemonic visions. These oppose the dominant material of part one: more women, non-violent masculinities, men of colour and queer men. After the narrowing of options, tightly restricted in part one's tunnel vision, it is integral that the visions of part two widen potentiality such as promoting a new emotional language, a more versatile vocabulary of expression; changing firstly what it means to be a warrior, hero, fighter and secondly how we define their virtues: courage, strength, honour, pride. When most successful and complete, these counter-hegemonic visions would render not only positive historical episodes but negative or painful scenes from which we can learn as well as a collectively imagined future we wish to see manifest. The author describes the gestalt of this landscape as an intense inversion of the normalised, weaponised patterns or an upside-down utopia.

For the true potential of these visions to be realised they must be more than simply statically and passively installed in communities with the expectation that, by their presence alone, desired change will emerge. Therefore, a third recommendation is that murals should emit a radical energy which the author outlines in two methods. Firstly, the verbing of the mural reveals opportunities for meaningful social engagement of (primarily) young men throughout the process of its making. Here again we see the need to differentiate radical murals from the recent trend in using new technologies which, whilst far quicker and perhaps cheaper, deny us these opportunities. The second radical use recommended is that murals should be repeatedly activated. This is the last stage in the author's proposed '3 Rs of Disarming', the first two being the more self-explanatory removal and replacement of subject matter. Activation simply means that public consciousness should be directed back to the mural as a locale for contemplation. The author expands on this by offering three variants: educational (public art as a learning tool), political (public art as a rallying point for social movements) and cultural (public art merged with other creative media to engage audiences in critical thinking). In all instances, both the physical condition and its conceptual content are not allowed to deteriorate. Instead, they are maintained in the minds of their host population and any outside visitors. For any of this to be possible it is recommended that multiple strategies that encourage an end to the tyranny of the minority should be pursued. The lingering legacy and continued influence of paramilitary organisations should be mitigated as much as possible. It is postulated that a change in public art may facilitate a change in the public's mindset, altering attitudes toward paramilitaries—challenging the supposed need or relevance for their existence. As a substitute for the current asymmetric power relations, the thesis recommends that the tyranny is replaced with a democratising of the medium so it is embedded as a people's art, serving the majority will with informed consent and consistent consultation. From this democratic platform, loyalist communities could exhibit whatever

they choose, including but not limited to the versions of masculinity they agree with and pictorially support behaviours, language and actions more appropriate for post-conflict realities.

The final two recommendations concern where loyalist communities may find the specific sources for disarming subject matter. To this end the author advocates for an internal and external exploration of possibilities. A host of counter-hegemonic narratives, organisations and individuals all found within loyalism and related identities are nominated as deserving candidates in chapter eight. These would essentially replace the monolithic monotony of part one with vitalising multiplicity. Likewise, the singularity of depiction and attitude that suffocated creative freedom would be undone by liberating pluralities. An internal journey into lesser-known facets of loyalism may engender a boost of confidence which could accompany the capacity building of community participatory mural-making. Lastly, it is strongly recommended in chapter six that loyalists simultaneously look elsewhere for disarming inspiration, examining practices that lie outside of the comfort zone of (over)familiarity. This recommendation is based on several reasons most basically in recognising the difficulties around racism in NI. Despite being a very monoracial society it still struggles with tensions along these lines and this thesis refers to both notable incidents and statistical trends. Art from elsewhere is suggested as an indirect version of contact hypothesis whereby negative perceptions are mitigated through sustained and sincere personal communication. In addition to disarming the weapon of xenophobia, importing inspiration from abroad would demonstrate lessons in the capabilities of public art, how murals have been used to pose inconvenient questions, signpost unacceptability and prompt corrective measures. Lessons could also be learnt about how other post-conflict societies have managed their own slow and painful processes of reconciliation. Within this, insights may be gleaned about how other communities disarmed their own culturally specific

weaponised masculinities. The author admits that some features of their problems and subsequent attempted solutions will be unique to another's context yet given the near universality of some weaponised masculine traits and archetypes it is likely there will be a degree of transferability. Crucially any importation of inspiration should be conducted in a culturally sensitive fashion and not in some extractive or exploitative appropriation. Indeed, it is not beyond the realms of imagination that an initial exchange of ideas and imagery between loyalists and other global communities might instigate a genuine knowledge exchange of mutual benefit and nourish the bonds of sustained friendship.

#### **1.4 Structure of thesis**

What follows is an overview of this thesis' structure which accounts for the remainder of this opening chapter. Before we get into the marrow of the research it is necessary for us to assess the conditions and functions of how it was conducted. This is covered in chapter two which provides insights into the chosen methodology. Here the main ideas that support both parts like a spine of research will be covered and how they relate to each other will be explained. After the theoretical framework has been set out, we will reflect on the practical details that helped inform other more conventional methods of historical research, namely an account of fieldwork undertaken will be provided. Part one maps the evolution of weaponised murals and masculinities across a swathe of time, organised into three stages of production. We begin with chapter three which locates the origins of this contested cultural practice in the cauldron of Home Rule resistance, the chaos of state partition and the upheavals of the Irish revolutionary period. We see how the early 20<sup>th</sup> century blueprint pre-dates NI itself with the establishment of the patriarch King William III. The theme of murals as response to threat is touched on with the crisis of possible Home Rule and we observe the generational

maintenance of triumphalist depictions as in the case of the Jackson family of The Fountain, Derry. A preference for continuity over change is also communicated in the lavish coronation scenes in the 1940s and 1950s. With the status, power and relative privileges of the unionist state coming under scrutiny during the civil rights movement, we follow a sharp decline in murals from the late 1960s to Direct Rule in 1972. Chapter four, a visual chronicle of the Troubles, opens with the slump period of mural production in the 1970s. This discrepancy of low conflict imagery during the most intense decade of the conflict is often ascribed to an identity crisis, a loss of loyalist confidence and a search for new symbolism. This was found in two key events of the 1980s: the 1981 hunger strike and the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement (AIA). The former was accompanied by republicans, for the first time, asserting their identity and claiming space with murals and we see the aggressive territoriality of loyalism as a response to this change. The perceived political betrayal of the latter event sparked the definitive escalation of weaponised imagery. The final decade of the conflict is divided into two, four-year periods which despite containing the gradual development of the peace process did not witness similar encouraging signs of adaptation in the loyalist landscape. Rather a romanticised binary of absolute victory vs. defeat carries over into chapter five which dissects the ‘post-conflict’ age to the present day. The only real difference to the violence is that, without a clear enemy, rivalry is turned inward as in the major loyalist feuding at the start of the millennium. The chapter dwells on a plethora of challenges to peace such as multiple segregation and political dysfunction, only temporarily reinstated by the St. Andrews Agreement of 2006. Another feature of NI society is an increased friction over issues of belonging and inclusion—the shift toward the ‘culture wars’. As with earlier examples in part one, we compare a timeline of significant incidents such as the flag protests/riots in 2012-13 to a timeline of notable murals. Part one ends with another important pairing of timelines, the depictions during the ‘decade of centenaries’ which leant heavily on

a very partisan reading and problematic interpretation of the First World War. The phenomenon of change as catalyst for crisis brings part one to an end with post-Brexit uncertainties having a potentially destabilising effect on the region.

Our move into part two is a dramatic departure from everything previously discussed, indeed its purpose is to offer a series of bold counterpoints to the weaponisation of both murals and masculinities. When going from a description of difficulties to proposing possibilities of positive adjustment, we will naturally encounter a different tone and content. The extent of these diverging methodologies will be expanded upon in the next chapter. Part two's intention of suggesting subject matter to disarm the symbolic landscape starts by bringing in perspectives outside of some loyalist comfort zones. This marks a conscious choice to internationalise a cultural practice often criticised for giving pictorial form to an ossification of mentalities. The argument here is that internationalising the landscape may encourage a more progressive understanding of different identities thus undoing some weaponisation which relies on the hatred, mistrust and ignorance of othering. Chapter six puts forward numerous case studies across three international contexts. In South Africa we contemplate the efforts of several disarming actors, these vary in scale of operation but share the common goal of ending gender-based violence. From the socially conscious practice of individual artists like eL Seed, artist collectives like the Sudanese Ana Taban, local NGO Sonke Gender Justice up to the multi-national Men Engage Network, we appreciate how transformative public art can be. This potential is further enriched with an appraisal of the South east Asian feminist group the 'Fearless Collective' which details both careful steps in their process and analyses specific artworks that demonstrate disarming. The final context is an itinerant investigation of several movements within the Americas. This begins with youth-led civil resistance in Pinochet's Chile and an illustrated history of war and peace in Guatemala. We then move north, across the Mexican border, to reflect on the remarkable

examples of San Francisco's Balmy Alley and the Great Wall of Los Angeles. We sojourn in Chicago when revisiting the lessons of the black liberation arts movement as depicted on the 'Wall of Respect'. Finally we arrive at Philadelphia which the author puts forward as the zenith of an open, active and disarming landscape.

Chapter seven distils the observations from the international case studies into the overarching proposition that murals could perform the role of radical alternative media. As the paradigm for the transformative ethos throughout part two, this phrase is broken down and the three words explained in detail and context. By 'radical' the author means finding and strengthening the visual voice, articulating peaceful masculinities more explicitly than previous interventions into the landscape. It also refers to the action of making the mural as being rife with opportunities for social connection, our emphasis shifts from mural merely as product to ongoing process. Radical murals would not have an end date or reach a point of completion, for as sites of repeated activation they continue to inspire, inform and positively influence mindsets. The 'alternative' that murals furnish is rather evident since part one was populated by such clear and repetitive tropes. Alternative then would fill in the many gaps of representation, en masse this would constitute a counter-hegemonic vision foregrounding demographics commonly falling prey to weaponised masculinity: women, people of colour, and the queer community. Lastly, 'media' specifically indicates those who are in control of the landscape and dictate the messages it conveys. We end by contrasting how loyalist murals are generally managed (by an extreme minority of anonymous agents) to how they could be managed (by the majority consent of the community). This moves us away from a veritable tyranny toward a just and fair democratic art that speaks not with one voice but many.

After careful review, both theoretical and practical aspects of RAM are consolidated in the final chapter which internally investigates loyalist-related disarming. The six sections

of chapter eight search inward for further inspirational material in loyalism and closely associated identities. We begin with the new loyalism that emerged enlightened after deep critical reflection on the self and society in the darkness of the 1970s prison experience. The pioneering ideas around integrated education, non-violence, dialogue, power-sharing and reconciliation clash loudly against the weaponised norms of part one. The groundbreaking of these men is matched by the inspirational transversalism of frontline feminism, that being the ability to literally cross the divide in the mutual interests of peace. Aside from ending violence, women's groups throughout the Troubles worked shoulder to shoulder at the grassroots level across a range of essential services like healthcare, childcare, education and training. It is suggested that queer subject matter could join these more representational depictions as allies against patriarchal authority. Both would disrupt the heteronormative male monopoly and with it the troubling connotations around power, acceptance and diversity. Told through the mostly unacknowledged story of Protestant workers who refused to partake in sectarian abuse during the shipyard expulsions of 1920, we see how vital social class solidarity is in defeating the narrow lines of tribally demarcated identity. As these circles of alliance, friendship and collectivity expand, the once thick and dark outlines of identity overlap and begin to dissolve. Just as a pattern of dissenting in Presbyterianism has disarming potential, the author also detects a usefully rebellious spirit in Ulster-Scots as a cultural thirdspace. By not conforming to the standard binary of belonging, notions of individualism and critical thinking cherished in some Ulster-Scots quarters could facilitate a similarly rigorous questioning of masculinity. The last internal source is found in young people, particularly those inhabiting forgotten corners of subcultures. As much as formal education can disarm, the author stresses the emancipatory capacity of the arts. Whether appearing in working class Protestant playwriting or non-sectarian music genres like punk,

rave and hip-hop, an openness of expression allows for meaningful connection, self-reflection and a challenge to be issued to discrimination.

## **Conclusion**

The commanding presence of murals has incited an abundance of research attempting to explain the Troubles. Yet Vannais is of the opinion that few scholars have probed their deeper significance. The literature is led by Rolston and Jarman, who stress their role in political culture, while Sluka considers them as an expression of ethno-national identity.<sup>108</sup> Just as gender has been mostly elided from mural research it is deficient in the broader field of Northern Irish analysis. The chance to enshrine women's rights in the new post-conflict NI, following the Good Friday Agreement, was squandered. The primary architects centred 'guns and government' with gender taking a position at the periphery. Likewise, in academia, much research has dwelt on solving ethnonational antagonisms and political issues like decommissioning. A qualitative turn in defining 'disarmament' redistributes some attention toward so-called 'soft skills'. Conventional approaches to conflict tend to separate forms of conflict in hermetically-sealed categories.<sup>109</sup> However, reality is deprived of such clear start and end points and, as we have seen, post-conflict societies can become a hotbed for resilient violent practices. Inasmuch as conflict does not obey any compartmentalising, murals, in a radical act, also break loose from the cultural ghetto of 'high art'. This thesis will contribute to the debate on their representative nature, i.e., relationship to the communities they claim to represent, by contextualising an iconographic examination. In this way, the method of inquiry

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<sup>108</sup> Goalwin, 'The Art of War', p. 189.

<sup>109</sup> Gilmartin, 'Gendering the 'post-conflict' p. 90.

reflects the subject matter: both are put back into the community to reconnect with the people.

This has some pronounced overtones regarding unconscious bias whether directed at the working class or loyalism more generally. For all the innovation that a project may boast, outside solutions cannot merely be invented and imposed from above.<sup>110</sup> By respectful collaboration, ways to accommodate popular traditions of deep memory may be found. Not least because embedded myths show no sign of evaporating despite efforts of more iconoclastic historians.<sup>111</sup> In addition to the challenge of traversing problematic language and localised sensitivities, the key question remains: is it possible to interpret murals in subversive or radical ways when audiences are so ‘ideologically incarcerated’ by loyalist and republican agendas?<sup>112</sup>

Though masculinity does not in and of itself cause conflict, ‘interrogations of the interaction between particular constitutions of masculinities and conflict have not been sufficiently developed.’<sup>113</sup> In lieu of thorough academic scrutiny, coverage is sometimes shot through the sensationalised lens of journalistic accounts of hyper-masculine, high profile figures such as Johnny Adair. This is emblematic of how paramilitary masculinities are often simply labelled by the media as ‘cowards’ or ‘sadistic’ and ‘psychopathic’.<sup>114</sup> A final note on rationale would be to curb the subtractive portrayals of loyalism. The more erratic behaviour can comfort those who wish to condemn, ridicule and mock. Moreover, it can provide a fix for those addicted on the past, who seem to revel in violent machinations.<sup>115</sup> But a sincerely

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<sup>110</sup> ‘Where next for Loyalist paramilitaries after the Panel report?’ *BBC The View*, Interview with Peter Sheridan and Sophie Long posted by Slugger O’Toole, available at YouTube <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kbHNWm4q1qc> accessed 3 December 2019.

<sup>111</sup> Beiner, ‘Between Trauma and Triumphalism’, p. 389.

<sup>112</sup> Lisle, ‘Local Symbols, Global Networks’ p. 33.

<sup>113</sup> Ashe & Harland, ‘Troubling Masculinities’ p. 749.

<sup>114</sup> Ashe, ‘Gendering War and Peace’, p. 239.

<sup>115</sup> Shirlow, ‘Loyalists stop riots, create jobs, challenge racism’.

empathetic engagement, however arduous or distressing, may prove to be vital in the pursuit of lasting peace. The next chapter explains how we might achieve that engagement by describing the methodologies used throughout this thesis. It will provide necessary details to identify and understand the precise methods that were applied during the project. These include what type of research was conducted, what data was collected and how it was analysed.

## Chapter Two: Methodology

### **Introduction**

This chapter provides details of the author's methodology over two sections. The first brings together a summary of the most significant theoretical inspirations and arranges them in a framework to describe how they related to each other. Logically, the sub-sections follow the two-part structure of the thesis. The main concepts that inform weaponisation include understanding murals as cultural violence and the psychological impact of long-term, publicly displayed gendered propaganda. An analogy to advertising explains the power of glorifying war imagery and this sensational spectacle dovetails with the dramaturgical dimension. The author combines the input of three key scholars to provide a nuanced interpretation that bridges the weaponisation of murals and masculinities. The concept of gender performativity is joined by Goffman's notions on the everyday presentation of the self, impression management and frame analysis. A further commensurate concept are the 'masks of masculinity' outlined by Lewis Howe which contextualise masculine performances in real world implications of stress, pressure, insecurity and over-compensating behaviour. All these masks are worn during the central drama which for militarised loyalism is a repeated staging of the siege mentality, a worldview shaped by extreme binaries. The author ends this sub-section by elaborating on the classification of specific weaponised archetypes. Radical alternative media is the transformative paradigm that frames part two. Adapting theories from social movement theory and rebellious communication studies, murals are explained as being 'radical' in three ways: as a declarative visual voice, contrasting to previous lacklustre interventions into the landscape, verbed as a socially constructive process rather than static, disconnected product. Finally, the completed mural is not quite 'finished'

as it remains a repeatedly activated site of learning, political engagement and cultural nourishment. Murals as ‘alternative’ explores how Gramsci’s counter-hegemonic vision could take literal, visual form on the streets of NI. Not only is this a vehement rejection of the hegemonic masculinities of part one, but it proposes new and dynamic roles for men and calls for fluidity and ambiguity to be adopted in transitional mindsets. Lastly the author discusses how murals could serve populations of host communities as a free and open people’s media. This democratic platform is a space for bold, experimental performances and where participatory strategies bring together diverse groups in active citizenry resulting in a swelling of non-militarised pride.

The second section captures the author’s approach to the fieldwork, a key aspect to the applied historical nature of the study and its desire to connect with practical implications. Fieldwork consisted of interviews, site visits, and youth workshops and the author describes them along with the rationale. A criterion of inclusion is provided as are the particulars of sample size and recruitment methods. In addition to who was approached and participated, the limitations of research are also outlined, for example whose voices are missing from the study and what impact did COVID restrictions have on the original research design. The author refers to some further important studies that influenced the chosen methodology. The section concludes with a consideration of ethics and how sensitive obstacles were tackled through safeguarding measures, secure data storage and careful consultation with the supervisory team.

## 2.1 Theoretical framework

### 2.1.1 Weaponisation

Throughout this thesis a variety of theories will be employed when supplying a suitable analysis, indeed the interdisciplinary literature testifies to the multi-layered intricacies that lie at the heart of the problem and so must therefore be part of any solution. Of course, these will be referenced more fully as we encounter the need to apply a certain theory, however this section synthesizes the main ideas relied upon into a coherent framework. We begin by considering the ideas that act like rigid reinforcements, supporting and strengthening the notion of weaponisation. We should remind ourselves that by this term the author posits that many loyalist murals are a form of Galtung's cultural violence. Simply put this includes any aspect of culture that can be used to legitimize violence in its direct or structural form. This was explained in chapter one's main conclusions, but the two sides of a possible cultural attack are either a demotion of an outgroup's esteem thereby dehumanizing and othering a people indelibly marked as enemy. Alternately one's ingroup (loyalism in this case) can be elevated through publicly contested art to reach levels of ethnonational supremacy with the result being very similar: a severely asymmetric relationship. A suitable theoretical background is that of social identity, pioneered by Professor Henri Tajfel. Groups striving to maintain or enhance their self-esteem will often do so via means of favourable divergence from a neighbouring group.<sup>1</sup> The result is a sense of superiority and follows an established trend, consequently the impulse to evaluate one's group positively is very firmly rooted. All three major forms of violence are present in part one of the thesis, whether that is the

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<sup>1</sup> Evidence assembled from numerous studies by social psychologist Ed Cairns indicates that data from Northern Ireland fits this theory. Ed Cairns, 'Intergroup Conflict in Northern Ireland' in Henri Tajfel (ed.), *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) and *Caught in the Crossfire: Children and the Northern Ireland Conflict* (Belfast: Appletree, 1987), pp. 95-117.

structural violence in chapter three which contextualises the institutional discrimination Catholics faced during the half century of unionist majority rule. Direct violence, the most explicit form that comes to most minds, is most present during chapter four's recounting of the Troubles. Running parallel to all these notable and notorious incidents however is a glorification of conflict and the men who define their lives by it. Therefore, cultural violence accompanies the other strands as they intertwine across part one. A refined theorizing of violence is required for us to appreciate how, as a marginally evolved continuum, it spills over into the 'post-conflict' age of chapter five.

That many loyalist murals depict unequivocally militarised subject matter is a rather uncomplicated verdict at which to arrive. Yet when wondering how this visual environment might impact on young loyalist men, the author invokes the advertising analogy. This hypothesis, inspired by the psychology of marketing, suggests a relationship of influence between images and ideas. It is proposed that like advertisements, murals, when most successful can outmanoeuvre rational thinking and implant themselves in subconscious desire.<sup>2</sup> The analogy raises some fascinating possibilities regarding the long-term psychological reverberation that murals may stir but it also raises obstacles for research. The causal link between the weaponisation and murals and that of masculinities is far from direct but one of surreptitious encroachment into young minds. As this is not a singular phenomenon but a slow behavioural trajectory, it makes capturing and verifying the analogy very difficult. Yet even without large-scale, tangible evidence it is certainly not implausible that the decades-long 'broadcast' of some of these militarised advertisements contributed in some way at least to a negatively altered state of being. These murals do not sell commodities rather they trade in tropes of the hegemonic heroic mould. They also consistently manipulate

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<sup>2</sup> Lisle, 'Local Symbols, Global Networks' p. 28

highly gendered emotions to evoke gendered expectations that weigh heavily on young shoulders. All of this leads us to a set of three closely related scholarly outputs on behaviour which the author groups together as the dramaturgical dimension. This dimension consists of Judith Butler's seminal theory on gender performativity which postulates that gender is not something we have inherently from birth rather we acquire it through a series of performative acts.<sup>3</sup> Often these acts are attempts to assimilate into society such as how we walk, talk and dress. So, our performance might be calibrated to appease social expectation rather than being a genuine expression of our personality. Gender as something we do rather than something we always have contradicts earlier essentialist views on the nature of a universal masculinity as well as overturning a biological reductionism which left little room for emotional growth, sustained introspection and gradual development. Butler's performativity correlates with the work of the influential sociologist Erving Goffman. The use of theatrical imagery to understand human interaction began with 'Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life' (1956) which outlined how we attempt to control or guide the impression that others might make of us by changing our setting, appearance, and manner.<sup>4</sup> Goffman argued that individuals present this managed impression of the self on our metaphorical front stage whilst a more discreet preparation of characters goes on behind the curtain in the backstage of our mind. With his popular 'frame analysis' understanding people's situations by looking at images, stereotypes, metaphors, actors, and messages, it seems highly appropriate method for loyalism and the murals it produces. What messages and meanings are front-staged, as well as those conspicuously cut from this publicly 'performed' script, can reveal the factors as to how and why some are chosen are others are not. For this thesis, the mural is the 'frame' and stage on which certain loyalist impressions are managed and where specific gender roles are

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<sup>3</sup> Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 2007), p. 192.

<sup>4</sup> Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, (London: Penguin Books, 1959), p. 210.

performed. The final aspect of the dramaturgical dimension corresponds perfectly with Butler and Goffman. This thesis asserts that some loyalist murals and men wear particular ‘masks of masculinity’ as detailed by Lewis Howe. It is argued that some men’s overconfident façade of invincibility and aggression is merely another managed impression projected to inspire terror whilst obscuring deeper insecurities.<sup>5</sup> Anxieties commonly lurk backstage when men perceive themselves to be lacking in either financial status or sexual prowess, hence the material and sexual masks are worn to exhibit a compensatory appearance of wealth and competitive heterosexuality. Lastly the ‘stoic’ and ‘joker’ masks help men play the character who does not indulge in the unmanly sharing of emotions. Rather he is able to suppress unwanted feelings through enduring the pain or tragically laughing it off.

If NI is landscaped by this veritable street theatre, then historical adaptations of the siege mentality are the particular drama that is being played out repeatedly throughout the ages. It can be expounded as a worldview buttressed by binaries such as: insider/outsider, good/evil, right/wrong, and defender/attacker. These enable an essentialist thinking, a two-dimensional understanding populated by caricature heroes and villains doing battle across a crudely simplified terrain of time and space. This mentality forces us to consider ourselves, others, and the world in terms of an either-or false dilemma or ultimatum. One foundational consequence of the siege mentality is that history, loyalism and masculinity are much easier to weaponise when they undergo extensive reductionism. The glaring omissions in important concepts make them ammunition in the radicalising of young, suggestible faculties. With regards to categorising specific weaponised iterations, the author uses a typology of archetypes. These are the troupe of actors that are cast in the theatre of conflict. This study

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<sup>5</sup> Lewis Howes, *The Mask of Masculinity: How Men can Embrace Vulnerability, Create Strong Relationships and Live Their Fullest Lives* (Carlsbad: Hay House, 2017), p. 8.

identifies eight archetypes over the three periods of mural production, arranged into the three chapters of part one. These are sub-divided into major and minor, referring to how frequently they are cited in the landscape. To some extent this can be useful as a gauge of an archetype's relative importance. We must always remember though that the authority behind mural-making lies not with the people but with a select few who are more likely to subscribe to the siege mentality. Therefore, a proviso should be put in place against broad sweeping assumptions that murals speak on behalf of entire loyalist communities. The minor archetypes are as follows: mythological, the heroism of Cú Chulainn and giantism of Fionn mac Cumhaill; genocidal, a misremembering of the 1641 rebellion and Cromwellian reconquest; institutional, the codified behaviour of the B- Specials and Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR); and phantasmagorical, the ghoulish dramatis personae of Eddie the Trooper and the Grim Reaper. These are moderately atypical compared to the major archetypes: 'Besieged', the Williamite war of the late 17<sup>th</sup> century; 'Partitioned', aspects of the Home Rule crisis (1912-1914); 'Entrenched', the soldiery of the First World War; and 'Troubled', contemporary paramilitaries. The carefully chosen appellations of the major archetypes do not merely describe the historical context that they reference but also accentuate aspects of weaponised masculinities. These relate back to a psychologically extended version of the siege mentality with there being an internal struggle both between competing masculinities and within the conflicted self. Gender theory cited in this thesis underlines a common 'solution' to the detection of unwanted or 'lesser' forms of masculinity within the self. What amounts to an emotional compartmentalising could aptly be summarised as a metaphorical partition dividing the psyche into positive binary masculinities (good, true, strong, and right) and negative binaries (evil, false, weak and wrong). Once a partition is established early on it may be reinforced through repetitive, ritualised socialisation. This can lead to certain views, including those around what masculinity is, to become distinctly entrenched. From this

position, any other views are easier to dismiss and deflect away thus a stubborn mindset can dig in deep. Finally, all this resistance to and denial of any emotions and experiences that lie outside of the besieged partition of weaponised masculinity can result in a thoroughly troubled individual.

### 2.1.2 Disarming

A hugely significant pivot is reached when we conclude part one and it is the cognizance that if the symbolic landscape can contribute to negatively influencing boys and young men then it can operate with the opposing intention. By the start of part two we reach the breakthrough that there is nothing innately wrong with the medium of murals per se, in fact an abundance of international examples attests to their social and political worth. Therefore the delivery system, the mural as messenger is not to blame, it is with the specific messages that part one finds fault. This pivot point allows us to make the theoretical conversion to disarming. The framework for disarming is radical alternative media which borrows from a social movement leveraging of the arts. Informed by the work of communication scholars like John Downing, James C. Scott and Chris Atton, RAM describes what disarming murals might look like, why they should be assembled in the manner argued for and how they could perform a valuable service to the host community. There are three ideas behind the description of murals as radical: the declarative visual voice, verbing the mural, and repeated activation. The first contrasts radical with the tepid interventions of the past, instead of visually whispering the cause of peace radical murals would declare it with gusto. They need to be non-violent versions of the spectacular war imagery of part one. It seems self-evident that if the mission of disarming masculinities is to be accomplished then one strategy is that the views of former men of conflict should be take into consideration. Tellingly the first theme to transpire from

discussions with former combatants and prisoners was ‘demythologising the Troubles’.<sup>6</sup> This involved challenging the glorification of the Troubles and the protraction of cultural violence after the peace process. The group agreed that the legacy of conflict sustained this violence which then facilitated the paramilitary recruitment, obstructed political accommodation and generally aggravated social transformation. Through their use of myths, certain actors have done their utmost to depoliticise their ideological messages, emptying them of their artificiality so their history is portrayed as natural, pure, and honest.<sup>7</sup> Part of the author’s methodology would act accordingly in putting some of this fabrication back, to show that these myths are anything but natural or pure but are, in fact, man-made and chaotic.

‘Verbing’ transforms the mural from stand-alone noun to a series of actions each capable of engendering meaningful social interaction, rare moments of connectivity in a divided society and opportunities for critical dialogue on topics like masculinity. By reframing the mural in terms of its process and not merely a product, disarming underscores the need for public agency and active participation. If this can be ensured through a policy of transparent consultation and sincere collaboration, then the local buy-in required for a mural’s survival can be achieved. Michael Mosher’s ‘tennis game’ supplies us with an appropriate model for verbing procedures. Like the game itself, decision-making is returned back and forth between artist(s) and the creative audience of the community.<sup>8</sup> Over time the steps in production are completed whilst new or improved social relationships and communication skills are simultaneously developed. The objective of this ‘game’ is not only a transformed surface but a transformation occurring within the emotional depth of the people themselves. ‘Repeated

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<sup>6</sup> The fifteen participants had all been former members of various loyalist paramilitary groups: one in the UDA, ten in the UVF and four in the RHC. A majority (12) had served time for politically motivated violence. Ferguson, McDaid and McAuley, ‘Social Movements, Structural Violence’, p. 22.

<sup>7</sup> Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* A. Lavers, Trans., (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972), pp. 143-144.

<sup>8</sup> Michael R. Mosher, ‘The Community Mural and Democratic Art Processes’ *Review of Radical Political Economics* Volume 36, No. 4 (2004), p. 530.

activation' is the last of the 3 Rs of disarming after the more pragmatic removal of weaponised imagery and its replacement with disarming content. The mural becomes an active site whenever collective consciousness gravitates toward it and it ceases to passively blend into the civic background. The author puts forward three variants of activation: an educational variant where murals are locations of learning, a political variant when they serve as a backdrop to an energised public sphere of either protest or celebration, and a cultural variant which unites with other creative media to capture the community's attention and stretch its imagination. If these engagements between civil society are to be more than tokenistic, one-off empty gestures then it is paramount that the activation of murals be repeated. It is through semi-ritualised repetition that any cultural practice becomes a tradition and makes it more likely that an idea around adaptive and non-violent masculinity is remembered and starts to percolate through the community's mentality.

The main theory that delineates disarming murals as 'alternative' is their ability to visualise Antonio Gramsci's counter-hegemony. It is abundantly clear to us from part one what a weaponised hegemony of loyalism is and, therefore, the oppositional forces and identities used to critique and dismantle it are easy to locate. As well as discrete demographics such as more women, men of colour and queer men (all of which seek to undo the flagrant representational imbalance), the C-HV also advances an ideological alternative to weaponisation. We can perceive it as the only helpful binary that lifts the siege mentality. The rigidity of part one would give way to flexibility and the supposed solidity of weaponised icons would metaphorically melt into a freeing fluidity. Much of the singularity and solidity of part one was intended to stabilise loyalism's place in a world whose sands were rapidly shifting. In that sense, it allowed certain groups in the community to indulge a fantasy of continuity and avoid the reality of change. Fluidity is essential if adaptive

resistance to hegemonic masculinity is to be achieved. In the C-HV change is not a stimulus for consternation but is accepted not only as inevitable but desirable to imperative progress. The absolute singularities which governed the behaviours, ideas, and images of both loyalism and masculinity in such a draconian manner would be replaced with hybridity and plurality. This perspective is more attainable when we imagine many of the disarming theories taking place within the 'thirdspace' that lies between dogmatic and diametric poles. Thirdspace drives a wedge between the binaries and breaks new ground. It is in this space where alternative knowledge and experience can coalesce, such as forgotten episodes of ecumenism which Guy Beiner believes are amongst historical tools that undo the perception of irreconcilable antagonisms.<sup>9</sup> Attributed to the postcolonial theorist Homi Bhabha, thirdspace is extremely useful for us when contextualising disarming in a wider discourse of dissent. It marks a space where the oppressed may plot their liberation, where the emancipatory potential of the symbolic landscape takes shape. This resistance to all forms of oppression should be embodied in the particularity of the context. Both the verbing of the mural and its repeated activation would allow for this to happen and would actualise a critical urban environment put forward by the post-modern, political geographer Edward Soja.<sup>10</sup> Unlike the strict demarcation of micro-territories in NI or those of the partitioned mind, the boundaries of thirdspace are a deliberately fuzzy frontier. Here ambiguity would not induce anxiety but would be actively embraced for the unrestrained prospects it affords. Specifically, the roles that muralised men play: defender, warrior, fighter, and protector could be ambiguously redefined in less violent, more helpful ways. As could the values and virtues they uphold: courage, strength, honour, resilience, duty, and service become non-militarised and more morally valid. It is clear we should be wary of grandiose assumptions around the power of

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<sup>9</sup> Beiner, *Between Trauma and Triumphalism* p. 376.

<sup>10</sup> Edward W. Soja, 'Thirdspace: Toward a New Consciousness of Space and Spatiality' in Ika, Karin Ika and Gerhard Wagner (eds.), *Communicating in the Third Space*, (New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 50.

art, but a clear example of redefining emerges in the difference between ‘security’ and ‘safety’: while the former is ensured by widespread confidence in a society’s stability, the latter is a more localised, even personalised notion of protection.<sup>11</sup> On occasions when the peace agreement did not seem capable of guaranteeing safety, a meta-conflict ensued with public pressure on civilianised ex-combatants to (re)arm and assume control. In negotiating their way around this dilemma of local safety and national security being almost mutually exclusive, the UDA redefined the object of protection as the peace process itself (as have Sinn Féin). Another paramount reframing speaks to the heart of conflict—the terms of victory. In the case study of the Massereene Barracks shooting of 2009, the UDA leadership embarked on an outreach programme to remind loyalist communities of the destructiveness of tit-for-tat retaliation.<sup>12</sup> This allowed the UDA to continue exerting a regulatory presence but, in asserting a moral victory, also stood firm against violence. A final comment on murals as alternative reflects the collective impression, they might make on the loyalist population. When we accumulate all these individual disarming images, they represent a brave inversion of the status quo. Not only would they depict a politics done differently but they would grant a stage for different masculinities to be performed. The author references David Kunzle’s analysis of 16<sup>th</sup> century European ‘world upside-down’ prints as a similar function.<sup>13</sup> Importantly this upside-down utopia that the author proposes is not an abstract one but intent on being a nation-wide gallery of clear and aspirational images. By serving as a daily reminder of the kind of society local populations want to get to, it also reminds viewers of where society currently is and encourages them to close the gap between here and there.

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<sup>11</sup> Zygmunt Bauman (2006) makes this distinction cited in Audra Mitchell and Sara Templer, ‘Paramilitaries, Peace Processes and the Dilemma of Protection: The Ulster Defence Association’s Role in ‘Keeping a Lid on Loyalism’’ *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* Vol. 15, Issue 3 (2013), p. 416.

<sup>12</sup> Members in a group interview claimed that ‘in the old days, this [the Massereene and Constable Carroll murders] would have opened the floodgates’ in *Ibid* p. 425.

<sup>13</sup> David Kunzle, ‘Bruegel’s Proverb Painting and the World Upside Down’ *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 59, No. 2 (1977), p. 199.

Ultimately an alternative landscape would showcase a concrete utopia, one as tactile as the walls on which it is painted. This thesis tempers utopian visions with the realism that disarming, like any reconciliatory phenomenon, is often not straightforward, linear and certainly not inevitable. At various moments we are reminded that, despite initial progress, post-conflict societies can relapse into acute periods of weaponisation. This is exemplified by Fidelma Ashe's valid concerns of Community Based Restorative Justice (CBRJ). The gist of her assessment is that men's histories of violence can be viewed as assets: creative agency, critical thinking, radical pedagogy, negotiating and debating all honed during the prison experience.<sup>14</sup> However, mainstream analysis—continuing its traditional ethno-nationalist framework—has erased the gendered dimension, namely women's significant role in CBRJ. This skewed narrative unintentionally re-privilege's men as natural leaders and even contributes to a post-agreement neo-patriarchy.<sup>15</sup> Even when a strong common ideology enables porosity between gendered coded realms—detected by Ortega in several South American circumstances—it is not without its flaws. Firstly, the cohesion fomented took place within the confines of national liberation armies—hardly an appropriate model for disarmament. Secondly, once transitions out of armed conflict were underway, the exceptional transgression faded. Not only this but normative patriarchal mechanisms (discrimination, stigmatization and exclusion) were promptly revived.<sup>16</sup>

The final concept of RAM, the transformative paradigm that underpins disarming, is that murals could operate as media for loyalist communities. Murals as media does not only refer to a plural form of creative medium (as witnessed in cultural activation), but as a

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<sup>14</sup> Fidelma Ashe, 'From Paramilitaries to Peacemakers: The Gender Dynamics of Community-Based Restorative Justice in Northern Ireland', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, Vol. 11, Issue 2 (2009), p.308.

<sup>15</sup> Fidelma Ashe, 'Gendering Demilitarisation and Justice in Northern Ireland' *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, vol. 17, Issue 4 (November 2015), p. 670.

<sup>16</sup> Luisa Maria Dietrich Ortega, 'Looking Beyond Violent Militarized Masculinities', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol. 14, Issue 4 (2012), p. 504.

method of mass communication. The first advantage to this argument is that loyalists can reclaim some agency in telling their story, no longer subject to the occasionally problematic coverage of mainstream media. At times a disconnected misunderstanding has resulted in the propagating of loyalism as entirely reactionary and regressive. Should conditions materialise that would reduce the presence and power of paramilitaries then their tight grip on murals would subsequently be relinquished. This would allow loyalists to seize the means of cultural production for themselves and begin to replace the monolithic renderings of loyalism and masculinity with more honest, corrective multiplicity. Murals as a people's art would speak with multiple voices rather than the loud, brash paramilitary monologue. The related concept of 'dialogical self' expounds that, unlike essentialist versions, it assumes that the self is under ongoing psychosocial construction. This is encapsulated by a type of inner speech, with the caveat that our dialogues may at times be asymmetrical or even come into conflict with one another.<sup>17</sup> This democratic platform wilfully contradicts the long-held tyranny of the minority, it would give space to the many and not the gatekeeping few. The choice inherent to democracy is key to disarming the binaries of part one. No longer would loyalist men feel condemned and commanded to choose between either/or in the false dilemma. Rather a both/also possibility of thirdspace permits them to choose freely from available options of identity and expression. We see throughout part two how compensation may occur for the losses in value from part one. The current deficits in the landscape are the result of a subtractive affair, a conscious editing out of facets. Despite connotations of removal, disarming therefore actually comprises an additive quality in giving back much-needed nuance. It assists in the recognition of both knowledge gaps and literal gaps in spaces and surfaces of the landscape. Once these have been located, it furthermore encourages active citizens to

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<sup>17</sup> See also Hermans & Dimaggio (2007) cited in Jack S. Kahn, Jessica R. Holmes & Benjamin L. Brett 'Dialogical Masculinities', p. 34.

participate in filling them with the most appropriate content. Thus, the dangerously simplified renditions of loyalist identity, historical narratives and admittable masculinities would be disarmed by compelling complexity. The first two Rs of disarming, removal and replacement, should not spark panic among men but hopefully aid in the amendment of unacceptable masculinities. It is suggested that some of the raw anger and energy might well be kept as long as it is redirected toward discrimination and prejudice as opposed to a dehumanized 'other'. Through regular gender-sensitive educational activation, murals could help discipline protest masculinity. The seminal scholar R.W. Connell defines protest masculinity as 'making a claim to power where there are no real resources for power.'<sup>18</sup> Walker, however, feels this interpretation is incomplete and introduces a corrective distinction between an anomic and disciplined varieties. The former is associated with unguided and even destructive behaviour. As a response to powerlessness, it is also marked by a bipolarity of overt narcissism and chronic anxiety and depression.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, the latter is the product of intensive social control, an interdependence with stabilising qualities. The participatory co-production from the verbed mural and its extended relevance through repeated activation would likely give loyalist communities greater sense of civic pride and ownership in their own C-HV. Chapters six and eight provide us with the raw materials of disarming inspiration, externally and internally sourced respectively. The international case studies in chapter six also demonstrate various overlapping templates for best practice when radically connecting an audience to its art. Despite most of these originating in the 'Global South', chapter eight pulls our focus back to loyalism in a search for similar liberating

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<sup>18</sup> Cited in Gregory Wayne Walker, 'Disciplining Protest Masculinity', *Men & Masculinities*, Vol. 9, Issue 1 (2006), p.7.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid p. 8.

narratives. The critical observations from both combine in chapter seven which sets out the potential of RAM as a foundation for future planning and real action.

## **2.2 Description of fieldwork**

### **2.2.1 Strands of fieldwork**

The design of this project involved a mixed approach of more traditional methods of historical research such as ingesting literature, archival work and source materials.

Complimenting this theoretical side were more practical aspects to applied public history.

Fieldwork sought to close the gap in a majority of mural research which is rather distanced from the real-world implications. This fieldwork took place over three week-long trips to NI from September to November 2021. Each trip comprised of three strands of fieldwork: interviews, site visits, and youth workshops. The initial aim of the interviews was to meet with key actors involved in the ‘civilianising’ of loyalist paramilitaries. As the recruitment process developed however this grew to encompass individuals working in related fields of restorative justice, community development, social transformation, economic regeneration and localised peacebuilding. Week one, in September, featured eight interviews beginning with Darren Richardson, a primary contact for the logistics of the first week, and community development officer with the Sperrin Cultural Awareness Association. Based in Magherafelt, this organisation works in outreach predominantly in Protestant areas with the aim of becoming more inclusive of other communities. Adrian Bird is the director of the Resurgam Trust in Lisburn. Resurgam’s holistic community development entails economic innovation through managing of social enterprises as well as health and wellbeing. The Trust also has a youth provision including a focus on education and employment and early intervention.

William Mitchell is the project director of ‘Action for Community Transformation’ on the Shankill. ACT is a community-based training and capacity building organisation specifically targeting those categorised as former-combatants. In Derry the author interviewed Brian Dougherty, James Kee and Derek Moore, representatives of the North West Cultural Partnership and the Londonderry Bands Forum. These organisations explore bold, fresh community development models through the prism of previously demonised forms of cultural expression. The Bands Forum engages in outreach and educational work throughout the Derry City and Strabane District Council area and are currently core-funded by the Community Relations Council. Kenny Blair helps working class loyalists in Ballymoney, including ex-combatants, ex-prisoners and young people to improve their lives and in turn their community through the Ulidia Training project. Ulidia deliver community transformation through sensitive interventions with those who may not have traditionally participated in peacebuilding or reconciliation activities. In addition to this, Kenny was a prolific muralist who, along with Stephen Hutchinson, represented a vital inclusion of artistic perspectives rarely recorded. A further four interviews were conducted during the second week of fieldwork. The two joint interviews started with Tom Winstone and Peter Wray both at Northern Ireland Alternatives, Tom being the co-director and Peter site manager of the Bangor branch. Alternatives are a government accredited restorative justice programme promoting non-violent community responses to the issues of low-level crime and anti-social behaviour with branches all over Northern Ireland. A second joint interview took place in east Belfast and captured the insights of Colin Halliday and Sam White of Resolve NI. Like various participants, both men had a violent past involved with paramilitary loyalism and had served time. Another similarity is their long-standing commitment to embedded restorative practices and a desire to help repair harm and improve community cohesion. The final week saw two interviews, Eileen Weir of the Shankill Women’s Centre and participant ‘CM’. This

week also included site visits to Larne, Coleraine, Carrickfergus and Ballymena. Additional site visits from the previous two weeks covered: Monkstown, Bangor, Portadown, Magharafelt, Randalstown, Lisburn, Derry, Antrim, and east and west Belfast. The purpose of these visits was to map any changes in the physical condition of murals and document any new entries. Overall, they were designed to more broadly distribute the examination of the symbolic landscape across Northern Ireland.

Interviewees were recruited in several ways, including word of mouth from experienced researchers, including my primary supervisor. Often initial contact was made via email, social media or calling an organisation and requesting a meeting. From this preliminary, informal meeting the parameters and intentions of research were clearly stated. Another beneficial byproduct was a certain snowball sampling when confident and positive responses led to further participants being brought into contribute. The content and structure of the interviews revolved around questions relating to the key themes of the research: gender, conflict and culture and how all three interact on the surfaces of murals. Questions shifted back in time to encourage comparative analysis on how imagery has or has not transitioned along with the changing circumstances. Interviews were semi-structured allowing for a freedom and flexibility of response and exchange of ideas. They generally, however, followed a similar trajectory of the thesis itself, discussing the possible negative impact of weaponised archetypes before then shifting toward a more speculative and aspirational portion of questions where participants were asked to imagine the future landscape they wished to see. Data collection was audio recorded with additional field notes, later transcribed carefully and all proper procedures followed. All participants were asked to give their informed consent and permission for recordings to go ahead. The analysis of data had a definite qualitative emphasis given the remit of the project, consisting of thematic text analysis identifying core patterns in responses to questions. The technique of photo-elicitation

was utilised to prompt groups and individuals in relating their responses to specific features of particular murals, this also allowed for previous shifts in the landscape to be compared and contrasted, ultimately leading to a richer and fuller analysis of murals as gendered signifiers. As with any research directly concerned with physical sites of culture, the incorporation of visual methodologies is crucial. Approaching the landscape as a ‘text’ to be read and interpreted calls for a systematic mapping, photographing and decoding the appropriately selected murals in study areas.<sup>20</sup> This study made use of comprehensive visual archives such as University of Ulster’s ‘CAIN’ and the Crowley collection at Claremont Colleges, California. Relying on complimentary resources can help minimise the bias of a singular recording and provides a more ‘stereoscopic rendering’.<sup>21</sup> In the evolving political conditions of NI, the emergence of new masculine configurations expose a malleable capacity. A comparative use of archives can ascertain whether shifts toward a demilitarised masculinity during transformative periods are tangibly acknowledged. Given the restricted timeframe in which this research was designed and implemented, compounded by the lockdowns of the COVID-19 pandemic, longitudinal gender projects can yield more grounded discernment. Ken Harland’s adolescence study is indispensable to the study of Northern Irish masculinity. Over a five-year span expected perceptions of masculinity were initially high (e.g., a good fighter, competitive, heterosexual) but these views became progressively complex with one consistent identity aspect: a man should display ethical responsibility and provide for his family.<sup>22</sup> This maturing process can be all too easily overlooked. Harland also documents an encouraging series of initiatives emphasising factors which have clear implications for disarming masculinity. In 1996 YouthAction received EU Peace and Reconciliation funding for their ‘Work with Young Men Unit’ in 2000 addressing mental and sexual health. The

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<sup>20</sup> Such a detailed, visually based methodology is used in McDowell, ‘Commemorating dead ‘men’...’ p. 336.

<sup>21</sup> Goalwin, ‘The Art of War’, p. 194.

<sup>22</sup> Ashe & Harland, ‘Troubling Masculinities’ p. 757.

‘Centre for Young Men’s Studies’, launched in Autumn 2004 by Joseph Rowntree charity and residing within INCORE (International Conflict Research Institute) at Ulster University was another major development. While the cross-departmental working group ‘*Gender Equality Strategy for Northern Ireland*’ (2006-2016) was further positive, it lacked the creative methods to engage young men which require courage and vision in research.<sup>23</sup> Lastly, Health Promotion Agency (2005) promoted positive emotional wellbeing in males aged 11-16 with themes covering the journey from boy to man, male risk-taking and reaching out for help. Notably the feedback from young men dictated decisions by the project’s steering group.

The final form of research activities were youth workshops initially designed with a walk-and-talk style intervention to discuss murals in situ with the young people of a host community. This sought to give prior sessions, located internally, a greater sense of tangible significance and hopefully develop an open and trusting rapport with participants. However, due to COVID-19 restrictions, the three-session workshop design was scaled back to a single interaction which still yielded very interesting results. The two workshops carried out involved a total of thirty participants, whilst this sample size is rather small the direct voice of young people on the symbolic landscape in which they inhabit is a missing element in historiography. The author drew support in attracting participants to the project by utilising strong community links and interpersonal connections, some of which are already established. Organisations with grassroots research experience, carrying out youth-centred workshops often involving creative elements were invaluable in this endeavour. Jonny Ashe of Youth Action facilitated the Monkstown workshop whilst a similar debt of gratitude is

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<sup>23</sup> Ken Harland, *Acting Tough: Young Men, Masculinity and the Development of Practice in Northern Ireland* Nowhere Man Press (2009) pp. 3-6.

owed to Paddy Maguire of the YMCA for setting up the Tullyally workshop in Derry. The age demographic ranged from 16-24 with an emphasis toward male participants given the nature of my research. Workshops lasted approximately ninety minutes, comprising two forty-five-minute halves with a reasonable half-time break. They began with a thematic warm up with prompts to consider what it means to be a man and what thought and behaviour was not considered to be manly, group suggestions were visibly mind-mapped. The author went on to explain key components of part one such as why 'weaponised' was used and not simply 'conflict masculinities', this allowed us to discuss a wider continuum of violence stretching across time and mark the difference between military and a militarised society.

Weaponisation was explained in terms of exclusion: territorial, political, historical perspectives, and gender identity. This led to an introduction of relevant concepts of gender theory, how hegemonic, complicit, marginalised, and subordinate masculinities are often conceived as a hierarchy. Many of the participants grasped the notion of the masks of masculinity and the links between the theatrical (gender as performance), emotional masks and the literal masks (donned by paramilitaries either in real life or depicted in murals). After this theoretical background was provided, the workshop moved to considering specific examples of weaponised archetypes. These visual prompts guided our discussion and reactions to them were carefully noted. Common, open-ended questions that accompanied each archetype included: 'how does this make you feel?', 'what do you like about it?' and 'what do you think it's trying to communicate and how is it doing so?' The author elicited responses from which we could interrogate the glorification of conflict, not only romanticised versions of the Troubles but also broaching the delicate subject of whether or not the Somme was remembered as a sacrifice or slaughter and what implications lie behind such use of memory. As we worked our way through the archetypes displayed during the presentation, the author drew participants' attention to the advertising/propaganda value of emotionally

charged narratives and the gendered expectations that accompany them. Whilst this necessarily brought them in as potential targets for this kind of manipulation, the workshop ended with us thinking about how the landscape might change both in terms of depiction and wider social function. Some specifics of the counter-hegemonic vision were alluded to, but generally the workshop attempted to leave participants feeling optimistic that change is possible and that neither loyalism nor masculinity exist either as a monolith nor in a vacuum. The youth focus in this thesis is explained by the value of early education—by this the author refers to non-formal lessons, some of which may be taught via murals—on impressionable minds. Gray and Neil mention that the passing down of stories and memories equates to passing on fear, suspicion and even hatred of ‘the other’. In a reversal of the contact hypothesis, such a pattern can implant unquestioned ways of life. Yet they also stress that these attitudes need not pertain over time and young people can resist them.<sup>24</sup> Integral to this resistance is consciousness-raising whether in linking an individual’s experience to wider societal inequalities or thinking beyond the tribal politics played out daily on television screens. That other ‘screen’, however, the painted wall, may play its part too, and the mural is a ‘channel’ that cannot be so easily changed or even ‘switched off’. The rationale for this awareness in loyalism is enhanced by studies that have chronicled a working-class history of confusion around the issues for which they stand, setting aside the one certainty of refusing a united Ireland or maintaining the Union.<sup>25</sup> In a situation whose future at times seems rather bleak in prospect, the benefits in young people working intergenerationally to pass on stories to celebrate, commemorate and enjoy should not be dismissed.

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<sup>24</sup> Gray and Neil, ‘Creating a Shared Society in Northern Ireland’, p. 475.

<sup>25</sup> Among other traits recorded, Nelson mentions a lack of working-class confidence in their effectiveness, a factor to which she attributes some of the appeal of Paisley’s dogmatic articulations Sarah Nelson, *Ulster’s Uncertain Defenders: Protestants Political, Paramilitary and Community Groups and the Northern Ireland Conflict*, (Belfast: Appletree Press, 1984), p. 44.

### 2.2.2 Limitations of research

As well as detailing who took part in the fieldwork it is important to account for those missing voices in this study. Often these are not entirely negative as limitations can serve as lessons throughout the research journey. For example, whilst the site visits were designed to geographically diversify the visual analysis, they largely confirmed that the symbolic landscape is more prevalent in the country's two largest cities of Belfast and Derry. However, regarding the aspirational nature of part two, the absence of murals does not preclude our speculation of how near-future developments might expand new visual clusters across a range of towns and villages. Indeed, site visits revealed an abundance of potential sites for such an expansion of cultural disarmament. Although the interviews amassed a significant assortment of loyalist perspectives some key voices were missing. Billy Hutchinson, the leader of the Progressive Unionist Party, was not an interviewee due to other commitments however his memoir written with the eminent Dr. Gareth Mulvenna was published in the early stages of the thesis and provided a very useful source. Certain organisations proved unresponsive despite several attempts to reach them such as the Andy Tyrie Interpretive Centre, the Ulster Political Research Group, the Orange Order, and the Ex-Prisoners Interpretive Centre. Some relationships were difficult to sustain and coordinate a formal interview. Such was the case with Aaron Stewart, an activist with the advocacy group 'Let's Talk Loyalism' established during the project. Despite this, Aaron very kindly offered logistical support during fieldwork such as transportation and guided tour of the west Belfast site visit which gave us the opportunity to informally discuss the themes of the project. Mitigating the necessary inconvenience of COVID restrictions, several interviews were conducted remotely via Teams or Skype. These included: Dee Stitt, prior experience with Charter NI's east Belfast

operations and a rather tangled relationship with the UDA; Kenny Donaldson, director of services at South East Fermanagh Foundation a victim/survivors organisation; Gareth Crozier of the Ulster-Scots 'Schomberg Society; Rev. Gary Mason, a methodist minister heavily involved in peacebuilding not just based in the East Belfast Mission at the Skainos Centre but also internationally in the southern United States and Palestine and Israel; and Helen Crickard, event coordinator for 'Reclaim the Agenda' a coalition of feminist, youth, LGBTQ+ and community organisations. It must be noted that whilst the author is grateful to those interviewed, they are all individuals who were mostly convinced of the landscape's need to change. As enriching as it was to the research to meet with loyalists who had gone through a personal and political transition, it would have been germane to meet with those unconvinced of disarming reform. Ultimately it is those weaponised mindsets that the research seeks to persuade yet aside from practically earning the required trust and contacts, there would have been understandable ethical concerns in meeting those still active in loyalist paramilitaries.

The input of muralists originally had a bigger role in the research design however this proved to be problematic. Simple scheduling difficulties account for some of these individuals like Mark Ervine, although his collaborative work is noted in part two, Karl Porter of UV Arts though informal meetings took place, and Darren Ferguson of 'Beyond Skin', an organisation primarily using music to break down barriers of racism. In addition to this and similar pressures like the precarity of arts funding, experienced by the queer arts centre 'the 343' in east Belfast which faced closure, a reticence by some may illuminate a possible fear or at least discomfort in speaking out about weaponised murals, of going against the grain. The mural organisation 'BlazeFX', established by well-known artists Ken Maze and Glen Black, wished not to disclose why they declined to participate. Another major muralist, Dee Craig, whose contribution is again acknowledged in part two, was not

interviewed despite initial enthusiasm. This may have been more to do with the scheduling issue. Interviews often ended with the author requesting recommendations for who may be approached next, in the context of muralists this usually produced the same few names. Generally, the missing muralists divulged a lack of professionalised conduct as interviewees gave anecdotes of how commissioning was often very ad hoc and off-the-books. Two final voices worth mentioning were both present in the research but not to the extent that the author had hoped. For confidential reasons, Eleanor Jordan, co-ordinator of Windsor Women's Centre in the loyalist Village area of south Belfast did not wish to participate. The final week of fieldwork clashed with a series of Stormont consultations which reduced the availability of Karen Sweeney, director of the Women's Support Network. The author's intention for both was to host focus groups in safe spaces where women could express their views on the gendered state of murals thus strengthening the thesis' relational dynamics of gender performativity. Secondly, the inclusion of young people was hampered by COVID-related scheduling. Two further workshops were planned but not implemented. These would have taken place in Lincoln Courts, Derry, and Orangefield in east Belfast. The author had made self-reflective notes and improvements based on previous interactions that went into the preparation for these further workshops. In particular, a shift away from gender theory toward local disarming case studies would likely have held participants' attention more successfully. Although the disarming potential of remembering the former secondary school in Orangefield is discussed in chapter eight, its incorporation into a workshop would have engaged young loyalist men directly about their attitudes and experiences of education. As with the Monkstown and Tullyally workshops, locations were chosen (a boxing club and community centre, respectively) not only for convenience but also as familiar spaces where young people would feel more confident and comfortable in speaking up as the target audience of these weaponised, ideological 'adverts'.

### 2.2.3 Ethics

This section will end with some details of the project's ethical approval. Given the nature of this research a number of sensitive topics were addressed not least the struggles of dealing with a painful past. Although the Troubles have formally ended, much has been written on the ongoing 'culture war's/'war by other means' and this intersects with related concerns around young people (especially men), mental health and intergenerational transmission of trauma in the 'ceasefire babies'. With all these layers of sensitivity, the author conducted research with due tact and vigilance and was responsive to the needs of participants. Prior experience not just with these discussions but this specific cultural context was very useful when considering ethical implications. The author also sought recommendations on handling topics from practical written guides as well as interlocutors, including the primary supervisor Dr. Connal Parr. Alongside university guidelines, the author availed himself of participating organisations' practice of handling sensitive data, acquiring permission and approaching participants. The aggregate of this expertise was a tremendous boon when designing and implementing ethically robust fieldwork. The utmost care was taken to ensure that all research activities took place in a safe space for everyone involved and where participants could express themselves freely and not feel self-conscious about their response. To that end and in the interests of transparency, the author supplied participants with the following paperwork: a participant information sheet, informed consent, and recording agreement. The information sheet provided some basic background about the project, what taking part in the research involved and what would happen to their contribution afterwards. The author made himself available to any participant that wished to raise concerns and, as such, contact details were given out. A major point stressed in the informed consent forms was participants' right

to appear anonymous. It confirmed that participants had read and understood the information sheet, that any queries had been answered satisfactorily, participation was voluntary and a part or all of a contribution could be withdrawn at any time for whatever reason. The wording of this paperwork benefited from the careful input from both Dr. Parr and the author's second supervisor, Dr. Linsey Robb who has advanced training in oral history techniques. The recording agreement ensured that high standards and safeguards on the secure storage of data were upheld. Data was stored securely on both personal, private sources with at least three copies (on a laptop hard-drive, 2<sup>nd</sup> external hard-drive and a third back up on a USB stick). As advised by Northumbria faculty, the university's OneDrive was also used for safe and secure storage. The agreement itself requested participants sign over copyright so that their contribution can be used and recorded in strict accordance with their wishes. All material was preserved in compliance with the General Data Protection Regulations (May 2018) as a permanent public reference resource for use in research, publication, education, lectures and broadcasting, and made available on an open access basis unless participants stated otherwise.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has provided an in-depth description of the methodology used throughout this research. Firstly, it condensed the principal concepts of both weaponisation and disarming into a succinct theoretical framework. We saw how the cultural violence of part one is supported by the advertising analogy and dramaturgical dimension working in tandem. These in turn cultivate a siege mentality which manifests pictorially in a cast of recurring archetypes. Disarming is best encapsulated by the transformative paradigm of RAM. We saw how radical murals should learn from the mistakes of previous interventions in the landscape

to speak up louder for peace and change in visual declarations. We also appreciated the difference that could be made if the mural was verbed and opportunities during the process were utilised fully for meaningful contact and discussion around traditional masculinity and problems therein. Civic engagement continues long after a mural's completion under the umbrella term 'repeated activation' which advocates for persistently encouraging the public's eye and mind to return to murals to contemplate their disarming form and function. Murals as alternative means giving explicit expression to a C-HV agreed upon through majority will and enacted by collective participation. An art for the people tries to make the aspirational imagery closer to daily realities. This utopia is only possible if paramilitaries' tyranny of coercion and control is removed and replaced by a democratic media, communicating the diverse views and needs of loyalist communities.

After explicating the theoretical perspectives of the research, the next section delved into the practical considerations. The features of fieldwork were described across the three strands of interviews, site visits and youth workshops. The strengths and weaknesses were fairly assessed, and outcomes were balanced in accordance with realistic shifts in any original design especially one conducted during such uniquely disruptive context. The first two chapters of this thesis have set the scene and now we will begin a comprehensive scrutiny of the weaponised landscape and the extent to which it may be absorbed into a weaponisation of surrounding masculinities. Our analysis starts with the pre-partition origins of this contested cultural practice and how the first archetypes came to be.



## **PART ONE: THE WEAPONISATION**

### Chapter Three: Origins: From 'Misrule' to Direct Rule (1908-1972)

#### **Introduction**

The first part of this thesis is arranged chronologically according to mural production, over three distinct periods. This opening chapter spans the longest period, from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (prior to the creation of NI) to the start of Direct Rule in 1972. The scant archives and severely limited subject matter renders this task feasible. The central argument is that murals were used to instil a false sense of stability during moments of profound change; these in turn were invariably interpreted as portents of chaos. By doing so, murals essentially served the needs and supported the narratives of the dominant social group (middle-class unionists) and fledgling state. The first enjoyed long-standing privileges, stemming from the Protestant Ascendancy, secured at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. But, in a way, this asymmetric power relation was replicated following NI's very difficult birth; this transition could be considered a '2nd Protestant Ascendancy'. Intimately linked with these public expressions of control and authority are the masculine role-models they depict. The resounding character chosen was King William III who, although belonging to the first ascendancy, was used to represent the triumphalism of the second. He emerges as the primary patriarch, a founding father for the Stormont regime which governed as effectively a one-party state. Versions of history, simplified into myths that conformed to the wishes of the dominant order, also inculcate reductive thinking throughout a population. Even though those governing belonged to the first main hegemonic masculinity of this thesis—that of a middle-class unionism—they were initially embraced by working-class loyalists. Much later, and

after serious reflection, ‘new loyalists’ would refer to this period as the ‘fifty years of misrule.’<sup>1</sup> This refers to a multi-dimensional structural violence<sup>2</sup> which was supported by a cultural violence that was beginning to percolate through the civic landscape. These should not be understood in isolation, rather they operated in tandem.

This chapter starts by looking at how the first depictions of King William III established a norm, providing the template for a conservative landscape. It then considers the iconographic responses to the threat of Third Home Rule Crisis. At the heart of this lies the siege imagery of Derry and the local case study of the Jacksons of the Fountain provide a useful microcosm. Reinforcing the need for defensive depictions were the violent and seismic shifts that occurred during the partition of Ireland. After this, murals inscribed the supremacy of the new state throughout the 1930s. Further assertions of regal loyalty were painted in lavish coronation scenes in the 1940s. The chapter ends by charting a gradual decline of this earlier style, coinciding with the irreversible path of civil rights and a rapid escalation into the violence that led to the implementation of Direct Rule.

### **3.1 Establishing the norm**

Our point of departure in this investigation is buried in the drama of the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. A loyalist interpretation of the Williamite War in Ireland (1688-91) splits all those involved into binary roles of either the victor or the vanquished. This early example of zero-sum logic was

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<sup>1</sup> It was Gusty Spence who is credited with coining the phrase ‘fifty years of misrule’ to describe the Stormont regime. His significance will become more apparent in part two of the thesis.

<sup>2</sup> Both terms are derived from Galtung’s pioneering three-dimensional model for understanding violence. As the name suggests, ‘structural violence’ is that which is built into the structure and usually sanctioned through the legal and political apparatus. ‘Cultural violence’ on the other hand takes a wide range of cultural forms (in this case murals) that justify or legitimise structural and even direct/physical violence. Johan Galtung, ‘Cultural Violence lecture’, *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (1990), p. 291.

deeply entrenched along sectarian lines, which can be traced back to prior periods of colonisation and rebellion. The defeat of the Catholic King James II and his Jacobite forces laid the foundations of a Protestant Ascendancy which endured for over a hundred years. Yet even when most confident, the Protestant elite still bore the invisible scars of battle. At its emotional core was a tension between ‘sensitivities of victimhood and triumphalist proclamations of victory.’<sup>3</sup> One such proclamation of this in paint appears as the first documented unionist mural, dating to 1908, in Beersbridge Road in East Belfast. It was executed by John McLean, a shipyard worker whose subject was that first and foremost hero known colloquially as King Billy.<sup>4</sup> It must be stressed that these stylised renderings of Billy were, in more sense than one, two-dimensional figures lacking evidence of any fully rounded complexities.<sup>5</sup> Billy then was more a mould into which a simple key message could be cast: privileges were granted by the Protestant crown and salvation had been confirmed by military success.

Yet tensions, just a few years prior to the first mural, jeopardised and looked set to break this mould. What is more these tensions did not come from without but rather from within in the shape of denominational difference. Across a range of issues from education to public appointments, Presbyterians and smaller Protestant denominations did not enjoy the same degree of control as the Church of Ireland and began to challenge this dominance.

Furthermore, the land reform movement undermined the integrity of the unionist family by

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<sup>3</sup> Beiner, ‘Between Trauma and Triumphalism’ p. 368.

<sup>4</sup> Rolston, ‘*Politics & Painting*’, p. 20.

<sup>5</sup> William and his commanders did not share such virulent anti-Catholicism of their Irish Protestant allies, a point reflected in the perceived leniency included in the Treaty of Limerick which ended his campaign. The relatively generous terms granted were to be rolled back throughout the 1690s in the penal laws which safeguarded Protestant interests. John Gibney, *The Shadow of a Year: The 1641 Rebellion in Irish History and Memory*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013), p. 43. Likewise, Stewart observes that the real James had his contradictions for one, as an English Catholic he had little empathy with the Irish Catholic and saw them merely as a means to the end of regaining his kingdom. A.T.Q Stewart, *The Narrow Ground: Aspects of Ulster 1609-1969* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1977), p. 64.

pitting tenant farmers against landlords with demands for ownership and input.<sup>6</sup> Whenever faced with insider dissent and potential division, the political use of the great outsider becomes abundantly clear. So it was that the first Billys, by reminding Protestant communities both of their distinguished internal bonds and the religious menace that sought to sever them, offered a solution to social and denominational friction. Any top-down attempt to assert control over collective memory is tremendously assisted when wielding a hegemonic or ‘official’ canon of history. Held tightly therein are a national repertoire of images, plots and figures from a (generally) accepted past; Billy not only fits into this but he is at the vanguard. As much as it is a master-narrative it is also a masculine narrative, not only due to past commanders venerated but present-day wielders of memory.

Although Billy is first canonised in mural form in 1908, this is consistent with a longer tradition of commemoratively using his image. Advances in technology allowed for cheaper mass production and wider distribution of a range of cultural products which permeated social classes.<sup>7</sup> From these popular media, larger-scale murals can be understood then as an extension of a particular and selective remembrance. It is pursued with such insistence that it is tantamount to a ‘fetishising’<sup>8</sup> of this figure and the strenuous partisanship that accompanies it. Inspiration, whilst drawn from material conventionally considered ‘low culture’, is really derived from the ‘high culture’ of history painting. The refined portraiture of Kneller and Wyck as well as Gibbons’ equestrian statue, which stood in Dublin from 1701 until its destruction in 1929, were all highly influential. The singular blueprint however was

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<sup>6</sup> T. P. Daly, ‘James Craig and Orangeism, 1903-10’ *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 136 Cambridge University Press (Nov. 2005) p. 433.

<sup>7</sup> Examples include postcards, prints, tea-towels, crockery, medals, coins, songbook lithographs, silk handkerchiefs and banners. Belinda Loftus, ‘Loyalist Wall Paintings’, *Circa Art magazine*, No. 8 (January 1983), p.10.

<sup>8</sup> Jim Smyth (ed.), *Remembering the Troubles: Contesting the Recent Past in Northern Ireland* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2017) p. 5.

Benjamin West's 1778 painting of the Battle of the Boyne upon which the majority of murals take their cue.<sup>9</sup>



Fig.3.1

Of all the features in this iteration one that has consistently carried significance, though may seem prosaic, is the colour of Billy's charger—it can only ever be white.<sup>10</sup> Such an attitude goes beyond mere pedantry, rather it is key in visually highlighting him as a stand-out character. Part of the easy recognition may be to designate the 'good guy in white' as opposed to darker forces which connote suspicion and mistrust. Substantiating this moral binary is a religious reading of the colour symbolism; Revelation 19:14 claims that when Jesus returns he will be followed by the armies of heaven riding white horses.<sup>11</sup> The Biblical clout of such references would certainly help convince Ulster Protestants they were a chosen people, delivered by God from Popery. In this regard, Billy leads the charge for others to

<sup>9</sup> West served as court painter to King George III Belinda Loftus 'Loyalist Wall Paintings', p. 10.

<sup>10</sup> In 1950 Belfast City Councillors vetoed the purchase of a painting by William by Jan Wyck because he was mounted on a brown horse (Jarman 1997, 176) cited in Robert Moore, 'Rebranding Belfast: Chromatopes of (Post-)Conflict', *Signs and Society*, vol. 4, No. 51 (2016), p. 153.

<sup>11</sup> Forker & McCormick 'Walls of history...' p. 433.

follow, sword raised to attack, the hero is elevated above eye level and still further, rearing up high on his horse. His presence was one of reassurance and comfort (from a Protestant perspective) as well as reminding the ‘other’ of their inherited vanquished status. A more exclusive application of his legacy occurred from 1795 with the Orange Order claiming him as their sectarian hero. He symbolically played a role in the fight against the United Irishmen and an allied Catholic rural movement, the ‘Defenders’ in 1798 and over the next century he would be called upon in the rise of democracy in Ireland. The Order spearheaded resistance to O’Connell’s Catholic emancipation and later opposed the secret ballot<sup>12</sup>; eventually Billy would be looked up to when confronting what they feared most: Home Rule.

### 3.2 Home Rule

The impetus to create these earliest murals was both practical and political. Commercially manufactured house paints had just become widely available, though others opted for stealing supplies from shipyards. Simultaneously an apprehension was simmering over the 3<sup>rd</sup> Home Rule Bill (introduced in April 1912) and its likelihood of passing at Westminster. The previous bills had been defeated thanks to the House of Lords; however, the Liberal government’s Parliament Act (1911) prevented the Lords from vetoing major House of Commons’ legislation.<sup>13</sup> Previous dabbling with the idea of devolution had been a source of unionist chagrin, but now with a British administration seemingly committed to Home Rule — not least to maintain a majority with the assistance of the Irish Parliamentary Party—

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<sup>12</sup> Principal concerns related to the aforementioned schism in Ulster Unionism, namely that the secret ballot affected the extent of control landlords could exercise over voters. Rex Cathcart ‘Ireland and “King Billy” usage and abuse. (William III’s intervention in Ireland)’, *History Today*, Vol. 38 (July 1988), p. 42.

<sup>13</sup> Steve Bruce, *The Red Hand: Protestant Paramilitaries in Northern Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press Oxford, 1992), p. 8.

anxieties were peaking. We get an insight into unionist discontent from Dowden who claims a policy of conciliation could only benefit the nationalist agenda. He goes on to draw parallels with the two previous bills: ‘the logic of the situation will not be altered; two ideas, essentially antagonistic, will confront each other...until one or the other has obtained the mastery.’<sup>14</sup> Not only does this summarise contemporary concern but it displays a borderline prescience for upcoming unionist/loyalist thinking. Even at this nascent point in the century we have the main ideological foundations upon which generations of opinion would be constructed. A dread of conciliation informs a worldview clouded by an all-or-nothing absolutism. Implicitly at this stage—crystallised in later chapters—the inherent unwillingness to compromise is matched by a weakness in male constitution. ‘True men’ uphold principles, they remain true or else face accusations of treachery. A further equation and staple of unionist thinking is that safety is only guaranteed in the preservation of the status quo; any effort to disturb this balance must be regarded with grave conjecture. Several factors also contributed to a moral panic over an imminent and terrible change. In the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the expansion of the railways and communication both opened up the previously isolated north of Ireland. These factors are credited as enabling a more democratic electoral system which returned unprecedented advances for Home Rulers.<sup>15</sup> Another outcome of this was Protestants’ growing awareness that, while they held a stronghold in Ulster, in the context of whole island they were clearly a minority.

With all this uneasiness hanging heavy over the province, we might expect the subject of Home Rule to feature prominently in murals but there are surprisingly few direct

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<sup>14</sup> From Professor Edward Dowden’s article in the ‘National Review’ (Oct 1904) the article was widely quoted in unionist newspapers cited in Francis S. L. Lyons ‘The Irish Unionist Party and the Devolution Crisis of 1904-5’ *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 6, Issue 21 (2016), p. 11.

<sup>15</sup> In the 1885 general election, just one year after Third Reform Act, Home Rulers triumphed in all constituencies except Trinity College Dublin, nationalists in the north took seventeen seats. Ian McBride, *The Siege of Derry in Ulster Protestant Mythology* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997), p. 67.

references made during the crisis itself (1911-1914). This could be down to a dearth of extant sources or because those in opposition had other vehicles for expressing their discontent. As Jackson notes the debates over the two previous Home Rule bills were waged primarily within Westminster. In sharp contrast, the campaign of 1912-14 was the first 'modern' mobilisation of Ulster Unionism.<sup>16</sup> The methods of mobilisation took politics out into the streets in the form of speeches and rallies, most notably the huge demonstration outside Belfast City Hall on 'Ulster Day', 28<sup>th</sup> September 1912. On the same day the most emotionally charged act of resistance coalesced in the Ulster Covenant, signed by nearly half a million people. Like Billy before it, the concise document outlining reasons and strength of feeling behind the mass opposition quickly became a focal point around which grand narratives could gather and group identity could be solidified. Having said that, the fact that men and women signed separate documents, with slightly different wording, contradicts this oneness and sent another statement, one that distinguished the respective stations of men and women in society and politics.<sup>17</sup> The 1912 Covenant channels a similar harsh 'if-then' consequence found in the 17<sup>th</sup> century Scottish predecessor which was very consciously alluded to. The repercussions for the British government, should they not heed Ulster's voice, were emphasised in the most quoted phrase: 'by all means which may be found necessary...'. The implied martial element in these loaded words legitimised the establishment of the Ulster Volunteer Force the following year. Indeed, the litmus test for recruits was whether they had signed the Covenant. The UVF then was not only the final, desperate card to play but likely a balm to soothe any anxiety that Ulster would succumb without a fight. The organisation may also have lessened the need to demonstrate a similar militancy in murals. We must also be

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<sup>16</sup> Alvin Jackson, 'Unionist Myths', p. 184.

<sup>17</sup> Turner Stone Jacobs, 'To associate ourselves with the men of Ulster: A Gendered History of Ulster's Solemn League and Covenant and the Ulster Women's Declaration, 1910-1920', *Voces Novae* Vol 3, No 1 (2012), p.145.

aware that the abject disapproval of Home Rule took the form of an outpouring of political cartoons, prints and widely circulated satirical imagery, it is from these sources that we find the pithy mantra: ‘Home Rule is Rome Rule!’. Through this medium, the unionist hegemony was able to keep a firm grasp on the ‘winning hand’.<sup>18</sup>

Even from the two recorded murals that relate to the crisis, we can glean numerous interesting facets. Most notably we have the first hybrid pictures—Billy is still with us but accompanied by contemporary figures, the past and present share the same surface. Hybridity renders an unmistakable equivalence between the masculine leadership that transcends the centuries. Just as his victorious forerunner had a worthy opponent in James II, Carson faced off against the other political giant of the age, the leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party, John Redmond, though their enmity appears overplayed.<sup>19</sup> Edward Carson holds the esteemed title of the first living person honoured in a mural, along with Billy he is the other father figure: while the former signifies military and religious conquest, the latter looms large as a political patriarch.<sup>20</sup> The range of dates between these works denotes the enduring significance of Carson, while the first appears in 1912, topped with the emphatic text: ‘WE WON’T HAVE HOME RULE’, the second occurs in 1934, coincidentally just one year before Carson’s death.

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<sup>18</sup> To give just one clear example, this is the title of an anti-Home Rule postcard from 1912. It features the Red Hand of Ulster holding a ‘winning hand’ the cards show the men leading the resistance: Carson, James Craig, Col. Robert Wallace and Bonar Law, National Museums NI available at <https://www.nmni.com/collections/history/1900-1923-home-rule-to-partition/1912-1914-home-rule-crisis/belumw20112126> accessed 11 September 2021.

<sup>19</sup> Despite their political differences, there was clearly a level of personal respect. Carson was observed weeping at Redmond’s funeral in 1918. Stephen Collins review of ‘*Judging Redmond and Carson*’ by Alvin Jackson *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* Vol. 107, No. 426 (Summer 2018) p. 231.

<sup>20</sup> The events of 1912-14 were essentially a creation myth for modern unionism, at its nucleus was Carson as Orange Daniel O’Connell, ‘the saviour of his tribe.’ Jackson, ‘Unionist Myths’, p. 164.

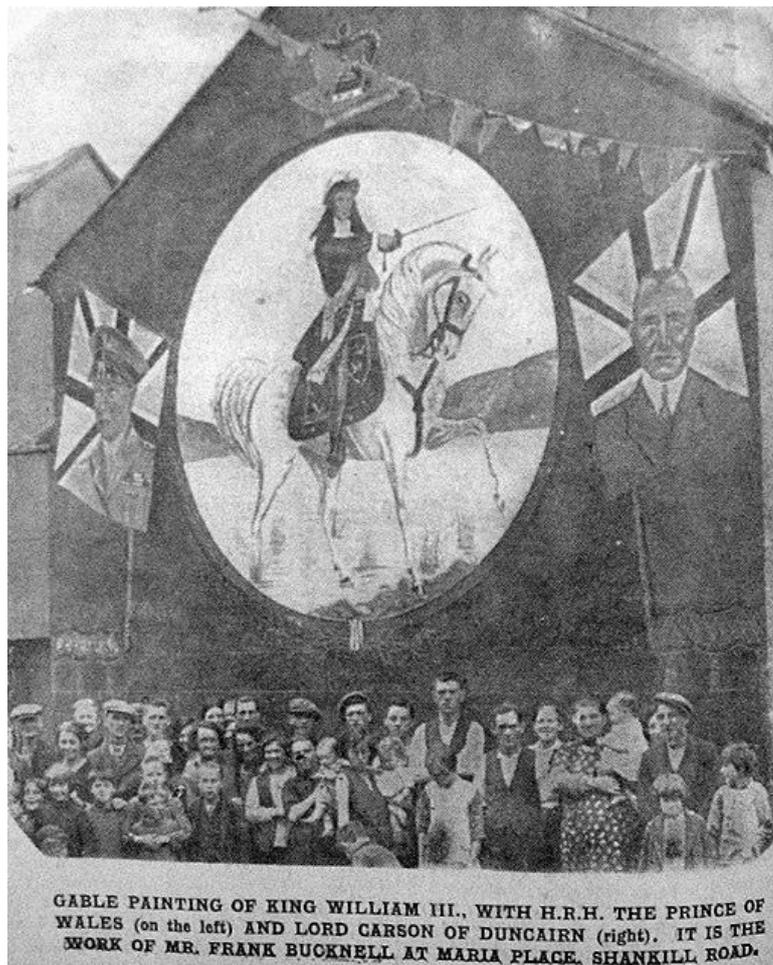


Fig.3.2

Even aspects which seem more banal like the presence of the British flag or the compositional arrangement (a central motif flanked with portraits) would become ubiquitous in later works. Also worth noting is the particular manner in which the 1934 piece is represented in the archival newspaper photograph. The caption lists the three men portrayed: Billy at the centre, Carson on the right and the Prince of Wales on the left. Helpfully it mentions both specific location and producer, in this case the full gable end is credited to a Mr. Frank Bucknell. The recognition of the artist contrasts markedly to the anonymity of muralists that would dominate in the next two chapters. The last nugget in the photograph is the large turnout (approximately forty people) posing in front of the mural. This is perhaps accounted for by the novelty of being photographed or reveals a connection between imagery

and ideology embraced by the local community. Either way it is a glimpse into the mural as a socially active site<sup>21</sup>, a notion that is integral to this thesis' second part.

We will return to Carson, as he features more prominently in the post-conflict period, but before moving on it is worth reflecting on some rudimentary traits that explain his legacy as one of the most divisive figures in modern Irish history. Ulster was an anomaly to the European experience of the last summer before the outbreak of the First World War. While most of the continent revelled in the calm before the storm, the summer in the North was gloomy being overshadowed by the prospect of violence. One of the biggest influences on the unionist mood was the fearmongering of Carson's speeches. For whatever else can be said about the Dublin-born lawyer, his professional demeanour, use of emotive language and provocative theatrics lent well to a career in politics. In one notable example, delivered on the annual 12<sup>th</sup> July celebrations of the Boyne, his oratory was not only militaristic by also sexually suggestive referring to the republican motive as one of penetration and possession.<sup>22</sup> This graphic metaphor of the nation as vulnerable body in need of male protection anticipates the narrative of siege that would become the basis of an entire mentality.

### **3.3 Jacksons of the Fountain**

As well as the few images that called more direct attention to Home Rule, the crisis itself also led to an increase in the employment of siege imagery in Protestant rhetoric that indirectly

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<sup>21</sup> The deployment of historical figures on gable ends transform urban space into an 'interactive landscape'. Maximilian Rapp & Markus Rhomberg, 'Seeking a Neutral Identity in Northern Ireland's Political Wall Paintings', *Peace Review*, Vol. 24, Issue 4 (2012), p. 471.

<sup>22</sup> Carson claimed republicans wished to 'penetrate into Ulster...so they may in the immediate future take possession of the greatest part of Ulster' *Belfast News-Letter*, 13 July 1920 quoted in McGaughey *Ulster's Men*, p. 157.

addressed it via historical comparison. For all these verbal instances, only one case is recorded in murals and, like a relic, can still be found in the city in which the original siege took place. Although Belfast has always been the capital of Ulster Unionism, it was the province's second city, Derry, where Protestant sensitivities were more keenly registered. Much of this can be assigned to its location, precariously situated on the edge of the Ulster plantation.<sup>23</sup> Because of this, Derry was always susceptible to fluctuations and fears of any shift in demographics, be it Catholic migration in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century or indeed the 'greening of the North' that persists today. The man responsible for these cherished scenes, Bobby Jackson, also executed an earlier work, from 1916, depicting William's landing at Carrickfergus with the same representative clarity.

The notion of siege is seared into the Protestant psyche; at the surface they are references to the crucial episode in James II's endeavour to regain his crown, after having been deposed in the 'Glorious Revolution' (1688). Yet, beneath the initial recall, lies something much deeper, a perceived historical repetition, wherein the unionist community is trapped in a never-ending pattern of alleged terror and salvation. Oliver MacDonagh described the one hundred- and five-day Siege of Derry as 'their original and most powerful myth'<sup>24</sup> and one suffused with an almost classical potency.<sup>25</sup> If we stick our heads above that most paramount of parapets, we look down into the estate that hosts the oldest embodiment of public siege imagery. Even this estate's name, The Fountain, intimates the presence of the past in the present as it was from this area that an actual spring sustained the people during the siege. The Bobby Jackson mural is comprised of two panels, on the left a King Billy (not

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<sup>23</sup> McBride, *The Siege of Derry*, p. 14.

<sup>24</sup> Oliver MacDonagh, *States of Mind: A Study of Anglo-Irish Conflict, 1780–1980*, (London: Harper Collins, 1983), p.13.

<sup>25</sup> 'The wall of Londonderry is to the Protestant people what the Trophy of Marathon was to the Athenians' Stewart, *The Narrow Ground*, p. 52.

crossing the Boyne in usual isolation, but amid the battle itself) and on the right the relief of the city.



Fig.3.3

As scenes of action, they are renowned not only for their technical execution but their emotional range including a variety of postures and facial expressions. Central in the foreground of the relief scene are indicators of hope, firstly the crimson flag, later adopted by the Apprentice Boys of Derry, and secondly the Reverend George Walker. Despite a more complex reality, historical and literary accounts of military engagements tend to unanimously extol one outstanding individual, and for many Walker takes on this role. By his own account, Walker presented himself less as peaceful shepherd to a starving flock and more a church militant or warrior priest.<sup>26</sup> As with any story, a hero is only as good as his villain and

<sup>26</sup> Walker portrayed himself as a man distinctly lacking in Christian humility. Karen A. Holland 'Disputed Heroes: Early Accounts of the Siege of Londonderry' *New Hibernia Review* Vol. 18, No. 2 (2014) University of St. Thomas (Centre for Irish Studies) p. 25. His statue had long been a focal point for siege celebrations until it was destroyed by an IRA bomb in 1973.

in Walker's case that is his predecessor, the reviled Governor Robert Lundy whose effigy is regularly torched as part of siege celebrations. By entertaining the possibility of capitulation, Lundy became the antithesis of an honourable, loyal man and his name ever since has been used as a slur to denounce traitors.

In actuality, the work consists of multiple versions and multiple generations involved in retelling the story.<sup>27</sup> The first instance of redevelopment led to a stand-off between Jackson and the Housing Executive, somewhat fittingly the artist refused to yield his ground.<sup>28</sup> It is here that physical production and emotional significance dovetail, for just as the Jackson mural is not really one artwork so too is the siege not a singular event in time but rather a feedback of vivid symbolism and courageous resistance, what Heslinga terms 'the Derry cycle'.<sup>29</sup> Throughout the centuries, what kept this cycle turning again and again was the fact that, for all the fanfare of triumphalism, the drum and flute bands could never drown out that sustained note of anxiety, Protestant memory never rid itself of its fundamental fear of atrocity redux. According to McBride it is this schizophrenia—the paranoia of betrayal mixed with the promise of liberation—that guarantees the siege's unique position in the loyalist mind.<sup>30</sup> Just like other political myths, the siege is frequently invoked to validate contemporary actions and attitudes, however the author would challenge McBride when he states, 'each generation has found fresh meanings...according to its ideological needs.'<sup>31</sup> He concedes that the basic structure is retained; this author would go further and argue it is not

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<sup>27</sup> The original dates from 1926 on a cul-de-sac wall in Clarence Place. It was relocated once in the 1970s, this second site decayed and was demolished but not until a memorial wall was created in 1995 with replica murals painted on boards. Extra Mural Activity visual archive, available at <https://extramuralactivity.com/the-jackson-murals/> accessed 13 May 2021.

<sup>28</sup> In the words of his son, Bobby Jr, who was trained in mural painting: '[my father] wouldn't move house until they moved the picture to beside where he was going to stay... it's the last of the old Fountain.' In another incident, Jackson Sr painted over a work before it was demolished so that he, not the redevelopment contractor, controlled its fate. Oona Woods chapter from *Seeing is Believing: Murals in Derry* (1995), Conflict Archive on the Internet (CAIN) available at <https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/bibdbbs/murals/woods.htm> accessed 10 September 2019.

<sup>29</sup> Marcus Heslinga, *The Irish Border as a Cultural Divide*, (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 1971), p.61.

<sup>30</sup> McBride, *The Siege of Derry*, p. 13.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*, p.11.

only retained but relied upon so heavily that these 'fresh' meanings come across as rather stale. Virtually regardless of circumstance, the themes of defiance and deliverance are as unchanging as the perceived threats.<sup>32</sup> The specifics will obviously differ, but the essential mentality endures—echoing through the ages like the truculent motto: No surrender! This proposition is reinforced as we will later encounter other applications of the siege in later murals; the overall aim is once again to ‘mobilise images of the past as metaphor for present struggles.’<sup>33</sup> There is something in this historical relevance that can jeopardise current and upcoming prospects. It is surely of little pragmatic benefit that 17<sup>th</sup> century conflicts influence party politics, community relations and masculine ideals. The allegory of the siege may have fulfilled ‘a range ideological and even psychological needs,’<sup>34</sup> but it also kept alive a polarising past one, in which caution of the ‘other’ was both dangerous and inevitable. Lord Macaulay likened the writing of Ireland to treading on a volcano whose lava was still glowing,<sup>35</sup> in the next section these subterranean agitations erupt.

### 3.4 Partition

When the guns fell silent in 1918, a false dawn of peace did not last long in Ireland with the onset of the Irish War of Independence the following January and civil war (1922-23). It began a tumultuous series of events in quick succession marked by profound instability and

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<sup>32</sup> It is not without cause that the siege feeds so profusely into unionist woes considering the desolate aftermath. The city’s peacetime population of around 2,000 swelled to an estimated 30,000 as families from surrounding countryside sought refuge from advancing armies of King James. It is believed that approximately 15,000 died through starvation, malnutrition and disease. Peter Taylor, *Loyalists War and Peace in Northern Ireland* (New York: TV Books, 1999), p. 18.

<sup>33</sup> Carol Gallaher & Peter Shirlow, ‘The geography of loyalist paramilitary feuding in Belfast’, *Space and Polity*, Vol. 10, No.2 (2006), p. 161.

<sup>34</sup> McGovern also highlights another problem with a grossly simplified siege narrative, namely that social, political and economic relations therein are ill-served by the imagery of predestined and all-consuming sectarian division. Mark McGovern ‘Myths and Marches: History, Class and the Siege of Derry 1689’ *History Ireland*, Vol. 5, No. 4 Worldwell Ltd. (Winter, 1997) p. 6.

<sup>35</sup> Cited in McBride, *The Siege of Derry*, p. 60.

confusion. In the midst of this upheaval the six-county state of NI took shape; set out in the Government of Ireland Act (1920) and implemented a year later. Away from the grand political set pieces, speech-making, the pomp and ceremony of the occasion, bitter street-fighting beset the infant state. With a resurgence of IRA activities and the UVF revived as a counterweight, these first ‘troubles’ set the dismal tone for what was to come. In particular revenge attacks and running gun battles blurred the boundaries between civilian and conflict zones. The border cracked open sectarian fault lines across the country with businesses and homes destroyed resulting in large-scale homelessness. But it was Belfast that experienced the worst of it, being what Eamon Phoenix calls ‘the fulcrum’ of the bloodshed.’<sup>36</sup> From 1922 violence settled into an uneasy peace but civil unrest would be a perennial aspect of NI for subsequent decades. It must be stated that the First World War did have a colossal impact on perceptions of masculinity, but these would not be seen in murals until much later. Their absence may be explained by the sheer devastation of the Great War. A loss of appetite for grandiose war imagery would only have been compounded by the post-war trauma of partitioned violence. In both cases, the memories were likely to be too raw and recent, however the passage of time, as we will see, cured public sensibilities of this.

In the wake of partition, the siege mentality was essentially institutionalised, enshrined not just in legislation and official practices but also asseverated through public, visual means. As we have seen, prior to partition, murals focused the cohesion of unionists in the north in divisive celebration. Their significance only magnified during the first few decades of the state, having been rocked by the recent turbulence, conformity to ritual should

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<sup>36</sup> An estimated 450 people were killed in Belfast in the conflict between June 1920 and July 1922. Nearly 60% were Catholic, and the overwhelming majority were civilians. Catherine Morrison, ‘NI 100: How Northern Ireland’s birth was marked by violence’ *BBC News*, available at <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-56018758> accessed 14 February 2021.

not be underestimated. It has been postulated that the use of King Billy promoted an ethnic superiority (with parallels with the Battle of Kosovo),<sup>37</sup> for defending Ulster as a bastion of righteousness, God ordained the original ascendancy. The author would suggest that partition permitted a unionist hegemony to reassert a similar dynamic thereby being a 2<sup>nd</sup> Protestant Ascendancy. But Billy was not alone this time around; a 1920 mural issues a direct challenge to fight: 'IRA name your day. The B Men are ready'. This refers to perhaps the most controversial of the government's initiatives, the Ulster Special Constabulary, specifically the 'B Specials'. Since it drew directly from a time-honoured martial masculinity, post-war recruitment was swift and steady.<sup>38</sup> The duality of the reputation they earned highlights the division at play: among nationalists they were notorious as Protestant-majority, heavily armed gangs; the unionist community meanwhile lauded them as valiant heroes keeping the peace. In their pursuit of justice, the feared B Men had more than literal weapons at their disposal, they were also equipped with the law very much on their side. The Civil Authorities (Special Powers) Act, introduced at the height of the rioting, was intended to be in effect for just one year. Like a great deal of dubious policies of this period however, it avoided serious review and systemic reform and would stay on the statute books for a further half-century.<sup>39</sup> Their infamy was warranted, not least due to the brutality of deterrence. Flogging was a

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<sup>37</sup> Both cases (the Boyne and 'Field of Blackbirds') were 'a moment when a small people, in battle with mortal foes, defended Christendom for all of Europe' (Ignatieff 1994: Nordland 1999) cited in Máiréad Nic Craith, *Plural Identities, Singular Narratives: The Case of Northern Ireland* (Oxford & New York, Berghahn Books, 2002), p. 40.

<sup>38</sup> The USC was composed of roughly 32,000 men, split between the three branches. The 'A' Specials were full-time and worked in conjunction with the Royal Irish Constabulary, while the 'B' and 'C' Specials were part-time constables or reservists. PRONI, CAB/4/40, Cabinet Meeting 19 April 1922, 'Preliminary Report on the Steps Necessary for the Preservation of Law and Order Within the Six Counties and the City of Belfast.'

<sup>39</sup> In the opinion of the National Council for Civil Liberties the Special Powers Act operated a draconian system, designed to suppress dissent. *Report of a Commission of Inquiry*, p. 28.

significant punishment that the SPA used to humiliate and literally scar men imprisoned for arms and explosive offences.<sup>40</sup>

From its inception, NI bore little resemblance to any Western European social democracy and fell short of meeting British standards of justice. Measures such as the Education Act (1923) which increased clerical influence in teachers' appointment sought to copper-fasten the interests of a slim majority in the north. Similarly, the 1929 abolition of proportional representation diverted a one-party Stormont away from factional inclinations and toward tribal antagonism.<sup>41</sup> Despite this chapter predating the state's creation, it is nonetheless framed by the discrimination that characterises its existence from partition until prorogation as well as the male agents that enforced its authority.<sup>42</sup> Dehra Chichester was plainly wrong in her December 1921 speech as she fawned over male members of Stormont as 'sculptors, from the pure, white block of marble with their chisels they are creating a figure of a new state, a figure which will embody all our ideals of the past, and which will represent all that we look forward to in the future, a figure of the new and greater Ulster.'<sup>43</sup> For all her conjuring Neo-Classical pretensions, worthy of Johann Winckelmann, the sculpted state cared little for the plight of its roughly one-third minority Catholics, not to mention the endemic inequalities of its own Protestant working class. The body-politic of Ulster was not some idealised, muscular figure nor was it the colour of marble but stained with blood and bruises. It would be decades before its wounds were even seriously inspected.

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<sup>40</sup> According to McGaughey, these were often more vindictively carried out rather than any practical deterrent...the punishment designed to be public, humiliating and sensational. In one year alone (1922-23) forty-two men were sentenced to flogging. Ibid, p. 183.

<sup>41</sup> Of particular concern were Independent Unionist and Labour candidates, removing the PR system facilitated a traditional unionist versus nationalist contest Daly, 'James Craig and Orangeism', p. 447.

<sup>42</sup> Oliver Wright described this period as 'a minor form of tyranny' replete with repressive legislation and sporadic violence. Novosel, *Northern Ireland's Lost Opportunity*, p. 34.

<sup>43</sup> Dehra Chichester, *HC Debs. NI*, vol. 1, col. 356, 1<sup>st</sup> December 1921.

### 3.5 1930s & 1940s

The interwar period witnessed the first heyday of mural production with the fortunes of the Protestant community reversed; no more were they a minority in an ‘alien and hostile country’,<sup>44</sup> but represented a confident majority. Control over the land and an attachment to the culture that expressed this became paramount in a time of slender means. With the scourge of massive unemployment, this economic slump prompted a peak in cultural activity. In addition to the arches and bunting that festooned the streets in summer months, Loftus also lists a hitherto unseen level of variety of mural subjects. Unfortunately, no evidence survives of their exact semblance, but we can surmise their function. The Mountjoy, the ship which broke the boom that had blockaded the river Foyle cutting off supplies and support to the beleaguered Derry, heaves into view; the Prince of Wales, ahead of a visit is shown playing the lambeg, the drum synonymous with loud and proud OO parades, the decorated Lord Roberts —revered for involvement in colonial conflicts from the Indian Rebellion (1857) to the Expedition in Abyssinia (1868) as well as advising the formation of the UVF and role played in the Curragh mutiny (1914) —appears flanked by two Boer War soldiers; and the Angel of Mons, a supernatural entity that supposedly protected the British Army from defeat by the Germans in 1914, hovers over a battlefield.<sup>45</sup> Whilst they deviate from the normative King Billy they still operate within a masculine and militaristic trend.

The decade also saw some important developments of the Billy template. While strictly speaking not a hybrid image, the juxtaposition of the recent military past with the

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<sup>44</sup> The victorious King William had a special place in Protestant folklore in demonstrating a destiny to rightfully claim this land. Joan Fowler, Review of *Mirrors: William III and Mother Ireland* by Belinda Loftus. *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (1991), p. 105.

<sup>45</sup> Loftus, ‘Loyalist Wall Paintings’ p. 11.

distant gets across a similar equivalence. Interestingly, it is the larger wall, with its centrepiece of a cenotaph, flags, a poppy wreath and the line ‘lest we forget’, that is given over to depicting the modern conflict. This may symbolise the beginning of an eclipse: one memory taking on greater significance than the other. At the very least it presages many of the weaponised mnemonics that will take a crucial role in chapter four. Along with the slogan of ‘lest we forget’, another textual embellishment is seen: ‘In glorious memory’. The impact of the Prince of Orange on the Ulster Protestant imagination may seem remarkable given he only spent a fortnight in the province. Furthermore his ambition was far from completed after the engagement at the Boyne—often described more as a skirmish.<sup>46</sup> Truthfully it matters little whether most working-class Protestants could explain the complicated events around the campaign, as Smala affirms, the salient point is that ‘we won that one!’<sup>47</sup>

That the admiring crowds only know the happy ending of the story and not the undulation of its build up is an expected element of selective remembrance and social forgetting working in tandem. What details are cropped out fits neatly into Goffman’s treatise on how societies make sense of events in the everyday life through framing.<sup>48</sup> We see the perfect pictorial accompaniment to this theory in the murals of the 1930s with ornate pillars and plush theatrical curtains being used as actual devices for framing either the action or portrait. In one unusual piece on Clarence Place, Derry, Billy wears a turban. The reason may not be known but it serves us well here in advancing the theatre metaphor to include costume and props. The masculine performance is not limited to the art but encompasses artist and audience. Often a new or repainted work would be unveiled by an esteemed member of the

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<sup>46</sup> It would be another year before Ireland was finally conquered with James’ Irish/French army decisively defeated at Aughrim. Cathcart, ‘Ireland and ‘King Billy’’, p. 43.

<sup>47</sup> Simone Smala, ‘Globalised Symbols of War and Peace’ *Social Alternatives* Vol. 22 No.2 (2003), p. 40.

<sup>48</sup> In his classic text *Frame Analysis* (1974) Goffman calls frames a central part of culture, acknowledging their contestation and amendment over time cited in Marcelle C. Dawson ‘Protest, performance and politics: the use of ‘nanomedia’ in social movement activism in South Africa’ *Research in Drama Education: The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance* Vol. 12, Issue 3 (2012), p. 322.

Protestant community (a minister, politician or businessman).<sup>49</sup> We have then a doubling of drama; the theatrics *in* the work and the presentation *of* the work. In general, a commonality cuts across all three periods considered: murals are *of* men, produced *by* men, and one could reasonably argue, *for* men. Goffman's views intersect smartly with Butler's seminal concept of gender performativity in which she posits that the constructed identity of gender is accomplished when the relevant actors and audiences are convinced of the beliefs being performed.<sup>50</sup> This is the beginning of a dramaturgical dimension which unites murals and masculinities and will be expanded upon throughout the thesis.

The only documented addition to the symbolic landscape during the 1940s partially modernises this theatrical presentation, inasmuch as the streets of working-class communities are still a staging ground for monarchs, but now they are contemporaries. A scene marks the coronation of King George VI and Elizabeth the Queen Mother in 1937 but others in the new decade pay tribute to the royal family, one including the young princesses Elizabeth and Margaret (the only three female figures in this age). These works (at times based on contemporary photojournalism) are remarkable for their virtuosity, we see the picture plane open up beyond the family revealing, behind curtains, luxurious interiors. Fine details recede in sharp perspective to achieve trompe l'oeil. A final flourish is how the rippling train of their ceremonial robes cascades from the pictorial space almost into the space of lived reality—an apt metaphor for how enmeshed the medium is in social life. Loyalty to the monarch is often understood as more robust than the conditional loyalty to Westminster, yet the magnitude of Home Rule even cast doubt on this sanctified bond. The former king, George V, had convened the Buckingham Palace Conference in a last-ditch attempt to resolve the stalemate

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<sup>49</sup> Rolston details a mural on Tierney Street that between 1936-39 was unveiled each July after annual repainting. The unveiling virtually became a state occasion as he says, 'performed by the pinnacles of the unionist alliance.' Rolston, *Politics & Painting*, p. 24.

<sup>50</sup> Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble*, p. 192.

and avoid calamity. In delivering an impassioned welcoming address, the imperial father-figure saw nationalists and unionists not as strangers and certainly not enemies but as brothers. A desire to bring them both back from the ‘brink of fratricidal strife’<sup>51</sup> speaks volumes of pacifism that runs contrary to the bellicose atmosphere that gave rise to the UVF in January 1913. George’s mediation proved to be in vain and perhaps he shares the fate of that other kingly (though childless) father, William III. For all that William may have been personally disposed toward religious tolerance, he was essentially powerless in constitutional authority compared to the English and Irish aristocracies. Monarchy as an institution had considerable symbolic capital but the monarch as man was, in both cases, unable to broker relative harmony when encountering such entrenched views<sup>52</sup>—they were both required to reign, not to rule.

As murals were emotionally momentous displays, they were also closely guarded, the best indication of this in the early period was the work at Rockland Street. Situated in the staunchly loyalist area of the Village, it was first painted in 1932 and from 1945 to 1979 it was preserved by a group of men. Ironically much of the repeated damage arose from a bonfire in the vicinity, lit on the night of the 11th of July before the climactic parades the following day. A photograph featuring the exuberant silhouette of a boy accentuates a physical and emotional proximity to these cultural expressions. Rockland raises two fundamental issues: intention and commitment. To the first point, the main options (which relate to many other loyalist murals) are whether they are pictures of heritage or hatred?

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<sup>51</sup> The conference ran from 21st-24th July 1914, in attendance were all major leaders Carson, Craig, Redmond, and Asquith. *‘Buckingham Palace Conference ends in failure’* RTE Boston College <<https://www.rte.ie/centuryireland/index.php/articles/buckingham-palace-conference-ends-in-failure>> [accessed 12/5/21].

<sup>52</sup> Protestant street-preacher and political activist, Arthur Trew even made an open threat against George V arguing that should he sign the Home Rule bill Ulster Protestants ‘would be justified in doing what Cromwell did when he rose against King Charles and cut his head off’. Trew was subsequently arrested for promoting sedition McGaughey *Ulster’s Men*, p. 74.

Since they have traditionally been located well within Protestant territory, and not at an interface, this implies they were intended for internal consumption. However, the distinction between celebration and controversy is far from clear cut. A Radio Ulster programme from 1982 on wall-paintings featured a comment from one of the young men responsible for the upkeep of the Rockland site. Not only does it provide us with a rare insight from someone directly involved, but it also complicates our understanding of intention: ‘The people from the Village are loyalists and will never let themuns up the road forget about it cos [the mural is] facing themuns and they can see it and they won’t forget about it-now while we’re here anyway.’<sup>53</sup> The issue of commitment comes across more straightforwardly, after all the sheer longevity of Rockland surely testifies to widespread, public support. Yet the extent to which murals were accepted is again difficult to determine. In the same programme the custodians of Rockland were asked about graffiti and why they felt their site would be immune from such incidents: ‘The kids round here all know who had been painting it...and they know that if they do ruin it...that we all know who done it and it wouldn’t be advisable.’<sup>54</sup> Whether a mural’s pristine condition was a result of devotion or an aversion to trouble is unclear. What is clear is that this barely concealed insinuation would only become more pronounced in later periods.<sup>55</sup>

By inscribing a group identity onto physical territory, murals are an example of ‘a spatialisation of public memory.’<sup>56</sup> Through an editing process, fluid histories are reduced into sanitised, concrete myths that, like an anchor, stabilise the identity in an inherently

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<sup>53</sup> Loftus, ‘Loyalist Wall Paintings’ p. 12.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid, p. 14.

<sup>55</sup> During fieldwork one participant non-verbally pledged respectful allegiance at the sight of various King Billy murals. Perhaps indicative of a wider culture of silence around contested issues, including sensitive imagery, the anonymous participant refused to go on the record and explain why he made the gesture (tapping his fist over his heart). Youth workshop, Monkstown, 25 October 2021.

<sup>56</sup> (Johnson, 1995) cited in Elisabetta Viggiani, *Talking Stones-The Politics of Memorialisation in Post-Conflict Northern Ireland* (New York & Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2014), p. 48.

unstable world. Rockland, along with the Jacksons of the Fountain, represent the most convincing myths in this first period, they are ‘dropped’ as the heaviest cultural anchors to weather the crises of the age. A case in point to close this section would be how the crisis of the decade was handled. The summer of 1935 saw dreadful sectarian rioting hit the streets of Belfast again.<sup>57</sup> The angst of the Great Depression converged with Orange anger at government efforts to block their parades. The events are made even sadder as just three years earlier Catholic and Protestant workers had struck a major victory in the Outdoor Relief Strike.<sup>58</sup> Staving off the depths of poverty and the heartlessness of the Poor Law Guardians, this represented a remarkable moment of working-class solidarity. The fierce clashes that were to follow quickly destroyed any hope of a sustained bi-partisan alliance. The government engage in divide and conquer tactics to exacerbate difference and the Protestant working class, lacking self-confidence, acquiesced to unionism’s expectations and, for the most part, rarely questioned the unionist elites.<sup>59</sup> As if to visually confirm this tendency, the choice of whether to commemorate violent sectarianism or effective activism was answered in a mural at Maria Place in 1939 which honoured men killed in the riots, claiming (as several future murals would decry) that ‘their only crime was loyalty.’<sup>60</sup>

### 3.6 Decline & Direct Rule

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<sup>57</sup> The violence was on a scale not seen since 1922. Triggered on the 12<sup>th</sup> of July it lasted three weeks leading to a dozen deaths and around 2,500 people displaced, 85% of whom were Catholic. Ronald Munck, ‘Class and Religion in Belfast—A Historical Perspective’ *Journal of Contemporary History* SAGE, London, Beverly Hills and New Delhi, Vol. 20 (1985) p. 252.

<sup>58</sup> A 10% cut in unemployment benefits left Belfast with the lowest relief rates in the UK. Following the strike in October 1932, rates were brought in line with the rest of the UK. In addition, related issues such as the health and wellbeing of the city’s poor, especially children, was voiced. Thomas Hennessey, *A History of Northern Ireland 1920-1996* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1997), p. 59.

<sup>59</sup> Novosel, *Northern Ireland’s Lost Opportunity*, p. 50.

<sup>60</sup> Rolston, *Politics & Painting*, p. 23.

From the mid-1960s there was a notable decline in both the number and range of loyalist murals. This was partly due to the impact of redevelopment schemes—the demolition of large areas of housing (particularly in East Belfast and northern district of Tiger’s Bay) removed many of the murals. The decline was twinned with a similar waning of labour and the transferable skills brought with it. The previous generations of muralists had typically been older men with a training in house, coach or sign-painting.<sup>61</sup> Those who were to take up this mantle were generally untrained teenagers or young men who were simply unable to match the technicality of their forefathers. Works of the same subject (among the final King Billys of this first period) evince the polar opposites in execution. While the one on the outskirts of Ballymena or Coleraine is redolent of the elegance in 18<sup>th</sup> century portraiture, a work in Portadown looks much clumsier, even childish around the facial features. Then there is the Westmoreland St. effort whose risible proportions reduce the once tall, proud king to a diminutive shadow of his former glory. At the time, only one work in Larne exhibited the ‘set-pieces’<sup>62</sup> of Orangeism, looking and feeling like an out-of-place antique.

There was a strange irony about loyalism, for a doctrine that had always strove for incorporation and attachment to a so-called ‘British way of life’ it was now drifting further away from the rest of the UK. The secularisation, immigration and multiculturalism of post-war Britain heralded a divergence within the Union. The fact that residents of Sandy Row (a loyalist area in South Belfast) spoke of their neighbourhood as the ‘heart of the empire’<sup>63</sup> as late as the early 1970s, indicated a futile battening down of loyalist hatches as the ‘winds of change’ approached. As well as the external evolution (the break-up of the empire), several

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<sup>61</sup> Loftus, ‘Loyalist Wall Paintings’ p. 12.

<sup>62</sup> The long, horizontally arranged work features the Bible, the all-seeing see, the coffin, the Ark of the Covenant, Jacob’s Ladder, the Star of David, the rainbow and Noah’s ark. Ibid, p.12.

<sup>63</sup> In addition to decolonisation, the subject of Harold Macmillan’s 1960 speech, post-war Britain experienced rapid shift in secularisation, immigration and multiculturalism. David W. Miller, *Queen's Rebels: Ulster Loyalism in Historical Perspective* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 1978), p. 134.

key laissez faire legal and political acts further illustrated the mismatch.<sup>64</sup> Firstly, Stormont was fifteen years out of sync regarding the decriminalisation of homosexuality. There was an even greater delay in officially addressing racism, such was the conviction that it was not a problem.<sup>65</sup> We should not overly infer that the inactions of politicians mirrored the views of the electorate, but top-down initiatives can set a precedent for prejudice from which citizens may take their cue. Certainly, both demographics were and are consistently marginalised within a strict hierarchy of masculinities as non-white and non-heteronormative men contradict the hegemonic standard. The irrationality of conservative fears regarding homosexuality's detrimental effects on 'real masculinity' are exaggerated by speculations concerning King William's sexuality.<sup>66</sup> The intersections of race and sexuality will feature more prominently when we come to deconstruct post-conflict masculinities in part two. Structural violence also explains the near total absence of any nationalist murals throughout this entire period. The Flag and Emblems Act (1954) ostensibly curbed and regulated visual displays across NI; in practice however it was implemented almost exclusively against nationalist communities.<sup>67</sup> By ratifying the ghettoization of Irish culture, Stormont also validated the subjugation of one identity over another. These three parliamentary acts along with a general dragging of political heels and grudgingly accepting the formation of the welfare state after the Second World War all demonstrate the systemic flaws in this time of

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<sup>64</sup> While homosexuality had been decriminalized in England and Wales in 1967, it remained criminalized in Northern Ireland. In this situation, mobilizing for equality was an inherently difficult practice for Northern Ireland's gay men, especially as they were subject to extreme police surveillance as well as intolerance from a strongly Christian society. Nagle, 'Unity in Diversity', p.?

<sup>65</sup> A legislative equivalent to the 1976 Race Relations Act in Britain would not be introduced in Northern Ireland until 1997. Colin Knox, 'Tackling Racism in Northern Ireland: "The Race Hate Capital of Europe"', *Journal of Social Policy*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (2010), p. 387.

<sup>66</sup> "Research has been building up over the centuries to suggest that King William III was bisexual - probably not gay, but he had bisexual relationships" Peter Tatchell, a leading gay rights campaigner. This suggestion was disputed by Orange Order historian Dr. Clifford Smyth. David Young, 'Orange Order historian disputes gay rights campaigner Peter Tatchell's claim that King Billy was bisexual' *Belfast Telegraph* 21 August 2015 <https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/northern-ireland/orange-order-historian-disputes-gay-rights-campaigner-peter-tatchells-claim-that-king-billy-was-bisexual-31469236.htm> accessed 20 November 2021.

<sup>67</sup> (Jarman, 1997: 232) cited in Andrew Hill & Andrew White, 'Painting Peace? Murals and the Northern Ireland Peace Process' *Irish Political Studies*, Vol. 27, Issue 1 (2012), p. 72.

‘misrule’. Before long progressive citizens, Catholic and Protestant, were arguing if principles of equality pertained to the policy area of social services then surely they should be applied throughout the whole system.<sup>68</sup> Not even the heaviest cultural anchor could secure the good ship Ulster as the tides began to turn in the movement for civil rights.

In his December 1968 plea to the public, Prime Minister Terence O’Neill presented the stark choice between unity and division as one to be made by the viewers. Yet it was not only Ulster at the ‘Crossroads’ but specifically those in power, i.e., unionism too had to make a choice. Those willing to walk the path of liberalisation acknowledged the demands for change while others clung onto the vestiges of the old ascendancy like the ‘wreckage’ of a ship foundering in history.<sup>69</sup> A sense of this indecision and confusion appears in a 1965 graffito. Although apart from murals it is worth us considering a similar palimpsest quality to both: one statement (textual or visual) can be overwritten by another group with conflicting attitudes, this builds up over time in layers of paint, of meaning and of competing masculinities. In this case we have three radically different perspectives clashing on one wall. They not only span the political spectrum but indicate the author’s opinions of them: a very faded message of support for the unsuccessful Communist candidate, Andy Barr, ‘Vote Barr for Bloomfield’; ‘O’Neill must go’<sup>70</sup> was a rejection of O’Neill’s centrist, tepid reforms, impossibly caught between those who felt they were excessive and those who believed them insufficient; and ‘Up Paisley’, support for the populist Reverend Ian Paisley. Despite the

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<sup>68</sup> Nelson, *Ulster’s Uncertain Defenders*, p. 29.

<sup>69</sup> Unionist principles are compared to ‘flotsam and jetsam of political thought’ in Arthur Aughey, *Under Siege: Ulster Unionism and the Anglo-Irish Agreement* (C. Hurst & Co.: London, 1989), p. 13.

<sup>70</sup> O’Neill did indeed ‘go’, he resigned shortly after a series of bombings on key infrastructure including the Castlereagh electricity substation and a water installation at Dunadry, Co. Antrim. Initial blame was put on the IRA, but it emerged that the attacks were carried out by the UVF in an attempt to bring down the moderate O’Neill. Novosel, *Northern Ireland’s Lost Opportunity*, p.27.

latter's booming charisma, following in the footsteps of 'Roaring Hanna'<sup>71</sup> from the previous century, he does not appear in murals. Nonetheless his influence in whipping up a frenzy of paranoia cannot be ignored especially since it was a factor that allowed demonstrations for civil rights to descend into riots resembling civil war.

While some date the start of the Troubles to 1966— notable for the emergence of a modern UVF (responsible for the first deaths) and a palpable unionist fear over IRA plots in the 50<sup>th</sup> year since the Easter Rising—many others consider the unrest from 1968 the ground zero. Of particular intensity was the three-day 'Battle of the Bogside'<sup>72</sup> with the police unable to control the situation the British Army were called in marking the official beginning of 'Operation Banner' and their longest, continuous deployment. Initially warmly received by Catholics as protectors from further loyalist mob activity, relations quickly became strained. The Falls Curfew (3rd-5th July 1970) caused severe mistrust to swell, a week earlier had seen one of the first major gunfight exchanges between republicans and loyalists in the 'Battle of St. Matthews' at the Catholic Short Strand. The imposition of internment without trial (known as 'Operation Demetrius', 9th-10th August 1971) and simultaneous 'Ballymurphy Massacre' led to further deterioration and an upsurge in Catholic violence.<sup>73</sup> The point of no return was finally reached in January 1972 with the army killing fourteen unarmed civilians. Just two months after 'Bloody Sunday' Brian Faulkner, the 6<sup>th</sup> and final Prime Minister of

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<sup>71</sup> An uncompromising, anti-Catholic agitator, Hanna inflamed public opinion with his street preaching during the heated political atmosphere of the 1850s and 1860s, he fiercely opposed the Home Rule Bill of 1886. See <https://www.culturenorthernireland.org/article/544/roaring-hugh-hanna> accessed 11 April 2021.

<sup>72</sup> Lasting from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> August 1969, vicious rioting broke out between residents of the Bogside, a staunchly Catholic area, and the Royal Ulster Constabulary, an overwhelmingly Protestant police force, along with local unionists. An initial trigger was the annual Apprentice Boys parade along the old city walls. The event sparked widespread violence across Northern Ireland. Russell Stetler, *The Battle of the Bogside: The Politics of Violence in Northern Ireland* (1970) CAIN <<https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/events/battlebogside/stetler/stetler70.htm>> [accessed 2/3/21].

<sup>73</sup> This was directed toward security forces and Protestants in retaliation, major waves of inter-communal violence saw displacement of people and destruction reminiscent to the era of partition. In the space of just three weeks, over 2,000 families left their homes. One whole estate in the New Ardoyne was razed: 240 houses in Farrington Gardens, Velsheda Park and Cranbrook Park were burnt out. Bruce, *The Red Hand*, p. 43.

NI, resigned and Stormont was prorogued. The start of Direct rule may have marked the end of the fifty years of misrule, but it occurred at the beginning of a protracted conflict. This will be the next period we explore with regards to what masculinities appeared in murals and how they were weaponised during the thirty-year struggle known as the Troubles.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter chronicled the first period of mural production in six stages. We began with the earliest depictions, influenced by low and high culture, that set the standard in the dominant figure of King William III. We saw how this basic form was adapted to reflect the charged atmosphere, fear and anger at proposed Home Rule. The use of the siege of Derry became part of the visual vocabulary in enunciating a perspective of Self distanced from the Other, a worldview laid out in defined binaries. Following partition, the authority and aggression of the state agents was stated in reference to the 'B Men'. The 1930s and 1940s saw further attempts to neutralise internal dissent, usually around sensitive topics of class consciousness. Finally, the consequences of five decades of systemic discrimination, cultural repression and rampant inequality boiled to the surface. The chief role of the heroic King Billy had been as a sign of eternal certainty in times of confusion. This explains the astonishing predictability of his image, this ritual lasted from the start of the century right up until the 1970s. The neglected portraits of Billy, by the end of this chapter, were not only an apt metaphor for the dramatic decline of unionism's political fortunes but for the institutionalised response, or lack thereof, to the intense flux of the times.

The masculinities featured in this chapter qualify as examples of cultural violence as they subtly condone belligerence. Whether this is through excavating deep layers of traumatic

memory in historical episodes, such as the Battle of the Boyne and the Siege of Derry; pictorially honouring the inflammatory rhetoric of a unionist elite, personified by Carson; or lending popular support to those who provided the muscle, carrying out the dirty work of the state, like the B Men. Aside from a few aberrations, they are grouped in a visual orthodoxy, one that accurately represents the political orthodoxy in a stiflingly conservative society.

Strident attempts to homogenise and suppress the society into an acceptable master-narrative ultimately brought tensions to a ferocious zenith and the facade of normality came crashing down. In the next chapter we will discover how the masculinities, propagated through murals, responded to the events of the Troubles.



## Chapter Four: A Troubled Landscape (1972-1998)

### **Introduction**

This chapter covers the second phase of mural production during the thirty-year conflict known by the colloquial understatement ‘the Troubles’. A direct outgrowth from this cataclysm was a form of Ulster loyalism abbreviated to heavily militarised notions of masculinity. Not only does contemporary paramilitarism become the most dominant of the four major archetypes explored in this thesis, but it could be argued that the recommencement of the other three (besieged, partitioned and entrenched) are used to accentuate this utmost expression. Throughout this chapter we will analyse loyalist murals in relation to timelines of accompanying violent episodes and political development. By referring to these milestones we can explore the way in which murals reflect these distinctly emotional events. Before outlining its structure, we should bear in mind two key concepts that are suffused throughout this chapter and indeed the next, namely the advertising analogy and the dramaturgical dimension. The first relates primarily to how murals might psychologically work and take a long-term effect on its intended audience. The analogy makes necessary similarities to military recruitment and propaganda in their utilising of gendered expectations and emotions and the targeting of a youth-based demographic. The second concept expounds that dramatic metaphors are the best way to understand the masculinities in murals. In doing so it unites Butler’s gender performativity, Erving Goffman’s theories on the presentation of the self and, finally, makes reference to several of the ‘masks of masculinity’ as discussed by Lewis Howes.

We begin after the introduction of direct rule and how a loss of political control and a general sense of waywardness contributed to a slump period in the 1970s. Ironically when the

conflict was at its horrifying pinnacle the dispersal of conflict imagery was at its lowest. With fewer works to discuss we take this opportunity to briefly but indispensably discuss the background motives to paramilitarism which, aside from the obvious escalation of violence, include the impact of deindustrialisation on class and community. Loyalism was rudely awoken by the sudden rupture and stunning gains made by republicanism claiming space in the wake of the 1981 hunger strike. An initial territorial response set the stage for one of the most dramatic turning points in the militarisation of the modern landscape: loyalism's reaction to the Anglo-Irish Agreement (AIA) of 1985. The mural production in chapters four and five are an inverse of chapter three, whereas the latter contained a paucity of material relative to an extended duration the former witnesses an explosion of output. Thus, specific works cited in the next two chapters are far from a comprehensive cataloguing. However, given the exceeding homogeneity of the archetypes they nonetheless accurately document the evolution of imagery or lack thereof. The re-entry of historical tropes and heightening of tension takes us up to the peace process of the 1990s which is split into two four-year phases. The first charts the collective visual responses to a societal 'crisis of masculinity', aggravated further by fears of a British sell-out. Finally, we observe what changes occurred as the ceasefires of 1994 eventually gave way to the signing of the Good Friday Agreement of 1998. The chapter concludes with our tentative anticipation that as NI gingerly transitions into peace, so too will its symbolic landscape and the masculinities therein.

## **4.1 A Visual Calm before the Storm**

### **4.1.1 The Lost Years**

In his study of Ulster loyalism, Magee warns us of two dangers when writing about paramilitaries. The first is not to be swept up in the romantic ideas and narratives that surround such groups, overlooking the brutal inhumanity of their actions. Secondly is the opposing extreme, whereby acts of violence are the primary focus with members portrayed as little more than monsters.<sup>1</sup> Like Magee then, this project walks the critical line between glamorisation and demonisation. A more fruitful endeavour, and one that accurately reflects complex reality, is to discuss how easily ordinary citizens can be drawn into conflict due to certain motivations and their social environment. Many would prefer a simplified judgement which caters to an exceptionalism between ‘us’ (the morally sound) and ‘them’ (the heartless killers). But the truth is that for the tens of thousands who joined loyalist paramilitary groups many factors were at play. These included: the existential threat posed by Irish republicanism; a lack of formal political power and representation; the effects of socio-economic deprivation; an absence of reliable ‘normal’ policing; fear of the British State collapsing; and the status that appealed to their sense of masculinity. The lack of national state legitimacy, a consequence of Direct Rule, created a security vacuum that paramilitarism would soon fill with communal defence, violence and a more general social control. A similar void in memory and its interpretation also makes available space for non-state articulation of the past as witnessed in many murals.<sup>2</sup>

With law and order in NI in disrepute, the fears of working-class Protestants assembled into various vigilante groups which sought to establish their own protection. In September 1971 they coalesced to form the largest paramilitary organisation in Western

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<sup>1</sup> Dave Magee, ‘The Deconstruction of Violent Masculinities Amongst Ulster Loyalists’ PhD diss., (University of Aberdeen, 2013), p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> Brown (2009) and Cavanaugh (1997) both suggest that loyalism’s four main paramilitary groups acted as agents in advancing unofficial memory, cited in Viggiani, *Talking Stones*, p.19.

Europe-the Ulster Defence Association.<sup>3</sup> What precisely ‘defence’ meant could vary from patrolling the streets to fighting in them or setting up barricades. In addition to some activities perceived as pragmatic, the UDA also allowed the Protestant population to express discontent at the political situation through marches and demonstrations. More specific to the demographic at the heart of this project, the emotional needs of young men were met. For those impatient to play some role in the emerging war, displays of strength gave them a sense of participation, there was excitement in parading and it was not uncommon for boys as young as four or five to be strutting proudly behind their elders, dressed in make-shift uniform.<sup>4</sup> From learned behaviour and gendered tropes right down to gesture and costume then, paramilitarism from its inception had an evident performativity to it. Behind the pageantry however was a palpable unease at how rapidly tensions were escalating. A wave of post-internment violence swept the country amid large scale chaos, homes destroyed and the subsequently displaced population. A vulnerability was intensified among the working class given their restricted social mobility. Unlike their wealthier counterparts they lacked the means to relocate away from the anarchy.

The men who joined the reformed Ulster Volunteer Force (the second main loyalist paramilitary organisation) and declared war on the IRA did so because they believed the rhetoric from politicians and preachers about an imminent attack on the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Easter Rising. This was only four years after ‘Operation Harvest’, the IRA’s short-lived border campaign that ended in defeat. Unlike 1966, which passed without republican incident, the threat in 1971 was very real as the Provisional IRA expanded their aim to

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<sup>3</sup> The most frequently self-claimed size of the UDA was 70-80,000. Jim Anderson, the first overall leader adopting the title of ‘Major General’ boasted he could summon up to 100,000 men. However, most sources put peak membership at around 40,000. Henry McDonald and Jim Cusack, *UDA: Inside the Heart of Loyalist Terror* (Dublin: Penguin Group Dublin, 2004), p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Nelson, *Ulster’s Uncertain Defenders*, p.105.

include economic targets such as shops and factories. These early atrocities unearthed a collective fury, and, when added to a volatile mix of helplessness and isolation, the desire for retaliation burned brighter. Nowhere is this better demonstrated than the aftermath of ‘Bloody Friday’—often cited by former loyalist combatants as the day they crossed the Rubicon.<sup>5</sup> On the 21<sup>st</sup> July 1972 and in the space of seventy-five minutes, the IRA detonated twenty-two bombs throughout Belfast. Nine civilians were killed and more than 130 injured. Bloody Friday occurred at the height of summer in the deadliest year of the Troubles. 479 people were killed in 1972 with an extraordinary 2,778 shootings in July alone. The magnitude was mirrored in the state’s response as just ten days after Bloody Friday, the British army regained the ‘no-go areas’ during ‘Operation Motorman’.<sup>6</sup>

As the worst decade of the conflict continued, the use of force, for some, went from being a last resort to their first. This can be heard in John White’s view that there was only *one* answer to acts like these—to fight fire with fire. By June 1973 White was one of the founders of the Ulster Freedom Fighters, the new cutting edge of the UDA’s counter-terror wing.<sup>7</sup> Labelled by some as ‘pro-state terrorism’, their links to the Union were often complex and even contradictory. The Ulster Workers’ Council (UWC) strike of 1974 is an example of polar opposite strategies simultaneously pursued leaving an ambiguous legacy. At once a remarkable victory for collective action—succeeding in bringing down the power-sharing Executive only established in January of the previous year—the fortnight also saw loyalist paramilitaries kill thirty-nine civilians. Thirty-three of these were claimed in the Dublin-Monaghan bombings, the deadliest co-ordinated attack in the Troubles. What appears as an

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<sup>5</sup> Billy Hutchinson with Gareth Mulvenna, *My Life in Loyalism* (Kildare: Merrion Press, 2020), p. 65.

<sup>6</sup> The largest exercise mounted since the Suez invasion in 1956, involving almost 22,000 troops, heavily armoured demolition vehicles and bulldozers. Jonathan Tonge, *Northern Ireland 3: Hot Spots in Global Politics* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006), p. 68.

<sup>7</sup> Ian S. Wood, *Crimes of Loyalty: A History of the UDA* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), p. 6.

erratic choice in tactics can partly be explained by a sudden switch in leadership. Strong and broad support for any leaders' ideas was never guaranteed and in April 1974 UVF senior chief of staff Jim Hanna was killed by one of its own with speculation over whether he was a British agent.<sup>8</sup> A following coup by hardliners signalled an extreme return to sectarian violence in 1975 which brought disarray and disgrace even among some of its own supporters. By the mid-1970s the already established practice of tit-for-tat violence reached a climax. Firstly the UVF killed three members of the popular cabaret group 'The Miami Showband' leading to a gun and bomb attack on the Bayardo bar. A year later the co-ordinated shooting of the Catholic Reavey and O'Dowd families prompted the PIRA to retaliate by killing ten Protestant workmen in the Kingsmill massacre. These brutal acts of revenge shocked the public and further revulsion was induced with gruesome news of the 'Shankill Butchers'.<sup>9</sup> Essentially the first decade of conflict reveals to us an important aspect of paramilitaries; that these organisations were very rarely held together or moving forward in the same direction under any unifying ideology. Naturally this internal fragmentation has consequences for the visual manifestation of masculinities.

#### 4.1.2 The Slump period

With some historical parallels to partition, Direct Rule was initially seen as a temporary measure until a restructured government could return to power. Another similarity to partition was that the prolonged period of stagnation was the source of mutual animosity. From the

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<sup>8</sup> Novosel, *Northern Ireland's Lost Opportunity*, p. 120.

<sup>9</sup> Representing possibly the most abhorrent example of loyalist violence, the gang's modus operandi involved kidnapping random Catholic civilians and torturing them with an assortment of knives. From 1975 they remained active for another seven years and were responsible for at least twenty-three deaths. Martin Dillon, *The Shankill Butchers: A Case Study of Mass Murder* (London: Arrow, 1990), pp. 66-69 see also foreword by Conor Cruise O'Brien.

early 1970s the crises in unionist identity and confidence was marked in a decline in the creation of murals or even the maintenance of existing ones.<sup>10</sup> As the once-secure ascendancy came into question, so too did the ritualistic retouching of King Billy. In lieu of this traditional figure and patriarchal guardian, most representations concentrated on a variety of symbols, icons and slogans. If we appreciate symbolic landscapes as a people's understanding of their world and others in it then it is tempting to see the increasing use of crude, short-hand heraldry as a hardening and simplification of their political attitudes.<sup>11</sup> Even when more solid and competently executed depictions appeared there was something a little contrived about them. Perhaps due to the skill that went into the flags, shields, banners and other emblems, they all featured a conspicuous absence of role models—no one was nominated to step in and take the place of the long-dead king.

Endeavours to dismantle the 'machinery of discrimination'<sup>12</sup> came at the cost of Protestants losing their parliament and with it a sense of self-determination. Despite fewer inequalities enacted from above, which is to say the verticality of structural violence, communities living cheek to jowl bore the brunt of civil unrest—a direct and horizontal violence which spread far and wide. We must also appreciate the decimation of civic pride in the spatial context of community and class. These tight-knit networks that had long been at the heart of a shared belonging were now broken up by repeated attacks. This hugely effected both sides and tore asunder the social fabric of schooling, housing and socialising, particularly the role of churches in Protestant communities. The 1970s were notable not only for a decline in mural production but in production more generally. In the 1960s, NI had a

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<sup>10</sup> Hill & White, 'Painting Peace?' p. 72.

<sup>11</sup> Loftus, 'Loyalist Wall Paintings', p.12.

<sup>12</sup> McBride, *The Siege of Derry*, p. 73.

thriving manufacturing sector which employed over 30% of the workforce and returned the highest rates of productivity growth in the UK. A world-wide recession of the 1970s with multinational companies exiting hastily along with the demise of the shipbuilding industry brought this dynamic engineering hub grinding to a halt. However, men lost more than jobs. They also lost the proud, confident image that came with this hard, honest manual labour. Gone too was the cherished position of man as breadwinner, providing for hearth and home; what Howes refers to as wearing the ‘material mask’.<sup>13</sup>

Faced with such a bleak emotional and financial deficit, some men sought to recoup at least their sense of purpose and identity through paramilitary involvement. Throughout the world, socio-economic deprivation can be a hotbed for violent expressions of assertiveness. It is paramount we recognise how the economic slump distinguishes a second hegemonic masculinity. Most conceptions of the patriarchy include economic and political privilege; something which loyalism has traditionally lacked in relation to unionism. Hence the previous chapter described a first hegemonic masculinity emanating in a top-down fashion throughout the fifty years of ‘misrule’. The first hegemony can be seen in parallel with the aforementioned vertical violence whereas a second, working-class hegemony derived much of its control and power through horizontal (and direct) violence.<sup>14</sup> The author would suggest the slump in mural production can be explained by the ferocious disruptions to civic life; aesthetic interests fall by the wayside when you are concerned with surviving one week to the next. Apart from one lonely example in 1979, where traditional heraldry is merged with contemporary concerns in this case a plea to ‘remember the loyalist prisoners’, murals of the

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<sup>13</sup> There first of several masks cited in this thesis, the material mask purports that there is no clearer sign of a man’s worth than the amount of money in his bank account. Lewis Howes, *The Mask of Masculinity*, p. 8.

<sup>14</sup> Beasley (2008) devises similar terminology when discussing ‘supra and sub hegemonic forms’ cited in Brandon Hamber, ‘There Is a Crack in Everything: Problematising Masculinities, Peacebuilding and Transitional Justice’, *Human Rights Review*, Vol. 17, Issue 1 (2016), p. 26.

1970s were predictable and repetitive. However the next decade would begin with a seismic event that would capture the world's attention and ensure they would remember prisoners: just not those of loyalism.

## 4.2 The Streets are Armed

### 4.2.1 Broadening the Battlefield: Republicanism's Rise and Loyalism's Response

The first nationalist mural appeared in the Bogside, Derry, in 1969 after a band of RUC reservists stormed the district in an unauthorised, late-night incursion breaking windows, inflicting assault and battery on individuals and hurling sectarian abuse at startled onlookers. Residents responded by erecting barricades around the entrances to the Bogside, organising patrols and painting on a gable in St. Columb's Street arguably the most famous mural in NI: 'YOU ARE NOW ENTERING FREE DERRY'. This, however, remained an isolated example until the early 1980s. During this interim the streets were a dangerous place for republican political culture, as the death of sixteen-year Michael McCartan in 1980 sadly revealed. Shot by an RUC officer as he painted the word 'Provos' on a wall on the Ormeau Road, South Belfast, the officer charged was found not guilty.<sup>15</sup>

The next year would prove pivotal in the conflict as a hunger strike began over the central issue of 'special category status' recognising inmates as political prisoners rather than criminals. The resolve of the 'Iron Lady' was undeterred by the death of ten men, likely in

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<sup>15</sup> Part of the successful defence was that his paintbrush had been mistaken for a gun. An SDLP councillor at the time commented: 'of course he was armed...with a paint brush...that's not a capital offence, it's vandalism and hooliganism' David McKittrick et al., *Lost Lives: The Stories of the Men, Women and Children Who Died as a Result of the Northern Ireland Troubles*, (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Co., 2004), p. 833.

part to how close the republican offensive had impacted her personally.<sup>16</sup> The British establishment was rocked by the assassination of Lord Mountbatten (a radio-controlled bomb was detonated on his boat ‘Shadow V’ off the coast of Co. Sligo). On the same day the PIRA carried out the Warrenpoint ambush—eighteen soldiers were killed and twenty more seriously wounded at Narrow Water Castle, Co. Down, in the deadliest attack on the British army. Despite this build up, many global opinions viewed UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher’s intransigence as cold and insensitive. Furthermore, the huge attendance at the funerals for the hunger strikers were regarded by some unionists as mass demonstrations of support for a visibly united nationalism.<sup>17</sup> As many as 100,000 paid their respects to Bobby Sands, the most famous hunger striker who won the seat of Fermanagh and South Tyrone a month before his death. The difference made by this propaganda victory cannot be understated. Support for Sinn Féin swelled and it went from the insignificant political wing of the IRA to one with serious ambitions. The IRA itself saw its biggest wave of recruits since Bloody Sunday nearly a decade earlier.<sup>18</sup>

Until now a considerable aspect of the British government’s attempt to win the propaganda war relied on depriving republicanism of publicity, hence the ban on press airing interviews. However, initial support for the hunger strike expressed as graffiti<sup>19</sup> sky-rocketed after Bobby Sands succumbed to sixty-six days of starvation. Around 150 murals were

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<sup>16</sup> Just two years prior the Irish National Liberation Army had killed her friend and Shadow Secretary for Northern Ireland, Airey Neave during an election campaign.

<sup>17</sup> McKittrick et al., *Lost Lives*, p. 847. See also John Laird, *A Struggle To Be Heard*, (London: Global & Western, 2010).

<sup>18</sup> Robert W. White and Tijen Demirel-Pegg, ‘Social Movements and Social Movement Organisations’ in Lorenzo Bosi and Gianluca De Fazio (eds.), *The Troubles in Northern Ireland and Theories of Social Movements*, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017), p. 138.

<sup>19</sup> Whilst the archives do not show any full-scale mural that directly opposed the republican hunger strike, a graffiti makes its author’s personal and political views explicitly clear: ‘Support the UVF...Let Sands rot in hell’.

completed before the end of 1981.<sup>20</sup> Sands himself realised the subversive potential of murals as a form of communication, as imparted in his four-step plan:

1. Organise the people that we have already got.
2. Attack through mass media propaganda, through an army of propagandists, you out there and we in here.
3. Make our message simple: ‘Smash H-Block’, some details, a call for action, plenty of emotion.
4. Broaden our battlefield, locally, nationally and internationally; the field is limitless.<sup>21</sup>

These were the raw ingredients for a successful campaign and the turning point for republican visual culture. Of particular relevance to us is how the hunger strikes altered the landscape of masculine expression. Coomasaru’s observations are useful here as he contrasts the frailty of the weak, wounded representations with the far more standardised invulnerability.<sup>22</sup> Although the twisting emaciated bodies illustrate the realities of conflict more than most murals, we should not necessarily interpret them as any challenge to patriarchal norms. They did after all play a major role in generating IRA propaganda and while not all are an explicit call to arms or advertisements for Sinn Féin, they do present deeply coded cultural symbols in a structured message.<sup>23</sup> Whilst they do not indulge in the

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<sup>20</sup> Hill & White, ‘Painting Peace?’, p. 74.

<sup>21</sup> Denis O’Hearn, ‘Movement Inside and Outside of Prison: The H-Block Protests’ in Bosi and De Fazio, *The Troubles in Northern Ireland*, p. 156.

<sup>22</sup> The male being is no longer enclosed in ‘steely skin-armour’ but is of real, pure flesh and blood. Edwin Coomasaru, ‘Emaciating machismo: masculinity, murals and memorialising hunger strikes’ *Irish Times* 5 May 2016 <https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/books/emaciating-machismo-masculinity-murals-and-memorialising-hunger-strikes-1.2636109> accessed 3 May 2019.

<sup>23</sup> Jack Santino, *Signs of War and Peace: Social Conflict and the Uses of Symbols in Public in Northern Ireland*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), p. 44.

tired fantasy of the macho warrior, the prison scenes that confined a Christ-like strength of spirit or the grieving mothers embracing their sons as if from a Pietà are essentially exalting a different ideal; one of dignified sacrifice aimed at young men.

We must consider not only the masculinities contained within murals but also those responsible for their creation. The aiding of mural artists was more than just an enjoyable experience. For some, like Gerard Kelly, it was how individual stature was enhanced.<sup>24</sup> The heroes therefore are not confined to the walls but extended to those involved in their placement. Their heroism is at one with the transgressive risk-taking behaviour associated with street art. The adrenaline rush accompanying this performative bravery was far from a one-sided affair. Seventeen-year-old Stephen Hull from the Shankill had been reared on stories of Carsons' UVF and the Somme, and his father had served as corporal in the Ulster Defence Regiment. Yet, before joining, the closest he had been to the UVF was assisting in painting a mural at the bottom of his street.<sup>25</sup> Viewing these cases through a youthful lens, the action of painting becomes a secretive method for proving one's value, and valour as a man-to-be, while contributing to the public broadcasting of their respective cause.

In response to this sudden upsurge in republican imagery, a flourish of loyalist paintings from the mid-1980s went up but with a distinctively more militaristic and reactive presence. In a furious rush of activity Alan Skillen painted seven large murals in Percy Place in the weeks leading up to the 12<sup>th</sup> July celebrations in 1984. Percy Place is a small cul-de-sac and after Skillen had left his mark it was 'impossible to turn in any direction without encountering a visual avalanche of loyalist symbolism.'<sup>26</sup> In all works mentioned in this

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid, p. 44.

<sup>25</sup> Stephen joined the UVF after the army refused to take him due to his excessive weight. Commenting on his commitment he said, 'it was a war...I was doing my bit...whatever was asked of me, I would have done it' from Taylor *Loyalists War and Peace*, p. 211.

<sup>26</sup> Rolston, *Politics & Painting*, p. 39.

thesis the author urges the reader to imagine the long-term psychological consequences of such spatially condensed exposure. For the first time life-sized armed volunteers were stationed in the landscape. From their inception they offered a double-reading. Standing as they often do at the entrance to loyalist streets like Ainsworth Avenue, their stance was either one of defence or intimidation depending on one's viewpoint both politically and literally. Explicit territorialisation also comes across with works proclaiming: 'This is loyalist west Belfast...No Surrender.' and using maps of NI to convey provincial dominion. The latter technique would be repeated with hooded gunmen regularly standing or kneeling on top of a detached six-county Ulster. This speaks to the gendered tradition of men encouraged to occupy as much spatial volume as possible while women are expected to reduce their physical size in public.<sup>27</sup>

These weaponised displays, with guns raised in protection or threat, instantly separated viewers into friend or foe category. The increasingly martial character has also been cited as evidence for a growing disillusionment with mainstream unionism among a younger, socially frustrated generation of loyalists.<sup>28</sup> Furthering this notion of generational split in politics is a split in manly virtues. The gunman archetype stands apart from the 'hard men' of the pre-1950s who were, comparatively, understood as idolised street fighters.<sup>29</sup> While the world of bare-fist boxing may not strike some as a noble masculinity it had a citywide reputation for fairness when strictly adhering to agreed upon rules.<sup>30</sup> Whereas the

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<sup>27</sup> The idea of male gestures and postures taking up more room has been argued as a claim to power. David Buchbinder, *Studying Men & Masculinities*, (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 137.

<sup>28</sup> Santino makes this point in Hill & White 'Painting Peace?' p. 73.

<sup>29</sup> According to Sugden, these 'hard men' primarily worked in the heavy industries of shipyards, mills and factories (exclusively male occupational environments) and inhabited a proud, physically tough demeanour. Alan Bairner, "The Ulster Boys: Reflections on Masculinity within Northern Ireland's Protestant Community." Hitotsubashi Discussion Paper Series No. 6 (Hitotsubashi University, 2008), p. 1.

<sup>30</sup> Evidence is drawn from oral history by Lysaght (2002) cited in Fidelma Ashe, 'Gendering War and Peace: Militarized Masculinities in Northern Ireland', *Men and Masculinities*, Vol. 15, Issue 3 (2012), p. 240.

‘hard man’ entertained large crowds, the gun man sent those large crowds running for cover. Clearly there were new and terrifying elements to the latter masculinity. The author posits that a common link was the admiration of physical strength and will to dominate others. As we will see, however, this generation ramped up this element in a superlative transition—from the original hard men to the harder men who would take over the streets in paint and power.

#### 4.2.2 ‘Never! Never! Never!’ Reaction to the Anglo-Irish Agreement

The rise of republican imagery can be thought of, from a particular loyalist perspective, as an encroachment into a domain once controlled entirely by unionism. Just as the civil rights movement had attempted to encroach upon the political domain, now murals—another tradition—were being challenged. Accordingly to this perspective, the response was aggressively defensive, yet those first painted gunmen would pale in comparison to how loyalists would deal with the biggest encroachment to come: the Anglo-Irish Agreement of November 1985. Hailed by some as a historic step on the road to solving ‘the NI problem’, the Agreement was universally rejected outright by unionists on two grounds. Firstly they considered that they were never consulted, whereas nationalists, through the SDLP (namely John Hume) had a line into ongoing discussions. Second, by giving the Republic a say in the internal affairs of Ulster the terms were anathema to many and their opposition was vociferous.<sup>31</sup> Such reaction really should not have come as a surprise to anyone paying attention to grievances already voiced in the UWC strike.<sup>32</sup> Years later and talk of a ‘Council

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<sup>31</sup> In a House of Commons speech, Harold McCusker, Deputy Leader of the UUP Assembly Group, claimed he had never known what desolation felt like until he read the AIA. He went on to state that should PM Thatcher carry out the terms of the Agreement he would ‘carry to [his] grave with ignominy the sense of the injustice that I have done to my constituents down the years— when, in their darkest hours, I exhorted them to put their trust in this British House of Commons.’ Harold McCusker, HC Deb (18 November 1985) vol 87, Col. 19-35.

<sup>32</sup> The strike itself had been tremendously successful, owing in large part to the high numbers of Protestants employed in key industries. The most pressing issue for opponents of the power-sharing Executive (aside from the power-sharing itself) was the introduction of the dreaded ‘Irish dimension.’ Twinned with the Republic’s

of Ireland' was bound to induce similar vitriol and stoke fears of reunification, epitomised in the famous election poster: 'Dublin is just a Sunningdale away'.

To some the slogan, and indeed the reaction at large, might qualify as hyperbole since the provisions in both Sunningdale and the AIA gave limited consultative input from the Republic. However, the perception of infringement was at the very least symbolic enough to generate an aggrieved focus within unionism. Days after Prime Minister Thatcher and Taoiseach Garret FitzGerald signed the agreement, the new NI secretary, Tom King, was assaulted by angry loyalists outside city hall and by mid-December all fifteen unionist MPs had resigned. The AIA rekindled a mixture of panic and determination not seen since the crisis period of 1912.<sup>33</sup> The fight to resist it took the form of a number of public demonstrations as well as on the walls of loyalist estates in a burst of mural production. Reinforcing the juxtaposition of historical episodes, some of the first depictions from 1912-14 appeared in 1987, incentivised by the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the UVF's formation.

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constitution still containing Articles two and three which claimed sovereign jurisdiction over the province, any role in Northern Irish affairs was an affront.

<sup>33</sup> Richard Bourke, *Peace in Ireland: The War of Ideas* (London: Pimlico, 2012), p. 276.



Fig.4.1

This depiction is notable as the first recorded use of directly conflating militarised figures with all the appropriate accoutrements to date them. The work visualises the loyalist experience of ‘remembering’ with its tendency of collapsing time in a linear manner.<sup>34</sup> Two phases of armed mobilisation of a Protestant working class are shoulder to shoulder with only another map drawing in between them. The 1912 volunteer stands on a green surface (representing a field, i.e., rural environment), whereas the modern volunteer is on a white/grey surface (the pavement of a town or city—an urban setting), advancing the argument for absolute territorial control.

Anniversaries regularly give rise to returning cycles of time, indeed just a year after the AIA the first prominent use of the Somme memory took its place in the symbolic landscape and has never left. Though the events of the First World War irrevocably altered a

<sup>34</sup> Evershed, ‘Ghosts of the Somme’, p. 253.

great many factors of life, it did not add anything new to modern stereotypes around masculinity and simply further entrenched its association with militarism.<sup>35</sup> While the subject matter would become hugely commonplace, it is worth mentioning that a photograph was taken ten years later—even though it would show the wall in partial demolition; the militarised image it bore was displayed for a full decade. The longevity of loyalist murals is something we must bear in mind when evaluating their psychological impact. That nothing took its place for so long is indicative of a larger, very valid point; apart from the Boyne and the Somme, those two great battles in loyalist memory, muralists exhibit an unfortunate ignorance of their own history. It is as if those two rivers are the sole source of loyalist imagination and the intervening time is little more than a barren stretch of land between the rivers.

The most obvious expression of loyalist opposition was the massive ‘Ulster Says No!’ rally, attended by roughly 100,000 people at Belfast City Hall.<sup>36</sup> The man orchestrating the excoriation, Rev. Paisley, was by then no stranger to fuelling provocation, but this moment gave him the greatest opportunity yet to adopt the Carsonite mould. Conscious mimicry had been applied when he posed in front of Carson’s statue outside Stormont. If the statue exemplified unionist integrity and hardness, then the City Hall rally gave him an unprecedented platform to perform the fantasy of an enduring body politic.<sup>37</sup> In 1987 a bust of Carson himself popped up alongside a UVF motorised division which drives straight out of 1912 and down the Shankill Road. Both crisis periods of course shared the singular fear of a

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<sup>35</sup> The birth of this modern masculinity can be said to have culminated during the Napoleonic Wars. George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 109.

<sup>36</sup> Like the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary mural, crisis episodes were melded in the strategically chosen location for the rally. The emotionally charged day unfolded at the same site of the major demonstration on ‘Ulster Day’ (28<sup>th</sup> September 1912). Even photographs taken from the City Hall’s dome mimicked the sepia shots captured during the Home Rule crisis. Jackson, ‘Unionist Myths’, p. 165.

<sup>37</sup> Coupe, ‘Unionism’s obsession with masculinity hurts its cause’.

British betrayal and, while this was understandable, it was mostly exaggerated so that rational political calculations were more difficult to make. For Carson, the fight against the dangerous radicalism of the Liberals required ‘every weapon available in constitutional conflict.’<sup>38</sup>

Murals were now the latest weapon added to the arsenal already employed with emotional efficiency during the Home Rule era. A tenet of this project, however, is that in a way the real ‘weapon’ is not the flintlock musket or a Lee Enfield rifle, nor even the Armalite; rather it is the set of attitudes, gendered norms, and behavioural expectations that implore men to make use of them so readily. In moments of mounting agitation this need to act decisively again highlights a fraught relationship to the British state. Anxious rumours of a possible British withdrawal were so strong they echoed an earlier forecast from Rev. Robert Bradford, Industry spokesman for the Unionist Parliamentary Party: ‘we may well have to become “Queen’s rebels” in order to remain subjects of any kind.’<sup>39</sup> Following Bradford’s assassination, Paisley held several rallies called the ‘Carson Trail’ assembling groups of loyalists into his ‘Third Force’ who paraded through Protestant-majority towns at night collecting to fund new Ulster defenders.<sup>40</sup> In 1987, seven years after PIRA shot Bradford, a memorial mural emerged featuring a rampart (lower left) and a cannon (lower right); symbols which referenced the first defenders.

#### 4.2.3 The Gates are shut once again

We should not be surprised that a search for symbols led young mural artists back to the story of the Siege of Derry. The fresh feeling of isolation, cut off from traditional sources of

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<sup>38</sup> Cathal McManus, “Bound in darkness and idolatry”? Protestant working-class underachievement and unionist hegemony, *Irish Studies Review*, Vol. 23, Issue 1 (2015), p. 57.

<sup>39</sup> Bourke, *Peace in Ireland*, p.223.

<sup>40</sup> Though many ridiculed these performative stunts, there was a more serious side with the Ulster Resistance gun-running, weaponry which kept loyalist paramilitaries going until the late 1990s at least.

support, lent a renewed identification to the story of seventeenth century perseverance. This move toward more specific and familiar motifs represents a taking control of visual matters when political agency seemed to be drifting further away. The humiliation of the loser being inseparable from the exaltation of the winner is a basic formula that was as true for the masculinities of the seventeenth century as it was for those at either end of the twentieth century. The city of Derry itself, of course, retained its significance at the beginning of the Troubles. The NICRA march of 5<sup>th</sup> October 1968 went along the east bank, over the Craigavon Bridge and into the Diamond. For Protestants such a route constituted an assault, an infiltration on the heart of the city protected within its ancient walls.<sup>41</sup> Just as the Apprentice Boys organised a march on the day as a response, they came dashing into view in mural form as a pictorial response to the AIA.



Fig.4.2

<sup>41</sup> Taylor, *Loyalists*, p. 53.

Scenes of the ‘Siege’ actually number very few, yet their use is similar to more persistent subject matter; images of a glorious past mobilised to give meaning and direction to present struggles. This particular measure taken was, in other formats, a popular choice for emotional re-enactment. Its centenary, for example, was ushered in with the ringing of bells, beating of drums and the firing of cannons used in 1689. On occasion this exhilarating cocktail of street theatre, religious observance and political demonstration seemed to teeter at the interface between play acting and real attacking.<sup>42</sup> The ritual was of course repeated in 1912, electrified with contemporary apprehension. Appearing to pledge support for Ulster Protestant resistance, leader of the Conservative Party Andrew Bonar Law seemed to equate the UVF with the brave three hundred at Thermopylae: ‘Once again you hold the pass, the pass for the Empire. You are a besieged city. The timid have left you; your Lundys have betrayed you; but you have closed your gates.’<sup>43</sup> The villain is as indispensable to art and drama as the devil is to religious sermon and scripture. Both are anti-examples, figures to whom we can compare and construct our heroes. The tenacity of such oppositional characters cannot be overlooked as McKay demonstrates in relation to her own experience and the testimony of painter Dermot Seymour. In her words ‘you are loyal, or you are a Lundy. There is no middle way. Resist or surrender, and surrender is treachery.’ Seymour develops this in context to prohibited individualism: ‘being a Protestant, for me, is like having no head...you are not allowed to think without becoming a threat, or a Lundy.’<sup>44</sup>

These comments reveal a ‘siege mentality’ assembled from a series of inter-connected binaries (inside/outside, defenders/attackers, good/evil, weak/powerful). What the besieging

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<sup>42</sup> The glamour of volunteering recalled past military glories so, naturally, emotions were high. In 1780 some citizen-soldiers threw themselves so zealously into the performance that what began as a shame fight threatened to end in actual bloodshed. McBride, *The Siege of Derry*, p. 38.

<sup>43</sup> Stewart, *The Narrow Ground*, p. 67.

<sup>44</sup> Susan McKay, *Northern Protestants on Shifting Ground*, (Newtownards: Blackstaff Press, 2021), p. 3.

forces seek to breach then is more than physical territory but a sanctuary of cherished beliefs. Forker and McCormick extend this metaphor by proposing that our internal sanctum is the brain containing private thoughts and intimate feelings.<sup>45</sup> This expansion has profound implications when we frame it in the context of gender. The proud warriors manning the walls are protecting the ‘real’ masculinities kept firmly contained within the locked sanctum. Looking down from the psychological battlements they can spy those emotional forces that would smash the defences and take over; namely ‘lesser’, feminised masculinities. Of the few emotions men are socially permitted to experience, pride and shame rule supreme as ‘master emotions’.<sup>46</sup> Public expression, emotions such as sadness, fear and vulnerability are misunderstood by a dominant male culture as impurities to reason, due to their proximity to their feminine or racialised association.<sup>47</sup> As such, when we discuss some loyalist men as having ‘closed minds’ it may not be limited to conflict resolution or political negotiation, but instead include fixed and fundamental ways of being; elements of his self that he must deny; thoughts and feelings he must expel from the small sanctuary and shut the gates behind them.

The ‘managed decline’ of the 1980s meant that factories and warehouses were also locking their gates. The heavy industries of a bygone era had demanded physical strength, stamina and toughness whereas the esteem of men was now atrophying. That social class and gender should so saliently intersect seems fitting given that Connell’s seminal theory adapted Gramsci’s original analysis on class relations.<sup>48</sup> The pluralising of socially constructed masculinities, with the hegemony assuming top tier in a hierarchical arrangement, replaced

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<sup>45</sup> Forker & McCormick, ‘Walls of history’, p. 433.

<sup>46</sup> This conforms to a long-held fallacy in western thought of opposing gendered emotions, wherein women are excessively emotional, and men are supposedly rational. Thomas Scheff, ‘Bloody Revenge: Emotions, Nationalism and War’ (1994) cited in Jonathan S. Blake, *Contentious Rituals: Parading the Nation in Northern Ireland* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 104.

<sup>47</sup> Victor J. Seidler, *Transforming Masculinities: Men, culture, bodies, power, sex and love*, (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 16.

<sup>48</sup> Fidelma Ashe, *The New Politics of Masculinity: Men, power and resistance* (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 143.

the out-dated sex-role theory. Based on a biological reductionism, sex-role posited men's bodies as the bearers of traits produced by evolutionary pressures, purportedly explaining a resultant inclination toward aggression, competitiveness, desiring territory, domination and 'Alpha' promiscuity.<sup>49</sup> Positioning masculinity as rooted in biology was problematic, not least because it distorted an inherently complex matter into a ludicrously simple, single source, but because of its ramifications on responsibility. If our gender identity has been determined for us then it suggests there is little we can do to amend it, thereby validating male aggression since it is beyond the blameless individual's regulation. The casual absolution of instinct over intention resounds in the cliché: '(Apprentice) Boys will be boys'. An avid dismissal of sex-role should not reject the argument that masculinity has no biological precedent. Such a position is untenable but the ability of will-power, emotional management, self-reflection and change should not be discarded.<sup>50</sup>

A more consumerist lifestyle of the 1980s only exacerbated this expectation. Beyond financial independence one should strive to occupy a lavish station; the 'material mask' had become more ostentatious. When some men fall short of this expectation, they may seek increasingly desperate methods of reasserting their wounded pride. A solution for young Protestants was to dedicate themselves to local 'Blood and Thunder' bands (initially known as 'Kick the Pope' bands) or replicate the 'Tartan Gangs' of the previous decade. Both were expressions of belligerent masculinity and ethno-sectarian identity with the latter being a response to the notorious death of three off-duty Scottish soldiers, lured away from a pub as

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<sup>49</sup> Raewyn Connell, *Masculinities* 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, (Cambridge: Polity, 2005), p. 46.

<sup>50</sup> This position is a consistently unpopular one among men's studies scholars as exemplified by Whitehead and Barrett (2001): 'men are not puppets of their hormones' cited in Kevin Alexander Boon, 'Heroes, Metanarratives, and the Paradox of Masculinity in Contemporary Western Culture' *Journal of Men's Studies* Vol. 13 Issue 3 (2005), p. 307.

part of an IRA ‘honey-trap’ in 1971.<sup>51</sup> So the major militarisation in loyalist paintings of the mid-1980s can be seen as manipulating the severe discontent of young working-class men. Under the watchful commission of local commanders, an otherwise rich and varied landscape became virtually monopolised by advertisements for paramilitary organisations with masked volunteers always looking for new recruits.

An analogy to advertising, advanced by many scholars including most recently and convincingly by Lisle, contends that the most successful adverts/murals work without us knowing it. This is achieved by circumventing rational thought and embedding themselves in our subconscious desires.<sup>52</sup> A description of Northern Irish society as ‘suffering from a deep psychosis in which rational thought and action are invariably overtaken by emotional spasms the moment it comes under stress’<sup>53</sup>, would make it the perfect audience for such ‘advertising’. The causal connection between conflict imagery and conflict is thus far from immediate and obvious, but if contentious, emotionally-laden, provocative paintings occupy the same ‘prime-time’ spatial slot for so long, the author argues, such consistent exposure would begin to take some subliminal effect. At times some murals appeared as if enlarged pages straight from a munitions dealer’s sales catalogue, selling not literal weapons but the masculine experience wielding them brought. Often this came about in numerous examples of euphemistic language or exaggerated prowess. One such case describes the operations of the ‘Protestant Action Force’: ‘[we] reserve the right to strike at republican targets where and when the opportunity arises’. Another similarity with advertising is the crafting of a lie as

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<sup>51</sup> Gareth Mulvenna discusses feelings of frustration, anger and fear over a perceived impotence of state security forces in the aftermath of such incidents. Gareth Mulvenna, *Tartan Gangs and Paramilitaries: The Loyalist Backlash*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016), pp. 92-94.

<sup>52</sup> Lisle, ‘Local Symbols, Global Networks’ p. 37.

<sup>53</sup> The description, from Harold Jackson’s ‘The Two Irelands’ (a pamphlet written in 1971 for Minority Rights Group) must be taken with a large pinch of salt given not only its scope but the context in which it was originally made at the beginning of the conflict. Harold Jackson, *The Two Irelands: A Dual Study of Inter-Group Tensions*, Minority Rights Group, Report no.2 (London: Minority Rights Group, 1971), p.4.

many killings did not contribute to any military campaign against the IRA or INLA. Due to pragmatic factors like poor planning or lack of intelligence, many victims were non-combatants simply in or near Catholic majority areas.<sup>54</sup>

Other than random sectarian killings, a common strategy utilised by all paramilitaries during the Troubles was reciprocal revenge. Some atrocities inspired this impulse such as the IRA's Remembrance Sunday bombing at Enniskillen in 1987. The next day five Catholic teenagers were injured in an apparent retaliatory shooting in Belfast and later a Protestant teenager, mistaken for a Catholic, was killed by the UDA.<sup>55</sup> Cyclical revenge is facilitated by the reduction of any situation into dualistic polarities which compel men to either participate or risk being considered a 'weak' traitor (especially within Protestant circles). With the conflict approaching its third decade, some felt the intractability could only be overcome if the despicable 'other' truly tasted their own medicine. Such was the motive of Michael Stone who caused havoc at the Milltown Cemetery attack in 1988. Mourners had gathered to bury three IRA volunteers killed in Gibraltar by the SAS during 'Operation Flavius' when Stone open fired with handguns and tossed grenades killing three and injuring over sixty. Lone wolves and loose cannons could be a liability for paramilitary organisations, damaging their public image and jeopardising whatever dedicated political cause they claim to pursue. Stone, however, was lauded by some in the community as a modern-day folk-hero.<sup>56</sup> His deeds earned him such praise that he was compared to William III in a mural-coronation of 'King

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<sup>54</sup> Out of the 544 deaths the UVF and the RHC were jointly responsible for between 1966 and 2002 a startling 84% were civilians, 10% were other loyalists and a mere 5% were republican paramilitaries McKittrick et al. cited in Aaron Edwards, 'Abandoning Armed Resistance? The Ulster Volunteer Force as a Case Study of Strategic Terrorism in Northern Ireland' *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* vol. 32 issue 2 (2009), p. 152.

<sup>55</sup> Helen Robinson, 'Remembering War in the Midst of Conflict: First World War Commemorations in the Northern Irish Troubles' *Twentieth Century British History*, Vol. 21, No. 1, (2010), p. 97.

<sup>56</sup> Tim Pat Coogan has described Gusto Spence in similar terms. Spence's involvement with the Malvern Street murder in 1966 had given him legendary status among many young loyalists and he was even claimed as an inspiration by the likes of Michael Stone. Martin Dillon, *Stone Cold* (London: Arrow Books, 1993), pp. 23-24.

Michael Stone'. In another he stands defiantly in Milltown, surrounded by a halo-like motif adorned with loyalist flags. The accompanying inscription 'His Only Crime was Loyalty' became a catchphrase proclaiming a subject's innocence.

Not all civilian deaths were purely sectarian in nature, and as the decade came to an end the UDA, restless for physical force, assassinated lawyer Pat Finucane. A specialist in criminal defence, Finucane came to prominence during several high-profile human rights cases brought against the British government and defending republican and (it was claimed) loyalist prisoners, as such was deemed a prestigious target. Seemingly unbounded male competition would pit rival organisations, particularly younger members hungry for honour, against each other to secure such 'military successes'. The IRA also struck selective victims and in December 1987 the Ulster Democratic Party lost its leader, John McMichael, to a booby-trap car bomb. The sudden loss of a leader, political or military, could not only bring to an abrupt halt their strategy, but make room for a less collaborative replacement. Indeed as Reed notes it is a painful myopic perspective that does not appreciate that the destruction of violence will outlive any sensational satisfaction delivered by a revenge killing.<sup>57</sup>

McMichael's untimely passing was shortly followed by a substantial arms consignment shipped from Lebanon and South Africa.<sup>58</sup> The confidence that also arrived is attested in a 1989 work. Along with the habitual language parroting official military terminology, describing themselves as an 'active service unit', there did not seem to be anything 'new' about this era or the hypermasculine energy propelling it on.

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<sup>57</sup> Richard Reed, *Paramilitary Loyalism: Identity and Change*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), p. 6.

<sup>58</sup> The shipment included 200 Czech assault rifles, 90 Browning pistols, 10 RPG 7 rocket systems and 150 warheads, 450 fragmentation grenades and ammunition for rifles and handguns. Henry McDonald and Jim Cusack, *UDA*, p. 157.



Fig.4.3

### 4.3 Turning a Freedom Corner (1990-1994)

#### 4.3.1 'For as long as One Hundred of Us Remain...'

In the immediate aftermath of the AIA it may have seemed as if a permafrost of relations had descended on both sides of the Irish Sea, but by 1990 communication had gradually thawed. Yet in such a sensitive climate the slightest error in judgement or inattention to detail can have destabilising reverberations. So it was when one sentence delivered by Secretary of State Peter Brooke attracted fervent scrutiny. During his Whitbread Speech of November of that year he claimed: 'the British government has no selfish, strategic or economic interest in: our role is to help, enable and encourage.'<sup>59</sup> Speculation fell hard on the first clause, as it implied that Britain had found itself lumbered with a province to which it was neither

<sup>59</sup> Timeline: Northern Ireland's road to peace, *BBC News* <[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/northern\\_ireland/4072261.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/northern_ireland/4072261.stm)> (27/1/06) [accessed 15/12/20].

sentimentally nor emotionally attached.<sup>60</sup> Ultimately the Brooke-Mayhew talks failed to produce any civil longevity despite loyalist paramilitaries calling a brief two-month ceasefire again in 1991 to complement this early stage of the peace process. In a terrible swing of the pendulum, the UVF and UDA returned to a ruthless campaign of terror, the former killing sixty-six people between 1991 and 1994, a higher tally than the previous ten years combined.<sup>61</sup>

A visual return to terror also swiftly took place at a site which remains today one of the most prominent assertions of loyalist identity. Over the next few years dozens of paintings would be clumped together along a 150-yard stretch known as ‘Freedom Corner’. The location of any mural is almost as important as its contents since this determines how often it is viewed and by how many viewers. In terms of maximising the influence of one’s message, busy arterial routes are obviously popular and highly sought after. By staking a claim to this portion of the Newtownards Road, the East Belfast UDA had acquired prime real estate for forcefully impressing their particular vision onto a large audience. The first work did not rely on the typical historical episodes but extended its reach back through time to lean on another source of legitimacy. In an audacious rewriting, the UFF appropriated the culminating lines of the ‘Declaration of Arbroath’ (1320). Perhaps a nod to their Scottish brethren, the magniloquence had a high value in terms of gendered propaganda, with its pledge to resist foreign domination even down to the last one hundred men.<sup>62</sup> The pseudo-historical text sits opposite a large, vapid clenched red fist and contemporary masked

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<sup>60</sup> The claim was to be repeated three years later in the ‘Downing Street Declaration’ see O’Brien, B *The Long War: The IRA and Sinn Fein from Armed Struggle to Peace Talks* Dublin 1995, p. 211. Cited in Paul Bew, Henry Patterson and Paul Teague *Between War and Peace: The Political Future of Northern Ireland* (London: Lawrence & Wishart London, 1997), p. 13.

<sup>61</sup> Edwards, ‘Abandoning Armed Resistance?’, p. 152.

<sup>62</sup> The key phrase in the original closing passage reads: ‘never will we on any conditions be brought under English rule’ referring to the First War of Scottish Independence. <https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/Declaration>. In the UFF version this was amended to read: ‘we shall never in anyway consent to submit to the Irish’. Despite the nearly seven centuries of separation in circumstance, the reworked text appears in several other murals.

volunteer flaunting his AK-47. Santino believes Freedom Corner's boldness in style and content reflect a festering impatience and militancy among a younger generation of Ulster Protestants.<sup>63</sup>

#### 4.3.2 Targeting the Demographic

A targeting of the youth demographic is as formulaic as the militarisation of masculinity in these ideological adverts. An important distinction to note is the lack of boundaries between the civilian and military spheres. While 'military' refers to a specific and strictly delineated institution, in a world apart complete with codes, customs and vocabulary, 'militarisation' is a far wider and nebulous phenomena where the two worlds bleed in together. Countless examples in murals illustrate this with non-official military combatants impersonating gestures, the most popular being variants on the three-volley salute or the British army's 'reverse arms', weapon resting, heads bowed, and eyes closed. Even the last work referenced shows a spatial uniformity. Rather than elevated above eye level, the figures meet us on street level with the flag-bearing volunteers crouching virtually on the pavement.

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<sup>63</sup> Santino, *Signs of War and Peace*, p. 40.



Fig.4.4

While the UDA tug on the same heart strings, they also exploited other strategies for eliciting the youth support. In one 1992 work, cartoons and sports were synthesized when ‘Spike’ the bulldog, donning a loyalist bands uniform, grabs the cowardly cat ‘Jerry’ by the scruff of his Celtic football shirt (one half of the bitter, often sectarian Glasgow derby known as the Old Firm). As Mulvenna explains, had this ‘angry young man’ syndrome been located anywhere else in the UK it would have fed into relatively innocuous sub-cultures like the earlier Teddy Boys or Mods and Rockers. In NI, gangs like the Tartans and their successors saw their aggression utilised by older men to produce new recruits.<sup>64</sup> Rather than creative

<sup>64</sup> Gareth Mulvenna, ‘The Protestant working class in Belfast: education and civic erosion – an alternative analysis’, *Irish Studies Review*, Vol. 20, Issue 4 (2012), p. 438.

pursuits (like music) providing an emotional shelter for young men to seek refuge from the conflict, they occasionally became annexed to the cause. Some murals bearing the name of flute bands, like the 'Cloughfern Young Conquerors' were visually conducted by masked gunmen. Such unrestrained militarisation leads to a higher exposure rate to violence and a number of psychological studies have suggested that such portrayals act as 'primers' for direct violence.<sup>65</sup> If anything there is evidence that the UDA's advertising was *too* good and with this apparent success came unintended failures. As with any organisation, the greater the number of members the more difficult it is to maintain consistent order and general accord.<sup>66</sup> For an organisation professing to personify duty and discipline, the most inevitable breakdown in communication and co-ordination was not simply embarrassing; it could result to further bloodshed. No longer content with rioting, some from large gangs hurriedly subsumed into the Ulster Young Militants would pose progressively deadlier threat as they rose rapidly through the ranks. A cycle of killing climaxed in January 1992 with the PIRA detonating a land mine at the Teebane crossroads, Co. Tyrone. The eight civilians on the bus had been working at a British army base, making them in the Provisional's eyes viable targets. The response from the UFF was a mass shooting at Sean Graham's Bookmakers on the Ormeau Road with the gunmen that killed five civilians shouting 'remember Teebane!'<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Bartholow, B et al (2005) 'Interactive effects of life experience and situational cues on aggression: the weapons priming effect in hunters and nonhunters' *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* vol. 41 p. 48-60/ Berkowitz, Leonard and Anthony LePage (1967) 'Weapons as Aggression-Eliciting Stimuli' *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* vol.7 p. 202-07 all cited in Ella Page, 'Men, Masculinity and guns: can we break the link?' IANSA Women's Network [http://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/Resources/NGO/SALW\\_MenAndGuns\\_IANSA\\_2009.pdf](http://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/Resources/NGO/SALW_MenAndGuns_IANSA_2009.pdf) accessed 22 July 2020, p. 4.

<sup>66</sup> Unlike the much smaller, more secretive and centralised UVF, the UDA's structure brought in a broad church from across the social spectrum. Reed '*Paramilitary Loyalty*, p. 44.

<sup>67</sup> Ian S. Wood, *Crimes of Loyalty*, p. 159.

#### 4.3.3 'Is he Catholic or Protestant?' Cu Chulainn, the Ultimate Poster Boy'

In the early 1990s a new masculine icon arrived at Freedom Corner and was one of the most unlikely candidates to fill this space.



Fig.4.5

The ancient warrior Cú Chulainn had for centuries represented the heroic ideal not of unionism but of Irish nationalism. Indeed his posture in the painting is copied from Oliver Sheppard's bronze statue in the General Post Office in Dublin—the site of Padraig Pearse's reading of the 'Proclamation of the Irish Republic' beginning the Easter Rising in 1916. More recently, Cú Chulainn was featured in a republican mural in Armagh amongst a host of nationalist symbols: a background map of Ireland, the four provincial shields, the wolfhound and the Celtic harp. Unsurprisingly his presence does not signify a mutual respect or similarity in narratives that transcends the divide but rather the latest in symbolic contestation,<sup>68</sup> encapsulated when a participant in a youth workshop only half-jokingly asked

<sup>68</sup> Another clear, and more frequently seen, example of this controversial construction of history is the Red Hand of Ulster. The traditional emblem for the main clan in the North, the O'Neills, it predates colonisation. For some

of the warrior: ‘is he Catholic or Protestant?’<sup>69</sup> He is, of course, paradoxically neither and both, but he most definitely does not straddle any common ground. The loyalist claim to Cú Chulainn is based on a revision of the ‘*Táin Bó Cúailnge*’ (*The Cattle Raid of Cooley*), an epic of early Irish literature and the longest, most important tale within a series of legends and sagas known as ‘the Ulster Cycle’. The *Táin* chronicles a war waged by Queen Mehb of Connacht intent on stealing the stud Brown Bull of Cooley. With the King and all the warriors of Ulster under a debilitating curse, the vast armies are opposed only by Cú Chulainn, a teenage demigod imbued with supernatural strength. The twist in the tale, however, is when some loyalists believe he belonged to an entirely separate ethnic group, defending Ulster from Irish-Celtic invaders from the south, performing the same task of contemporary paramilitaries.

This interpretation is based on the writing of Dr. Ian Adamson who from 1974 elaborated an ethnogenesis that proposed the invaders, named Parthalons in the medieval ‘*Lebor Gabála Éirenn*’ (‘The Book of Conquests’), were in fact the Pretani or a tribe called the Cruthin. After a final defeat at the Battle of Moira in 637 A.D, they migrated to Lowland Scotland only to return a thousand years later during the Plantation of Ulster. Following this account of events, contemporary Ulster-Scots are living on tracts once possessed by their distant ancestors; they therefore cannot be regarded as ‘outsiders’ or colonisers.<sup>70</sup> Outwith a small circle of proponents of Adamson’s work, the theory has been excoriated by a range of

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nationalists the loyalist use of the symbol may be viewed as cultural hijacking, the UVF offered the following rationale: ‘The Red Hand of the O’Neill’s has been adopted by the Ulster Loyalist population as a symbol of their separate identity with the rest of Ireland...we could do no better than adopt the war cry of the O’Neills- ‘‘Lamh dearg abu’ (the red hand to victory’’ from *Combat* magazine, no. 8 (May 1974). An offshoot of the UVF even took the name ‘Red Hand Commando’, the symbol found in many of their murals.

<sup>69</sup> Youth workshop, Monkstown, 25 October 2021.

<sup>70</sup> According to Nic Craith, ethnic myths like these are vital as ‘evidence’ for territorial title-deeds. Apparently said territory of the once substantial Cruthin tribe consisted of most of the counties of Antrim and Down whilst also extending from Loch Foyle to Dundalk Bay. Nic Craith, *Plural Identities, Singular Narratives*, p. 94.

scholars from archaeology to genetics.<sup>71</sup> This consensus of academic rejection seems to be matched in the public given that the flimsy construct has not yet taken root amongst its intended audience. All this might doom Cú Chulainn, the ultimate poster-boy for the loyalist fight, to obscurity, for the efficacy of any myth depends upon the belief in it. Low levels of public support are less relevant however when we note that within that small circle were UDA leaders Andy Tyrrie and John McMichael, the latter displaying maps of the prehistoric Cruthin, a pre-plantation Ulster in his headquarters.<sup>72</sup> The arrival of Cu Chulainn, ‘champion’ of Ulster, as he was named in a 1996 work allying him with loyalist prisoners of war, portends the UDA’s most drastic ‘solution’ to mounting fears of British withdrawal and Irish reunification. Suspicion over the Hume-Adams talks developed into apprehension over the ‘pan-nationalist front’, a perceived ideological inseparability between the SDLP, Sinn Féin and the Irish government. This led a minority to the distressing conclusion that the UDA’s objective would be to establish an ethnic Protestant Homeland, a state repartitioned and whose Catholic population would be ‘expelled, nullified or interned.’<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Historian Peter Berresford Ellis likens the pseudo-history of Cruthin to Zionism, J.P Mallory and T. E. McNeil described the Cruthin as being ‘archaeologically invisible’ due to their being no evidence of either object or site that pertains to such a distinct group. See Carolyn Gallaher, ‘After the Peace: Loyalist Paramilitaries in Post-Accord Northern Ireland’ Cornell University Press (2011) pp. 96-97. J. P. Mallory and T. E. McNeill both describe the Cruthin as ‘archaeologically invisible’ due to a lack of evidence in either site or object. A. J. Hughes, J. P. Mallory, and T. McNeill, ‘The Archaeology of Ulster’ *Seanchas Ardmhacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society* vol. 15 no. 1 (1992) p. 165. Research led by the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland and the Genealogical Society of Ireland revealed a fine-scale population structure of ten genetic clusters across Ireland, seven of those were of ‘Gaelic’ ancestry, the remaining three were of shared Irish-British ancestry and most probably reflected the Ulster Plantations. While there was evidence of continual, low-level migration between the north of Ireland and south-west Scotland, there is no mention of the Cruthin. ‘Unique study provides the first genetic map of the people of Ireland’ (8/12/17) <https://www.rcsi.com/dublin/news-and-events/news/news-article/2017/12/unique-study-provides-the-first-genetic-map-of-the-people-of-ireland> accessed 3 November 2021.

<sup>72</sup> Nic Craith, *Plural Identities, Singular Narratives*, p. 97.

<sup>73</sup> This phrase comes from a document made available to a Belfast newspaper discussing the likely situation after a British withdrawal. Wood is of the opinion that ‘nullification’ is merely a macabre euphemism for ethnic cleansing Wood *Crimes of Loyalty*, p. 183.

#### 4.3.4 'Who Will Defend Ulster Now?' Institutional Masculinities, Past and Present.

We must acknowledge that masculinities, and their proclivity for violent expression, are shaped by more than just a paramilitary presence. The impression on loyalist male identity made by state authorities is rendered for all to see in a second conflation of time and space. In this case the UDA adopting the mantle of 'Ulster's present-day defenders' are matched in skill and determination by the 'past defenders' being the B-Specials and the UDR.



Fig.4.6

A rhetorical question designed to prompt community fears also thickens the connection between past and present: 'who will defend Ulster now?' The implied answer is that none but ourselves can be relied upon. We have met the 'B-Men' before in this thesis, but they were also embroiled in several of the tense exchanges at the beginning of the Troubles, one of these being the incident at Burntollet Bridge. On the 1<sup>st</sup> January 1969 a small 'People's Democracy' (a political student organisation advocating for more radical reforms than

NICRA) march left Belfast for Derry. By the morning of the 4<sup>th</sup> they reached the final stage in the journey when they were ambushed at by around two hundred loyalists, including off-duty B Specials with stones, iron bars and cudgels.<sup>74</sup> While Burntollet signalled another escalating step in the rapid degradation into conflict, it should be seen in the historical context of an abysmal track record by the police and steadily deteriorating public relations.<sup>75</sup> There was only a month (September-October 1969) between the Cameron and Hunt Reports, the former determining that discrimination against Catholics was a major cause of civil disturbances, the latter recommending the disarming of the RUC and replacing the B Specials with the UDR.<sup>76</sup>

For many Protestants the police were more just a public service; it was their primary defence against republican paramilitaries, a decrease in their security powers led to an exponential increase in paramilitaries. The creation of the UDR was met with mixed reactions, with many unionists suspicious of it as its creation was a consequence of criticism levelled at the B Specials. This mounted and increased when and because it came under Westminster control with senior officers selected from British army regiments. On the other hand, with the bulk of members being local, it was an opportunity to redress the long-standing imbalance in recruitment.<sup>77</sup> Some influential nationalists like Bernadette Devlin and Eamonn McCann, however, had doubts from the start, considering the regiment to be little

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<sup>74</sup> O'Neill, in his 'Crossroads' speech of December 1968 tried to dissuade such action, warnings were given to People's Democracy and the march did not have broad support among nationalists. Nevertheless, Burntollet would be seen by some loyalists as the Protestant fight back, while to many republicans it was confirmation that they could only rely on an IRA-led defence. Taylor, *Loyalists War and Peace*, p. 55.

<sup>75</sup> With depressing frequency, 19<sup>th</sup> century commissions into policing conduct laid the blame squarely on two main factors: the partiality and inefficiency of the police, and the provocative nature of the Orange celebrations. Additionally, the 1864 commissioners alleged discrimination by Protestants in recruitment to the police. Stewart *The Narrow Ground*, p. 150.

<sup>76</sup> Joseph Ruane and Jennifer Todd, *The Dynamics of Conflict in Northern Ireland*, (Cambridge: Syndicate University Press, 1996), p. 129.

<sup>77</sup> Hume encouraged Catholics to join and in the first years recruitment was up to 18%, but by 1978 had fallen to a mere 3%. Flackes and Elliot, 'Northern Ireland: A Political Directory, 1968-88' cited in Bruce, *The Red Hand*, p.216.

more than the old USC under a new name. The perception that both the RUC and UDR were the armed wing of unionism was not entirely unfounded, as Britain's policy of 'Ulsterisation' had strengthened a connection between regiment and community. UUP security spokesman, Ken Maginnis, even referred to the UDR as a 'moderate Protestant army.'<sup>78</sup> A problematic relationship arises when we reflect on the manipulation of gendered emotions, a tactic employed by paramilitaries and the state —although there were female members in the UDR notably earlier than other regiments. A duplicity unfolds whenever the state legitimises even sanctifies violence whilst claiming to abhor it.<sup>79</sup> Many loyalists who joined either the UDR or the UVF/UDA often did so triggered by the impulse of patriotism. As Nagel observes, the culture of nationalism is constructed around masculine themes with terms like 'honour', 'patriotism', 'cowardice', 'bravery' and 'duty' being hard to distinguish as either nationalist or masculinist.<sup>80</sup> Whichever militarised path a loyalist man may choose to take could also seriously effect his chances of living a fulfilling, civilianised life, a point succinctly made by an interviewee.<sup>81</sup> The clearest way these paths crossed, other than appearing shoulder to shoulder in mural form, was in incidents of collusion. From an organisational perspective, random sectarian murders, which characterised much of paramilitary activity, were 'easy'. Therefore a successful assassination of a specific target led to speculation of state interference. The planning of a murder usually required extensive knowledge of the victim's

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<sup>78</sup> Beginning in 1975, 'Ulsterisation' was part of a three-pronged strategy (along with criminalisation and normalisation) that the British government pursued in an attempt to localise the conflict thus confining its impact Joseph Ruane and Jennifer Todd, *The Dynamics of Conflict*, p. 140.

<sup>79</sup> This confusion is summarised by a UVF man who did not understand why Unionist leaders sanctioned what he did as a B Special officer later to condemn his UVF activity. For him, what gave his deeds legitimacy was not an official uniform, rather it was his intentions as a loyal Protestant. Nelson, *Ulster's Uncertain Defenders*, p. 88.

<sup>80</sup> Joane Nagel, 'Masculinity and nationalism: gender and sexuality in the making of nations' *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 21, issue 2 (1998), p. 251.

<sup>81</sup> 'I know people don't like linking state forces and paramilitaries and I'm not trying to do that but we're thinking about recruiting our young people, specifically young men, into violent lives, we need to be looking at it from a class perspective too. If you compare Doug Beattie to Billy Hutchinson-they both joined violent organisations as teenagers-one was able to use this career in violence to launch a very successful political career, the other has his violent past constantly dragged up to him as a negative thing.' Interview with participant 'CM', Belfast, 25 November 2021.

routine, interior layout of their house, physical appearance, car registration and so on. The most common form of assistance from either the RUC, UDR or army to loyalist paramilitaries was the passing of said information about republicans.<sup>82</sup> Once again it was a report that revealed the extent of the relationship and a much later investigation would shed light on the ‘Glenanne gang’, the most notorious and sustained case of collusion.<sup>83</sup>

#### 4.3.5 ‘Why Give Up Our Guns?’ At the Crossroads of Crises

The protracted nature of the Troubles meant that it overlapped with several momentous developments often happening on a global scale such as deindustrialisation. At various phases in modern societies attitudinal changes have been translated by some men as their world was/is gripped by crippling uncertainty. The specific, internal crisis experienced by some loyalist men was compounded by a simultaneous general and external ‘crisis of masculinity’ that took place throughout the 1990s and 2000s.<sup>84</sup> The consequence was just as consistent as the crises themselves; in its wake would be a straggling generation of men bereft of direction and purpose. For, if certain men defined their masculinities around privileges (rarely

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<sup>82</sup> One of the best-known cases, the murder of Pat Finucane, was subject to review in Sir Desmond de Silva’s report. Overall, de Silva was left in significant doubt as to whether Finucane would have been murdered by the UDA had it not been for the different strands of involvement by elements of the State. Furthermore, there was a series of positive actions by employees of the State that actively furthered and facilitated his murder and that, in the aftermath there was a relentless attempt to defeat the ends of justice. The Report of the Patrick Finucane Review HC 802, Session 2012-2013. The Stationery Office Limited, London (2012) p.23.

<sup>83</sup> The report of the Stevens enquiry, presented in May 1990 contained eighty-three recommendations about tightening up procedures for vetting UDR members and maintaining intelligence files. Ninety-four people were arrested with fifty-nine charged. Ibid p. 264 Evidence was later found linking British soldiers and RUC officers to seventy-four of the seventy-six deaths attributed to the Glenanne gang. Douglass Cassel et al. ‘Report of the Independent International Panel on alleged collusion in sectarian killings in Northern Ireland’ (Notre Dame: Centre for Civil and Human Rights Notre Dame Law School, 2006), p. 4.

<sup>84</sup> MacInnes claims that crises are often precipitated by a perception that ‘men’s material privileges in the law, economy and politics are under increasing scrutiny or even attack.’ John MacInnes, *The End of Masculinity*, (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1998), p. 47. Seidler remarked that men are in ‘a period of uncertainty and change’ Victor Seidler, *Man Enough: Embodying Masculinities*, (London: Sage, 1997), p.1. Messner comments on how the ‘traditional conception of the macho man who is in control of his life and relationships helps to create false expectations and blinds men to the injuries they do to themselves in aspiring to live up to these ideals.’ Michael Messner, *Politics of Masculinities: Men in Movements*, (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1997), p. 49.

acknowledge as such), and those privileges should be chipped away at, then so too was the edifice that made them *real* men. Hence the crisis was an emasculating experience that demanded a swift and sweeping ‘remasculinisation’.<sup>85</sup> Invariably this involves some ‘corrective’ measures to overcome a vague existential threat. This means falling back on rigid codes of conduct that dictates a man’s behaviour as husband, father, provider and warrior. It is a restrictive set of roles taking its cue straight out of most military handbooks; the ideal image of man being physically tough, enduring hardship, aggressive, ruggedly heterosexual and unemotionally logical.<sup>86</sup> In his *‘Presentations of Gender’*, Stoller describes how many boys construct a defensive armour against femininity, easily paired with Howes’ ‘sexual mask’ of compulsory and competitive heterosexuality.<sup>87</sup> Whilst this element is not explicitly stated in murals, it lurks as an assumed coping mechanism, even a necessity of life. Masculinity tends to reach hyper proportions in conflict situations, taking on an enlarged and elevated role.

In loyalist NI a further reassertion of masculinity went hand in hand with the possession of firearms. For many this bond often forged at an early stage of childhood when boys mimic their role models: knights, soldiers, warriors, police, thieves or cowboys—almost inevitably with some toy weapon from simple sticks to convincing replicas. During the Troubles, however, guns became as important symbolically as practically in the defence of hegemonic status. In 1994 two examples of large-scale graffiti, one on a RHC mural, speaks to concerns over handing over power. They are both addressed to Rev. Paisley, the first reading back to him one of his catchphrases: ‘If Ulster is sold out...why give up our guns, Mr. Paisley?’. The second lampoons his efforts to stand tall as the latest incarnation of a

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<sup>85</sup> Fintan Walsh, *Male Trouble: masculinity and the performance of crisis*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 9.

<sup>86</sup> Whitehead & Barrett, 1994 cited in Langa & Eagle ‘The intractability’, p. 153.

<sup>87</sup> Roger Horrocks, *Masculinity in Crisis: Myths, Fantasies and Realities*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1994), p. 90.

Carson-like ‘big man’ defiance: ‘Clydevally [sic] Carson. Paisley “Surrender Guns” Some Carson’. The Clydevalley having been the vessel used to import a large cargo of arms and ammunition during the Home Rule crisis. In the same year the ‘Rocket Team’ went ‘on tour’ in an emulation of the ‘New Era’ mural. The author tentatively suggests that emasculation may have been a subtle factor; an added complication to the issue of decommissioning which proved one of the highest hurdles to vault in the peace process and more than once put progress in peril.

#### 4.3.6 ‘Still Undefeated’

Protestant alienation was not soothed by references in both the Downing Street Declaration (1993) and Framework Documents (1995) to the people of Ireland, North and South, but far greater calamity than language would throw doubt over the notion of peace. On the 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1993 a PIRA bomb prematurely exploded on the Shankill Road killing ten and injuring fifty-seven others.<sup>88</sup> A spate of loyalist revenge attacks took place within a week, the worst being the Greysteel massacre at the Rising Sun bar, claiming a further eight civilian lives and injuring eighteen. Signifying to many a horrific slide back into old patterns, the month saw the highest death toll since October 1976.<sup>89</sup> Similar tragedy occurred in 1994 following the INLA assassination of popular and long-serving volunteers including Trevor King (remembered in more than one mural). A UVF unit hit back killing six innocent Catholic men in O’Toole’s bar in Loughinisland, Co. Down. These acts of spoiler violence sought to destabilise the process, whether they took the form of economic targets, like the IRA bombing Bishopsgate (1993) and the Docklands (1996), causing staggering amounts of

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<sup>88</sup> ‘Sutton Index of Deaths: 23 October 1993’ Conflict Archive on the Internet (CAIN). Archived from the original (20/2/15) [accessed 22/5/20].

<sup>89</sup> Hennessey, *A History of Northern Ireland.*, p. 286.

infrastructural damage, or political targets like the IRA murder of Ray Smallwoods, a key figure in loyalist political thinking.<sup>90</sup> Despite such adverse conditions, the ceasefires of 1994 gave space for ground-breaking opportunities and meaningful dialogue and even more flexibility in previously intransigent mindsets since both sides were also exhausted. This optimism extended to potentially revised uses of that most traditional of media, the murals of NI.<sup>91</sup> We do see evidence of evolution materialise; however it seems limited to republicanism, which had made a concerted effort to use their ceasefire murals as part of a broader and well-organised strategy, conducted in the manner of an advertising campaign. These ‘adverts’ were not selling a product or service but the idea of peace. Of course, hope for the future has to be tempered with realism but even when the peace process was on shaky ground, republican murals did not predict any sudden and radical breakthroughs. Rather it was the painstaking task of coming in from the political margins.<sup>92</sup> By the time the IRA declared their ceasefire in August 1994, these displays had already been preparing people for this move, demonstrating public art’s capability of easing a community through the difficulties of adjustment and concession.

Those responsible for loyalist murals at this time seemed unwilling to engage in a similar transition. A comparison between murals and men exists since proscribed voices were banned from broadcast, murals were shown as a proxy so the public regularly ‘met’ with faceless men of violence. It is in the backbone of the paramilitary performance to come across as cold and rough as the wall’s concrete finish: hard architecture displaying hard men.

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<sup>90</sup> Graham Spencer, *The State of Loyalism in Northern Ireland* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 83.

<sup>91</sup> The front page of the Daily Mirror (December 1993) carried the headline ‘The Writing’s on the Wall’ accompanied by a photo showing the word ‘Peace’ daubed on a wall. The photo’s caption read: ‘The walls that have carried messages of hate for 25 years were daubed with a new slogan-PEACE.’ from Woods, *Seeing is Believing*.

<sup>92</sup> Rolston, ‘From King Billy to Cú Chulainn’, p. 19.

It was the architecture of inner-cities and housing estates that for so long had been a gallery to immortalise warriors, as one UDA ex-prisoner recalls: ‘gunmen in our estates were idolised, They were heroes, full stop.’<sup>93</sup> Whilst the majority of murals are on gable ends, the dimensions of other walls allow for a commanding presence. In one case in Whiteabbey, a small townland north of Belfast, a long UDA mural takes on an almost panoramic view, its raised position looming over the surrounding residential area.

According to loyalist walls it was not politics that enticed republicans to the negotiation table. Apparently, they were brought to their knees by the devastatingly effective loyalist paramilitaries who emerge as proud and undeniable victors. Claims of being an army abound in lurid murals with the UDA slogan ‘Simply the best’ being frequently used. Ironically with more legitimate, legal and well-paying means to fight back, many Protestants joined the RUC, army or UDR.<sup>94</sup> With the more proficient candidates siphoned off into these channels it left paramilitaries to recruit from whoever was left, invariably not the most competent. Statements derivative of British army recruitment such as those in a RHC mural in Rathcoole that ‘99.9% need not apply’ and ‘be the best’ were demonstrably false. Losing volunteers in bungled operations quickly knocked holes in the carefully crafted image of professionalism, even for the more selective recruitment of the UVF, which had set the precedent for fatal mistakes and targeted sectarian killings in some of the first deaths of the Troubles.<sup>95</sup> With ill-deserved confidence and in a tone unfitting the political climate, the UVF were as late as 1994 boasting they were ‘Still Undefeated’, the all black attire of volunteers

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<sup>93</sup> Dave Magee, ‘*The Elephant in the Peace Process*’ (24/1/13) <https://eamonnmallie.com/2013/01/the-elephant-in-the-peace-process-by-dave-magee/> [accessed 6/12/19].

<sup>94</sup> Bruce, ‘*The Red Hand*’, p. 271.

<sup>95</sup> One of the very first victims of the Troubles was Mrs. Gould an elderly Protestant woman whose house was mistakenly petrol-bombed by the UVF as she lived next to a Catholic-run off-licence. Likewise, the precedent for random ‘easy’ sectarian killings was established in 1966. When the UVF could not locate their selected target (republican Leo Martin, believed to be a leading member of the Belfast IRA) the men shot Catholic John Scullion who was drunk and allegedly singing republican songs. Taylor, *Loyalists War and Peace in Northern Ireland*, p. 41.

standing out against a vividly yellow background and exultant sunburst radiating from the organisation's emblem. The ceasefire clearly did not extend to these visually persuasive tactics and while any macro propaganda war is not won or lost in these micro 'battles', there can be no denying the role murals play as crucial weapons in that war. Their presence is prolonged and their effect insidious, just like the 'invincible mask'<sup>96</sup> that men in conflict unconsciously pull over their face. While the rest of the world spoke of NI in hushed tones of cautious optimism, some loyalist men showed no signs of putting down this 'weapon' or pulling off their invincible and invisible 'mask'.

#### 4.4 'Si Vis Pacem, Para Bellum'

##### 4.4.1 The More Things Change...

The loyalist production of conflict imagery accelerated as the conflict itself was dwindling.<sup>97</sup> The murals seemed to calcify an element in loyalism out of touch with current developments and public appetite. More than mere representations of sectarian politics, they play an active, performative role in contributing to the persistence of divisions. They assert—in the everyday, public environment—the continued presence of politico-sectarian attitudes.<sup>98</sup> The most (in)famous assertion glares down from the slopes of Mount Vernon: the summit of the symbolic landscape. It was first painted immediately after the loyalist ceasefire in an area not known for murals. This visual takeover of fresh territory was directed by the UVF's 3<sup>rd</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Howes, *The Mask of Masculinity*, p. 8.

<sup>97</sup> 1995 saw the first single-figure fatalities since 1968: 9 deaths (8 were civilians and 1 loyalist. Republicans claimed 7 lives, 6 using the cover name 'Direct Action Against Drugs' to kill alleged drug dealers.) McKittrick et al. *Lost Lives*, p. 1381.

<sup>98</sup> Hill & White, 'Painting Peace?', p. 80.

Battalion. Two of its sinister hooded gunmen are shown, only from the waist up but still standing approximately twenty-two feet tall. Both men pose with Kalashnikov rifles with text: 'Prepared for peace, Ready for war'. The pronouncement of peace notwithstanding, the implication is clear given that the only minor difference between the two positions is that the figure next to peace angles his weapon away from us, the other's muzzle stares out at us.

Analysing Mt. Vernon in context of the advertising analogy we can appreciate Bourdieu's comment on our social world being a 'market in symbolic goods, dominated by the masculine vision.'<sup>99</sup> If so, then this work is an iconic brand which provides high value to sections of its community, not only in articulating collective anxieties, but also possessing the wherewithal to patch up the otherwise torn tapestry of comforting myths. Precisely what sections of the local population value such works and what proportion of the entire host community they make up are questions we will return to. Nonetheless tensions arose when the Housing Executive planned to redevelop the area in 2000. In an outcome reminiscent of Bobby Jackson's works in the Fountain, the local UVF permitted the flats to be demolished only after NIHE built a new wall overlooking the original site to house a new version of the mural.<sup>100</sup> And there the landmark remains to this day, as the first thing you see when you drive down the M2 motorway with its frequent cameo appearances in newspapers and films giving it wider circulation. For some, like the influential muralist, Kenny Blair, its message still rings true: 'when you've been here 300 years under siege, I think none of us can let our guard down. We've always been "prepared for peace" but you need to... "trust in God and keep your powder dry" as Oliver Cromwell said.'<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination*, (Cambridge : Polity Press, 2001), p. 99.

<sup>100</sup> McCormick & Jarman, 'Death of a Mural' p. 61.

<sup>101</sup> From interview with Kenny Blair, Ballymoney, 14 September 2021. The author asked him why he liked the Mt. Vernon mural. The technique of photo-elicitation was used throughout interviews.

For a country already on a journey out of conflict, having just passed the exceptional milestone of joint ceasefires, any mentions of peace were disappointingly scarce. It crops up in 1996 attached to the condition of releasing prisoners which, after decommissioning, was the second most arduous tribulation of the peace process. Nonetheless, the bright blue sky, above a grey compound and ominous watchtower, in the crisp outline of NI was at least a different and more positive use of the map than had previously been enacted along with red fists, pulling asunder chains rather than gripping guns. Generally speaking, the possible end of the Troubles was met with less magnanimity and more of a gleeful celebration. In the same year, an anthropomorphic Red Hand sprouted little legs and either danced a jig of joy or stamped its boots on the Irish tricolour. That surface is shared with other images, most unusually one of the very rare depictions of a woman. Representations of women during conflict are often infantilised and relegated into discrete categories: the passive refugee, the waiting wife, the mourning mother or the younger but equally distraught maiden. The underlying trope is that victimhood lacks agency with passivity being the supposed essence of femininity. The emotionally influential image of the vulnerable female subject validates the male saviour. In this sense at least, the Ulsterwoman here subverts the stereotype; on the other hand her particular empowering stance (arms aloft brandishing rifle and flag) fall back in line with the nationalistic and militaristic mould. She also takes her commonplace among her male fighters insofar as this image is copied from the anti-Home Rule poster: 'Deserted! Well - I Can Stand Alone' (1914). That she should stand alone, in a gendered sense, isolated amidst wall-to-wall testosterone is all the more galling given that the republican movement were concomitantly normalising the presence of women and feminist ideas through greater visibility—though this could be superficially optical and not necessarily translate to decision-

making.<sup>102</sup> In loyalism, women were not meant to be *in* murals but passively look *at* murals which raises the challenging but necessary link between physical and/or behavioural attraction and perpetuation of weaponised behaviours. A desirability for the big men<sup>103</sup> underscores the complicit role women can play in engaging cooperatively with a patriarchal system. This desire can be magnetic and transcends many environments, from Belfast's 'Holylands' to Hollywood's Mae West who once quipped: 'a hard man is good to find!'<sup>104</sup>

#### 4.4.2 No Ground Broken

After the ceasefires NI politically opened up more, allowing parties to access news coverage and generate a broader range of discourses which would, among other advantages, reveal the conflict in more complex reality than had been presented through simplified and dramatically violent imagery.<sup>105</sup> Although Spencer is referring to mainstream media, the author posits that a similar opportunity could have been found in murals—opening up an alternative discourse and countering the visual status quo. Loyalist muralists, and their commissioners, did not avail themselves of the ideology of the two political parties pushing for change—the PUP and the UDP, associated with the UVF and UDA respectively. The full impact made by these parties will be discussed in chapter eight but suffice to say this ‘new loyalism’ failed to break ground in the old, compacted landscape. This is not to imply there were no attempts. Rolston is technically incorrect when claiming ‘none of this ideology appeared on the walls’<sup>106</sup>, but if

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<sup>102</sup> Theresa O’Keefe, ‘Mother Ireland, Get Off Our Backs: Republican Feminist Resistance in the North of Ireland’ in Bosi and De Fazio, *The Troubles in Northern Ireland*, p. 169.

<sup>103</sup> The young women in Theidon’s study sought out ‘gran hombres’ (big men) as desirable partners in an economy of war Kimberly Theidon ‘Reconstructing Masculinities’, p. 18.

<sup>104</sup> Horrocks, *Masculinity in Crisis*, p. 166.

<sup>105</sup> Graham Spencer, ‘Constructing loyalism: politics, communications and peace in Northern Ireland’, *Contemporary Politics*, Vol. 10, Issue 1 (2004), p. 39.

<sup>106</sup> Cited in Judy Vannais, ‘Postcards from the edge: Reading political murals in the North of Ireland’ *Irish Political Studies* (2001) p.143.

we examine the progressive anomalies we must conclude that their aesthetic impression and therefore political impact would have been negligible. A first attempt to adopt a similar electoral strategy to Sinn Féin was made in 1996 which reads 'Vote Progressive Unionist Party' without giving us any additional information or some dynamic emblem to sway our decision. This piece is also topped—both physically and visually— by a lone piper at an unknown soldier's grave, backlit by a fiery sunset. Thus, the mundane monochrome is drowned out by the colourful sound of the piper (a common character) playing the same First World War lament, framed with heraldic shields bearing names of Troubles-era volunteers. The dimensional dynamics between two or more images is always worth considering, especially if they are pulling us in different ideological directions. A year later the PUP tried again but we inevitably notice the much larger section which ticks all the usual boxes: UVF crest over a map of NI; historical figures conflated and joined with arcing scrolls attesting to a commitment of armed resistance. It is only on further inspection we spot the small side wall informing us that: 'the PUP is about to bark', a laudable sentiment unfortunately coming across more of a whimper. The UDP did not fare any better. A 1997 piece mentions in honour their former leader, John McMichael, which we can barely read (not only due to the surface being 'paint-bombed') for the visually 'louder' features such as gunmen in profile, red fists, and flags. When arguing that Protestants were at least a decade behind republicans in political organisation, Baroness May Blood believed the PUP and UDP 'did not do enough work on the ground to let people know that they weren't just paramilitaries in another guise and they were actually going to represent them.'<sup>107</sup> Blood's comments are writ large in this unhelpfully ambiguous UDP effort from 1998.

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<sup>107</sup> Kevin J. Cassidy, 'Organic Intellectuals and the New Loyalism: Re-Inventing Protestant Working-Class Politics in Northern Ireland', *Irish Political Studies* (2008), p. 425.



Fig.4.7

#### 4.4.3 'Dramaturgical Loyalty'

Only one new mascot of terror joins the visual vanguard at this time: 'Eddie' (lifted straight off the front cover of heavy metal group Iron Maiden's single 'The Trooper').<sup>108</sup> The skeletal soldier, now drafted into the UFF and dressed in army fatigues, carries either an assault rifle or rattles a sabre while racing toward us. Behind him is either one of two backdrops: a bloody sunset with the Grim Reaper (the other half of the phantasmagorical archetype) wandering

<sup>108</sup> Additional inspiration may have come from the skeleton on the city of Derry's coat of Arms, clambering down the ancient walls to defend Protestants.

across an apocalyptically dark burial ground where, in one work for Carrickfergus B Company the message ‘show no mercy and expect none’ was featured along with grave markers named for ‘G. Adams’, ‘McGuinness’ and ‘A. Maskey’— three Sinn Féin leaders, each holding various elected offices at the time. In the other backdrop Eddie charges through the carnage of a battlefield while, in the distance we see two meta-murals by the republican ‘Bogside artists’ including a half-ruined ‘Free Derry’ suggesting it a casualty in impending cultural destruction.



Fig.4.8

That work from 1997 is particularly chilling as a plaque above it reads: “There must be no retirement. With our backs to the wall and believing in the justice of our cause, each one of us must fight on to the end. We determine the guilty, we decide the punishment.”<sup>109</sup> Given that

<sup>109</sup> In keeping with the derivative disposition of loyalist murals, this text takes its cue from Commander in Chief Sir Douglas Haig. On 11 April 1918, Haig issued a Special Order of the Day addressed to all ranks of the British Army in France and Flanders from ‘Untold Lives’ blog, the British Library, 11 April 2018, available at <https://blogs.bl.uk/untoldlives/2018/04/with-our-backs-to-the-wall-sir-douglas-haigs-special-order-1918-.html> accessed 11 February 2021.

this work was on Bonds Street in the Protestant-majority district of Waterside, it is plausible this macabre message was intimidating so-called ‘punishment attacks’, dispensed by paramilitaries to ‘wrongdoers’ in their own community. Additionally, it may suggest a desperation of being on the ‘back foot’, as so many loyalists/unionists felt/feel in Derry.

Eddie might have been a new character, but he was essentially conceived in the same template just with a grotesque makeover. In lieu of exploring the roads less travelled, loyalism opted instead for the well-trodden path. This visually captures aspects of Goffman’s theories on the presented self, sticking to the same gendered script and maintaining ‘dramaturgical discipline’.<sup>110</sup> For the integrity of the organisation to be preserved, all members must exercise this loyalty. It also reminds us that gender is not something we are destined to develop but something that coalesces through socialisation of rules, habits and attitudes. If boys are rarely taught about masculinity, there exists an educational lacuna which will be filled in part with what surrounds them. With paramilitaries brazenly aggrandising themselves they could appear to young men, particularly from similar low-income urban areas as home-grown heroes. In Clark’s study, one participant linked public artwork with false advertising in terms of visual-behavioural triggers: ‘when growing up there were three murals on my street alone.’<sup>111</sup> By the mid-1990s the average citizen of Belfast had hundreds of murals to look at, repetitively passing by these depictions was a constant reminder of the innocent ‘us’ violated by the ever-present threat of ‘them’.

Aside from fostering a general enemy consciousness, murals seem to teach the lesson that the virtue of honour makes a man’s reputation while the vice of shame breaks it. Lest we

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<sup>110</sup> Goffman also discusses ‘dramaturgical loyalty’ as a related principle, one that very much chimes with particular expressions of loyalism, not just politically and culturally but also masculine tropes. Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, (London: Penguin Books, 1959), p. 210.

<sup>111</sup> Serena Clark, ‘Public Artwork in Post-Conflict Areas: A Thematic Analysis’ *International Journal on World Peace* Vol. 34, Issue 3 (2017), p. 98.

forget that once achieved through peers' recognition, one's position is far from guaranteed and is in fact in a perpetually in a precarious state. Hence the need for performative consistency. Should a man fail one of the numerous tests of manhood he faces relegation into a lower rank. History provides men against which one is measured, with the chance to earn a Victoria Cross extremely slim, a man can pursue what Kimmel and Kaufman call the 'badges of manhood'. These are earned in stereotypical style: participating in risk-taking behaviour, being emotionally distant, preoccupations with power and money and by accumulating sexual partners.<sup>112</sup> The procedure for making a hero is rather simple, indeed simplicity is a core component to its success. Just as national master-narratives often reduce history to a single plot, symbols have been noted for their compactness; condensing complicated, even contradictory, messages into a single unifying image or slogan. This invariably involves the selection of material which preserves the eminence of the ingroup and a synchronous suppression of that material which could vandalise their gestalt image. The most common feature edited out in memorial murals are details of the volunteer's life, particularly any violent acts or other criminality. The circumstances of death are also withheld from the public. All we receive then is another honourable man who fought bravely and died heroically. The simplification of morally ambiguous individuals into the socially accepted archetype keeps them at a narrative distance. This distance is defensive, for the more intimately a man is understood the less likely he is to be considered a *hero*.<sup>113</sup> Among the volunteers remembered in this period: John Bingham, Thomas Stewart, Stevie McCrea and

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<sup>112</sup> Cited in Ashe, *The New Politics of Masculinity*, p. 45. A contemporary mural compared modern loyalist William Miller to Private William F McFadzean, a Lurgan born recipient of the Victoria Cross. McFadzean was not killed in action but died after throwing himself onto a box of grenades that had been dropped causing some to lose their safety pin. At the time he and his bombing team were preparing to attack in the assembly trenches near Thievpal Wood. <<https://www.royal-irish.com/persons/william-mcfadzean-vc>> [accessed 13/4/21].

<sup>113</sup> It seems a contradiction given the forceful presence muralised men hold in public view, but though they are near us they are not truly known by us. Boon, 'Heroes, Metanarratives', p. 306.

many more besides, none are multi-dimensional characters but revered in one-dimensional eulogies.<sup>114</sup>

#### 4.4.4 'Thou Shalt Make No Covenant'

Of all the historical sources and conceptual comparisons to give validity to a contemporary cause, no other authoritative voice speaks louder than that of God. All the better when scripture and war join forces as in this work from 1996. The left-hand text describes militaristic patriotism while the right quotes from Deuteronomy 7:2: 'And when the Lord thy God shall deliver them before thee; thou shalt smite them, and utterly destroy them; thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor show mercy unto them'. The archaic lexicon lends it an air of gravitas even when it pledges divine annihilation. It is another all-or-nothing binary through which to view the world — 'No surrender' with Biblical amplification. Religion, like other psychocultural narratives, are commonly cryptic and our interpretation of them usually reveals more about ourselves than it does any intrinsic meaning therein. Ross believes such narratives can be applied as 'exacerbators or inhibitors'<sup>115</sup> of conflict, emphasising either similarities or differences. As it transpired, certain actors would use certain segments of faith to confirm their own bias and on occasion these would join activities like flag-flying or parades as catalysts for further violence. The most notable case of this was the disputes over Orange Order marches through Drumcree, specifically the Catholic-majority Garvaghy area.

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<sup>114</sup> By various accounts Stewart was shot over an internal financial dispute, McCrea was killed by the small republican 'Irish People's Liberation Organisation' in 1989 after serving time for his part in the death of 17-year old Catholic James Kerr. At times those remembered in murals had a personal connection, for example Bingham's coffin was carried by George Seawright, a deeply controversial unionist figure expelled from the DUP for his extreme views, though remained on Belfast City Council. On two occasions he called for revenge, in the wake of Bingham's death and William 'Frenchie' Marchant's a year later. Like McCrea, Seawright was killed by the paramilitary splinter group Irish People's Liberation Organisation and his own mural had a side wall reading: 'Live free and die not like a Fenian slave'.

<sup>115</sup> Marc Howard (ed.), *Culture and Belonging in Divided Societies: Contestation and Symbolic Landscapes*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), p. 8.

Though an acutely local issue, the significance of Portadown, known as the ‘Orange Citadel’<sup>116</sup> meant that civil disorder mushroomed across NI. With its fusion of politics and religion—a distinctive branch of evangelicalism promoting scriptural truth—it is hard to overestimate the influence of the male-only Orange Lodges in the formation and perpetuation of masculine norms. The perennial stand-off between loyalist protestors and the RUC, deciding to block the parade route, reached its nadir in 1997 but would only grind to a shuddering termination when the UVF petrol-bombed a Catholic home in Ballymoney’s Carnany estate, killing three young brothers inside. McKay’s account of visiting the site of the atrocity would corroborate what interviewee Eileen Weir calls murals’ ability to ‘re-traumatise’ a community.<sup>117</sup>

With Drumcree declared the ‘siege’ of the age, it emboldened anti-ceasefire elements to provocation and even spoiler violence. Attacks on police officer’s homes and Catholic churches were carried out by UDA ‘Super-Pros’ under a banner of defending the Protestant faith. Figures like John Gregg (1957-2003), a South East Antrim brigadier with a fearsome reputation, epitomised this backwardness but this would not prevent his canonisation in mural form. This schism produced another manifestation in 1996 when the Loyalist Volunteer Force split from the UVF’s Mid-Ulster Brigade, operating primarily in Portadown. Under the direction of their disaffected leader, Billy ‘King Rat’ Wright, the LVF undermined the political progression in a short but vigorous burst of sectarian murders. Wright was

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<sup>116</sup> (Bryan, 2000: 194) cited in Naomi McAreavey, ‘Building bridges? Remembering the 1641 rebellion in Northern Ireland’ *Memory Studies*, Vol.1, Issue 1 (January 2018), p. 103.

<sup>117</sup> During the Summer of 1997 60 RUC officers and 56 civilians injured, 117 arrests, 2,500 plastic batons fired in response to 402 hijackings, 1,506 petrol bombs thrown and 815 other attacks. Ambulance responded to 500 emergency calls. James Loughlin, *The Ulster Question since 1945: 2 studies in contemporary history* (London: Red Globe Press, 2004), p. 178. McKay observes that ‘the estate is surrounded by UDA flags and there are paramilitary murals with heavy antique calligraphy boasting of loyalty and sacrifice for the British Empire. One gable wall has a verse in the rhyming style of a Hallmark card: ‘‘The blood our comrades shed/ shall not have been in vain/ We honour Ulster’s dead/ and staunch we will remain’’ McKay *Northern Protestants: On Shifting Ground*, p. 20. Interview with Eileen Weir, Network Coordinator of the Shankill Women’s Centre, Belfast, 25 November 2021.

considered a charismatic speaker whose fundamentalist logic drew from characteristics of an extreme Evangelical resistance.<sup>118</sup> His brief reign was abruptly ended a year later when he was killed by INLA members inside the maximum-security Maze prison.<sup>119</sup> In death however, Wright had secured a different kind of victory, being venerated as an icon which naturally included murals.<sup>120</sup>

#### 4.4.5 The Threat of Peace

Despite these spoiler agents and against all other odds two years of intensive talks culminated in the signing of the Good Friday Agreement (GFA) on the 10<sup>th</sup> April 1998. The two referendums in May returned an overwhelming vote of public acceptance (71.2% in NI and 94.39% in the Republic). It must be made clear that loyalists were not alone in fracturing on the issue of the agreement. One of the dissident republican groups to emerge at this period was the 'Real IRA' which just four months after the GFA claimed twenty-nine lives in the worst single bombing in the Troubles.<sup>121</sup> Although dissidents on both sides had failed to derail the politicians, it begs the question as to why this was their intention. How could anyone possibly object to the end of conflict? And why was it that, as we reached the end of

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<sup>118</sup> Spencer, *The State of Loyalism*, p. 39.

<sup>119</sup> Retired Supreme Court of Canada judge, Peter Cory, determined sufficient evidence of collusion in this case and recommended a public inquiry into its investigation. 'Cory Collusion Inquiry Report: Billy Wright' (London: The Stationery Office Limited, 2004), p. 91.

<sup>120</sup> Portadown's town centre was closed down for his funeral and murals depicting him went up within days of the burial. Some young loyalists even began to adopt cropped hair and closely trimmed beards in tribute. The first killing to avenge Wright came just hours after his death when LVF gunmen attacked a hotel outside Dungannon, killing a doorman who was a former IRA prisoner. Wood, *Crime of Loyalty*, p.213.

<sup>121</sup> One report summarised: 'The Omagh fatality list reads like a microcosm of Troubles deaths and left no section of Irish life untouched. The town they attacked is roughly 60-40 Catholic-Protestant, and the dead consisted of Protestants, Catholics, a Mormon and two Spanish visitors. They killed young, old and middle-aged, fathers, mothers, sons, daughters and grannies. They killed republicans and unionists, including a prominent local member of the Ulster Unionist Party. They killed people from the backbone of the GAA. They killed unborn twins, bright students, cheery shop assistants and many young people. They killed 3 children from the Irish Republic who were up north on a day. Everyone they killed was a civilian. The toll of death was thus both extraordinarily high and extraordinarily comprehensive' McKittrick et al., *Lost Lives*, p.1437.

the century, the Orange Standard harked back to its beginning in an almost unavoidable comparison to Home Rule?<sup>122</sup> If, for a very distinct cohort within a society, armed violence had become a means of acquiring power, wealth, security and even respect that would otherwise have been intangible, peace assumes a more challenging prospect. A cessation of violence is concurrently a cessation of all the advantages it granted those willing to wield it. For paramilitaries, conflict had provided a hospitable environment to exist in as well as kudos and exciting rush of adrenaline, now peace not only imperilled said environment but also the identities that had been moulded in and by it. It seems as if desperate attempts were made to cling onto control by reminding communities of their relevance precisely when the country at large had decided to try and move on thus making them irrelevant. From 1996 a UDA crest and flag display bears the text: 'No more talk, time to walk'. In the same year an effort was made to highlight how supposedly indispensable paramilitaries were to an entire way of life: 'Nothing great and durable can be created without elite UDA-UYM-UFF'. Some have interpreted all these memorials to fallen volunteers as a promise that military protection will resume should they be called upon<sup>123</sup> a point stressed in the text panel of a UFF work which ends: 'if needed we shall rise again'. Whether the continued presence of masked, armed men was read as the intended message of reassurance, or as something more ominous, is open to speculation. At the very least the importance of creating a street spectacle had not diminished as this work shows.

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<sup>122</sup> In September, just four months after the historic referendums' results, the Orange Standard maintained that 'Ulster is in extreme peril with its existence under greater threat than at any time since the crisis of 1912-14. Enemies within and without threaten Unionism' cited in Neil Southern, 'Protestant Alienation in Northern Ireland: A Political, Cultural and Geographical Examination', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* (2007), p. 167.

<sup>123</sup> This opinion was offered by several interviewees in Viggiani, *Talking Stones*, p. 53.



Fig.4.9

In isolation the text could be read as a sign of general commitment<sup>124</sup> of dedication to public service yet paired with the figurative addition it leaves us in no doubt where dedication lies and what form the commitment will take. A similar tactic took place in a UVF piece from 1998 which plagiarised the inaugural address of famously Catholic President John F. Kennedy. The otherwise admirable words on prioritising one's duty of a greater good above individual gain is rather discordant with the accompanying image of vigilante patriots. These works may speak of the difficulty in leaving behind previous roles or a broader institutionalisation of a society to the militarised, masculine archetypes to which they were so visually and psychologically inextricably linked. In the piece 'Compromise or Conflict' we only see one half of the story, the ultimatum appears a foregone conclusion that physical

<sup>124</sup> The line comes from British novelist and playwright James Elroy Flecker's *The Golden Journey to Samarkand* (1913). The same words were inscribed on the clock tower at Stirling Lines, the base of the British Army's 22 SAS regiment in Hereford. This coupling of state and pro-state forces falls apart when we recall that the Crown Forces had the major advantage of being legal, respectable and well-paid. Thus, despite recruiting from the same population paramilitaries were staffed with less proficient members.

action will be necessary as masked men prepare to smash down a door with a sledgehammer. Again, at this crucial juncture, the mural could be a medium that inhibits or exacerbates hostilities and it is indicative that we see no pictorial representation of compromise—just men preparing to follow the outmoded script.<sup>125</sup> Something we must bear in mind as we prepare to enter the ‘post-conflict’ age is that when narratives portray no possible common ground between opponents, it makes the search for alternatives to fighting all the more unlikely.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter we have seen the how, why and when a very particular kind of manhood came to reign supreme across the symbolic landscape through conflict-era representations. So often this affirmation was reactionary to the latest crisis whether triggered by the rising stature of republican political culture, the betrayal of the AIA, fears over British dubious dealings with a ‘pan-nationalist front’, or the emasculation of decommissioning and eventual ‘threat’ posed by peace. Invariably the reaction itself took the form of brazen self-adulation and presented an ultra-manly version of either commemorated individuals or organisations. We should understand the extent to which one’s physical environment can contribute to the gendered perceptions of ourselves and relationally to others. The Troubles helped create a society in which violence was valorised, more so than most western societies. Along with a regular bombardment of cultural products, video games and films, boys and young men in NI received further indoctrination that the militarised man is the desirable man. This definitive

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<sup>125</sup> In August 1999 the Clonard area marked the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Catholic families being burned out of their homes on Bombay Street by loyalist mobs. Vannais posits that this mural was a reply to ‘Compromise or Conflict’ which was situated on the other side of the peace line in Dover Place. Vannais, ‘Postcards from the edge’, p. 148.

model was supplemented by minor archetypes that ranged from the mythological warrior of Cú Chulainn and the phantasy fighter 'Eddie', right down to the policing of the modern state. However these were merely the supporting cast, the main actor was and is contemporary paramilitarism and its historical avatars.

We have observed the reiteration of fundamental trends: ideological adverts selling the exciting drama of war as an immanently male experience and charming an impressionable youth with material suggestive of prized, gendered emotions such as honour, courage and respect. This latter marketing ploy also enhances an organisation's approval rating, but we have picked apart the central myths around this managed professionalised impression. Grand notions of defence or deterrence can be considered to be illusionary. Instead these men remembered with pride were riddled with inconsistencies; they succumbed to seemingly interminable cycles of revenge and exhibited lethal incompetence to themselves and a disturbingly high proportion of innocent civilians. Echoing the caution that was stated at the beginning of this chapter, a focus on paramilitaries makes the mistake of grouping all loyalist masculinities into an unyielding monolith. Neither loyalism, politically and culturally, or masculinity are monoliths despite depictions coagulating a fluid multitude into reductive singularities. Thus far, loyalist weaponised murals and masculinities have exhibited an unsettling habit of resisting change rather than reflecting it, most notably in the post-ceasefire period. But with the conflict formally at an end following GFA we now approach the momentous threshold and the 'post-conflict' age that awaits on the other side. Crossing into this uncertainty, we will see whether this proves to be the time and space that hardened forms start to soften, learning to wear new masks when facing the opportunities and challenges ahead.



## Chapter Five: Pictures of Peace? Transitioning into the ‘Post-Conflict’ Age

### **Introduction**

A fundamental notion in this chapter is that ‘war’ and ‘peace’ cannot be envisaged as clearly defined episodes, with distinct start and end points. The misnomer ‘post-conflict’ deserves closer scrutiny due to the ‘continuum of violence’. Enloe proffers this as a persistence along a scale of force (fist to bomb), of time (pre-war, wartime, post-war), and of place (bedroom, city, continent). Underpinning all these vicissitudes is gender, which runs through them in every direction.<sup>1</sup> Marginalised social cleavages that had taken a back seat during the Troubles were now beginning to make themselves felt in explicit ways. We notice disturbing upward trends against notable demographics; firstly toward women in the relocation of violence, crossing the domestic threshold from public to private. Secondly, rather than an amelioration of sectarianism, we see a transfer to other forms of prejudice particularly levelled at people of colour and the LGBT community. Loyalist feuding and increased punishment attacks are explained by paramilitaries retaining, consolidating and even extending their control over working class areas through coercion and criminality. Lastly is the damage wrought upon the conflicted self when we contemplate the unhealthy relationship between hegemonic masculinity and mental health. The emotional cost of sustaining a destructive performance presents a unique and underanalysed aspect of ‘post-conflict’ masculinities.<sup>2</sup>

This chapter is divided into three sub-periods, firstly we assess mural production from the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century which began with a vicious feud and was shaped by incidents of

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<sup>1</sup> Cockburn ‘World disarmament?’

<sup>2</sup> Cahn and Ní Aoláin (2010) cited in Hamber, ‘There Is a Crack in Everything’, p. 10.

civil unrest: the dispute over the Holy Cross school route, clashes at the Short Strand interface, and contestation around the Whiterock parade. All of this occurs in the context of the first serious collapse of government which was temporarily resolved by the St. Andrew's Agreement of 2006. The second sub-period contains the reiteration of some minor archetypes, namely the mythological warrior Cú Chulainn. Generally, though, it is dominated by the constancy of the Partitioned archetype, around the 2012 centenary of the Ulster Crisis and the Troubled archetype with overt displays coinciding with the 'culture war' waged during the 'Flag Protests'. The final sub-period follows the Fresh Start Agreement of 2015 which witnesses an upsurge in the glorification of conflict, albeit shifted to the general period of the First World War from the 2016 Somme celebrations. The same year sees much of the identity politics of loyalism reacting to the tremulous results of the Brexit referendum. The aftermath of EU withdrawal—the creation of the Irish Sea Border under the NI Protocol—takes us up to the ongoing uncertainty which paramilitaries leverage to their advantage. Any assumption that they might have exited the stage by now is to underestimate how embedded a form of militarism is in many loyalist communities. An overarching concern in this chapter is how does a society truly move on when unfinished challenges insist on dragging it backward? Summarised alternatively in the opening stage direction of Stewart Parker's 'Northern Star' which characterises this chapter: 'Ireland, the continuous past.'<sup>3</sup>

## **5.1 Marring the Next Millennium (2000-2007)**

### **5.1.1 Let slip the 'Mad Dog' of War**

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<sup>3</sup> Connal Parr, *Inventing the Myth: Political Passions and the Ulster Protestant Imagination*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 121.

The GFA was signed on the eve of a new millennium, a noteworthy moment to earnestly contemplate normative values, not least the masculine identities that had left such a debilitating impression on preceding centuries. Unfortunately for loyalist NI, the year 2000 was also when internal divisions indurated into two broad camps—pro-conflict transformation forces for the most part agreeing with GFA, and those opposed to it, seeing any concession as capitulation. We have already met the vehement opponent Billy Wright, but he was not alone in his fight against mainstream loyalism advocating for peace. Like Wright, Johnny ‘Mad Dog’<sup>4</sup> Adair occupied a strange position: at once a fringe figure, commanding the renegade ‘C Company’ of the West Belfast UDA, yet inspiring a personality cult of celebrity gangsterism. A fundamentalist identity politics championed by anti-agreement loyalism was supplemented by an essentialist understanding of Protestant cultural heritage. This was central to a spatial purging of internal opposition across loyalist territory. Whilst it was the issue of flags and parades—two routinely controversial cultural expressions—that proved to be the trigger for tensions<sup>5</sup>—murals also played a role in reaching this latest breaking point. C Company covered virtually every gable end of the Lower Shankill area, the base of their operation, in a fresh coat of ethno-sectarianism. The ‘day of loyalist culture’ planned and hosted by Adair’s men may have ended with the start of

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<sup>4</sup> Such sobriquets either given to or selected by paramilitary leaders would seem to be an attempt, however inadequately articulated, to present themselves as terrifying creatures. This was not an original performative practice and can be dated as far back as an Elizabethan swaggering masculinity. Clandestine gangs/armies were led by self-styled ‘captains’ who chose lurid names such as Lighfoot, Slasher, Fearnot, Dreadnought etc. The use of frightening pseudonyms to both preserve anonymity and intimidate potential victims was also followed in the Land War of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, by the Troubles it was a well-established custom. Stewart, *The Narrow Ground*, p. 116.

<sup>5</sup> Billed as a celebration of Protestant culture, the 19<sup>th</sup> August began in unremarkable fashion with speeches and a commemoration of the new murals. Afterwards however C Company marched down the Shankill Road along with LVF members. Outside the Rex Bar, a well-known UVF pub an LVF flag was unfurled. This provocation led to a series of brawls which escalated into the feud. Gallaher & Shirlow, ‘The geography of loyalist paramilitary feuding’, p.164.

another feud, but it began as a festival with the unveiling of thirteen UFF/UDA murals.

Among the usual suspects to make an appearance, two historically earlier episodes would be exhumed to reveal a problematic interpretation of ‘true’ loyalism.

It might seem odd for a mural to reach so far back in time as to conjure up the rebellion of 1641, yet its significance in Ireland is beyond doubt given its inauspicious title as the first explicitly sectarian conflict in the island’s history.<sup>6</sup> The Nine Years’ War (1593-1603) ended in defeat for the Irish and their Spanish allies at the Siege of Kinsale (1601-02). The ‘Flight of the Earls’ five years later left an expansive power vacuum and an irresistible opportunity for the English government to enact a more drastic step in eradicating the Gaelic way of life. The proto-colonial endeavour to ‘civilise’ Ulster led to the biggest plantation in Ireland and was conducted at the expense of the native Catholic population whose lands were granted to Protestant ‘planters’ from England and Scotland. Those dispossessed and stripped of their status sought to undo the plantation and its legal effects by rebelling in 1641. Two details of this episode, misremembered for centuries, explain why it was selected as a mural scene and why it was depicted in such a manner. The first is the extent of losses, as with most accounts of atrocities a degree of exaggeration took place.<sup>7</sup> Secondly were the descriptions of violence with an emphasis on disturbingly graphic and sexualised acts.<sup>8</sup> Both details paint a crude picture of Catholic savagery and lead to a dehumanising conclusion whether it is read

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<sup>6</sup> The motives behind the rebellion take us back even further to the long-standing Tudor policy of ‘pacifying’ Ireland. The lawlessness of the ancient province of Ulster, being well beyond the English-controlled ‘Pale’ area around Dublin, had been diagnosed by officials under James I as a symptom of the old Irish social structure. Previous attempts to remove and replace this order had been rather piecemeal and indeed had caused considerable opposition.

<sup>7</sup> Contemporary pamphlets provided wildly fluctuating estimates with victims ranging from 10,000 to 1,000,000 (a likely error in printing), the number generally hovered in the region of 100-300,000. Advances in printing technology of course allowed for greater dissemination, the most infamous case being Sir John Temple’s *The Irish Rebellion*. Originally published in 1646, subsequent editions renewed this notoriously biased account as the canonical ‘Protestant’ version of the past. Gibney, *The Shadow of a Year*, p. 21.

<sup>8</sup> Aside from the immediate shock factor, details of women being raped, small children impaled on hooks through their throats, men castrated, and pregnant women disembowelled also sent a stark, symbolic message. Violence of this nature would have been understood as a root-and-branch assault on the Protestant planters with the ultimate aim of their total extermination. Ibid p. 26.

in a 17<sup>th</sup> century pamphlet or seen on a wall in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. C Company remembers 1641 as a genocidal archetype taking place in an apocalyptically desolate landscape. Two buildings, one a church, are ablaze while four hanged bodies sway in the background. The foreground features a dead man and another about to be impaled with a pike as a Christ-like figure, naked save for a loin cloth, is dragged by a horse. The carnage is erroneously dated to 1600, whether out of basic ignorance or an attempt to record the rebellion's quatercentenary. The latter seems likely given the mural states the ethnic cleansing 'still goes on today'; an absurd assertion, but one emotively maximised through inflammatory connections between the past and present.

A companion piece offers a counter-balance of redemption in the form of the Cromwellian reconquest (1649-1653). A hugely influential figure, Oliver Cromwell's legacy is divisive in Ireland even today. His reputation as a military commander is impaired by the ruthlessness of the campaign, particularly massacres at Drogheda and Wexford attributed to a combined desire to make an example and loss of control over his troops. Similarity to 1641 is not limited to contested facts and figures, but also in emotional gravity: the reconquest, perceived by some Irish Catholics as just as hellish as 1641, had been for Protestants.<sup>9</sup> By framing the current situation as a continuation of a religious struggle, the mural capitalises on rudimentary value-based dichotomies of good and evil. Adair seems to insert himself as the West Belfast modern-day Cromwell, a new 'defender of the Protestant faith' zealously opposing the conciliatory politics of the GFA. Perspective and the gaze are used to close the chronological gulf and draw the historical drama into contemporary relevance.

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<sup>9</sup> During a workshop the coordinating youth worker, a Catholic man called Paddy Maguire, shared his views on the Cromwell mural with the participants. He told them that he interpreted the image as sending out the clear message: 'we've murdered you once, we'll murder you again.' Youth workshop, Tullyally, 27 October 2021.



Fig.5.1

Whilst the brutality of 1641 is distanced from us with victim and perpetrator unaware of our presence, Cromwell's soldiers look out from the surface, returning our gaze. In breaking the fourth wall a congruity of circumstance is fostered, the timelines are superimposed and the scorched earth from the previous scene is now verdant with 'righteous'<sup>10</sup> subjugation.

### 5.1.2 Fallen Volunteers

The feud of 2000 brought an unquestionably deleterious result to bear on communities already reeling from conflict. Areas already synonymous with socio-economic deprivation and the epicentres of Troubles-era fighting, now had a fresh layer of trauma mapped onto

<sup>10</sup> Cromwell's oft-quoted justification for the slaughter at Drogheda was as 'a righteous judgement of God upon these barbarous wretches who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood' Cromwell to William Lenthall, 17<sup>th</sup> September 1649 in 'The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell' ed. W.C Abbot (4 vols, Oxford, 1988), cited in Gibney, *The Shadow of a Year*, p. 35

their sorrow-stricken streets. Over the four months approximately 500 were left homeless, seven people murdered and the Shankill—the heart of loyalism—carved into a microgeography of UDA and UVF territories. Some of the victims feature in prominent memorial murals, like UDA lieutenant Jackie Coulter who was killed alongside his friend Bobby Mahood by the UVF. His visage on Boundary Way sits near another fallen volunteer, ‘Bucky’ McCullough, whose untimely death came back in 1981. Yet, while the father is remembered, we hear nothing of the cautionary tale of his son. Alan McCullough was just three months old when his father was shot dead outside his home by INLA. He grew up idolising Adair, who proved to be a thoroughly unwise choice for a father-figure. Suspected of coordinating the assassination of Adair’s chief rival, John Gregg, Alan was forced into exile. A month after his return to NI, in April 2003, the 21-year-old was found in a shallow grave in Mallusk, Co. Antrim.<sup>11</sup> The story offers a condensed and poignant lesson into the socialisation of violence and the environmental temptation that can cause a son to follow in his father’s unpropitious footsteps.

As we have seen, conflation occurs within a mural’s pictorial space but can also occur between independent works where a link of equivalence is forged. When 22-year-old YCV volunteer Sam Rockett was shot while visiting his girlfriend and baby daughter by the UDA in revenge for Coulter’s death, he was lain alongside Brian Robinson<sup>12</sup> and Trevor King in a

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<sup>11</sup> Wood suggests that Alan’s loyalty to Adair was tested by the harsh reality of exile and separation from his girlfriend and two-year old daughter. This led him to contact Mo Courtney, acting UDA brigadier in West Belfast, and offer up information about Gina Adair’s location as well as the location of a cache of drugs C Company had brought into Belfast in late 2002. In exchange for this intelligence, he was led to believe he could return unharmed. A week after disappearing from his mother’s house police found his body, shot several times. A UDA source would later tell one journalist that Alan’s fate was ‘written almost from the womb.’ Wood, *Crimes of Loyalty*, p. 302.

<sup>12</sup> Keeping up the practice from the Troubles, no real particulars about Robinson’s death are disclosed in his honorific mural. In 1989 Robinson killed Patrick McKenna, a Catholic civilian, in the Ardoyne area. Unbeknownst to the UVF man his crime was witnessed by a British army surveillance unit who pursued the motorcycle, ramming it off the road. Robinson was killed by an undercover female soldier as one of the few loyalists on the receiving end of the army and police’s alleged ‘shoot-to-kill’ policy in Northern Ireland. McKittrick et al., *Lost Lives*, p. 1177.

second, pictorial resting place. Disraeli Street, like Freedom Corner, had already burgeoned during the 1990s into a cluster of masculine and militarised energy. Rockett was simply the latest link in this illustrious chain of murals and memories that stretched along this gallery. A more accurate parallel between these volunteers is the carefully crafted rhetoric to dodge awkward facts. Robinson's death is explained with the platitude 'killed in action', while Rockett was 'murdered by cowards', an appellation traditionally reserved for republicans. Both examples prove Scott's point that 'whenever one encounters euphemism in language it is a nearly infallible sign that one has stumbled on a delicate subject'.<sup>13</sup> Aside from evasive commemoration, the second most common form of text to appear in loyalist murals is poetry. This, of course, does not draw from a library of literary references but rather keeps quoting the familiar three or four well-known passages of First World War poetry. The abridging of text may be down to pragmatic space-saving or contributing to a consciously framed portrait.<sup>14</sup>

Though not claimed by the feud, Glen Branagh did succumb to another distressingly frequent form of violence: interface rioting. The most recurrent stimulus for 'recreational rioting' has been the loyalist marching season during the summer months, outwith this though the early post-conflict age saw other notable provocations. An outbreak occurred in North Belfast, in May 2002 following Rangers' victory over Celtic in the Scottish Cup Final. Worse was to follow later in the year with clashes at the small Catholic enclave of Short Strand in

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<sup>13</sup> Viggiani, *Talking Stones*, p. 78.

<sup>14</sup> Perhaps it is telling that the middle stanza from a Siegfried Sassoon poem, featured in Trevor King's mural, was cut. In a moment of clarity, we are informed of how a young soldier dies-not from the enemy's gun but his own: 'he put a bullet through his brain/No one spoke of him again'. Hardly a surprise to the reader, the work after all is titled 'Suicide in the Trenches' (1918), yet it offers the rarest of counterpoints to the bold deeds of the brave hero. Not only does the soldier kill himself but he is consigned to history's deafening silence. He is never remembered, let alone with pride. The whole text is very short but poses difficult questions around masculinity and conflict-related mental health.

East Belfast prompted by celebrations of Queen Elizabeth II's Golden Jubilee.<sup>15</sup> In the previous year, a Remembrance Sunday service brought tensions to boiling point. Loyalism gained a new martyr when a pipe-bomb exploded in the hand of 16-year-old Branagh. Depending on which side of the interface one was on, Branagh was either the culprit throwing the device into nationalist New Lodge, or he was returning its original trajectory thus risking his life to save others. The sacrificial version is retold annually when poppy wreaths are laid before a mural dedicated to Branagh and memorial bands parade with pomp and ceremony over this teenager's horrible death.



Fig.5.2

Through the alchemy of propaganda turns an otherwise dreadful event into recruitment gold. A UDA man, wishing to remain anonymous, recalled that Branagh was ‘a good fellow. He just hated Fenians. We could do with hundreds more of his kind around here.’<sup>16</sup> Branagh was

<sup>15</sup> A specific grievance seems to have been when some loyalists draped red, white and blue bunting on the railings of St. Matthew's church—the site of one of the earliest gun battles of the Troubles in 1970. In another concerning similarity to those dark days, soldiers from three British Army regiments were called in to support the PSNI during the Short Strand clashes (31<sup>st</sup> May-7<sup>th</sup> June).

<sup>16</sup> Wood, *Crimes of Loyalty*, p. 274.

not an exception, for while the UDA did not kill anyone in the year after GFA it was not for lack of trying. 1999 saw 229 pipe bombs thrown in 123 separate incidents. The vast majority of these did not involve mature members, like the man reminiscing over Branagh. Rather, this hazardous duty was the remit of the UYM to which Branagh had been a member, as one of the 'Young Guns' of Tigers Bay.

### 5.1.3 Gun-running in another century

Such is the versatility of the Ulster crisis as an historic episode it recurs throughout all three periods of production we are considering. The frequency is an inverse to its actual chronological placement; we see fleeting references in chapter three which begin to more firmly take root in chapter four, but it is really in this final period that it reaches a crescendo of replication. Standing head and shoulders above all other motifs is Edward Carson, the post-conflict patriarch who takes his place as indirect heir to William III. Having said that, he does appear in a triple portrait alongside Sir James Craig and Major Frederick Crawford. Craig was the architect of Carson's personality cult, if Carson was 'king', then Craig was king-maker. He directed a virile campaign, winning a propaganda war over hearts and minds through the political performance of rallies that presented Carson as champion of the people's cause, a 'saviour of the tribe'.<sup>17</sup> This imagery is rampant in 21st century mural-making with Carson strikes several poses: often in profile, a 2006 work has him sternly locking eyes with us from within an ornate frame bearing the same message of yore: 'we won't have home rule', most dramatically though is his defiant stance looking out from Stormont.<sup>18</sup> This

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<sup>17</sup> Andrew Gailey, 'King Carson: An Essay on the Invention of Leadership' *Irish Historical Studies*, Cambridge University Press Vol. 30, No. 117 (May 1996), p. 74.

<sup>18</sup> A mural in Monkstown from 2002 amalgamates the Stormont stance with a line of soldiers' silhouettes who march beneath him. The work actually replaced a paramilitary design yet retained the names of the modern-day UVF volunteers of 'Liverpool No. 4 Battalion'. A divisive interpretation of the original statue's message was so

gesture of the quintessence of the great leader, commanding from above with supreme authority and heroic virtue. Any suggestion of past political triumphs in Stormont were rather ironic given that these images were put up during the first major collapse in the Assembly from October 2002 following an investigation into an alleged IRA spy ring within Stormont. Despite the charges being dropped three years later the government would remain shut down until 2007. Rather than provide commentary on this scandal and its fallout, murals of unionist figureheads preserved a message of a solid, stable union in a manner which likely would have pleased Craig. His views regarding the masculinity of oppressive policing and the need to abolish the proportional system may strike many as unsavoury,<sup>19</sup> but there is no trace of this aspect in his visual legacy.

Crawford's legendary status was secured when he solved the first UVF's lack of arms. He proposed a plan of purchasing weapons in Germany and on the 24<sup>th</sup> April 1914 returned in his steamship SS Clyde Valley (briefly renamed 'Mountjoy II') to Larne with a cargo of 35,000 rifles and two million rounds of ammunition. From the port town, five hundred UVF cars collected and distributed the haul to units across the province. Not only had Crawford given the UVF the means to be a real army<sup>20</sup> but he had accomplished this daring feat with a

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enduring that in 1997 Secretary of State Mo Mowlam was chief instigator in attempting to re-brand the site which she described thusly: 'You can't miss [it] on the hill, looking down across the city. It is a very imposing building...the enormous statue of Carson, father of Ulster Unionism' Dominic Bryan and Gillian McIntosh, 'Symbols: Sites of Creation and Contest in Northern Ireland' *The SAIS Review of International Affairs*; Baltimore Vol. 25 Issue 2 (Summer 2005), p. 132.

<sup>19</sup> Craig once described the deeply controversial 'Specials' as 'a finer body of men never lived...they will always deserve our thanks and blessing'. He also emphasised that those serving were the same men who enlisted in the 36<sup>th</sup> Division and that these able-bodied, fit and forceful men were the ones to be trusted with safeguarding Ulster against the ever-increasing social schism. Jane G. V. McGaughey 'The language of sacrifice: masculinities in Northern Ireland and the consequences of the Great War' *Patterns of Prejudice*, Vol. 46, Issue 3-4 (2012), p. 303. Regarding the abolition of PR, Craig's motive was not to reduce Nationalist representation but rather to thwart the efforts of the Northern Ireland Labour Party and independents who might undermine the Union. Craig's dogma from this period would provide rhetorical ammunition for generations of loyalists, most notably 'not an inch' and the infamous slogan 'a Protestant state for a Protestant people.' Hennessey, *A History of Northern Ireland*, p. 44.

<sup>20</sup> The successful operation transformed the image of the UVF overnight. Prior to Larne the organisation had been lampooned by the English press for training with dummy wooden rifles; suffice to say they took them a lot more seriously once the risk to peace that they posed became as real as their rifles.

buccaneering masculinity that he came to embody. His fondness for grand, impressive theatrics even extended to his signing of the Covenant in his own blood—a claim later disproved. The confidence that gun-running brought was captured in several mural scenes that replay the militarised performance of Carson reviewing the West Belfast UVF (2002), addressing volunteers at Portadown (2006) and inspecting drills (2006). Along with the national press, Westminster too was alarmed by this drastic escalation in anti-Home Rule resistance. Both previous bills under Gladstone (1886 and 1893) had been met with threats. This time they were backed up with a significant import of weaponry. A seamless continuation of this threat is rendered in a 2004 work showing a UVF roadblock during a gun-running operation in Donaghadee, Co. Down. The text's tense shift: 'Preparing to bear arms, 1914/ Prepared to bear arms, 2004', shows a resolute commitment not peaceful negotiations as one might hope so soon after GFA, but to much earlier trigger-happy tactics. It must be acknowledged that whilst factions of loyalism were exchanging hostilities, dissident republicanism was also issuing similar statements. On the 10<sup>th</sup> May 2000 the CIRA called on the PIRA to hand over its weapons to those 'prepared to defend the Republic'. At least two gendered traits can be observed here that apply equally to Ulster loyalism. Like the UDA, to 'defend' has a very particular and narrow definition for CIRA and is synonymous with violence. Secondly, a transfer of weapons is intimately tied with a transfer of masculine power, from those in short supply to those amply equipped to do what is required of real men—to act militarily first and think later (if at all).

#### 5.1.4 Going over the top

The chronological proximity of two episodes, one local (Home Rule) the other global (First World War) is matched by a proximity of values and characteristics. This ideological

tendency first manifesting in chapter four did not slow down or go through any revision but accelerated. The use of pictorial devices to both split and more importantly join two equal halves of a mural continues in the new century. Although the historical links between them are tenuous, the two counterpoised sets of volunteers are routinely enshrined in a timeless and aspatial battlefield.<sup>21</sup> A work in 2001 shows them not in action but in mourning, sharing a plot here refers not just to the same physical burial ground but a similar sacrificial narrative. In 2005 volunteers in period costume lower regimental flags, drawing our eye to the piper who, though just off-centre, acts like a commemorative hinge in the symmetrical scene. The figures are not always posed as stiff sentries but animated, like a 2002 piece where volunteers traverse the same nondescript terrain, looking like a militarised version of *'The March of Progress'* charting the stages in the evolution of the (gun)man. The neo-classical pillar in a 2006 piece visually 'zips' together two double portraits; Major Crawford is paired with Robert 'Squeak' Seymour while Captain James Craig finds his equal in 'captain' Joe Long. Unusually the words accompanying this motley crew were not penned by a First World War poet but by Josiah Gilbert Holland (1819-1881). The title is a plea for divine intervention, imploring that first patriarch to deliver real masculinity: 'God, give us men!'. We might initially wonder how to explicate the poem's opening criteria: 'strong minds, great hearts, true faith, and ready hands.' Yet, as with most weaponised displays, whether in use of image or text, they are not open-ended, welcoming invitations for contemplation; they are generally not subtle statements but definitive declarations. They do not (consciously) pose questions; they pose threats.

A distortedly simplified version of the past allows some loyalists to supersede the respective historical baggage of both UVFs: gun-running and the ultimatum of armed

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<sup>21</sup> Viggiani, *Talking Stones*, p. 133.

uprising (in its 1913 incarnation) and sectarian murder and gangsterism (in its post-1966 guise).<sup>22</sup> With all this unpleasantness out of the way, believers are free to tell their fantasy tales of a ‘noble war’ fought by local lads. They are part of a patriotic kinship composed of ageless virtues and take their place in an ‘ancestry of resistance’.<sup>23</sup> This is spelled out to us in the mise-en-page of a four-panelled mural ‘The People’s Army’ (2002) depicting military chapters in the UVF’s history. As repeated rites imply continuity with the past, so do the painted performatives, encoded in the gestures and movements. In 2016 the top right panel from ‘The People’s Army’ —showing men going over the top at the Somme — was given its own gable end. Echoing the grand portraiture of King Billy that was borrowed for street painting, this scene is another ‘high art’ reference that resides in Belfast City Hall.<sup>24</sup> With such interminable devotion to very particular themes and readings of the First World War it is not unreasonable to conclude that the mural practice and use of memory itself is going over the top.

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<sup>22</sup> Rebecca L.Graff-McRae, ‘Ghosts of Gender: Memory, Legacy and Spectrality in Northern Ireland’s Post-Conflict Commemorative Politics’ *Ethnopolitics* volume 16, Issue 5 (2017), p. 53.

<sup>23</sup> Brown, ‘Our father organization’, p. 714.

<sup>24</sup> ‘*Attack of the Ulster Division, 1 July 1916*’ by James Prinsep Beadle (1863-1947) is one of the most famous paintings in City Hall. Interestingly, the officer leading the advance was not Irish but English, 19-year-old Francis Bodenham Thornley who was wounded during the battle. Art UK available at <https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/attack-of-the-ulster-division-1-july-1916-168112> accessed 16 May 2021.



Fig.5.3

### 5.1.5 The ‘Most Priceless Heritage’

The need to expand the definitions and optics of loyalism seemed to register with some and this included the literal expansion of Ulster-Scots migrating to the New World. In facing away from the more parochial themes perhaps loyalism could become more outward-looking. The transition to peace, could soften some of the edges of a frontier mentality fixated on displacement and resistance. George Washington, James Buchanan and Teddy Roosevelt were all featured in the series ‘From Pioneers to Presidents’. Clearly the technical detail and quality of finish is admirable, but these new surfaces are still in a way stained with the notion of blood sacrifice. Buchanan, the fifteenth US president (1857-61) is shown alongside the inscription: ‘My Ulster blood is my most priceless heritage’. Of all the possible contributions Ulster-Scots made in America, the most oft-quoted is their role in the Revolutionary War (1775-1783). Nowhere is this better illustrated than Washington’s pledge to make his last

stand, albeit conditionally ‘if defeated elsewhere’, with the ‘Scots-Irish’ (Ulster-Scots) of his native Virginia. As Wilson and McReynolds point out, this asserted interconnectedness presents something of a difficulty, even a paradox, since those fighting with the British would have been the defeated ‘loyalists’, whereas Washington and his men were in essence Republicans.<sup>25</sup> The radical vein running through the American Revolution that ousted the royal authority, jettisoning the status quo jars rather noticeably with the core beliefs of some loyalists.

Roosevelt is well known for having crafted a hardened rough riding masculinity and words attributed to him pay homage to his forefathers who ‘followed Cromwell and who shared in the defence of Derry, and in the victories of Aughrim and the Boyne.’ A fertile circulation of credentials is stirred up from the past, whether in famed individuals or broad stereotypes. This collapses together (in)famous last stands, the OO presided over the Drumcree stand-offs, imagined as its Alamo. The ‘King of the Wild Frontier’, Davy Crockett, appeared in a mural in Ballymoney (2003) in the attempt to improve the collective image of loyalism and reclaim their roots. This image was particularly damaged by incidents bearing a disconcerting likeness to Drumcree, such as the Whiterock riots following the re-routing of an OO parade in September 2005.<sup>26</sup> We can conceive of this rebranding doing little to expand loyalism, other than push the frontier mentality to further fields. They retain more than a trace

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<sup>25</sup> John Wilson & Alister McReynolds, ‘Celebration and Controversy in America: At home with the Scots-Irish Diaspora’ in Thomas Burgess and Gareth Mulvenna (eds.), *The Contested Identities of Ulster Protestants* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 141.

<sup>26</sup> Arguably a lower point had previously been reached with the Holy Cross dispute of June 2001. This contestation also revolved around access and use of a particular road but, unlike Drumcree or Whiterock, the site of conflict was not a parade route but a way for parents to take their daughters to Holy Cross Catholic primary school. Attacks on the procession continued even with the protection of a police escort; abuse took the form of jeers and taunts being thrown along with water balloons filled with urine to even pipe bombs. The dispute intensified the usual 12<sup>th</sup> July riots, Ardoyne was a particular hotspot with blast and petrol bombs thrown, vehicles hijacked, plastic bullets fired, and water cannons used. Tensions eventually calmed down when First Minister Trimble and Deputy First Minister Mark Durkan met with residents of Upper Ardoyne. The next day protests were called off after fourteen weeks of unrest. See Colm Heatley, *Interface: Flashpoints in Northern Ireland*, (Belfast: Lagan Books, 2004).

of triumphalism and still merge masculinity with militarism even if it is waged on a different continent. This may prove the thin end of a wedge that drives greater distance between fact and fiction. US Senator Jim Webb's *'Born Fighting: How the Scots-Irish Shaped America'* (2004) was criticised for its romanticism, historical inaccuracies, and even racial undertones.<sup>27</sup> The murals alone cannot be said to uphold ethnic supremacy but when combined with similar or stronger myths they may encourage some to reach an unsettling verdict.

#### 5.1.6 Thorndyke Gallery

Efforts like 'Pioneers to Presidents' would prove exceptions in this early phase of the post-conflict age. For most events, gatherings, displays and presentations, loyalism continued to draw from the well of central, collective memory. An encapsulation of this can be found in the twelve thirty-foot-high panels along one hundred and fifty feet of Thorndyke Street in East Belfast. This otherwise impressive undertaking reads like a gallery of most of the stock images and phrases in the loyalist lexicon.<sup>28</sup> One distinction from most weaponised displays is that Thorndyke had de-anonymised more legitimate patrons, the series was installed by the East Belfast Historical and Cultural Society in September 2004.<sup>29</sup> The EBHCS stated their motive for the murals was to debunk the myth from republicans that the 'PUL community'

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<sup>27</sup> Lee A. Smithey, *Unionists, Loyalists and Conflict Transformation in Northern Ireland*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 166.

<sup>28</sup> They depict, in the following order: the Ulster Covenant, Ulster-Scots connection, Cromwell in Ireland, Siege of Derry, Orange Order, Home Rule Crisis, Battle of Somme, 36<sup>th</sup> Ulster Division, the 1970s on (sectarian Irish Republican campaign); a united community (1974 Ulster Worker's Council strike); the B Specials, Cluan Place and United Kingdom or loyalty to queen and country.

<sup>29</sup> Although relatively modest in budget, these organisations can wield potentially significant influence given that they also offer historical detail and interpretation through publishing pamphlets. Like the EBHCS, the West Belfast Athletic and Cultural Society sponsored ten new murals in June 2009 in the Lower Shankill. Both are substantial projects which take over a large space with their message and chosen meaning(s).

have neither culture nor history. Given how heavily the series leans on formulaic episodes, it is unlikely its presence did much to disprove the myth. The unveiling of Thorndyke was a consummate demonstration of re-enactment with community members dressed in period costume accompanied by music and speeches delivered on site. The main orator at the opening drew the crowd's attention to the Siege of Derry panel, claiming that 'republicans continue to attack our homes, our culture and all that we hold dear.' Further prompted by the image's caption ('the city is saved'), he went on: 'we ignore the plight of our fellow loyalists in Londonderry at our peril. [we] must support all isolated Protestant communities no matter where they are.'<sup>30</sup> With all the history and culture of Protestant Ireland at their disposal, the narrative the EBHCS chose to tell was one heard by everyone everywhere.

We should take little encouragement from the fact that the finale to this series includes two female figures given who they actually are. The chosen monarch is not even the present one but her father, King George VI with his wife meekly sat alongside him. Together with an enlarged Britannia behind her, this pair say less about post-conflict gender equality and more on a 'postcolonial melancholia' for an empire which factually no longer exists. The other details of the lion, flags, and World War Two era naval vessels only casts the scene in a more anachronistic light. Amongst other explanations for the continued under-representation of women is the common desire in post-conflict societies to re-establish 'normality'. The unease of transition means that this desire may be so strong that it revokes any genuine and systemic assessment on what normal was or should be. At the precise moment and rare occasion when central concepts are being interrogated, traditional cultural practices and structures can come sweeping back into fashion and sweep aside any chance of change. A neo-traditionalist return is often to a 'golden past' when men were men and knew what that

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<sup>30</sup> Smyth, *Remembering the Trouble*, p. 102.

meant. In the paltry number of cases where women appear it is a selective inclusion which does not risk upsetting the regressive gendered order.<sup>31</sup> The mural of a woman tending white crosses to the fallen (2007) plays on the ‘soft’ feelings of empathy, gentleness and nurture that provide the other, crude half of an essentialist binary. Symbols, particularly when situated in public, convey powerful messages of which citizens a society cherishes. Absences, too, speak volumes about relative importance and the maintenance of these asymmetrical relationships. Throughout this thesis we have been wondering what boys will think of the men presented as heroes to them in murals, but Rolston reminds us to remember girls too. What do they think and how do they feel when they do not see themselves reflected in these honoured representations?<sup>32</sup> A finer margin must also be considered when assessing murals, it is not another binary of present or absent; a key theme is what physical condition the work is in. A pristine surface generally indicates that the subject matter still matters to the community whereas a weathered surface, like the one depicting women in the UWC strike (2004), testifies to the extent to which certain narratives are neglected. Perhaps this imbalance, along with a host of other encumbrances, could be put down to teething problems of peace. If this were so, one could expect that as time went on and these underlying issues underwent necessary reform, so too might the symbolic landscape evince a more just society.

## 5.2 From St. Andrews to Flagging up a Crisis

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<sup>31</sup> The same phenomena has been observed in other unionist-loyalist cultural practices. Whilst there may be a range of femininities on display at parades, it is a very narrow range (Racioppi & O’Sullivan See, 2000, p. 22). For example, the inclusion of Florence Nightingale-like nurses as beautiful souls does nothing to either contradict the female stereotype or challenge the dogma that war is the business of real men. Graff-McRae ‘Ghosts of Gender’, p. 513.

<sup>32</sup> Bill Rolston, ‘Women on the walls: Representations of women in political murals in Northern Ireland’, *Crime Media Culture*, Vol 14, Issue 3 (2018), p. 5.

### 5.2.1 The Warrior Returns to the Walls

The multi-party talks held in St. Andrews from the 11<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> October 2006 resulted in an agreement that brought to an end a four-year-long impasse. Talks had involved both British and Irish governments as well as representatives from all major parties in NI, and they focused on the devolution of power in the region. It restored the Assembly with elections held in March the following year and an Executive formed in May. Another major turning point was Sinn Féin's decision, at its Ardfeis in January 2007, to support the PSNI, courts and rule of law. The amendments to policing had been problematic for some unionists too with the Patten Report of November 2001 recommending not only the rebranding of the RUC but a 50/50 recruitment of Catholics and Protestants be implemented.<sup>33</sup> Instead of engaging with reality, be it celebrating this political breakthrough or focusing energy on the challenges of the present or opportunities of the future, the same fantasy is apparently played out.

Alongside the recurring characters, a second attempt to embed Cú Chulainn is made in vain. A process of identity revival, or creation, depending on one's view, was officially recognised in GFA which set up the Ulster-Scots Agency. It was within their purview to promote the Ulster-Scots language as well as generate wider interest in the history, heritage and culture. Others took a similar task upon themselves when posting the warrior to the Lower Shankill, bellowing and brandishing his sword.

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<sup>33</sup> As we discovered in the previous chapter, the distinguished image of state authorities had its place within the masculine archetypes. The nostalgic attachment some had to the previous force was not easy to sever. Indeed, as if to make the acclimation more difficult, the Queen had presented the RUC with the George Cross only one year prior to the Patten Report. The axing of the RUC and removal of the crown and royal insignia from courthouse buildings was, for some, evidence of an onslaught on Britishness. Some even expressed the view that the Orange Order is at war: 'not a war of bombs and bullets but a subtle battle of words, of media manipulation and of skilful propaganda.' McAuley, Tonge & Mycock *Loyal to the Core?*, p. 85.



Fig.5.4

The accompanying text, curled up on a Disneyfied scroll, bears witness to the durability of a primordial foundation upon which ethnic solidarity is constructed. The opening line: ‘our God ordained place as indigenous<sup>34</sup> Ulster people’, asserts a ‘we were here first’ mentality. The passage ends with a mention of those who tried ‘to castrate our culture’<sup>35</sup>, resuscitating the sexualised violence of 1641. If we recall this ideology sprang forth from Dr. Adamson’s theory which applied analytical reasoning to primitive and essentially ‘wild’ thinking. As Nic Craith reminds us, mythology (Irish or otherwise) did not aim to provide a detailed account of

<sup>34</sup> The oppositional categories of Celt and Saxon have their roots in the racialised discourse of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Media representations of the Irish as a distinctly subordinate race have related to an imperialist doctrine of biological essentialism. Generally speaking, the Saxon is aligned with the honest labour and Protestant work ethic whilst stereotypes abound about the either slothful or anarchic Irish. In a letter, Carson stated that ‘the Celts have done nothing in Ireland but create trouble and disorder.’ Nic Craith *Plural Identities*, p. 80.

<sup>35</sup> Brewer observes that it is commonplace to argue that Ulster Protestantism is a monolith, made strong by its centrality to purpose and identity and striding through Irish history like a leviathan. The image of culture personified as a man who then suffers castration by his foe symbolically disfigures the once virile leviathan to a lowly eunuch. John D. Brewer, ‘Continuity and change in contemporary Ulster Protestantism’, *The Sociological Review*, Vol. 52, Issue 2 (2004), p. 265.

history. Its stories were never intended to verify fact. Adamson claimed he sought, through his work, to present an accommodating expression of native Ulster, one broader than Protestantism and Catholicism. Yet none of this conciliatory intention comes through from those who paint his version of the past onto gable ends. Indeed these words of his could be construed as antithetical to his aim, and even have a worrying implication on an impressionable youth:

‘You are the children of the Cruthin, the sons and daughters of the Picts. This is OUR land, YOUR culture, YOUR heritage—you are indeed the people. You are older than the Gaels, older than the Welsh, older even than the English.’<sup>36</sup>

While the aforementioned work seems to go in a comic book direction, another mural-memorial from 2008 adopts a far more flamboyant style. Cú Chulainn is rendered with the line, tone and subtle colouration of an El Greco while the overall composition almost resembles a cathedral window. Unfortunately, the visual innovation is not matched in the use of memory or masculine verve. In fact, it adds only one extra detail to the first Cú Chulainn that turned up on Freedom Corner in the early 1990s. The left ‘pane’ of the mural shows past defenders—the Ulster and Irish towers at Thiepval and Messines, respectively, stand together in a reluctant nod to the actuality of shared military service. On the right ‘pane’ are the familiar masked faces of contemporary paramilitaries, the supposed present-day defenders. Lastly, but far from least, the central pane bringing them together with the dying Cú Chulainn

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<sup>36</sup> Adamson has been credited as the ‘intellectual mentor of the UDA’ for his contributions to the loyalist paramilitary’s magazine *Ulster*, written under the pseudonym Sam Sloan. Guy Beiner, *Forgetful Remembrance: Social Forgetting and Vernacular Historiography of a Rebellion in Ulster*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 514.

being Ulster's 'ancient defender'. For all its stunning use of formal elements, this work simply maintains the explicit and problematic interweaving links of past and present.<sup>37</sup>

Joining Cú Chulainn in the recruitment mission of coaxing out Ulster's next 'defenders' is another mythological figure: Fionn mac Cumhaill. Although only making one recorded appearance for the UDA in 2006, his defiant, straddling stance amongst the fragmented pillars of the Giant's Causeway has been likened to a Jewish champion opposing the Romans at Masada or a latter-day Samson.<sup>38</sup> In a sense a legendary giant seems an apt choice as it is the most extreme version of the 'sizing up' which commonly takes place in many western countries. In social situations, fraught with provocation, the reaction of certain men is a performative exaggeration of their physical size, where masculinity is associated with perceptions of enlarged anatomy. This competitive comparison is even featured in the legend itself when Fionn flees from the prospect of facing off against his much larger Scottish rival, another giant called Benandonner. The theme of vaunted giantism takes on an additional modern, political significance when the UDA juxtaposed the perceived inadequacy of their contemporary party leaders to Crawford and the Unionist commanders of 1914: 'students of history will contrast the snivelling wrecks of manhood who masquerade as political leaders in the 1980s with the giants of Ulster.'<sup>39</sup> Fionn is also featured in the Ulster Cycle of Tales, Celtic sagas which repeatedly reference the interaction between the Irish and Highland Scots. Indeed, the unique basalt columns that outstretch from the coast of Antrim,

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<sup>37</sup> Stapleton and Wilson's research revealed a discussion on Ulster-Scots that implicitly subscribes to a primordialist paradigm based on notions of cultural fixity, purity and hence, 'authenticity.' This was conveyed by respondents' repeated use of the word 'still' to establish continuity with the past, and an overt alignment of 'they' (the Planters) and 'we' (the present-day Ulster Scots). Thus, the template logical structure was as follows: 'They brought (X) and we still (maintain X).' Karyn Stapleton & John Wilson, 'Ulster Scots Identity and Culture: The Missing Voices, Identities' *Global Studies in Culture and Power*, Vol. 11, Issue 4 (2004), p. 577.

<sup>38</sup> According to the authors, he represents the Protestant atavistic notion of the archetypal Ulster warrior defending a sacred homeland against Irish republican philistines. Forker & McCormick, 'Walls of history', p. 437.

<sup>39</sup> *Ulster* (Feb. 1987), pp. 6-7.

disappear under the sea and surface at the mouth of Fingal's Cave (Staffa) are explained as a consequence of the giants' feud.<sup>40</sup> These two hyper-masculine legends are brought together in the UDA pamphlet *'Ulster-A Nation'* which slips into the kind of poetic language more often associated with nationalists: 'Let Ulster, the land of Ireland's foremost heroes, speak to the whole of Ireland again with the authority of a Chchuliann, *fortissimus heros Scottorum*, and like Fionn mac Cumhaill of old build a new Causeway to join all the people of these islands in a new community of spirit and endeavour.'<sup>41</sup> Much like Adamson's rationale with the Cruthin, if there is any intention of unifying differing peoples then it falls short of the mark and much is lost in translation. As bewildering as this talk of giants, superhuman warriors and forgotten tribes may be to some, we should not underestimate how tenacious these stories can be. As recently as 2018 a mural of upgraded materials and process placed a reminder in Rathcoole of the 'Kingdom of the Pretani', complete with a hulking, heavily armoured warrior to watch over it. The emotionally weighty ideas this story conjures can be as immovable as the basalt columns, the giant standing on them or his mindset.<sup>42</sup>

### 5.2.2 Normal Service Resumed

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<sup>40</sup> Popular folklore tells us that Fionn built the causeway as stepping stones to Scotland. While doing so he is informed that Benandonner is coming to fight him. Knowing he cannot withstand such a colossal foe, Fionn retreats and asks his wife, Oona, to help him. She dresses him as a baby so that when Benandonner arrives and sees the size of Fionn's offspring he fears the prospect of meeting his father. Benandonner runs back to Scotland across the causeway smashing it up as he goes so as to prevent Fionn from pursuing him.

<sup>41</sup> Miller, *Queen's Rebels*, p. 154.

<sup>42</sup> When prompted to consider what murals he would like to see muralist Kenny Blair replied: 'What I would've liked to have seen is more of our ancient history...nationalists portray us as big, bad planters coming in and kicking them all off their land, taken over their country...but really, we've been going back and forth here for two, three thousand years before the plantation. Dalaradia was one of the Ulidian or Pretanic kingdoms...we outdate the Celts coming to Ireland.' This quote indicates how the Cruthin myth can facilitate an inability, or unwillingness, to distinguish between the plantation and the movement of peoples prior to it. As Ruane and Todd mention immigration of a more conventional kind might have left a legacy of ethnic difference and conflict, but it would not have generated the psychology of dispossession and reciprocal fear of expulsion which animated conflict in Ireland. Ruane and Todd, *The Dynamics of Conflict*, p. 25.

2012 marked the beginning of the ‘decade of centenaries’, more than any other commemorative episode, this prolonged series of events would prove to test even further public sensitivities and, at times, push the boundaries between celebration and controversy. Tangible remembrance of the state’s genesis was shaped and strengthened by the patriarch Carson, who Jackson identifies as the Orange Daniel O’Connell.<sup>43</sup> At times he puts in multiple appearances on one surface, attending a military drill whilst signing the Covenant. He is not only at the centre of attention compositionally but emotionally at the nucleus of many early memories of collective identity formation. Gusto Spence once remarked on the significance of both the first UVF, Home Rule, and the First World War stating these episodes were ‘imbibed with [my] mother’s milk.’<sup>44</sup> So it was that another generation, in another century, were receiving very little new material to ingest. When he is not at the heart of a mural he is at its head, towering over the other elements within as well as the street-level viewers.

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<sup>43</sup> Jackson ‘Unionist Myths’, p. 164.

<sup>44</sup> Reed, *Paramilitary Loyalty*, p. 41.



Fig.5.5

This visual placement corresponds to a hierarchical male leader and the towering moral authority he represents. Gailey warns us of the reduction of popular debate to the reiteration of clear-cut emotional slogans and creation of a cult figure.<sup>45</sup> Simplicity ensures the widest possible audience picking up on these signifiers. Certainly, the young people in the author's workshops were able to read this body language with ease.<sup>46</sup> At times a work's location can further emphasise the locally condensed commitment to serving one's country which, for

<sup>45</sup> Political parallels to Carson's presentation and performance can be seen in his early hero Gladstone's 'Midlothian Campaign' (1878-80) or, in an Irish context, Charles Stewart Parnell. Gailey draws on Loughlin's 'Constructing the political spectacle' when pointing out that a textual (along with the visual) reduction of message was a technique that lasted well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Gailey 'King Carson', p. 86.

<sup>46</sup> When participants were promoted with images of state authorities including Carson, they connected the notion of physically looking up to a figure positioned high up in the design to 'looking up' as a form of admiration and respect. Most participants lived near murals and therefore saw them, on average, three to four times a day. They also expressed a fondness for the visual style, some were particularly taken with Carson's 'Stormont stance'. Whilst they did not always demonstrate that much knowledge of him, Craig or aspects of Home Rule, they certainly identified his stance with power and confidence. Youth workshop, Monkstown, 25 October 2021.

some loyalists, means signing both the Covenant and the declaration in army enlistment paper. In the case of Willowfield, memory is ascribed as a particularly bright nodal point in the history of organised militancy. Along with a mural informing us of the number of signatories from the area, a UVF memorial sits on the site of the old Unionist Hall which acted as a rifle range and drill hall for the fledgling volunteers.<sup>47</sup> As the lower left corner of the piece attests, whenever we find ourselves at Home Rule, a ‘road’ of symbolism leads us directly to the Somme. The extent how mutually supportive these narratives are is pictorially underscored when Carson has a face-to-face meeting with a Victoria Cross winner, beneath them, the body of the work is occupied by an eerie topography, muted in palette and populated not with soldiers but with regimental insignia. As an abstract rendering, it removes something of the humanity giving attention not to individual character but to an impersonal militarised code.

A similar terrain features in ‘Faugh A Ballach’ (2010) along with an encyclopaedic list of operations and campaigns involving Irish and Northern Irish service in the British military. The work’s title is an Irish war cry translating as ‘clear the way’<sup>48</sup>, yet despite being a time of peace, the weaponised way was not being cleared to make room for other messages more appropriate for the circumstances. The only diversity we can speak of is in the number of conflicts glorified. In the work three young soldiers hover on the horizon like a militarised mirage. Left of the piper is a portrait of Lt. Col Robert Blair Mayne (an officer from Newtownards who would go on to become a founding member of the SAS and a highly

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<sup>47</sup> Brown, ‘Our father organization’, p. 716.

<sup>48</sup> The war cry may also have been the original motto of the regiment the Prince of Wales Own Irish who are remembered in a mural depicting the Battle of Talavera (1809). It was a costly victory for an Anglo-Spanish army led by General Arthur Wellesley during the Peninsular War against the French Empire. The real reason for its inclusion in the landscape at all seems to be that when the regiment changed its name to the Royal Irish Fusiliers in 1827, they also changed their motto to ‘Quis Separabit’ which would much later be adopted by the UDA. Extramural Activity, 26 June 2009, available at <https://extramuralactivity.com/2009/06/26/talavera-1809/> accessed 18 June 2021.

decorated soldier). The work's other caption, 'from the Boyne to Afghanistan', merely offers us a revised version of the eminent continuity of a combative golden age. If keeping up to date with developments were a parade, loyalism's murals were patently out of step yet marching on regardless. Whilst heading down the same old route, muralists also ignored at least three encouraging signs of change. Firstly, was a general easing of Anglo-Irish relations, personified by the first royal visit of Ireland in more than a century, a month later Queen Elizabeth II shook hands with Martin McGuinness in a private meeting at Belfast's Lyric Theatre, also attendance was Irish President Michael D Higgins and First Minister Peter Robinson. Such historic moments helped build bridges and this literally took place in Derry with the opening of the 'Peace Bridge' across the river Foyle. Once the lawless garrison on the fractious frontier, Derry was awarded 'UK City of Culture' status in 2013. This economic boom coupled with a vastly improved image also reshaped Belfast with the opening of the £90 million Titanic visitor facility in 2012. Lastly and most crucially was the official announcement that 'Operation Banner', the British Army's campaign in NI, had now ceased.

We must not let surface optics, whether a handshake, bridge or building, fool us into embellishing the advances made during this period. For it was also marked by several punctures to the semblance of peace. Dissident republicans were responsible for various bomb scares, notable for their size and chosen targets of the British army and the police.<sup>49</sup> As concerning as these incidents were, they were unsuccessful. However, the Massereene Barracks attack (March 2009), in which the Real IRA shot and killed two off-duty British soldiers was also a serious setback. With the Continuity IRA shooting Stephen Carroll just

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<sup>49</sup> In 2009 a 300lb car bomb was abandoned outside Castlewallan, Co. Down, it was intended for a British army base at Ballykinler. In November of the same year, a 400lb bomb was left outside the Policing Board headquarters in Belfast, only partially exploding. Two other security incidents occurred in February 2010, firstly a mortar bomb was left near a police station in Keady and just three days later a 250lb car bomb exploded outside Newry Courthouse with no casualties but several buildings damaged.

two days later this backslide continued—Carroll was the first police officer killed by paramilitaries since 1998 but would not be the last as the car bomb outside Constable Ronan Kerr’s house in 2011 proved. Perhaps because civilian fatalities were so few since GFA any incidents stood out so painfully and shocked the public. They could also reveal the extent of brutal sectarian attitudes. The PSNI believed the motive behind Kevin McDaid’s murder in 2008, by the UDA was due to he and his wife, Evelyn, being in a ‘mixed marriage’ where she was Protestant and he was Catholic. This lethal objection to those who transgressed outwith the bonds of conformity is, in a way, an extreme but emblematic indicator that despite progress elsewhere a tendency for endogamy persisted.<sup>50</sup>

The symbolic landscape, meanwhile, was still littered with generic revered depictions. These included a huge portrait of First World War rifleman Robert King along with medals awarded for ‘gallantry in the field’ during the first day of the Somme. The surface and subject matter went through the most minor revisions earlier in 2022. A 2011 scene of the charge at Thiepval Wood is enacted with various dramatized elements that were becoming increasingly ordinary. The conflation ploy was still very much obtruding on the landscape too, as shown by a 2008 piece depicting modern and contemporary figures from the YCV facing each other and presenting arms across a compressed distance in time.<sup>51</sup> For many young men the enticement of adventure, the promise of camaraderie and the opportunity to test and prove

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<sup>50</sup> The Northern Ireland Mixed Marriage Association estimates that just before the Troubles, one in ten marriages were mixed. These figures dropped substantially during the Troubles. They have since risen to around the pre-Troubles level, though in reality they’re probably much higher. What’s more there are plenty of people in mixed relationships who simply aren’t married (statistics from 2012 on marriage in Northern Ireland show a decrease of 17% from 1982 figures) Jemimah Steinfeld, ‘Northern Ireland quietly opens heart to mixed relationships’ *British Future*, 16 May 2014, available at <https://www.britishfuture.org/northern-ireland-quietly-opens-heart-mixed-relationships/> accessed 20/ May 2021.

<sup>51</sup> Similar to contemporary paramilitaries who felt it their responsibility to fill a perceived security vacuum, the YCV was a response/reaction to the Haldane Reforms of 1908. The measures, attempting to implement lessons newly learnt in the Second Boer War, did not extend the territorial force of the British Army to Ireland. Launched in Belfast City Hall in September 1912 by Lord Mayor, Robert McMordie, it aimed to bridge the gap for 18–25-year-olds from membership of youth organisations, such as the Boys’ Brigade, to responsible adulthood. By the outbreak of the First World War the YCV, now a battalion of the UVF, was absorbed into the British Army as part of the Royal Irish Rifles.

oneself makes participating in a historic, larger-than-life, generation-defining event as irresistible as it is deadly. One might take hope from Harland's observation that post-ceasefire young men can be aware of this veneration and can see through the 'ruse' even if it is corroborated by their fathers, grandfathers, and other significant adults.<sup>52</sup> Even if the psychological costs are articulated by male ex-combatants, they may not contradict valorisation. Such was the case when Noel Large went to work in a centre where many of the at-risk youths idolised him for his paramilitary exploits. Despite efforts to discourage them from following a similar path, Large recalls talking to one participant whose ultimate goal was to end up memorialised on one of Belfast's murals. When Large interjected with the challenging prompt: 'do you realise the only way you're gonna get that is by dying early?', the participant simply replied 'yeah'.<sup>53</sup> He was quite prepared to accept that fate if it meant immortality was guaranteed in paint.

### 5.2.3 From Flag Protests to Fresh Start

The decade of centenaries witnessed a major renewal of overt displays of paramilitarism. The painted men put their masks back on, though, in truth, those involved either with feuding or organised criminality had never removed them. A 2007 work sought to give the UDA what the UVF had found in the 36<sup>th</sup> Ulster Division: an honourable history of militarised action. The UDA drew a link of legitimacy between themselves and the Ulster Defence Union, a widely popular organisation established in 1893 to resist Gladstone's second Home Rule

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<sup>52</sup> Harland, 'Violent Youth Culture', p. 421.

<sup>53</sup> Corinne Purtill, 'This man used to hunt Belfast Catholics with a .357 Magnum. Here's his story' *Global Post*, 15 July 2015, available at <https://www.pri.org/stories/2015-07-15/man-used-hunt-belfast-catholics-357-magnum-here-s-his-story> accessed 8 October 2019.

Bill.<sup>54</sup> Despite the mural being unveiled in a Remembrance Sunday service, where the UFF were officially disbanded, the work proudly displays a UFF member as the central character, breaking the fourth wall with his aim. The advertising analogy is even more blunt when works appear near, or in another case beneath, billboards. Although the image is crammed into an interstitial space it boldly regresses the skyline of Belfast; the background figure plants a flag that seems to flutter high enough to win the aerial battle between the right-hand elevation (possibly Cave Hill). Even ‘Samson and Goliath’, the gigantic cranes of the Harland & Wolff shipyard, are dwarfed through perspective. Elsewhere, the West Winds of East Belfast are not those of change but of superfluous performance with the trio of ‘defenders’/assailants elevated on a pedestal resembling a low ‘thrust stage’<sup>55</sup>. An identical platforming occurs in a piece that informs that, despite being founded one hundred years ago, they are still, for some reason, ‘armed and ready’. It is as transparent as ever just what they are ready for, and it is not to yield any ground to anyone else.

Not only are any alternative expressions of masculinity denied entry to the landscape, but women also continued to be excluded, the exception being the monarchy with nine depictions of Queen Elizabeth II, most painted for the Golden Jubilee in 2002. The work is a series of portraits, all showing the same subject at different moments in her service. Collage is also used in the insultingly generic ‘Women through the ages’ which, for the most part, leans on royal characters as far back as Queen Victoria. Such depictions seem to present an

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<sup>54</sup> An address by an unknown orator at the unveiling in 2007 made it explicit that the commitment, national allegiance and ‘true’ spirit of the modern UDA volunteer stretched back through centuries in an unbroken thread of ‘forefathers’: ‘our members have from 1893 went forward and paid the ultimate sacrifice...during the First World War, in Burma, Africa, Europe and the Middle East during the Second World War. We continue that struggle for freedom of small nations in the present theatres of war in Afghanistan and Iraq.’ Viggiani, *Talking Stones*, p. 166.

<sup>55</sup> As the name suggests these stage areas project into the auditorium, they are often used to increase intimacy between actors and audience. Theatres Trust, ‘What are the types of theatre stages and auditoria?’, available at <http://www.theatrust.org.uk/discover-theatres/theatre-faqs/170-what-are-the-types-of-theatre-stages-and-auditoria> accessed 22 July 2021.

extraordinarily limited and privileged selection *of* women, but they do not come across as being *for* women. Rolston reminds us of the none-too-subtle male gaze with ‘On her, their lives depend’. Ostensibly honouring women’s contribution to the Home Front war effort, specifically working in munitions factories, the man seems to be only person busy with chores, while the woman appears more concerned with fixing her hair for the viewers; less a patriotic woman and more a pin-up girl.<sup>56</sup> The chronic under-representation of women in the public domain almost suggests their rightful place is behind the domestic doors, safely sheltered in the privacy of the home. This clear separation and an assumed protection that comes with it is violated by what many scholars refer to as the ‘returning warrior syndrome’. This hypothesizes that even though a combatant may be out of active circulation he can still pose a significant risk in the domestic sphere.<sup>57</sup> The probability of this danger accelerates if he has not striven to change his worldview once clouded by violence. Any person does not require a literal weapon to inflict harm if some essence of their mentality remains weaponised. Longitudinal statistics from Women’s Aid Federation reveals the extent to which women are very much swept up in the post-conflict continuum of violence.<sup>58</sup> The links between conflict and ‘ordinary’ violence can only better be understood through a closer examination of the multiple, integrated strands that persist to this day.

This acute remilitarisation—a painterly paradox to not just the supposed desire for peace but, specifically, to the historic steps and sincere statements of paramilitary

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<sup>56</sup> Rolston, ‘Women on the walls’, p. 18.

<sup>57</sup> Fionnuala N’Aolín, Naomi R. Cahn, and Dina Francesca Haynes, *On the Frontlines Gender, War, and the Post-Conflict Process*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), p.71.

<sup>58</sup> Gilmartin stresses that men, of course, are also victims and survivors of domestic and sexual abuse and he does not wish to trivialise their experiences. The statistics, however, reveal an overwhelming gender pattern to domestic violence, both globally and in Northern Ireland: the vast majority of victims are women. Gilmartin, ‘Gendering the ‘post-conflict’ narrative’, p. 96.

decommissioning<sup>59</sup>—should be contextualised in the melee of the flag protests of 2012-13.

The unrest began shortly after Belfast city council decided, on 3<sup>rd</sup> December, to limit the days that the Union flag would fly from City Hall. On the night of the vote protestors tried to storm the building. The altercation was perceived by some loyalists as the most damning strike against them in the ongoing and wider ‘cultural war’ that had already dominated post-conflict life in NI. This attack on a shared sense of Britishness restricted the flying of the flag to eighteen designated days, aligning it with UK government policy for official buildings. It is not unreasonable then to suggest that the decision made NI more and not less British.

However, this point eluded those who believed their place in the Union was jeopardised. This belief resulted in a year of sporadic protests between loyalists and PSNI with some sparking riots.<sup>60</sup> The flag protests, in both duration and ferocity, no doubt shocked many outside onlookers to whom the reaction to the removal may have seemed startlingly disproportionate. As an exercise in empathy, however, any such outsider should insert into the equation the inescapable component of social class. Those from a unionist, middle-class background may have viewed the council’s decision with little more than indifference. Their muffled response or their finding some other expression of a banal nationalism may stem, partly, from the comfort and security of their socio-economic standing; they could afford to be indifferent. In an area scored with deprivation, concern over national identity and the tangible cultural indicators may take on a heightened significance. That the protests also occurred just four

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<sup>59</sup> While the IRA eventually decommissioned in July 2005, loyalist paramilitary organisations took longer to reach this milestone. The Red Hand Commando declared an end to their armed campaign in 2007. By June 2009 the UVF had put their weapons beyond use, and a year later it was confirmed that the UDA had followed suit. ‘Irish Peace Process - Brief Note on Decommissioning’, CAIN available at <https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/events/peace/decommission.htm> accessed 2 July 2021.

<sup>60</sup> Rioters attacked police officers with petrol bombs, bricks, stones and fireworks; police responded with plastic bullets and water cannons. Alliance Party offices and homes of members were also attacked, while some City Councillors were sent death threats. See ‘Loyalist paramilitaries 'behind some Northern Ireland trouble', *BBC News*, 8 December 2012, available at <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-20651159> accessed 13 January 2021.

years after the 2008 global recession, when parts of the world were still very much living under debilitating funding cuts and other austerity measures should also not be forgotten.<sup>61</sup>

It is not unreasonable to suppose that some of the frustration that flooded the streets was also due to what can be thought of as a ‘doubling up’ of dividends. Very few men rigorously pursue the hegemonic standards and those that do invariably fall exceptionally short. Despite this, a majority can still adhere to, be complicit in and ultimately gain from a wider hegemony through the patriarchal dividend: gendered advantages that usually take the form of honour, prestige, the right to command, as well as material benefits.<sup>62</sup> However, even when obediently following the rules and playing the roles, this economic dividend is far from guaranteed. Unfortunately, for Loyalist men, this unrealistic expectation intersects with another, that of the much coveted ‘peace dividend’.<sup>63</sup> With nothing to be done about the denial of the latter dividend, a frantic grasp could still be made for the promised privileges of the former. This grasp for control, power or a worthy reputation might be made in the brash chaos of a riot or on an unassuming local wall. The final examples in this chapter’s section

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<sup>61</sup> The effects of the global recession hit hard. By mid-2011 ‘worklessness’, the proportion of people of working age not in paid work, stood at 34%, higher than all but the worst affected regions of the UK. Cockburn ‘What became of ‘frontline feminism’?, p. 110. This essentially brings us staring back at the ‘material mask’ when either a loss of employment or lack of opportunity severely impedes a young man from fulfilling the real role of masculinity assigned to him by society. 2008 can be seen within a series of similar detrimental events that we have touched upon, namely the Great Depression (chapter three) and the decline of major industries (chapter four). The sense of loss is not limited to financial independence but takes on an additional mental health aspect, a loss of identity, purpose and general worth. A contrast between the local, lived experience (of having little to your name) and the painterly spectacle of great men of the past (having acquired their venerated status) may aggravate the situation. Discussing the public display of violence as a behavioural prompt, Helen Crickard commented: ‘the areas that murals are in are of high deprivation, no hope for a job-nothing else around them. There just seems to be no hope out there for our youth...they don’t come out of the womb looking to go to an interface to fight! They’re getting that (urge to fight) from somewhere, I’m not saying murals do it all, but I think they play a role. Interview with Helen Crickard, via Zoom, 12 May 2021.

<sup>62</sup> The term is first used by RW Connell (1995), but Anthony Chen (1999) uses the similar idea of striking a hegemonic bargain, getting something back for investing in an ideal. Connell *Masculinities*, p. 79. On a very capitalist peace, see also Conor McCabe, ‘Double Transition’, *Labour After Conflict & Irish Congress of Trade Unions* (2012).

<sup>63</sup> After the Troubles a common perception held that the withdrawal of troops would free up a huge reserve of money that could be transferred to other areas of the public sector. A major flaw in this logic was that the cost of maintaining the British army came from the centralised defence budget. Therefore, any savings recouped from the region simply went back into the Whitehall exchequer Paul Bew, Patterson and Teague *Between War and Peace...*, p. 98.

encapsulate the non-linearity of transformation. Like a visual pendulum they swung from militarised to (briefly and partially) disarmed and back again to militarised. In doing so they represent the contradictions within transformation; it is neither smooth nor inevitable; it is ambiguous, uneven and discontinuous.<sup>64</sup> Both works been reimaged to celebrate local footballing talent before being taken over to serve paramilitary purposes.<sup>65</sup> The first, a tribute to Glentoran FC by a Community Trust, became two massive, hooded gunmen skulking around the corner of Newtownards Road and Dee Street. The large black and white text read: ‘We seek nothing but the elementary right implanted in every man; the right if you are attacked, to defend yourself.’ The notion of any right, idea, or belief ‘implanted in every man’ returns us to previously discussed assumptions around biological essentialism; an accepting and/or excusing of masculine behaviour. As with all armed displays their function is not limited to reminding everyone of a violent past that no one could possibly forget, but rather to remind us of the possibility, even promise, that a violent future is never that far away. The second example, a portrait to George Best, received a bigger investment via the European Union’s ‘Peace III’ fund in a project that, ironically, sought to tackle the physical manifestations of sectarianism. The success was short-lived as in 2013 the display at Inverwood Court, again in east Belfast, was now dedicated to the UVF, the gunman accompanied by the surprisingly cogent lines: ‘freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed.’ The takeover had already provoked the ire of several stakeholders from the media, politics and business, but plagiarising from Rev.

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<sup>64</sup> David Magee, ‘The Experiences of Loyalist Ex-combatants on Their Journey from Conflict to Peace’ in John D. Brewer and Azrini Wahidin (eds.), *Ex-Combatants' Voices: Transitioning from War to Peace in Northern Ireland, South Africa and Sri Lanka*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), p. 83.

<sup>65</sup> We must remember that the phenomenon of remilitarising surfaces recently bestowed to community groups for more cultural or non-military historical subjects is far from exclusively practised by loyalists. Around this time a work in the Ardoyne depicting a significant moment in the history of Gaelic culture (the Flight of the Earls) was amended to commemorate Martin Meehan, a local IRA commander, complete with rifle and against a backdrop of the Republic’s 1916 Proclamation and a Tricolour. Crowley, ‘Hegemonic Shifts’, p. 74.

Martin Luther King Jr was deemed to be ‘perverse beyond belief.’<sup>66</sup> The painting reflected the protracted tensions as the six-month negotiations in an all-party Assembly group, led by US diplomat Dr. Richard Haass, broke up at end of 2013 without resolving the central issues of flags, parades and emblems and how to deal with the legacy of the Troubles.

Unfortunately, this kind of imagery was not simply the output from sycophantic copycats but rather externally projected what most had known internally for years: paramilitarism had not ended with the conflict. Their malignant presence was magnified by an enlarged involvement in organised criminality.<sup>67</sup> Loyalist decommissioning in 2009 had arrived after nearly a decade of feuding<sup>68</sup>, but now the challenge was (and is) how to decommission militaristic notions of masculinity. One of the most frustrating barriers to accomplishing this is how successfully paramilitaries manipulate fear within their respective communities. This in turn leads some to demand protection from them. A tenet of advertising is not merely to inform us about what is on offer but to create a fundamental need in us as consumers for what is offered; to not only provide the supply but manufacture the demand. A common strategy is to exploit any evidence that the peace agreement/process is incapable of either providing local safety, guaranteeing civil liberties or maintaining the cultural status quo

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<sup>66</sup> This was the view of East Belfast Alliance Assembly member Chris Lyttle. Use of Martin Luther King quote on UVF mural ‘perverse’ *Irish Times*, 23 September 2013, available at <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/politics/use-of-martin-luther-king-quote-on-uvf-mural-perverse-1.1537304> accessed 14 October 2019.

<sup>67</sup> A report by the Northern Ireland Affairs Committee at Westminster claimed that paramilitaries were making up to £18 million per year through smuggling, extortion and armed robbery. Within this the report suggested that the UVF was making up to £2 million per year from suck rackets; the UVF £ 1.5 million and the UDA up to £1 million. James McAuley, ‘Just Fighting to Survive’: Loyalist Paramilitary Politics and the Progressive Unionist Party’, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 16, Issue 3 (2004), p. 522-543.

<sup>68</sup> As part of research to mark the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of GFA, Paul Nolan discovered that 145 of the 158 ‘security-related’ deaths in NI since the end of the conflict were due to republican and loyalist paramilitaries (74 and 71 deaths respectively). Although sectarian murders had decreased there had been a pronounced turning inward as most cases were groups attacking members of their own communities. Nolan also highlights that the period from 2000-2005 actually saw an overlapping of several loyalist feuds which account for every one of the forty-one loyalist paramilitary deaths since GFA. ‘158 security-related deaths’ since Good Friday Agreement’ *BBC News*, 23 April 2018, available at <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-43862294> accessed 25 April 2021.

of the Union. This partly explains why it took so long for actual decommissioning to be implemented: fears and disbelief over republican commitment and resumption of hostilities led some community members to demand that those organisations on their side keep some weapons right up until the end of the process in February 2010. The exploitation of emotions also helps us understand how paramilitaries are able find willing recruits. As discussed throughout chapters three and four, the recruitment of children and young people into ethno-sectarianism often took the guise of celebrating tradition or protecting cultural identity. It is as true now as it was then, and it poses a crucial inhibition to positive cross-community relations. We end this section by considering the government's response to this persistent danger. Ten weeks of intensive cross-party talks resulted in the 'Fresh Start Agreement' (November 2015) which had two key themes: fully implementing the 'Stormont House Agreement' (December 2014), which endeavoured to enact sufficient welfare reform so as to bring NI on a par with Britain. Secondly, to address the impact of paramilitary activity. Fresh Start stoutly reaffirmed support for the rule of law and made available additional UK Government support of around £500 million to assist the Executive in tackling issues unique to NI. Among these was the shared objective of ridding society of all forms of paramilitary groups and their activity. We will see in the final section of this chapter and of part one how successful this ambitious commitment was and whether Fresh Start could really finish off paramilitarism.

### **5.3 Looking Back to Move Forward**

#### **5.3.1 A Ghost Dance Around the 'Dreary Steeples'**

When discussing categories of murals, it is not uncommon for a false partition to be erected between ‘militaristic’ (by which is meant modern paramilitarism) and ‘historical’ (invariably referring to the First World War).<sup>69</sup> Those making this distinction seem not to appreciate that the latter does not involve an extensive excavation of a multi-faceted vista with different forms, themes, events and characters, but rather distinctively falls into regimented line as *militarised* history. Even the descriptor of ‘history’ seems not entirely suitable given how often the discipline is used not exclusively, or even predominantly, to look back but instead looks forward. Evershed elaborates in his study of unionist and loyalist use of the Somme memory. It is the author’s view that murals epitomize what Evershed calls the ‘ghost dance’, performed to recover ‘a deferred eschatological promise, in the face of deep ontological uncertainty.’<sup>70</sup> So, a simplified past is a remedy meant to assuage a present, anxious about what change will mean. Hence murals reverting to the romanticism of young sweethearts embraced in farewell or trench combat staged as a boy’s own adventure complete with action figure men performing daring feats of bravery.

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<sup>69</sup> Such was the case when conducting a joint interview with muralist Stephen Hutchinson and Darren Richardson of the Sperrin Cultural Awareness Association. Richardson, when describing those who commission Stephen’s artistic skills, put the work into those main categories. Interviews conducted by the author, 13 September 2021.

<sup>70</sup> Evershed, ‘Ghosts of the Somme’, p. 244.



Fig.5.6

Use of this memory typifies another aspect of the disjointed relationship between NI and Britain, captured in Churchill's exasperation at 'the dreary steeples of Fermanagh and Tyrone.' The future Prime Minister was of the opinion that the steeples, emerging from the deluge of war represented 'the integrity of [the Irish] quarrel...one of the few institutions...left unaltered in the cataclysm which has swept the world.'<sup>71</sup> Churchill was referencing the pre-war politico-religious division, but the passage could equally speak now to the endurance of a hallowed war memory and masculinity, still in view and just as unshakeable as the metaphorical and monolithic steeples around which wall paintings reinforce images and ideas. The decimation and disillusionment of a generation did not pollute the potency of a bygone age, rather this unionist myth only coagulated like the sacrificial blood that was shed. For all that the endless commemoration rhapsodises about

<sup>71</sup> Aughey, *Under Siege*, p. 35.

soldiers laid to rest, and their memory resting in peace, they are denied this due to their ghosts being incessantly recalled for duty.

Unionism's veto on relinquishing a warrior idealism meant that a particular masculine agency more closely resembled Victorian and Edwardian notions of gallantry than they did the realities of modern society.<sup>72</sup> Boon informs us, the lure of the hero status is two-fold; firstly, as a value-judgement, it allows one to ascend to greatness, departing from the mundane. Secondly, it promises immortality, for if man can rise to the realm of demi-gods, then death is avoidable.<sup>73</sup> We see this bestowed on many surfaces adorned Lawrence Binyon's epitaph, 'For the Fallen': 'They shall not grow old, as we that are left grow old/ Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn/At the going down of the sun and in the morning/We will remember them.' This elevation of the ordinary soldier into a pantheon of manliness occurred on both sides of No Man's Land—Ernst Junger's war diary *The Storm of Steel* (1920) fawns over the 'princes of the trenches' who never retreated and knew no mercy.<sup>74</sup> When these princes do kill for king (or Kaiser) and country, they can take solace in the ordeal being a 'clean' kill. They can also look forward to a similarly quick demise should they meet their end in the line of duty. For all the praising of blood sacrifice (a rhetoric unionism shared with Irish nationalism), popular art seemed to almost mock young heroes with the naivety of a bloodless death. This work in Carrickfergus assures us the deceased soldier has been granted a seat in heaven since he has 'served his time in hell'.

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<sup>72</sup> McGaughey, 'The language of sacrifice', p. 302.

<sup>73</sup> Boon, 'Heroes', p. 301

<sup>74</sup> Mosse, *The Image of Man*, p. 110.



Fig.5.7

The last line of this caption (paraphrased from a 1917 ballad by American poet Frank Bernard Camp) is dissonant to the accompanying image. On the muddied field of battle, there is nothing of hell, only a beautiful young maiden, or perhaps angel, keeping him company in his final moments. The advert of war deceives us with a sanitised, audience-friendly rendition.<sup>75</sup> The quick and painless death which leaves behind a clean wound on a heroic corpse is the final act fabricated in a predictable narrative arc. McDonald's discussion of war-image as spectacle takes place in film, yet we can straightforwardly transfer this trait to

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<sup>75</sup> The bitterness at this deception can be read in the words of Geoffrey Gordon (1917), which conform to how death is presented or performed before us in the mural: 'You remember the picture of the Great Sacrifice, which at one time was to be seen in every shop window. A young lad lies on the ground. A tiny bullet hole shows in his temple, and from it flows the faintest streak of blood. Over him hangs the shadowy figure of the Crucified...like the young lad in the picture, the man I saw die had a bullet wound in the temple, but there the likeness ceased...a ghastly mess of blood and brains and mud, on his face and in the surrounding trench; and in the stark horror of the moment, I could not see the Crucified at all.' Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London: Reaktion Books, 1999), p. 212.

painting. Rather than challenge violent masculinities it simply allows us to marvel at the action; at what our heroes are capable of before their short story gets the ending it deserves.<sup>76</sup>

### 5.3.2 Male Victims of Manhood

Amid the ranks of murals produced around the Somme centenary only one work hints of the woeful reality of the lived experience behind romanticism's theatrical veil.



Fig.5.8

It speaks a very different body language, not confident, upright standing to attention or ready to guard his position. The posture instead crumples up into an exhausted heap; his head is

<sup>76</sup> Terrance H. McDonald, 'War-image as affect, war-image as spectacle in turn-of-the-millennium Hollywood: how are violent masculinities expressed?', *Norma: International Journal for Masculinity Studies*, Vol. 10, Issue 3-4 (2015), p. 244.

bowed but it neither looks nor feels like solemn mourning but rather bleak resignation. The proximity of the red poppies, orange lilies and lionised medal with this husk of a man is actually very felicitous for it, intentionally or not, shines a different light on veterans as symbols of a demoralised masculinity itself emblematic of the futility of war.<sup>77</sup> Any open, honest discussion around this was thwarted by the social stigma admonishing victims of shell shock as being ‘unmanly’. By the Second World War, military psychiatrists of the Allied forces were forbidden from using the term shell shock. Instead the misunderstood labels in vogue were either ‘battle fatigue’ or ‘LMF’ (Lack of Moral Fibre).<sup>78</sup> Popular methods of proselytizing these disorders into an abnormality through shame no doubt contributed to an emotional silencing of a serving generation. Seidler comments on how fathers who fought in the Second World War may have learnt to hold on to painful memories, motivated partly by not wishing to pass on this pain to their sons. The cruel irony being that the same fathers may have unwittingly taught their sons to withhold certain shameful feelings, thereby adding to an internalised pain and not preventing harm.<sup>79</sup> The common concept of ‘soldiering on’ refers to ostensibly positive qualities such as perseverance, resolve, determination and firmness —all of which attributes of the ideal fighting man —<sup>80</sup>but they also carry with them deeper, darker flaws. We should situate these imperfections behind two closely related dramaturgical deceptions; the ‘stoic mask’ (the maintenance of insusceptible toughness, where emotions are carefully managed and suppressed) and the ‘joker mask’ (where authenticity is hidden inside a protective cocoon of comedy).<sup>81</sup> Another defensive mechanism, though related to outright

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<sup>77</sup> McGaughey, ‘The language of sacrifice’, p. 299.

<sup>78</sup> Such was the ignorance on its psychological damage that LMF was believed to be contagious, capable of compromising an entire base if afflicted individuals were not sequestered or removed. Pamela Moss and Michael J. Prince, *Weary Warriors: Power, Knowledge, and the Invisible Wounds of Soldiers* (Berghahn Books, 2014), p. 105.

<sup>79</sup> Victor J. Seidler, *Transforming Masculinities*, p. 113.

<sup>80</sup> Moss and Prince, *Weary Warriors*, p. 186.

<sup>81</sup> Howes, *The Mask of Masculinity*, p. 149.

denial of experience, is a psychic externalisation from memory. As an international military example, some Vietnam veterans fell into the habit of taking drugs which enabled them to dissociate themselves from full realisation of their behaviour and the consequences.<sup>82</sup> This tendency for deflection or distraction is not unique to ex-combatants, from this conflict or any other, as Cockburn enlightens us on the extent to which mental health problems are coupled with a pattern of substance abuse, addiction, self-harm and even suicide in NI.<sup>83</sup> In lieu of opening up and reaching out, many men will mentally move inward becoming even more secluded in self-isolation. Whichever metaphor one chooses to express this withdrawal<sup>84</sup> the conclusion is the same: the patriarchy cripples men. Manhood makes victims of men, commanding them to initiate a self-destruction, an identity of emotional shrinkage which Horrocks condenses as the removal of anything deemed unworthy: ‘to become the man I was supposed to be, I had to destroy my most vulnerable side, my sensitivity, my femininity, my creativity.’<sup>85</sup>

### 5.3.3 ‘Culture Threatens No One’

The customary justification and mantra that conflict imagery is simply an expression of ‘our heritage’ has been shared by some young people. Barton and McCully’s research featured comments from boys that both cited their exposure to history in multiple contexts outside

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<sup>82</sup> Langa & Eagle, ‘The intractability of militarised masculinity’, p. 160.

<sup>83</sup> A survey of 2,000 households in Northern Ireland published in 2005 found one in ten people experiencing symptoms of post-traumatic stress and they were disproportionately of the lower socio-economic stratum (Muldoon, Schmid, Downes, Kremer and Trew, 2005), cited in Cockburn, ‘What became of ‘frontline feminism’?’, p. 112.

<sup>84</sup> A range of imagery is used to convey this internal retreat. Howes opts for the idea of men hunkering in an emotional foxhole while Horrocks uses more archaic phrasing of men digging deep and pulling up their drawbridge and portcullis. Either case reinforces a psychoanalytic reading of the siege mentality with metaphors era-appropriate for both the First World War and the Williamite Campaign, respectively. Howes, *The Mask of Masculinity*, p. 31. See also Horrocks, *Masculinity in Crisis*, p. 123.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid*, p. 25.

school including murals as well as their suggestion that their purpose was to ‘show their past and whatever way their religion has taken form.’<sup>86</sup> This was echoed during youth workshops the author held where participants could not follow up the prompt of ‘*why* this particular history/culture?’ They did not seem fazed that so few subjects should dominate their landscape. If there is little objection to war imagery generally then it is unlikely that the specifics of its placement will cause much consternation. A long-standing case would be the Cathedral Youth Club, in the heart of the Fountain estate and a proverbial stone’s throw away from the Bobby Jackson memorial wall. Aside from the over-reliance on First World War material itself, we should note the medium-sized tribute off on the left-hand side to Sergeant Lindsey Mooney. Mooney died, not in the green fields of France in 1916, but outside Kirk’s Lounge Bar in Cloughfinn, Co. Donegal in 1973 when a bomb prematurely exploded. He enlisted, not in the 36<sup>th</sup> Ulster Division, but in the modern UDA by whose own device his life was ended at nineteen years of age. Clearly the Somme is the greatest propaganda exercise in loyalist paramilitary, its legitimacy a smokescreen behind which otherwise unacceptable actions can be performed. It is incumbent that when we scrutinise assertions that ‘Culture Threatens No One’<sup>87</sup>, peel away the colourful costume, lively music, boisterous crowds and ostentatious spectacle to interpret how they may be viewed more as bellicose performances driving wedges between groups, fanning the flames of suspicion, and occasionally sparking open hostility.<sup>88</sup> The entanglement of militarised, hyper-masculine culture and youth identity should be pulled apart to understand how it contributes to the passing down of violence,

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<sup>86</sup> This was the view of Dale while Stan—the other student jointly interviewed as part of their study—noted their additional function of ‘annoying people’ by demonstrating past Protestant victories. Here there is at least a hint at how problematic the narrowing of perspectives is and why accounts of the past should be so heavily edited. Keith C. Barton & Alan W. McCully ‘Trying to “See Things Differently”’: Northern Ireland Students’ Struggle to Understand Alternative Historical Perspectives’, *Theory & Research in Social Education*, Vol. 40, Issue 4 (2012), p. 380.

<sup>87</sup> This messaged accompanies three bandsmen – the first two of which, at least, are members of the UVF Regimental Flute Band, wearing modern and vintage uniforms uniform – parade together in a 2016 mural in Pitt Park in east Belfast.

<sup>88</sup> Blake, *Contentious Rituals*, p. 6.

which Magee claims is deep in the fabric of loyalist community narratives.<sup>89</sup> In 2016 gendered propaganda was inherited from one medium to another across time when a printed design on board bore a previously painted message aggrandising ‘the young, the brave and the fearless’. It garrisoned the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion YCV members on manoeuvres in the countryside and in the local Donegall Pass. The decision was evidently made in homage to the mural artist Gareth Keys (responsible for the original), but it also taints new technology by calling it up in the service of advancing an old agenda. One of the most distilled utterances about the myriad influences on young minds came from David Ervine, who called sectarianism a flower that is cultivated.<sup>90</sup> As we delve further into the post-conflict age, we notice how much of this tribalism was blossoming either side of entrenched positions and, simultaneously, how little was being done to pull it out by its roots.

#### 5.3.4 ‘If Needed We Shall Rise Again’

Speaking of Ervine, it is instructive for us to briefly note that the visual voice of ‘new loyalism’ was getting louder, but still not loud enough. Semi-valiantly attempts to commemorate Ervine were made in 2014 and 2008 following his sudden death in the previous year. However, the former is a modest display, literally side-lined off a main street with the silhouette of this champion of peace encircled by a huge poppy wreath. The latter

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<sup>89</sup> When interviewed by Magee one ex-UVF commander claimed he knew what a ‘taig’ was from when he was just four years old. Magee ‘The Deconstruction’, p. 28. A similar point was expressed by a key contact in the author’s fieldwork, Jonny Ashe, a young men’s development worker who was recounted the incident when his son asked him: ‘are they the good guys, dad?’ he was referencing a mural of gunmen. Both instances demonstrate how early our outlook can be informed and shaped by binary thinking, grouping the world into us and them, heroes, and villains.

<sup>90</sup> In the same interview, Ervine stated the ‘flower’ of sectarianism owed its origins to historical circumstances and socio-political causes. He disliked the term ‘sectarianism’ as it suggested the conflict was based on religion when he felt it was about politics, though religion did play a part. Quoted in John D. Brewer & Gareth I. Higgins ‘Understanding Anti-Catholicism in Northern Ireland’ *Sociology* vol. 33 No. 2 (May 1999), p. 241.

has him shoehorned beneath a billboard; the aphorism credited to the philosopher Santayana: ‘those who forget the past are condemned to repeat it’, is given less space than Ulster Bank’s latest deal on mortgages. He appears again in 2017 alongside Gusty Spence and William Smith —other progressive advocates for change. The undersized portraits are paired with a profoundly relevant and inspirational quote from Mark Twain, reduced to a footnote<sup>91</sup>, in a time when weaponised slogans were still the headlines. The fact that the portraits include Spence the Elder (a figure of reformed criminality) make it more remarkable as ‘Spence the Younger’ is often the preferred character. A juvenile depiction, complete with the austere expression, strong jawline, dark clothes and glasses and gun, appears in a 2016 UVF mural promising to rise again if ‘needed’.<sup>92</sup> The awkward literal placement of these depictions are metaphorically apt insofar as aspects of loyalism were still struggling to find their place in the peace process. 2017 saw further paralysis at Stormont in the wake of the RHI scandal and ushered in a second prolonged episode of institutional stagnation lasting until 2020 (and beyond).<sup>93</sup> As ever, murals could look back to a contested past, or ahead as a pictorial credo to future prospects. The choice, too often selected, was to keep both eyes firmly behind the times as a 2018 depiction of Ebrington Barracks in Derry demonstrates. It could just as easily

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<sup>91</sup> ‘With courage and vision, you will dare to take risks, have the strength to be compassionate, and the wisdom to be humble. Courage is the foundation of integrity.’ This phrase is very illuminating in our reflection on gender as it redefines paramount values associated with masculinity in a radically different context. Firstly, the trait of risk-taking behaviour defies the usual brash bravado. Secondly, strength is correlated not with brute physicality or the dominance of others but with compassion. Lastly courage is mentioned twice and, for once, not tightly held in the frame of militaristic reference but in the building of integrity and willingness to pursue new modalities.

<sup>92</sup> The full text reads: ‘Present peace now stills our hand/ Death no longer stalks the land/ Our weapons are silent and shall remain/ But if needed we shall rise again’ Similar assurances of protection/threats of violence have been made in other murals throughout the years.

<sup>93</sup> The Renewable Heat Incentive scheme was an energy initiative set up to encourage businesses in Northern Ireland to switch from fossil fuels to renewable sources. Major flaws in its set-up and implementation meant the scheme risked going vastly over budget, with fears that the overspend could reach as much as £700m over 20 years. Allegations of corruption and financial mismanagement from whistleblowers implicated Arlene Foster, then Minister for Enterprise and Investment and later the first female First Minister. In January 2017 Deputy First Minister, Martin McGuinness, resigned over the scandal and a lack of accountability triggering events that would lead to Stormont’s second major post-conflict collapse. ‘Timeline: Renewable Heat Incentive scandal’ *BBC News*, 23 October 2019, available at <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-38301428> accessed 23 August 2021.

have celebrated what the site had become (a redeveloped public space and centre for the arts), but instead reminds us of what it had been (a British military installation over two World Wars and the Troubles). Instead of moving on, they exhibited a deficient adaptation that we have encountered before —the restricted diversification of conflicts glamourised, in this case the flag raising at Iwo Jima and 'Soldier F'.<sup>94</sup>

### 5.3.5 'Preventing the Erosion of Identity'

A year after NI's 'Fresh Start' the British public made the monumental decision to leave the EU in the Brexit referendum. There were obviously many reasons why people voted for Brexit but irrefutably one of these, possibly the most significant, was immigration. The 'two communities' model of NI culture has erased much of a discursive space that would be more considerate toward other demographics including ethnic minorities. Others, however, like Alliance Party's Anna Lo (at the time NI's only minority ethnic Member of the Legislative Assembly) had been outspoken about the need to tackle the relationship between sectarianism and racism in a 2009 Assembly debate where she called for the elimination of the 'twin evils of prejudice.'<sup>95</sup> Hate crime had likely been overshadowed by the more intensive and

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<sup>94</sup> The photograph of victorious troops raising the Stars and Stripes atop Mount Suribachi in the final stages of the Pacific War is an iconic stance of heroism. Meanwhile, 'Soldier F' is the codename for a British ex-paratrooper charged with murdering two civilians on Bloody Sunday. In many ways the story is illustrative of how raw the legacy of a painful past is given that it is an ongoing legal case with a convoluted series of developments. As recently as March of this year, chief justice Mrs. Keegan ruled that the initial decision of the Public Prosecution Service to drop the charges was illogical and 'crossed the threshold of irrationality'. This statement raised fresh concerns over the viability of a proposed amnesty for accused army veterans. Outside of the courts, the flying of flags and graffiti proclaiming support for Soldier F is not uncommon in some loyalist areas, acts which are described by unionist politicians as deeply offensive gestures. Lisa O'Carroll, 'Belfast court quashes decision to stop Bloody Sunday prosecution of Soldier F' *The Guardian*, 23 March 2022, available at <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2022/mar/23/belfast-court-quashes-decision-to-stop-bloody-sunday-prosecution-of-soldier-f> accessed 25 March 2022.

<sup>95</sup> It was Brewer (1992) who first juxtaposed sectarianism and racism. He argued that they converge in the sense that both involve 'social stratification, producing inequality in a structured manner rather than randomly.' A key difference between them being that 'race' is a much more visible and deterministic marker than 'sect'. Knox, 'Tackling Racism in Northern Ireland', p. 392.

organised violence during the Troubles. It does occur in a complex motivational environment therefore any simplistic assessment should be viewed sceptically. However, one element pertinent for us are those men who, bereft of purpose and lacking the discipline of paramilitary formations, now turned their aggression and frustration toward new targets: an increasingly diverse population.<sup>96</sup> An effort to rectify these civil disturbances and the terrible press they induced, resulted in three murals produced around Northumberland Street (along the Falls/Shankill interface). The first work is a tribute to the Polish airmen of 303 squadron during the Battle of Britain, thereby still viewing history through a militarised scope despite the meritorious intention of improving community relations. The adjacent work is outwardly a celebration of Israel but on closer inspection the text-heavy display reads like the military C.V of an Irishman, Lt. Col. John Patterson, who commanded the ‘Jewish Legion’ at Gallipoli. There is a dualism to Patterson’s life; between defending his men from the anti-Semitism of his superiors to his later ardent support for Zionism. Either way, the work is less about Israeli culture or the Jewish faith and more about the ‘godfather of the Israeli army’, as Benjamin Netanyahu described him.<sup>97</sup> The highly controversial actions of the IDF and the internationally recognised illegal occupation of Israeli settlements notwithstanding, it has been suggested that visual support for Israel is explained as a political position opposing republican’s pro-Palestine stance. Joining these two in 2017 is a commemoration of Commonwealth troops which, despite being a collaboration with the local Muslim

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<sup>96</sup> Notable incidents include the vicious attacks against the Chinese community in Belfast, the largest settled minority ethnic group. The police investigation linked these to both the UDA and UVF. Naturally major escalations like this and the one that forced one hundred Roma families to flee their homes attracted international censorious media attention. Inter-communal tensions reared up again in April 2009 following a World Cup qualifying match when Northern Ireland and Polish fans clashed. The incident spilled over into attacks against Polish residents and some fifty people fled the staunchly loyalist Village area of south Belfast. *Ibid.*, p. 387.

<sup>97</sup> Cahal Milmo, ‘John Henry Patterson, the “godfather of the Israeli army”, reinterred near Tel Aviv’, *The Independent*, 4 December 2014, available at <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/john-henry-patterson-the-godfather-of-the-israeli-army-reinterred-near-tel-aviv-9904191.html> accessed 8 December 2021.

community, still ended up being rather one-sided. While this outcome of a shared identity workshop does feature soldiers and pilots from India, Nepal and the West Indies, these historical photographs are reduced to side panels. The composition is dominated by a large central image of British War Minister Lord Kitchener, replicating the well-known recruitment poster. For sure these murals are a positive step inasmuch as they give some space up to minority groups— that other ‘Other’— but bearing the aforementioned details in mind the author would contest Kappler and McKane’s view that they contain an overtly anti-racist ethos.<sup>98</sup>

This stress on anachronistic forms and symbols, indicative of what Tom Nairn calls ‘last-gasp Britons’<sup>99</sup>, brings us back to Brexit. Where the twain meet is in the improbable yet intoxicating nostalgia for a dreadful past. In the context of Britain, a nostalgia tinged with imperial renown, reads as a palpable lament for a less diverse population.<sup>100</sup> As a rejection of change in favour of the status quo or a return to a fabled land, Brexit conforms to features of a certain loyalism. It is the kind of ideology that spoke volumes when Sammy Wilson of the DUP offered negotiating advice in 2018 to then Brexit secretary, David Davis: ‘stand up to them, man...if the gloves are off then it is time we went into this fray with a no surrender attitude.’<sup>101</sup>

The final episode of part one considers the aftermath of those fraught negotiations, consequences which continue to this day. However, since this is not a politics thesis, we need

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<sup>98</sup> Stefanie Kappler & Antoinette McKane, ‘Post-conflict Curating’: The Arts and Politics of Belfast’s Peace Walls, de arte Troubling Histories, *Public Art and Prejudice* (Vol. 2, May 2019), p. 12.

<sup>99</sup> McAuley, Tonge & Mycock, *Loyal to the Core?*, p. 9.

<sup>100</sup> In Harland’s illuminating and sobering research 90% of Catholic and Protestant participants spoke of an increase in race-related violence since the paramilitary ceasefires. During discussions, foreign nationals were typically spoken of in traditional racist ways, e.g., ‘they’re taking our jobs and houses’ was a common response. Some young men made a direct link between multiculturalism and violence: ‘the community has changed because of immigrants coming in and there’s more fighting amongst locals now than before. Use to be you knew who the enemy was but not now.’ Harland, ‘Violent Youth Culture in Northern Ireland...’, p. 425.

<sup>101</sup> McKay, *Northern Protestants: On Shifting Ground..*, p. 82.

not fall down the rabbit hole of the torturous affair itself. The salient point is the loyalist/unionist objections to terms of the withdrawal agreement, ratified in January 2020, specifically the Protocol on Ireland/NI.<sup>102</sup> The first objection is one of fiscal pragmatism, with many believing it is disruptive to trade and damaging to the economy. A second objection, however, is far more fundamental to emotive ideology; with NI still within the EU's single market and the sea border 'separating' the country from Britain, some feel it undermines their place in the Union.<sup>103</sup> Whilst most who hold this view of isolation would not drastically act on it, others would see the uncertainty as an opportunity to assert their control. For paramilitaries, the confusion generated by the Protocol is the latest excuse to prove themselves; any moral panic is fodder for them to reinstate their relevance. In November 2019—a month before negotiations concluded—a UVF mural with two masked gunmen proclaimed: 'the prevention of the erosion of our identity is now our priority.' The erudite language seems to cling onto that slender respectability and professionalised honour from earlier periods. As well as bolstering their visual presence, the contemporary precarious climate is an optimum condition to boost enlistment. Circumstances which call for the 'defender' and 'protector' to come out of retirement reverses the post-conflict trajectory, but it could just as easily apply to new members who are now granted the chance to show their mettle as well as engage in the intrepid exploits akin to the Troubles —the activities ceaselessly glamourised in murals. Young men receive further encouragement to decisively

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<sup>102</sup> A special trading arrangement was required as Northern Ireland shares a land border with the Republic of Ireland—an EU country. All parties involved recognised that protecting GFA was an absolute priority. The introduction of a 'hard border' (featuring cameras, border posts, guards etc.) would likely have led to serious instability even becoming targets of aggression. To avoid these sensitivities and any return to violence, a border was effectively created down the Irish Sea meaning goods were checked at Northern Irish ports.

<sup>103</sup> Key findings from surveys conducted by 'Let's Talk Loyalism' indicate the extent of these feelings. Almost all loyalists (98.3%) viewed the NI Protocol as a threat to NI's position within the UK. Almost as many (91.5%) thought it risked a return to violence. Kellie-Anne Shaw, Moore Holmes & Stacey Graham 'Loyalist Engagement Survey: Protocol, Policing and Politics' Let's Talk Loyalism (2021), p. 9.

take action from inflammatory rhetoric, whether issued by paramilitaries or politicians.<sup>104</sup>

These factors gathered in a perfect storm in April 2021, just three months after the Protocol's introduction, which saw the worst rioting in years. Beyond the rush of adrenaline induced by thrill-seeking behaviour, participation could have instilled a sense of pride and purpose that they otherwise lack. It also remedies the symptoms of 'FOMO' (fear of missing out) on exciting episodes from the past. By now paramilitaries were experts in emotional manipulation whether negative (sense of loss, frustration, and anger) or positive (exhilaration, dignity and determination).<sup>105</sup> These strategies aided in the recruiting another generation of working-class teenagers. Jackie McDonald<sup>106</sup> even accepted that the UYM had lowered its age of recruitment to fourteen because so many wanted to join. This decision was taken three months after the initial ceasefires, yet a 2015 mural publicises how little the organisation had moved on when it appropriated the words of Emiliano Zapata and told young men it was 'better to die on your feet than live on your knees in an Irish Republic. JOIN THE UDA.' The flagrant deceit is even more egregious considering that those targeted for illicit involvement are the same class of citizen who are victims of a harrowing rise in the paramilitaries' own 'justice'.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> One month prior to the riots, David Campbell, chairman of the Loyalist Communities Council (a group which includes representatives of loyalist paramilitaries) issued a statement to Prime Minister Boris Johnson formally withdrawing its support for the GFA. 'Loyalist group withdraws support for Good Friday Agreement' *BBC News*, 4 March 2021, available at <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-56276653> accessed 17 March 2021.

<sup>105</sup> In seeming to indicate an attractive aspect, several participants wolf-whistled at an assortment of paramilitary murals when they appeared on a slide in the author's opening presentation during a youth workshop. Tullyally youth workshop, Derry, 27 October 2021.

<sup>106</sup> Whilst McDonald is known for his efforts as a community organiser, he is also the incumbent UDA brigadier for South Belfast having been promoted to the rank by former UDA commander Andy Tyrie in 1988 following McMichael's assassination the year earlier.

<sup>107</sup> Data from PSNI revealed in 2018 a 60% rise in 'punishment attacks' carried out by both loyalist and republican paramilitaries over the last four years. The victims are often both male and young, judged criminals by organisations for committing anti-social behaviour or other relative misdemeanours. It seems republican groups prefer shooting whilst beatings were the loyalist method of choice (34 such assaults in 2013 compared with 57 in 2017). Evidence suggests some parents 'acquiesce' to this quick-fix alternative to actual policing and criminal justice. It has led to a culture of fear and silence and a situation that Liam Kennedy, the author of a major study into this long-term practice, described as 'tantamount to child abuse' Henry McDonald, 'Northern Ireland 'punishment' attacks rise 60% in four years' *The Guardian*, 12 March 2018, available at

### 5.3.6 In the Presence of ‘Absent Friends’

As we have seen, the reviving capability of murals jumbles our timelines. Even those long dead are not always truly gone. So it was when we find ourselves in the presence of the ‘absent friends’ gracing a Monkstown mural, despite two of the UDA volunteers having been killed by a UDA bomb in 1977, the work appeared in 2014. A revival can involve the transference of representation from one medium to another, as in a case in 2017 when a photograph of a UDA patrol was enlarged and once more took to the streets. The apotheosis of impression management appeared in a 2016 tribute to Stephen ‘Top Gun’ McKeag. A hitman responsible for at least a dozen murders and winner of ‘Volunteer of the year’ accolade is ‘remembered with pride’.



Fig.5.9

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<https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/mar/12/northern-ireland-punishment-attacks-rise-60-in-four-years> accessed 20 May 2021. See also the work of Liam Kennedy including *Who was responsible for the Troubles? The Northern Ireland Conflict* (London: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2020) and his earlier report ‘*They Shoot Children, Don’t They? An Analysis of the Age and Gender of Victims of Paramilitary ‘Punishment’ in Northern Ireland*’ (August 2001).

As his countenance ascends to the firmament, nothing indicates the ignoble circumstances of his death: a lethal cocktail of cocaine and painkillers following a motorcycle crash in 2000. Both 'Top Gun' and John Gregg, who in 2015 also revived in mural form, received full honours with thousands in attendance and hundreds of wreaths laid.<sup>108</sup> Gregg's alias was 'the Reaper', a figure which also returned in 2018 cast in the role of 'loyalist executioner'. The text swoons about 'cold eyes behind his hood' and 'death behind his mask'. The character is destined to bring 'judgment' [sic] and 'stiff justice', with atrocities listed in this task as accomplishments. One such event is Greysteel which is insinuated in the work 'Spirit of '93', a slick printed version of Eddie the Trooper for a new audience: the work was installed in March of 2022.

Time, it seems, had done nothing to palliate the unbridled hypocrisy dispersed through the landscape. A 2014 work for the Carrickfergus UVF had the gall to announce that 'progression requires inclusion'. The last demographic to consider, excluded along with women and people of colour, are members of the LGBT community. Homosexual masculinity is clearly overlapped with other hatreds, notably in the derogative origins of 'effeminate'.<sup>109</sup> Since the GFA, increased levels of homophobic attacks were recorded indicating a strengthening of antagonistic attitudes in recent years.<sup>110</sup> This work then, like most weaponised exhibits, is the visage of prohibition not progression, intimidation not inclusion. Nonetheless these designs, devoid of detail, are indisputably perfervid as they catch our attention and follow our gaze as much as Kitchener's outstretched finger. The

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<sup>108</sup> McDonald and Cusack, *UDA*, p. 5.

<sup>109</sup> The word came into general use during the 18<sup>th</sup> century indicating an unmanly softness and delicacy. Most effeminate men were labelled outsiders while others stigmatised effeminacy as a sickness with a possible cure...fears of sterility and extinction required a corrective 'true' masculinity. Mosse, *The Image of Man.*, p. 83.

<sup>110</sup> According to some commentators, homophobia has now replaced sectarianism as the major expression of prejudice in Northern Ireland. Bernadette C. Hayes and John Nagle 'LGBT rights in Northern Ireland: a war by other means' *London School of Economics* blog, 25 February 2016, available at <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/gay-rights-in-northern-ireland-a-war-by-other-means/> accessed 27 October 2019.

striking monochrome recalls the war posters of German painter Fritz Erlder; faces blackened from the dirt of battle but luminous eyes that pull us in and speak of experiences that hardened the perfect soldier's character.<sup>111</sup> As much as this unflinching stare is aimed at shutting us out, a women's focus group was able to see beyond this to a revealing interpretation: 'I think they're dead behind the eyes.'<sup>112</sup> Reference to the dramaturgy of gender could elucidate this internal conflict as an outward disguise, a hostile costume to cloak any genuine vulnerability. A suitable comparison that denotes the global application of this tactic is the 'cara paraca', translated either as 'war mask' or 'paramilitary face'. The Colombian ex-combatants in Theidon's study divulged this as a particular expression explicitly seeking to inspire terror and to situate the commander above all others.<sup>113</sup> Dissident republicanism also maintained their own cara paraca; splinter groups continue to pose a viable security threat as was all too tragically confirmed with the murder of 29-year-old journalist Lyra McKee, shot in Derry's Creggan estate during a riot in April 2019.<sup>114</sup> Furthermore, this lingering trace of a discernible enemy validates those loyalists unwilling to leave the stage in the theatre of war. Despite a legion of perspectives within loyalism, we seem almost destined to meet the same profiles. James Scott expounds the danger of this institutionalised mind set, those obliged by domination to wear it for so long will eventually find that their faces have grown to fit the mask.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> Mosse, *The Image of Man*, p. 114.

<sup>112</sup> Magee had asked the group what they thought the emotional effect the Troubles had had on those men involved. Magee, 'The Deconstruction', p. 160.

<sup>113</sup> Theidon, 'Reconstructing Masculinities...', p. 23.

<sup>114</sup> Several dissident republican groups rejected the Good Friday Agreement and continued as social movement organizations. After 2005 more organizations appeared, including Éirigi, the Republican Network for Unity (RNU), and the Óglaigh na hÉireann (ÓNH). White and Demirel-Pegg, in Bosi & De Fazio (ed.), *The Troubles in Northern Ireland*, p. 139.

<sup>115</sup> James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), p. 10.

## Conclusion

The post-conflict age discredits the Enlightenment vision of history as a progressive linear movement toward justice and emancipation. Rather, it lived up to Foucault's inversion of Clausewitz's famous maxim: 'politics is the continuation of war by other means.'<sup>116</sup> The battlefield encompassed the whole society with murals remaining a consistently divisive feature and dependable weapon. For many loyalists this shift from a military to political stage was a disorientating experience. Despite the bluff and bluster from Mount Vernon, much of loyalism was decidedly not 'prepared for peace'. This chapter has deconstructed what transpired, an imperfect peace without reconciliation in a society riddled with issues: prisoners' release, decommissioning, multi-layered segregation, political dysfunction and mistrust in policing. Attempts to modify the landscape (which will be reviewed in chapter seven) into something more appropriate for the times were no match for the cultural violence of the weaponised archetypes. Those exercising authority over their continued presence were, presumably, unaffected by fluctuating circumstances, prominent opposition, or any possible psychosocial detriment to subsequent generations of young men. Therefore, a monopoly of chronic over-representation was held whilst, naturally, drowning out all alternative voices which had fallen prey to a consequential under-representation.

In preparation for part two we should ask ourselves to what extent the symbolic landscape might help rather than hinder social transformation? If we are to subscribe to the advertising analogy, then we must also admit that it, as a subtle, long-term behavioural inducer, is neither inherently good or bad, right or wrong. Might it not be possible then that the complex operation of this communicative network be harnessed for a wholly different

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<sup>116</sup> Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972- 1977*, Colin Gordon (ed.) (New York: Pantheon, 1980), p. 90.

purpose; one in stark contradistinction to its historically normative function? Likewise, the dramaturgical dimension is not predetermined but open-ended. Turning people into fighters is no easy undertaking and the motivational process is tremendously gendered.<sup>117</sup> It plays on expectations of masculine protection and warrior-like prowess to rouse a confrontational disposition. Yet we cannot forget gender is a social construct. The status of ‘manhood’ is not innate but is acquired over time through words and deeds. ‘One is not born, but rather becomes a woman’ wrote Simone de Beauvoir—she might as well have said the same for men.<sup>118</sup> Herein lies a source of hope that carries into part two: some of this making of masculinity is surely derived from one’s visual environment. If this initial alteration can project an improved, disarmed version of masculinity perhaps it can foster a substantial alteration in reality. The next chapter opens part two of this thesis which begins the search for disarming material by looking through a widened worldview. The concept of multivocality (originating in Bakhtin’s polyphonic novel) could be applied to radical media such as murals in the production of a dialogic and democratic public sphere.<sup>119</sup> As will be argued in chapter eight, the advantages in allowing other voices within loyalism to ‘speak’ from their walls — as opposed to the same, singular voice saying the same utterances loudly — are surely amplified further when we tune into other ‘voices’ from around the world. Chapter six advances Smithey’s argument that [murals] constitute a medium through which communities can experiment with their symbolic landscape, shifting its focus from cultural exclusivity to one more reflecting inclusivity and empowerment.<sup>120</sup> It seems entirely plausible that the novel twists which can rework old dramas would exponentially rise the further one was

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<sup>117</sup> Laura Sjoberg, *Gender, War, and Conflict* (Bristol: Polity Press, 2014), p. 70.

<sup>118</sup> Pankaj Mishra, ‘The Crisis in Modern Masculinity’ *The Guardian*, 17 March 2018, available at <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2018/mar/17/the-crisis-in-modern-masculinity> accessed 20 December 2019.

<sup>119</sup> Downing, *Radical media.*, p. 47.

<sup>120</sup> Smithey ‘Conflict Transformation, Cultural Innovation, and Loyalist Identity in Northern Ireland’ in Howard (ed.), *Culture and Belonging in Divided Societies*, p. 85.

inclined to deviate outside of the normative environment. Just as chapter eight will elaborate on Shirlow and McGovern's comment on the necessity to 'promote an understanding of the Protestant community and its diversity'<sup>121</sup>, the next chapter calls for a similar process projected outwardly.

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<sup>121</sup> Southern, 'Protestant Alienation in Northern Ireland', p. 160.

## PART TWO: THE DISARMING

### Chapter Six: Beyond the Sanctuary: External Sources of Disarming

#### **Introduction**

This chapter marks a major turn in this thesis as we leave the past-focused weaponisation behind and move into the future-focused ‘disarming’. Part two attempts to not only visually disarm the weaponised murals of part one but, ultimately, argues that positive, progressive art when used regularly in the interests of public history, community education and gender reconciliation could encourage a disarming of weaponised masculinities. It is the lack of change that we witnessed across all three chapters of part one that provide a clear rationale for the aspirational character of part two. Weaponisation seemed locked into static patterns of repeated visual tropes and suggestive of traditional gender norms. Since weaponisation is so reliant on a conformity to certain accounts of history, certain uses of public art and certain heroic masculine ideals, part two seeks to undo much of this. From the last chapter we appreciate how the suppressive consequences around this culture of silence still very much persist and, therefore, part two meets it early on with a clear and decisive call for direct action against this. Whereas part one followed a more traditional, historical approach to murals, part two aspires to aesthetically revolutionary ideas which, in time and through repeated use, may become embedded as the new norm. This counterbalance to the hegemony of part one would, in both form *and* function, operate in an oppositional dynamic. A radical change of direction is needed then if we are to explore what narratives and perspectives may disarm the landscape and how these utopian visions might affect wider social circles of loyalist thinking around masculinity and violence. Chapters six and eight traverse a multitude of sources, external and internal to loyalism, to find out where those narratives might be, what exact

perspectives constitute as disarming material? Whilst chapter seven more fully explains how the bridge between art and audience can be built to allow a successful and necessary transmission of peace-oriented messages which advocate for gender equality, non-violence, and an ambitious social transformation.

This chapter widens the discursive and performative frames of meanings in the context of both murals and masculinities. While it is important to recognise the permanence of some interpretative frames, we should remain open to the possibility that others can be reinvented; others still discovered. This will of course take us beyond the limits of loyalist NI. Yet, every element explored always returns us back to our primary focus. Due to the intersection of race and perceived lesser or lower masculinities, we are compelled to search elsewhere for articulations of multiculturalism. To combat the continuum of violence, we must be aware of the implications of hegemonic masculinity to ethnic minorities in NI.<sup>1</sup> Diversifying the landscape and its uses is key if we are to inculcate the kind of free thinking so central to disarming. For many, the post-conflict environment is one still defined by a lack of positive exposure to difference, with society continuing to be segregated along lines of education, housing, and socialising. This is especially relevant for Ulster loyalism which still carries an image of a conservative, pro-state ideology with little space or use for an international rhetoric and representations of resistance and liberation. Crucially this chapter steers these terms away from the ‘national question’ instead framing them in our gendered priority. The author posits that culturally globalised<sup>2</sup> murals constitute a form of indirect

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<sup>1</sup> Helena McCormac of the Northern Ireland Council for Ethnic Minorities highlighted the significant challenges still facing migrants often settled in poorer communities which are amongst the most contested in terms of territory and culture. Consequently, they are more likely to fall victim to racism and sectarianism (even facing expulsion). She stressed the urgent need for a new Northern Irish radical equality strategy. Shaun McDaid et al, ‘The Northern Ireland “Culture Wars” Symposium Report’ (Huddersfield: University of Huddersfield, Nov 2013), p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Cultural globalisation should be differentiated from its economic version. The former implies a shared and sustained consciousness, facilitated by a compression of the world through the media revolution from the early

travel, essentially an extension of contact hypothesis. As we ‘travel’ further afield, we will notice the need for gender transformation to be as multidimensional as large-scale conflicts themselves. Gilmore’s study of cross-cultural conceptions of masculinity concluded that though we may not be able to capture any universal male, a ubiquitous male did crystallise. Based on a criterion of performance, this quasi-global personage is labelled ‘Man-the-Impregnator-Protector-Provider’.<sup>3</sup> In lieu of this ultimate archetype, this chapter enhances the view that identity is interactional. Men do not develop in isolation but are shaped by a world of people around us. By accessing external examples, we can appreciate how identities are always changing, possibly slowly, or with great effort. They nevertheless are not fixed and indeed the ‘liquid nature of relationships’<sup>4</sup> in the postmodern age means we are more fluid than at any time in human history.

This chapter is structured into three international contexts of disarming, removing us from the introversion of men’s studies (still largely Western-centric in its mainstream, academic literature) and the Northern Irish mural tradition. We begin in Southern Africa and consider the philosophies of the Men Engage Network, guided by the principle of overriding relational humanity and compassion known as ‘ubuntu’. We also briefly assess the tactics of two partners in the network, implementing a disarming of similarly weaponised masculinities. Both Promundo’s ‘Program H’ and Sonke Gender Justices’ ‘One Man Can’ campaign deploy some rudiments of RAM from chapter seven, namely devising public art

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1960s onwards. The latter, however, is commonly associated with a neo-liberalism that accompanied the steep decline of traditional industries and, with them, the loyalist working class.

<sup>3</sup> David Gilmore, *Manhood in the Making* (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1990), p. 223.

<sup>4</sup> Reed, *Paramilitary Loyalty*, p. 19. On the matter of choosing from extended options made more available to us, Dave Hill commented in ‘The Future of Men’ that ‘never again will masculinity be as containable or easy to describe in false terms as it had been during the last 150 years. Tomorrow’s materially comfortable young men will have more freedom of identity on their hands than their grandfathers and even their fathers could have imagined.’ Cited in Buchbinder, *Studying Men & Masculinities*, p. 3.

based on prolonged workshop sessions that challenge the hegemonic standard of their context. This may involve redefining vernacular terms, manipulating effective marketing strategies for progressive ends, or confronting some distasteful aspects of one's social identity. The second section profiles the work of the Southeast Asian 'Fearless Collective'—a women-led group of artists and activists taking feminism out into the harsh realities of the frontline. Our analysis will intersperse the collective's methodology — a staged process akin to chapter seven's verbing the mural —with specific works so that we can understand exactly how they reclaim spaces of patriarchal conformity with radical statements of inclusive beauty. Substantiating the C-HV, Fearless' aesthetic revolution is based on love as the fundamental alternative to hate which fuels conventional conflict and the continuum of violence. The final section takes us on a journey through some of the most prominent cases of disarming muralism in the Americas. Initially set in South America, we meet the Ramona Parra Brigades, a demilitarised version of the paramilitary brigades of NI that sought to draw young people into their reductive and restrictive ways of being. Aside from being a useful structure for the politicising and organising of a disaffected youth during Chile's military regime, the content produced by the brigades amalgamates into an alternative landscape across post-conflict Santiago. This is scripted by histories 'from below' that centre the perspectives of workers, women, and masculine champions of political intelligence and creative resistance.

In the central highland town of San Juan Comalapa we witness a radically different use of the time surface of a mural. Rather than expressing militarised continuity, the work represents the change caused by the peace process spanning a scene of brutality to one emphasising youthful hope for the present and imagined near future. The next sub-section moves us up to American west coast cities of San Francisco and Los Angeles. In the former we discover the legacies of Balmy Alley, a congregation of both mural activity and peoples

brought together in continued, repeated and diverse activation. The latter, meanwhile, exhibits a supreme example of the mural as a democratic platform, giving voice to those silenced in society. Again, we notice how the epic storytelling throughout the Great Wall of L.A. is employed as a site of critical learning, necessary introspection, and open engagement. En route to the East coast, we briefly stopover in Chicago to consider the historic case, the Wall of Respect. Here the importance of a citizens' media is stressed in the black liberation movement. When creative control is in the hands of the people, murals are an expression of civic pride and the heroes assembled in paint prove an organic backdrop for mobilising against inequality and injustice. The chapter concludes with an appraisal of Mural Arts Philadelphia (MAP)—the most comprehensive of all disarming case studies, the pinnacle of RAM, and we end by comparing Philadelphia, a model city and transformative paragon to Belfast, laden with untapped potential and promise.

## **6.1 From Northern Ireland to Southern Africa: An Alliance of Engagement**

### **6.1.1 'I Am Tired'**

The first case study we will examine connects many conflict-affected regions and relates to a heavy demoralisation or war-weariness. This may concern populations who feel the weight of this contemporaneously or those societies, like NI, from which conflict is a recent memory and whose people still feel the numerous legacy issues they struggle with now. As with all the examples cited in this chapter, inaction—even in the most horrendous circumstances—is not an option. Action without ongoing, critical reflection may also be counter-productive. In September 2016, three years after the start of the South Sudanese Civil War, a collective of artists, musicians, actors, poets and fashion designers came together to create a platform for

the ordinary South Sudanese citizen to speak out and have their voice heard. They called themselves ‘Ana Taban’— ‘I am tired’ in the Juba dialect of Arabic —and used street theatre, murals, sculpture and poetry to foster public discussion about issues such as social injustice, government accountability, and transparency. One of the most powerful works is usually interpreted as the tragedy and futility of war; a self-destructive hacking away at the roots of one’s society.



Fig.6.1

In the context of gender transformation however, the author would offer a secondary reading, in that the people are cutting off the root problems of conflict—toxic masculinity being one of the thickest. Indeed, this is true seemingly regardless of context. As Sjoberg observes, no two images of the ‘just warrior’ are exactly the same, yet no conflict lacks a notion of what it means to be a man, and a hero, in that conflict.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Sjoberg, *Gender, War, and Conflict*, p. 67.

For NI, the onset of the Troubles reinforced traditional forms of masculinities, commencing conditions that preserved men's power in both public and private arenas.<sup>6</sup> We encountered this fortification during the 'post-conflict' age in chapter five. If we were to analyse fig. 6.1 in this gendered manner then the people, as stationary as tree trunks of tradition, wield the axes not as weapons but tools of liberation. Once severed, the people are free to move independently, no longer rooted to the spot by that which seemed interminable.<sup>7</sup> For NI, of course any polyphonic reading of the work gladly permits both interpretations as being conceptually valid. Remembering the crux of part two— that radical imagery alone is not enough; it must *continue* to be radically used too—we have to admire the collective's methods of utilising old and new technologies of social movement communication. Their strong social media presence had meant that #Anataban has become a popular phrase used by South Sudanese youth to express their frustration with the ongoing conflict. To further the dissemination of their ideas, the collective also produces short films and releases songs via local radio stations and YouTube to reach wider audiences. This determination for public engagement takes several forms, whether smaller scale events like the unveiling of a work opposing forced marriages in April 2022 or celebrating 'International Day of the African Child' in July 2021. In May 2022, Ana Taban partnered with the Narfa Soutna<sup>8</sup> to run a series of activities (attended by hundreds) in the cities of Yei and Rumbek, which included

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<sup>6</sup> Ashe & Harland, 'Troubling Masculinities', p. 748.

<sup>7</sup> A freedom of movement could extend to the constructed status of gender which, when theorised as radically independent of sex, becomes a free-floating artifice with the consequence that 'man' and 'masculine' might just as easily signify a female body as a male one and vice versa. Butler, *Gender Trouble*, p. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Arabic for 'let's raise our voices' sought to centre the perspective of children to the witnesses and signatories of the revitalised agreement on the resolution of the conflict in the Republic of South Sudan. The ARCSS was signed in 2015 having been brokered by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development. It led to a temporary pause in the fighting, but conflict was reignited within a few months. New efforts at peace negotiations followed, eventually resulting the Revitalised version of the original agreement finalised in September 2018. The ongoing campaign however stressed the need for the full and timely implementation of the R-ARCSS. Elis Starnes & Cedric de Coning The Revitalised Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (R-ARCSS), Relief Web, 6 May 2022 available at [The Revitalised Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan \(R-ARCSS\) - South Sudan | ReliefWeb](#) accessed 17 August 2022.

workshops, youth dialogues, concerts and mural paintings. The main theme of these activities was to promote an active citizenship amongst the youth, while the murals focused on site-specific problems, namely early child marriage in Yei and ending revenge killings in Rumbek.<sup>9</sup> Ana Taban's versatile use of media, extending their progressive and transformative agenda, only goes to prove Freire's point that the pursuit of full humanity cannot be carried out in isolation or individualism, but only in fellowship and solidarity.<sup>10</sup>

### 6.1.2 'I Am Because You Are'

The main theme for this section is derived from the 3<sup>rd</sup> Men Engage symposium, a seven-month programme starting in November 2020. What unified all these sessions, and indeed unifies a great deal of our disarming material was its title: 'Ubuntu'. Originating from humanist Southern African philosophy, it can be a somewhat nebulous concept of oneness, being part of the Zulu phrase 'Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu'. Literally meaning a person is a person through other people.<sup>11</sup>, it is more commonly translated as simply humanity toward others, or 'I am because you are'. It evokes a universal connection between all people, a shared sense of compassion, responsibility and humanity for all. This is hugely relevant to our consideration of gender as a relationally constructed identity. The radical inclusion is at the core of the C-HV and in opposition to the weaponised archetypes which are often based on exclusion and even the dehumanising of the other. So whilst the concept is grounded in African thought and identity, it clearly has an important and positive implication for the

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<sup>9</sup> Lauren Spink, 'Protection Through Dialogue: How UNMISS is Linking Local Engagement with a National Peace Process in South Sudan', *Centre for Civilians in Conflict* (June 2020), p. 9 available at <https://civiliansinconflict.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/UNMISS-Peace-Brief-Single-Page.pdf> accessed 22 April 2021.

<sup>10</sup> Paulo Freire, *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed* 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary edition (New York: Continuum, 2005), p. 85.

<sup>11</sup> Nkem Ifejika, 'What does ubuntu really mean?', *The Guardian*, 29 September 2006 available at <https://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/2006/sep/29/features11.g2> accessed 12 December 2021.

whole world. That Engage exports this philosophy to 600 organisations in 30 countries is representative of those progressive voices that are globally making themselves heard and demanding recognition and realisation of their rights. An alliance of youth movements, feminists of colour and LGBT+ communities are ‘illuminating the full complexity of the human experience and refusing to accept reductive versions of how to think about society.’<sup>12</sup> Again, we met reductive presentations throughout part one, including fallacies about interpreting the past or the nature of loyalism, masculinity, and even the practice of mural-making. Engage seeks to end unequal power relations and dismantle patriarchal systems by transforming rigid and harmful norms about ‘being a man’ and building inclusive collaborations from local to regional then global levels. As Duriesmith elaborates, this dismantling of rigidity begins with the vital practice of questioning men’s and women’s attitudes and expectations about gender roles, followed by promoting positive alternative models of manhood.<sup>13</sup> This broadly follows the path we have taken in this thesis with part one questioning and problematising weaponised attitudes and expectations while part two endeavours to provide disarming alternatives. Particular alternatives may initially present an obstacle to applicability, but if foreign terminology is limited to one word, then the language barrier is extremely low and thus easy to get the important meanings across. Whether recognising problems with traditional roles or locating solutions in alternatives, it is neither quick nor simple to arrive at either position. Therefore, Engage’s approach cannot be superficial but instead entails workshops lasting up to five days to begin the raising of

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<sup>12</sup> Humberto Carolo & Joni van de Sand, introduction to ‘Transforming Masculinities: Towards a Shared Vision’, Men Engage Alliance available at <https://menengage.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/Transforming-Masculinities-Towards-a-Shared-Vision-MenEngage-Alliance.pdf> accessed 1 November 2021.

<sup>13</sup> David Duriesmith ‘Engaging men and boys in the Women, Peace and Security agenda: Beyond the ‘good men’ industry’ *London School of Economics* blog, 15 December 2017, available at <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/wps/2017/12/15/engaging-men-and-boys-in-the-women-peace-and-security-agenda-beyond-the-good-men-industry-david-duriesmith-112017/> accessed 3 November 2019.

awareness in men and women of their relational dynamics. There is a transformative methodology ultimately taking shape and taking hold over longer-term interaction. This approach, known as ‘gender reconciliation’, is versatile in its multimedia formats<sup>14</sup> and corresponds to the verbing of the mural detailed in the next chapter; real transformation is not simply emitted from a freshly painted surface but is gradually revealed in the people during the process. An ambitious partner in the Engage Alliance is Instituto Promundo whose ‘Program H’ is also designed to elicit critical reflection on the gender norms that drive violence and other unhealthy behaviours.<sup>15</sup> The Brazilian NGO take an innovative approach to tackling the culture of violence, but it also begins with a series of educational workshops and peer group support. After this initial phase, Program H takes to the streets in public campaigns that appropriate the visual force and feeling of media, advertising, and youth culture to promote gender equality among young men as being ‘cool’ or ‘hip’.<sup>16</sup> These two parts are inextricably linked as the former provided the direct inspiration for the latter. A campaign emerged among male participants when they heard their peers in group sessions admit: ‘everybody knows you shouldn’t hit your girlfriend, but in the heat of the moment you lose control.’. Thus, from these comments slogans for billboards arose, such as: ‘in the heat of the moment, a real man...cares/listens/accepts etc.’<sup>17</sup> To supplement these alternative advertisements, young men also designed graffiti-style logo for the campaign that adorned t-

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<sup>14</sup> Examples of the media employed to further dissemination and connectivity include ‘Now and Men’ a monthly podcast launched in July 2021 by the European branch of Engage. Instigated by members at the Centre for Research into Violence and Abuse at Durham University, in-depth episodes highlight and explore why feminist issues are relevant to the lives of men and boys. Another example is ‘Power on Patrol’, a one one-hour documentary revealing the true human cost of militarised masculinities in several conflict societies. It also spotlights the unmaking of these masculinities by intertwining powerful, personal testimony with leading male and female expert perspectives in the field. These compliment more regular projects that use campaigning, political advocacy, grassroots activism, public education, art and performance to communicate their ideas.

<sup>15</sup> Sophie Namy, Brian Heilman, Shawna Stich & Jeffrey Edmeades ‘Be a Man, Change the Rules! Findings and Lessons from Seven Years of CARE International Balkans’ Young Men Initiative’ *CARE Young Men Initiative & International Center for Research on Women* (2014), p. 4.

<sup>16</sup> Gary Barker, *Dying to the Men: Youth, Masculinity, and Social Exclusion* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), p. 151.

<sup>17</sup> Ella Page ‘Men, Masculinity and guns, p. 6.

shirts and hats, becoming a well-known symbol of equality in their communities. This opens further possibilities in NI regarding the maximising of visual impact. The notion of selling t-shirts along with badges/pins and stickers bearing the image of a community-designed, appreciated mural raises funds for local causes whilst also allowing young people to wear their politics with pride.

### 6.1.3 'One Man Can'

The pioneering South African NGO, Sonke Gender Justice, (another Engage partner) shares the principles of advocating, researching and implementing transformative approaches to appeal to boys and men to participate in the struggles for equality. In particular they fight the perception that men are always perpetrators and potentially capable of violence or are inconsiderate and self-focused. They believe this to be too often and too easily adopted and paints an inaccurate picture of naturalised assumptions. Importantly, none of this should be understood as an attempt to push away the explicit links between masculinity and violence, thus creating an illusion of distance through excuses or exceptions. In lieu of a fatalistic vision, Sonke supports manifestations of non-violent, equitable and inclusive attitudes and behaviours. The 'One Man Can' (OMC) campaign encouraged boys and men to take action to end domestic and sexual violence and promote healthy relationships that both men and women can enjoy— passionately, respectfully, and fully. Again, a range of tactics and media were employed to promote progressive resistance including a community radio project developing weekly episodes brought more male involvement and discussion on these and other related issues. Murals are also very much within Sonke's arsenal as evidenced in a large-scale 2015 project which advertised many aspects of their philosophy. There are several noteworthy features of this series. Firstly the photographic gallery documenting stages of

progress shows several groups involved in the actual painting, others later on gather to listen to speakers and discuss the finished works.



Fig.6.2

Here we see the mural maintained as an active site for learning and interaction both during and after the process. Secondly is the use of text. The short and memorable phrases are positive in tone and addresses several themes consistently pertinent to weaponised loyalist masculinities: resisting the impulse for revenge ('think before you act'), denouncing the belittlement of education ('knowledge is power'), and a rejection of complicity ('not in my name'). The text in another work provides a list of affirmations all using the project's title as a template, 'One Man Can: love passionately, stop AIDS, end domestic violence, break the cycle, demand justice.' Appropriate to the goal of further dissemination, and accurately reflecting the transnationality of ubuntu, the messages are written in several languages. Thirdly, the use of maps which contrasts to those we saw in chapter four which had

communicated either exclusive ownership through territorial control or a militaristic sense of national pride. Here though, countries are labelled like rivers flowing out from a dark green map of Africa, with two large overlapping hearts at its centre. Another map has the continent emblazoned from behind by a sunburst, the black capital lettering bold against the white reads: ‘STAND TOGETHER AGAINST XENOPHOBIA’.

A darker side to disarming appears in another Sonke series whose black and white palette paints disarming in a different light. The series was a collaboration between Sonke and the students/activists of Artist Proof Studio in Newtown. The two organisations decided to use World Human Rights Day to highlight the plight of refugees. The images are dedicated to those who suffered in a spate of xenophobic riots that swept across South Africa in May 2008<sup>18</sup> which left sixty-two people dead, several hundred injured and resulted in voluntary deportation of immigrants to home countries and the destruction of immigrant-owned property.<sup>19</sup> Among the twelve artists who worked on the images, arranged as a storyboard, was Touss Tuyisabe, a Rwandan Tutsi who had already fled the genocide of 1994 and was directly affected by the rampaging mobs. He is the man featured in the mural, hopelessly crying into his hands, torn by barbed wire and running from the burning townships. We should remember how rare it is for the victim’s story to be told in the loyalist landscape, as Thami Nkosi, an OMC coordinator, put it: ‘the voices of the violated can be heard through this mural.’<sup>20</sup> Despite the last panel being a scene of overcoming —South Africa, depicted as

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<sup>18</sup> A report by the Human Sciences Research Council identified four broad causes for the violence: relative deprivation, specifically intense competition for jobs, commodities and housing; group processes, including psychological categorisation, South African exceptionalism, a feeling of superiority relative to other Africans, and exclusive citizenship, a form of nationalism. ‘Violence and Xenophobia in South Africa: Developing Consensus, Moving to Action’ edited by Adrian Hadland in partnership with the Human Sciences Research Council and the High Commission of the United Kingdom. <[Wayback Machine \(archive.org\)](#)> [accessed 5/4/21].

<sup>19</sup> ‘South Africa violence toll rises to 62’ *Reuters* Staff (30/5/08) <[South Africa violence toll rises to 62 | Reuters](#)> [accessed 5/4/21].

<sup>20</sup> Originally published as ‘Showing the Suffering of the Violated’ in the *Johannesburg Star* newspaper on page 7 on December 12, 2008, written by Ufrieda Ho. ‘One Man Can Challenge Xenophobia: Sonke’s Use of Murals to Educate about Refugee Rights’ case study by Sonke Gender Justice, p. 4.

a tree which breaks the picture plane, is decked with colourful leaves representing the flags of the continent—the series does not shy away from the sensitive subject matter.

Foreshadowing some of the tensions we will encounter when considering Reimaging in NI, Sonke had to battle to find a space to paint as many neighbouring corporations felt the message was too political. The location they ended up with (outside the Johannesburg Art Gallery in Joubert Park) was a double success. Firstly, the JAG is near to a transport gateway including taxi ranks, bus terminuses and a railway station ensuring extremely high visibility. Furthermore, it is also near the ‘City of Gold’, a point of disembarkation for thousands of migrants coming in search of jobs and money. It is therefore perfectly placed to provoke an honest conversation about the violent reality in South Africa and what men can do to change this reality and stop violence, in whatever form it takes. Like other forms of disarming, the power of this imagery is in disturbing the ordinary system which drowns us in a flood of images (including those of horror), rendering us insensitive to their banal occurrence.<sup>21</sup> By being placed outwith the normative context of that regular, mainstream programming, these enlarged scenes are meant to shock in a short period of time. These two works show how RAM can occupy both ends of the emotional spectrum to give multiple perspectives—one that condemns the past—the other that condones a different future. Both, however, are just the tip of an iceberg of creative activism and community mobilisation.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Ranciere, *The Emancipated Spectator*, p. 61.

<sup>22</sup> We will see in chapter eight how important prison can be for changing masculinities and Sonke have worked in twelve correctional facilities in the Western Cape tackling issues like corrupt prison officials, gangs and rape and a high rate of recidivism. Fatherhood is a major theme across both parts of this thesis, and ‘My Dad Can’ is a national media drive to identify positive, local role models and profile them as good examples of involved fathers and everyday heroes. Sports are not only another context in which masculine identity can develop, but they are also a globally effective method for attracting participation. Working with organisations in the Soweto and Alexandra townships of Johannesburg, Sonke ran football tournaments. At least seven teams of seven players took part and the spectating public receive educational and awareness material at matches. Influential figures, health care providers and community leaders are invited to attend the tournaments to address the players and public a variety of gender-related issues.

#### 6.1.4 ‘Anyone Who Wants to See the Sunlight...’

Some may be sceptical as to how any of the material in this chapter can be explicitly linked to loyalism. It is a valid concern. After all, local ‘buy in’ is key to the survival of a mural’s physical condition, as well as the extent to which its contents are conceptually embraced by the host population. The author would respond to this with a further note of scepticism. Given the safe and predictable nature of previous interventions, it seems exceedingly unlikely that any facilitator presented external, disarming options to participatory groups. Moreover, the author would call into question the relevance for such an explicit link to always predate the suggestion. It is the essence of RAM to occasionally break with protocol; to visually materialise boldly inventive free thinking that we meet again in chapter eight. The quantity of murals is again a redeeming feature. Loyalist communities need not be pulled in opposing directions, as perhaps the majority of subject matter would resonate with some close connection. Now and then, though, some surfaces might deviate dramatically from the conventional course. This could consist of reframing ubuntu in a more culturally relative focus, importing the profile of some disarming figure or making a strong statement of solidarity with a foreign movement or organisation. The move from a biculture to multiculture landscape is commendable, but if it is to be done—let it be done with conviction. The recent association made by the OO to Togo and Ghana is arguably a rather disappointing attempt to draw attention to the multi-racial composition of the Order. It is reminiscent of the lukewarm internationalising of loyalism we saw in chapter five. Furthermore, it has been suggested that this cultural rebranding is less an authentic engagement of new ideas but instead a token gesture and ‘essential weaponry in securing victory in the culture war.’<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> McAuley, Tonge & Mycock, *Loyal to the Core?*, p. 112.

What certainly is encouraging on the crucial question around public decision-making is muralist Stephen Hutchinson's assertions on his creative freedom: 'Whatever people are looking for. I'll design something for them, very happy to do it. I could sort of paint nearly anything. They just give me ideas and I put them together.' It would be wise for us to take this comment with a pinch of salt, for due to the tyranny of the minority, not all quarters of loyalism will be afforded the basic right to choose for themselves. Yet, in those rare moments of time and space where communities can express themselves freely, facilitators and organic intellectuals could exploit 'cultural imaginaries'<sup>24</sup> for disarming purposes.

The final example in this section, 'Perception' by Tunisian artist eL Seed is aptly titled, for we are concerned with challenging and expanding our perceptions of what loyalism and masculinities are, or could be, and even how we perceive a mural. The 2016 project was initially motivated to beautify a poor and neglected neighbourhood but ended up shining a light on a marginalised community. Manshiyat Naser, a district of Cairo, is home to many of the city's rubbish collectors. Despite providing a vital service for decades and developing a highly efficient system for recycling, the inhabitants were still perceived as dirty and segregated. In his most ambitious project, Seed's mural was not contained to one surface but instead spanned some fifty buildings, thus drawing in a large section of the community physically into the same design. An anamorphic technique was deployed so that from the street the work seemed disjointed, but from the vantage of the nearby Mokattam Mountain— itself a hugely significant location for the Coptic population—the once isolated fragments connect to reveal the message and meaning.

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<sup>24</sup> This term designates those vast networks of interlinking discursive themes, images, motifs and narrative forms that are publicly available within a culture at any one time and articulate its psychic and social dimensions. Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities*, (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 1994), p. 48.



Fig.6.3

The huge swirling, colourful design is done in Seed's trademark 'calligraffiti' style (uniting 'high' and 'low' art forms) and for his text of hope and peace he chose words of St. Athanasius of Alexandria, a Coptic bishop of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century: 'Anyone who wants to see the sunlight clearly, needs to wipe his eyes first.' We can note several points of comparison firstly in the stigma levelled at a denigrated working-class community. Secondly, the skilful use of anamorphism merges the changing of our literal and psychological perspective in better understanding each other. Finally, the text, unlike most weaponised snippets, invites contemplation. It exposes our misconceptions and rapid judgement. In our study of gendered perception, the 'sunlight' of true and complex reality can only be fully seen after rubbing away the propaganda and myths that obfuscate our view. The next section is based on a group whose name redefines a characteristic weaponised to appeal to young warriors and a trait which those same young men require if they are to confront hegemonic masculinity—the need to be fearless.

## 6.2 My Love is the Revolution

The feminist South-Asian artist group, 'Fearless Collective', was started in 2012 by Bangalore-based Shilo Shiv Suleman in response to the hideous gang rape and murder of a 22-year-old woman in Delhi, who could not be named under Indian law but who was known in the press as 'Nirbhaya': 'the fearless one'.<sup>25</sup> Since then, the collective has worked in over ten countries co-creating thirty-eight murals that aim to create spaces to move societies from fear to love. The participatory nature of the collective correlates to 'Earth Democracy', developed by Indian physicist and feminist Vandana Shiva, whose benefits were heartily endorsed by 'Her Loyal Voice'. Broadly, it is a belief system which supports shifting power from centralised governments and transnational corporations to local communities of active citizens, aware of both their rights and responsibilities.<sup>26</sup> This section puts forward that goal of global feminism to reach out and join struggles in ending sexism, exploitation and oppression. For all that internal sources of disarming are requisite, it could be argued that local history is sometimes guilty of being a little too local. Although the RHC declared in 'Loyalist News' of August 1973 that 'the world, let alone Ulster, is too small for a religious divide'<sup>27</sup> we can expand this logic to encompass other forms of division. In a temporary yet evolving thirdspace, one's own cultural boundedness is loosened such that we may 'escape

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<sup>25</sup> The incident caused outrage and led to new anti-rape laws in India. The four adult men convicted were executed on 20<sup>th</sup> March 2020. 'Nirbhaya case: Four Indian men executed for 2012 Delhi bus rape and murder', *BBC News*, 20 March 2020 available at <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-india-51969961> accessed 11 May 2021.

<sup>26</sup> According to Her Loyal Voice, this is the type of democracy demanded by the PUP policy document 'Principles of Loyalism' when author and former UVF prisoner Billy Mitchell insisted that 'public services and utilities [should be] controlled by elected representatives and accountable to the public, a safe and healthy environment that enhances individual and community life, and a free education system that provides life-long learning for all citizens.' From Her Loyal Voice, *Loyalist Feminism: Our Understanding*.

<sup>27</sup> Novosel, *Northern Ireland's Lost Opportunity*, p. 99.

the prison of our culture and learn from the foreign'<sup>28</sup> an advantage communication theorists refer to as enrichment. The interactivity between the local and global levels is a cornerstone of alternative media<sup>29</sup>, indeed Basque murals are said to be facing two directions at once—inward to the social movement, building identity, solidarity and political commitment, and outward to the wider society, potentially adding to the movement's size and impact.<sup>30</sup> There is a degree of credibility to the notion that if people do not interact with members of a different culture, their own culture remains natural and unquestioned, including of course its values on masculinity. Therefore, this chapter proposes that a more internationalised landscape acts almost as an indirect form of travel or a developed version of contact hypothesis. This migration of ideas certainly fits well with Fearless' ambitious and peripatetic creative practice. The remainder of this section goes into details on this to see how they invent new forms of symbolic action and how convincing imagery that stirs emotion can be a precursor to direct action being taken.

The collective's consideration of space is interesting in that they discuss with community partners the significance of three spatial contexts that move like ripples in spheres of influence: the emotional space inside us, the social space where workshops are conducted, and finally the public space which are occupied whether in protest or pleasure. This first space returns us to the idea of the mind as inner sanctuary, a place where hegemonic masculinity rarely treads with care. A project with a redemptive spatial property to it was painted in the Indian city of Lucknow in October 2020. As is often the way, one cannot

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<sup>28</sup> Ikas and Wagner, *Communicating in the Third Space*, p. 33.

<sup>29</sup> A local link to international affairs can sometimes be absent from media coverage. In 2000, two murals were painted in Derry that related to conditions in East Timor. One depicted fighter jets firing rockets at a village and an oil rig with the accompanying text describing 'twenty-five years of western government sponsored Indonesian aggression'. The mural made sure viewers could read the name on the rockets: Raytheon, a U.S. company that since 1999 had been based in Derry. Bill Rolston, "The Brothers on the Walls" International Solidarity and Irish Political Murals' *Journal of Black Studies* Vol. 39, No. 3 (2009), p. 459.

<sup>30</sup> Rolston & Berastegi, 'Taking Murals Seriously', p. 53.

understand the work without knowing of the importance of its location. Here the two women that hold each other do so at the intersection of one of the busiest streets in old Lucknow which is infamously unsafe for women.



Fig.6.4

Their presence then is a ‘monument to female love and longing’<sup>31</sup> which reclaims an area notorious for crime and danger. Though we live in data driven times where so many of our histories are recorded as a codex of practical information, our bodies are ‘soaked with invisible emotional histories too’ and it is these that Fearless wish to capture. Corresponding to a hegemonic disregard of emotion, men do not always give their feelings the attention they deserve, perhaps partly due to their transience; a perceived soft intangibility. Through murals, Fearless give solidity, depth and hard forms to lesser told stories. In their telling, stories can allow us to re-examine ourselves and other characters in our narrative and even endeavour to

<sup>31</sup> From a Twitter post by the Fearless Collective, 30 October 2020, 7:12pm available at <https://mobile.twitter.com/fearlesscoart/status/1322255024085377024?lang=es> accessed 13 February 2021.

script a different, better ending. For Fearless, the visibility that storytelling affords is never only about reportage but alchemy. ‘I Am as You Are’ is the first transgender public representation on Bogor, Indonesia. In an alley across from a mosque, a transwoman embodies both masculine and feminine, ‘simultaneously strong and sensual with shoulders wide, rough stubbled chin and tattooed chest.’ Her reclining posture retells a story of classical art where for centuries the commanding male gaze had rested. Now her gaze is casually and confidently averted while still holding the audience’s attention. Just as we live amongst an enormity of information, we are also inundated with images. As such the sourcing of symbols that can cut through the daily white noise is a challenge. Fearless use symbols in a variety of ways, to represent healing, some emerging power, or paths toward the future. These are typically found gradually in the collaborative and supportive environment of the workshopping process. However, the next example was produced as a rapid response. ‘Gotagogama’ was the protest camp set up during the 2022 Sri Lankan movement demanding President Gotabaya Rajapaksa resign due to a host of problems, mainly the mismanagement which triggered the 2019 economic crisis. The camp became the movement’s epicentre, providing necessities of food, water, toilets and medical services to the network of activists, citizens, artists and youth groups that had coalesced.<sup>32</sup> More than a functional site of political activation, it had become a symbol, a ‘utopian village where the people of Sri Lanka had established a battleground and a dream.’<sup>33</sup> That this utopia had taken over Galle Face Green, a luxurious ocean-side urban park in the heart of the capital, Colombo, signified a microcosm of possibility as the people fought for accountability from a government tarnished by corruption, nepotism and authoritarianism which had led to great instability. Remarkably a

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<sup>32</sup> Zulfick Farzan, ‘‘GotaGoGama’ protest village pops up as protestors occupy Galle Face’ *News First* 11 April 2022 available at <https://www.newsfirst.lk/2022/04/11/gotagogama-protest-village-pops-up-as-protestors-occupy-galle-face/> accessed 2 September 2022.

<sup>33</sup> ‘Gotagogama: Rapid Response Mural’ Fearless Collective online archive, available at <https://fearlesscollective.org/project/gotagogama-rapid-response-mural/> accessed 2 September 2022.

lack of wall space in this open parkland did not prove an obstacle as Fearless simply erected their own makeshift surfaces to display their art.



Fig.6.5

We saw in part one how rival paramilitaries ‘reserve’ their own spaces and dominate most of the available surfaces but building your own walls to evade this monopoly takes the DIY ethic of RAM to another level. Whether on a temporary or permanent wall, disarming symbols will often bring us back to some utopian theme which Connell places in a gender context: ‘the project of social justice requires us to think both in our current situations [and knowledge of masculinity] and beyond them, those current practices and to a possible utopia.’<sup>34</sup> Symbols are a valuable addition to a mural’s content, but how we then use it and what variant of repeated activation we choose comes to resemble ritual. Regardless of personal belief systems, rituals (in a holistically anthropological sense) can set intention in motion when we perform acts that allow us to go deeper into an emotional space. The ritual

<sup>34</sup> R.W Connell, *Masculinities*, p. 225.

in ‘(Un)clenching) Our Fists’ is the sharing of tea but it speaks volumes about the poor living and working conditions of refugee and migrant women. The Beirut mural is the result of a partnership with Amnesty International which assembled a group of human rights defenders working for several Lebanese social justice movements.<sup>35</sup> This performance answers some questions we might have had about how disarming material can assume a spectacular presence. For in the face of such abuse, violence, exploitation and racism, the three companions—an Ethiopian domestic worker, a Sri Lankan and a non-binary person—sit together in quiet conversation. It is a radical monument to rest. There is a fearlessness in refusing to disappear as the multi-lingual speech text testifies: ‘my existence is an act of resistance.’ We must be mindful about this rhetoric, however, as Gallagher and Shirlow note that resistance is not necessarily counter-hegemonic; it can also be regressive.<sup>36</sup> Indeed, as Evershed elucidates Ulster loyalism’s commemorative resistance to new political realities implies a mourning for the unionist hegemony that was the engine room of historic patterns of discrimination. Furthermore, such nostalgia indicates that the hegemony that was might yet again be reconstituted.<sup>37</sup> Whether referring to photographs and other research materials, the voices and stories of participants, or the symbols and colours on the wall, gathering is a vital component of Fearless’s methodology. Perhaps the most dramatic example is located in an area of east Delhi called Shaheen Bagh, the ‘Falcon Garden’, the setting not just for a huge mural but an extraordinary peaceful sit-in protest against a divisive new law.<sup>38</sup> Hundreds of

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<sup>35</sup> Cassie Denbow, ‘Fearless Collective x Amnesty International’, Amnesty International, 13 November 2019, available at <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/campaigns/2019/11/fearless-collective-x-amnesty-international/> accessed 20 December 2020.

<sup>36</sup> Gallagher and Shirlow, ‘The Geography of Loyalist Paramilitary’, p. 150.

<sup>37</sup> Evershed ‘Ghosts of the Somme’, p. 252.

<sup>38</sup> India’s Parliament passed the Citizenship Amendment Bill, fundamentally changing the country’s Citizenship Act of 1955. The law changes India’s naturalisation process for acquiring citizenship, amending the law that previously prohibited ‘illegal immigrants’—those who enter the country without proper documentation, or outstay their visas—from becoming Indian citizens. The amendment left Muslims off the list of protected groups, however. Many political analysts and human rights experts argued that the government designed the law explicitly to exclude Muslim asylum seekers from the possibility of acquiring refugee status in India and, eventually, citizenship. Suparna Chaudhry ‘India’s new law may leave millions of Muslims without citizenship’

thousands took to India's streets in peaceful protests that included sit-ins, demonstrations, civil disobedience, hunger strikes, public lectures and multimedia art. Women in this close-knit Muslim-majority community led the non-violent blockade of a major road. It was here that these Fearless women witnessed 'a potent version of masculinity, one reflective of a transition, an awakening. They embraced their role as protectors of the community—not in a display of patriarchal might, but by placing their physical bodies around the borders of the tent as guardians.'<sup>39</sup> Such upheaval arguably could have been commented on in the contemporary loyalist landscape. After all the Ulster Covenant itself upholds civil and religious freedom and sought to protect the 'cherished position of equal citizenship'.<sup>40</sup> The activated elements were with the work right up until the end. As the scaffolding came down, the artists gathered with Urdu calligraphers, poets and performers to share a meal and recite poetry on the final night of painting. By March 2020, the entire country was in lockdown and Delhi authorities seized the opportunity to tear down the posters and banners that had accumulated over the months. Yet the police were unable to remove the mural itself, a tribute to the dissent and an exemplar of the positive staying power to feature in the next chapter. The two figures remained, one a six-year-old girl who attended protests daily, the other an elder holding a falcon. Shaheen Bagh was a space of mourning and outrage but also of Islamic resurgence and 'Ishq' (love), tracing in gold the sixty-foot mural bears the defiant cry: 'Ishq Inquilab' (my love is the revolution)

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*Washington Post*, 13 December 2019, available at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/12/13/indias-new-law-may-leave-millions-muslims-without-citizenship/> accessed 22 January 2021.

<sup>39</sup> 'Ishq Inquilab Mohabbat Zindabaad' Fearless Collective project page, available at <https://fearlesscollective.org/project/ishq-inquilab-mohabbat-zindabaad/> accessed 16 February 2021.

<sup>40</sup> Ulster's Solemn League and Covenant, *National Library of Ireland* records, available at <https://catalogue.nli.ie/Record/vtls000509452> accessed 2 April 2021.



Fig.6.6

This is not only an apt title for the individual work of art and this section, but love takes its place in the C-HV, whereby much of what was encountered in part one may be described by some as being motivated by or expressions of hate. In hooks' estimation, the image of loving fatherhood embodies feminist masculinity in its most divine form. She believes 'we must dare to proclaim our adoration, to bow down not to the male as dominator, but to the male as divine spirit with whom we can unite in love.'<sup>41</sup> Twinned with the aesthetic revolution of disarming murals is a revolution of values to end male violence, based on an ethic of care and love. This ethic appears not only in far-flung creative practices or academic spiritualism but

<sup>41</sup> One minor criticism to be included might be hooks' specific phrasing, as bowing before any 'divine maleness' denotes an unabating subservience rather than empowerment or true equality. bell hooks, *The Will to Change*, p. 114.

on the streets of NI too, Smithey characterises the vision of the Peace People's leadership as one organised within a non-violent 'framework of love and respect for humanity.'<sup>42</sup> Any male absence in either revolution was a conundrum for hooks. Why was it, she wondered, that some men refrain from engaging in their own struggle given the untenable and insulting demands placed on them to continually prove themselves? Why have some men not responded to the 'series of betrayals in their lives, the failures of their fathers to make good on their promises with something coequal to feminism?'<sup>43</sup> By way of partial response, the author would posit that men do not join the struggle because they do not perceive their lives as a betrayal or struggle (at least not with what they believe makes them men). This is likely due to a cluster of factors but pertinently would incorporate a lack of free and critical thinking as well as consciousness-raising. We cannot expect anyone to commit themselves to a solution when they are unable or unwilling to admit there is a problem. Cultures of silence and insecurity only delay this realisation further and, retaliating to this, Fearless' works are designed to speak up and speak out as affirmations. They affirm the need to move from fear to love as well as affirming the pluralisation of masculinities. The final example, in Jaipur, involved discussions with men (straight, cis and queer) about making space for a spectrum of identity in a patriarchal society. From these interactions, the importance of acknowledged vulnerability and expressing kindness came through loud and clear. This materialised in the work as male lover tenderly embracing each other with respect, as their participants said: 'in a way that they feel comfortable.'<sup>44</sup> Though based in the intimacy of personal relationships,

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<sup>42</sup> Specifically, the movement envisioned an end to violence, transformation of sectarian divisions and socio-political and economic reforms all to be achieved through this framework. Smithey 'The Peace People' in Bosi and De Fazio, *The Troubles in Northern Ireland*, p. 204. See also Frank Wright's insistences that the 'victories of movements such as Peace People are invisible by definition. They are the lives *not* taken. They are the blood *not* spilt.' Quoted in Tim Wilson, 'Frank Wright Revisited' *Irish Political Studies* vol. 26 no. 3 (2011), p. 282.

<sup>43</sup> bell hooks, *The Will to Change*, p. 34.

<sup>44</sup> Karan Kaushik, 'The intention of our work is to make art and beauty as accessible as possible', *Outlook Traveller*, 8 March 2021, available at

<https://www.outlookindia.com/outlooktraveller/travelnews/story/70973/artist-shilo-shiv-suleman-on-fearless-collective-and-their-wall-art-in-delhi-lucknow-and-jaipur> accessed 5 April 2021.

affirmations always speak with a multivocality which invokes wider relationships that build the imagined community, city, and society we want to inhabit.

Despite the successes we have reviewed, Fearless are never complacent but instead are constantly striving to empower more women to facilitate critical social justice conversations with communities and take up brush in hand to create public art and reclaim public space. Despite their modest scale of operations, they aim to train hundreds of young women in South Asia in how to use their methodology in their own hyper local settings—a disarming version of the microgeographies of paramilitary control considered in part one. Their website contains information on how to apply to be an ambassador, patron their work or volunteer with them to reach the next ambition. Again, we see a fusion of communicative techniques, relying on both older methods like murals themselves and newer methods of social media, crowdfunding and training residencies. Their initial challenge is breaking down those long-standing walls of gendered silence (almost like the ‘#MeToo’ movement did around sexual harassment and misconduct). Whilst this campaign had an obvious focus on ‘calling men out’, the MenEngage Alliance additionally stresses the importance in opportunities to ‘call men in’.<sup>45</sup> In the chapter’s final section, we see where else this call is coming from.

### **6.3 ‘Feel Deeply Any Injustice against Anyone in Any Part of the World’<sup>46</sup>**

#### **6.3.1 ¡El pueblo unido jamás será vencido!**

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<sup>45</sup> Humberto Carolo & Joni van de Sand, ‘Towards a Shared Vision’ introduction to ‘Transforming Masculinities: Towards a Shared Vision’ Men Engage Alliance report (November 2019) based on 2018 board and strategy meeting in Santiago, Chile. It was prepared by Sinead Nolan, Tom Hornbrook, and the MenEngage Global Secretariat team, p. 8.

<sup>46</sup> Paraphrased excerpt from a farewell letter to his children, Che Guevara, 1965.

Appropriate to the notion of art as indirect travel, this section takes us on a journey beginning in South America before moving north, crossing the Mexico/US border to sojourn in San Francisco and Los Angeles. From the west we move across to the east coast, stopping off in Chicago finally reaching the thesis' destination in Philadelphia. South America is an apposite springboard for many of the political, cultural themes of part two as the entire continent has long been a hotbed of radical muralism.<sup>47</sup> In the view from Uruguayan writer Eduardo Galeano 'walls are the publishers of the poor' where disempowered communities can not only tell their stories but parley.<sup>48</sup> As is the case in NI, especially Belfast, many 'post-conflict' cities have become open-air museums the muddled curation of which is analogous to the entanglement of masculinities that Barker speaks of in his study of young men in Brazilian shanty towns. Here alternative male spaces exist cheek by jowl to enduring patriarchal gender structures thereby not necessarily posing a challenge to the latter's overall dominance.<sup>49</sup> Remembering the internal conflict within the dialogical self, it could be stated that a psychological entanglement is possible in the minds of men undergoing a transition away from violence. We can discern spatial entanglement too, whether two surfaces uncomfortably sharing a vicinity, or even on one surface.

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<sup>47</sup> Since some mural surfaces resemble the dimensions of the cinematic screen, we can draw a parallel between thirdspace and 'third cinema', a movement (like liberation theology) that emerged from South America in the 1960s. It aimed to speak a socially pertinent discourse, often articulating aspirations excluded or marginalised by the dominant, mainstream cinema. Whilst, obviously, tailored to a cultural specificity, its non-prescriptive aesthetics found appeal in other international contexts with a similar commitment to social transformation. Willemsen, 1994: 184, cited in Stephen Baker, 'Loyalism on film and out of context' chapter in Burgess and Mulvenna *The Contested Identities*, p. 96.

<sup>48</sup> Ellen Kirkpatrick, 'Troubling Solidarity: Belfast's Vandalised George Floyd Mural and the Radical Power of Confrontation' *Northern Slant*, 16 August 2021, available at <https://www.northernslant.com/politics-belfast-george-floyd-mural/> accessed 18 August 2021.

<sup>49</sup> Gary Barker, 'Gender equitable boys in a gender inequitable world: Reflections from qualitative research and programme development in Rio de Janeiro', *Sexual and Relationship Therapy* (2000), p. 277.



Fig.6.7

In part one we often saw chronological compositions play out horizontally, as we might read a book, i.e., first/earliest scene from left to most recent on the right. Invariably this technique is used as a favourable comparison of service and sacrifice whether between organisations (the first and second UVF) or conflicts (First World War and the Troubles). In San Juan Comalapa, Guatemala we see Kaqchikel artists treating the time surface very differently. A mural accurately represents peace not as a singular moment but as a process which is stretched out over several panels along the wall. It opens on a blindfolded Mayan man, possibly a victim of torture, stabbed in the back with the national flag—a damning critique not only of the state’s failure to stop the civil war but actively perpetuating it. As we move toward the present, a white dove, initially grounded and trapped, slowly breaks the confinement—its flight leading our gaze to the closing scene, a gathering of Maya and Ladino young people embracing each other and holding up the Catholic Church and UN human rights reports. In the background, a sign honours the fallen innocent martyrs while the

foreground features traditional Mayan symbols of fire, flowers and multi-coloured corn.<sup>50</sup> Interestingly, the young group are lit and warmed by a bonfire —another significant and contentious expression of loyalist culture—of burning weapons, discarded after the war.

Young people formed the organisational backbone to a Chilean sub-culture which positively and creatively reclaimed a term from militarised jargon. There are innumerable examples in the loyalist landscape referring to military ranks and units including ‘brigades’, but the ‘Ramona Parra<sup>51</sup> Brigades’ in Chile were an epitome of activism. First taking to the streets in the run-up to the 1970 elections, they operated in groups of ten or twelve, mostly at night and at high speed to avoid police reprisals or clashes with muralists from conservative political parties. While some of their work consisted of short slogans and statements, others were more ambitious, e.g., 10ft high by 400ft wide work near the Rio Mapocho in central Santiago, which took thirty people fifteen days to complete.<sup>52</sup> The victory of socialist Salvador Allende led to an upsurge in image production, supported by the Popular Unity government, which included posters, comic books and murals. Kunzle estimates that there were as many as 150 brigades in operation when the elected government was overthrown in a US-backed coup in September 1973.<sup>53</sup> Though non-militarised, the brigades followed a disciplined practice with members performing specific duties.<sup>54</sup> their self-sufficiency in terms of funding also proved to be very inspiring for subsequent artist-run cooperatives and

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<sup>50</sup> David Carey Jr. and Walter E. Little, ‘Reclaiming the Nation through Public Murals: Maya Resistance and the Reinterpretation of History’, *Radical History Review*, issue 106, (Winter 2010), p. 17.

<sup>51</sup> Nineteen-year-old Ramona Parra was a Chilean nitrate worker who was shot and killed during the Bulnes Square massacre, a demonstration in Santiago in 1946. Camilo Pinto, ‘Who was Ramona Parra? The first martyr of the Communist Youth who gave name to the historic muralist brigade’, *El Desconcierto*, 16 October 2018, available at <https://www.eldesconcierto.cl/tendencias/2018/10/16/quien-fue-ramona-parra-la-primera-martir-de-las-juventudes-comunistas-que-dio-nombre-a-la-historica-brigada-muralista.html> accessed 14 February 2021.

<sup>52</sup> Downing, *Radical media*, p. 173.

<sup>53</sup> David Kunzle ‘Art and the New Chile: Mural, Poster and Comic Book in a Revolutionary Process’ in *Art and Architecture in the Service of Politics* ed. H. Milton and L. Nochlin (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1978), p. 363.

<sup>54</sup> This involved a highly specialised division of labour: a trazador traced the outline of symbols, a rellenador filled in with colour, a fondeador painted the background, a filetador added outlines and contours before a retocador finished with the touch ups. Rolston, *Politics and Painting*, p. 115.

coalitions.<sup>55</sup> Under Pinochet's regime, members of brigades were often tortured or driven into exile as the military government painted over their murals. However, they continued in an underground capacity, and when democracy returned in 1990—the brigades re-emerged to work not just across South America but internationally including a 2009 project with loyalist and republican muralists. The large work at the southern entrance of Ormeau Park in south Belfast is certainly faithful to the revolutionary aesthetic of the brigades, though it shows signs of physical deterioration and, as with most murals, there is no evidence of the activation to be expanded upon in chapter seven.<sup>56</sup> Today their bold and bright designs are strewn across Santiago often featuring the Chilean working class. Some record the demands of past demonstrations like free and inclusive education, while others honour opponents of the regime like Jecar Neghme (killed in 1989 and one of the regime's last victims).<sup>57</sup> However they present their perspective, the scope of the murals was never limited to beautifying the city's drab walls: they additionally sought to foment radical social change.

### 6.3.2 'Culture Contains the Seeds of Resistance...'

Any study of political murals cannot avoid the colossal influence of the movement in Mexico beginning in the 1920s and spearheaded by 'Los Tres Grandes': David Alfaro Siqueiros, Jose Clemente Orozco and Diego Rivera. The early Chicano works that we find when we cross the border into the south-western states were heavily inspired not only by their figurative style and mystical introspection but their revolutionary fervour. This stance also affected a

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<sup>55</sup> In contrast to more municipally backed programmes to 'cool out' an inner-city youth during any 'long hot summer' of tension or civil unrest, such artist collectives developed mutual support and joint funding groups based on the Latin American 'brigades' model. Eva Cockcroft, John Weber and Jim Cockcroft, *Toward a People's Art*, (New York: E.P Dutton & Co. Inc, 1977), p. 29.

<sup>56</sup> Extra Mural Activity, Brigada Ramona Parra, 20 July 2013, available at <https://extramuralactivity.com/2013/07/20/brigada-ramona-parra/> accessed 2 November 2020.

<sup>57</sup> Gideon Long, 'The Chilean muralists who defied Pinochet', *BBC News*, 6 September 2013, available at <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-23970034> accessed 1 November 2020.

common-sense philosophy on accessibility that informs the ‘people’s art’ of chapter seven. Orozco claimed the mural ‘cannot be made a matter of private gain; it cannot be hidden away for the benefit of a certain privileged.’<sup>58</sup> The spirit of the three Mexican giants is evident all the way along Balmy Alley, located in San Francisco’s Mission District. This concentration of imagery began in the mid-1980s and is in a state of constant flux, frequently appearing in local press, tourism guides and video tours on YouTube. The most distinctive work is the 200 ft<sup>2</sup> piece whose title summarises much of part two’s core arguments: ‘Culture Contains the Seed of Resistance, Which Blossoms into the Flower of Liberation’. Like the Guatemalan peace process, the design utilises time surface (rendered on a sliding two-car garage door) to juxtapose a sweeping collage of symbols depicting life during and after war.



Fig.6.8

<sup>58</sup> Rolston and Berastegi, *Taking Murals Seriously*, p. 35.

On the left, young soldiers carry machine guns while mothers of the ‘disappeared’ carry pictures of loved ones, and above them both in the dark cloud features the stern countenance of President Reagan. A huge soaring dove and sprouting flower of liberation act as the visual hinge on which the work swings. Right of this we see a land of plenty; joyful farmers harvesting a colourful bounty of fruit and corn while a mother sends her daughter to school. As the last intact mural of ‘Placa’—a 1980s project funded by the Zellerbach Family Foundation in which thirty artists covered the entire alley in radiant protest at U.S foreign policy in Central America—it had naturally suffered water damage and light exposure and been painted over with new works.<sup>59</sup> In 2014, O’Brien Thiele and Miranda Bergman, the two Bay Area artists responsible for the work, decided to restore it to its former glory. They had briefly contemplated choosing a new theme but, as Bergman stated: ‘the things we were hoping for then: peace, sovereignty and prosperity in Central America, haven’t happened yet.’<sup>60</sup> The author views this as a form of renewed positive staying power which keeps in the public’s eyes and minds issues still unresolved. We should note too how its verbing over most of a year allowed a large public audience to stop and enquire about the piece. An information board coaxed further curiosity in their plans, and on several occasions visitors participated in painting.<sup>61</sup> A final note must dwell on the impressive range of activation that occurred in Balmy Alley. Firstly, an unveiling ceremony and indigenous blessing ritual was well attended by people of all ages and backgrounds. Secondly a bloc party continued into the evening, including a public screening<sup>62</sup> of a feature-length documentary film. ‘These Walls

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<sup>59</sup> Carolyn Jones, ‘Mission District mural fades after 30 years, but message doesn’t’, *SF Gate*, 8 September 2014, available at <https://www.sfgate.com/art/article/Historical-Mission-mural-s-message-still-vivid-5742769.php> accessed 3 November 2020.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Regarding documentaries, William Mitchell mentioned during his interview with the author that ACT had produced five short films exploring the legacy of the Troubles through different perspectives. This series, ‘Socratics’, is intended to serve as a framework for further dialogue in the method of its namesake. It seemed the intention was to distribute the films with discussion booklets to civil societies and not necessarily stage a public screening of them. Interview with author, Belfast, 16 September 2021.

Speak', by Carla Wojczuk about the living legacies of Placa.<sup>63</sup> To maximise outreach and community interest, a full programme was produced all of which instantiate the principles of RAM.

**PLACA**  
living legacies of creative resistance

**Balmy Alley** Community Celebration 2-9pm  
Film Screening 7pm  
Sunday Oct. 19th Free  
Balmy Alley btw 24th/25th & Harrison/Treat  
"Camino al Mercado" 1984. PLACA mural by Ray Patlan

30 years ago, 34 artists painted 26 murals in Balmy Alley to express their opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America and to celebrate Mission Culture and identity. *These Walls Speak* tells the stories of PLACA and the living legacies of one of the most famous mural alleys in the world. We remember, not for the sake of memory, but because history lives.

**Balmy Alley Community Celebration**  
Mural Unveiling 4pm  
'Cultural Contains the Seed'  
PLACA Mural Restoration

**24. Participating Community Organizations**  
Bravos for Women in the Arts  
Mission Cultural Center  
San Lucas Area  
Feas del Sur  
Bay Area Latin American Solidarity Coalition  
Cultura de la Zona  
FMLN del Norte de California  
Acción Latina  
Homesteads in Resistance del Norte de California  
SOA Watch  
Chupas Support Committee  
Calle 24  
Modern Times Books  
Anti-Eviction Mapping Project  
Movimiento para la Reintegración Familiar  
Haiti Action Committee  
National Committee to Free the Cuban People  
50 Balmy Law FC

**Music & Poetry**  
Bernal Beat (feat. Dr. Loco)  
Diana Gameros  
Banda Sin Nombre  
Trabajo Cultural Caminante

**Art & Mural Painting 2-4pm**  
Precita Eyes Muralists  
Artillary Gallery  
Malidoma Collective

**Printmaking 2-4pm**  
Yo Soy 132 Bay Area  
Talleres Populares  
28 de Junio  
Mission Graphics

**Free Health Clinic 2-4pm**  
La Clinica

**Performances 5-6:45pm**  
Jiridón (African Drum & Hip-Hop)  
Cueacalli  
Dance

**25. Local Food  
Local Merchants  
Special Guests and More!**

**Film Screening 7pm**  
*These Walls Speak*

**Sunday, October 19th** FREE EVENT  
2pm-9pm btw 24th/25th & Harrison/Treat

Contact: [thesewallsspeak@gmail.com](mailto:thesewallsspeak@gmail.com) 510.384.1923  
Co-organized by Patricia Rodriguez

**HUMANITIES** Community Studies  
Precita Eyes Mural Arts and Visitors Center  
Community Mural Art Site Caguero Since 1977  
2981 24th Street, San Francisco, CA 94110  
Phone: (415)285-2287 www.precitaeyes.org  
**These Walls Speak**

Fig.6.9

Before leaving the west coast, we will consider the most epic example of storytelling in this chapter: 'The Great Wall of Los Angeles'. Designed by Judith Baca and executed with the help of over 400 community youth and artists over the course of six summers (1978-1984), incredibly it was Baca's first mural and a first in project coordination by the Social and Public Art Resource Centre. Painted directly onto concrete, the work stands 13ft tall and at a length of 2,754ft is credited as one of the longest murals in the world.<sup>64</sup> Aside from its sheer

<sup>63</sup> Jannelle Garcia, 'The Last Mural Standing' *Xpress magazine*, 11 December 2014, available at <https://xpressmagazine.org/9092/fall-2014/the-last-mural-standing/#> accessed 4 December 2020.

<sup>64</sup> Carrie Rickey, 'The Writing on the Wall' in Jacinto Quirarte (ed.) *Chicano Art History: A Book of Selected Readings*, San Antonio: Research Centre for the Arts and Humanities, 1984), p. 87.

scale, the Wall is known for depicting an often-overlooked history of California through the eyes of Native Americans, ethnic and religious minorities, and queer people. At the time it ameliorated a lack of public art that represented the diverse heritage of L.A. It is not considered a cultural landmark. In keeping with the pattern of verbing across part two, the planning of the Great Wall involved experts in various fields being invited to work with local interest groups to jointly decide and edit the series of important cultural, political, artistic and historical episodes.



In 1974, the Army Corps of Engineers, which controlled the Tujunga Wash channel, commissioned artist Judy Baca to transform the wash with a mural. Baca joined forces with artist Christina Schlesinger and filmmaker Donna Deitch to create the Social and Public Art Resource Center (SPARC) in 1976, locating the new organization in the former Venice city jail. SPARC's work on the Great Wall was part of its larger Citywide Mural Project, which ultimately produced 250 murals across Los Angeles through one of the first multiethnic and interethnic community building programs in the city.

Each section of The Great Wall took a full year to research and execute, with designs that were developed and reviewed using a "talk through" process, involving poets, writers, musicians, and community members, all providing multiple perspectives or "prisms."



The first 1,000 feet of the mural (35 segments) were completed in nine weeks during the summer of 1976 by a team of at-risk youth between 14 and 21 years old. Between 1978 and 1983, the depiction of four additional decades were added to the mural, with a new decade added to the mural each summer: the 1920s in 1978; 1930s in 1980; 1940s in 1981; and 1950s in 1983. By the conclusion of the project in 1984, 35 artists and 400 young mural makers (mostly Chicano/a and African American) had participated in the process.



Fig.6.10

Given that the wall spans from prehistory to the 1950s, the process also prioritised interviewing those who had lived through the later episodes.<sup>65</sup> Crucial to our discussion on facing up to thoroughly unpleasant aspects of our past which impression management tendencies may suppress, much of the Great Wall's subject matter takes an unabashed examination of several such episodes such as: colonialism, Dust Bowl refugees, the Great Depression, Japanese-American internment and the race-related violence of the Zoot Suit riots. The Wall does not intend to shame white America. Rather, it initiates dialogue to remedy an absence which is a detriment to any society striving for positive peace.

Throughout the sprawling tableau, a balance of tone is arrived at. For example, a profile of Bidly Mason begins in enslavement but charts her freedom and astonishing career as mid-wife, real estate entrepreneur, nurse and philanthropist. Likewise, the terror of Jewish refugees fleeing the Holocaust concludes with details of their contribution to American society. Importance of location and educational activation intersect perfectly, since much of the Wall passes the Grant High School and Valley College; its historical depictions have been consolidated into their curricula.<sup>66</sup> One would hope this means regular visits to the physical site itself for, if so, students could truly appreciate some of the technical craft that went into its production. Most notably, Baca spent the summer of 1977 studying mural techniques, employing Siqueiros' 'polyangular theory' to great effect. This innovative use of composition results in art that responds to the movements of the active viewer as they take in an evolving plethora of potential viewpoints.<sup>67</sup> Not only can we see a disarming version to all those eyes in part one, coldly following us (whether from behind a balaclava or under Lord Kitchener's

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<sup>65</sup> Judith Baca, 'The Human Story at the Intersection of Ethics, Aesthetics and Social Justice', *Journal of Moral Education*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (June 2005), p. 159.

<sup>66</sup> Emina Bajra, 'L.A. River's 'Great Wall' Redefines American History' *Studio City Patch*, 12 September 2011, available at <https://patch.com/california/studiocity/the-great-wall-along-the-la-river-reflects-american-history> accessed 14 January 2021.

<sup>67</sup> Jon Mann and Amy Raffel, 'Mexican Muralism', *Art History Teaching Resources* <<https://arthistoryteachingresources.org/lessons/mexican-muralism/>> accessed 22 May 2021.

Field Marshall cap) but, like eL Seed's masterpiece, literal perspective makes profound comments on where we see the world and others from and how that determines our emotional views. Such is the success, popularity, and general positivity of the Wall that recent proposals to continue the history beyond the 1950s are under way. The National Endowment for the Arts has provided funding for initial designs covering panels from the 1960s to the 1980s. Additional features to improve access and engagement are also planned.<sup>68</sup>

### 6.3.3 'Restore an image of full humanity'

We see in all the case studies of this chapter how murals surface as powerful tools by which movements can express their ideologies and goals during periods of turmoil. This was as true for the Chicano neighbourhoods of the South-West as it was for an African American urban canvas onto which challenges against injustice could be made. When Goalwin talks of murals allowing activists to construct an image of the world as they see it, he brings us back to the emancipatory promise of RAM and its utopian configurations.<sup>69</sup> Those first to make their mark on the canvas of Chicago were members of the Organisation for Black American Culture (OBAC, pronounced 'obasi', the Yoruba word for chieftain). In earlier sections we considered murals as a medium that looks both inside and outside with its two faces, so we may build on this using the following OBAC's statement:

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<sup>68</sup> These include a pedestrian bridge, extra historical information panels, picnic tables, benches and public bathrooms along the Walls's extensive route. Julia Wasson and Cathy Weiss, 'Learning Los Angeles: Debra Padilla, Arts and Activism', *Huffington Post*, 28 July 2014, available at [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/post\\_b\\_5619289](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/post_b_5619289) accessed 22 May 2021.

<sup>69</sup> Goalwin, 'The Art of War', p. 192.

Our murals will speak of the liberation struggles of the Black and Third World; they will record history, speak of today, and project toward the future. They will speak of an end to war, racism, and repression; [they will speak] of love, of beauty, of life. We want to restore an image of full humanity to the people, [and] place art into its true context—into life.<sup>70</sup>

In this passage the mural's two faces are Janus-like, with eyes cautiously on the past/present, while another pair stare confidently ahead. Furthermore, the statement confirms that radical art is a multivocal entity whose voices utter several tones. Some rightfully deplore inequality and disorder; others affirm our desire and intention for their cessation. Lastly is the value of the mission of disarming weaponised masculinities; to restore the humanity not just of its victims but also its perpetrators that wish to rid themselves of self-destructive patterns. In 1967 Chicago witnessed some of this mission being sketched out by William Walker and sixteen other African American artists when they portrayed black culture, large-scale and in public. Largely regarded as the first community-based mural, the original portion would grow and become known simply as the 'Wall of Respect'. Even before we consider the subject matter, we have to acknowledge the bravery of seizing the means of cultural production. The work was not commissioned, receiving neither government support nor wholesale grants. Rather it was the result of a self-determined effort by the community conscious. In some instances, walls had been condemned for 'urban renewal'.<sup>71</sup> Thus, the people took them over in proclaiming their right to define their culture and history and name, for themselves, their heroes. In a context saturated with white mainstream media, there was tremendous worth in

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<sup>70</sup> Cockcroft, Weber and Cockcroft, 'Toward a People's Art', p.13.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid, p. 28.

an alternative which became for many African Americans a means of mass communication.<sup>72</sup> On at least two occasions, the change being communicated turned these early walls into a visible rallying point. Rallies in 1969 and 1970 forced the city not only to delay scheduled demolition but formulate a counterplan: the building was rehabilitated and given to the community for an art centre.<sup>73</sup> Other moments of political activation proved to be very tense affairs, as when a street permit was denied for a civil rights demonstration, people mobilised regardless. The response by the police was to wait on nearby rooftops with shotguns while artist Curly Elison calmly lettered 'Wall of Respect' on the surface.<sup>74</sup> As if to show the wildfire spread from one courageous act, the term 'Wall of Respect' became a catch phrase for African American murals. Before long similarly themed cases appeared in St. Louis and Philadelphia, Detroit had its 'Wall of Dignity' while, back in Chicago, 'Respect' gained a significantly larger neighbour in the 'Wall of Truth'.<sup>75</sup> With the movement's spread across the country, certain sections of print media used their platform to further the messages of the cause. The December 1967 issue of 'Ebony' magazine ran a feature article on 'Respect' and a year later photographs of it graced both the front cover and inside pages of the Summer-Fall issue of 'Arts in Society'.<sup>76</sup> Given how often the weaponised murals of NI feature in newspapers, magazines, and social media, it certainly invites speculation as to the reach and impact of disarming imagery. Expanding interest and media attention did nothing to dilute the aims of the movement, as Dana Chandler (painter of a radical black power mural in Roxbury, Boston, in 1968) remarked: 'black art is not a decoration. It's a revolutionary force.'<sup>77</sup> The first portraits honoured on the Wall were mainly civil rights leaders such as Frederick

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<sup>72</sup> Greaney 'The Power of the Urban Canvas...', p. 17.

<sup>73</sup> Cockcroft, Weber and Cockcroft, 'Toward a People's Art', p.7.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid, p.4.

<sup>75</sup> Greaney, 'The Power of the Urban Canvas', p. 18.

<sup>76</sup> Cockcroft, Weber and Cockcroft, 'Toward a People's Art', p.8.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid, p. 31.

Douglass, Marcus Garvey and Stokely Carmichael, figures that affirmed a sense of pride, bravery, and solidarity. It was often in moments of cultural activation that the Wall's painted population would grow—while musicians played jazz sets and poets performed, the people who had gathered for these ad hoc festivals added their own poems and photographs to the increasingly busy surface<sup>78</sup> The Wall's characters may have been altered by contemporary pressures, but the flexibility nevertheless indicates the mural as a fluid practice; the open, democratic platform detailed in chapter seven. It would go on to showcase a diverse and iconic cast of over fifty cultural heroes across eight panels.<sup>79</sup> An atmosphere of local unity is more likely to induce an inclusive and meaningful participation. This, in turn, could be taken as steps toward the kind of wholehearted transnational solidarity required to bring about the 'beloved community'<sup>80</sup> not only in the U.S. but in NI too.<sup>81</sup> Kirkpatrick builds on this vision with a gusto that condenses many core disarming components. She firstly imagines surfaces of visual democracy as a textured solidarity produced by polyphonic activism, multi-authored and multi-layered.<sup>82</sup> Secondly, she outlines educational and political activation: 'creative action supported by discussion groups and awareness-raising sessions focusing on specific

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<sup>78</sup> Cockcroft, Weber and Cockcroft, 'Toward a People's Art', p.1.

<sup>79</sup> Among their number were athletes Muhammed Ali and Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, civil rights leader Malcolm X, musicians Miles Davis and Billie Holiday, actor Sidney Poitier, intellectuals like writer James Baldwin, and sociologist W.E.B Du Bois. Baldwin, along with Sammy Davis Jr. and Nina Simone, were among those who came to view the mural in person. James Glenn, 'The Black Lives Matter Movement and the Black Public Art Tradition, Part 2', *Dallas Public Library*, 13 December 2020, available at <http://dallaslibrary2.org/blogs/bookedSolid/2020/12/the-black-lives-matter-movement-and-the-black-public-art-tradition-part-2/> accessed 13 January 2021.

<sup>80</sup> The term 'beloved community' was first coined in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century by the philosopher-theologian Josiah Royce. However, it was Dr. King, a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation that Royce founded, who popularised the term and invested it with deeper meaning which has captured the imagination of people of goodwill all over the world. The utopianism of the Beloved Community was not a lofty vision of idyllic harmony; rather it was a realistic goal attained by a critical mass of people committed to and trained in the philosophy and methods of nonviolence. According to King's principles, non-violence: seeks a way of life for courageous people, seeks to earn friendship and understanding, wishes to defeat injustice itself not those who practice it, believes in the redemptive possibilities of education, chooses love over hate. The ultimate purpose being to defeat the triple evils of poverty, racism, and militarism that exist as forms of violence in a vicious cycle. 'The King Philosophy-Nonviolence365®', *the King Centre*, available at <https://thekingcenter.org/about-tkc/the-king-philosophy/> accessed 26 May 2020.

<sup>81</sup> Kirkpatrick, 'Troubling Solidarity'

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

issues like racial injustice or militarised policing (both foreign and domestic)...protests and marches to actuate critical dialogue, understanding and empathy.’<sup>83</sup> Finally, there is the realisation that whilst all of this would be a difficult process, its rewards would have no formal ending, analogous with the repetition and embeddedness of activation. Its energy goes far beyond the painted wall and into the workplace, it goes into the home and deep into the heart.<sup>84</sup>

#### 6.3.4 The City of Brotherly Love and Murals

The final case study, Mural Arts Philadelphia (MAP) began as an anti-graffiti programme founded in 1986 under the direction of local artist Jane Golden whose career in transformative arts, whilst offering opportunities to young people affected by incarceration, mirrors the west coast efforts of Judith Baca. For over thirty-five years, MAP has united artists with active audiences in a rigorously collaborative process. On average they are involved in fifty to hundred public art projects per year, overseeing the creation of more than 3,800 pieces of art—2,000 of which are still visible today. In terms of viewership, approximately 15,000 residents and visitors tour this vast outdoor gallery which has become integrated into the civic landscape as a source of pride and inspiration, earning Philadelphia international recognition as the ‘Mural Capital of the World’.<sup>85</sup> Throughout this section, we will see some similarities between MAP’s philosophy and the previous cases; namely in the belief that the motives of public art is to provide transformative experiences, progressive discourse, and economic stimulus. In a mode similar to the ‘serve’ of the tennis game—a

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> Mural Arts Philadelphia, ‘We believe that art ignites change’ available at <https://www.muralarts.org/about/> accessed 22 May 2020.

procedural model for mural-making which will be explained further in chapter seven—MAP’s methodology begins with evaluative looking.<sup>86</sup> Resident/participants are urged to consider the big picture and look beyond the surface to detect the issues that the city’s population grapple with on a daily basis. After this inspection, it is clear that history is written across the landscape, but not all history is as visible as it should be. In taking measures against this knowledge gap, we are introduced to the first of four profiles of alternative masculinity. In 2018, artists Willis ‘Nomo’ Humphrey and Keir Johnston collaborated with the Universal Charter School to produce the first mural to record the life of Octavius Catto, an educator, athlete and early civil rights activist.<sup>87</sup> Catto was assassinated at the age of 32 on South Street in 1871 after pushing for enfranchisement for black citizens, the work’s title. ‘Remembering a Forgotten Hero’ is highly relevant to part two of this study not only in elevating sunken stories but in redefining the qualifications of heroism. Like all other projects, the work is ‘finished’ with a dedication ceremony, a trait observed throughout this chapter. Once again, the art itself is just the most visible part; the product of a long and complicated process. Often the work provides an opportunity for communal reflection and celebration, generating optimism about a different future. The entry for this work in MAP’s digital archive features an image slider so that we can compare the scene before and after its completion and notice the high attendance and mood of the dedication.

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<sup>86</sup> ‘We do not have to live the same mistakes over again if we can look at them, learn from them, and build upon them.’ Audre Lorde, ‘Learning from the 60s’ from *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches* (New York: Penguin Modern Classics, 2019), p. 64. Lorde’s ‘look’ transcends the idea of observation or examination; it feels engaged, agentic, and confrontational.

<sup>87</sup> Mural Arts Philadelphia, ‘Remembering a Forgotten Hero’ available at <https://www.muralarts.org/artworks/catto/> accessed 23 May 2020.



Fig.6.11

The sacrifice of contemporary heroes are also recorded in the tributes to Lt. Robert Neary and FF. Daniel Sweeney, of the city's fire department, who lost their lives in the line of duty in 2012. Despite the sombre subject matter, both men are pictured smiling and the colours and design are lively. The surface is elaborately decorated with trompe l'oeil columns and niches, a neoclassical motif we recollect for many depictions in part one. Here, though, the architectural elements signify the heritage of the Kensington housing while the columns stand for the vital support provided by the department in protecting the buildings and the lives inside. In place of the paramilitary crests and emblems, the imitation friezes are inset with details of service and symbols of the fire department.<sup>88</sup> The work's dedication had an element

<sup>88</sup> Kimberly Paynter, 'Mural honouring Philly firefighters killed in 2012 Kensington blaze to be dedicated Thursday', WHYY, 9 July 2014, available at <https://whyy.org/articles/mural-honoring-philly-firefighters-killed-in-2012-kensington-blaze-to-be-dedicated-thursday/> accessed 2 April 2021.

of cultural activation in that it featured a flag-bearing procession accompanied by the departmental pipe band.<sup>89</sup>



Fig.6.12

A figure whose career has plenty of relevance in ‘post-conflict’ NI is Herman Wrice (1939-2000). A native of West Philadelphia, he was intimately aware of the gang violence and drug culture that had infiltrated the lives of many youths. He became heavily involved in this cause and, as a renowned community organiser, developed the ‘Wrice Process’—a

<sup>89</sup> Mural pays tribute to fallen firefighters, *Northeast Times*, 17 April 2014, available at <https://northeasttimes.com/2014/07/17/mural-pays-tribute-to-fallen-firefighters/> accessed 11 February 2021.

method of direct action whereby neighbours confront street-level drug dealers.<sup>90</sup> Crucially this never resorted to the kind of recriminatory harm inflicted by paramilitary ‘policing’. Rather, it was a mature, rational, non-violent response designed to shame dealers into leaving or changing their ways. Armed with his slogan ‘up with hope, down with dope’ which became a popular rallying cry, public pressure and strength in numbers proved an effective tool against the bane of addiction dependency and criminality.<sup>91</sup> We will see in chapter eight a disconnect between the presence of organic intellectuals in loyalism and their absence in the symbolic landscape. Here, Wrice’s enduring commitment to social activism and belief in the transformative power of a united community is a remarkable homage.



Fig.6.13

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<sup>90</sup> Nadera Rahman, ‘Up With Hope, Down with Dope: The Legacy of Herman Wrice’, available at <https://www.muralarts.org/blog/up-with-hope-down-with-dope-the-legacy-of-herman-wrice/> accessed 13 April 2021.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

In 2021 another disarming force took to the streets when artists Felix St. Fort and Gabe Tiberino partnered with students from three schools to create the ‘Cecil B. Moore Freedom Fighters’. Rather than focusing solely on its namesake (a Philadelphia lawyer, politician and civil rights activist), the mural highlighted the unseen women and young people behind this indomitable group which successfully desegregated Girard College (one of the project partners) in 1965.<sup>92</sup>



Fig.6.14

This subject is extremely sensitive and timely in the context of NI, with debates on the need for integrated education rumbling on. The work is a skilful and stylish mixture of portraiture and graphic design, the main motif being Adinkra: traditional Ghanaian symbols that denote specific concepts. Participants selected those that reflected the lessons and values of the Freedom Fighters such as knowledge, perseverance and the power of love. To encourage

<sup>92</sup> ‘Mural honours Philadelphia's Freedom Fighters under leadership of Cecil B. Moore in the 1960s’, *ABC 6 Action News*, 27 February 2021, available at <https://6abc.com/mural-arts-philadelphia-freedom-fighters-girard-college-cecil-b-moore/10373233/> accessed 24 March 2021.

community participation during social distancing, MAP distributed learning kits to local schools, with each kit containing a small Adinkra on a material called ‘parachute cloth’, along with brushes and paints.<sup>93</sup> The parachute cloth is commonly employed on the Philadelphia scene and is a technique that prolific Northern Irish muralist Dee Craig learnt whilst on the Mellon Creative Residency in 2014.<sup>94</sup> Craig brought the skill back with him and put it to use in several works, the first being with the youth from Ballymac Friendship Centre. While the themes are certainly disarming (girls feature prominently along with racial and ethnic diversity, education and dance) the author would suggest it is perhaps too busy and any one of the themes might have benefitted from its own space. Likewise, his piece on Donegall Pass encourages reading and emphasizes the importance of education for the local youth. However it is side-lined to a smaller low wall opposite a popular bonfire site. Craig is commissioned for numerous projects from the militarised (the First or Second World War, the latter depicting the Polish Airborne Forces) to more Reimaging-oriented works like ‘Luminaries and Legends’, unveiled on the gable wall of the EastSide Visitor Centre. The latter constitutes a collage of local talent such as Van Morrison, C.S Lewis, George Best and Gary Moore.<sup>95</sup>

MAP also produces people-centric works like ‘We Did That’ by Tisha Golafaie and Symone Salib. Painted partly in thanks to those who helped elect President Joe Biden, it is more generally a memorial to the resilient organisers of Philadelphia and their consistent dedication to public service. It speaks of standing up for community interests: rallying

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<sup>93</sup> Mural Arts Philadelphia, ‘Cecil B. Moore Freedom Fighters’, available at <https://www.muralarts.org/artworks/cecil-b-moore/> accessed 21 April 2021.

<sup>94</sup> Lee Smithey, ‘Dee Craig installs first cloth murals in Europe’, Peace and Conflict Studies Department, Swarthmore College, 11 July 2016, available at <https://blogs.swarthmore.edu/academics/pcs/2016/07/11/craig-cloth-murals/> accessed 18 March 2021.

<sup>95</sup> ‘Artwork parachutes in to celebrate EastSide’s Famous Faces’, *EastSide Partnership*, 22 March 2017, available at <https://www.eastsidepartnership.com/news/artwork-parachutes-eastside> accessed 11 April 2021.

together, raising funds for mutual aid efforts, and delivering community care. Therefore it testifies to the capacity for change when a community is united, stays informed, and exercises its right to vote. By a note of comparison to loyalist mural practices, the palette of pastel colours was inspired by the album covers of local renowned poet and activist Ursula Rucker<sup>96</sup>—quite the contrast to the UFF’s appropriation of Eddie the Trooper. The work is painted on hardboard and fixed to a fence since Salib intended to donate it after it had been exhibited for a year. This temporality is a global pattern, the medium visualises the rate of change; every work is not meant to be kept doggedly in place, refusing to give up its space to another, more relevant message.<sup>97</sup> MAP’s impact is truly astounding, an average year will see them collaborate with approximately 25,000 individuals to create between 60 and 100 projects. Particular to our concerned demographic, some 2,000 young people enrol in their education programme.<sup>98</sup> In terms of feasibility and financing such a comprehensive plan, according to MAP’s budget a typical mural requires around 30 gallons of paint at an average cost of £61 per gallon (a total of £1,823). In this regard, comparisons can be misleading since many of MAP’s surfaces are considerably larger than their Northern Irish equivalents. Whether weaponised or disarming, a mural’s size and location can be vital in furthering the exposure of this ideological ‘advert’, but smaller spaces naturally lead to less expenditure thereby making the loyalist landscape more cost effective. In addition to examples executed in more

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<sup>96</sup> Layla A. Jones, ‘New Philly mural shouts out Black and queer organisers’ role in getting Biden elected’, Billy Penn, 15 January 2021, available at <https://billypenn.com/2021/01/15/philadelphia-mural-gotv-biden-black-queer-symone-salib-tisha-golafaie-ballot-counting-election/> accessed 4 April 2021.

<sup>97</sup> Although the work does technically depict specific individuals who were involved in voting-related campaigns, they are not named as such in the piece. Speaking about both the work’s temporality and its subject matter, the agents of change, Golafaie said: ‘it’s not somebody perched up on a pedestal that’s making all these magical things happen. It’s us. We did that.’, Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Carise Mitch, Director of Communications & Brand Management, Mural Arts Philadelphia press kit (January 2019), available at [https://www.muralarts.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/MA\\_Press-Kit\\_FINAL\\_January2019.pdf](https://www.muralarts.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/MA_Press-Kit_FINAL_January2019.pdf) accessed 1 May 2020.

traditional materials and techniques, MAP occasionally experiments with innovative strategies for engaging audiences.<sup>99</sup>

Whether relying on old or new technologies or a hybrid, MAP's aim is often to amplify voices which both were and are marginalised. 'Pride and Progress' (2003) occupies the entire west wall of the William Way Centre, a non-profit LGBT organisation. Exemplifying the transference from a transitory medium like marching into a more lasting format, the work portrays a gay Pride festival amid nearby landmarks. It is not, however, a one-dimensional celebration, as the far-left side shows a man pasting up a poster for a civil rights march held in 1966, giving the scene historical and political context. On one surface, residents turn one way then the other, back and forth revealing who they are, who they have been and where they are going.<sup>100</sup> Another voice frequently amplified are those of the city's various migrant identities. 'Gateway to Chinatown: Colours of Light' (1999) by Josh Sarantitis uses a scroll motif as an allegory for the neighbourhood's movement in time, unrolling from past to future. Sarantitis gathered informal oral histories and incorporated these with text from local poet and educator, Jeffrey Loo. In usual verbing fashion, the work progressed with community groups being consulted at each stage of the decision-making.<sup>101</sup>

The dragon running along the work's top edge is not a fearsome creature to ward off the

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<sup>99</sup> This might involve kinetic designs like Candy Chang's 'Atlas of Tomorrow: A Device for Philosophical Reflection' whose spinning numerical dial let viewers read and reflect up to 64 different stories. In 2018 artist Joshua Mays and DJ King Britt developed 'Dreams, Diaspora and Destiny', an augmented reality mural that utilised both music and a mobile app. Then there was 'The Evolving Face of Nursing' by Meg Saliman (2010), whose incorporation of LED lights meant viewers saw one depiction by day and another in the evening glow. Saligman researched and interviewed practicing nurses to represent a range of roles from students to directors. Placed at a busy intersection, the 6,500ft<sup>2</sup> piece paid homage to the invaluable service of nurses, a similar sentiment appearing in the loyalist landscape during the COVID-19 pandemic.

<sup>100</sup> Created with the help of fifteen assistants, the chief muralist Ann Northup hopes the mural serves as a catalyst for increased tolerance of real diversity among people. 'Pride and Progress' entry from Mural Arts Philadelphia online archive, available at <https://www.muralarts.org/artworks/pride-progress-2/> 24 May 2020.

<sup>101</sup> 'Gateway to Chinatown: Colours of Light' from Mural Arts Philadelphia online archive available at <https://www.muralarts.org/artworks/gateway-to-chinatown-colors-of-light/#:~:text=Located%20on%20the%20edge%20of,movement%20from%20past%20to%20future> accessed 12 June 2021.

trespassing other. Rather the mural located on the edge of Chinatown is a welcoming sign; an invitation for interaction. At the time of writing the author is not aware of a similar statement either in Belfast's unofficial Chinatown (in the Donegall Pass area), nor in its Indian community to the north of the city. Central to these case studies' methodologies is active listening—the key to learning and understanding of another's perspective. This is especially true when murals are responding to a rapid shift in circumstances. A year after the 2010 Haitian earthquake that left millions homeless and many in desperate need of medical care, MAP began working with eighteen survivors who had been temporarily rehoused in Germantown. What arose from those healing conversations was the need for a mural to build connections within the Haitian community. Over ten weeks, artists taught new skills to the survivors and brainstormed visions for the finished product. 'Voa Nu, Pwisans Nu (Our Voice, Our Strength)' is a vibrant homage weaving together icons and facets of Haitian culture. Standing proudly above the assorted images is a reproduction of a statue honouring 'Le Negre Marron', an unknown freedom fighter symbolising the thousands of enslaved Haitians who rebelled against French imperial rule. Much like the blessing ritual in Balmy Alley, Marron blows a conch shell like a trumpet of emancipation.

The final three brief examples from MAP indicate how more abstract, concept-based disarmament might manifest. 'A Love Letter For You' (2009) is a series of more than 50 rooftop murals by Steve Powers lining the Market Street corridor in West Philadelphia. In keeping both with the principles of effective design, many of these paintings look like enlarged street signs or billboard texts. A minimalism, akin to street signage or billboards, ensures the text can be read at either speed or distance. These fragments directly deliver personal messages of self-care and positive mental health. One couplet is redolent of eL Seed's 'Perception' as it reverberates with the understated musing of St. Athanasius: 'Open your eyes/I see the sunrise.' Whenever children feature in Reimagined work they are invariably

portrayed as carefree in a somewhat emotionally simplified environment. However, Sidney Goodman's 'Boy with Raised Arm' (1990) is more enigmatic, isolated in an Autumnal and ambiguous setting. His nearly inscrutable facial expression is well suited to the notion of the mural as entry point for examination and enquiry. As for the raised arm, at least possibilities come to mind: the outstretched limb of a boy anxious to answer his teacher's question or otherwise contribute to the class. Alternatively, as the boy is African American it could signal a precocious radicalisation —the raised fist associated not just the black power movement but a global symbol of solidarity against oppression, used by socialists, anti-fascists and feminists. The only words keeping the unnamed child company were cited earlier when we discussed the dialogical self. The boy speaks the words of Whitman: 'I am large. I contain multitudes.' That the work was faithfully recreated twelve years later in a prominent location seems a metaphor for MAP's persisting loyalty to those most vulnerable. This is spearheaded by the 'Porch Light' programme; an alliance between the city's Department of Behavioural Health and Intellectual disAbility Services.<sup>102</sup> The main purpose of Porch Light is to uplift public art as an expression of community resilience and a vehicle of personal and group healing, in particular for those struggling with mental illness, addiction and trauma.<sup>103</sup> It is self-evident how all of NI would gain from such a programme being implemented, not only as a post-conflict society layered with complex symptoms of trauma, but also in the hegemonic performance further mutes men in seeking help, leading many to chemically 'self-

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<sup>102</sup> Other collaborators include SCI Phoenix prison, the Philadelphia Prison System and Philadelphia Youth Violence Reduction Partnership. On our core demographic, 'youth' is mentioned thirteen times in Porch Light's replication manual. Furthermore, through this network, MAP has been able to engage approximately 1,000 vulnerable adults in a variety of programmes. Mitch, 'Mural Arts Philadelphia press kit'.

<sup>103</sup> The mural-making process is embedded within rigorous, multi-year evaluative research designed and conducted by their academic partners at Yale University. The results of which continually hone the methods by which public art can be a tool for public health practice. Sara Ansell et al., 'Painting a Healthy City: The Porch Light Program Replication Manual', City of Philadelphia Mural Arts Program, (2013), p.4, available at [https://www.muralarts.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/MAP\\_Porchlight\\_5.pdf](https://www.muralarts.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/MAP_Porchlight_5.pdf) accessed 13 May 2021.

medicate' their damaged psyche.<sup>104</sup> The final ideas-based example is 'Peace Wall' by Jane Golden and Peter Pagast which sought to reconcile some of the racial violence that had flared up in the Grays Ferry neighbourhood which, like loyalist riots, made national headlines. The visual outcome, converging hands, symbolised the community's commitment to ending racial division. The image helped residents find common ground through art and became a symbol of hope and unity.



Fig.6.15

Like many strong designs, the visual and textual work hand in hand and the chosen quote ('Blessed are the Peacemakers, for they will be called children of God', Matthew 5:9) is not only a tonic against toxic theology but is an explicitly pro-peace statement something still discouragingly rare in NI. We close this section with some remarks that further assist the relationship between Philadelphia and Belfast, for perhaps through favourable comparison

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<sup>104</sup> It is stated early on in their replication manual that the process is intended to be a model for other cities to consider—one adapted to local needs. Ibid.

and adoption of best practices, the epicentre of the problem (being the greatest concentration of weaponised imagery) can become the epicentre of a solution. Surely one of the most significant divergences between MAP's interventions and those in NI is the extent to which it has been accepted by the host communities. Lohman's survey of the then 2,000 murals of Philadelphia reported less than six cases of tagging (or general defacement by graffiti), which he attributes to MAP's aesthetic not being viewed as a threat to their own but rather a welcomed addition to it.<sup>105</sup> For all the cultural differences between the two cities, which cannot nor should be ignored for comparison's sake, one major similarity connects them: they are both divided places often witnessing considerable violence yet also possess a rich history of non-sectarian social movements mobilising to forge real political action and attitudinal reform that supersedes their respective ethnic encapsulation.<sup>106</sup> Much of the task ahead of us then is the excavating for these signs of historical change and radical politics that connect Belfast to other global, urban spaces of conflict. By way of exposing some of this potential, Lisle cites Allen and Kelly's collection 'Cities of Belfast' in which a variety of scholars, writers and poets resist the stereotype of Belfast as exceptional and illuminate other Belfasts that have so far been unmapped and unclaimed.<sup>107</sup> This pluralising of a seemingly singular city mimics the useful and disarming pluralities of loyalism and masculinity which, again, the author would propose are situated in these hitherto uncharted territories.

## Conclusion

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<sup>105</sup> Greaney, 'The Power of the Urban Canvas', p. 15.

<sup>106</sup> Nagle, 'Unity in Diversity', p. 79.

<sup>107</sup> Lisle 'Local Symbols, Global Networks', p. 30.

The purpose of this chapter was threefold: firstly, to commence the search for disarming material. Secondly, to mitigate the cultural insularity of the current loyalist landscape by locating this material internationally—and thirdly, to give some real-world indication of the core theories of chapter seven. By doing so, part two does not begin with some abstract utopia but strives to establish a more concrete form. The first context explored the transitional masculinities of South Sudan and South Africa. The former having only just started the journey with its multi-sided civil war ending in 2020. The artist collective Ana Taban initially articulated the desperation of civilians before working constructively to give shape to the kind of society they wished to see emerge. The Men Engage Network demonstrated the truly global scope required to tackling weaponised masculinities (whether reinforced by formal conflict or not). Much of the Network and part two's ideological backbone is evident in manifestations of ubuntu, or humanity to others. For many cases, including Instituto Promundo, accessing this shared sense of compassion involved first facilitating a rejection of problematic masculine identities and then finding more suitable replacements. Promundo's 'Program H' enacted a gender reconciliation when appropriating the language, both textually and visually, of youth street culture to craft targeted advertising that advance a masculinity disciplined by restraint, reason and respect. Likewise, Sonke Gender Justice used murals and other media to urge men to not only resist the violent essentialism of male dogma but join campaigns that strive for accountability, fairness, and equality. We saw emotional appeals made both to a bright joyful progressive propaganda but also the memory of xenophobic violence used as a danger sign to warn the present of the past. The final work in the first section profiled an ambitious and adventurous project which reminded us of the need to continually question our perceptions and value judgements.

This chapter witnessed numerous examples of key terms from the weaponised lexicon being drastically redefined, such as 'Fearless', in the attitude and approach of the so-named

feminist collective documented in the second section. Beginning as a response to the savagery of sexual and gender-based violence, Fearless deployed their aesthetic revolution to reclaim perilous streets. Whereas emotions in part one were often denied or destroyed within the conflicted self, this revolution seeks to harmonise, accept and express a diverse range of emotions. Their murals emanate a sanctuary-like quality of protection, care and understanding but also stand guard as huge displays protecting human rights and dignity.

The final section took us through a proud history of radical art and activism, starting with the transformative peace process in Guatemala and the rebellious determination of the young Ramona Parra Brigades during Pinochet's Chile. From here we saw how the spirit of Mexican muralism migrated to San Francisco and Los Angeles. In the former, intense and independent mural production gathered along Balmy Alley, transforming it into a lieu de mémoire. This, along with the Great Wall of L.A., represent enduring and inspiring evidence of free-flowing experimentation in style, content, meaning and application. Another significant wall was examined in Chicago, where the people appointed their own heroes to adorn a surface reserved for a demilitarised, non-weaponised notion of 'Respect'. Finally, we arrived at Philadelphia whose citizens are the architects of their symbolic landscape thanks to the relentless planning of MAP. After analysing their methodology and its materialisation, we ended with a comparison to Belfast and an attempt to bridge the divide between these two cities and the masculinities exhibited in their respective open-air galleries. It is now felicitous for us to amalgamate the lessons from these international case studies into a methodical paradigm. Some of the fundamentals of disarming have most definitely emerged throughout this chapter but it is in the next where they will be further delineated.



## Chapter Seven: Radical Alternative Media: A Transformative Paradigm

### **Introduction**

This chapter explains the fundamentals of disarming by situating loyalist muralism in the context of ‘radical alternative media’ (RAM), the central paradigm throughout part two. It does this by breaking down that crucial phrase into its three elemental words and exploring the guiding principles therein across distinct sections. When considering the meaning of ‘radical’, it is instructive for us to review earlier attempts to improve the visual environment. A balanced critique will be offered, but ultimately we will see where and how top-down initiatives have failed to represent an art that connects to the communities in which it is located. A preference for relatively vague and banal aesthetics cannot compete with the dynamism and drama of conflict. Therefore prior interventions offer a caution; a pattern to be avoided. The author argues for the verbing of the mural whereby emphasis is shifted from the static thingness (a remote, isolated noun) to a more adaptable and fluid process. The benefits of the latter will be expanded upon by utilising insight from creative practitioners, specifically Mosher’s ‘tennis game model’: a procedure for sharing responsibility between community participants and project facilitators. A final radical notion questions the fate of many murals and rescues them from obscurity. Instead of fading from public consciousness, they (both physical sites and spectators) must be repeatedly activated. This could be achieved via means of other cultural activities, political event planning or educational visits—in all cases the mural is not passively experienced, but a locale of learning and sharing, thinking and feeling.

‘Alternative’ in this milieu is best summarised by the setting up of a counter-hegemonic vision (C-HV), an equal and opposite response to the aspects and archetypes we regularly encountered in part one. Simply put, disarming subject matter would surface and centre those hidden histories and neglected narratives, particularly those representing non-violent masculinities, feminism, LGBT themes and pro-multiculturalism. Closely linked to the C-HV is a necessary redefining of key terminology, firstly in the roles performed by men such as ‘protector’, ‘defender’, ‘hero’ and ‘warrior’. Secondly, the cardinal values and virtues these characters supposedly typify need substantial revision; terms like ‘honour’, ‘pride’, ‘duty’ and ‘courage’ require a more accurate and appropriate widening from the narrowed norms. A supreme yet speculative manifestation of the C-HV is an inverted utopia. This upside-down worldview does not presage chaos and confusion. Rather, it seeks to dislocate and revolve both the imagery and ideology publicly presented in murals in the long-term ambition of bettering society.

Finally, we will scrutinise murals not only as a creative medium but as media: a main means of mass communication. After outlining a basic rationale for loyalists to control their own message and tell their own story, we compare the editorial ownership of this network. The first state of affairs is the prevailing one in which public artwork is not operated fairly by the public but rather is overseen by an extreme minority whose interests are served by their puissant hold on this monopoly. A second state of affairs stands defiantly in opposition to this, and advocates that murals be an inclusive platform for the many not the few, in accordance with democratic standards of equality, freedom of speech and consent. Collectively these ideas will aim to show how mere art projects can accomplish serious sociological objectives such as removing not only its imagery but attempting to disarm the underlying weaponised masculinities. This requires a more holistic approach than ‘solving’ ethnonationalist antagonisms and decommissioning literal weapons. This dominant view

continues to pull focus both as a political issue and subject of research. For now, we begin by looking back to move forward, comparing the insufficient antecedents of change (with a small ‘c’) and how RAM might prompt a more confident stride in the right direction rather than a timid tiptoeing.

## 7.1 What is ‘radical’?

### 7.1.1 Declarative Visual Voices

The three major interventions began with the ‘Operation Spruce Up’ in 1976 overseen by the NI minister in the Callaghan government, Don Concannon. It seems the main objective was less about improving living conditions through beautification and instead concerned with creating a more lucrative first impression on investors. Earlier in the decade a substantial programme of redevelopment had caused large areas of urban blight. The widespread demolition of housing was not deemed an appropriate welcome for visiting industrialists.<sup>1</sup> Despite a lack of evidence of any positive effect, this restrained landscaping project was expanded a year later with an assortment of departments being brought in (Community Services, Environment and Education) along with the Arts Council to create forty-two new murals. A prohibition on overtly political messages ensured that, for the most part, the outcomes of the scheme were extremely anodyne.<sup>2</sup> Given this was taking place during a conflict, perhaps we can appreciate and excuse this eschewal; some may hold the view that, amidst the quagmire of the Troubles, the last thing communities needed were controversies that could further infuriate actors in an exceptionally delicate context. On the other hand, the

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<sup>1</sup> Sailortown, for example, was at the end of the M2 motorway which linked Belfast to its airport and main shipping port of Larne. Rolston, *Politics & Painting*, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Hill & White, ‘Painting Peace?’, p. 78.

preferred depictions such as a rural idyll no doubt clashed almost abrasively with the physical environment in which they prepared. Furthermore, this visual abstention could be read as a refusal to reflect on the lived experiences of the audience, precisely in the moments when such hard-hitting matters were crucial to afflicted communities. The appropriateness of this strategy became moot as the decade wore on, by the summer of 1981 no applications were received. This may have, in part, been due to a lack of resources (under Tory government cuts) or perhaps local groups were not interested in any more circuses, fairy tales and jungle scenes.<sup>3</sup> ‘Spruce Up’ was not the final effort as the remainder of the 1980s saw an attempt to ‘Brighten Up Belfast’. Organised by Bryson House—a large voluntary work agency paid for by Belfast Action Team—it led to a dozen or so murals from 1987-88. Unfortunately, these additions were not only poorly executed but they returned to the familiar themes of children, nursery rhymes, pastoral bliss, or cartoon characters.<sup>4</sup>

After the shortcomings of these two previous projects that half-heartedly pursued an anti-violent urban landscape, the ‘Re-imagining’ programme really should have had a greater impact on cross-communication. This third intervention not only benefited from lessons of past attempts but from greater support in funding.<sup>5</sup> For all the high-principled intentions and considerable funding, the most recent effort could not shake off a reluctance to engage with the big spatial practices at the symbolic core of a cultural conflict. This led, once again, to a

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<sup>3</sup> Watson described the later murals as having a predictable atmosphere about them which ‘reeked of the factory line’. Julian Watson, ‘Brightening the Place up?’ *Circa*, Vol. 8 (Jan-Feb 1983), p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid* p. 67.

<sup>5</sup> The attention accorded to the visual environment was a prominent feature in ‘A Shared Future’ —the overarching strategic policy framework launched in 2005 to promote the development of ‘good relations’. As part of this, ‘Re-imagining Communities’ was launched in July 2006 as a multi-agency initiative with £3.3 million in funding for an initial 3-year period. Its aims were to ‘replace divisive imagery with that which reflects communities in a more positive manner’ (Independent Research Solutions, 2009: vii), while seeking to garner socio-economic benefits of art-related projects. The programme funded 108 projects up to the summer of 2008. Re-imagining came back, under the scheme ‘Building Peace through the Arts’ (2013-15) financially supported by the PEACE III Programme managed by the Special EU Programmes Body (SEUPB), the Arts Council of Northern Ireland, and the International Fund for Ireland (IFI). Hill & White, ‘Painting Peace?’ p. 75.

retreat to a narrower and cautious space, filled with feel-good, tedious replacements which, according to Neill, were an ‘endorsement of the surface neutrality of neo-liberal market values.’<sup>6</sup> A restrictive criterion on subject matter was bound to result in creatively limited outcomes as well as a repetition of ‘safe’ themes.<sup>7</sup> It would be unfair of us to be overly cynical about Re-imaging; after all the task it was set up for was a monumental one. Total projects over the two funding periods may well have passed the threshold into the hundreds, but this was still only a small proportion of the estimated two thousand murals extant in NI (a figure constantly in flux given the dynamism of the medium). And some of the images removed would certainly not have been an easy exercise. The Lower Shankill had seen six paramilitary displays replaced and four new murals added. This indeed was a considerable achievement if we remember that this had been the domain of Adair’s C Company. On closer inspection though, we might be less impressed with what the author would classify as inadequate visual replacements.<sup>8</sup> If we are concerned with how art can influence its audiences’ thinking, we must admit that it is unlikely that the mood of citizens will be adjusted by paintings of children or flowers. An indicator, not just of indifference, but in some cases actual disapproval can be seen in all the interventions thus mentioned. Rapp and

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<sup>6</sup> William J.V. Neill, ‘Don’t mention the culture war: Beyond creative ambiguity and professional “quietism” in Northern Ireland/North of Ireland spatial planning?’ *Planning Theory & Practice*, Vol. 15, Issue 2 (2014), p. 270.

<sup>7</sup> This pattern was commented on by an anonymous interviewee who has connections with the Northern Ireland Housing Executive, the branch of government that owns many of the properties that are canvases for murals. The interviewee claimed that these themes were where institutions of the state felt most comfortable and where external funding bodies were happy to support a kind of ‘syrupy images’ of George Best or the Titanic...how many times can you paint the Titanic?!’ Interview with participant ‘AX’, a source associated with NIHE, Belfast, 19 September 2021.

<sup>8</sup> The huge mural of Cromwell, a bitter image of historical antagonism, was removed but not replaced with an equally stunning image for peace or progress. Rather its replacement was an underwhelming three pillar sculpture with the words: Respect/Remember/Resolution. In the same estate, a mural of support during the Drumcree disputes showing Orangemen marching down the Garvarghy Road was substituted for ‘the A-Z of the Shankill’. The work is large-scale yet as an over-crowded collage each representation is miniscule. The numerous captions may encourage viewers to approach and read, but its verbosity might also have the opposite effect. Not unlike other Reimagined works, it also reduces a diversity of different and interesting narratives, figures, and events into one piece rather than giving some subjects a fuller space that they deserve.

Rhomberg hypothesize that the consistent assault (over-painting or graffiti) against murals is verification of insufficient local support.<sup>9</sup> It seems much of these initiatives tried to depoliticize the medium with the distraction of entertainment, superficiality or a kind of visual white noise. As we will see in chapter seven, community art inculcates notions of ‘shared space’ but this, as interviewees put it, need not be ‘sterile space’.<sup>10</sup> Any suggestion that murals are not ‘proper’ art is itself depoliticising, sequestering ‘real’ or ‘fine’ art in the white cube of the gallery. Within that space, it is easier not to engage with or take responsibility for everyday political concerns. But murals are of course not tamed and caged in that chic box, rather they are wild and roaming amongst the daily entanglement, and they remind us that art is never only about aesthetics; it is also about power.<sup>11</sup> All three interventions were top-down approaches exuding a rather conformist and subduing supervision. A summation of this, which leads on to the next section, is found in Marie Mulholland’s observation that too often projects were about ‘doing something *to*, not *with*, those whom policy targets.’<sup>12</sup> With this in mind, there is also the question of impact: to what extent will these interventions really alter the state of play, or is their alteration confined to the visual environment? The author is inclined to agree with this limitation of impact and would go further and suggest that Reimaging can be understood as a visualisation of ‘negative peace’ whereas radical murals should be a declarative visual voice aiding in positive peace. This comparison is vindicated by an insight from Pete Wray of Bangor Alternatives who was jaded from his experiences with Reimaging. According to Pete: ‘art on

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<sup>9</sup> It is of course possible to interpret these acts differently, from mistrust of the local council, disapproval over removal rather than specifically the replacement or simply boredom. Rapp & Rhomberg, ‘Seeking a Neutral Identity’, p. 474.

<sup>10</sup> Group interview with Brian Dougherty & James Kee of the North-West Cultural Partnership and Derek Moore, Londonderry Bands Forum, Derry, 17 September 2021.

<sup>11</sup> Lisle, ‘Local Symbols, Global Networks’, p. 32.

<sup>12</sup> Marie Mulholland was the coordinator of the Women’s Support Network from its foundation in 1990 until 1999. Her comment was not specifically directed at Reimaging per se but as a general criticism of ‘community development’ it still holds as a valid view in this context. Cynthia Cockburn ‘What became of ‘frontline feminism’?’, p. 107.

walls was always a way of stopping something negative (i.e., a paramilitary display) as opposed to doing something to just use art as a positive thing.’<sup>13</sup> This can be readily transferred to Galtung’s negative/positive model of peace whereby the latter actively and preventatively tackles the causations of conflict; the former is satisfied merely with an absence of conflict.<sup>14</sup>

### 7.1.2 Verbing the Mural

The remainder of this chapter will suggest how we can convert creative practices from negative to positive peace. The first vital concept that helps us make this move is verbing the mural, radically reorienting the medium away from being exclusively and conventionally thought of as a noun toward a verb. In its noun form, a mural is merely an outcome, a final product, whereas verbing liberates it from this limitation by accentuating the rudimentary process and furthering the social impact by utilising a project’s duration to its fullest potential. Now, proponents of Reimaging will hasten to remind us that evaluation reports evince that the programme embraced these approaches of collective action and indeed much of this is rightly acclaimed.<sup>15</sup> However, a necessary technological distinction is needed here as Reimaging projects often favoured newer methods of production, e.g., digital designs and large-scale printing on laminated boards. For sure these techniques will have their practical advantages—most notably they will allow for a speedier turnaround, from image assembly to

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<sup>13</sup> Interview with Peter Wray, Belfast, 25 October 2021.

<sup>14</sup> Johan Galtung, Violence, Peace, and Peace Research, *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (1969), p. 183.

<sup>15</sup> Accomplishments of the second phase of Reimaging (‘Building Peace through the Arts’) included: 54 community-led consultations, almost 1,000 artist led workshops, 120 professional artists facilitating engagement and over 10,000 individuals contributing to consultations and arts-based activities. Building Peace through the Arts: Re-Imaging Communities Programme Executive Summary (June 2016) <[https://niopa.qub.ac.uk/bitstream/NIOPA/6055/1/ReImaging\\_Final\\_Executive\\_Summary\\_June\\_2016.pdf](https://niopa.qub.ac.uk/bitstream/NIOPA/6055/1/ReImaging_Final_Executive_Summary_June_2016.pdf)> [accessed 22/5/21].

installation—but with all this time saved, we should consider what is lost. The speed and efficiency of new technologies overshadows lengthier considerations around complex issues, politics of representation and dynamics of the medium. Ergo, as the process is shortened human agency is rendered invisible.<sup>16</sup> Like much art, murals can be capricious and thus difficult to define but this thesis would, overall, subscribe to a more original making, i.e., paint directly applied to walls. Of course, other materials and methods are available such as the dedication to the Chartist rebellion in Newport in Wales (1978), which employed mosaic. This does not belie the author’s argument for verbing the mural, however, as this technique shares the same asset of painting—as time-consuming crafts they prolong the project’s duration thereby allowing for moments of social connectivity. The nature of the work also permits a wide-reaching, inclusive participation by the public that is not possible when creation is in the hands of ‘some guy [who’s] bagged himself five grand for ten fucking minutes on the computer!’<sup>17</sup> as one muralist phrased it. But even this technical description of murals is nothing new in NI, as Greaney mentions paint and politics have been splashed upon city walls for decades now, so why should verbing make that much difference? The difference starts to be made when we appreciate the true transformation runs a lot deeper than the surface artistry, indeed the real works of art are the changes these collaborative projects can inspire within communities.<sup>18</sup>

For a project’s duration to have greater value, blank gaps in time should be filled with occasions for critical conversation, for within the main activity are several tasks all with moments between to be used for an exchange of ideas and insights. The morning sees colour

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<sup>16</sup> Clemencia Rodriguez, Benjamin Ferron & Kristin Shamas, ‘Four challenges in the field of alternative, radical and citizens’ media research’, *Media, Culture & Society*, vol. 36, issue 2 (2014), p. 153.

<sup>17</sup> Interview with Kenny Blair, Ballymoney, 14 September 2021.

<sup>18</sup> Maura E. Greaney, ‘The Power of the Urban Canvas: Paint, Politics, and Mural Art Policy’ *New England Journal of Public Policy*, Vol. 18, Issue. 1 (2002), p. 7.

mixing and rearranging assembled scaffolding, informal tea breaks and lunch, to the end of the day cleaning of brushes. They all require concentration but not to the extent that they prevent near-simultaneous discussion. The author would cite Mosher's 'tennis game' as a procedural model which sees the leadership role in each step bounce back and forth between artist(s) and community. It begins with a consensus in a neighbourhood expressing a desire for a mural and searching, possibly with the artist, for a potential site. Once a location has been carefully selected, workshops can introduce the artist's work or detail a global catalogue of art historical examples. Through evaluating these achievements, groups are encouraged to consider the scope of capability. A third step addresses the subject matter as groups examine its reason for painting a mural which can induce self-reflexive thinking. Mosher elaborates that the question: 'what do you want to see?' will often end up with suggestions of second-hand imagery (the latest television craze, a pop celebrity, or a local sports hero), essentially Reimagined material. Whereas, if the question is phrased: 'what is important to you?', it will likely result in a discussion on the neighbourhood examining its strengths and motives.<sup>19</sup> Supplementary creative tools (e.g., storytelling, life maps and photographs) can advance this enquiry and generate an intergenerational dialogue.<sup>20</sup> The passing on of more positive, progressive stories not only offers more options for subject matter but subverts hereditary hatred; the transmission of sectarian or the multiple prejudices we encountered in part one. Step four has the artist compose the chosen imagery into a coherent design. A deft touch is required in finely balancing their input—not too laid back, but not overstepping their responsibility.<sup>21</sup> The 'rally' continues when these design suggestions go back to the group for

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<sup>19</sup> Mosher, 'The Community Mural and Democratic Art', p. 530.

<sup>20</sup> Gray and Neil, 'Creating a Shared Society', p. 485.

<sup>21</sup> Yvonne McCullough, an art student involved in 'Operation Spruce Up', recalled difficulties in approachability and communication: 'when you've been through an arts college training and you suddenly find yourself in a community area, you want to talk about your ideas, which are far away from the ideas of the community.' Rolston, *Politics & Painting*, p. 56.

their critique, based on their improvements a more concrete visualisation appears. It is essential that those involved see the work as their own, particularly since, according to some interviewees, loyalists are not always secure in identifying with the arts as neither audience nor creators.<sup>22</sup> Next the artist will quickly outline the work on the wall in chalk, graphite or China markers. This stage can be the most frustrating for non-professionals. The work really comes to life with the seventh, and most time-consuming step—the painting itself, which is literally in the hands of participants. Should the project have a cross-community facet to it, then this step more than others gives young loyalist and republican men a rare chance to interact. It can help close the psychological interval of residential segregation which maintains ethnic tensions and the propensity to dehumanize the enemy.<sup>23</sup> While life in a single community may be less challenging and popular due to perceptions of safety, it also solidifies social relations when collectives not only do not mix but do not ‘see’ each other or represent them in narratives of a recent past with no incentive to do so in the future. If a degree of empathy can emerge from these interactions, then it might go some way to break the cycle of mutual antagonism. Halpern stresses that her model of ‘empathetic engagement’ is not a matter of naively imagining one can simply take on another’s emotions. Rather it is an ‘affective *process*...grounded in reasoning...it is a deeply interpersonal undertaking.’<sup>24</sup> Social bonding may continue when assisting the artist with the penultimate step of putting in finishing touches, lettering, shadowing and highlighting. The project concludes with the group varnishing the work if necessary and joining the rest of the neighbourhood in celebration of their accomplishment which may coincide with an historical event. But if the

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<sup>22</sup> During a group interview, one respondent commented: ‘That’s another thing too with Northern Ireland’s society-people don’t fit into the art crowd. They feel that that’s above themselves-if it’s expansive or creative it’s almost like ‘who do you think you are?!’ So, art in NI has always been quiet narrow in its focus...Art itself is seen as middle class, you’re above your station if you’re creative. Group interview with Brian Dougherty, James Kee, and Derek Moore, Derry, 17 September 2021.

<sup>23</sup> Edwards, ‘Abandoning Armed Resistance?’, p. 150.

<sup>24</sup> Emphasis added. Barton & McCully ‘Trying to “See Things Differently’’, p. 396.

process has been successful in raising political consciousness through the accomplishment of synergic action, then a burning question remains and lights a way forward: ‘what else can we accomplish together?’ The next sub-section explains how the verbed mural continues long after the local politician’s photo opportunity and why the very notion of the process ending is rather erroneous.

### 7.1.3 The 3 Rs of Disarming: Removal, Replacement & Repeated Activation

An outline for much of the argument for disarming can be distilled into the 3 Rs. Of these the first two seem self-explanatory, although, as we will discover later in this chapter, theirs is a deceptive simplicity in the labyrinthine context of NI. For now, it is that last R that we must explicate not only because its definition is less obvious, but it is also essential to the disarming argument. By ‘activation’ the author refers to any occasion when the presence and contents of a mural firmly holds the attention of a group. A site is thus ‘activated’ once the collective consciousness is raised and channelled toward that specific locale. Expressed in antithetical terms, whenever a mural is brought forward in our minds from an otherwise disregarded background it ceases to be passive. For as long as we think and feel more intently about it, it is active. In a basic form, murals are ‘activated’ when they undergo maintenance, since surface damage to the elements tends to appear after roughly six months without care. However, this is often more a utilitarian routine, whereas activation, in a radical form, is about maintaining more than the physical presence—it prompts the messages and meanings therein. This does of course have the potential to polarise further a divided society and we have seen examples of this throughout part one. The stately iconography of chapter three was regularly and ritualistically activated in preparation for the marching season’s climax. The dramatic unveiling of murals has always presented an active remembrance, a performative

memory embodied in respectable fanfare. We see this from post-partition street parties attended by Protestant clerics and unionist dignitaries, right up to the searing oratory at the Thorndyke gallery’s ceremony. A more problematic example is the commemoration of stark weaponised subjects. Memorial bands will occasionally incorporate murals to Troubles-era volunteers in their parade route. The site then becomes active as a memory node for wreath-lying, music, war poetry, or speechifying. Weaponisation frequently takes place in literal shows of ‘strength’ such as when masked men draw their guns in a three-volley salute such as in front of the Disraeli depiction of Trevor King.



Fig.7.1

We must acknowledge that ‘active’ is not always positive, forward-thinking, or socially constructive. The author would challenge Young and Dolan’s review of this function of murals as a ‘safe space’ (surely a relative term) for ‘contemplation and reflection.’<sup>25</sup> Their assessment of murals as a location to remember the ‘created history and tragedy of the “us”’

<sup>25</sup> Rachael Young, ‘Not Just Painted Walls: Northern Irish Murals as Social Tools’ diss. Paper, (Trinity College Dublin, 2015), p. 8.

seems more appropriate considering the emotionally powerful yet suspiciously simplified narratives exhibited. Once again, loyalists are not alone in this contentious practice. However, whereas republican marches are funereal, they do also feature women and children as participants in a generally relaxed and cohesive atmosphere. Loyalist events are chiefly much more militarised and macho in nature, with a rigid separation between mainly male bandmen and spectators.<sup>26</sup> As with many facets of this thesis, a murky grey area can exist between states of being and the denotations 'passive' and 'active' are no different; some argue that our spatial engagement to murals makes it impossible not to respond to their materiality. In this case even a community ignoring a design until it decays and fades can be read as a meaningful rejection of either aesthetics and/or concept(s) through 'non-activity.'<sup>27</sup>

Activation can be sub-divided into three variants: political, cultural, and educational. The first is commonly deployed by many movements in the interests of mobilisation and claim-making. These smaller scale, independent means of publicising one's struggle, cause, or aim, are what Pajnik and Downing call 'nano-media'.<sup>28</sup> The principles remain similar to previous ritual displays and parades: influencing identity, social coherence, political transformation, and message projection. The means of communication may be alike, but the substance has radically departed. One's identity is being influenced away from weaponised traits, the issues which provide cohesion are different, a sense of transformation moves us beyond ingrained positions, and the message being projected is one scarcely seen or felt on loyalist streets. Despite these differences, activation should nourish Durkheim's 'effervescence'<sup>29</sup>, being a communal intensity of shared emotions which reaffirms solidarity. Politics needs to be much more than raw emotion. Passion is to be expected, but it must have

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<sup>26</sup> Viggiani, *Talking Stones*, p. 142.

<sup>27</sup> Stefan Solleder, 'Unfinished Artefacts: The Case of Northern Irish Murals' *Continent* vol. 5 (2016), p. 63.

<sup>28</sup> Dawson, 'Protest, performance and politics', p. 321.

<sup>29</sup> Reed 'Paramilitary Loyalism', p. 28.

a solid basis of knowledge. Activation seeks to widen the dissemination of political ideas and create a citizenry aware of pressing issues both locally and globally. Several interviewees lamented a lack of understanding around the Protocol and, on one occasion, drew a historical parallel to Drumcree. The same interviewee expressed the challenges as coalescing some of the mixed messaging within the unionist community, putting across valid voices of discontent, but also feeding back with relevant information that may placate the situation.<sup>30</sup> Hence, in most mural practices, works are destroyed by the muralists themselves. Once a political point has been made and showcased for a suitable period, it may no longer seem relevant. Alternatively, as current affairs develop, a more pressing issue may need to be highlighted. Thus far this habit has been observed more often in republican areas and we certainly saw numerous works in part one which had been preserved for too long and outstayed their welcome. This trait allows murals to not only be beacons of unity around which the converted can gather, but a potential site of political conversion for others. Whatever the success rate in this task, artists working shoulder to shoulder with participants can prompt and probe new lines of enquiry rather than endlessly reciting the same stump speeches or secularly worshipping the same recurring characters.

That murals operate at the intellectual level and, due to their size, colour and prominence in public space, stir emotions (positive and negative), make them well equipped for cultural activation. From Rancière, we realise how even viewing is an action that can creatively include the spectator as she observes, selects, compares and interprets.<sup>31</sup> This disintegration of barriers between actors and spectators so that the ‘show’ is not passively observed is a cornerstone of Brazilian activist- theatre director Augusto Boal’s influential

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<sup>30</sup> Interview with Adrian Bird, Director of the Resurgam Trust, Lisburn, 16 September 2021.

<sup>31</sup> Jacques Rancière *The Emancipated Spectator* (London: Verso Press, 2009), p. 12.

work.<sup>32</sup> Cultural activation simply expands the possibilities of public engagement by integrating mural painting with other media. Now more than ever the orthodox compartmentalising of the arts is redundant. The rules and regulations that once governed a medium's properties are being abandoned for openness and flexibility.<sup>33</sup> These amalgams account for the fact that people learn in intrinsically difference ways, hence the advantage of accessing a host of modes and methods through multiple cultural means. They also provide further opportunity for social connectivity. However favourable the publicity of some cross-community cultural event may be, it serves little use if members fall back into original patterns of thinking and values once they leave each other. If we are to endorse contact hypothesis as a transformative approach, then we must take with it the provisos that contact should be meaningful and regular. The first in this criterion is met by the series of candid topics (including ideas of masculinity) discussed throughout the verbing process. The second caveat explains why activation, in whatever form, must not be a one-off gesture, and should be repeated. It is only through diligent practice that alternative perspectives on masculinity, loyalism and history will be honed and start to be absorbed into an emotional and cultural vernacular. The author would stand by his defence of older methods of mural production, but this should not give any impression of Luddite tendencies. Indeed, an extension of cultural activation advocates for the assimilation of media in an exciting mixture of old and new technologies. It is common for movements to fuse traditional practices with the communication and interactivity of the internet, mobile phones, blogging, and social media.<sup>34</sup> Embracing developments allows community groups to crowdfund for a mural project and

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<sup>32</sup> Dawson, 'Protest, performance and politics', p.334.

<sup>33</sup> By way of demonstrating this, Rancière gives a few examples from many: theatre without speech, installations, dances and performances by way of plastic works, video projections as a series of frescoes, photographs treated as history paintings, sculptures metamorphosed into multimedia shows, and other cross-fertilisations. Ranciere *The Emancipated Spectator*, p. 17.

<sup>34</sup> Dawson, 'Protest, performance and politics...' p. 336.

live-stream its progress thus optimising the dissemination of the image's construction and debates on its meaning.

Just as old *and* new technologies working together is an example of the 'both/also' possibility, so too should these variants of activation not be understood in either/or terms, but rather be viewed as compatible. We see this in another dimension of the final and supreme variant: education. So vital is it to a post-conflict society, that the author clarifies it in accordance with David Ervine's view; that it cannot be exclusively a literal, formal education but rather a comprehensive experiential web—it is an everyday process.<sup>35</sup> Under this umbrella term then are a multitude of instrumental functions beginning with addressing a perceived deficit in visual literacy. This pre-emptively shuts down objections to radical designs based on citizens' inability to decipher the artwork; with activation any audience is not stranded with a product to which they have little attachment. Instead, greater attachment is fostered through a carefully curated educational programme. With the help of additional, archival photographic aids at the site of learning, spectators/students can examine how dichotomous representations have developed over time, what perpetuates them, and whose purposes they serve. This would allow a reasoned understanding of the past to thrive, multi-perspectivity edging out an apparent unthinking adherence to tradition. Educational activation would, naturally, not be an effortless enterprise but rather one that encouraged us to grapple with tensions around the affective component of contentious history. Yet, by doing so, it is plausible that audiences would comprehend the diversity within superficially monolithic categories, relating to politics, religion, or gender. Sceptics may insist that these themes are far too complex for a brief site visit to a mural and, to this point, the author would concur whilst proposing a refinement. The argument is not that a site visit is a self-contained

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<sup>35</sup> Connal Parr, 'Ending the siege? David Ervine and the struggle for progressive Loyalism', *Irish Political Studies*, Vol. 33, Issue 2 (2018), p. 218.

educational episode. Rather it is an entry point through which further learning can occur; the mural is not our destination but the *start* of our journey.

By way of introduction to other exemplars we will encounter in part two, let us consider the work of ‘Facing History and Ourselves’, specifically their lesson plan on ‘The Battle of Cable Street’ (1979-1983). Within said plan, the east London mural is the initial focus for broader debate, complimented by guiding questions, learning objectives, an overview, further context, notes for the teacher, and other materials and activities. In this case not only is the subject matter itself disarming, but so too is the manner in which it is taught. Here, the battle is our entry point to topics such as ‘standing up to hatred’, ‘democracy and civic engagement’, and ‘anti-Semitism and religious intolerance’.<sup>36</sup> A more gendered equivalent of this could firstly bring to conscious awareness the patterns in thought and conduct, then seek to script alternative social possibilities. A final feature to note that is shared with these three variants is the patience required when managing expectations. Todd is correct when she says ideologies can change dramatically in their conceptual structure, but only when wider social practices disrupt old equivalences.<sup>37</sup> Echoing this sentiment, Goffman conceded that the ‘frames’ in his analysis (the means through which we make sense of our world) can be contested and amended.<sup>38</sup> Once we begin this process in earnest, we can grasp ‘the ways that young men can transform and manipulate their masculine performances.’<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Lesson 12 of 15 ‘Standing Up to Hatred on Cable Street’ two 50-minute class periods from the unit ‘Standing Up to Hatred on Cable Street’ *Facing History and Ourselves*, 29 August 2019, available at <https://www.facinghistory.org/resource-library/standing-democracy/standing-hatred-cable-street> accessed 14 July 2021.

<sup>37</sup> Jennifer Todd, ‘History and Structure in Loyalist Ideology: The Possibilities of Ideological Change’, *Irish Journal of Sociology*, vol. 4 (1999), p. 69.

<sup>38</sup> Dawson, ‘Protest, performance and politics’, p. 322.

<sup>39</sup> Peter E. Hopkins, ‘Young people, masculinities, religion, and race: new social geographies’, *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol. 31, Issue 2 (2007), p. 171.

## 7.2 What is ‘alternative’?

### 7.2.1 A Counter-hegemonic Vision

The opening section provided the mechanics for a different application of the medium, but what of the actual representations—in the context of loyalist NI, what can we consider to be ‘alternative’? The answers are actually simple and are found in the unintended consequence of making space a means of control. Simultaneously this makes a site of meaningful resistance. Part one was riddled with harsh binaries, but there is one binary that serves us very well in part two, and it is a Newtonian-like equal and opposite force to the weaponised archetypes, otherwise expressed as Antonio Gramsci’s ‘counterhegemony’<sup>40</sup>. In visual terms this amounts to strenuously correcting the series of invisibilities that were a repercussion of said dominance. As we will see, this also maps onto the marginalised demographics that featured in the continuum of violence in chapter five. Beginning with women then, it is unlikely that this invisibility, or female confidence in politics will be addressed unless women are given the ‘space, freedom, and encouragement to begin to articulate their thoughts and concerns.’<sup>41</sup>. This insertion into the symbolic landscape is made without accepting any essentialist argument for women’s innate tendency to act as peacemakers. However, input from and fresh perspective of peripheral actors can suggest creative ideas for achieving change that otherwise might elude those at the core. An additional rationale for a female focus references a quest for the social reconstruction of masculinity that goes beyond male chauvinism to one no longer built on subjugation. The accomplishing of this quest is more probable if the challenges are worked through in relational understanding and harmony. As

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<sup>40</sup> Gramsci was always at great pains to emphasise that a hegemony is never frozen stiff...[it] may experience serious intermittent crises, yet at the same time may enjoy a rarely questioned normalcy over long periods. We saw a clear example of the latter throughout chapter three which documented unionism’s ‘fifty years of misrule’. John Downing, *Radical media: rebellious communication and social movements* (SAGE, 2000), p. 16.

<sup>41</sup> Gray and Neil ‘Creating a Shared Society’, p. 468.

Atsango Chesoni stated, patriarchy needs to be transformed into ‘true brotherhood...that is capable of recognising women’s sisterhood.’<sup>42</sup> Here the concept of ‘philogyny’, originally coined by the Roman philosopher Cicero as a fondness of women, surpasses a mere antonym of misogyny to favour female rights of agency, security, respect, and well-being.<sup>43</sup> The stigma of any feminised association has historically been a colossal barrier preventing many men from adopting philogynous. Indeed, this barrier continues to exert pressure at the borders of acceptable masculinity, which leads us to contemplate alternatives to the heavily repressive gendering of emotions. It is commonly theorised that one way to open up space for alternative masculinities to emerge is by assisting men in accessing a fuller range of emotions, beyond those that make them ‘combat ready.’<sup>44</sup> This seeks to additionally address is internal tension between emotions actually felt and those that a man is prepared to perform. Hochschild ascribes this distinction as surface and deep emotions.<sup>45</sup> Throughout part one, the performance of emotions was a skilfully manipulative art-form (literally in our case). Just as deeply authentic emotions are brought up to the surface of real masculine performances *and* displayed on the surface of murals so the C-HV sets out to surface and centre something else lost to another depth; that of historical neglect. The mission is one of rescue, saving stories and scripts, written long ago but rarely publicly exhibited to a receptive audience.

A C-HV disobeys the implicit commands of exclusive prejudices that police behaviour, directing it into narrower spaces of being and expression. The narrowing of part one is disarmed through a widening of options and makes use of Anderson’s observations on inclusive masculinity. Upholders of said perspective were able to behave in effeminate ways

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<sup>42</sup> Judith Large, ‘Disintegration conflicts and the restructuring of masculinity’, *Gender & Development*, vol. 5, Issue 2 (1997), p. 23.

<sup>43</sup> Groes-Green, ‘Philogynous Masculinities’, p. 93.

<sup>44</sup> Theidon ‘Reconstructing Masculinities’, p. 77.

<sup>45</sup> Cited in Magee, ‘The Experiences of Loyalist Ex-combatants’, p. 75.

with less fear of judgement. They were generally less defensive about their heterosexuality and even regularly stated support for homosexuality. In this more inclusive version proposed by the group, homophobia ceased to be means of marginalisation.<sup>46</sup> A radically pro-LGBT theme takes its place alongside feminism and indeed that surfacing of deep emotions, once the subject of tremendous guilt and shame, is analogous with the tribulation and triumph of ‘coming out’. Aside from ameliorating the silence of queer visual voices in the landscape, non-conventional gender identities have the potential to destabilise particular versions of masculinity, including those suffused with violent proclivity. The promotion of more egalitarian masculinities has been recognised as significant in disrupting violent practices. Such disruption involves challenging and transforming dominating, aggressive tenets within orthodox interpretations of male identity.<sup>47</sup> Should these challenges be made in ‘thirdspace’, then gender can be tackled simultaneously with issues of race and class (two features we found in the weaponised matrix) without privileging one over the other.<sup>48</sup> Imagery that celebrates multiculturalism and champions further social interaction of all ethnic minorities should receive their own surfaces in the landscape given the gravity of the situation. In other depictions, however, it may undergo conflation with other demographics. We must not conceive of ‘alternative’ only relating to specific, individual depictions. Indeed it is worth considering how they manifest as a gestalt. This communicative network acts as a vital basis for the creation of an alternative public sphere—the need for which is evident in divided cities—which confronts the ‘programmed uses of segregated space.’<sup>49</sup> Though the ambit of these resolutions may seem onerous, we can recognise a profound synergy between the medium and its message. As much as their immobility may suggest otherwise, murals are not

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<sup>46</sup>Anderson (2005) cited in Brandon Hamber, ‘There Is a Crack in Everything’, p. 22.

<sup>47</sup> Rebecca Helman & Kopano Ratele, ‘What is there to learn about violence and masculinity from a genderqueer man?’, *Global Health Action* (2018), p. 2.

<sup>48</sup> Soja, ‘Thirdspace: Toward a New Consciousness of Space and Spatiality’, p. 50.

<sup>49</sup> Nagle ‘Unity in Diversity’, p. 88.

static, their contents evolve, stretching old ideas and testing new ones.<sup>50</sup> In their unimpeded state, they exhibit a fluid impermanence and malleability. It is this same quality which is so sorely missing from weaponised masculinities. Therefore, the medium's fluidity in form and function finds its counterpart in the necessary fluidities in definitions and formations of masculine identities.<sup>51</sup>

The C-HV overthrows the absolute singularities of part one: singular notions of masculinity, of loyalism (culturally and politically), and of history itself. What is needed to disarm these singularities is a prioritising of pluralities across the examples just listed. Moreover, this turn away from monoliths to multitudes takes place within the individual.<sup>52</sup> A pertinent framework to elucidate this is the 'dialogical self' which, unlike essentialist versions, assumes that the self is an ongoing constructor of psychosocial experiences.<sup>53</sup> Rather than viewing the self as unified in a mode of thinking and feeling, it argues that the self can be a chaotic concept. An illustration of some of this chaos is found in Sarah Nelson's profile of 'Richard' an ex-regular serviceman from Antrim. His fulminations against popish doctrines earned him the nickname 'Cromwell' and Catholic churches were blown up in the area under his command. He described himself as a full-time terrorist and was attracted to the National Front. Yet, he also associated with NILP members, speaking enthusiastically of certain international socialist groups. He openly admired some policies and leaders of OIRA, avidly read Irish history and whilst under the front seat of his car were a UVF jacket and hat,

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<sup>50</sup> Smithey, *Unionists*, p. 80.

<sup>51</sup> Fluidities on identity, including gender, which may accelerate the shifting of a society's ground will likely be problematic for those holding more conventional definitions. It is an inconvenience largely to be felt by those clinging onto false notions of certainty and purity. Ladele, 'Deconstructing Masculinities', p. 460.

<sup>52</sup> Excerpts of poetry are a common feature in weaponised murals and this tradition is worth continuing in disarming material, albeit drawing from radically alternative sources for very different purposes. When explaining the dialogical self, a mural might well cite from Walt Whitman's '*Song of Myself, 51*' with the last three words crystallising the position: 'The past and present wilt—I have fill'd them, emptied them/And proceed to fill my next fold of the future...Do I contradict myself? Very well then, I contradict myself/ (I am large, I contain multitudes)' <<https://poets.org/poem/song-myself-51>> [accessed 25/5/20].

<sup>53</sup> Holmes & Brett, 'Dialogical Masculinities', p. 33.

the cassette player would play old rebel songs.<sup>54</sup> In ‘Richard’ we meet the dialogical self, a mind both closed and opened, the ‘cage’ of his body containing both hawk and dove. The ability for multiple masculinities to cohabit may call into question the hierarchical arrangement that is central to hegemonic theory, yet the dialogical self as a type of inner speech is often asymmetrical with voices which may conflict with one another.<sup>55</sup>

Psychological disarmament involves the amplification of more progressive voices and persuading men to listen to them. We enter almost another kind of negotiation when reasoning with potentially dangerous atavistic voices of the self. This is aptly summarised in the distinctions of protest masculinity. In its anomic form (which featured in part one) it is unguided and destructive. However once ‘disciplined’ it becomes the product of intensive social control and functions to increase solidarity. Initially Walker imagines this in the context of working-class men, but also claims that other types of alienation may be quelled through collective, supportive discipline. The two examples he provides are gay and black men who may suffer in isolation but when forming a community can begin to channel and convert that anomic energy as the means to constructive ends.<sup>56</sup> Likewise, Miedzian distinguishes several applications of aggression: a destructive version, anti-social, extremely competitive and concerned with domination often resorting to violence, and a constructive aggression, still possessing assertiveness and determination but mediated and concentrated on righting injustices.<sup>57</sup> It is this kind of anger that Malcolm X called a ‘gift’.

### 7.2.2 Learning a Different Language

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<sup>54</sup> Nelson, *Ulster's Uncertain Defenders*, p. 176.

<sup>55</sup> (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007) cited in Holmes & Brett, ‘Dialogical Masculinities’, p. 34.

<sup>56</sup> Walker, ‘Disciplining’, p. 21.

<sup>57</sup> Jennifer Feather and Catherine E. Thomas (eds.), *Violent Masculinities: Male Aggression in Early Modern Texts and Culture* (New York: Springer, 2013), p. 6.

The disciplining and broader disarming of masculinity is assisted if we endorse an imperative redefining of key terms, beginning with the fundamental roles we met in part one. The defender is a central character in loyalism, whether as King Billy, that original ‘defender of the faith’, or as the *raison d’être* for the UDA. Taking us away from how ‘defence’ was understood and implemented in part one, former UDP representative Gary McMichael saw the attraction of Paisleyism within poorer Protestant areas as deriving from a mistrust of authority, which legitimised the need for resolute defence.<sup>58</sup> The author would agree but suggest that such areas need defending from the effects of mistrust, the continuation of paramilitaries being partly explained and justified by a lack of trust in policing and the legal system. An expanded role of defending should aspire to safeguard the community from ever falling prey to the demagoguery of figures like Paisley. The protector could be disarmed if we consider the importance of family a point of departure for discussing new ways of caring, providing for, and—more genuinely—protecting loved ones.<sup>59</sup> Even more ancient roles like the warrior can be diversified in meaning. The work of John Brown Childs includes the project ‘warriors for peace’ which drew on youth masculinity in a positive and productive fashion and involved gang members and prisoners.<sup>60</sup> This suggests it may be possible to harness the processes which socialise boys into ‘warriors’, capitalising on the positive aspects and subverting those which have proved harmful to society. Into this prospective environment the author would propose that the phrase ‘social justice warrior’ is long overdue a reclamation from its informal, derogatory usage to formally live up to its name. The all-encompassing role ‘fighter’ and gendered verb ‘to fight’ can be oriented toward fighting *for*

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<sup>58</sup> David Adams, also previously of the UDP, supported this view, and saw Paisley’s influence over working-class Protestants as a successful manipulation of fears and articulation of perpetual betrayal. Spencer *The State of Loyalism*, p. 42.

<sup>59</sup> Kimberly Theidon ‘Reconstructing Masculinities’, p. 30.

<sup>60</sup> John Brown Childs *Transcommunalism: From the Politics of Conversion to the Ethics of Respect* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003)

the community which crucially does not resort to violence. This trait of working to change a collective situation is more commonly found in republican activists.<sup>61</sup> As a more reputable form of fighting, it confirms a different understanding of ‘security’. Often espoused by feminist scholars, it is less preoccupied with protecting national interest and more striving to secure access to healthcare, education etc.<sup>62</sup> Just as a central word in the UDA could be disarmed, the idea of ‘force’ in the UVF might also go through a similar transition. Gandhi developed the philosophy of ‘satagraha’, based on ‘graha’ meaning ‘force’ and ‘sata’ translated as ‘truth or love.’<sup>63</sup> Inserted into our context, loyalist masculinity would be a force for good, fighting for truth and with love.

For these roles to be more truly disarmed, we must expand the definitions of the values and virtues that they supposedly embody. Ideally an attitudinal transition would have begun with the peace process meaning that, by now, more people would see ‘honour’ in the loyal service of peace. Alas, due to issues explored in chapter five, people continued instead to see honour pinned on combatants and associated, through murals, with conflict. Post-conflict duty could refer to duty of career, to family, to provide and to care. It also applies to a duty of telling the truth, whether about the nature of loyalism, the societal context that led to the Troubles, the uses of memory, or even realities about gender. While some of these truths might be told in more public arenas, much could be addressed in the home. A duty of parenting then would include the inculcation that both loyalism and masculinity are complex terms occurring along a spectrum with diverse and, at times, difficult meanings. Sadly, some

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<sup>61</sup> According to Gallagher (2007), some of their loyalist counterparts maintain a more oppositional stance motivated either in defending their communities from republican attack or to preserve the status quo. Patrick Flack, Neil Ferguson ‘Conflict Transformation: Relinquishing or Maintaining Social Identity Among Former Loyalist Combatants in Northern Ireland’, *Political Psychology*, vol. 42 issue 2 (April 2021), p.185.

<sup>62</sup> Sophie Long, ‘Brexit workshop’ *Green European Foundation*, (October 2017) uploaded 5 February 2018, available at YouTube <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s5cODJVCXII> accessed 20 October 2019.

<sup>63</sup> Mohandas K. Gandhi ‘Statement to Disorders Inquiry Committee’ 5<sup>th</sup> January 1920 in *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi vol. 19* (New Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt of India, 2000), p. 206.

men are less moved by the gratitude of parenting and the opportunities (and challenges) it affords. Indeed, a transition into a new domesticity left some men feeling they could no longer live up to the legitimising representations of a soldiering masculinity.<sup>64</sup> This impression is nourished by a neo-primitive essentialism which reduces manliness to the foremost duty of virility and violence (especially when exercised as acts of revenge).<sup>65</sup> Magee contends that a challenge for peace processes is to facilitate the acting out of positive emotions and eliminate the performance of the negative. These polarities are based on Brewer's distinction with negative emotions including anger, hate, shame and guilt while positive pertains to hope, forgiveness, empathy etc. This is rather problematic as it takes a shallow, one-dimensional assessment on feelings complicated by context, intention and even extent. To expound the latter, consider 'pride'—in and of itself mostly regarded as a positive emotion. It is entirely feasible for it to be built up in culturally confined spaces, become concentrated in niche perspectives and accumulatively reach dangerously excessive levels. Certain atrocities committed in the past, based on the intrinsic superiority of one race, ethnicity or nationality (over another/others) may have germinated as innocuous pride. Regarding murals as emotional stimuli, it is worth noting that the indispensable 'Life & Times' survey only records data on two responses (anger and fear)<sup>66</sup>; any potentially toxic pride felt by young men goes unnoticed. What we cannot fail to notice is how integral strength is to hegemonic masculinity, albeit contracted to physical dominance. hooks calls for this dominator model to be replaced by a partnership model, centred around interdependency

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<sup>64</sup> This observation is made in the context of post-war Britain, but it bears a resemblance to a crisis of masculinity in NI during its own transition. Jonathan Rutherford, *Men's Silences: Predicaments in masculinity* (London: Routledge London, 1992), p. 15.

<sup>65</sup> Boudieu, *Masculine Domination*, p. 50.

<sup>66</sup> Participants are asked whether they have felt intimidated (fear) or annoyed (anger) at loyalist and republican murals at some point in the last year. The figures for loyalist murals from the 2021 survey recorded 39% feeling intimidated and 54% annoyed. Community Relations section from Northern Ireland Life & Times survey, ARK, (2021), available at [https://www.ark.ac.uk/nilt/2021/Community\\_Relations/index.html](https://www.ark.ac.uk/nilt/2021/Community_Relations/index.html) accessed 13 April 2021.

and defining strength not as brute power but responsibility for oneself and others.<sup>67</sup>

Alternatively, strength of character may emerge when a man is willing to take off whichever mask he may be wearing and show vulnerability. Then of course there is the strength in recognising one's complicity with patriarchal relations *and* striving to adopt and practice non-oppressive, life-affirming ways of being a man with women, gay men and other heterosexual men.<sup>68</sup> Despite the subjective actuality of virtues like 'strength' and 'courage', the landscape has largely born witness to a singular conception. Branching out, the meaning of these virtues allows men more means to acquire a sense of worth and masculine character, making them less reliant on the same well-trodden hazardous path. During the Troubles, setting up a co-operative or housing campaign was a radical step and a rejection of discontent that took courage and conviction. Protestant Independents' who challenged unionists at elections were often branded communists, vote-splitters or republican sympathisers.<sup>69</sup> Courage is also to be found whenever groups support each other, amplifying voices in unison and helping to reach their respective goals. So it was when the WSN and its partners mobilised four hundred women's groups across NI in a major policy initiative '*Making Women Seen and Heard*'. Included within this substantial work were representatives of people with disabilities, full-time carers, lesbians and gays, ethnic minorities, single parents and other disadvantaged groups.<sup>70</sup> The policy spoke out for an explicit commitment in the peace accord to equalities.

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<sup>67</sup> In finding this version of strength, hooks quotes from Olga Silverstein's '*The Courage to Raise Good Men*' (1994) Dave Magee 'The Deconstruction', p. 36. Relatedly is the definition of masculinity as the refusal to allow those around you to be degraded. Manuel Puig *Kiss of the Spider Woman* (New York: Vintage Books/Random House, 1980), p. 63.

<sup>68</sup> Such was the case with groups like 'Men Against Sexism', 'Changing Men' from USA and 'XY' from Australia. They sought to align themselves with socialist and radical feminist positions and elected to make use of techniques and processes of the women's liberation movement. Chris Haywood & Mairtin Mac an Ghaill, *Men and Masculinities: Theory, Research and Social Practice* (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2003), p. 129.

<sup>69</sup> Nelson, *Ulster's Uncertain Defenders*, p. 44.

<sup>70</sup> Gilmartin, 'Gendering the 'post-conflict' narrative', p. 93.

The simple yet profound use of the plural again echoes not just a basic acknowledgement of a spectrum of views, experiences and social realities, but the need to stand with others, summoning the courage to do so if this solidarity marks you for ridicule, ostracism or direct abuse.

Perhaps the word most urgently in need of change is ‘change’ itself. Though far more inexact than those previously discussed, it lies at the heart of disarming and is in the very nature of all progress. As Bernard Shaw once put it: ‘those who cannot change their minds cannot change anything.’ A bleak pattern transpires from studies of loyalism wherein familiarity has been in the halting or destroying change, but not with building something new: a belief that ordinary people did not or could not take part in politics (except in crisis) is also pervasive.<sup>71</sup> On that first belittling fallacy about working-class contribution, some of the damage to esteem can partially be undone by murals testifying to a history ‘from below’—their impact furthered by repeated political activation. A second wide-ranging problem concerns an impractical perception of change, frequently framed as a ‘crisis’ (whether in constitutional or gendered terms). One could argue the historical template for this refusal is the Siege of Derry, an attitude filtered through the ages which one interviewee identified as shaking loyalism’s confidence around related ‘c-words’ like concession and compromise.<sup>72</sup> Similar insights were given in other interviews and this view is backed up academically. Smithey contends that cultivating socio-political capital by abandoning practices seen as sectarian or offensive and engaging proactively in public relations are unfamiliar strategies for Protestants who have tended to feel that change is a harbinger of defeat.<sup>73</sup> If the process of

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<sup>71</sup> Nelson, *Ulster’s Uncertain Defenders*, p. 146.

<sup>72</sup> ‘The problem that I see with unionism and loyalism is that it’s the confidence of understanding our own history and culture. To be confident enough to stand up and not being fearful of a wee bit of compromise. Removing murals and painted kerbstones was no threat to our community—it bettered our communities.’ Interview with Adrian Bird, Lisburn, 16 September 2021.

<sup>73</sup> Smithey, *Unionists*, p. 8.

internal transformation, which has been slow and contentious, is to improve then men need to start seeing change as a chance for growth and self-improvement (both individually and collectively). Rather than being a trigger for a crisis of confidence and identity, it can be something which bolsters confidence and enriches identity. It is not a threat which lays siege to an ever-weakening masculinity—it strengthens it. A man’s position is not undermined by changing; if anything, his status may be elevated when demonstrating a radically shifted, unorthodox mentality. Ultimately, as hooks reminds us, it is the men who choose against violence, against death because they want to live fully and wish to know love that are the true heroes, who are the men we need to know about, honour and remember.<sup>74</sup>

### 7.2.3 An Upside-Down Utopia

Another way to express disarming alternatives is to see them as inversions of weaponised standards. The ‘world-upside-down’ prints of the 16<sup>th</sup> century provide an interesting art historical reference to illustrate this point. This tradition was popularised throughout Europe with the advent of printing making them accessible to lower classes. They depict a world in which all normal relations and hierarchies are inverted: mice ate cats, children spanked parents, the cart pulled the horse, the ox slaughtered the butcher, and the poor man gave alms to the rich. Of course, on a superficial level, these fantastical images exist in an impossible nature. Yet, at a deeper level of thought, these inversions play an important function in that they create an imaginative breathing space in which ‘normal’<sup>75</sup> categories are no longer inevitable, as we are reminded that they are to some degree a result of arbitrary human creation. Kunzle indicates that these imaginative exercises would likely provoke two

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<sup>74</sup> bell hooks, *The Will to Change: Men, Masculinity, and Love* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004), p. 62.

<sup>75</sup> The author is reminded of a comment from an interview with Helen Crickard who stated that ‘we need a new and better normal for the people who have suffered the most.’ 12 May 2021.

antithetical reactions. Those with power would regard this world as one of whimsy to be ignored or folly to be righted. However, those without, the dissatisfied among society, may see it as a vision of hope, change or justice.<sup>76</sup> Murals, as inverted representations would serve as sites of social centrality where ordinarily marginalised and transgressive identities can be imagined. And, once activated, they would radiate a carnivalesque atmosphere celebrating what Bakhtin called ‘monde à l’envers’ (the reverse side of the world).<sup>77</sup> With form and function reversed, the creation of a thirdspace, so often positioned between the two main communities, would seem closer since it is still predominantly conceived as utopian. It has been referenced previously, but it is worth us spotlighting the generalisation of the ‘two-community’ thesis. Participants in Clark’s research articulated not only a frustration at the shortcoming of this rhetoric but how art should reject this simplification.<sup>78</sup> It is also worth us reflecting on how Utopia, realised for example via the transcendent theme of reconciliation, is promoted rather tentatively as a civic ideology. Likewise, emancipation is often viewed more of a political ideal, rather than an achievable goal of practical politics. This project is in accordance with Brown’s sentiment that rather than resisting and downplaying the notion of utopianism, there is a need to awaken, clarify and encourage it. It must not be meaningless, shapeless fantasy but an urgent, creative and critical method of building genuinely revolutionary and emancipatory socio-political possibilities.<sup>79</sup>

The revolution we speak of is one of aesthetics, whereby in its infancy the mechanics of state and law might not be altered, but sensibilities begin to realign. Ranciere believed that,

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<sup>76</sup> Kunzle, ‘Bruegel’s Proverb Painting and the World Upside Down’, p. 199.

<sup>77</sup> Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, translated by Helene Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), p. 18.

<sup>78</sup> ‘Northern Ireland doesn’t have two communities. I hate that dialogue...we have so many more’ ‘I am neither Catholic nor Protestant. Our schools and government are didactically along those lines and why should our art be? Art should say fuck that.’ Clark ‘Public Artwork in Post-Conflict Areas’, p. 94.

<sup>79</sup> Chris D. Brown, ‘A Realistic and Radical Nonviolence’, *Research, Peace Review*, Vol. 31, Issue 2 (2019), p. 247.

of all the arts, theatre was most persuasive in a presentation of new ideas assisted by its capacity to assemble citizens in a near-ceremonial setting.<sup>80</sup> How then do we ensure a more favourable probability that the aesthetic revolution will be one that the people can rally behind? We should heed Connell's suggestion that part of the task is finding non-violent forms of embodiment for men that are as satisfying as violent forms currently seem to be. War imagery as spectacle is regarded as the latter and, recalled from part one, was based on simplified plots, heroic morality and predictable conclusions all performed with stunning flair and flash, designed to sensorily impress us. The genre inverted would produce imagery as affect: realistically unsettling plots, morally ambiguous heroes and conclusions which do not meet every expectation or answer every question but have us depart from the drama with more than when we entered. While the author would defend the description of affect as a disarming counter to hegemonic spectacle, there is something to be said for affect finding its own version of the spectacular. This would carry us away from Reimagining's visual voice that whispered negative peace. Radically disarming murals would eloquently make a loud and proud case for positive peace with the gendered implications at its core. The rest of part two will elaborate with specificity on the potential for an aesthetic revolution within loyalism. For now though, we should remember a rudimentary supposition advanced by Bourdieu: 'if we grant that symbolic systems are social products that contribute to making the world, that they do not simply mirror social relations but help constitute them, then one can, within limits, transform the world by transforming its representation.'<sup>81</sup> In the final sub-section of this

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<sup>80</sup> Ranciere, *The Emancipated Spectator*, p. 8.

<sup>81</sup> Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p.14.

chapter, we consider how a utopian media's subject matter *of* the people, when produced and used *by* the people could work *for* the people.

### 7.3 What is 'media'?

#### 7.3.1 Manifesting an Alternative Mainstream

The media aspect of RAM would allow communities to seize the means of cultural production that would bear considerable beneficial fruit. A major rationale for this would be to counter reporting dominated by formulaic portrayals, whose dramatic simplification not only curbs the range of opinions and perspectives that shape unionist culture, but also neglects to cover alternative perceptions. Specifically, it fails to acknowledge the work that should debunk the abusive stereotypes that all loyalists are knuckle-dragging thugs incapable of thinking outside a binary logic. Shirlow suggests this fascination with regressive loyalism comforts those who wish to condemn, ridicule and mock as well as providing a conflict-fix for those hooked on a particular past.<sup>82</sup> Murals have a key role in this fetishising not simply in their subject matter, which narrows a vision of NI into a history of (para)military conflict, but in the constant reproduction, circulation and commodification of this vision which influences international misunderstandings of NI.<sup>83</sup> Consequently, sightings of progressive imagery are so striking, not only due to its scarcity but because people (including those within loyalist communities) are so used to seeing and hearing the caricature guided by reactionary social attitudes. By way of example, Crowley mentions 'The Thread of History', a set of laminated murals on Donegall Road. Included among the more typical moments like the sinking of the

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<sup>82</sup> Peter Shirlow *The End of Loyalism?* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), p.

<sup>83</sup> Kathryn Conrad 'Widening the Frame: The Politics of Mural Photography in Northern Ireland' in Wanda Balzano, Anne Mulhall & Moynagh Sullivan (eds.), *Irish Postmodernisms and Popular Culture* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 85.

Titanic and the Somme were feminist references to Ulster suffragettes, a declaration of gender equality and women weaver poets.<sup>84</sup> If murals, more generally, reflected reality and all the complex inner workings of loyalism, this exceptional ‘thread’ would be as thick as a shipyard rope. In research terms, a more nuanced landscape would correspond to a thickening of previously thin descriptions both of loyalism and masculinity. Therefore, the author argues against the view that all murals are fundamentally flawed and a force of division and discord. It is not the medium which is to blame, but the messages it has for too long transmitted—and of course those accountable for this preservation. An attempt at their permanent removal was made during regeneration plans, which involved building homes which would architecturally disable the local mural painting tradition. In curtailing gable ends, developers were trying to design out a conceivably valuable form of working-class self-expression.<sup>85</sup> A similar umbrage might be taken at those calling for every mural to be whitewashed away. Aside from being an extraordinarily arduous task, it again denies the people an art and articulation which they are scarcely afforded.

### 7.3.2 Tyranny of the Minority

Media portrayals of conflict in NI have consistently used murals as indicators of the political climate. Similar claims are made when paintings’ longevity is ascribed to their retaining a purpose; some meaning to the people who live with them. These assumptions overlook the numerous interpretative intricacies in terms of audience, design and function. It is a common

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<sup>84</sup> Crowley ‘Hegemonic Shifts’, p. 66.

<sup>85</sup> Many of these new buildings are semi-detached town houses with windows on the flank walls and a garden alongside, in contrast to the flat brick gables of the terraces, therefore potential mural sites are limited. Architects often insert windows and doorways in gable walls and privatize the spaces beside them. McCormick & Jarman, ‘Death of a Mural’, p. 61.

refrain established in literature on loyalism and the author's own observations from fieldwork that loyalists feel like they do not have a voice. This thesis argues they do have a voice in murals, but are not using it, more accurately, they are not being permitted to use it. If it is a truism that these walls do speak, the obvious follow-up is whose 'voice' exactly is being heard and for whom does it speak? The sad fact is, and it has more relevance in loyalism, that power is not held by the people, but rather the medium is, as Weir put it, 'for the few, not the many.'<sup>86</sup> How then can we presume to know, based on this public transcript alone, whether this painterly performance is genuine or not? We cannot know how contrived or imposed this act is unless we can speak to the 'performers' offstage, away from this exposed context. But even then, if we can use this precious moment with all safe precautions and protection of anonymity, there is no guarantee this will either yield a bona fide response, or indeed any response at all. The reluctance among sections of working-class communities to talk about paramilitaries can present an insurmountable stumbling block in research, and a culture of silence may speak volumes about the power paramilitaries have and the fear peopled have in them.<sup>87</sup> Harland's work on youth and masculinity in NI far exceeds any doctoral project. Therefore, the trust he has fostered over his career lends more credibility to his findings. Only 10% of participants perceived paramilitaries as a positive force protecting the community with one man claiming he feels safer by their presence. The remaining 90% however believed them to have a much more negative influence, another young man stating: 'for our area to really change, you have to get rid of the paramilitaries, but the threat is always there.'<sup>88</sup> Threat had always been a feature in loyalist muralism debilitating the public's collaborative

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<sup>86</sup> Interview with Eileen Weir, Belfast, 25 November 2021.

<sup>87</sup> Flack suspects that people living in communities that have a meaningful paramilitary presence are conditioned not to think about them. Patrick Flack, 'New voices: Researching loyalist communities' *British Psychological Society*, 11 January 2016, available at <https://thepsychologist.bps.org.uk/volume-29/february/researching-loyalist-communities> accessed 23 July 2020.

<sup>88</sup> Harland 'Violent Youth Culture', p. 423.

input. Unlike republican muralists, loyalist painters are often commissioned by a paramilitary organisation, though any ‘contract’ for services lacks professional rigour. Funding for murals routinely came from door to door collecting with many of the ‘donations’ being somewhat less than voluntary.<sup>89</sup> This disregard for consent continues today. Another common way for it to materialise is in the pseudo-arms race of the culture wars. Organisations have been known to lay claim to walls they have selected for murals. Simply spray painting the word ‘reserved’ or ‘booked’ is sufficient in deterring any competition.<sup>90</sup> What emerges from all this territorial control and pictorial dominance is a fundamental question many scholars have wrestled with—namely what is loyalism/who are loyalists? Responses from the DUP and PUP demonstrate an extent of polarisation. The former has thrived on portraying itself as the only true defender of Ulster with all other claimants being—at best—corruptions of that truth and, at worst, in league with the devil.<sup>91</sup> The PUP however demonstrated a more sophisticated grappling with identity in their journal ‘Progressive View’. stating the ‘Unionist/loyalist [category] is an elusive entity to track down, constantly shifting, subject to a myriad of influences, opinions and beliefs.’<sup>92</sup> Finlayson urges us to reject any claim from an organisation (whether a mainstream political party or paramilitary group) that asserts it is one with ‘the people’. Acute simplification is a hallmark of weaponisation, and indeed the same PUP article ends with an adroit caution: ‘when a community is struggling to identify itself in acceptable terms, and when uncertainty prevails, it is vulnerable to the overtures of political opportunists.’ Paramilitaries engage in an even more aggressively skewed perception of themselves as the true voice of loyalism. Therefore, all others in a veritable choir of choice

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<sup>89</sup> Vannais ‘Postcards from the edge’, p. 152.

<sup>90</sup> Pete Wray recalled a contemporary case in the Clan Morris area of Bangor where five walls in a row in a social housing scheme had been targeted by paramilitaries. Along with ‘reserved’ other graffiti included phrases such as ‘Smash the Betrayal Act’ and ‘RIP GFA’. As with much of contemporary paramilitary loyalism, the fight over space is more likely to be with rival loyalist organisations as supposed to dissident republican groups. Interview with Pete Wray, Belfast, 25 October 2021.

<sup>91</sup> Finlayson, ‘Loyalist Political Identity’, p. 53.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid* p. 63.

are not listened to by a minority of tyrants. It is precisely their unrelenting grip on power which inexorably makes the first two Rs of disarming (Removal and Replacement) far more difficult than they need be.<sup>93</sup>

We will conclude our discussion on the tyranny by considering how it regulates changes in the landscape. Firstly we will consider the removal of a mural in Portadown ‘In honour of Grenadier William ‘Billy’ Wright’<sup>94</sup>. Like many murals, it gave rise to a range of emotions: fear, mistrust, grief, triumph or honour, all dependent on the viewer’s experience and perspective. Hence, for some in communities; removal is a welcome change. For others, the letting go of an iconic myth can have a more disturbing effect. When the ‘king’ was finally dethroned, reactions fluctuated from some expressing appreciation and a sense of liberation to others who were brought to tears.<sup>95</sup> Replacements are similarly imbued with hardships as an example from International Women’s Day in 2011 proved. A mural by artist Rita Duffy was unveiled on the Shankill depicting a stylised feast attended by a celebrated fellowship of women. Details surrounding this addition mar its apparent success. Not only did it have to be secured through skilled negotiations with paramilitaries, but the surface was essentially leased for just one year after which the design was moved to a less prominent location. As we will see, murals are supposed to connect an audience to its art. The tyranny severs this link and, with it, much of the assumed relevance to the people. Difficulties of

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<sup>93</sup> The tension between a desire to move on and a tyrannical determination to prevent this was expressed in the comments of Dr. William Mitchell, project director at ‘Action for Community Transformation’: ‘I’d love to see every single mural that’s been adorned by the UVF to be transformed into something more socially relevant—the issues that affect us, the challenges that face us. But, and this a big but, you look at the timeline of comparative difference and there’s an irony to it—more murals relating to militarism in loyalism have been erected after GFA...what does that tell you? It tells you of a community not settled, a community that are using coercion, intimidation or negative influence of having armed, hooded figures on walls is something other than cultural—there’s nothing cultural about it!’ Interview with William Mitchell, Belfast, 16 September 2021.

<sup>94</sup> It had all the typical regalia: flanking garlands of poppies and orange lilies, two masked, armed subordinates gazing up in admiration at his visage and a scroll displaying verse to further manage our impression of ‘King Rat’ (in this case a quote from John 15:13, ‘Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends’)

<sup>95</sup> Smithey, *Unionists*, p.4.

ascertaining public opinion aside, it seems improbable that most loyalists sympathize with the extraordinary bias of paramilitaries. Yet, this extreme fringe still manipulates the symbolic core.<sup>96</sup> This was apparent during an interview with Dee Stitt when the former CEO of charity ‘Charter NI’ and ex-UDA leader of North Down misinterpreted what the author meant by ‘public appetite’. For Stitt, who had been involved in the painting of ‘Freedom Corner’ aged fourteen, consent was reserved for members of ‘the organisation’. When the author inquired about details of probable repercussions for any interference lacking permission, Stitt divulged: [laughing] ‘yeah—there’d be negatives consequences for that alright! It just wouldn’t happen...nobody else would even speak about what they would want on it [the walls].’<sup>97</sup>

### 7.3.3 A People’s Art as Democratic Platform

The C-HV gave us a template of *what* murals could be (form), while verbing the creative medium along with variants of activation allowed us to consider *how* murals could be used (function). This sub-section deals with *why* murals should be a democratic platform, a resource free and open to all and thereby in stark opposition to the tyranny. Democracy must be a flexible structure, both solid enough to channel the best of human energy and able to allow inevitable growth and change. Virtually nothing of either the UVF or UDA operated in such a manner. People emerged as leaders if they seized the initiative, at times involving violence, and they held their position if they had active support (or fearful acquiescence). This is not the leadership that loyalism needs, nor likely wants. Instead, the author suggests

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<sup>96</sup> Rolston’s comprehensive survey revealed the extent of this gendered bias: while 272 republican murals from a total 1,320 represented women (21%), loyalist murals only had a mere 53 depictions out of 1,078 (0.5%). Rolston ‘Women on the walls’, p. 7.

<sup>97</sup> Interview with Dee Stitt, Zoom, 24 March 2022.

leaders should generally correspond to Gramsci's profile of the 'organic intellectual'. Either members of the working class by birth or through chosen commitment, they possess an extensive knowledge of the area and its population to whom they are deeply and passionately connected.<sup>98</sup> It is to their cause they intensely identify and would prioritise all the redefined key terms previously explored. These would lead them away from, and not towards, violence. Attempts to repurpose murals for the promotion of alternative masculinities (and the peace they would champion), no matter how innovative, cannot be imposed from above.<sup>99</sup> We should, however, find ways of accommodating popular traditions of deep memory. The collaborative process in verbing the mural seeks to invert the flow of influence from top-down to bottom-up. Helpfully, Downing's pioneering work into RAM involves a more aggregated re-rendering of the organic intellectual with a particular focus on the communicator/activist role.<sup>100</sup> The absenteeism of this character in the symbolic landscape does not correlate with the many effective loyalist communicators proficiently putting forward their beliefs directly to audiences without interference or filtering by the mainstream media, a concern that loyalists historically had.<sup>101</sup> While a new generation of activists are adept in debating via newer platforms such as social media, blogging and podcasting, older media technologies fare better in a degree of separability and autonomy from corporate interests. Audio cassettes, faxes or murals can be adapted to meet local information and communication needs. A requirement to craft one's own message is among the reasons why, as Long bluntly tells us: loyalism cannot be delivered to anyone other than loyalists.<sup>102</sup> With

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<sup>98</sup> Cassidy 'Organic Intellectuals', p. 413.

<sup>99</sup> 'Intellectual' verges on inaccuracy, for it is not often designated to lone academics ruminating on convoluted ideas, circulated among an elite bubble. It is precisely that character who is likely, unintentionally or otherwise, to compound loyalist communities' mistrust of outsiders.

<sup>100</sup> Downing, *Radical media*, p. 15.

<sup>101</sup> Michael Palmer 'Loyalism: The Enduring Perception of Loss' *Sluggie O'Toole*, 12 June 2020, available at <https://sluggerotoole.com/2020/06/12/loyalism-the-enduring-perception-of-loss/> accessed 12 June 2020.

<sup>102</sup> 'Where next for Loyalist paramilitaries after the Panel report?' *BBC The View* Interview with Peter Sheridan and Sophie Long posted by Sluggie O'Toole, available at YouTube <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kbHNWm4q1qc> accessed 3 December 2019.

even mainstream unionist leaders failing to garner sufficient legitimacy and respect, the demand for organic intellectuals in directing the grassroots media of murals is abundantly clear.

Since the tyranny can easily leave us with the impression that any meaningful, community-led change is futile, it is important to remember incidents where an inkling of democratic practices took effect. McCormick and Jarman document local initiatives, emanating from community members, that sought to remove or alter murals through requests to and discussions with paramilitary groups. Notable examples include a clean-up project of the Mount Vernon estate in 2000 by the PUP and Groundwork NI, an environmental charity. A 2004 scheme in the Shankill also removed twenty-seven murals and seven thousand metres of painted kerbstones. Aside from moral objections to continued weaponisation, collective financial interests can further the appetite for action. Social pressure can be exerted on paramilitaries through public strength in numbers, but even an individual can set a project in motion. When a YCV mural of a hooded man brandishing an AK-47 appeared in the New Mossley estate close to a primary school, the head teacher courageously approached the painters.<sup>103</sup> Subsequently, the pupils were involved in designing an environmental mural with the school's artist-in-residence. The greatest chance of success is surely when various stakeholders, representing a swathe of the denizens, present multiple reasons for corrective measures to be taken. This is how the gunman known as the 'Mona Lisa' was razed to the ground as part of a regeneration scheme. A formidable presence whose machine gun barrel seemed to follow viewers' gaze, it resided in Adair's old stronghold until community interest groups, consulting widely over years with NIHE, reached a proposal which met with residents' complete agreement. Accounts of people power should not result in complacency

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<sup>103</sup> McCormick & Jarman, 'Death of a Mural', p. 66.

nor understating the colossal challenges remaining—but these snapshots do indicate public opinion in support for removal and replacement along with a determination to act upon it.

Democratising the medium not only admits all those facets of loyalism hitherto shut out of the landscape, but additionally vitalises the public sphere. Historically the Protestant working class of NI, lacking its own self-confidence, accepted and acted as unionism expected it to and, to a large extent, rarely seldom questioned this due in part to an unfortunate past of deferential behaviour. This is entirely incongruous with alternative media that, through its use of language and image, challenged power structures, called for sweeping social change, or called into question particular social roles. Of particular interest to us are of course those challenges and changes relating to hegemonic masculinity. As with most attempted solutions, the first step is acknowledging the problem. Gray and Neil comment on how central consciousness raising was for young women in making the link between their experiences and wider societal issues and inequalities, and the exact same is true of men.<sup>104</sup> An independent platforming offered by murals should encourage audiences to think beyond the tribal politics played out daily on their television screens. This was sketched out by Sam White of 'Resolve', a community-based service aiming to embed restorative practices into society. White envisaged the opportunity to use 'Freedom Corner', an indissoluble name, for representing exactly that: 'let it be about freedom...of people's minds. A freedom to think and let them put what they think on the walls.'<sup>105</sup> The somewhat comparable medium of graffiti shows a promising way in the use of signs and images not found in an accepted lexicon. While political murals continue to trade in sectarian symbols, graffiti artists can be more disruptive or subversive helping to create a more adaptable language of hybrid

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<sup>104</sup> Gray and Neil, 'Creating a Shared Society', p. 485.

<sup>105</sup> Interview with Sam White, Belfast and concluded via Zoom, 8 November 2021.

symbolism.<sup>106</sup> Obviously, graffiti enjoys certain advantages being quicker to execute, smaller, and cheaper. As a transitional medium it could, on the other hand, anticipate more prominent disarming statements in murals. It should not surprise us that those who availed themselves strategically of the media during the peace process generally benefited the most while those failing to exploit its communicative potential benefited least. A critical distinction must be made in the case of small parties like the PUP and UDP as well as the NIWC, where a deficiency in capitalising from media coverage is not evidence of disorganisation or incompetence, but rather due to a lack of resources and infrastructure.<sup>107</sup> It is this exact flaw—a deficit of impassioned support—that a final sanguine feature of the democratic platform can allay. We saw in part one how the longevity or staying power of a weaponised mural could outstay its welcome, whether in relation to the specific individual(s) to remember, the general context in which it first appeared, or even in public enthusiasm for such imagery. Although we may be accustomed to these rigid relics subtly emitting a lurid bellicosity, it is pivotal to the unconventional tactics of disarming that we imagine the attitudinal outcomes that their radical replacements could have if only they survived as long. Positive staying power acts in accordance with Peter Burke's notion of the 'slow burn' in popular culture. This avows that if present circumstances are clearly ones in which radical change is untenable, then the role of media is to keep alive the vision of what might be, for that moment when it may actually be attainable. In the context of their nation's conflict, Colombian communicators learned that media does not just inform but can transmit empowerment and be used 'to make things happen' provide us with an auditory exemplar.<sup>108</sup> In this case, radio broadcast programming described in detail non-violence and tried to persuade people to live

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<sup>106</sup> Lisle, 'Local Symbols, Global Networks', p. 48.

<sup>107</sup> Spencer, *The State of Loyalism*, p. 207.

<sup>108</sup> Rodriguez, Ferron & Shamas, 'Four challenges', p. 161.

non-violently in war-torn communities. Owing to their arresting dimensions and duration, murals can stir emotions, perhaps more so than other methods of political communication. Larger than pamphlets and posters, and lasting longer than speeches and rallies, murals can either be rapidly removed to change with the times or stand their ground until the times have changed. In either case the decision must reside democratically with the people, specifically those living closest to—and most affected by—the murals.

## **Conclusion**

Throughout this chapter we have radically reframed murals in adamantly oppositional terms to how they have been used for most of its lifespan. The author early on called for disarming murals to have a more resolute presence and declarative statement to them than previously meek revisions of the landscape. We then began to appreciate the advantages of seeing the medium as more than a ‘finished’ product, and instead extract a fuller potential from its worthwhile process. Verbing the mural utilises the otherwise burdensome duration by exploiting it for the purposes of meaningful social contact. By ensuring an open dialogue, brimming with collaborative possibilities, community members are integral in every step of the journey. Models of engagement like the ‘tennis game’ encourage participants to resist any system that has determined or distorted their sense of achievement, their collective power in not only transforming their environment but also, in the process, transforming aspects of themselves. Through variants of repeated activation, the mural ceases to be a single moment of finite engagement and public interest; no longer an entity, it is a series of experiences, no longer imprisoned in fixity but liberated in fluidity. No longer passive pictures at static sites, their searing relevance would provide apt backdrop for political activism, cultural programming, and educational advancement. It is not only the medium that is set free from a

crushing conformity—but the fluidity and ambiguity of art now finds a useful parallel in gender theory. As a set of attitudinal dynamics, masculinities can benefit from a similar liberation, namely when adaptive responses and multivocality help resist the illusory solid and singular monolith of the hegemony.

The C-HV is more than alternative subject matter. As Gramsci argued, it would be constructed over time and through mass involvement and it would ideally be embraced by a majority of the public whose demands and priorities would constantly develop it further.<sup>109</sup> Unfortunately, in this chapter we also came up against the unavoidable and significant barrier preventing loyalist communities from releasing all this potential. Much of the homogeneity in part one can be attributed to paramilitary desire to suppress difference, consolidate their territorial command, and perform their outwardly incontestable authority. The current tentative ‘post-conflict’ age is marred by the marks they have left: a visual and visceral worship of their heroes, and a deterrent against any modification. A respect, whether hard-won or acquired through fear, takes centre stage, silencing a host of alternatives that would convey different loyalism. The privacy of decision-making under the tyranny of a minority contravenes its systemic substitution; namely the prospect of murals serving a broad democratic swathe of the community as a free and open platform. Leadership would arise organically through choice and relevant experience with loyalist intellectuals directing but not dictating the means of communicative production, which would be under cooperative ownership. Naturally this requires a bold egress from traditionalism, not often an easy move and one that takes real courage from those willing to change. To be radical is to take a risk which is always a mystery; a step toward and into the unknown. By adjusting risk-taking behaviour (a common hypermasculine trait) the idea of change and the uncertainty it brings

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<sup>109</sup> Downing, *Radical media*, p. 15.

might not provoke a resurgence of the siege mentality and all the defensive aggression that came with it. In addition to this trait, we began to examine the elasticity of other hegemonic terminology, conventionally arranged in strictly hierarchical relations. Atypical archetypes and their virtues would be consistently promoted in a disarmed landscape. The author concedes that the mural as one of the most democratic media, a people's art, is a highly charged and romantic notion. Yet, as Robert Tally Jr indicates, there will always be some element of anticipatory illumination behind any utopian thought. It corroborates speculative sociology with its reasonable assumptions based on grounded comparison, contextual hypothesising, and managed expectations.<sup>110</sup>

As much as part two has so far offered us a wealth of references and resources for disarming, attesting to the capability of muralism to promote sweeping social change, we must of course return our focus back to the core demographic of loyalist NI. Whilst the author is convinced of the value, the need even, for internationalising the loyalist landscape, he is also acutely aware that leaning too far into this may well leave some uncomfortable at the rate of change. A sense that the streets are no longer theirs might result in a backlash opposing any further alterations. By redirecting our attention inwards then we can not only mitigate any adverse reaction but also inspire communities with disarming material that is much closer to home. When recognising sources—whether specific honoured individuals, groups and organisations, or general references to encouraging periods in time—loyalist populations are more likely to have a sense of ownership, a deeper connection to the material. Consequently, the physical care of disarming murals, as nodal points of pronounced civic pride, could be accompanied by a maintenance of meaning. With the passage of time and dissemination of more disarming content in the landscape, it is conceivable that this

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<sup>110</sup> Brown, 'A Realistic and Radical Nonviolence', p. 248.

communication network makes a positive and sustained impression on populations. We will now look at more particular ways at correcting the fact that peaceful masculinities have not received as much attention as their weaponised equivalents. The question of whether we can find these peaceful, counter-hegemonic masculinities embodied in civilians will be answered in the final chapter of the thesis by studying options internal to loyalism.

## Chapter Eight: Loyal Dissidence: Counter-hegemonic Visions of Ulster

### **Introduction**

There is a need for us to move from the general principles of disarming to their specific application, firmly situated in the context of the project. We make this move from the theoretical periphery of international case studies into the centre of hypothetical yet relevant implementation of RAM. The chapter's contents cannot be comprehensive but provides an overview of useful incipency. It aims to correct a central fallacy that loyalism is intrinsically conservative, limited in creative capacity and condemned to eternally fear change as a threat. Such a view is unhelpfully advanced by the exceedingly restricted selection of subject matter that we saw in part one. This sustains what Terence Brown called the 'poverty' of Unionist historical awareness leading to a culturally incoherent and politically impotent identity.<sup>1</sup> This chapter tries to reveal some of the richness that is available, the resources that could be mined through community-led research. The six sections supply alternatives to traditional uses of memory which reduce the past to little more than a handful of (primarily sectarian) events. In doing so, an attempt is made to smash the painted monoliths of loyalism and masculinity since neither are singular or static as the archetypes of part one would have us believe. Therefore, these erstwhile neglected narratives assist us in visualising the plurality of masculinities, an early approach to accommodating differences.<sup>2</sup> Ultimately, the chapter

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<sup>1</sup> When discussing loyalists' appreciation of their history with participant 'AX', they remarked on the (over)-reliance of First World War memory claiming 'that's all they've got', to which the author interjected: 'that's all they *think* they've got', the interviewee promptly agreed: 'Yes, exactly.' Interview with 'AX', Belfast, 19 September 2021. The comment is from Terence Brown, *Ireland's literature: selected essays* (Mullingar, The Lilliput Press, 1988), p. 223.

<sup>2</sup> The concept of multiple masculinities has enabled an understanding of male identities that are both historically led and locally determined through the control and regulation of contextually normative meanings (Martino, 1999) cited in Haywood & Mac an Ghail, *What's next for masculinity?*, p. 579.

illustrates how these alternatives could form a supportive, counter-hegemonic environment as activated backdrops to a wider social transformation of weaponised masculinities.

We begin with ‘new loyalism’, the main alternative designed to disarm the old loyalism of paramilitaries. We examine this from its difficult birth in the prison experience of the mid-1970s, early political experiments and production of key documents by the PUP and UDP, its impact during the peace process and finally post-conflict examples. Section 8.2 highlights how feminism has consistently operated on the frontline of Northern Irish society and argues for these contributions to be moved to the visual frontline of murals. A main theme that emerges here, across decades of dedicated service, is a commitment to transversalism. This constructive approach can be traced from the first peace campaigns and rallies, the cooperative grassroots activism of women’s centres exemplified by the Women’s Support Network, bold ceasefire-initiatives like the formation of the NIWC, and the courageous fortitude of contemporary organisations and individuals. When ‘queering the stage’ we consider the disarming prospects of performing alternative identities through humour, experimentation and parading a non-militarised Pride. Despite a playfulness to this drama, it poses serious introspection concerning the dialogical masculine selves.

Section 8.4 transitions from the rigorous fundamentalism and aggressive tribalism of ‘Super Prods’ to the brave non-conformity and solidarity of ‘Rotten Prods’. Though starting with hidden heroism during the shipyard expulsion of 1920, we observe a lineage of dissent in the historical radicalism of Presbyterian Ireland. The section ends by suggesting that this would not only disarm some of the discord of the partitioned archetype, but a Protestant liberation theology would counter the polarising uses of faith-based masculinity.

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Just as the ecumenism of the previous section stood between binary positions in a theological thirdspace, it is suggested in section 8.5 that Ulster-Scots occupies such a cultural thirdspace. Again we notice a tendency for a fiercely independent mindset which opposes the closed down, zero-sum mentalities in part one. We take into account how a rebellious disposition, promoted both by the arts and education, challenges the hegemony of traditional gender roles and expectations. The final section focuses on the capability for young people to disown weaponised beliefs from their parental generation leading us to explore the subcultures of punk, rave and hip hop as they each foster indispensable insubordination. Finally, this non-conformity is pitted against the most daunting archetype: the glorification of blood sacrifice during the First World War. We begin, however, with new loyalism whose pluralist philosophy of non-sectarianism and non-violence lays out a blueprint for much of the chapter.

## **8.1 New Loyalism**

### **8.1.1 The Light in the Cave**

The light of new loyalism was discovered in the darkness of prison experiences, as Billy Hutchinson remarked Long Kesh gave him the opportunity to free his mind from ‘a deep dungeon of obscure political elite sectarianism’.<sup>3</sup> Like a modern version of Plato’s Cave in which we are chained perceiving only shadows on its wall, Hutchinson and others embarked on a quest for knowledge and understanding which, cognate to the ancient philosophers’ role, led them out of the ‘cave’ and toward new attitudes and methods. On the outside, conflict and civic life had quickly become superimposed with daily mayhem occurring so near and so quick it left little time or space to think before acting. Add to this caustic cauldron the

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<sup>3</sup> Finlayson, ‘Loyalist Political Identity’, p. 67.

crushing gendered pressure for young men of action to react, not to mention the advertised adrenaline of fighting back, and we start to appreciate how the primary demographic found themselves in prison. They soon occupied a surfeit of time and space to think, spatially removed and physically isolated from the bewildering battlefield which tore through a disturbed domestic life at frightening pace and claustrophobic proximity. Into this rare separation and sudden distance from their former life several forms of education materialised. Initially some of these were intended to keep spirits high by busying their bodies and minds (from barrack-like chores to handicrafts). But in addition to the more expected routine, prison education no doubt broadened many inmates' perspectives on society; neither classes in yoga or parenting skills were subjects that working class men were likely to have been exposed to.<sup>4</sup> More formally, a demand on the inside for lectures and access to O and A level Open University courses was met in 1979. Supplementing tutors, speakers were brought into compounds to deliver seminars with mini-Oxford debates taking place covering issues such as sectarianism, Protestant working-class, their own lack of opportunity and power-sharing.<sup>5</sup> All of this invalidates the cliché that pits the erudite republican against the time-wasting, steroid-pumping loyalist thug occupying opposing ideological wings of the prison experience. They were sharing certain spaces thanks to the special category status which granted them the opportunity to educate each other, work together and occasionally find common ground in discussing and learning of the other's position.<sup>6</sup> Any budding relationships were nipped by the British policy of criminalisation which segregated inmates, shutting down shared spaces and with it the embryonic cooperation. Despite that common ground closing up, Gusto Spence was still able to sow into the hard soil of Long Kesh

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<sup>4</sup> Bairner, 'Masculinity, Violence and the Irish Peace Process', p. 132.

<sup>5</sup> Hutchinson with Mulvenna, *My Life in Loyalism*, p. 135.

<sup>6</sup> Novosel, *Northern Ireland's Lost Opportunity*, p. 79.

political ideas that were to flourish many years later.<sup>7</sup> Under his tutelage, a kernel of critical thinking, political awareness and communication skills bloomed within Long Kesh.

Hutchinson along with Ervine, Eddie Kinner, Martin Snodden, Tom Roberts, Billy Giles<sup>8</sup> and others matriculated from the ‘University of Lisburn’ becoming what future PUP leader Dawn Purvis called ‘Gusty’s graduates’.<sup>9</sup>

Volunteers of the UDA also underwent a similar transition in their mentality, the naturalness of which struck Cassidy when interviewing a man who had served lengthy sentences before going into community work, particularly housing and youth efforts. In the interview he mentions a group of ex-UDA men forming an organisation, ‘Prisoners in Partnership’, whose motto would look particularly salient on a mural: ‘From Defending to Mending’.<sup>10</sup> As encouraging as these groups were they were outliers from both the rest of their respective paramilitary organisation and the general public. Spence commanded up to 300 UVF prisoners but this was a relatively limited sphere of influence and his directives could and were ignored by the outside organisation.<sup>11</sup> Likewise, grand ideas of compromise and progressive politics were advocated by ‘enlightened Ulstermen’ estranged from their own community who had not travelled that road with them. A consistent argument made throughout this chapter is that murals could have been used to help move as many people as

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<sup>7</sup> Ervine attests to recalling their first encounter, a seed of critical thinking was often planted by probing the real reason for incarnation, beyond the literal legal sentencing and criminal charge—what dynamic factors had brought them to this place?

<sup>8</sup> The effects of conflict often exacerbate a sense of an internal, psychological mutilation that we have encountered when considering the detriments of conforming to hypermasculine norms. In Giles’ case, he confessed tremendous remorse for his involvement in the UVF. In one of several interviews with journalist Peter Taylor, Giles claimed he had ‘never felt like a whole person again’ since fatally shooting Michael Fay, a Catholic friend and workmate. Peter Taylor, *Loyalists* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 1999), pp. 7-8.

<sup>9</sup> Novosel, *Northern Ireland’s Lost Opportunity*, p. 177.

<sup>10</sup> Cassidy, ‘Organic Intellectuals’, p. 421.

<sup>11</sup> Connal Parr, ‘Gusty Spence: Agent of Conflict, Creativity, and Change’ in Fiona McCann (ed.), *The Carceral Network in Ireland History, Agency and Resistance* (London: Palgrave Studies in Prisons and Penology, 2020), p. 135.

possible down this road.<sup>12</sup> Interestingly, a work in The Village area, South Belfast, does show a literal road of ‘progress’ leading our eye up the driveway to Stormont.



Fig. 8.1

For once the (ex)UDA men do not meet our gaze through their balaclavas or rifle sights, instead they turn their backs to us, or perhaps turn their backs on violence since the mural is titled ‘From Conflict to Peace’.

### 8.1.2 The Common Sense of Sharing Responsibility

In the perilous vacuity left by the collapsed Executive and Sunningdale, the UVF formed the Volunteer Political Party directed by Ken Gibson—one of the UVF’s strike leaders. This young cadre would evolve into the PUP in 1979 but two years prior published their first

<sup>12</sup> Novosel, *Northern Ireland’s Lost Opportunity*, p. 135.

major iteration of new thinking in 'Sharing Responsibility'. The party's assessment of Northern Irish society was one plagued by inequality, social deprivation and thwarted aspirations. They believed their task was also the burden of every citizen and it was not restricted to halting the violence but ensuring that conditions could never produce such communal hatred again, this stance lining up perfectly with Galtung's positive peace. A contemporary communique demonstrates how a radically different language was beginning to be used: 'UVF appeals to all Ulstermen, to pause, to stretch out the hand of forbearance and conciliation, to forgive and forget, and to join in making for the province which they love, a new era of peace, contentment and goodwill.'<sup>13</sup> Sadly, by October of 1974 the euphoria carried in these lines was dealt a massively humiliating blow in the elections. Hugh Smyth, reflecting on the defeat, described the policies as 'terrific ideas but [the] timing was horrible'.<sup>14</sup> An exacerbating factor was that by the time the IRA had politically matured sufficiently toward compromise both the UVF and RHC had retreated to a traditional, militarised version of defending. Timing aside, at least two other factors explain a lack of votes. Most parties begin with policy then recruit members whereas the VPP recruited first with shared views being assumed.<sup>15</sup> Internally the VPP was rather loosely grouped in terms of personal beliefs. An external problem which seriously hampered the dissemination of ideas was the media's reticence to publish UVF statements ensuring theirs was a marginalised position. We can only speculate the outcome had the VPP used murals to communicate directly to the public and 'publish' in paint their policies. By seizing the means themselves they would have outmanoeuvred any agency that would otherwise minimise or manipulate the message. Ironically one of the main functions of the VPP and motives for its creation was to propagate this new thinking, but this seemed curtailed by choosing more conventional

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<sup>13</sup> Novosel, *Northern Ireland's Lost Opportunity*, p. 105.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, p. 118.

<sup>15</sup> Bruce, *The Red Hand*, p. 121.

media.<sup>16</sup> Despite the VPP failing to gain viable electoral support, the desire for change was never completely eradicated and ideas that might have seemed like heresy were being spoken of in serious tones by the late 1970s and early 1980s. Indeed, only a month before the signing of the AIA, the PUP had vigorously promoted an equitable vision for a potential future Assembly which included suggestions for a North-South committee discussing areas of mutual concern. In 'Sharing Responsibility' the party also recognised two legitimate aspirations relating to the constitutional issue in NI.<sup>17</sup> The crisis that was to unfold following the AIA however proved this more politically rational position was still too ahead of its time.

An argument for a conceptual disarming of the UDA could begin with their original motto, an opening line from a poem by Cicero: 'Cedant arma togae' translated as 'let war yield to peace'. Behind this alternative to weaponised language lies a more complex and accurate understanding of paramilitaries, one that acknowledges its multiple roles broadly sub-divided into the categories of 'military' and 'welfare'. A gendered division of labour meant the latter was always seen more as 'women's work', but within the welfare category we find a plethora of small-scale but helpful interest groups like the Orange Cross (campaigning for prisoners and their families), legal advice centres, education workshops and community bookshops.<sup>18</sup> Such examples stress that electoral failure should not mask a wider and important civic engagement of new loyalism. Like the UVF, landmark documents were produced such as 'Beyond the Religious Divide' (1979) and 'Common Sense' (1987), both

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<sup>16</sup> For example, David Ervine later recalled a group drafting a full-page advertisement which was very expensive (quoting a sum of £600, equivalent to £4,593 in 2021). In that instance the message was simple and specific: to explain why the government's removal of special category status was wrong. Yet, how many murals could have been financed, stressing the importance of that issue and many others besides with a greater visual presence and extended temporality compared to a newspaper? '1981: Loyalist Recollections' *Northern Visions* documentary available at <http://archive.northernvisions.org/related/thetroubles/1981-loyalist-recollections/> accessed 12 March 2021.

<sup>17</sup> Hutchinson with Mulvenna, *My Life in Loyalism*, p. 151.

<sup>18</sup> Nelson, *Ulster's Uncertain Defenders*, p. 107.

demonstrating the re-evaluative ability of loyalism in a reflective and critical manner.<sup>19</sup> It is of interest to note—in the context of social movements and their communication—the latter document’s historical namesake: Tom Paines’ 1776 pamphlet, considered the most celebrated of those circulated in the radical press of the American Revolution. Patricia Schuman advances this, comparing an alternative press, in whatever format, as our modern pamphleteer.<sup>20</sup> Both employ methods of production and distribution allied to an activist philosophy of creating information for action. That this can be implemented rapidly in a timeous fashion allows developing issues to be critiqued. As had been the case with ‘Beyond...’, editorials reviewed its proposals as brave, described by Cardinal Tomás Ó Fiaich as ‘fresh and constructive’ and accepted by SDLP as a basis for negotiation, but condemned by unionist politicians as power-sharing.<sup>21</sup> Such publications amply provide succinct excerpts that would serve well as text for future murals (see the text in fig.8.1, lifted from ‘Common Sense’). Regarding particular masculine anxieties, the author recommends the lines printed on the back of ‘Beyond...’ be magnified and pushed to the front of our minds: ‘He who cannot compromise is a fool/He who will not compromise is a bigot/He who dares not compromise is a slave.’<sup>22</sup> Regrettably, the series of events we witnessed with the UVF’s progressive efforts was repeated. UDP leader John McMichael’s South Belfast constituency lay within a UDA brigade area including fiercely loyalist working class localities which he hoped would secure a fair hearing for the party’s ideas. Despite conducting the campaign full of optimistic energy, the constituency’s mainly middle-class demographic returned a bruising

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<sup>19</sup> These works asserted the movement’s dedication to the Protestant working class and a transformed state of Northern Ireland generally. They also offered insights into the materialising politicisation that crystallised as the New Ulster Political Research Group. Sanders, ‘Problems of Class, Religion and Ethnicity’, p. 98.

<sup>20</sup> Chris Atton, *Alternative Media* (London: SAGE Publications, 2002), p. 18.

<sup>21</sup> Bruce, *The Red Hand*, p. 238.

<sup>22</sup> The lines seem to be paraphrased from Sir William Drummond, Scottish diplomat, poet, and philosopher. Wood, *Crimes of Loyalty*, p. 73.

defeat.<sup>23</sup> While some in the established parties admired the bold political reasoning exhibited in these documents, the majority ignored it with no pressure from the public for them to do otherwise. The UDA's political activities effectively died with the assassinated McMichael, and we are left with our imagination when assessing the impact of these innovative attempts to reform both paramilitary organisations.

### 8.1.3 'True and abject remorse'

Despite the disappointments suffered, the proposals put forward by new loyalism would eventually find their way into the GFA, a testament not just to their value but the resolute commitment of those who believed in them. The views and those who held them were deviating from a more traditional loyalism in recognising that it was not enough for Ulster to simply keep saying 'NO'. In a stark counter-response to a more hegemonic doom-mongering, the UDP penned a passionate defence of the GFA in a late issue of 'New Ulster Defender' entitled 'Why Yes?':

'We voted yes for a new start for our children and our children's children. We voted 'yes' because we feel that not all Catholics are republicans. We voted 'yes' so that our elected representatives could stand up in councils and other meeting-places to let our voice be heard. We voted 'yes' because we are certainly not running and hiding from the enemy. By voting 'yes', we can bargain from a position of strength rather than from a position of weakness.'<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Of the more than 43,000 votes cast, McMichael received a mere 576, less than 2%. Figures of the establishment dominated with Rev. Martin Smyth of the Official Unionists winning comfortably with 40% and Paisleyite candidate McCrea securing third place with 22%. Ibid p. 75.

<sup>24</sup> *New Ulster Defender*, Vol. 5, No. 5 (1998).

This excerpt is brimming with positivity, each sentence building more reasons to lift the siege mentality. In a utopian inversion of the son inheriting his father's behaviour, Gary McMichael took on the mantle of UDP leadership, choosing vengeance not based on violence but aiming to prevent it thus also honouring John's legacy. After a decade out in the cold, new loyalists could finally play an important role in the negotiations and enact many of the power-sharing mechanisms that had been outlined in 'Common Sense'. The PUP, also heavily involved, released an edited version of 'Sharing Responsibility' in 1997, which concentrated on widening social commitment to responsibility and expressed adamant support for transparent and open interactions, especially those with cross-border relations. The hour of new loyalism had arrived and with it the core ideas of anti-sectarianism, pluralism and equality among all NI's citizens.<sup>25</sup> One of the first mainstream platforms from which new loyalism could announce itself to the world was the CLMC's ceasefire in October 1994. Even the setting of the event was significant, as Fernhill House with its attractive grounds looking down on the Shankill Road had been a drilling and parading ground for the original UVF. During the darkest years of the Troubles, bodies of victims of roaming loyalist killer gangs had also been dumped there.<sup>26</sup> It was then an astonishing site for Gusty Spence to display, in all sincerity, emotional intelligence when offering to 'loved ones of all innocent victims of the past twenty-five years abject and true remorse.' When asked if Spence spoke for him, Ervine answered unequivocally and rather poetically that Spence, as part of the first violent men of the recent era, was reading out a statement that they hoped would 'pull the curtain down on a brutal and awful past.'<sup>27</sup> Spence had abundantly proved himself a superb orator, providing several phrases yet to grace loyalist walls. A 1975 article in 'Combat'

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<sup>25</sup> Billy Mitchell, 'Principles of Loyalism' an internal discussion paper, *Progressive Unionist Party*, 1 November 2002.

<sup>26</sup> Wood, *Crimes of Loyalty*, p. 192.

<sup>27</sup> 'Loyalist ceasefire', uploaded 17 December 2017, available at YouTube <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b483LmAGa0M> accessed 13 May 2020.

captured the futility of violence describing it as ‘an ugly mob madness...not the midwife of freedom but its assassin’.<sup>28</sup> In his speech ‘Think or Perish’ (July 1977) he implored listeners to ‘escape from stereotyped dogmas of the past and open [their] minds to radical thought...it is essential that we cease to cling to old, cherished myths and traditions in the face of new realities.’<sup>29</sup> And his Remembrance Day speech from the same year succinctly epitomised a form of disarming: ‘dialogue can fill the vacuum of violence...the rattle of oratory and volley of words [should] be heard instead of bombs and bullets.’<sup>30</sup> He even inventively reinterpreted the landscape of the First World War: ‘let us face one another across the negotiating table as opposed to no man’s land.’<sup>31</sup> Spence maintained a reputation of being a duty-bound soldier thereby living by a code of honour, respecting the enemy should they share this code.<sup>32</sup> This image came under scrutiny with his peacebuilding, earning him the clichéd accusation of having gone soft. This plays into the classic gendered binary of men being ‘tough’ and ‘hard’ in character, and women being their natural opposition. Feminised insults and the standard ‘Lundy’ label were also levelled at David Trimble when he reached out to compromise and accept the legitimacy of nationalist aims. Trimble was another leader who possessed the political maturity and courageous growth to revise a phrase from the era of partition that stated his desire for Stormont to operate as a ‘pluralist parliament for a pluralist people.’<sup>33</sup> To achieve this C-HV meant undoing elements of traditional politics and masculine values, and it required candidates willing to tackle these obstacles. David Ervine’s campaign literature left no doubt that new loyalism was prepared to fight against the structural violence of mainstream unionism that dates to chapter three: ‘My party and I are bringing fresh thinking

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<sup>28</sup> Novosel, *Northern Ireland’s Lost Opportunity.*, p. 68.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 173.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 176.

<sup>31</sup> Bruce, *The Red Hand*, p. 118.

<sup>32</sup> Evidence of this can be seen in his disgust at atrocities that claimed innocent lives such as McGurk’s bombing in 1971 as well as his gesture of goodwill in sending a letter of condolence to the widow of Joe McCann, the OIRA volunteer shot dead by the British Army in April 1972. Taylor *Loyalists*, p. 109.

<sup>33</sup> McAuley, Tonge & Mycock, *Loyal to the Core*, p. 131.

and new approaches into the stale parochial corridors of what has passed for politics in our country and the “old brigade” the “born to rule” boys don’t like it one little bit.’<sup>34</sup> In a refreshing break from a humiliating history, the PUP polled 20,634 votes and both Ervine and Hutchinson were elected to the Assembly in June 1998.

#### 8.1.4 Moral Victories

It is important to stress that new loyalism is not resigned to history; rather it continues as a thriving aspect of contemporary development. Just one year after GFA, a strand of community work —Community Based Restorative Justice —emerged as an alternative method for dealing with local misdemeanours. Based on broader non-violent ethics of ‘bottom-up’ peacebuilding, CBRJ seems a viable solution to the ‘shadow justice system’ of paramilitaries.<sup>35</sup> As impressive as these consistent efforts are they have yet to be recognised in the symbolic landscape, the same is true of other notable incidents of non-violence. None of the participants in a Monkstown-based workshop, held by the author, were aware of the agreement that bears their town’s name.<sup>36</sup> The local social club was the staging ground for pivotal meetings during a paramilitary feud. Representatives from the UVF and UDA discussed the causes of rancour such as flags, murals, intimidation and bar fights. After a year of talks a formal agreement was reached by Southeast Antrim branches of the organisations in an endeavour to stem the bloodshed which had caused local heartache and depressed working-class interests.<sup>37</sup> Following the attack on the Massereene Barracks in 2009, the UDA

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<sup>34</sup> Parr, ‘Ending the siege?’ p. 213.

<sup>35</sup> Between 2003 and 2006, Mika’s (2006, 43) research suggests that CRJI (Community Restorative Justice Ireland, developed by republicans) stopped 82% of potential paramilitary punishments in its impact area. A comparable figure of 71% was recorded for its loyalist equivalent ‘Northern Ireland Alternative’. Fidelma Ashe, ‘Gendering Demilitarisation’, p. 667.

<sup>36</sup> Youth workshop, Monkstown, 25 October 2021.

<sup>37</sup> Hutchinson with Mulvenna, *My Life in Loyalism*, p. 204.

leadership embarked on a deliberate outreach programme across the region reminding communities of the destructiveness of tit-for-tat actions of the past. By formulating a common message which asserted the moral victory of standing firm in the face of violence, the UDA exerted a dominant and positive regulatory force. It would require some creative designing, but no mural represents this rejection of revenge. Massereene is a real-world incident of radically redefining 'victory', a word central to hegemonic, militarised masculinity and, as such, should be celebrated.<sup>38</sup> Progress must be seen in relative context where the fine margins of transition can be appreciated. For some, a post-conflict schism divides loyalism along similar lines within masculinity—namely whether one can be considered 'real' or 'true'. If loyalists are to be defined by their protection and developing 'the community' then anyone engaging in nefarious activity is merely 'masquerading'<sup>39</sup> as a loyalist. Once again we encounter the importance of impression management in convincing others of a genuine performance.<sup>40</sup> One argument for ex-combatants representing a reconstructive and rehabilitative force in war-torn societies is based on their unique experiences of participating in physical violence and incarceration. From personal reforms during the latter, they gain the necessary traits (resilience, creativity, strong analytical and negotiating skills) that qualify them for moral leadership. Yet, as Ashe warns us, this narrative may unintentionally re-privilege men's status of power and control.<sup>41</sup> Others may

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<sup>38</sup> If such a 'victory' were to be recorded, it would need to be in its full context. In truth there were several threats, shootings and bombings in the ensuing months after the barracks attack. Most notably was a bombing at a courthouse in Newry and MI5 base in Co. Down in March 2010. The murder of a Catholic man, Kevin McDaid, in May 2009 was attributed to loyalist paramilitaries. As shocking as these events were, they were a reflection of a significant reduction in reprisals. Group interviews from 2009 claim that 'in the old days, this [the Massereene and Constable Carroll murders] would have opened the floodgates.' It cannot, in all honesty, be claimed as any outright 'victory' but rather a hopeful indication that such violence might further gradually decline. Mitchell and Templer 'Paramilitaries, Peace Processes', p. 419.

<sup>39</sup> This binary of fixed values: real/fake, true/false regarding one's loyalist status and behavioural credentials arose from participant comments Flack & Ferguson, 'Conflict Transformation', p. 191.

<sup>40</sup> The extent to which a transformation is believed has additional implications when we consider the competition over allocated funding for peace-building and related projects.

<sup>41</sup> Ashe, 'Gendering Demilitarisation', p. 670.

find it difficult to escape a niggling doubt that these men are not the most suited candidates for convincing hardliners and potential peace spoilers to stand down. Certainly the physical environment does very little to convince sceptics that these men have indeed left behind the militarised, ethnocultural masculinities which underscored their histories of collective political violence.<sup>42</sup> Nor is there any indication in the landscape of giving due credit to the women whose involvement in schemes prefigured CBRJ. Ex-combatants who admirably built the structures of CBRJ quickly utilised women's extensive expertise of community work and experiential knowledge of underlying issues and it is to this invisibility we now turn our attention.

## 8.2 Feminism to the Frontline

### 8.2.1 The Passion of the Peace People

As Messner argues 'it is through contributing to the empowerment of women that men will become more fully human.'<sup>43</sup> This is based on that internal emotional denial that we met when discussing the mental health implications of hegemonic masculinity toward the end of chapter five. Messner's point may seem rather abstract and psychological, but this is essentially confirmed in relevantly specific context in a report by the Women's Resource and Development Agency (WRDA) from 2008. It concluded that 'transforming the way we live gender, transforming our masculinities *and* femininities so that they no longer perpetuate violence...is part of the cultural transformation that is necessary.'<sup>44</sup> The two points to stress from this conclusion are firstly the shared responsibility in ending violence (in all its forms),

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<sup>42</sup> Curtis Holland and Gordana Rabrenovic, 'Masculinities in Transition? Exclusion, Ethnosocial Power, and Contradictions in Excombatant Community-based Peacebuilding in Northern Ireland', *Men and Masculinities*, vol. 21, Issue 5 (2018), p. 730.

<sup>43</sup> Bairner, 'Masculinity, Violence and the Irish Peace Process', p. 141.

<sup>44</sup> Gray and Neil, 'Creating a Shared', p. 480.

and, secondly, the cultural angle that resonates with this thesis' argument that powerful public art can contribute to a collective persuasion of disarmament. Even though 3<sup>rd</sup> wave feminism broadly coincided with the development of the Troubles, it was invariably—if dubiously—more aligned to a republicanism, a tendency which Edna Longley objected to arguing that republicans 'appropriated the image of woman...hide its aggression behind our skirts'.<sup>45</sup> Several interviewees appreciated the huge and varied contribution of women in NI, including present-day social transformation, but added some of this took place behind the scenes.<sup>46</sup> This thesis argues that these and other disarming narratives need to be brought forward and be included in the actual scenes depicted in a public history 'from below' in murals. It seems plausible that had mural-making itself not been such a gender-exclusive practice, peripheral perspectives would be able to move in toward the centre stage.<sup>47</sup> This, however, is not to accept any essentialist argument for women's innate tendency to act as natural peacemakers, but one can certainly make a case that the creative thinking of diverse actors can be an important factor in achieving change. Such essentialist arguments are as reductive as suggesting there exists a monolithic collectivity of 'women'. There is, of course, fracturing even under an umbrella term like 'feminism'. We need, then, to go deeper into these ideologies to assess their disarming applicability, for a superficial criterion would be

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<sup>45</sup> 'Loyalist Feminism: Our Understanding of Loyalism Feminism and Patriarchy, *Her Loyal Voice* opinion piece from blog admin, 4 August 2021, available at <https://herloyalvoice.com/opinion/loyalist-feminism-our-understanding-of-loyalism-feminism-and-patriarchy/> accessed 8 August 2021.

<sup>46</sup> 'More recently women have come forward with their voice, it's an important voice. They came forward about the removal of the memorial garden and they had to be listened to. They were genuine in asking "is there a need for that mural now?" and no one could make an argument as to why it should still be there. [the mural in question was a paramilitary display and faced opposite a 'Sure Start' centre for young families]. Interview with Adrian Bird, Lisburn, 16 September 2021.

<sup>47</sup> Other forms of feminist media, print publications such as *Spare Rib* (1972-93) tended to operate on the periphery for a range of financial, geographic and sociocultural reasons and have had limited impact on the mainstream print media landscape. The very few muralists who participated in interviews could not offer any names of female muralists. When asked why they thought the practice was so dominated by men one replied: 'I don't know. It seems that, like politics and everything else the women seem to...I'm not sure if they take a back seat or...', 'were not allowed in the front seat?' offered the author.

satisfied with the handful of queens and portraits of Princess Dianas<sup>48</sup> that very occasionally appear in the loyalist landscape. Racioppi and O’Sullivan alert us to the traditional forms of femininity which prevail in Protestant unionist culture, theirs being an arguably conservative political outlook leaving little space for radical reconstructions of identity.<sup>49</sup>

Although participants of the first serious peace movements were almost exclusively women, the leaders promptly sought to include all citizens thus adopting the name ‘Peace People’. Set up in 1976 in response to the rising wave of intense violence since 1969, it quickly drew large crowds at rallies in protest and attracted international attention. This mass attendance was an ardent testimony by those ready to challenge the status quo of violence and sectarianism that had once again come to dominate everyday life. The Peace People also aimed to function as a democratic social movement, supporting good relations and community development calling for a new unifying Northern Irish identity. Whilst the most prominent, they were far from alone as by one count ‘peace committees’ and related local groups at the time numbered 110, snowballing from previous rallies to support their communities.<sup>50</sup> Disarming subject matter might portray notable individuals such as Nobel Peace Prize winners Betty Williams and Mairead Corrigan or (more recently) the McCartney sisters who took on republicans over the killing of their brother. Additionally, a surface might re-enact in paint the enthusiasm of those early rallies, well-attended by both Catholics and

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<sup>48</sup> A main portrait appearing in visual archives was created around the 2000 takeover of the Lower Shankill estate by the UDA C Company and LVF alliance. Coming under some pressure to include women, the ‘solution’ was to give one surface to one woman: Princess Diana. In the work she wears a smile, a tiara and the black ‘revenge dress’ of 1994, behind her is a large heart-shaped union flag design. The author would contend this rather downplays Diana’s legacy to being an icon of style and beauty. This is of course true, but alternative depictions could have showcased how she used her fame to raise awareness of several worthy causes. Two such examples come to mind and, in their own way, disarm weaponised masculinity; firstly, her interactions that humanised AIDS patients and, secondly, her promoting the International Red Cross’ campaign of landmine removal in the former Yugoslavia.

<sup>49</sup> Graff-McRae, ‘Ghosts of Gender’, p. 512.

<sup>50</sup> (Deutsch 1977: 159; Fairmichael 1987: 13) cited in Lee A. Smithey, ‘The Peace People: Principled and Revolutionary Non-Violence in Northern Ireland’ in Bosi and De Fazio, *The Troubles in Northern Ireland*, p. 207.

Protestants. This option firstly educates those who were unaware of such movements and secondly reminds the collective consciousness of the expansive plan for a grassroots transformation, both politically and culturally, of the region.<sup>51</sup> Amid the turmoil of the Troubles, women often balanced the responsibilities of single parenthood (through the imprisonment of male partners and relatives) as well as an assortment of issues afflicting the wider community. Some of these were conflict-specific such as dealing with the trauma of bereavement, caring for the injured or preventing children being absorbed into the violence. But they also shouldered these burdens whilst struggling to cope with inadequate income and Conservative Government cuts. Out of this mutual despondency, arose forms of shared support that crossed the barriers of both single-identity interests and the 10-foot-high peace lines. In 1981 the Women's Information Group was established, a landmark initiative with the simple but courageous aspiration of bringing together local women's groups to discuss urgent matters. Initially meeting in neutral venues, the monthly meetings soon rotated between areas of opposing sides. The format was straight forward: transport, childcare and lunch was all provided, and the group prioritised a topic that external speakers were invited to speak on and share information.<sup>52</sup> For some this was also a rare glimpse into how the 'other side' lived: treading on differently coloured curb stones, looking up to different flags, and all under the shadow of a different painted gunmen. The ability to overcome the fear of the unknown is a demonstration of Nira Yuval-Davis's theory of transversalism. Widely adopted by feminist scholars and activists to explain the success of such cross-community initiatives, it is a mode of dialogue renowned for its recognition of social positionings (e.g.,

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<sup>51</sup> Some may argue that the impermanence of social movements invalidates them as disarming subject matter, however the author suggests it is even more reason for prolonging that which for reasons ranging from financial difficulties to internal dissent, could not last long enough to enact such bold initiatives. Ibid, p. 203.

<sup>52</sup> Avila Kilmurray, 'Women get it together in Northern Ireland: A decade of activism amidst the politics of the Troubles', *National Library of Scotland*, available at <https://digital.nls.uk/1980s/society/northern-ireland-women/> accessed 18 December 2019.

ethnonationality or sexuality).<sup>53</sup> It propounds that participants, when developing strategies aimed at goals based on shared values, can maintain their identity but attempt to shift positionality to empathise with those positioned elsewhere. Thus, its pliability renders it a radical alternative to the essentialising identity politics that so often clouds judgement during—and after—conflict.

### 8.2.2 Transversalism through the Troubles

Transversalism marches hand in hand with a strong history of women organising outside of formal political structures, providing essential support, training and services in areas including poverty, child-care, education, drug-addiction and domestic violence among many others. This is captured in the relationship between the Women's Centres of the Falls and Shankill and the formation of the Women's Support Network (WSN). In 1989, the Protestant-controlled Belfast City Council decided to withdraw funding from the Falls on the grounds that its staff and users were 'IRA sympathisers'. In response women from the Shankill centre publicly protested the discrimination and from this act of solidarity the permanent alliance of the WSN was born.<sup>54</sup> They operate cross-nationally, projecting a collective voice in areas of common interest such as equal political representation and improved access to social services. The WSN continues to represent over sixty women's centres and groups despite their remarkable origin story having never been muralised. The endurance of these dialogues is even more impressive when we consider the virulent inhibition against such interaction. This particularly applies to loyalist-controlled localities where men have taken punitive

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<sup>53</sup> Siobhan Byrne, 'Troubled Engagement in Ethnicized Conflict', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (2014), p. 107.

<sup>54</sup> (Mulholland, 2001) cited in Cockburn, 'What became of 'frontline feminism' p. 106.

action against women who defy their authority. In some urban areas the conflict produced a spatial encirclement of one ethno-national identity, which help to entrench sectarianism and reproduce the perception of being under perpetual threat—hence a continued need for defence. In one acute case of encirclement, the author observed a second, gendered circle within an already tightly bound confinement. The Windsor’s Women Centre (with its few cheerier murals) in the Village appears as if a tiny ‘island’ in a sea of testosterone-fuelled imagery. A short documentary film, *Space to Be*, profiles the tireless and multi-layered work of Windsor as a shared safe space. It embraces a holistic view of inclusion from combatting loneliness affecting single mothers to the elderly, particularly germane in the aftermath of COVID-19 isolation. This ethos of tolerance was also in effect when helping to assimilate recent migrants like Josephine from Nigeria into a very monocultural area —her son went from being racially abused to accepted with neighbours offering him breakfast and warm clothing.<sup>55</sup> After Irish President Mary Robinson visited Windsor in 1996, some loyalists firebombed the venue.<sup>56</sup> Despite this intimidation and relentless precarity of funding, Windsor, like other organisations, remains valiantly dedicated in its mission to be a catalyst for change, empowering and inspiring women to make a positive difference. In the same year as the firebombing, the NIWC was formed as an organic organisation from a variety of backgrounds and opinions. In the context of a male-dominated peace process, it was recognised that without their own party, women could so easily be omitted from the agenda.<sup>57</sup> Thus, the impetus for the NIWC was to promote their core principles of inclusion, equality, and human rights. Underpinning all of this was a contrasting approach to certain ‘masculinist’

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<sup>55</sup> ‘Space to Be’ documentary film, *The Guardian*, 16 April 2021, available at YouTube <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eU5XLw8Xw70> accessed 20 April 2021.

<sup>56</sup> McKay, *Northern Protestants: On Shifting Ground*, p. 115.

<sup>57</sup> Ward, ‘Gender, Citizenship, and the Future’, p. 274.

ideals of competition, hostility, and a determination not ‘to give an inch.’<sup>58</sup> The Civic Forum, a product of NIWC alternative thinking, ceased to function following the collapse of power-sharing institutions. While Gilmartin is correct in saying that the Forum, like the rhetoric of equality and new politics, faded from view during the ethno-national power play of the suspension years<sup>59</sup>, the author still argues for such an idea to come into sharp focus in the landscape. The NIWC was simply the tip of an underappreciated iceberg; long before the negotiating table was on the horizon, women from both communities had taken risks, crossed the divide, and worked together. As an interviewee from that time put it: ‘we didn’t need Paisley and McGuinness to shake hands, we were already friends’<sup>60</sup>, this friendship, what it represents and achieved has not been told on the streets of NI.

### 8.2.3 Her Loyal Voice

In her generational comparison of feminism Cockburn remarks that a post-millennial movement is, generally, less embedded in the working-class struggle in housing estates and workplaces, and is mainly comprised of ‘educated women and students, confident in their social networking skills.’<sup>61</sup> While priorities have shifted toward sexuality, reproductive rights, multiculturalism and violence against women, the author suggests that the stories and struggles of intersectional movements can both be told in the landscape. The profoundly

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<sup>58</sup> Northern Ireland was far from an exception in this regard, during negotiations with the South African government, the African National Congress insisted on a policy whereby half of all negotiating teams had to be female. Former High Commissioner in London and ANC representative, Cheryl Carolus believed that if women had not been so heavily involved the talks would have suffered from what she calls ‘testosterone poisoning.’ Ibid, p. 265.

<sup>59</sup> Gilmartin, ‘Gendering the ‘post-conflict’ narrative’ p. 94.

<sup>60</sup> Interview with Helen Crickard, Project Manager at Reclaim the Agenda, conducted via Zoom, 12 May 2021.

<sup>61</sup> She cites the following contemporary examples: the Belfast Feminist Network, monthly forums at the Black Box club, and a feminist reading group at Queen’s University. The latter publishes a review carrying stories, poetry, academic essays, photography and artwork —some of which could be realistically amalgamated into the mural site once culturally activated. Cockburn ‘What became of ‘frontline feminism’?, p. 117.

patriarchal nature of both Big House Unionism and rural evangelical loyalism kept feminism off the unionist political agenda. Yet, as revealed in interviews conducted by the pressure group ‘Her Loyal Voice’, almost all participants, regardless of age, identified as pro-choice, pro equal marriage and citizenship feminists.<sup>62</sup> In the same edition of ‘Voice’, the relational harm and oppressive nature of patriarchy was called out in a manner which might as well be describing the murals of part one: ‘[a system] which idealises toxic traits associated with constructed notions of masculinity and denigrates other gender expressions.’<sup>63</sup> To assist in a contemporary, united fight against patriarchy, the right to armed resistance (as outlined in *Principles of Loyalism*) was asserted but ‘Her Loyal Voice’ made a crucial distinction which echoes the redefinitions of the previous chapter. Now the armaments are emancipatory feminist knowledge, and the focus is on conflict transformation so that a situation never escalates to violence. The task for future feminist muralists is to devise suitably spectacular expressions for phrases such as being armed with knowledge. Visualising an alternative, non-militarised courage displayed by those who confront the authority of paramilitaries would also serve the cause. Only a few days after 45-year-old Ian Ogle was knifed to death by masked men on the lower Newtownards Road in January 2019, his 28-year-old daughter, Toni, summoned the strength to address the roughly one thousand people who gathered at a candlelit vigil. On International Women’s Day 2021, Toni marched with local women and spoke out again: ‘I feel like east Belfast is going to rise up. No more bullying. We have had enough. It is time to take a stand against these thugs, look after each other and take east Belfast back.’<sup>64</sup> Toni refused to be silenced, engaged with social media and defiantly

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<sup>62</sup> Her Loyal Voice, ‘Loyalist Feminism: Our Understanding’.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> It is suspected that some of those responsible for Ian’s death are associated with loyalist paramilitaries. The murder itself took place on the famous road lined with crude murals boasting of their prowess against ‘the enemies of Ulster’, unaware that for many in their community *they* are the enemy. McKay, *Northern Protestants: On Shifting Ground*, p. 140.

reclaimed a common aspersion in a Tweet: ‘If looking for justice for my father makes me a tout, I’m a tout.’<sup>65</sup> RAM cannot always be expected to be uplifting in tone and content. Indeed, disarming can occur when dwelling on horrifying episodes from our past. If the appropriate lessons are learnt, then it is a duty of RAM not to shy away from difficult subject matter, but to motivate local audiences to engage critically with some very tough truths. A case in point is provided from an interviewee who, when prompted with a common closing question of who or what would you like to see on a mural, chose the harrowing story of Ann Ogliby. The interviewee acknowledged the fellow respondents’ concerns about re-traumatising another generation, but they felt it necessary to speak of the awful price paid when transgressing what it means to be a ‘good loyalist woman’.<sup>66</sup>

We close this section by considering a few brief profiles from amongst a cast far wider than can be accommodated here. Beginning with Dawn Purvis who exuded great integrity when resigning as PUP leader following the UVF’s shooting of Bobby Moffett, who was killed in broad daylight on the Shankill in 2010. She is a viable candidate for a future mural not simply through her work as female leader of the party and her principled stance against a return to violence, but also her multiple roles since leaving. Purvis moved on to become chief executive of a housing charity in North Down, she is chair of ‘Healing Through Remembering’ (which considers how to deal with legacy issues) and ‘Positive Life’ (supporting people living with HIV). She is also on the board of the John and Pat Hume

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid p. 323.

<sup>66</sup> 31-year-old Ogliby was the victim of a punishment killing in 1974, her ‘crime’ was an affair with a local married UDA commander. The Protestant single mother of four had made defamatory comments about his wife and eight weeks after Ogliby had given birth to his son, the women’s unit sentenced her at a kangaroo court to a ‘rompering’ (UDA slang for a torture session). The day after the ‘trial’, Ogliby and her six-year-old daughter were kidnapped and taken to a disused bakery (converted to a UDA club). Acting on the orders of the unit’s leader, Elizabeth Douglas, two teenage girls savagely attacked a hooded Ogliby with bricks and sticks. Her daughter overheard her being beaten to death. ‘Ann Ogliby was beaten to death by a gang of UDA women – why would they come forward and tell all now’, *Belfast Telegraph* 13 December 2013 available at <https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/opinion/columnists/ann-ogilby-was-beaten-to-death-by-a-gang-of-uda-women-why-would-they-come-forward-and-tell-all-now-29834789.html>, accessed 17 March 2021. Interview with ‘CM’, Belfast, 25 November 2021.

Foundation for peaceful change and reconciliation.<sup>67</sup> Ardoyne-born Protestant Betty Sinclair's involvement in a very different politics leaves behind a remarkable C.V. She was active in the Outdoor Relief protests of October 1932—a non-sectarian moment of working-class solidarity with 60,000 supporters marching by torch-light to the Custom House singing neutral songs. She bravely stood as candidate for the Communist Party in the 1945 general election; an open and curious mind took her to Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union; described as completely fearless and widely read, Sinclair also spent almost thirty years as secretary of the Belfast Trades Council.<sup>68</sup>

Murals, even when activated, are only an entry point toward further exploration in other contexts such as a museum exhibition. An argument can also be made for externalising and maximising the fantastic curation of, for example, the recent 'extraORDINARY' exhibition at the Linen Hall Library. While it does a great service in illuminating the continuing, collective journey of women in NI, it would surely have further impact if that light shone out from walls all year around. This would grant these narratives as much exposure as the weaponised archetypes; the exposure they frankly deserve. The Linen Hall's significant archives document ground-breaking movements for social change and grassroots activism. Should the Linen Hall's extensive archive of grassroots activism inform research and design of murals, their programme of outreach would expand from a one-off, city-centric, indoor exhibition into large-scale, public history painting for as long as the people want it. This would further satisfy the rationale for the exhibition: amplifying previously unheard voices telling inspirational stories of collaboration and support, finding commonality during a

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<sup>67</sup> McKay, *Northern Protestants: On Shifting Ground.*, p. 170.

<sup>68</sup> Connal Parr, 'The Undefeated Radical: Protestants from the Spanish Civil War to the 1960s', (lecture, Belfast, 1<sup>st</sup> February, 2014), p. 10.

divisive period.<sup>69</sup> The final profile was featured in the exhibition and returns us to the dramaturgical dimension. Charabanc Theatre was formed in 1983 out of the frustrations of five out-of-work actresses, most notably Marie Jones. Theirs is an account worth muralising firstly because it resembles the DIY, pragmatic ethic of taking creative matters into one's own hands, argued for in chapter seven's section on the people's media. Rather than relying on directors who would often cast English actors anyway, the Charabanc women directed their own work. The nature of this work is the second reason for their muralisation. Jones, along with other writers like Christina Reid, did not shy away from dealing with social class and gender in their plays. Furthermore, both were from devoutly Protestant backgrounds and were proximate with loyalist paramilitaries with whom they at times wrote and interacted in some personal or critical capacity.<sup>70</sup> We continue these links in the next section where the performing of identities, particularly sexual orientation, has disarming potential.

### 8.3 Queering the Stage

#### 8.3.1 Save Ulster from Prejudice

Historically, homophobia has been associated with a contagion; a fear of reducing the things one fought for, principally home and family.<sup>71</sup> It is often accompanied by religious sanction and physical brutality, in essence a violent defence against difference, perceived as a threat,

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<sup>69</sup> The exhibition's subtitle. 'Together We Are Strong: Women in Northern Ireland Since 1965', chronicles the fight for education, health and equality leading to improved accessibility, wider opportunities and higher visibility. Similar to its contents, feminist murals would provide wider opportunities for learning and a literal higher visibility. Author's notes from 'ExtraOrdinary Women: Supporting Communities 1965-Today' exhibition Linen Hall Library (November 2021).

<sup>70</sup> Parr, *Inventing the Myth*, p. 219.

<sup>71</sup> The following was the view of George Weinberg who is credited as having coined the term 'homophobia' in the 1960s. Marian Duggan, 'Lost in transition? Sexuality and justice in post-conflict Northern Ireland', *Northern Ireland Legal Quarterly*, Vol. 68. No. 2 (2017), p. 166.

undermining the integrity of the hegemonic sanctuary. Paramilitaries have condemned such ‘immoral’ behaviour and, in a tightly knit ‘sanctuary’, even rumours can attract unwanted pressure from their unlawful policing.<sup>72</sup> Equal representation and greater visible awareness are a first step to eradicate anti-LGBT victimisation, described as one of the last ‘acceptable prejudices’ in NI.<sup>73</sup> The rationale for selecting disarming material should not be limited to that which directly affects an individual or their ingroup, but rather anything which offends their sense of humanity. Luckily for heterosexual, loyalist men, history is littered with examples of members of dominant groups identifying with and participating in activism to reduce inequalities affecting subordinate groups.<sup>74</sup> The initial stimulus for the development of a LGBT movement lay in the gulf of inequities between NI and Britain. The Sexual Offences Act (1967) had initiated gradual decriminalisation of homosexuality in England and Wales. Staunch opposition to the British government’s plans to extend the law was subsequently countered in 1977 by Paisley’s ‘Save Ulster from Sodomy’ campaign. Though initially impeding activism, the arrest of Northern Ireland Gay Rights Association (NIGRA) Secretary Jeffrey Dudgeon by the RUC for marijuana possession during a raid of his home sparked change. The opportunity was used by NIGRA to advance its cause and based on police harassment; a case led by Dudgeon was brought forward under Article 8 (right to a private life) to the European Court of Human Rights. In 1981 the courts found in favour of decriminalising homosexuality and was the first of several legal landmarks to positively

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<sup>72</sup> In a strange twist from its more usual usage in NI, Dissidence (of a sexual nature) has been seen by certain local organisations as representing anti-social activity...in many cases forcible eviction is the verdict. From R Kitchin, ‘Sexing the City: The Sexual Production of Non-heterosexual Space in Belfast, Manchester and San Francisco’ (2002) cited in *Ibid*, p. 168.

<sup>73</sup> High levels of fear stemming from often repeated abuse and attack were demonstrated among respondents who had largely resigned themselves to the belief that homophobia was a ‘fact of life and something to be put up with. *Ibid*, p. 169.

<sup>74</sup> Examples would include white Americans active in the civil rights movement, middle class intellectuals such as writer (see John Hewitt in NI) aligning with the working class and, most prevalently for this section, heterosexuals campaigning for LGBT rights. Ashe, *The New Politics of Masculinity*, p. 12.

impact LGBT citizens. Some might believe giving over a gable end in dedication to a court verdict is strange as such remembrance is not the typical order in NI. To this view one can only agree but swiftly follow up with the inevitable riposte of ‘why not?’ Why not celebrate a legal battle whose victory meant greater freedom and equality? Additionally, it certainly takes several words from the weaponised vocabulary in a boldly inventive direction. Such use of the past would not belong to any typical order but begin a new order one which emphasises a virile anti-sectarianism of the queer community.<sup>75</sup> It is telling that the noteworthiness of the campaign was largely overlooked by contemporary, mainstream society. Like much disarming, the surfacing of scarcely seen-or-heard histories seeks to rectify an original disregard. McDonagh intimates the extent that cross-border conferences sprung up given a mutual beleaguerment for conservative society (principally in terms of police surveillance and repressive forms of Christianity).<sup>76</sup> From Coleraine in 1973, Trinity College, Dublin, a year later or down to Cork in 1982, a raft of talks, demonstrations and parties constitute an archive of events for painterly re-enactment. Organisations swiftly mobilised, capitalising on the movement’s vivacity, and striving to build onto the foundations. One of the most dedicated of these is ‘Cara’, a charity supporting and empowering the queer community in NI since 1974. Remembering that RAM is opposed to the mild neutrality and bland tokenism of ‘Reimaging’, a Cara-inspired design would not simply represent the organisation in basic minimalist fashion, but rather foreground specific services they provide. To this end we are met with an impressive portfolio: an inclusive business and school charter, youth services (e.g., domestic abuse project aimed at women and

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<sup>75</sup> As Dudgeon himself stated: ‘the gay social scene has never been sectarian. The labels ‘Protestant’ and ‘Catholic’ do not apply: people develop relationships and friendships with each other as individuals and not as representatives of either community.’ Cited in Duggan, ‘Lost in transition?’, p. 165.

<sup>76</sup> Patrick James McDonagh, ‘Queering Northern Ireland during the Troubles’, *Writing the Troubles* blog series available at <https://writingthetroublesweb.wordpress.com/2019/02/18/queering-the-troubles/> accessed 23 May 2021.

girls aged 12 years and above), advocacy, campaigning, policy and volunteering, family support project, awareness training, switchboard/helpline, and mental health/mindfulness programmes.<sup>77</sup> Queer inclusivity we cannot side-line the equal importance of the continued and enhanced political agency of lesbian, bisexual and transgender advocates who demonstrate harmony in an otherwise segregated society. Julie-Ann Corr-Johnston made history as the first woman to represent her area and the first openly lesbian unionist councillor when elected to Belfast council for the PUP in 2014.<sup>78</sup> An articulate and outspoken young loyalist feminist who has now joined the UUP under a liberal leader, this was not always the case, and she has divulged with candour her battle against self-harm and suicidal thoughts and, arguably, against a more straitjacket loyalist identity. It was the Shankill Women's Centre that helped her find her inner strength and, though losing her seat in 2019, she still fiercely fights on as a community activist. She shares a class-conscious analysis of new loyalism, describing poverty as a greater threat to the union than republicanism.<sup>79</sup> Politically activated murals would serve as policy platforms from which the PUP could launch into the public sphere their liberal perspectives on social issues. They remain anomalous within unionism for openly supporting women's and LGBT rights. They are (candidly) pro-choice on the abortion issue and, broader than the constitutional concern, they promote policies for urban regeneration, the environment, and energy.<sup>80</sup> As sterling as this work is, Corr-Johnston reminds us there is a lot left to be done, not least in the implementation of the GFA. She has also publicly lamented the lack of the Civic Forum and Bill of Rights. Equality, gender or otherwise, has not progressed at the pace many desired.

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<sup>77</sup> Cara charity website profile available at <https://cara-friend.org.uk/>, accessed 22 January 2022.

<sup>78</sup> McKay, *Northern Protestants: On Shifting Ground*, p. 119.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119.

<sup>80</sup> James McAuley, 'Just Fighting to Survive', p. 530.

The positive staying power of disarmed murals tries to lodge itself in the public sphere so that we do not lose sight of earlier promises and how close or far we are from keeping them.

### 8.3.2 Life's a DRAG

Masculinity as performance—a central theme from part one—returns when we see how regularly it is explored in gay drag communities whose work defies expectations. Humour, which is at the core of much drag, can have subversive intentions as an incentive for critical thinking. A clip from the BBC mockumentary sitcom *Soft Border Patrol* (2020) features two officers apprehensively pulling over a limousine with 'UDA' on its bonnet only to discover that the passengers are representatives of the 'Ulster Drag Association'.<sup>81</sup> In a place of much contestation, the queens in the car offer a competitive alternative to the weaponised language of paramilitary acronyms and its menacing reputation. Another common use of humour is as a form of defence against dehumanisation. Several infamous, disparaging views made by high-profile political elites have gained significant media coverage. The most notable occurred in 2008 when DUP MP Iris Robinson (the then wife of First Minister Peter Robinson) was asked to comment on the brutal assault of a young gay man near Belfast. While doing so, she publicly stated that homosexuality was an 'abomination' which 'nauseated' her as something worse than paedophilia, and finally that homosexuals could be 'cured'.<sup>82</sup> In true absorptive style of satire, this hatred was turned into *Abomination: A DUP Opera* by Conor Mitchell in 2019.<sup>83</sup> Based entirely on actual events and statements, the DUP

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<sup>81</sup> The clip ends with 'Penny', a more senior passer-by, defending the queens' drive down to Dublin. She misinterprets the officers' actions as oppression and proudly walks away declaring: 'Up equality-and up the UDA!' 'Soft Border Patrol' BBC Northern Ireland, clip available on Twitter at <https://twitter.com/BBCnireland/status/1236275409060278279> accessed 12 March 2020.

<sup>82</sup> Duggan, 'Lost in transition?', p. 167.

<sup>83</sup> The production enjoyed a successful run in the Spring of 2022 at the renowned Abbey Theatre in Dublin.

was ‘gloriously damned by its own words and hypocrisy’.<sup>84</sup> The most extravagant scene is saved for a depiction of Iris's undoing as she commits the biblical sin of adultery with a teenager. A review acclaiming the opera begins by stating it deserves to be seen far and wide<sup>85</sup>, something which the transference of cultural activation would achieve. Just like a march or exhibition, muralising a character(s), a scene or lines of dialogue from ‘Abomination’ would grant it a secondary, longer-term ‘viewing’ for public audiences. Niall Rea’s *DRAG (Divided, Radical and Gorgeous)*, first performed in 2011 during the ‘OUTBURST’ queer arts festival, explores personal experience through testimonial monologue recounting her relationship with a closeted ‘freedom fighter’ (another phrase overdue a redefinition). In both productions the queer lens deconstructs and disrupts sectarian divisions of difference, providing an alternative, transformative realm ‘in which it is possible to rethink the conditions of the present through uncovering silenced voices and experiences of the past.’<sup>86</sup> These performances disarm through content, style and delivery whilst equipping us with simple yet visually successful features that, like counter-hegemonic ‘adverts’, could catch the eye and provoke thought. A promotion poster for the video art installation *Trouble* used a pink triangle for its ‘o’, suggestive of the rewind button and the originally intended badge of shame of the Nazi regime, later reclaimed as a symbol of self-identity and love. The poster for *DRAG* is a close-up of the bejewelled balaclava, a different ‘mask’ which is ripped off as the show reaches its crescendo.<sup>87</sup> Drissel contrasts the public performativity of loyalist marches (hyper-masculine, highly militarised with regimental uniformity) to Pride parades with a more democratic participation, individualism and

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<sup>84</sup> McKay, *Northern Protestants: On Shifting Ground*, p. 53.

<sup>85</sup> Fiona Maddocks, ‘Abomination: A DUP Opera review – an outstanding new work’ *The Guardian*, 16 November 2019, available at <https://www.theguardian.com/music/2019/nov/16/abomination-a-dup-opera-lyric-belfast-conor-mitchell-review-leonardo-opera-v-and-a-london> accessed 5 January 2021.

<sup>86</sup> Stefanie Lehner, ‘Parallel Games’ and Queer Memories: Performing LGBT Testimonies in Northern Ireland’, *Irish University Review*, Vol. 47, Issue 1 (2017), p. 2.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid* p. 16.

elaborate mix of tones. Progress made is celebrated atop floats, while banners and placards call out for progress still to be made in a slow and steady march toward equality. We also witness an alternative use of flags—so often a source of ethnonational grievance—with Gilbert Baker’s 1978 rainbow design being flown in solidarity and inclusion that transcends ethnicity, nationality and religion. Lastly is the fundamental use of space too. Hundreds of sectarian parades (sponsored by either Protestant or Catholic associations) frequently involve marching into residential spaces of the other sect which often sparks violent altercations. The author shares Drissel’s view that Pride is a strategic contest; a subaltern spatial performance whose discursive frames and symbols non-violently confront a universalised set of heteronormative discourses.<sup>88</sup>

Disarming can cite large-scale, social phenomena of the past, recalled in the constructive service of a present. But it can also assume the profile of an individual who represents desirable attributes or who contributed to a worthwhile cause. Even a tragically short life, such as that of Mark Ashton, can be bring together several causes in positive intersection. In Ashton’s case, his activism merged gay and lesbian rights with labour history-in-the-making as the contemporary miners’ strike (1983-84) gripped the nation. Media coverage of his story includes the hugely popular film ‘Pride’ (2014) and a more recent decision to erect either a memorial or blue plaque to Ashton in his native Portrush.<sup>89</sup> If an addition’s physical presence exceeds a blue plaque<sup>90</sup>, it is more likely to become a site for

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid, p. 240.

<sup>89</sup> The proposal generated controversy when a Causeway Coast and Glens DUP Council Group opposed it ostensibly due to his links to the Communist Party and support for the IRA (with no evidence for either claim). Plans were finally approved in June 2021, though again with DUP opposition. Gillian Anderson, ‘DUP concern at Mark Ashton petition’ *Causeway Coast News*, 19 February 2021, available at <https://archive.causewaycoastcommunity.co.uk/local-news/dup-councillors-have-said-they-are-horrified-and-disturbed-by-calls-for-a-memorial-to-gay-activist-mark-ashton/> accessed 23 April 2021.

<sup>90</sup> One such example is the five-storey mural by street artist Joe Caslin painted on a city centre building in Belfast as part of the same-sex marriage campaign. The work depicts a married lesbian couple and is similar in style to another huge design in Dublin showing two young men embracing. ‘Same-sex marriage: Joe Caslin brings mural campaign to Belfast’ *BBC News*, 31 June 2016 available at <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-36933363> accessed 13 October 2019.

socialising, learning of the mindsets of others, and even adjusting one's beliefs. In loyalism, the need for LGBT acceptance has wider implications than those immediately afflicted with prejudice and abuse. Firstly, there is the view that learning is not for real men; that 'education is for girls and gays'.<sup>91</sup> Furthermore, there is the saddening quote from playwright Gary Mitchell concerning Protestants not seeing the arts as belonging to them: 'when I was growing up the over-riding feeling was the everyone involved in the arts is gay or Catholic. There was no room for a heterosexual Protestant.'<sup>92</sup> Although these key factors will be explored in more detail in later sections, it is worth us appreciating here how weaponised misconceptions of masculinity are interlinked with sexuality, religion, and the enjoyment of art and education. It is even more reason that murals try to carve out some room for those who feel they have none. This is the emancipatory potential of a 'queer counterpublic'<sup>93</sup> which refuses to be reduced into the 'two communities' rhetoric. By way of introducing the next section, the author suggests that phrase 'Rotten Prod' would benefit from a similar rebranding as the derogatory epithet 'queer' has undergone.

## 8.4 From Super Prods to Rotten Prods

### 8.4.1 Dissenters of 1920 and 1798

The term 'Super Prods' could be applied to several of the weaponised archetypes and generally describes those who would adopt a severely hard-line position; be that a fundamentalist worldview of unionist politics, or a cultural supremacy of loyalism. At the

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<sup>91</sup> Dave Magee 'The Deconstruction', p. 27.

<sup>92</sup> Parr, *Inventing the Myth*, p. 186.

<sup>93</sup> This phrase is not so much a general orientation against the state per se. Rather it opposes regressive values and discourses that structure what passes for a dominant public. Kathryn Conrad, 'Queering Community: Reimagining the Public Sphere in Northern Ireland', *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Vol. 9, Issue 4 (2006), p. 597.

PUP's annual conference in February 1995, Gusty Spence expressed his long-running contempt for such views describing them as 'tribal ritualistic incantations and shibboleths of the past.'<sup>94</sup> In lieu of these 'Super Prods', the author suggests the symbolic landscape would be better suited to showcasing the spirit of another category: 'Rotten Prods'. In addition to aiding the conceptual disarmament of contemporary paramilitaries, this group's origin story also disarms some of the Home Rule schism given that it dates to the communal trauma of partition. Post-war pressures of unemployment and economic depression were prevalent across the UK, but in Belfast agitation was febrile given its coinciding with the ongoing atrocities of the Irish War of Independence. In July 1920, following an incendiary speech by Carson, a mob armed with hammers, wooden staves, iron bars went on the rampage. The violent shipyard expulsions saw many workers stripped to their undergarments in the search for Catholic emblems like rosary beads. The assaults were tactile and dire with one man thrown into the dock, swimming the Musgrave Channel whilst being pelted with rivets.<sup>95</sup> A vital erasure to this harrowing episode is that the estimated 7,500 workers physically driven out from Harland and Wolff, Workman Clark's (another shipyard), engineering works like Sirocco's and textile mills, was also made up of around 1,850 Protestants. Their 'rotteness' then was a form of behavioural dissent, an abnegation of sectarianism; to actively support those being victimised and for it they suffered a similarly violent fate. This poignant empathy was emotionally informed by a political leaning very much positioned further left than the stereotypical loyalist. Wilson remarks on a key difference between earlier expulsions and those of 1920, with there being an absence in the unionist press of any criticism of the perpetrators. This omission could suggest their condoning such actions, a stance more

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<sup>94</sup> Parr, 'Gusty Spence: Agent of Conflict, Creativity, and Change', p. 138.

<sup>95</sup> Connal Parr, 'Expelled from Yard and Tribe: The 'Rotten Prods' of 1920 and Their Political Legacies', *Studi Irlandesi*, Vol. 11, No. 11 (2021), p. 306. Against this historiographic trend, Emmet O'Connor recently published *Rotten Prod: The Unlikely Career of Dongaree Baird* (Dublin: UCD Press, 2022).

explicitly taken by political leaders like Craig and Carson, both of whom offered belated endorsement of the shipyard expulsions.<sup>96</sup> By doing so a ‘mob mentality’ was gifted legitimacy. It is perhaps admissible that validating riots helped create the expectation that in subsequent times of perceived crisis vigilantism was acceptable response. As we have seen with a brutal and consistent pattern of punishment attacks, this vigilante force is not limited to fending off the external other but projected internally to ensure elements within observe the boundaries created and maintained by self-appointed ‘soldiers’. These boundaries were never only literal (concerning spatial territory) but marked the limits of permitted behaviour, speech and thought. The emotional boundaries around the sanctuary were constantly under threat and therefore constantly needing defending. Just like the versatility of the Lundy label, a ‘Prod’ could conceivably be ‘rotten’ (connotating deplorable impurity or succumbing to a moral decay) due to his mixed marriage, anti-royalist sentiment, or fondness for Irish music, sport or language. Part two argues the opposite of this is needed: not a further condensing and reduction, but an expansion of socially acceptable forms of loyalism and masculinity. A reversal in paintings of the past is required to correct flawed historiographies (both academic/official and public/vernacular). Parr states that the Rotten Prods were not simply expelled from the shipyards but from history itself<sup>97</sup>, a misfortune shared by many maligned groups in part two. Reclaiming rottenness as a badge of honour, a symptom of independent thought and action would help bring their memory back in from the cold.

It could fairly be argued that the original designation of ‘Rotten Prods’ belongs to the United Irishmen, drawing from a long and proud tradition of Presbyterian dissent. Among their number were leading figures such as Henry Joy McCracken, James Hope and (one of

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<sup>96</sup> Tim Wilson, *In Frontiers of Violence: Conflict and Identity in Ulster and Upper Silesia 1918-1922* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 92.

<sup>97</sup> Parr, ‘Expelled from Yard’, p. 301.

the insurrection's primary instigators) Wolfe Tone, all of whom were Protestants.<sup>98</sup> Naturally any mention of these names may provoke the ire of some loyalists but setting aside any grand design for a (re)united Ireland, we can still glean disarming potential from the fundamentally anti-sectarian beliefs of the United Irishmen.<sup>99</sup> It is possible for this philosophy to be applied to 21<sup>st</sup> century localised peacebuilding but, constitutional concerns notwithstanding, this inclination of being fervently disputatious also has use when thinking far outside the insular sanctuary of masculinity. The United Irishmen do not stand alone. Novosel lists others in a lineage of non-conformity: Grattan's parliament of 1782; the Volunteer movement; Ulster Tenant's Right movement; the Linen Hall Library and the 'Athens of the North'; 'Young Ireland' in the 1840s and similar roots of historic Republicanism; and the Irish language itself along with music and design all kept alive by Protestant poets, musicians and artists.<sup>100</sup> Whilst William 'Plum' Smith, former RHC prisoner, was able to accept the tradition of Protestantism in labour activism and trade unionism<sup>101</sup>, even if not every loyalist will be comforted by this historical pattern and the proximity of their faith to radical ideas they do not hold. So, there is clearly a well-stocked repository of bold, dramatic, progressive ideas, figures, groups and episodes, yet virtually none have been explored and utilised for the purposes of public art and education—at least not within loyalism. This is further reason to retrieve some of this material; not just to correct inaccuracies, but to channel some of that radical dissent into the construction of contemporary loyalist masculinity. The enlightened 18<sup>th</sup> century tradition may have been concerned with civic republicanism, influenced heavily

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid, p. 301.

<sup>99</sup> Wolfe Tone called for the 'odious distinction of Protestant, Presbyterian and Catholic' to be abolished. He believed historical resentment between the denominations could be dissolved and replaced with a harmonious sense of Irish identity. Máiréad Nic Craith, *Plural Identities--singular Narratives*, p. 59. See also the recent publication by Claire Mitchell, *The Ghost Limb: Alternative Protestants and the Spirit of 1798* (Belfast: Beyond the Pale Books, 2022).

<sup>100</sup> Novosel, *Northern Ireland's Lost Opportunity*, p. 46.

<sup>101</sup> William 'Plum' Smith, *Inside Man: Loyalists of Long Kesh-the Untold Story* (Newtownards: Colourpoint Books, 2014), p. 169.

by the revolutions of America and France, but at its heart was an emphasis on individualism, egalitarianism and relations of fairness and equality.<sup>102</sup> Frequently this progressive force will intersect with other forms of disarming. For an example, consider the quiet yet broad revolution conducted by Edwardian unionist women. Within the confines of a deeply engrained patriarchy, women fought for their significant voice to be heard and shape discourse in this crucial period of modern unionism. A discernible exasperation underlines Burgess and Mulvenna's question why this remarkable history of women's social activism is not more prominent in the Ulster Protestant story.<sup>103</sup> Why is the celebration of pioneering suffragist Isabella Todd reduced, like Ashton (potentially), to just a blue heritage plaque?

#### 8.4.2 Antidotes to 'Toxic Theology'

Far from an either/or, disarming imagery can draw selectively from episodes ranging in time and space. More recent examples may seem more germane, and one option might be to survey the feasibility of visualising a Protestant version of 'liberation theology'. Best known in the context of Latin American Catholicism of the 1960s, its guiding principle was liberating the oppressed, in whatever form inequality may take e.g., socio-economic disadvantage, race or caste. One motive for surfacing such iterations in Protestantism would be to dispute the contemporary rise in conservative evangelicalism and fundamentalism in some sections of NI. As Brady expands, this trend is concerning since extreme views that exacerbate the sectarian divide have been adopted among some younger Protestants.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Ruane and Todd, *The Dynamics of Conflict*, p. 86.

<sup>103</sup> James Greer, 'Typical Unionists? The Politicians and their People, Past and Present' in Burgess, and Mulvenna (eds.), *The Contested Identities*, p. 46.

<sup>104</sup> Sean Brady, 'Why Examine Men, Masculinities and Religion in Northern Ireland?' in Lucy Delap & Sue Morgan (eds.) *Men, Masculinities and Religious Change in Twentieth Century Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 223.

Furthermore, it is exceptionally difficult to uncouple many of these views from a hegemonic masculinity which is disposed to meting out violent punishment. Irreconcilable antagonisms, sustained by certain religious histories, may be overcome by calling attention to forgotten episodes that provide an alternative ‘history of ecumenism’.<sup>105</sup> Given its awkward placement, wedged between two colossal power-blocs, this history resembles a ‘thirdspace’ into which can be placed several useful foundations for the building of peace: dialogue, mediation and conciliation. As we have seen successful design (weaponised or disarming) requires strength in simplicity for ease of comprehension and to imprint upon us. Radical imagery needs to conjure something of a Biblical performative drama, through language or symbolism, metaphor and might need to plead the case for peace. Rapp and Rhomberg suggest the former ‘sword’ of militaristic propaganda should be transformed into the ‘feather’ of cross-communication.<sup>106</sup> This recalls the beating of swords into ploughshare, spears to pruning hooks as promoted in Isaiah 2:4 and, like the rainbow flag or fist raised through the Venus sign (uniting feminism and leftist solidarity), provides us with persuasive symbolism. A vivid vocabulary is of course not enough, and risks coming across too abstract; disarming is grounded in reality through profiling noteworthy organisations and individuals. Rev. Karen Sethuraman is such a person, interested in alternative theologies that offer healing —those keen to find an antidote to what Rev. Gary Mason called ‘toxic theology’, very often twinned with ‘toxic masculinity’ in a cocktail of hate. Sethuraman considers herself continuing the tradition of the Anabaptists who ‘had the courage to step out of the institutional church to create community and do life.’<sup>107</sup> This faith operates like much of RAM, at the grassroots as

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<sup>105</sup> Beiner, ‘Between Trauma and Triumphalism’, p. 388.

<sup>106</sup> Rapp & Rhomberg, ‘Seeking a Neutral Identity’, p. 473.

<sup>107</sup> McKay, *Northern Protestants: On Shifting Ground*, p. 124.

the spiritual companion to organic intellectuals.<sup>108</sup> The mantra she preaches is of loving God and your neighbour and reaches out to those who never fitted into the church of ‘For God and Ulster’. The South East Fermanagh Foundation (SEFF) has attempted to remind us that true faith resides in a rejection of violence, moral courage and self-sacrifice.<sup>109</sup> They have similarly tried to disarm the scriptural reference ‘eye for eye, tooth for tooth’ so often put forward as entitlement to seek retribution.<sup>110</sup> The simplistic reductive appeals to emotion found in weaponisation can often be disarmed through nuance and logic. In this case, the phrase is a figurative command never intended to be taken literally. Crucial in undermining the arbitrary vendetta of paramilitary ‘policing’, the phrase always related to a civil situation being judged before a duly constituted authority (such as a judge or magistrate). While many former paramilitary members cloaked their actions in legitimacy, Noel Large does not for he knows his deeds are indefensible. It was in Maze that Large became a born-again Christian; his faith being as all-encompassing now as his commitment to violence had been. Yet such transformed figure may induce an apprehension as to whether they should be held up as evidence of transition and agents of change or resigned to the miseries of their former life.<sup>111</sup> Such questions on the finer margins of representation are for loyalist communities to answer (as detailed in sections on a people’s media and the verbing process in chapter seven). Should they wish to veer away from controversy, they would still have profuse options. Rev. John

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<sup>108</sup> The value of local knowledge and genuine concern is mirrored in the location of Sethuraman’s work: Forthspring, an interfaith centre based in an old Methodist church right up against the peace wall running along the Springfield and Woodvale roads in west Belfast.

<sup>109</sup> South East Fermanagh Foundation, *For God and Ulster: The Vow of those who Reject Violence* (Lisnaskea: SEFF, 2020).

<sup>110</sup> According to Wood, justifying Greysteel was not a problem for some loyalists. Considered the UDA/UFF’s Alamo, they felt they had nothing left to lose. Stephen Irwin, one of the gunmen responsible, had no regrets when interviewed in 1995: ‘I don’t know what I’ll feel in ten years’ time but I’ve never felt remorse about what I did. We were using IRA tactics against the IRA and the republican community. It was Old Testament justice, an eye for an eye.’ In Wood, *Crimes of Loyalty*, p. 172.

<sup>111</sup> Large does not sugar-coat his actions; he murdered innocent people because they were Catholic. He shot an innocent elderly woman in her bed as her daughter watched. In prison for four life sentences, he served 16 years before being released under the terms of GFA—a perfect example as to why prisoner release was for so long such a contentious issue in the early ‘post-conflict’ era. Purtill, ‘This man’.

Stewart has multi-layered interests which make him a hugely suitable candidate for muralisation. A former shipyard worker turned minister at Woodvale Church just off the Shankill, he was also a member of the NILP serving as community leader in working class areas.<sup>112</sup> As an alternative masculine role-model he is of religious, political and labour significance. In Stewart we see how compatible the pastoral duty of religion is with social development work. A similar observation has been made in relation to those ministering care to soldiers of the First World War—tellingly amongst the numerous, untold perspectives of that conflict. By talking with and listening to soldiers’ thoughts and concerns, extending empathy to them, taking the time to form bonds of trust and confidence, military chaplains not only demonstrated key skills in community leadership but also prefigure psychoanalytical techniques.<sup>113</sup> As explained in chapter five, a thorough self-awareness of one’s mental health and hegemonic masculinity rarely meet. Therefore, any sympathetic portrayals of such professional characters would elevate the need for such conversations. The scope of this ecumenical ethos is outlined in Ian Ellis’ directory of ‘Peace and Reconciliation Projects in Ireland’ (1984) in which, of the 84 listed, 36 have an explicit religious basis.<sup>114</sup> Perhaps the best known, the Corrymeela Community founded in 1965, is still active today. Although its centre, which hosts conferences, workshops and retreats for all kinds of groups often from across the divide, is based on the north Antrim coast. A mural in the heart of a loyalist district could raise awareness of this atmosphere and bring a fresh perspective to a new audience. In truth, after the early 1970s the clergy seemed less likely to use their sermons to call for peace and reconciliation. A sermon-like atmosphere is congruent to repeated activation, though without any heavy-handed didactics, it would aim to be a source of intellectual nourishment and provocation (without causing offense). This section ends with a brief mention as to what

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<sup>112</sup> Novosel, *Northern Ireland’s Lost Opportunity*, p. 92.

<sup>113</sup> Moss and Prince, *Weary Warriors*, p. 153.

<sup>114</sup> Whyte, *Interpreting Northern Ireland*, p. 28.

some of these painterly ‘sermons’ might cover. SEFF, formed just a year after GFA, supports individuals making the personal transition from ‘victim’ to ‘survivor’ as part of a process of healing and confidence building.<sup>115</sup> This raises a valid theme that civilians (52% of all victims of the Troubles) are rarely seen in murals with the revered walls invariably being reserved for those culpable for the violence. Rectifying this, like many changes one may wish for, is far easier from an outside vantage. There would still be a plethora of ethical issues to navigate through when attempting to resist a hierarchy of suffering, which could be read as equating all victims as one—a decision which might generate backlash. It is one thing for SEFF to feature inspiring biograph snippets in a book; quite another to commission a large-scale, public painting representing this. Even with strenuous efforts of democratic consultation ensuring citizen groups were composed of a diversity of views, their consenting approval may not extrapolate to the entire community. The words of Gordon Wilson just hours after the Enniskillen bombing killed his daughter: ‘I bear no ill will. I bear no grudge’, might sound like the astonishing moral courage needed, yet others may not be ready to see these words on a mural (perhaps insulted that it pressures them to forgive completely). Importantly, Wilson’s calls for forgiveness (based in part on a strong Methodist upbringing) would materialise in 1989 with the ‘Spirit of Enniskillen Trust’<sup>116</sup>. At the time, however, his interview was seen more of a call not for revenge to be taken in Marie’s name. Given how routinely this motive featured throughout the Troubles, Wilson’s words come from a

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<sup>115</sup> SEFF is an integral part of the Innocent Victims United umbrella organisation which supports 21 victim/survivor groups with a combined membership of over 11,000. It provides a lobbying and representational function and presents itself as non-political, non-sectarian and a family focused organisation. ‘For God and Ulster: The Vow’.

<sup>116</sup> After the devastating personal loss at Enniskillen, Wilson became a committed peace campaigner. The Trust was a community outreach programme helping young people in Northern Ireland participate in international undertakings. It also awarded bursaries for projects promoting reconciliation but unfortunately the Trust closed in 2013 due to financial difficulties. ‘Gordon Wilson, 67, Campaigner for Peace in Northern Ireland’ *New York Times* 28 June 1995, available at <https://www.nytimes.com/1995/06/28/obituaries/gordon-wilson-67-campaigner-for-peace-in-northern-ireland.html> accessed 22 April 2021.

radically disarming language, which has been credited with saving lives.<sup>117</sup> In the aftermath of other horrific events, religious figures would often speak up as the voice of reason. Following the death of the three Quinn brothers, firebombed at home by the UVF, Rev. William Bingham, an Orange Order chaplain in Co. Armagh, bravely attacked the violence declaring with great emotion: ‘no road is worth a life.’<sup>118</sup> This clarity and dedication to resolution was evident during the peace process where the Protestant clergy played an important role in debating with the CLMC—Rev. Roy Magee and Archbishop Robin Eames were particularly instrumental in attending a series of meetings in the run-up to the ceasefires.<sup>119</sup> In closing we must concede that religion as a force for change and reconciliation is a disputed claim, as suggested by the mural ‘Son of Protagoras’ (2014). Considered the father of agnosticism, the young figure in the work is dressed in a toga and holds the dove of peace, struck dead by two arrows: one for each church. Diverging interpretations perhaps make finding that hallowed thirdspace harder, but the next section attempts to locate another space within the cultural identity of the Ulster-Scots.

## 8.5 Between the Binary: Ulster-Scots as Thirdspace

### 8.5.1 Over the Bridge

Ulster-Scots identity category straddles the North Channel and the usually rigid Irish/English dichotomy. It can be understood to be occupying a ‘thirdspace’, referred to by Bhabha and

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<sup>117</sup> ‘I think they must represent some of the most important and moving words that were ever spoken in the history of our Troubles.’ David Bolton, trauma counsellor. ‘I was told later there were people ready to take up arms for Enniskillen and when Gordon said that, they couldn’t do it.’ Noreen Hill, wife of Ronnie Hill, another victim of the Enniskillen bombing. ‘Remembering Enniskillen: The Poppy Day Massacre’ documentary remastered by ‘A Troubled Land’ available at YouTube <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5qOnMJ1t3j0> accessed 1 March 2022.

<sup>118</sup> Taylor, *Loyalists*, p. 255.

<sup>119</sup> Hutchinson with Mulvenna, *My Life in Loyalism*, p. 155.

Soja as that which lies beyond forms of knowledge and divides the world into crude binary oppositions. According to Bhabha, cultures that are situated in interstitial passages can navigate around—or through—more fixed identities and inherent hierarchies of comparison and competition. By focusing on the ambiguity and uncertainty of hybrid identities as positive attributes, their culture can prove to be a very productive location for articulating changed meanings.<sup>120</sup> In Scott's estimation many, including Gramsci, overlook 'the massive middle ground, in which conformity is often a self-conscious strategy and resistance is a carefully balanced affair that avoids all-or-nothing confrontations.'<sup>121</sup> In that middle ground, we meet a constant testing of the limits of acceptability. This is suggestive of the skilfully elastic leadership of organic intellectuals and is also matched in the exploratory nature of research-led, critically engaging participatory arts. The two-community thesis often appears so historically embedded, and such a compelling framework, that it is very difficult to reveal how murals may function within wider networks that exceed division. Lisle provides an intriguing response to Gerry McCarthy's adverse assessment that 'there is no third force on the gables of NI'.<sup>122</sup> Whilst she does not reject this claim, she submits that one is developing in urban graffiti. The author would take this further by suggesting this could lay the steppingstones toward bigger and more permanent transgressive and transformative impressions being made upon the landscape.

The arts are the first of two locations we consider as spaces for sustained, meaningful enquiry (including gendered practices, relationships, and power). This is easier to detect in a liberal civic unionism whose middle class accommodationist ethos downplays sectarianism by searching for a middle ground in common heritage.<sup>123</sup> An enduring stereotype is that

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<sup>120</sup> Ikas and Wagner, *Communicating in the Third Space*, p. 38.

<sup>121</sup> Downing, *Radical media*, p. 17.

<sup>122</sup> Debbie Lisle 'Local Symbols, Global Networks', p. 46.

<sup>123</sup> Graham, 'The Past in the Present', p. 492.

should one attempt to find any fertile interest in creativity and culture in loyalism then their search would surely be in vain. Parr's chronicling the life and works of several eminent Protestant working class writers (mainly playwrights) goes some way to dispelling this trivialising deceit. Beginning with Thomas Carnduff, the 'shipyard poet', whose own output displays evidence of cultural maturity and respect for the other, earlier writings offer a jingoistic chauvinism, but his style developed to include quotes from the Qur'an and translations of Indian, Persian and Greek writers he admired.<sup>124</sup> This harks back to the cultural globalisation of chapter six and, being born in 1886, Carnduff's story is a fascinating one which encompasses a wild array of historic episodes throughout the domestic disturbance. Like other figures we have met in part two, his narrative contains a multitude of placements and experiences which radically altered his outlook and subsequent work. Like most men from his background, he signed the Ulster Covenant but additionally was a member of the YCV, partook in gun-running, and served in the First World War. After demobilising he spent four years in the Special Constabulary before returning to the shipyards during the economic downturn of the mid-1920s. Carnduff's observations were fixed on working class concerns, a perspective as rarely written then as it is painted now. St. John Ervine also served in the war but brought back with him none of the heroic, self-sustaining myths hitherto suffused into a general Ulster unionist mentality. Referred to as the 'war which did no good to anyone' in his novels, the carnage is culturally debilitating and inflicted on the young by older men.<sup>125</sup> We saw in part one how endogamy has survived during the 'post-conflict' age, and this divisive social issue is tackled in the play *Mixed Marriage* (1911) which reads like a tragedy for the Irish Labour movement, torn asunder by competing nationalisms. A shared feature of these writers is their unflinching self-reflection

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<sup>124</sup> Parr, *Inventing the Myth...*, p. 66.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid*, p. 48.

of their community. Due to the vehemence of social identity and the will to preserve and propagate the best managed impression, necessarily scathing portrayals are themselves a radical act in the crossover of politics and art. Sam Thompson places this at the heart of his work, particularly *‘Over the Bridge’* (1960). Scenes of blunt sectarianism jarred with those who would deflect such bigotry as excusable exceptions. The political consciousness of Thompson and the poet John Hewitt were both amplified by foreign policy, namely Italy’s 1935 invasion of Abyssinia, with Hewitt campaigning for sanctions against Italy as a moral response.<sup>126</sup> Longley’s paean to Thompson’s tolerant philosophy rings true and loud with disarming potential. For Longley, Thompson opened ‘a way over the bridge/For Jews and Gypsies, all refugees/Persons displayed by our bigoted/Hometown’<sup>127</sup>—a radical inclusion when areas of a society are still drawn up by prohibitive borders. The most recent writer discussed by Parr is Gary Mitchell, who continues the admirable, yet unappreciated tradition of grappling with the strains of working-class Protestant communities. For his evaluation of issues such as policing tensions, questions around identity and a growing underclass, Mitchell and his family were forced to leave their home in Rathcoole in 2005. In an act of bravery (one diverging from the wonted definition), Mitchell refused to allow abject intimidation to deter his creativity. In responding to an artistic fight back he remarked: ‘my weapons are not baseball bats and petrol bombs, they are words, and I have an abundance of them.’<sup>128</sup>

### 8.5.2 Visualising ‘Free Thinking’

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<sup>126</sup> Ibid, p. 96.

<sup>127</sup> Michael Longley, ‘The Poker’, in *A Hundred Doors* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2011), p. 31.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid, p. 185.

Through the ingenuity of media transference, carefully selected lines of dialogue could become text within a design, relevant and charged scenes from a play could be brought to life in public paintings. Thus limited exposure and impact is maximised. Audiences need not have attended a showing at a specific time and place, as the power of the arts is not contained by theatres, galleries or libraries, but merges seamlessly with the daily realities of everyday life. However, placement alone, even at the civic crossroads, is no guarantee of an enthusiastic public sphere. William Conor may well be a historical example of a beloved working-class painter, but the physical condition of ‘Conor’s Corner’ on the Shankill would suggest otherwise. Far smaller than a mural, thereby less visually influential, the display shows clear signs of degradation which require routine maintenance. The suggestion of muralising Conor’s sympathetic portraits of working-class life, from shipyard men to ‘shawlies’ (or mill girls of Belfast) is nothing new. Gusto Spence introduced many in Compound 21 to his art when murals were painted on cubicle walls inside the UVF/RHC huts.<sup>129</sup> The only amendment the author would make is to transfer the drawings from the cramped compound to wide open walls for greater contemplation. Conor’s Corner was even activated upon its completion, with several speakers including renowned local journalist Eamonn Maille speaking at the unveiling in September 2015 on Conor’s lasting tribute to the people of the Shankill. As encouraging as such an event is, we cannot reasonably expect any attitudinal change or emotional impression if activation is not sustainably carried out. Many grassroots case studies for arts-based practices are to be found throughout NI. Ballymacarett Arts and Cultural Society (BACS), for example, was founded during the peace process and resides in the heart of loyalist east Belfast—often considered one of the most entrenched locations for paramilitary activity. Theirs is an approach which emphasises the arts when

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<sup>129</sup> Hutchinson with Mulvenna, *My Life in Loyalism*, p. 13.

making explicit connections with young people. Among their projects, BACS has tackled an enterprising range including alcohol abuse, anti-social behaviour, educational underachievement, unemployment and disempowerment.<sup>130</sup> These latter issues represent some underlying factors that can foment serious unrest or open conflict for extremism prospers in the gap between rising expectations and declining opportunities. Then there is the case of a quite remarkable collaboration between Danny Devenny and Mark Ervine, muralists from a republican and loyalist background, respectively. 15-year-old Devenny volunteered for the IRA in 1970 and three years later was imprisoned for a bank robbery. Mark is the son of David Ervine and an accomplished artist, but this unlikely pairing speaks louder than either of their creative practices. For sure their work is, in some sense, disarming— given that it involves cross-community interaction, it is largely free from institutional pressure and protocol and addresses broader themes (e.g., workers’ exploitation in globalised labour markets and the climate crisis) than the typical repertoire.<sup>131</sup> Their friendship, honesty and reciprocal learning indicate how synergistic male muralists can be once they renounce the bitter rivalry of competing tribal claims. In a sense we can understand the struggle to disarm hegemonic masculinities in a similar manner to how peace was achieved. For any proposed solution to survive and succeed, the deadbolt across mindsets needs to be unlocked. Such revelations were stated in ‘Common Sense’ wherein Ulster loyalism was described as living in a state of eternal siege; a people instinctively driven by an overpowering need to defend against the enemy without and suppress the enemy within.<sup>132</sup> The key document (muralised on one occasion alongside a portrait and brief description of John McMichael, see fig 8.2)

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<sup>130</sup> Smithey, *Unionists*, p. 157.

<sup>131</sup> Rapp & Markus Rhomberg (2012) *Seeking a Neutral Identity...*, p. 476.

<sup>132</sup> Ulster Political Research Group ‘*Common Sense*’ CAIN (1987) available at <https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/issues/politics/docs/commonsense.htm> accessed 13 November 2019.

was less dour in its prognosis, claiming that success partially lay in attempts to persuade Ulster ‘Protestants’ that there was no longer a need to defend the frontier.



Fig.8.2

This was true in the late 1990s during the search for a political situation, just as it is now in considering the social transformation of gender. Helpfully there exists several interlinked traits attributed to an Ulster-Scots identity which assist in relieving the siege. Historical strife over civil and religious freedom has resulted in Presbyterianism priding itself on the idea of a radical nature, including ones’ individual conscience.<sup>133</sup> This is in accordance with another core characteristic: a healthy respect for education and learning. It was, after all Francis Hutcheson—an Ulster Protestant from Drumalig, Co. Down—who, as professor of moral philosophy at Glasgow University, is described by some as the ‘father of the Scottish

<sup>133</sup> Spencer, *The State of Loyalism in Northern Ireland*, p. 15.

Enlightenment'.<sup>134</sup> Bruce believes that intellectual contentions demonstrate an importance of 'free thinking', which is by its nature both highly democratic and fissiparous.<sup>135</sup> We should differentiate between benign and malignant schism, the former allowing for heterogeneous expression and eloquence of difference. The latter is often self-destructive and violent, disturbing relations long after an initial disintegration of understanding and respect. Channelling energies toward benign schism would facilitate the developing of an ethics of remembrance with principles of narrative flexibility or plurality. Just as history is a fluid discipline with multiple perspectives, so too is both loyalism and masculinity. What all require to thrive is a vibrant and democratic discussion which can, over time, reshape previously moulded frames into wider configurations so that they may accommodate a bigger picture.

### 8.5.3 Orangefield: A Case Study of Emancipatory Education

This section ends by considering the capacity for education to be an incubator for this free thinking. The implications of its deficit are wide-sweeping and conceivably devastating. Obviously educational underachievement can diminish employment opportunities, itself a major problem. However, the critical skills and balanced judgement of young men is also diminished. Without some of the tools of understanding, patience, respect and empathy, boys

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<sup>134</sup> Aside from the Enlightenment, both the American War of Independence and French Revolution bear traces of the wider ideological implications. With the spread of this thinking across the Atlantic, it could be suggested that this offers a differing model of Scots-Irish to the rugged wildmen of the frontier imagery. It adds greater depth to the trope of conquering the lands and peoples as pioneers or ruling over them as presidents. Of course, none of this can be understood in isolation to Scots-Irish participation in the violent colonisation of the 'New World'. Wilson & McReynolds, 'Celebration and Controversy' in Burgess & Mulvenna, *The Contested Identities*, p. 143.

<sup>135</sup> Steve Bruce, 'Authority and Fission: The Protestants' Divisions' *The British Journal of Sociology* vol. 36, no.4 (1985), p. 601.

are susceptible to emotional manipulation that feeds off a narrowing of worldviews. This in turn may leave them vulnerable to believing in a number of prejudices and convinced into taking drastic and damaging action in their name. Educational underachievement—which for McAdam represents ‘the biggest threat to the current political stability’<sup>136</sup> in NI—has long been a particular issue for Protestant boys.<sup>137</sup> This phenomenon can be partly traced back to two key disruptive developments which we met throughout part one. First was the gradual decline, from the late 1950s onward, of traditional industries and with them the secure employment availed by generations of Protestant, working-class men. Second was the urban break-up due to the civil unrest of the Troubles, with the result that loyalist paramilitaries are often charged with contributing to the creation of ‘sink estates’, blighted by unemployment, poverty, lack of aspiration, and breakdown of the family unit.<sup>138</sup> Further distance is put between young men and realising their educational goals by the additional stigma we have met; the feminisation of activities like reading, perceived as ‘uncool’ relative to participating in high-risk, high-thrill reward events such as anti-social behaviour. In recollecting his own learning experiences, Hutchinson finds it peculiar that the state system only provided a history of Britain (specifically its monarchs), excluding any social, economic, cultural, or political aspect of Ireland.<sup>139</sup> One possible explanation for the reluctance of unionist leaders to tackle these educational problems stems from a fear that improvement would lead to a challenge of the political and social ascendancy that has characterised unionism. Any mural

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<sup>136</sup> Noel McAdam “We Have to Deal with the Root Causes of the Problems.” *Belfast Telegraph*. July 25, 12, 2011 cited in McManus, “Bound in darkness and idolatry”? p. 48.

<sup>137</sup> The Peace Monitoring Report of 2014 report found that only Roma and Traveller children are getting poorer results than Protestant boys. The study compared all ethnic groups across the UK using five good GCSE grades as the measure of success; just over half of Protestant boys who do not get free school meals were meeting this level. Dr. Paul Nolan, who led the research, commented that this generated inequalities which later show themselves in incidents of public disorder when it seems there is no route out of poverty and inequality turns to anger. ‘Peace Monitoring Report’ Committee for the Office of the First Minister and deputy First Minister, *Hansard*. 9<sup>th</sup> April 2014, pp. 3-6.

<sup>138</sup> Mulvenna ‘The Protestant working class, p. 428.

<sup>139</sup> Hutchinson with Mulvenna *‘My Life in Loyalism’*, p. 131.

that proudly proclaimed the worth of learning would be welcomed (by some) as going against the grain. In the interests of salvaging these values in a non-generic fashion, but one implanted in actual Protestant recent memory, the author suggests the exemplary pedagogy of the boys' secondary school Orangefield. With John Malone, a member of the NILP, as head teacher, Orangefield was an oasis for working-class aspirations<sup>140</sup> and his regime ushered in a positive era for education in NI that has often been overlooked or ignored completely. One of the most popular and significant aspects of Malone's alternative curriculum was broadening the worldview of students by immersing the boys in a different environment, away from the urban insularity of Belfast. Within the school itself, impressionable minds benefited from the influential role of teachers: Henry Sinnerton taught French, English, civics and sport, but also promoted social justice driven by a passionate belief in democratic, liberal Protestantism. Douglas Carson taught history, with his pioneering educational initiatives finding wider audiences during an illustrious career in BBC programming; Jonathan Bardon's magisterial writings sought to reclaim Ulster history and Sam MacCready, alongside his life partner, Joan, tirelessly promoted Northern Irish theatre.<sup>141</sup> The playwright Stewart Parker paid tribute to Malone, his former teacher, in a 1986 memorial lecture : 'He was a true zealot for the emancipation of the mind...it was a zeal which drew its force from such diverse traditions as Northern Irish Protestant radicalism, a particular brand of Christian socialism, and a Cambridge Leavisite aesthetic.'<sup>142</sup> Dawe believes the school, without broadcasting it, was following a progressive agenda, and it is hard to disagree with this except to say the time is long overdue that this agenda was broadcasted. That the school no longer physically exists

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<sup>140</sup> Like the aforementioned findings into systemic under-achievement, the MacBeath report (1955) delivered the verdict that 'a great majority of pupils are probably not intellectually equipped to pass any worthwhile examination.' Mulvenna, 'The Protestant working class in Belfast', p. 431.

<sup>141</sup> Gerald Dawe, 'Orangefield, and an unexamined aspect of Northern resistance to sectarianism and political bigotry', Slugger O'Toole, 1 May 2020, available at <https://sluggerotoole.com/2020/05/01/orangefield-and-a-quiet-aspect-of-resistance-to-sectarianism-and-political-bigotry/> accessed 5 May 2020.

<sup>142</sup> Mulvenna, 'The Protestant working class', p. 432.

(closing in 2014 before its demolition three years later), is further justification for preserving and promulgating the spirit of the school. When politically activated, murals can exert pressure for or against change. Perhaps the mission for a more integrated education system (proposed by the RHC as early as 1974) would be more successful if the case for it was made boldly in paint, as well as other persuasive means. The RHC recognised the calamitous nature of segregation in general, believing it to be a root cause of sectarianism. For their prospective worth to be realised murals need not be limited to portraiture of disarming individuals —the ideas themselves can take centre stage to reclaim the powers of reason and challenge anti-intellectualism.<sup>143</sup> Loyalist activist Sophie Long discusses anti-intellectualism in the context of Brexit-related populism, but the point is valid and reminiscent of Bell’s earlier comment that young loyalists are not moved by ideas but by the beat of the drum.<sup>144</sup>

## 8.6 Subcultural Identities and an Anti-war Cry

### 8.6.1 The Sins My Father Bore

Though adolescence is often when we might start to question certain environmental factors, many believe that the construction of masculine identities starts in childhood. Tolson contended that in this early process, fathers are our first male role model.<sup>145</sup> This view is corroborated by the family links within Orangeism being a ‘remarkable bridging of

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<sup>143</sup> Under the Education Reform Order (1989) a new curriculum was set up promoting ‘education for mutual understanding’. Any or all of its objectives: fostering respect for self and others, understanding conflict, appreciating interdependence, and understanding cultural traditions fall within a disarming category. Similar examples of more abstract, nonetheless historical subjects would include watershed legislation on gender justice e.g., the rights advanced in the Beijing Declaration (1995) and the importance of women’s full and equal participation in conflict resolution, peacekeeping and building, humanitarian response and post-conflict reconstruction put forward in United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000).

<sup>144</sup> Desmond Bell, *Acts of Union: Youth Culture and Sectarianism in Northern Ireland* (London: Macmillan, 1990), p. 163.

<sup>145</sup> Md. Mozammel Haque, ‘Hope for Gender Equality? A Pattern of Postconflict Transition in Masculinity’ *Gender, Technology and Development*, Vol. 17. Issue 1 (2013), p. 62.

generations'<sup>146</sup>, for which tremendous pride is taken in ensuring tradition survives through patrilineal succession. Such is the vigour of this bond that we cannot, Seidler argues, speak about 'new masculinities' until we have engaged with the complex histories which mark relations with our fathers and grandfathers.<sup>147</sup> Not only is this task cognitively difficult, it carries with it the emotional strain of being caught between old masculinities of a previous generation and a new context with a vocabulary of masculinity one cannot fully make sense of. With all the pressure to conform to the past and not disappoint the parental pattern, it takes real courage to speak out against the ways of old. Hutchinson exemplifies this when conceding that the 'state of affairs which may have been accepted by my mother and father are no longer acceptable to me or those of my generation.'<sup>148</sup> Whilst the affairs referenced here are primarily political (such as systemic anti-Catholic discrimination, gerrymandering, and police brutality), we can apply the same logic to gendered expectations of speech and thought, action and behaviour. David Ervine's domestic environment was positively shaped by his father who assembled a vast collection of books in the house and would play Devil's Advocate in family debates, deliberately taking the other side to test out David's arguments.<sup>149</sup> As an autodidact, his father no doubt cherished the resilient, fiercely independent free-thinking we have seen across this chapter. It also gave his father the courage and will to break with the contemporary majority in his community and support the civil rights movement in the late-1960s. Baroness May Blood—another prominent and consistent community worker, thereby a disarming role-model in her own right—shares the good fortune of having a father who advocated education, languages in particular, as a means of progression.<sup>150</sup> This had a practical benefit of allowing his daughter not to be limited in

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<sup>146</sup> McAuley, Tonge & Mycock, *Loyal to the Core?*, p. 66.

<sup>147</sup> Seidler, *Transforming Masculinities*, p. 47.

<sup>148</sup> Finlayson, 'Loyalist Political Identity', p. 67.

<sup>149</sup> Parr, 'Ending the siege?', p. 204.

<sup>150</sup> Mulvenna, 'The Protestant working class', p. 434.

employment options, but also compelled her to develop a broader worldview, one that would take her beyond the traditional boundaries of thinking and feeling. Parenting, as a prolonged experience and set of skills, walks a fine line of influence and may falter onto a problematic side. For this reason, we should remember the positives that lie on the other side. A crucial role of the father for the son is rescuing him from ‘archaic visions of a reactive, primitive masculinity’<sup>151</sup>; one that sees threat in all manner of change and difference and sees extreme resistance as the only solution to a perceived problem.

One of the most important generational transmissions takes place in the tradition of the bands scene. The coverage this practice receives often dwells on its divisive elements—whether in the performativity itself, or the violence that can occur subsequently. We should not demur about scrutinising the tradition’s relationship with paramilitaries or its use of weaponising tropes that assign to masculinity the hegemonic standard of part one. Yet, as this chapter has shown, many aspects within the loyalist spectrum are rarely afforded the same attention. Aside from the socialisation and group bonding of the bands, we should briefly consider the significance of the mobile art of the banners. Several interviewees fondly remembered them not as violent portrayals but displays of loyalist culture. Watching the procession was also not as passive an experience as some may think, as an interviewee explained: ‘there wasn’t a banner that went by that my mum or dad explained what it was about. You weren’t just there to listen to the bands; you were there to get educated.’<sup>152</sup> This bears an uncanny resemblance to educational activation whereby neither banner nor mural is a static, remote product but repeatedly made active as a site of inquiry and intrigue. Muralising the radical imagery of banners would not only maximise its impact (both in terms of bigger size and longer permanence) it would gain local support since it marks a

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<sup>151</sup> Horrocks, *Masculinity in Crisis*, p. 80.

<sup>152</sup> Interview with Brian Dougherty, James Kee and Derek Moore, Derry, 17 September 2021.

transference from a form already routinely accepted by the community. Banners, like murals, are a living history and, through disarming, they could remove imagery which seeks to alienate, replacing it with that which feels more authentic to the needs and wants, particularly of the young. Young people should not feel they are resisting alone, and any support in dissenting against hegemonic and patriarchal power is surely to be encouraged. After the riots of April 2021, Carl Frampton (two-time world super-featherweight champion boxer from Tiger's Bay) participated in an online anti-sectarianism rally. In his candid address he admitted that growing up at an interface had made him and his peers excited by the riots and had indulged in this recreation in his youth. With age and experience, he was left 'overwhelmingly sad' to see that 'people have been stirring the pot again, and young people are being manipulated.' Frampton's credentials are beyond doubt, with the several murals to him testifying to his popularity. Therefore, a new or amended surface incorporating his views on the riots would mark him as an alternative yet acceptable masculine role model. Young people should be reminded that they are not simply passive vessels into which ideas (political or otherwise) are poured; they should not be kept in the. Rather, they should be motivated to seek out understanding of their world in the light of lived experience.<sup>153</sup>

### 8.6.2 Surfacing sub-cultures

In 2015 the Shankill Road Defenders redefined a central masculine archetype when they waged a metaphorical, musical attack on both racism against ethnic communities in NI and against stereotypes of their own culture. Under a project spearheaded by 'Beyond Skin' (an anti-racist organisation itself deserving to be muralised) thirty-five musicians played for eight

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<sup>153</sup> Tony Gallagher, 'After the War Comes Peace? An Examination of the Impact of the Northern Ireland Conflict on Young People' *QUB Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 60, No. 3, (2004), p. 634.

months alongside guest musicians from a wide range of creeds, colours and countries including Jamaica, India, Slovakia, Ghana and Kurdistan. Karwan Shareef, a Muslim human rights lawyer and musician, had moved to Belfast three years prior and, after being intrigued by the exuberance of the loyalist band scene at an Ulster Covenant Centenary celebration, believed the project could be a force for good, for everyone.<sup>154</sup> This brave initiative took a major and bold step when performing a public concert at ‘Culture Night’ in the heart of the city. Even if such an affirming project ceased to exist the next day, a mural capturing the atmosphere of that evening would be a proud attestation of the cross-community desire to rid Belfast of the scourge of division and cast off a tired and unfair image of loyalist bands. While the Defenders represent a disarming amendment within a traditional framework, several other examples from (un)popular culture offer greater non-conforming aptitude. Punk, both as a historical movement and current practice, moves with a similar tempo and temperament to Protestant radicalism. Indeed, for McVeigh, it is vital when reclaiming the right to be both Protestant and ‘progressive, emancipatory, revolutionary—to be a dissenter.’<sup>155</sup> Over in Britain, punk challenged many cultural and social assumptions, shocking public opinion and leaving a moral panic breaking out in its wake. But in NI; it created a rare refuge, a non-sectarian common ground for young people to articulate a collective rejection of violence and repression. Like the social realist lyrics of Stiff Little Fingers, this might mean leaning in to examine the disorder, or turn away from it in necessary detachment (as opted for by the Undertones). In either strategy, believers in the movement could revel in the company of like-minded ‘Outcasts’. The aggressive, fast and minimalist

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<sup>154</sup> Karwan has also reached out to nationalist communities in Belfast working with a youth group in the Ardoyne area of the city who have been engaging with Protestant youngsters in Bushmills. Beyond Skin, who have been trying to develop diversity through music, arts and dance for 11 years, have worked with a staggering 80 musicians from 50 different nationalities based here. ‘The loyalist band that's marching to a different drum’ *Belfast Telegraph*, 24 September 2015, available at <https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/life/features/the-loyalist-band-thats-marching-to-a-different-drum-31555806.html> accessed 30 November 2019.

<sup>155</sup> Robbie McVeigh, ‘No one likes us, we don’t care: what is to be (Un)Done about Ulster Protestant Identity?’ in. Burgess & Mulvenna, *The Contested Identities*, p. 116.

music also provided a less harmful outlet for male frustration. The brief and bloodless ‘battle of Ulster Hall’ (1980) saw National Front skinheads clash with an assortment of anti-fascist (mostly Catholic) Skins, Rude Boys, Mods and Punks queuing outside the venue that was hosting a gig by The Specials and The Beat. Despite the provocation and intended disturbance, £4000 from the concert proceeds went to Corrymeela reconciliation and Crescent Youth Centre.<sup>156</sup> Location is as important a factor when disarming as it is for weaponisation, and the Ulster Hall has an iconic status. It was there that Carson rallied men in 1912 and Paisley rallied his followers in 1986 in opposition of Home Rule and the Anglo-Irish Agreement respectively. It also hosted a debate, another ‘battle’ of sorts between UUP leader David Trimble and Jeffrey Donaldson and other internal opponents of GFA, before Donaldson, Arlene Foster and others defected to the DUP.<sup>157</sup> A final advantage of punk is not only its promotion of a (generally) left-leaning, anti-racist, pro-feminist and pro-queer ideology, but it provides future muralists with a distinct aesthetic language.<sup>158</sup> Though often associated with disillusionment and cynicism, the movement stresses the value of autonomy and creativity, this ‘DIY ethic’ is shared with a RAM approach to community art being among the tactics of the powerless.<sup>159</sup>

This rebellious mentality continued with other genres and generations finding an anti-heroic response to their malaise with mainstream culture. By the late 1980s, David Holmes and Iain McCready (DJs, producers and composers) graduated from booking bands and

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<sup>156</sup> McDonald and Cusack, *UDA*, p. 168.

<sup>157</sup> McKay, *Northern Protestants: On Shifting Ground*, p. 145.

<sup>158</sup> Dick Hebdige argued that the radical bricolage that characterised the visual vocabulary of fanzines could be seen as homologous with punk’s subterranean and anarchic style (Hebdige 1979:112) cited in Atton, *Alternative Media*, p. 52.

<sup>159</sup> Like other subversive sub-cultures, punk is known for de-articulating and re-accenting signs and symbols in novel and ambiguous ways, inserting them into new contexts. This has obvious implications in Northern Ireland with its complicated and ubiquitous display of signs as markers of territory and identity, including of course murals. Punk’s playful deconstruction interrupts this coding process and blurs the boundaries between the two blocs. Timothy Heron, ‘Alternative Ulster: how punk took on the Troubles’ *Irish Times*, 2 December 2016, available at <https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/books/alternative-ulster-how-punk-took-on-the-troubles-1.2890644> accessed 3 December 2019.

running underground hip-hop nights to launch the club night ‘Sugar Sweet’ which opened up acid house for Catholics, Protestants and anyone else. These developments were a haven for a self-proclaimed ‘committed community of ‘freaks’ and staged experiences that induced literal tears of happiness.<sup>160</sup> In the words of Holmes and McCready, who were both raised in the wreckage of the conflict’s early days: ‘the Troubles manifests itself in your psyche in ways you cannot even understand, so when you’re on the dancefloor religion isn’t a barrier anymore—the atmosphere was just beautiful...these communities fucking hated each other but among them were groups of people whose religion was music.’<sup>161</sup> The final subculture we will consider was partially explored through the lens of cross-community relations in Chris Eva’s 2014 documentary *Bombin’, Beats and B-Boys*, although Northern Irish hip-hop remained largely uncharted territory.<sup>162</sup> Rap has often been a tool to inspect and rebel against the social, economic and political situations that marginalised people find themselves in. Given its turbulent history, artists and musicians of NI would indeed have plenty to be angry about. The challenge is akin to disciplining anomic protest masculinity: refining (but not diluting) the intensity into more productive avenues. A perfect example of an alternative, hip-hop based role model would be ‘Jun Tzu’ (AKA Jonathan Hamilton). His debut album, *The Troubles* (2014), was a cutting narrative on the spectre of sectarianism, violence and enduring instability all told with a blend of traditional folk music, personal poetry and cynical

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<sup>160</sup> Daniel Dylan Wray, ‘Sugar Sweet: the pill-up rave that united Belfast during the Troubles’ *The Guardian*, 1 January 2020, available at <https://www.theguardian.com/music/2020/jan/01/sugar-sweet-rave-united-belfast-david-holmes-iain-mccready> accessed 16 January 2020.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid, On the delicate subject of drug-taking associated with the rave scene, there is clearly an argument for better information available to young people alongside strategies of decriminalising of illegal substances. Such measures have been proposed in lieu of the futile ‘war on drugs’, and there is an explicit link between controlling an illegal trade and the power of paramilitaries over their communities. Indeed, the Green Party of NI proposes decriminalisation, borrowing from the Portuguese model, which treats drug addiction as a health and education issue rather than a criminal justice one. McCready describes those dealing as ‘people flying to London and buying a few pills to bring back. There was nothing dark or sinister in the background– it wasn’t like paramilitaries were running drugs in the place.’

<sup>162</sup> Kristen Sinclair, *Beats and Bombs: The Story of Belfast Rap*, *Medium*, 14 March 2018, available at <https://kristenesinclair.medium.com/beats-and-bombs-the-story-of-belfast-rap-c5355ec19ba9> accessed 12 March 2021.

humour.<sup>163</sup> Just one example offers plenty of muralising options, whether it borrows from the dramatic album cover of his debut, portrait of the man himself, who casts a formidable presence, or quoting the often-dismissed wisdom of rap lyrics.



Fig.8.3

Since Jun Tzu is also the son of a loyalist ex-prisoner who ruminates on the meanings of the masculine, this last option would be particularly potent. Among the various aspects shared by virtually all disarming material is that they bestow to us places to truly protect and honour the emotional lives of boys and young men. This is done, in hooks' view, by laying down a serious challenge to patriarchal culture. In her observation, she remakes the sanctuary of part one when she tells us that until this overall, over-bearing culture has been changed,

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<sup>163</sup> Ibid.

subcultures are the sanctuaries where boys can learn to be who they are uniquely, without being forced to conform to patriarchal masculine visions.<sup>164</sup>

### 8.6.3 Lest We Forget

#### 8.6.3.1 Sacrifice or Slaughter?

It seems quite clear that the romanticism of the First World War accounts for the largest (quantitatively) and most emotionally embraced (qualitatively significant) weaponised archetype. It is therefore imperative that the glorified features of this foundational memory be rectified. There are several strategies we will consider in this chapter's final sub-section, beginning with a deceptively simple remedy for mythologised interpretations of the past: facts. A logical starting point would be the overall legacy of this conflict, namely that it represents a tremendous 'blood sacrifice'. Yet when discussing the localised poignancy of this imagery with Darren Richardson, Development Officer at Sperrin Cultural Awareness Association, he described the 1st of July as being 'the key date when thousands were slaughtered...the mural in Magherafelt is about...raising awareness and educating young people.' Slaughter, a hugely sensitive word, resides at the opposite end of the emotional spectrum from 'sacrifice'. It never appears in any of the many murals that remember 'the glorious dead' and will likely be expunged from any youth education. It would seem almost human nature to do so, to manage a more favourable impression of horror. This is a major difficulty with disarming; it contains numerous discussions that need to be had but carries with it an understanding why nobody wants to have them. The inconvenient truths paint a very different picture, especially of the Somme—the most sacred of battles in the loyalist

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<sup>164</sup> bell hooks, *The Will to Change*, p. 49.

canon. It was, as Beiner signalizes, a far cry from the self-evident military triumph that wartime propaganda and partisan historiography have presented. Despite these efforts, the colossal figures of mortality could not counter the unabated sense of catastrophe to this 'victory'.<sup>165</sup> The Ulster Division endured the fourth highest number with 5,100 casualties including 210 officers and some 2,500 dead, yet for all this McGaughey assesses that their contribution was negligible in terms of winning the war. By the end, the Battle of the Somme had cost Britain and the Empire more than 400,000 casualties; the territory gained from this was little more than six miles<sup>166</sup> (the equivalent distance from the Shankill Graveyard to the Ulster Hospital in the east of the city, just past Stormont). The macro scale of the trauma can be gleaned through these statistics, but they can also be reframed according to microgeographies. For example, of the 700 'Shankill Boys' in the West Belfast Battalion, only 70 survived.<sup>167</sup> At times, disarming does not necessarily involve a wholesale removal of a narrative. Rather, it contends that amendments might better suit the aforementioned objective of educating a community's youth. There are plenty of statements one could put into a mural about the First World War that would not dignify the disasters of war. Such ennobling mostly serves to function as incitement for further participation (whether intended or not). It is a compromise of sorts before gradually introducing more radical subject matter, which might adapt First World War memory (clearly a publicly supported subject), so it no longer acts as a recruitment tool. An example of a counter-memory was provided by an interviewee who even included specific text for the hypothetical design:

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<sup>165</sup> Beiner also notes an embittered undercurrent of local narratives of betrayal accused an incompetent command of failing to send reinforcement to support the undaunted Ulster soldiers. Beiner, 'Between Trauma and Triumphalism', p. 380.

<sup>166</sup> McGaughey, *Ulster's Men*, p. 99.

<sup>167</sup> Taylor, *Loyalists War and Peace*, p. 24.

I always remember what the King said at the time, ‘what I like about the men of Ulster is how well they fight and die’—I would like a mural that says that! I’m for the Union, I’m a staunch loyalist but we need to remember that the English powers have always and continue to use us as their cannon fodder...you see it through empire building, we were its shock troops...right up to now. It was an Irish regiment in the British army that was one of the first into Iraq and one of the last out, same with Afghanistan. If we’re talking about not having our youth recruited into paramilitaries, let’s also talk about not having them recruited into the state’s paramilitary.<sup>168</sup>

When prompted with similar questions of what one might wish to see from murals of the near future, another interviewee responded with ‘something that deals with the impact of violence on our community...what it cost them, spending the best years of their life behind bars because I think that would act as a deterrent.’<sup>169</sup> While this example references the negativity of incarceration, we could expand this motive to demonstrate the harsh reality of the mental health consequences when performing one’s duty.<sup>170</sup>

### 8.6.3.2 Examining the Male Hero

Yet another elided episode from First World War history is the major crisis provoked when many men’s bodies (particularly from urban areas) were found to be notoriously inadequate.<sup>171</sup> State intervention aimed to mould men into more appropriate shape. This

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<sup>168</sup> Interview with ‘CM’, Belfast, 25 November 2021.

<sup>169</sup> Interview with Eileen Weir, Belfast, 25 November 2021.

<sup>170</sup> ‘We’re no longer young men. We’ve lost any desire to conquer the world. We are refugees. We are fleeing from ourselves. From our lives...the first shell to land went straight for our hearts’ from Erich Maria Remarque, *All Quiet on the Western Front* (London: Vintage, 1996 [1929]), p. 61.

<sup>171</sup> Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, p. 13.

building on the ‘muscular Christianity’ of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century with its focus on aggressive spirituality and physical prowess was already a powerful agency within public schools. Another chink in the armour was the habit of malingering (or shirking) duty, through feigned symptoms of diseases or self-inflicted wounds. McGaughey contrasts fantasy and reality, public and private representations of the war when comparing Wilfred Spender’s observation of the 36<sup>th</sup> Divisions’ attack at the Somme: ‘I felt I would rather be an Ulsterman than anything else in the world’<sup>172</sup>, an excerpt frequently appearing alongside murals, to Stewart-Moore’s encounter with a deserter at Theipval Wood—unsure of what to do next, Stewart-Moore simply lets the deserter go. This circumvention of duty (on both men) stands in opposition to the epic heroism encapsulated in Spender’s commendation.<sup>173</sup> Another comparison demarcates contemporary masculinities into a severe hierarchy of worth. Whilst watching his men bathe in the river Ancre in late June 1916, Col. Crozier recorded in his memoir ‘how wonderful they look, hard, muscular and fit’, the quasi-erotic tone of this observation touches on the long-standing tension between male hegemony and homosexuality. Crozier goes on to distinguish this beautifully vulnerable flesh with the ‘alien metal that waits to violate it’, but his real lament is reserved for their inability (due to service) to procreate. He considers it insultingly unfair that these fine specimens should not have married ‘in order that they might plant their seed... alas! The weaklings and shirkers escape and breed like rabbits, while the strong suffer and are wiped out.’<sup>174</sup> The disarming value of a

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<sup>172</sup> Spender also provides an account of the living military tradition in this fraternal network with soldiers, on the morning of the 1 July, wearing orange lilies on their tunics to commemorate the Boyne before beginning their own great battle. Even the historic cry of ‘No Surrender!’ was apparently uttered when leading the men over the top and into the fray. PRONI, D.I507/A/18/2, Carson Papers, Captain Wilifrid B. Spender, ‘The Attack of the Ulstermen by a Staff Officer’, 2 July 1916. Cited in McGaughey, *Ulster’s Men*, p. 97.

<sup>173</sup> ‘I suppose that by the strict letter of Military Law I should have placed him under arrest and brought him before a Court Martial. In circumstances that was quite impossible, we were just two men in a wood, and he was probably the more powerful of the two so reluctantly I let him go and said nothing—wonder what happened to him.’ IWM, 77/39/I, J.L. Stewart-Moore, ‘Random Recollections’, p. 35 cited in McGaughey, *Ulster’s Men*, p. 103.

<sup>174</sup> Frank Percy Crozier, *A Brass Hat in No Man’s Land* (Oxford: Alden Press, 1930), pp. 92-93.

historical deconstruction of gender norms is in the undermining of the essentialism and ‘naturalisation’ of the weaponised body. A final flaw, again disclosed in a private context, reveals a distasteful detail behind the image and idolatry of the well-intending saviour-gentleman. After surviving Passchendaele, Captain William Montgomery of the 9<sup>th</sup> Royal Irish Rifles (36<sup>th</sup> Division), wrote to his parents of his revelation that violence was in his natural state as an Ulsterman:

[war] the oldest man’s profession is to me the absolute acme of joy and excitement...which of my ancestors had it? Pure naked primitive raw red lust to kill with the naked hand, tear his throat out with long fingernails.’<sup>175</sup>

Here we have left the fantasies of Edwardian adventurers, Victorian nobility, or medieval chivalry far behind. In their place looms a warrior masculinity resembling the Celtic berserker—a subset whose extreme violence, according to Brandy, appalled even their own men.<sup>176</sup> This also plays into regressive stereotypes around the Irishman’s nature; an innate bellicosity that was often used to explain the existence of pre-war paramilitary organisations and violent incidents across the country. The berserker disarms the excusably honourable fighting, for he does not measure up to those muralised men, the likes of Robert Quigg and William McFadzean (both Victoria Cross winners).

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<sup>175</sup> Timothy Bowman, *Carson’s Army: The Ulster Volunteer Force, 1910-22* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), p. 59.

<sup>176</sup> Magee, ‘The Deconstruction’, p. 132.

### 8.6.3.3 Brothers in Harm

The legacy of the Somme created a Unionist-centric model of martial masculinities; one that was so powerful, it overwhelmed the actual experience, particularly the shared experiences, of Irish Catholics and Protestants. Richard Grayson's meticulous work, however, indicates that significant numbers of both denominations served side by side in regular units of the British army.<sup>177</sup> The 16<sup>th</sup> (Irish) Division was notably engaged at the Messines Ridge in Autumn 1916 and the Third Ypres campaign in 1917, with prolonged time in the trenches facilitating a cross-denominational communality. It has been suggested that a motive for these battles receiving less commemorative space than the Somme is to maintain an exclusionary revisionism which favours a distinctly Orange-tinted lens when viewing the Great War. Increased public awareness of this would go some way to reinterpret the master narratives of what Alice Jardine calls the 'paternal fiction'.<sup>178</sup> If we recall the conscription crisis from chapter three, it split the island into the binary of the good son (obedient and Protestant) and the bad son (lazy, over-sensitive and Catholic). Although both sons believed that their sacrifice would produce drastically different outcomes—securing and denying Home Rule, respectively—the estranged brothers nonetheless came together in the service of their 'father' the monarch. Muralist Kenny Blair spoke highly of the programmes run by Glen Barr to enlighten loyalist and republican groups of these fraternal bonds during fieldtrips to Messines. Personal relationships help emotionally contour this theme of reconciliation, through figures like John Meeke and Willie Redmond: the former an Orangeman and Ulster volunteer turned stretch-bearer; the latter a nationalist lawyer and politician, brother to John,

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<sup>177</sup> 'Rival paramilitary groups serving side by side in World War I' *Goldsmiths University*, London available at <https://www.gold.ac.uk/research/discover/impact/reshaping-history-in-ni/> accessed 16 March 2021.

<sup>178</sup> Rutherford, *Men's Silences*, p. 77.

the leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party. When Redmond was wounded, Meek went after him and was twice wounded himself.

Whether forged during the extraordinary conditions of a war or peacetime pressures, any sense of brotherhood seems to be recurrently broken by forces of division or at least a durable perception of division. An alliance of United Ulster Unionist Council politicians, Orangemen and religious fundamentalists waged a smear campaign against the Volunteer Political Party complete with allegations of communism, atheism, pro-republicanism and all manner of depravity. Nelson's colour-coded analogy paints a concise picture: the orange elephant may have been looking at a pale pink mouse, but it saw a bright red bear.<sup>179</sup>

Continuing the colour theme, Milotte highlights the activities of 'Orange Marxism'—that the Communist Party of NI, which was at the time almost exclusively based within the Protestant working class. Indeed general support and involvement in left wing organisations was not uncommon throughout the 1960s.<sup>180</sup> Given this historical pattern, it is little surprise that Gusty Spence voiced such frustration at the lack of political tolerance among his community. If one disagreed with the bigoted and fascist views of what he labelled 'super loyalists' (an ally of the 'Super Prod'), then one was invariably ostracized for being a communist or 'taig-lover'.<sup>181</sup> There is a class-conscious exception in the landscape, commemorating former PUP councillor Hugh Smyth and featuring a quote from him on political machination and subsequent civic misunderstanding around class status.

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<sup>179</sup> Nelson, *Ulster's Uncertain Defenders*, p. 185.

<sup>180</sup> Andrew Sanders, 'Problems of Class, Religion and Ethnicity: A Study of the Relationship between Irish Republicans and the Protestant Working Class during the Ulster 'Troubles' 1969–1994', *Irish Political Studies*, Vol. 24, Issue 1 (2009), p. 94.

<sup>181</sup> Ernie Elliot, a prominent member of the Woodvale UDA, was convinced the organisation should move into politics and sought talks with Dessie O'Hagan of the Official IRA. For this, the perceived strength of Elliott's socialism, his UDA colleagues nicknamed him Che Guevara. *Ibid*, p. 93.



Fig.8.4

Just as with other progressive victories throughout part two, their ephemerality is a prime reason for their muralisation. The Belfast dock strike (1907) was marked by the same brotherly spirit and indeed this is explicitly referenced in one of the centenary stained-glass windows in Belfast City Hall. Class solidarity is directly linked to our interest in disarming and peacebuilding as left-wing masculinities often align with a pacifist persuasion. In the trend of transferring and maximising one medium to another, we might wonder what impact could this striking image of the strike have if it were a wall not a window, a headline not a

caption, a rule not an exception. However, it cannot be assumed that anti-war imagery would be warmly received. It might seem a perfectly reasonable, even obvious, addition to the symbolic landscape for those not so emotionally affected by the memory of conflict but, as Tom Winstone (director of ‘NI Alternatives’) commented: ‘I think [murals showing alternative masculinities of the First World War e.g., peace campaigners or conscientious objectors] would be seen as disrespectful to those who fought in the war.’ He went on to quite confidently state that contemporary pacifists would have been very much in the minority. This, he assured the author, would also be the case during the Troubles ‘the “peaceniks” or whatever you wanna call them were that size’ [again holding fingers up, barely apart].<sup>182</sup> These attitudes do indeed test the limits of RAM if public appetites proved not to be receptive to ideas that offend the orthodox. At times the author does find himself agreeing with an anonymous participant who was sceptical organic intellectuals could arise from within loyalism:

‘That’s a fantastic thing [the paradigm of RAM] ...I’d love to see that—an external manifestation of internal storytelling. It could be low-paid health workers or homelessness...but you don’t get those social issues...you get a reinforcement of militaristic, state symbols that congeal the community. Where is that organic intellectualism a. coming from and b. going to?’

Throughout this chapter, we have seen some sources of where it comes from and indeed the bold new directions where it may take loyalism.

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<sup>182</sup> Interview with Tom Winstone, Belfast, 25 October 2021.

## Conclusion

Loyalism continues to come under pressure to change its image, quite literally. While some of this pressure has come from outside, it also corresponds with internal actors, ranging from ex-prisoners to sympathetic clergy, who wish to keep younger people from following the path taken by the armed men so frequently depicted. This chapter has described a series of options that might give shape to this pressure and reconfigure the symbolic landscape to give people a more worthwhile sense of community and pride. The rationale for this is made abundantly clear since, twenty years after GFA, Ulster loyalism struggles to present a cogent sense of purpose with its political ideology retaining, at best, a foothold in the public sphere.<sup>183</sup>

Superficially the inclusion of new loyalism may appear to further the privileging of men of conflict, in every respect beyond the superficial. However, it reveals the counter-hegemonic possibilities of these redefined ‘warriors’ and ‘protectors’. This inverted attitude is personified by the commander who admitted: ‘we’ve been part of the problem; we need to be part of the solution.’<sup>184</sup> The relational dynamics of gender, as demonstrated by section 8.2, also argue that men need to be part of a solution as allies in the struggle for feminist emancipation. Feminist masculinities also contribute a great deal to dismantling hegemonic authority. The host of assumptions that the author proposes could be contested by a landscape propounding RAM would include the notion that feminism is anti-male.<sup>185</sup> The clearing of

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<sup>183</sup> This chapter advocates for front-lining ‘community loyalism’, which has been instrumental in developing innovative projects to deal with crime and anti-social behaviour. A consequence of this prioritising would give less space for a machismo manifestation of paramilitary loyalism which, in Jarman’s view, still remains the publicly defining element of Ulster loyalism generally. Jarman, ‘Ulster loyalism is a rather curious beast’

<sup>184</sup> Quoted in Howard, *Culture and Belonging*, p. 100.

<sup>185</sup> hooks posits that such falsehoods are so embedded in our cultural psyche partly due to young men being ‘educated’ about feminism from a patriarchal media. This is surely a trend that loyalists could recognise; being on the receiving end of a broadcast rather than broadcasting their message themselves. Once again, we encounter the need for a group to script and platform their agenda with as little external agency interception as possible. bell hooks, *Feminism is for Everybody: Passionate Politics* (Cambridge: South End Press Cambridge, 2000), p. 12.

space and queering of the street-level 'stage' allows for a dramatic exploration of identity and a pluralising of maleness outwith the brutally-patrolled and policed bounds of acceptability. Sections 8.4 and 8.5 emphasize the extent to which progressive dissidence is far from some alien territory populated by foreign ideas, but something of a (dis)comfort zone for both Presbyterian and Ulster-Scots ingroups. In particular we appreciate how both the arts and education are twin pillars supporting the critical thinking, transversal tendencies, and political imagination of both new loyalism and feminism. The final section stressed the need for uncomfortable honesty when young men come to question the values, views and indeed visions before them. Whether—without fear of castigation or disappointed judgement—they freely choose to accept and continue or reject and reform the norms bestowed upon them by generational mandate is still open to question. The emotional legacy of the First World War arguably presents one of the greatest tasks of re-evaluation. In that quest for a more nuanced understanding, subcultures (whether musical or political)<sup>186</sup> act as safe spaces, utopian sanctuaries that not only tolerate difference but actively encourage it. Throughout the chapter we can observe a main trend of radical non-conformity, a (dis)loyalty to follow tradition for its own sake. In their own way, each section exemplifies some subversive experimentation and the donning of alternative and ambiguous masks of masculine identity. Once worn, one discovers another landscape where difference is not dangerous and where autonomy and authenticity permit the widening of one's worldview.

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<sup>186</sup> In Spencer's view those from a Protestant working class unafraid to promote left-wing ideas which have historically been associated with nationalism, offer critical resistance to the homogenized thinking which has pervaded unionism by voicing change and representing communities largely ignored. Spencer, 'Constructing loyalism', p. 42.

## **Thesis conclusion**

This thesis was divided into two parts. The first diagnosed the weaponisation of murals and masculinities in loyalist NI while the second proposed a series of possible solutions. By ‘weaponised’, the author posited that murals are a manifestation of Galtung’s cultural violence which justifies the use of direct and/or structural violence. In this circumstance this is principally expressed in the glorification of three distinct conflicts. The accumulation of these depictions creates an intricate and densely layered symbolic landscape: a significant narration of meaning across a physical environment and a reflection of power and identity. How weaponised murals contribute to the weaponising of masculinities is explained by Lisle’s analogy to advertising. This propounds a similarity in the psychological effect of successful advertisements and murals in that both are capable of circumventing rational thought and embedding desires in the subconscious. This is advanced when we consider the long-term exposure to these ideological ‘adverts’; a negative staying power likely to have some impact on burgeoning masculinities during formative years. The parallel between image and action is not therefore an instant behavioural trigger. Rather, an insidious consequence results, with developments that may be difficult to detect. Part one charted the emergence of eight archetypes over the course of three periods of mural production, structured into three chapters. Chapter three began with the first appearance of loyalist/unionist murals which predated the existence of the modern state of NI and ended with the introduction of Direct Rule. Examination of this most chronologically ambitious period was possible due to scant archival evidence and a fundamental lack of diversity in subject matter. The overwhelmingly dominant theme established in this visual orthodoxy was the ‘besieged’ archetype including the siege and battle imagery faithfully reproduced through the patriline of the Jackson family

in Derry's Fountain estate. This, along with reference to the contemporary Home Rule crisis were, however, only minor details in a landscape very much under the command of the traditional patriarch of King Billy. He reigned supreme as the embodiment of a triumphalist cultural and political reading of the Protestant Ascendancy whilst a second, post-partition ascendancy began to take shape. King Billy is also the main character in the 'siege mentality'—a worldview fashioned from several closely related binary oppositions: insider vs. outsider, good vs. evil, right vs. wrong, victor vs. vanquished. This thesis gendered Forker and McCormick's expanded version of the siege and sanctuary metaphor. Now, not only could the mind be considered a psychological sanctuary containing cherished ideas and images, but specifically it held the true or real masculinities threatened from all sides by every other lower, lesser masculinities arranged in a hierarchy broadly correlating to Connell's ordering: hegemonic, complicit, subordinated, and marginalised. The sections of chapter four traced the fluctuating production of murals which witnessed a steady decline in the 1970s, generally interpreted as a loss of unionist confidence following Direct Rule. A resurgence followed the hunger strikes of 1981 with republicanism asserting its own agenda into a landscape that had for so long been the domain of a singular vision. This foreshadowed the steep escalation in reaction to the perceived 'betrayal' of the Anglo-Irish Agreement of November 1985. A trend favouring hyper-masculine, militarised content was not deterred by the optimism of the peace process. Indeed, during the 1990s we see minor archetypes reinforce the Troubled imagery of contemporary paramilitaries. Based on the dubious revisionism of Adamson's Cruthin theory, the UDA enlisted the aid of mythological heroism of Fionn mac Cumhaill and Cú Chulainn. The former representing a common theme of giantism; men taking up as much space as possible either physically as 'big men', on individual gable ends, or those littered through estates, demarcated as defended territory. The latter's death meanwhile makes him the ideal warrior for propaganda; the seventeen-year-old

demigod with superhuman abilities facing off single-handedly against entire armies and even dying on his feet. Supplementing these figures was a brief but notable reference to the institutional masculinities of the B-Specials and UDR. The conflation both celebrated the proud service of security forces—a highly contested assessment—and lamented their demise; a result of legal reform, which opened a vacuum of uncertainty as to who would ‘protect’ the loyalist people. A partial evolution throughout chapter four amounts to the same essential message communicated through different tropes and underpinned by the dramaturgical dimension. This brought together several interconnected ideas. Firstly, Butler’s seminal theory that gender is not something we innately have, rather something we do through repetitive gendered acts enters into this reckoning. Much of Goffman’s work proved valuable, particularly his frame analysis which sits within the framing of murals in how they edit and organise experiences from uses of the past to understandings of gender. The presentation of the self in everyday life again aptly describes how murals, unlike most art, are not behind museum walls but *are* the walls, facing out and projecting a carefully managed impression of loyalist masculinity.

The archetypes featured in part one all play a particular role in this conscious staging of selective memory. The final dramaturgical aspect pertains to the masks men are obligated to wear to put on a convincing performance. Aside from the painted masks worn by armed volunteers, men can encounter pressures to financially provide (material mask), participate in a competitive and compulsory heteronormativity (sexual), adopt a dead-eyed war face (aggressive), exude an aura of dauntlessness (invincible), and deny or deflect any ‘unmanly’ emotions such as fear or vulnerability (stoic). Chapter five problematised the negative peace of the ‘post-conflict’ age by reflecting on a host of legacy issues: prolonged episodes of political dysfunction, security concerns and bouts of civil unrest, poor community and policing relations, and stratified segregation. We also observed how the continuum of

violence runs through this febrile mix. This explored how unresolved weaponised masculinities harm other victimised demographics—namely women, queer people and people of colour. Rather than adapt murals as a means of mass communication, networked throughout the country, to tackle some of these urgent societal ills, the landscape still plays host to the same masculine, militarised templates. If anything, due to the decade of centenaries, the partitioned and entrenched archetypes became far more pronounced. The former drew on the Home Rule crisis, the first UVF, and a cult of personalities involving Frederick Crawford, James Craig, and most significantly Edward Carson—the modern patriarch, succeeding the title from King Billy. Additionally, the entrenched masculinities dug in deep as a romanticised account of the First World War was continually replayed. These representations, now out in force, were also joined by recurrences of the phantasmagorical spectres of Eddie the Trooper and the Grim Reaper, as well as the genocidal archetype: a distorted reading of the 1641 rebellion and Cromwellian reprisals. Whether valorising the soldiery and sacrifice of the Somme or evoking distant trauma of ethnic cleansing, part one was replete with demonstrations of how weaponised imagery made an ardent appeal to gendered emotions, either in stoking up animosities or selling the drama and excitement of war as spectacle. This led us to wonder what a disarming response could be; where might we locate some answers to the question of how to break the cycle of indoctrination and recruitment?

Part two opened with chapter six which started the search for external disarming material by locating several inspiring case studies in three main international contexts. The first of these was based in Africa with the anti-war artist group Ana Taban in South Sudan, the Men Engage Network and their South African partner organisation, Sonke Gender Justice. Brief consideration was also paid to Instituto Promundo, a Brazilian-based partner, when assessing how the theories of RAM could be tenably applied. The next context

analysed the work of the South-East Asian Fearless Collective, going through the steps in their methodology and how this was influenced their practical output. Despite being the most contemporary case study, Fearless already have an established style and strong sense of political and moral identity. Their modest size and structure are belied by their immense murals which reclaim spaces of danger and anger with love, solidarity and peace. The final context of the Americas began with the mural practices of post-conflict Guatemala and Chile, moved up to community activism of San Francisco and Los Angeles, moved across to the alternative masculinities of 1960s Chicago, before settling in Philadelphia, the paragon of a disarming symbolic landscape.

Chapter seven explained RAM, the paradigm for disarming, by breaking it down into its three fundamental elements. ‘Radical’ was clarified by examining three traits: the declarative visual voice, verbing the mural, and the 3 ‘Rs’ of disarming. The first stated that radical art should endeavour to make bold statements and assert its positivity with a similar power and presence of spectacular conflict imagery. To further this point, the author compared imagined interventions with several prior, top-down interventions. Though sympathising with the difficulties they faced, it was recommended that the rather bland neutrality of these efforts should be avoided; if theirs was a ‘whisper’ of negative peace, i.e., merely an absence of conflict imagery, then the radical voice should be a full-throated argument for positive peace. In order to realise the full potential of murals, the author argued that we should stop thinking of them as only ‘products’ and start perceiving the process as a series of opportunities for meaningful interaction and personal transformation, as opposed to just surface-level change. When outlining how this verbing would unfold, we borrowed Mosher’s tennis game as a procedural template with decision-making being passed from active resident-participants to artist/facilitators and back again. This carefully followed steps of location scouting, community-led research into subject matter, formulating designs, and

executing the work in relative degrees of creative responsibility. While verbing emphasises the time during the making of the mural, repeated activation (the last of the 3 Rs of disarming along with removal and replacement) shifted our concerns to when the mural was made.

Unlike the more passive Reimagining which fades into irrelevance, repeated activation strives to maintain the mural (not only its physical condition) but its meaning, magnifying its significance as a site of engagement. The educational, political, and cultural variants of activation all demonstrate that it is somewhat fallacious to even consider the radical mural 'finished', for if public art is ever to truly effect its public it must be activated as frequently as contentious commemoration and divisive street drama. Determining what 'alternative' might look like is fairly straightforward given how homogenised the weaponised material is. Alternative is essentially an equal and opposite response to the archetypes. Collectively referred to as the C-HV, this involved both accounting for the glaring representational imbalances as well as redefining terminology from the weaponised lexicon. Here the acutely gendered renditions of social roles such as defender, protector, warrior, and hero all underwent drastic change in an adaptation of stereotypical masculine performances. The values and virtues that these characters embody were also redefined as we widened the interpretation of previously narrowed notions of duty, service, sacrifice, courage, and strength. Utopia, as an upside-down world, was not one plunged into chaos and confusion. Rather, it would be home to a revolutionary inversion, not only of the contents of the symbolic landscape, but how this material would be used to embolden genuine gender equality and social transformation. The final facet of RAM, gave an overview of the current status of mural ownership, being a tyranny of a minority imposing its agenda through coercion and intimidation onto a population whose willingness is very onerous to ascertain. The flaws in this are obvious but further highlighted when we compare the tyranny to how murals are generally used elsewhere, both geographically and historically.

By contrast, the mural as a people's art would allow them to seize the means of cultural production and choose both the past, present and future they wish to live amongst. This citizens' media would differ from some mainstream coverage, depicting a spectrum of loyalism and masculinities from a democratic platform. Chapter eight developed the search for tangible disarming material in loyalism and affiliated identities, told across six sections. It was proposed that new loyalism disarms much of the dominant paramilitary iteration and its progression was documented from the prison compounds of the early 1970s, political experiments and key documents, involvement in the peace process, and activities after GFA. The author argued that the prominence of women-led activism and social movements should be matched by a prominent place on the visual frontline. This section again followed a chronology of continual commitment even against internal opposition to the pioneering bravery of transversal dialogue. A feminist landscape would disarm the erroneous and essentialist belief of women as the natural opposite to men: weak, soft and vulnerable. This feminised stigma of excessive emotionality is also aimed at non-straight masculinities. Queering the stage would therefore set out to break the binary with artful experimentation, dark satirical humour, and defiant pride revealing a veritable dressing room of different costumes, props and masks of masculinity. The fourth section disarmed the belligerence, zero-sum absolutism, and hypermasculinity of 'Super Prods' with the courage, empathy and non-conformity of 'Rotten Prods'. While the originals of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century disobeyed a middle-class divide and rule, we appreciated how historical examples of 'rotteness' provide a firm foundation of Presbyterian radicalism and liberation theology as an ecumenical thirdspace between the us and them. The author developed this dissenting tradition further by advocating for Ulster-Scots to be regarded as another thirdspace; one of cultural identity in which both the arts and education are highly valued for fostering critical pedagogies and philosophical curiosity. By turning this proclivity for dissent on regressive gender identities,

intellectual tools such as the arts and education could help dismantle the master's cold house and with it his master narratives. We ended the internal sources by considering youth subcultures as an alternative to the weaponised sanctuary, built from paranoia and anxiety. As safe spaces largely free from the divisions of gender, race, religion and sexuality, movements like punk, rave and hip hop provide rare chances to protest against orthodox masculinity and launch bold new performances.

The pacifist rebellion often voiced by youth subcultures encouraged us to rethink the valorised legacy of the First World War. This seems apt given how throughout all of part one, young men remain the target audience for romanticised propaganda. To disarm these myths, we considered several factors such as a class-conscious brotherhood in the trenches, as well as objective facts that return the verdict that the Somme was arguably far more futile slaughter than glorious blood sacrifice. Other realities also stripped soldiery of its honour like the physical condition of some recruits, instances of insubordination, and the untold devastation of servicemen's mental health.

This final section offers some closing remarks regarding contemporary NI; further developments in related research and the loyalist mural practice. If we reflect on one of the most underlying aspects of the thesis' structure and content, we notice that the C-HV is a useful anomaly in perspectives scripted by binary oppositions. It moves us away from absolute singularities, a view of monoliths such as class or gender exploded into fragmented multiplicities. Throughout this great transition, elasticity proves a vital strategy of resilience allowing for a deep commitment to innovation and flexibility. The ambition and adventure beyond one's own boundaries —whether territorial or behavioural —opens before us as a widened worldview of tolerance, inclusion and love whilst disarming the belligerent maintenance of its limits. The masculinities of part one were content to live within the

militarised sanctuary, shut the gates of their mind and build their walls higher. The masculinities of part two at least lower the walls. Some will go further and seek to tear them down while lowering their bridge. Further work is surely to be encouraged then, which supports imagery that persuades more branches of loyalism to lift the siege mentality and confidently leave the confines of a masculine self that might have seemed a sanctuary but had in fact been a prison. It is the emotional enclosure from which we must free our dialogical selves and others, not only removing one's own masks of masculinity, but honourably helping others to do the same. Likewise, both research and practice on young men making that awkward crossing from childhood to adulthood could offer moral guidance as they take on more complex and demanding roles in society. A reformed symbolic landscape could provide an accommodating environment in which young loyalists increasingly become aware of their ability to think, reason, and contemplate in initially abstract ways. From these skills, however, may emerge the creativity to imagine 'what-if?' and to compare ideals of justice, access to opportunities, and the reality of tremendous inequalities.

To this end, murals are a vast communicative network which we should not seek to eliminate but ameliorate. There is nothing wrong with the delivery mechanism. In fact, for social movements, locally and globally, this kind of media is the life blood, the very oxygen, to the possibility of progression. This research has deviated from most of the discourse on murals which are generally concerned with 'the entrenchment of existing structures and beliefs...rather than advocating any Utopian possibility of a new Ulster'.<sup>187</sup> To this contribution of originality, the author would recommend further exploration into the prospect of subverting to two principal modes of operation considered in this project: the advertising analogy and the dramaturgical dimension. We have seen how neither are primed essentially

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<sup>187</sup> Graham, 'No place of the mind', p. 263.

for weaponisation. Rather, it is how they are applied to the social construction of masculinities that determines their influence. It is abundantly clear that prior attempts fall well short of true disarming, lacking the drama and excitement hitherto reserved for spectacular displays of conflict. Any peaceful, non-violent masculinities would need to be sold to us as convincingly as those of war. It is just as apparent that there are performances of gendered behaviour no one wishes to see acted out again.

Thus, those alternative roles readily identified which would benefit all NI should be the characters young men are motivated to follow; the positions for which men should be recruited. If gender is something we do, we can do it differently. The fact that the past is shaping the future need not trouble us since it is a fiction that present uses of the past cannot change. Like much else in part two, this pivots on what pasts we remember and how, this will establish what the future of the past is in NI. To an extent the future of political loyalism is in the hands of a new generation of activists; the direction they take it in would no doubt be steadied by implementing clear and bold gender-based initiatives. The importance of modern masculinity as ‘part of the cement of modern society’<sup>188</sup> certainly makes manly ideals difficult to defeat. Yet the writing on the wall is not indelible and while history is never so easily undone, Miller reminds us that ‘Clio was one of the Muses, not one of the Fates.’<sup>189</sup> Miller also furnishes us with an interpretation of duty pertaining to the study (indeed art) of history, to which the author wholeheartedly subscribes. It has been a central aim of this research—and could inform further work—to provide perspectives of understanding which may enable ‘the actors in this drama-if tragedy it be-to play the heroic rather than the ignoble part’.<sup>190</sup> Notwithstanding the distinctly problematic definition of ‘heroic’, itself a subject of

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<sup>188</sup> Mosse, *The Image of Man*, p. 193.

<sup>189</sup> Miller, *Queen's Rebels*, p. xxix of the preface.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid*, p. 166.

much discussion in this project, Miller's prognosis is one worth expanding on; the notion that 'life is not art, and in life, tragedy understood can be tragedy overcome.'<sup>191</sup> For every mention of utopia, this thesis has set out to balance optimism with grounded realism. Naturally, a total overhaul of the current weaponised landscape is highly unlikely, but it may be reached incrementally—and that in and of itself makes it a valid pursuit. Just as the buttressing of hegemonic masculinities occurs via multi-generational transference, so too will its dismantling take root over a similar timeframe.

During this period, new social paradigms would implement a transformative revolution distinguished by being an entire culture of peace. In such circumstances, non-violence is embodied and practiced as a lifestyle; an all-embracing philosophy engaged in a daily non-militarised battle. Should the ideologies in the landscape struggle to become firmly and fully radical (a term we must judge in the cultural relativity of loyalism) then a questioning at least of old dichotomies could encourage further movement away from zero-sum positioning toward one of egalitarianism and emancipation. Change in a weaponised world of loyalist NI has often been perceived as a threat even exaggerated to the point of crises, but of all these there is one that is very clear and present, and it is the crisis of good men who do nothing. The responsibility of acting against weaponised masculinities then is to be shared. It is a proposal which will probably be described by some as idealistic, ambitious, fraught with difficulties and even dangerous to attempt. So has anything that was ever worth doing. The most dangerous thing to do would be to do nothing. Although this project has finished, it is the author's last hope that this contribution may affirm those who, in their own way, make their mark on loyalist identity in brave brushstrokes of a beginning.

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<sup>191</sup> Ibid, p. 166.



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