

Diplomarbeit

Titel der Diplomarbeit

„They haven't gone away, you know?“
Northern Ireland After the Peace Agreement in
1998

Verfasserin

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angestrebter akademischer Grad

Magistra der Philosophie (Mag. phil)

Wien, im Dezember 2010

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt:	A 307
Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt:	Kultur- und Sozialanthropologie
Betreuer:	Ao. Univ. Prof. Mag. DDr. Werner Zips

“They haven't gone away, you know?”

Northern Ireland after the Peace Agreement in 1998

To those who remain unheard
And to Chris, my friend and comrade in struggle for life, politics and
happiness
La lucha continua!

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Preface

It needs to be mentioned here, that the literature on Northern Ireland is vast, compared to the size of the country, but small in information regarding what I was aiming to explore. Many have looked rather closely at paramilitaries, at the unique historical circumstances as well as in the field of political science at the indeed very interesting peace treaty and its aftermath. Even though the literature is so unnaturally large, I haven't found a book, nor an article, on the concrete topic I wanted to analyze.

What happened to paramilitaries after the Peace Agreement is a question treated in some books, mainly they describe demilitarization and decommissioning. What I wanted to examine, in how far paramilitaries have changed towards a Mafia network and thus are integrated in all levels of daily life, from private sector to the government decisions. During my fieldwork I have also been “warned” not to dig deeper. “Fieldwork under fire” can have many different meanings, in my case I was lucky to know the country so well. Through this I could adapt certain ways of behaviour as well as the Belfast-dialect, which is in my opinion a very important factor to gain people's trust.

Since many years I dealt with Northern Ireland and I was trying to scratch the surface to look behind it. Many times I have been told off. What I found often were closed minds, who acted like they either have never heard of anything or showed clearly that it was not a matter of interest to anybody.

Since 1998 some significant changes have taken place. By 2010 all paramilitaries have officially decommissioned, so the chances that another war breaks out are smaller than before. Although the military importance is almost eliminated, “they” are still in the game, operating behind the scenes.

Acknowledgements

This paper would not have been possible without the kind help of some persons and institutions who have believed in me. I owe them a lot for trusting me in my idea of letting them speak.

First of all, I want to thank the people in Austria, my family who has supported me during all these years with all my plans and who always accepted the paths I chose to follow, as well as my friends Maria, Philipp, Steffi, Valerie and Jenny who make life worthwhile. Hence I want to thank the staff of the City of Belfast YMCA, especially Colin and Diane, who have most kindly given their best to make our stay in Belfast as comfortable as possible and who have been there in the following years to answer my questions.

Further, I want to thank all the people who were willing to talk to me, especially Adele, Chris, Patrick, Simon, Tracy and the lads from the Socialist Youth. When I came for my last fieldwork in March 2010, I was able to work and hold interviews at Trademark on the Falls Road. I'm more than thankful for their nice support.

My special thanks, and this is something, I'm afraid, I can never make up goes to Peter McGuire who has been most patient, friendly and supportive. I can hardly express my gratefulness.

I put my heart and soul into this Thesis and sincerely hope that the reader can share in my passion for this topic.

Abbreviations

Paramilitaries and Armed Forces

Loyalist

R.H.C.	Red Hand Commando
L.V.F.	Loyalist Volunteer Force
UDA	Ulster Defence Association
UFF	Ulster Freedom Fighters
UVF	Ulster Volunteer Force

Republican

CIRA	Continuity Irish Republican Army
INLA	Irish National Liberation Army
IRA	Irish Republican Army
OIRA	Official Irish Republican Army
ONH	Oglaigh na h'Eireann
ORM	Official Republican Movement
PIRA	Provisional Irish Republican Army
RIRA	Real IRA

State Forces

UDR	Ulster Defence Regiment
PSNI	Police Service of Northern Ireland
RUC	Royal Ulster Constabulary
B- Specials	

Political Parties

DUP	Democratic Unionist Party
UUP	Ulster Unionist Party
UDP	Ulster Democratic Party

Other

NICRA	Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association
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NUP	National Union of Protestants
RWG	Revolutionary Workers Groups
UCDC	Ulster Constitution Defence Committee
UPA	Ulster Protestant Action
UWC	Ulster Workers' Council
GFA	Good Friday Agreement

Chapter 1. “They haven’t gone away, you know?”

1.1. Introduction

This Thesis is about the aftermath of a conflict which has lasted thirty years or, as some might say, more than a couple of hundred years. In 1994 ceasefires were announced on both sides, and since Good Friday 1998 a peace agreement has been in effect. Formally, Northern Ireland is a peaceful country, and surprisingly the peace itself has lasted since 1998. In January 2010 the last paramilitary organization was officially decommissioned.

Nevertheless, the formal peace has not changed deadlocked structures and certainly has not stopped paramilitaries from killing. In the years following the agreement, recruiting has proceeded. Even now, although shootings may have declined, paramilitaries are in control of many parts of the country.

Since my stay in Northern Ireland in 2004/2005 directly after I finished school, the topic has not let me go. When I returned to Austria in 2005, I started studying Social Anthropology at the University of Vienna, and heard of theories, methods and interesting topics from all over the world. Nevertheless, I never changed the topic I wanted to write my thesis about: Northern Ireland.

During this time I accidentally ran into a couple of people who were involved in political processes in Northern Ireland, and eventually met Peter McGuire, who was a member of a Loyalist paramilitary. It was shocking to speak to someone who had killed a couple of people, who had been in charge of many assassinations and had spent a couple of years in prison. At the same time, this “murderer” was one of the nicest and most caring persons I’d ever met. In this year, spending time with Peter and in a rough but friendly society, I learned more than ever before that the world is not only black and white.

Paramilitaries nowadays do not have the importance, or the status they used to have in the thirty years of war and before. Since the shooting, bombings, killings and all other kinds of violent threats between the communities have more or less stopped, paramilitaries have adapted to the new climate and searched for different ways of making a living and explaining their right to exist. This is exactly what has, and still does, fascinate me most - the policing of areas, the control *they* have over their territory, racketeering and

interference with all different kinds of governance levels.

By living there I have observed and experienced a lot. By going back as often as I could and having many more conversations, which after some time moved on to a theoretical and methodological level, I found out even more. I gained a huge knowledge on processes, which I cannot fully outline in this thesis because it would certainly go beyond the scope of this paper. I tried to put together the most important facts and thus analyze them with theories I find appropriate. I am fully aware of my biased situation, which I will discuss in further course.

As mentioned above, I lived in Northern Ireland in 2004/05, and since then I have visited the country several times. I always knew about the country's special history and incomparability to other countries, but it was even harder to grasp the whole involvement of paramilitaries than I thought before.

Even the often and strongly recommended book „Law and Disorder in the Postcolony“ (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2006), can only show little signs of a concept which is applicable to Northern Ireland, as Northern Ireland is not the „typical“ post-colony, as described in Jean and John Comaroff's collection, nor is it a „typical European country“, shattered by the First and the Second World War. Rather, Northern Ireland and Ireland have had their own history, without any question linked to the continent, but, as it seems, less involved.

One of the reasons why it so difficult to analyze Northern Irish structures and the nature of the conflict is has to do with the unique historical situation and the settlement of protestants who still, after hundreds of years, regard themselves more British than Irish. This led to partition and to a double minority, 40% catholics in the North and 20% protestants in the South (comp. Boyle and Hadden, 1995: 270).

Geographically, Northern Ireland is in the North-West of the island. For a long time, as will be shown later, a conflict between the Catholic and the Protestant population has been constantly present, and has at times led to open warfare and to one of Europe's longest wars. This has been presented in continental media as a religious conflict between Catholics and Protestants, and even if you only read the media and scratch the surface, you will find out that religious adjustment and political focus nearly always go together. Still, this

conflict is not a religious war, but has been a war about long, structural inequalities in politics, social life and economy.

If you ask people, you will often hear that this has been/is a religious war. Especially Protestants claim that they just despise the Catholic Church and therefore fight for their right to be Protestant (my own experience).

This conflict and its aftermath, which we can still feel more than ten years after the peace treaty, is extremely complex and runs on different levels. Being an anthropologist, I do not want to only describe the history of Northern Ireland, nor focus on a small special group. But before I introduce my theoretical and methodological concept, let me explain why I do not think that Northern Ireland could be taken as a “normal” colony, nor could it be left alone without the concept of colonialization.

When I was living in Northern Ireland, I soon learned that the society is not as peaceful as it is presented in the “continental media”. By looking closer, I found out how involved paramilitaries are in everyday life. This is what I wanted to show by writing this Thesis. As Jack has said, and which appeared so adequate that it is also the title of my Thesis: “They haven't gone away, you know?” (Jack McKee, Interview 15.03.2010) Paramilitaries still are on the scene after the Peace Agreement in 1998.

Furthermore, questions came up during all these years I was engaged in the topic, such as: How do paramilitaries still survive nowadays? In how far is society engaged in this and hence keeps these structures alive? By using governance concepts, which will be highlighted further down, and by putting a layer of Bourdieu's concepts around it, I found a way to analyze processes in this post-war society.

1.2. No Typical Colony

Its “colonization” by mainly Scots and some English in 1200 – 1400 (comp. Hennessey, 1997), has taken place in a way very different to European colonies overseas. The colonization of the overseas areas was at first an accidental event in 1415, when the Portuguese invaded North Africa (comp. Wolf, 1997: 129). But soon the Europeans took their chances, and thus

opened the routes for European ships. What followed was the expansion of trade, the search for wealth and as a consequence of that, slavery. (comp. Wolf, 1997).

This concept definitely does not work for inner-European colonization. Still, some of the concepts applied might be useful for an analysis of Ireland and its past.

In the very beginning of Jean and John Comaroff's introduction (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2006), it is said that: "about all the things that have been said about the spread of democracy since the end of the Cold War – and a great deal has been said about it, in every conceivable voice, one thing stands out. It is the claim that democratization has been accompanied, almost everywhere, by a sharp rise in crime and violence" (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2006 1f). This, they claim further, depends on the way you look at it, but by today it seems to be beyond coincidence.

Of course this concept is not applicable to the whole Island of Ireland and Northern Ireland, as we know Ireland is a running and working democracy. Since entering the European Union, Ireland's wealth has risen tremendously and its capital, Dublin, is an arty and lively city. Although it has suffered immensely from the economic Crisis, democratic structures have not suffered due to this.

Since the partition of Ireland ("The South") and Northern Ireland (or "Ulster"), the conflict has entirely moved up North. There were hardly any incidents in the Republic anymore, and the IRA (Irish Republican Army) as well as Sinn Féin (Irish-Republican party) have subsequently lost support from the population. In the elections of 2005 they gained 5% of the vote, which is less than the green-party (6%)¹.

The forgotten, but still problematic spot on the island is the North. On one hand it does not fit in perfectly with the suggested concepts of John and Jean Comaroff, but on the other hand it does. As well as in other fields, the answer is not as straightforward and simple as it may seem.

Crime and disorder is not simply a reflex or response to joblessness, poverty or structural inequality, neither to unchecked power, nor to a specific historical background. Referring to the Comaroffs (2006), it is also the answer to an

¹ <http://electionsireland.org/results/general/29dail.cfm>, 4.11.2009

uncontrolled market and the installation of neo-liberalism. This brings us to the point where Northern Ireland stands out differently to other post-colonies.

The “war” in Northern Ireland, or as some prefer to say “ the conflict”, has been going on for centuries. Since the occupation, the oppressed have tried to oust the ones they regard as oppressors and occupiers. Still, after the Peace Treaty in 1998, although Northern Ireland has always been included in the ways of neo-liberal market production, the paramilitaries which were formerly used as defence forces, grabbed their piece of the cake.

The perpetrators create parallel modes of production and profiteering – sometimes new modes of governance. These parallel structures create the “provision of protection” (comp. Tilly in Comaroff and Comaroff, 2006: 5). They give security and structures where state structures fail. Here “a complex choreography of police and paramilitaries, private and community enforcement, gangs and vigilantes, highwaymen and out-law armies” (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2006: 9) build the political and security structures.

The historical component is highly important in Northern Ireland, as mentioned in my introduction. Apart from the war, which has caused segregation, grief and distrust in society, the whole history of the colonized Ireland has brought different players into the field. Sovereignities that rule over “terrains and their inhabitants, over aggregates of people conjoined in faith or culture, over transactional fears, over networks of relations, regimes of property, domains of practice, and, quite often, over various combinations of these things” (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2006: 35) can be found in the Northern Irish context, and therefore the country represents “classical” structures of a post-colony.

1.3. After the Peace Treaty

The peace agreement was negotiated after 25 years of armed conflict and it started in 1994 when the IRA announced a truce. Shortly after this the Combined Loyalist Military Force followed the example (comp. Boyle and Hadden, 1995: 269).

They key problem of the peace process was and still is, to bridge the

ideological gap between unionists and republicans and bring them to an agreement which would be sustainable (comp. Dixon, 2001: 216). The first initiative for peace was coming from John Hume and Gerry Adams (both Northern Irish politicians), supported by Irish-nationalist politicians in the North as well as the Republic, the "Hume-Adams" document, paved the way for the IRA ceasefires in 1994. The British government failed to see the importance of the document and the following ceasefires and has to be pushed and persuaded to take the republican movement into the political process. Due to the disregarding of the ceasefire, the IRA broke down the ceasefire in 1996. In 1998 the Good Friday Agreement is signed and promoted as paving the way for Irish Unity. Republican leaders present the document as a continuing struggle, which made its way onto another level. But not all Republicans, especially paramilitaries, were of the same opinion: "(...) I'm anti Good Friday Agreement - I think it's a bad agreement, you know. Maybe it did help bring about the ceasefires or whatever that obviously, but the talks did, but I just see it as... I mean, if you look at it of the angle of the Irish Republicans whose game was to remove Britain of Ireland, by using force, the British governments game was, to maintain the north of Ireland with a local administration with nationalist input into that administration. And that's what we've got. So the British won, right?" (18th March 2010, Gerry Foster)

Many of them still support peace, but they find themselves in a position which only allows them to support peace from WITHIN a paramilitary organization, which should have been decommissioned and dismantled long ago (Gallaher, 2007: viii).

At the same time, unionists felt like they the 1994 IRA ceasefire was simply a way of transforming the armed conflict to another level. The British Government was permanently suspected of giving in to the IRA and their campaign. They found proof in the supposedly tactical ceasefire when it broke down in 1996. In a unionist view, the government gave in over and over again, e.g. When releasing terrorist prisoners.

Seen from the unionist side of the medal, unreconstructed terrorists should have been excluded from all-party talks and government. In this way only constitutional parties would be integrated for talks, which would lead to a closer integration of Northern Ireland with the Rest of the UK (comp. Dixon,

2001: 217f).

In the case of the GFA both sides feel betrayed and left out. Unionists are unhappy because of the government negotiating with republican paramilitaries and republicans feel that they have in the end lost the war. As long as these feelings remain in society, paramilitaries will still be on the scene.

Gallagher (2007) states, which goes along with my own experience and observations, that peace has given new options to paramilitaries, as I would say in a mafia-like context. If you look at the book records at universities, in libraries and bookshops, it is striking that nearly all literature about Northern Ireland, Northern Irish history and especially the paramilitaries in Northern Ireland focuses on the IRA, or more generally on republican paramilitaries. As Steve Bruce writes in his book "The Red Hand" (Bruce, 1992:7), "the history of every society can be told in two ways: either the story of peace interrupted by conflicts, or the story of wars disrupted by the occasional truces". As many before, I will look at Northern Ireland as a country shaken by conflicts and war, with the occasional truce. But as my Thesis does not concentrate on the war itself (I believe that enough has been written about the "war," as Catholics would say, or the "conflict," as Protestants would say), I will not dig into the history of Northern Ireland deeper than necessary to give a general overview and understanding to the reader.

1.4 On Division

In 1991 only 3.7 percent of the population professed no religion. In 1989 the Social Attitudes Survey found that 12 percent of the population claimed no religious affiliation. These surveys show that the disparity between "real religious faith" and the terms "Catholic" and "Protestant" is huge. These terms are rather used as a symbol of ethnic identity and private religious observance (Darby, 1995: 10).

One of the most well-known anecdotes about the division is about a man who was stopped with his car in the early years of the Troubles. The mob asked him to declare his religion, and as he could not identify the mob as either Catholic or Protestant and felt himself to be caught between the devil and the deep blue sea, he answered that he was Jewish. This confused the mob to a

certain point, until the leader decided to really find out what was going on here. He interrogated the man once again and asked his question more clearly: “Are you a Catholic or a Protestant Jew?” (see also Darby, 1995: 10)

This question of course is perfect to show what it really is about. In fact, the mob was not interested in whether the man was a Catholic, Protestant, Jew or other believer. They wanted to know what side he was on.

Another anecdote I can tell is from my private experience in Northern Ireland. Since my arrival there, we were told not to state our religion if someone should ask us straightaway. This, I thought, should be easily manageable for me, since I was never even baptized. The other volunteers (I was living together with three more volunteers from Germany who were working for the German YMCA – called CVJM and therefore were believers to a certain extent) were told, if someone should insist on finding out a religion, they should say “German”. That would keep most people from asking, because they probably would not know what Church this could be.

In fact, only two or three weeks after our arrival, we were confronted with the question of religious faith. The three Germans, all tall, blond and blue-eyed, answered honestly “German”. They were not questioned further. When I answered that I was not even baptized and therefore do not have any religion, on the contrary, I count myself agnostic... I was looked at as if I was going mad. So I stopped talking and wished I would have said “German”.

“Ok, so you, love, claim to have no religion – but what side are you on, love?”

It took us a while to explain the situation and after a while we all learned how to handle these questions best. If asked in a pub, I can only recommend pretending that you have not heard the question and go on talking and smiling.

This segregation can be found in every part of daily life in Northern Ireland. Many institutions are marked by religious segregation, such as primary and secondary education. In 1995 less than two percent of the children attended the then newly formed integrated schools. Today, according to the Department of Education in Northern Ireland, only slightly more than five percent

(http://www.deni.gov.uk/index/85-schools/10-types_of_school-nischools_pg/16-schools-integratedschools_pg.htm, 3.12.2009) attend integrated school. This implies deepest segregation and division within the

society. This is also expressed in sports (i.e. Hurling and Gaelic football are strictly Catholic), leisure-time pursuit in general, attending pubs, etc.

The social, private and public life in Northern Ireland is rarely not marked by religious or political segregation. Symbols of ethnic, religious and political faith, like flags of Union Jacks or the Irish Tricolour are spread across the cities. Pavements and lampposts are painted in either blue-red-white or green-white-orange.

Another anecdote happened when I had just arrived in Belfast. I was sitting in the car of Colin, a member of the YMCA who picked me up from the airport. Of course I had informed myself before I moved to Northern Ireland. I read about the history and recent newspaper articles about the country. Every piece I read said that since the Good Friday Agreement in 1998, Belfast is a calm city, and hardly any effects of the “Troubles” can be seen anymore. As I was riding in this car and we were passing a Protestant area, I saw Union Jacks hanging from houses, saw the pavement painted and murals on the walls, which signaled everything else but peace. So I was a little bit puzzled and just turned towards Colin and said: “Now THAT's a statement”. I remember that Colin just smiled and said “Well, yes, that's a statement”. Maybe he was thinking that I would see a lot more statements in the next couple of weeks.

It is important to note, that the state is not “just” segregated and divided. Unfortunately, discrimination against the Catholic Community has still not been eliminated, although it has improved a lot. A Catholic middle-class has emerged, and since there are now Catholic employers, there are Catholic employees.

Nevertheless, statistics from 1995 show that:

- Catholics are less likely to hold professional/managerial positions and more likely to be represented in the unskilled manual occupations. Overall unemployment rates are 18 percent for Catholics and 8 percent for Protestants.

- More than twice as many Catholic households are dependent on Social Security.
- Fewer Catholics are homeowners.
- Health Care coverage is harder to quantify. Levels of disabilities of Catholics are higher than those of Protestants.

(comp. Darby, 1995: 11f)

Since there have been many studies showing the inequality of the population, improvements have been made. The major points of reduction of inequality have been made in housing, employment/unemployment and education. Even if there is still a high degree of inequality, it is important to note, that it is no longer an “officially sanctioned system of discrimination.” (Darby, 1995: 22)

Since 1995 a lot should have changed. First of all, the Good Friday Agreement and the ceasefires protect the peace. Europe and its politicians are convinced that the “Troubles” are over and that Northern Ireland is a more or less a peaceful place. This is true to some point, although a peace treaty unfortunately does not guarantee a peaceful and equal society.

Chapter 2. A Brief History of Northern Ireland

2.1. Plantation and Early Formations

Since the 12th Century, Irish history was the history of British influence in Ireland, of British colonial policy and exploitation of the island. Since the conquest for “pacification” of Henry II, who was legitimized by the Pope to do so, more and more English settled in Ireland, in the beginning especially around Dublin.

These settlers adapted to Irish-Gaelic traditions, though this was not wanted by the authorities in England. Under the Tudors, this spontaneous and more or less harmless colonial policy in Ireland changed radically. The Tudors wanted to rule over Ireland and, most importantly, also receive the payments to the English Crown. Henry VIII and his successors tried to bind Ireland to England with all means, peaceful and with armed force. These bounds were

strengthened by the establishment of the King of England as the head of the Church of Ireland (parallel to the Church of England).

The politics under the Stuarts now meant “the plantation of Ulster” – under which many people were driven out of their homes and their farms – and consequently made tenants. Therefore, the uprisings and riots in the following centuries were preassigned. (Stadler, 1979: 8ff)

Ulster's Protestants are therefore predominantly descendants of the Scots (and some English) who settled in the north-east of Ireland mainly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Referring to Bruce (1992: 7), the different “race”, religion and economic competition of the settlers led the two groups into periodically open warfare. Since then, little has happened to bring the two groups closer together. I would even argue that the segregation has in some parts increased since the Peace Treaty in 1998. But I will comment on this later.

By the 19th century, there was a new divide of the population of the island; between Unionists, who wanted to remain part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and Nationalists, who wished for self-government of Ireland. The ethno- religious division of the former Catholics and the latter Protestants is often made responsible for the upcoming “war” or “troubles”.

Reinforced Nationalism by the Catholic Church and political parties due to the terrible circumstances under which most Catholics had to live, led to more tensions within the population. Protestants on the other hand, did not want to lose their benefits. The “Great Famine” from 1846 - 1851 gave an extra push to communal tensions.

The upheavals of the Home Rule Crisis in 1912-14 and the First World War could be regarded as the basis for the latter Northern Ireland. After the passing of the Parliament Act in 1911, it seemed as if the final obstacles had been removed. Just after this, it became clear that “the Irish question” was in fact not one, but two: Irish Nationalists, who wanted home rule, and the relation between the Protestant population in Ulster with Catholic Ireland. Nationalists of course rejected the idea of a separate, Protestant state on the island, as they thought that Ireland goes along with the geographical component of the actual island. (comp. Hennessey, 1997: 1ff)

Filled with anxieties and fears, the Ulster Unionists formed an armed militia in

1911, the Ulster Volunteer Force, UVF (which formation will be discussed later). The volunteer force grew stronger and stronger, and arms have been imported.

“Paramilitary groups have always been here and it's not that, they didn't start in 1969, you've had an IRA from 1912, you had an UVF from 1912, but before that you had Paramilitary Groups, you can trace back Paramilitary groups to 1641. Where you had a war here in 1641 where Protestants didn't feel the support the British Government and formed the unofficial armies of the state, who armed themselves against Scotland. So you've always had that tradition.” (Richard, 4.01.2010)

The evolution of paramilitaries is here simply called a “tradition” by Richard, who is originally from England and a former UDR man. This brings me closer to assuming that society is involved in keeping paramilitaries on the scene. The threat of Ireland sliding into civil war was only six inches away, but the eruption of the First World War interrupted this development. In the beginning Nationalists wanted to secure self-government within the British Empire, but after the First World War, by 1918, this movement changed into an “All Irish Republic” movement. Sinn Fein appeared to be stronger since the 1916 Easter Rising, where they got closer to political radicalism for the first time. The “rebels” were successful in the beginning, due to the surprise effect and they announced the Irish Republic. In the end, the Easter Rising failed; the lack of support of the population outside Dublin and the lack of communication of the involved groups led to this failure. Anyway, the British Government executed 15 of the “rebels” and thus laid the basis for broad nationalism within the population. (comp. Stadler, 1979: 44)

On December 23, 1920, the Government of Ireland Act became law. It included two new jurisdictions:

- First, Northern Ireland was to consist of six counties: Antrim, Armagh, Down, Londonderry, Fermanagh and Tyrone. The south of Ireland should be the remaining 26 counties.

- Further, a two chamber parliament was to be established in Northern Ireland. In fact, the Act had been drafted to an ultimate Reunion of Ireland, by the consent of both Irish Parliaments.

2.2. The Birth of a Country – Northern Ireland's Nascence

Northern Ireland's birth was bloody and violent. Between July 1920 and July 1922, 557 people were killed: 307 Catholics, 172 Protestants and 82 members of the police and the British Army. Although Catholics formed a smaller part of the population of Belfast, about one quarter, their death-rate in the conflict is notably higher than the one of the Protestant population: out of 416 deaths (assassinations) Catholics suffered 257 deaths. Further, Catholic relief organizations estimate that thousands were driven out of their jobs, forced out of their homes, and hundreds of businesses were destroyed. (Bardon, 1992 in: Hennessey 1997: 11)

At the same time, the IRA began the Anglo-Irish War or War of Independence. Police stations were raided, and Crown Forces as well as IRA men were killed. These campaigns frightened the North and made them believe, that this is what will happen, if there is a united Ireland.

Northern Ireland's economy has always been dependent on the markets of the British Empire. Due to the worldwide Depression, following the aftermath of the Great War, Northern Ireland's economy suffered as did the British. Especially the shipbuilding and linen industries suffered great losses. Soon Northern Ireland was to be the poorest part of the United Kingdom. The only successful industry in the inter-war period was agriculture, and in the end of the 1930s half of the population still lived in rural areas.

Due to discrimination, high unemployment rates and many more grievances, a group called the Revolutionary Workers Groups, was founded and sought a non-sectarian working-class movement. The planned monster-meeting (in 1932) was prohibited by the Government, but the RWG (Revolutionary Workers Groups) encouraged workers to go on marches. Intense rioting emerged from this and in further cause, two workers were shot dead and many more, police forces and workers, wounded. This non-sectarian workers

movement was short-lived and afterwards sectarianism emerged again. (Hennessey, 1997: 46ff)

Due to the attitude of the Irish Free State and its Gaelicisation (becoming more Gaelic) (see Hennessey, 1997), Ulster Unionists felt alienated by this sense of “Irishness”. What happened is that they started to feel more British and to insist on their Anglo-Saxon heritage. While the Sinn Féin politics in the south wanted to de-anglicize that part of the island (e.g., the two first years in school should be held in Gaelic), Unionists in the North felt that “pro-Gaelic” was “Anti-British”.

Instead of improvements for so-called Nationalists in the North, the opposite happened. Ulster-Unionists were appalled by the power of the Catholic Church and nurtured their fear of a united Irish State.

In the period of World War II, the hope of Irish Nationalists for a re-union of the Irish State rose again. When Britain went into open warfare with Nazi-Germany, Ireland was the only Dominion to stay neutral, which was fully supported by northern Nationalists. In due course, the danger of the IRA building up alliances with Nazi-Germany existed.

The division of Northern Ireland's population went on to political parties as well. Catholic-Unionism or Protestant-Nationalism was, so to say, unthinkable. These “isms” I don't use as a concept, therefore I will not analyze them any further. They are commonly used expressions in Northern Ireland and I use them as such.

The society of Northern Ireland remained as partitioned and sectarian throughout the 1950's and the 1960's. There was a clear tendency of Protestants dominating the professional classes, larger farmers and skilled workers while Catholics provided smaller farms and less skilled workers (Baritt and Carter in: Hennessey, 1997:115). Although it was not impossible living next to each other, this was always clearly marked by the knowledge of principle difference.

The country remained a highly religious place with church attendance higher than in the rest of Great Britain (comp. Hennessey, 1997: 117). As quoted above, Baritt and Carter (in: Hennessey, 1997:115ff) described the societal relations in Northern Ireland as a “cold war”. Each side, the Catholic and the Protestant, was convinced of the “other side” being profoundly wrong. Politics

and churches, which have always been interwoven to a strong degree, did their best to confirm this segregation. It was not only the educational system which prevented the communities from getting in closer touch with each other. (comp. Hennessey, 1997)

2.3. Civil Rights

Within the Catholic community a new development evolved. From the impact of the Education Act in 1944 a catholic middle class appeared, who looked beyond the boundaries created by the communities. This new middle class went into teaching, medical and legal professions, as the employment sector was tightly held by Protestants (comp. Hennessey, 1997: 127).

These groups, as they were more liberal than some of their religious fellows, did not want to put political responsibility in the hands of the IRA and urged for liberalization within Nationalist politics. As a result of their frustration, they started organizing themselves in campaigns, of which the first was the Campaign for Social Justice. This campaign was launched in 1964 (comp. Hennessey, 1997: 127f). Soon after that, due to certain circumstances which I will not discuss here, the idea of an organized civil rights movement came up. This movement was carried by a manifold population; of those who had revolutionary aims and those who had reformist aims. Soon the NICRA (Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association) was fully set up and ready to take in reactions. The NICRA was formed in 1967, and their goals were clear: bring an end to discrimination against Catholics in electoral and voting matters, different housing allocations and to bring an end to oppressive security policies, which were used against the Nationalist community (Walsh, 2000: 37).

The NICRA started to appear more often in public, in the form of marches and demonstrations, political tension rose again. These tensions were more or less subtle until the 5th of October. A civil rights march in Londonderry² was held, although it had been banned by the Minister of Home Affairs. This march

² I use the official name Londonderry. This is still the official name on the map and this is the only reason why I use it. This does neither imply any affiliation with the United Kingdom, nor imply bias.

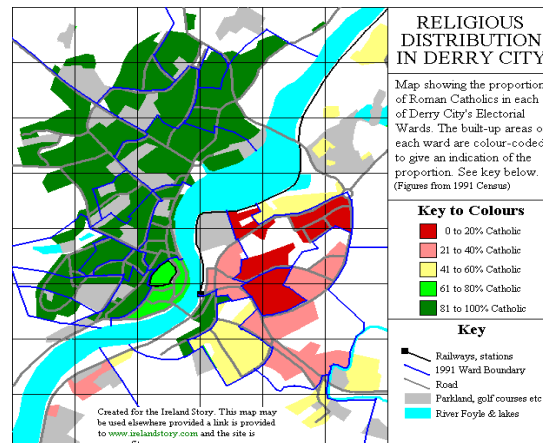
led to serious rioting and confrontations with the RUC. Shown by the media how the RUC attacked demonstrators, the Unionist leadership had to defend itself for the first time.

In July 1969 the riots started again and Protestants felt certain insecurity due to the increasing power of Nationalists in the communities. The ongoing riots made authorities call for the British Army to interfere in the Country. The British Army arrived on the 14th of August 1969. This army was not deployed to protect the Catholic community against the largely Loyalist RUC or Loyalist mobs. They were strictly advised “from all sides [...] on no account to get sucked into the Irish bog”. (Irish Times, 3rd January 2000 in: Dixon, 2001: 106) One important point, which I would like to mention because it has often been illustrated differently, is that neither the IRA, nor NICRA nor any Protestant organization planned these riots. They were the outcome of a complex mixture of political, economical and social elements. (comp. Hennessey, 1997: 168)

2.4. Bloody Sunday – a short overview

As mentioned above, gerrymandering had been a useful method of getting Ulster under control. Given the political/geographical demography of the province, it was clear that some councils would be under Nationalist control. This was especially true for the City of Londonderry, which had a Nationalist majority in registered voters and population. But the electoral wards were drawn in a way that Nationalists always were a minority in the local governing body. This in further course created Nationalist/Catholic ghettos, like the Bogside, un-relational poor-housing estates with high unemployment rates. (Walsh, 2000: 21)

Derry is divided by the River Foyle, which parts the Catholic West-bank from the Protestant East-bank.



(<http://3-b-s.org/map-derry-city-p-549502.html>, last seen: 30.08.2010)

The “Internment” policy (internment without trial) of the Government from 1971-1975 (on 10.08.1971, more than 300 people were arrested) primarily hit members of the minority, and not only IRA combatants. After the internment strategy got popular, this knowledge caused some of the biggest and fiercest riots. Over 200 houses in Belfast were burnt, and many Catholics fled to the South. Instead of discouraging people, it attracted more Catholics to the IRA as the army tried to stop an anti-internment march, which was organized by the Civil Rights Movement, with barriers. The army was fully forced and equipped, and although they had clear instruction of how to handle the march, thirteen protesters were killed. There is no clear evidence of gunmen, no-one has seen anything clearly and no pictures exist (although a couple photographers had been there) (comp. Stadler 1997, Walsh 2000).

What definitely happened is that the British Army was not accepted anymore as a security agency by the Catholic population. Riots all over Catholic areas of Northern Ireland broke out, when Nationalists heard of what they saw as “a mass murder inflicted on their community” (Walsh, 2000: 11).

Maybe we will never know the full truth about what happened on this Sunday, but one thing is for sure: the Government drove hundreds of Nationalists (mostly young men, but also young women) in the arms of the IRA. Therefore, Bloody Sunday (next to the Internment and the Hunger Strikes) may be seen as one of the most influential events in Northern Ireland in alienating the

Nationalist population from the State. On a much deeper level, Nationalist confidence in the State was completely swept away, as the State did not even accept their right for living (as it had not been accepting their right for justice, housing and fairness in electoral questions) (comp. Walsh, 2000).

The British Government responded the next day by immediately initiating a judicial inquiry, which was chaired by Lord Chief Justice Widgery. Only ten weeks later the report was sent out, only to be accused by the Catholic community as being biased. This report shows the glorious victory for the army and is a serious indictment against the initiators of the march and the dead. However, I will not discuss the Wigdery Report more thoroughly, although I wish I could. This subject is part of another study and for now should not be laid in my hands.

2.5. The Collapse of the State

In 1972 (467 deaths) (Dillon, 1990: XXiv), after more than fifty years, the British government decided to terminate the existence of autonomous power in Northern Ireland. There is a range of interpretation as to why the Northern Irish State collapsed, but according to Paul Bew, Peter Gibbon and Henry Patterson (1995: 145ff) most historians agree on three issues:

1. The changes of Catholic politics associated with the rise of the civil rights movement – the emergence of a Catholic middle class;
2. Policies of the British government. They are not clear and never have been;
3. The issue of division within Unionism - between traditional, reformist, reactionary and progressive.

To give an overview of the “Troubles”, I want to highlight some dates in chronological order:

1972 was the worst year of violence so far. After the deaths of the 13 civilians on „Bloody Sunday“, violence erupted and there was no halt for young people to join the IRA. Due to the wave of violence and IRA attacks that also hit

civilians, Protestants also turned their back against the official state authorities and felt like they could not protect them anymore. (comp. Otto, 2005: 103) The concept of Anti-State and Pro-State terrorism will be discussed in due course.

1974 in January, the new Northern Ireland executive took office with Brian Faulkner as Chief Executive. The new executive however, did not match the people's expectations. A strike was organized by the UWC (Ulster Workers' Council) and through the threats of the UDA, Northern Ireland was ungovernable for 15 days. Faulkner resigned, and the Government fell apart.

The following years showed a lot of blood-shedding, including the deaths of three kids, who were crushed by a car whose driver had been shot by the army (comp. Dillon, 1990: XXVi). The procedures of the security forces weakened the paramilitaries to some extent. Therefore, the IRA was newly organized in the mid-seventies. A group around Gerry Adams, Martin McGuinness and Ivor Bell disempowered the old guard and through this also weakened the power of the headquarters in Dublin.

In **1976** an IRA man was found guilty and should have worn a normal prisoner's robe, which he refused. Instead of wearing this, he covered himself only with a blanket and a couple of other prisoners joined in. Mason, at this time the Minister of Northern Ireland, did not give in and grant the detained persons the status of political prisoners, and therefore another protest in the prison evolved: the dirty protest. Prisoners started to cover themselves and the cell-walls with excrement and refused to wash. At this time, 341 Republicans out of 837 were part of the so called "dirty protest". These protests were held in the infamous prison "Maze", which is made of eight H-Blocks (comp. Otto, 2005 114).

The 1980's

The 1980's started with another decree, which abolished every special-category status in prisons. Even those who were convicted before **1976** lost this special status. In October a hunger strike was declared, and only called

off after 53 days, after the promise of the British Government to let them wear “civilian-type” clothing. After realizing that this was a farce, a second hunger strike started on March 1, **1981**, when Bobby Sands, the PIRA (Provisional IRA or “Provos”) commander within the prison, started to refuse food. (comp. Dillon, 1990: XxiX)

The hunger strike attracted international attention and the call for human rights. After 66 days of his strike, Sands died and should be a never forgotten martyr in the Catholic community. Nine others died in due course to the hunger strikes.

In **1985** an agreement was found: *The Anglo-Irish Agreement* was signed at Hillsborough Castle. In this agreement the Irish Government was given a consultative role in Northern Ireland policy through an inter-governmental conference and a permanent secretariat (comp. Dillon, 1990: XXXii). The agreement was highly welcomed abroad, but Unionists were shocked, as was the IRA (which called it a “disaster”) (comp. Otto, 2005: 120).

In the following years, further riots, bombs and clashes were the normal every-day situation in Northern Ireland.

2.6. The Peace Process

There is no official date for the beginning of the peace process, but one date could be the meeting between John Hume (SDLP) and Gerry Adams (Sinn Féin). In 1990 John Brooke, new Minister for Northern Ireland, declared that the British Government had no strategic or economical interest in Northern Ireland and that they would admit the reunion with Ireland if the population of Northern Ireland wished so. Talks with the most important constitutional parties (UUP, DUP, SDLP, APNI) started. Brooke’s initiative unfortunately did not make a real difference, and when the talks stopped for the first time (because of non-solvable problems between the parties), the Loyalist paramilitaries recalled the truce (the Nationalists never proclaimed one).

In autumn **1991** the PIRA started a new bombing campaign with the biggest bombs they had ever produced.

In January **1992** they gave proof to this (eight people were killed) and this

provoked the reaction of Loyalist paramilitaries, who gained weapons from South Africa.

1993 a “declaration for peace” (Downing Street Declaration) between the Irish Premier Albert Reynolds and the British Prime Minister John Major was composed. In this declaration, Great Britain once again claimed not to have any economical or strategic interests in Northern Ireland. Further, the British Government agreed, that it is the people's right to decide whether they want to be part of Ireland or not. This should happen with a consensus of both population groups.

Another couple of bombs later (among them the biggest bomb the IRA ever detonated), peace seemed to be farther away than ever before.

With the election of Tony Blair in **1997** things turned better, thanks to Blair's offer to Sinn Fein to take part in the negotiations when the IRA put down their weapons. The negotiations were soon interrupted. The deposit of the ceasefire of the paramilitaries led to cruel feuds, with many more deaths.

In the morning of **10.04.1998** (Good Friday) a document was presented, the Good Friday Agreement. (comp. Boyle and Hadden, 1995: 260ff)

2.7. The Good Friday Agreement

Before the actual “Good Friday Agreement” came into being in 1998, a long peace process had been started. As a starting point, as some would describe it, were the ceasefires in September-October 1994.

Paramilitaries and politicians were involved in the negotiations (com. Boyle and Hadden 1995: 269). Why and how the ceasefires came so abruptly no one knows exactly, but we can assume that the talks between Northern Ireland Minister Mayhew and Gerry Adams were crucial.

Two weeks after this meeting, the IRA declared a total ceasefire, and two weeks after that, the CLMC (Combined Loyalist Military Command – a consortium of the Loyalist Paramilitaries) followed the example. This came as a surprise to many. In Summer 1994 the ceasefires were announced, and people at the top of course knew that, they just did not communicate it to the people under them. “Problem with Loyalism was, people at the top knew the ceasefire was coming, that it was on the cards, but they did nothing to prepare

people under them. I mean, I was the Second Most Senior Person in our brigade and one of the most active Loyalists in Northern Ireland and I didn't know that we would have called a ceasefire until two or three months before they called it." (Peter McGuire, Interview in March 2010).

Loyalism has always been reactionary concerning the steps forward. The first ones to announce a ceasefire were the PIRA and shortly after that loyalists had to catch up.

In the years between the ceasefires and the Good Friday Agreement a lot happened. Marches and bombings went on. On the morning of April 10th 1998, Good Friday, a document was presented. The "Good Friday Agreement" is an extremely complicated document and I will not go deeper into it as I do not see the necessity of explaining it any further.

The reactions towards the document from the population were different. The agreement seems to be, as many political documents are, nearly impossible to understand for "normal" citizens: "From the pure black and white point of view, the British won. They won the moderate war and they will certainly win the political war, right? So right, so you have to work from that. I see the Good Friday Agreement as a capitalist Agreement and it was about trying to stabilize the North for a financial game, right? And, maintaining the North as part of the United Kingdom, that's what I see behind the Good Friday Agreement. And I've tried to read it, and it's a lie to say that people voted for the Good Friday Agreement. Because no one understands the Good Friday Agreement, right? It was sold as good for Nationalists and it was sold as good for Unionists. But there was no way it could have both, right? I tried to read it, it is governy cook - there's no way understanding to it. It was deliberate that way, so that people would not understand it, right?" (Gerry Foster, Interview 18.03.2010).

The "Good Friday Agreement" and the ceasefires in 1994 were the first steps towards peace in a long war. Anyhow, neither the treaty nor the decommissioning is a solution for a conflict which already lasted a couple of hundred years. Already in November 1997 a dissident group, who called themselves the *Real* IRA (RIRA), split from the IRA and Sinn Fein.

In August 1998 this *Real* IRA was trying to disturb the peace process through the cruelest and most lethal attack in the history of Northern Ireland. They planted a bomb in the City Centre of the Catholic town Omagh in County Tyrone killing 29 people. The reactions to this bomb were full of incomprehension and the INLA (Irish National Liberation Army) called a ceasefire due to the cruel attack of the bomb (comp. Otto, 2005: 124 ff).

Shortly after the INLA, the RIRA also called a ceasefire, to which they would not stick (the IRA neither, btw.). The Paramilitaries went on existing and divided into many groups. Especially on the Republican side a lot of dissident groups can be found. The decommissioning took some time, but by now all Paramilitaries have officially been decommissioned. It was on January 6th 2010, I was lucky because I was in Northern Ireland for my research, when The UDA (Ulster Defence Army), the last Paramilitary, was decommissioned.³ Since then, it should be clear that the peace process in Northern Ireland has been taking place and that the peace is stable. I will analyze this further in the following chapters.

Chapter 3. Theoretical Concepts

3.1. Why Governance?

The more you know about Northern Ireland, the more you realize how difficult it is to find an appropriate concept, if any can be found at all. Since I had lived in Northern Ireland and later started to study Social Anthropology, I was searching for a theory to explain some of its structures. I have not found any appropriate concept, theory or analyses until recently. This would further explain why most of the literature on Northern Ireland focuses on specific topics, e.g., Paramilitaries (there is a huge amount on literature on the IRA and the like), violence (most popular here Alan Feldman) as there are specific ethnographic research topics (women, children, post-war traumas...).

³http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/northern_ireland/8442683.stm.

1.09.2010

Is Northern Ireland that uncommon? The way I see it, yes. It has specific historical, social and economical structures that make the state quite unique. Northern Ireland is in Europe and part of the United Kingdom, and hence part of the European Union. Further, as will be explained through the interviews conducted and literature research, a lot plays together in the field of Northern Ireland. Since the GFA, it is widely recognized that the war is over. Still this does not mean that paramilitary structures have dissolved. On the contrary, corruption, bribing, racketeering and the like have reached a new level.

It was my wish, not to focus on one specific topic, as it has been done before, but rather to give an impression of Northern Ireland after the Peace Treaty. Of course, being an anthropologist, I lay my focus on a topic to present this overall impression. Bourdieu's concept of a field and in Social Anthropology, quite new concept of Governance, allows a perfect frame of analyses, as it is multilayered and hence respects various players in the field.

3.1.1. Governance Concepts

The quite new concept of governance has earned a lot of criticism in the last years. Especially in German-speaking countries, where there is no German expression, scholars have questioned this Anglicism. I am not trying to deny the problems this concept contains, nor am I questioning the doubts that rose in some scholars' minds. It just seemed important to me to mention that concepts like "Staat", "Gesellschaft" and "Culture" (especially in Social Anthropology) do not have clear definitions either; if anything they are various, most of them valid to some extent.

Still, the indefinite definitions do not seem to be a reason not to use the concepts in all of its complexity (comp. Benz, 2004: 12f). As Benz (2004) mentions in the introduction of "Governance – Regieren in komplexen Regelsystemen":

The Marxist definition of state and the definition or comprehension of system theorists are not the same either, because agendas power, sovereignty and rule differ to a significant extent. It seems to be one of the basic facts of social and political sciences, that some

definitions are not explicit and thus we have to deal with different definitions. It is striking to work on definitions of governance to clarify the concept (comp. Benz, 2004:13).

Why do we need the concept of governance now? Would it not be possible to use concepts of state, politics, administration and the like? The strength of the concept lies in the definition of constant change. The point in the governance concept is not to describe new phenomena, on the contrary, rather old and well known structures and processes can now be adequately described.

In the past years, we could observe border crossing in political processes, not only in a territorial, but also in a functional way. The local and global are intervening, well known structures of institutions are being reconstructed, civil society and the state are playing in the same field. These, one could argue, are not new processes, at best we could say that tendencies of change are permanent. (vgl. Benz, 2004: 13f)

Governance, as is Hegel's definition of the State (Staat) "eine Gestalt die alt geworden ist" (Hegel in Benz, 2004: 14) – but this doesn't mean that it is an unnecessary concept. To have a concept means in accordance with Benz (2004) to have the ability to deal with the matter scientifically, to understand it and to work with it. That is why a concept of governance is highly important, no matter how complex it may seem.

Governance was first used as a concept in economics and only later on adapted for political sciences. One of the strengths of this concept, which is also one of its major criticisms, lies in its wide area of application. It can be used to describe and analyze international, national, regional or local mechanisms. For anthropology especially interesting is the concept of "multilevel governance" (see Benz in Benz 2004). Since post-modernism, a lot of voices have been raised to complain about the post-modernist "everything goes" concept. The manifold use of the concept rather implies an analytical use of the concept, which again has manifold ways to be used.

As governance has become a very popular word, I want to show these definitions that even though it is a broad and manifold concept, the core of the concept remains the same.

The analytical application of governance implies a specific view on reality. Through this, interdependences between social actors and interdependences of specific parts in the context of institutions and societal part-systems are stressed out. Structures and problems of collective circumstances are highlighted. Structures of control between state and society can be examined regarding their modes of operation towards the acting individuals. Political acting of individuals is not as important as the collective players are seen as embedded in governance structures, which leads to specific manners of behaviour. Nevertheless, the constant underrepresentation of individual actors leads to some analytical deficits:

- Social integration is not only a matter of formal and informal patterns between state and society, but implies shared patterns of interpretation. To clarify how identities were formed through governance configurations, the cognitive level needs to be brought in. It is of great importance to notice if and how players are adjusting their modes of interpretation. This would automatically bring in a stronger focus on problem perception in governance analysis. If all participants interpret and locate the problem at a different level, it is no wonder if attempts of collective rules fail.
- There are no analytical categories to comprehend how governance configurations are forming. Through this lack processes, and above all conflicts, that led to this transformation of coordination structures are suppressed. This goes back to the strictly functional economical approach. It is important to note, that certain forms of governance have not necessarily occurred to fulfill specific purposes, rather they are the outcome of interpretations experimentation of players in the field.
- Further, which is already implied above, governance is seen as an ahistorical concept. It is able to highlight the “how” of societal coordination, but mostly doesn’t give an answer to the “why”.

Unfortunately, a social theory character is missing in the governance concept.

The governance approach would definitely benefit from social theories, as would social theories benefit from the governance concept. (comp. Benz et al., 2007: 20ff)

If we have a closer look at the statements above, it is clearly visible that a governance approach has some deficits in analyses and especially, which is important for social sciences, in asking for the “why” and not only for the “how”. The suggestion made by Benz et al. (2007), that social theories should be linked to the governance approach seems to be more than important to complete this concept. As they criticize as well, governance is an ahistorical concept and lacks explanations of the acting of individual players.

Therefore, a Bourdieuan approach of Field, Habitus and Capital is more than reasonable to bring in. It gives us an appropriate method of analyzing and nonetheless not being ahistorical. This I am going to explain further down.

In the classical-modernist conception, political institutions were supposed to fit into another, like Russian “matrouchka” dolls (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003:8). Different levels of governments should fit into another, one being smaller, respectively bigger, than the other one (local into regional; regional into national; national into international). But for quite a long time now, this model has somehow lost its power and validation. Since we live in a globalized, networking world (not only via the Internet; see Appanduraj: Globalization, 2000), “multilevel governance” or “transnational policy discourses” have become important (comp. Hajer 2000). This concept of working politics and political action can be observed at all levels of a nation state, or let us say in all containers of the Russian “matrouchka” doll.

If it is within the border of a nation state, regional, local or global – we can observe traditional structures falling apart and being replaced. Top-down approaches are more and more criticized, not only by scholars but also you can hear people in the streets talking about bottom-up or “grass-root” approaches. Party politics, once the big player in the field, seems to lose importance. The media and the so-called “civil society” are replacing the once so powerful parties. Issues are raised by individuals, groups and networks.

Giving these examples, we can see the change in politics and who has control over its devolution. Further, the new topography of politics implies, rules are not as firm as they used to be. There is no concrete regulation of who has authority over whom. Politics are brought to a wider sense, yet as they are parted in many different areas, every single organization or institution brings in their specific rules and experience. This brings along different kinds of communication, power and influence.

Hajer and Wagenaar (2003: 10) state that “modern societies are culturally more complex”. This, of course, is a challengeable statement especially from an anthropological point of view. Firstly, the statement of what exactly is a “modern society” is to be questioned and secondly what does “culturally more complex” mean? As examples they bring the increasing numbers of people who have Spanish as their first language in the USA and the linguistic complexity of policymaking in the European Union. These examples can be criticized as well. They go on by saying that the phenomenon of cultural difference is not new, but this continuing mix of cultures, languages and thus concepts of perception brings along problems of translations between not only languages but also discourses and people. Such a stress on difference has to be criticized, but is ultimately not the purpose of this thesis. Therefore I will only mention the well-known social sciences book by Eric Wolf, “Europe and the Nations without History”, which gives a good overview of globalization beginning from the 13th and 14th centuries.

Nevertheless, I agree that the world's constant change has become faster in the recent century, and that the ongoing mix of people, languages and discourses lead to new perception of politics. My suggestion here would be not to talk about “cultures” (as we know, culture is not static) or languages (which are important, but not the non plus ultra) but rather use the term “perceptions of life and lifestyle”. The concept they are proposing, of “new policy making” in a “network society” can be used later on to explain certain processes in Northern Ireland. Although it is not my belief that these processes are entirely new, which will be outlined further on, I do adapt their idea to a certain extent.

3.1.2. Who are the Actors?

It was mentioned before (comp. Hajers and Wagenaar 2003) that different levels of policy making are not structured through clear authority anymore (see the comparison to the Russian doll) but are rather working on the same level with different perceptions. If we stretch this concept out, we can see that not only policy making institutions like the state or civil society organizations like NGO's are affected by this. But civil society spreads its arms wider than this. The whole idea is based on non-state actors, which I am going to explain a little further now.

In global governance so called non-state actors (NSA's) (NGO's, firms, epistemic communities etc.) are considered to be *internal* and not *external* to the global governance system (Bas Arts in: Koenig-Archibugi and Zürn, 2006:179f). Non-state actors are those that are not (representatives of) states, yet operate on an international level and are potentially relevant to international relations (Arts et. al., 2001 in: Koenig-Archibugi and Zürn, 2006: 181).

Generally, Bas Arts (in Koenig-Archibugi and Zürn, 2006) notes, there are five types of NSA's that can be distinguished:

1. Intergovernmental Organizations (IGO's)
2. International Non-Governmental Organization (INGO's)
3. Corporate Interest Groups (CIG's) and Transnational Corporations (TNC's)
4. Epistemic Communities (EC's)
5. A remainder category (including terrorist networks, professional organizations, scouts, churches etc.)

This distinction is important because of its fifth ("remainder") category. In many concepts of governance there is no space for and thought about non-state actors like terrorist networks or churches. Still I think that they are "big players" in the international governance field and I would go even further and bring in Mafia-like organizations.

Unfortunately Bas Arts does not explain what he means by “professional organizations”. But, let us say Mafia-like groups work together on a professional level and they have structures like any other professional group including defined positions, as well as institutions. Hence I suggest bringing mafia-like groups into the “remainder category”. If we have a closer look at this category, I would even be tempted to call this, here derogatorily headed “remainder category”, one of the most important categories of NSA's.

The combination of the concept of governance and anthropology can be quite tough, as we have seen above. Further it is fairly new to work with governance structures in anthropology, which makes it even more difficult. Recently I have been introduced to a new theory of governance, which definitely needs to be mentioned here. “Governance directs attention to mechanisms (institutions, social norms, social practices) through which these undoubted social goods may be instantiated in social systems, from the smallest community to the global trade regime” (Burris et al., 2005: 31)

Governance is marked by a plurality of actors, as we have heard before. Structures have changed from, to bring in a beloved comparison again, the “matrouchka” system where one container fits into the other - to a more complex and therefore more complicated system. Governance is marked by a plurality of actors, or players, be they governments, international organizations (e.g., The World Trade Organization), corporations, the so called “civil society” and the “remainder category” (Arts, in Koenig-Archibugi and Zürn, 2006) - criminal and terrorist gangs. All of these networks, groups and organizations form interrelated and interconnected governance networks, they form mechanisms (force, persuasion, economic pressure, norm creation and manipulation), and, through their manifoldness, rapid change.

Adapting the ideas of Friedrich Hayek, an Austrian liberal economist, Burris et al. (2005) create a new system of governance, which they call “nodal governance”. The thought is based on the idea that every collectivity can be understood as an “outcome generating system” (OGS). The workings of these OGS's are usually too complex to be fully understood. Hence inhabitants develop forms of governance as a strategic adaption to complexity (Burris et al., 2005: 33). For this, Burris et al. (a.a.o.) suggest that governance in such systems is set up in nodes. Nodes can be understood as sets of technologies,

mentalities and resources that support their members to grasp the necessary knowledge to manage “the course of events” - or daily life. Nodes are described to be not necessarily but mostly points of networks (comp. Burris et al., a.a.o.).

If you think of groups of people living together, groups of people working together or being connected through any important purpose in their life, we usually have a very complex “collectivity”. The outcomes which are created through merely connecting and linking these individuals to a “collectivity” are complex and sometimes hard to fully understand. Outcomes are hence products, in space and time, of how these individuals in a “collectivity” interact; how they interact with further institutions, organizations, what technologies and resources they use as well as the social environment in which they operate. It is important to note, that every “collectivity” can be called an OGS, “outcome generating system”.

A “collectivity” is never separate from its environment, nor is it separate from others “collectivities”. Points of interaction can be taken for granted. Put together, individual OGS create a system of OGS, which is even more complex. Burris et al. (2005) state that OGS can have different outcomes. They distinguish in quite “black and white” manner between “problems” and “goods” (p.33). “Problems” could be grief, hunger, depression, illness and so on. By “goods” they mean peace, happiness, joy, economic efficiency and health. Nevertheless, an outcome is not a static affair but rather a process. Every “collectivity” can produce both “goods” and “problems”.

All people living in a “collectivity” wish to be rich, happy and powerful. Therefore, people in an OGS are making adaptations individually to maximize the success of the collectivity. The adaptations have a variety of forms, e.g., institutions, rules, maxims, customs, traditions and values. In a Bourdieuan sense you would call it the “Habitus” - to sense “the rules of the game”, to play a part in a certain field which allows you to take part in the game. These adaptations are made consciously, others are unconsciously. They might be considered as given, which does not mean that they are not adaptations as well. (comp. Burris et al., 2005: 33ff)

A node is considered to be:

- A way of thinking (mentalities) about the matters that the node has emerged to govern.
- A set of methods (technologies) for exerting influence over the course of events at issue.
- Resources to support the operation of the node and the exertion of influence and
- A structure that enables the direct mobilization of resources, mentalities and technologies over time (institutions).

(Burris et. al., 2005: 37f)

The importance of this concept lies in the analytical structure, but at the same time it doesn't suggest particular structures of nodes. A node could be a neighbourhood association, an NGO or a gang. Institutions, even within a short time, give the node the allowance to be a governing node. This doesn't mean, that it has to be recognized legally or formally, but rather that it has the ability to mobilize mentalities, technologies and provide the resources for that. Not all nodes have the same abilities to govern and will certainly not do so equally. Its capacity to influence lies strongly within the availability of resources. This again brings in Bourdieu and the theory of *capital*. With either social, cultural or symbolic capital you already have a strong influence on economic capital. (Will be explained further down). The concept allows on one hand networks structures, but on the other hand also explains the points, which in the end keep the network alive. Terrorist groups and gangs are included, as are simple firms or NGO's. This certainly opens the field on Non-State Actors and their influence on governance networks and structures.

(As mentioned before, my approach of governance will be an analytical approach. Through the concept of nodal governance as well as Bourdieu's concepts of Habitus, Field and Capital, it seems to be possible to analyze the impossible: (former) Terrorist or Mafia gangs in Northern Ireland.)

3.2. Embedded

3.2.1. What is Habitus?

Wacquant (1992: 18) asks a very simple question – why is social life so predictable? And in fact, this has always been on the mind of social scientists, who have been asking themselves where the pattern, the structures come from. „Habitus is a structuring mechanism, that operates from within agents and it is neither strictly individual nor in itself fully determinative of conduct“. (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 18). To say it in Bourdieu's own words (Bourdieu in Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 18):

“Habitus is „the strategy generating principle enabling agents to cope with unforeseen and ever changing situations ... a system of lasting and transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a Matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks.“

Habitus thus enables the actors in a specific field to react to the “game” which is played in this field. This nevertheless does not mean that habitus is either static or eternal. On the contrary, it is inventive and creative to adapt to the conditions in the field. But it reacts and adapts within the limits of its structures which are the embodied sedimentation of the social structures which produced it. (comp. Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 19) Habitus as itself is practical, but only until a certain point as it can also be fuzzy and illogical. (comp. Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 24).

Gerry Foster gives us a clear expression of habitus and even of fighting against a habitus which you know that should be passé:

„I remember shaking hands with one person, I didn't recognize him at that time, but I do remember him from prison, like. (Very long pause) And what he would've been imprisoned for. (Low voice) – For cutting up Catholics. Killing Catholics. And, I remember one of

these cross community meetings and he heard me talking and he came over afterwards and shook my hand and I didn't recognize him, I'll admit, you know cause the last time I would have seen him was about 20 years ago when I was in prison. And he introduced himself. As soon as he introduced himself I felt like vomiting that he even touched me, that he even shook my hand. And, thoughts, you know, just grab him and kill him, just rip his throat out, you know? And there he was standing talking and he didn't know about these thoughts, there was all people with us like. But he was standing talking to me and I (was) thinking: kill him, just kill him. And, I remember walking away and the other guys, the other ex prisoners, the INLA ex prisoners, could see that I'm not feeling well, so I was going home. And that turned out to be very ... (not understandable) that this bastard had actually shook my hand and it was a real difficult ah mountain to climb, mostly for me, because, you know, I, I can't do this. You know, I mean can't meet people like that and be civil. Especially with thoughts in your head, you know, "the best thing to do would be to kill him". (Gerry Foster in an interview on 18th March 2010).

In the passage above we can see Gerry Foster fighting his embodied habitus of wanting to kill the other man (even though Gerry Foster himself has killed more than enough people in the conflict when he was a member of the INLA). In the end it looks like he „compromises“ with his long embodied way of acting („kill him, he has killed Catholics“) and the new field, where he only had to learn how to react. In his new field he is working in Loyalist communities with Protestant teenagers as a so-called peace worker to keep teenagers from joining paramilitaries by telling them stories of how the conflict really was. In this passage, he left the scene and went home because he felt sick. The embodied dispositions of hatred against this man, who has supposedly killed Catholics, were too strong to stay there and talk normally.

Of great interest especially to my field of research is Bourdieu's notion of domination, which states that the dominated contribute to their own domination. But, as we can see below, they do not contribute knowingly, but by adapting a certain habitus, by embodied dispositions.

„It is fitting to recall that the dominated always contribute to their own domination, it is necessary at once to be reminded that the dispositions which include them to this complicity are also the effect, embodied, of domination.“ (Bourdieu: 1989: 12 and Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 24).

Consequently is the oppression of workers, women, minorities and many more most often not a deliberate or conscious concession of managers, men, majorities etc. It is rather anchored in the subconscious fit between the habitus and the field they operate in. (Comp. Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 24).

This explanation might be one of the most appropriate, but in my opinion this is not an excuse for those who oppress. Neither managers, nor men, nor majorities have the right to suppress other individuals just because it is anchored in their socialized body. The importance here is to acknowledge the socialized body and the habitus within a field carried by agents and vice versa, but not to use it as an excuse. Paramilitaries are accepted in Northern Ireland's society because, as Richard said above, they have always been there. At least one generation grew up not knowing anything else than the Troubles and the divided country. But not only the time of the actual war is important for the constitution of the country and its inhabitants, but also the centuries before. Stories are handed down from one generation to the other. Republicans play the role of the victim, who has been maltreated

Here Paramilitary groups have always been, the man who was in a Paramilitary group was also maybe the window cleaner, or the local butcher or the local street cleaner. So from the start of the Troubles, Paramilitary groups were always self-financing.

“They always run things like clubs, pubs, taxis and that type of things so the work. Paramilitary groups were just the ordinary people in the community, but they were also involved in the

business of the community, providing a service for the community. And they were, as I said, self financing. Always certain groups were involved in maybe businesses, activities to raise money or robberies and that type of things it was just accepted. So there is, no people don't differentiate that much. I'm only talking generally here now, you know, that's an accepted fact, you know, this is Pub we are sitting in would be paying money to the UVF, because that's area of control. Like everywhere it is like this."

(Peter McGuire in an interview 4th January 2010).

Further, Jack McKee, pastor in the New City Life Church on the Shankill Road says that they are still there and accepted.

"Gerry Adams said sometimes after the IRA ceasefire and them signing up to the Peace Agreement, umm, he said concerning the IRA: "They haven't gone away, you know". And the fact is, they still haven't gone away you know. And the same can be said within Loyalist communities, the UVF hasn't gone away; the UDA has not gone away. They are like chameleons, they are changing. In order to fit in with the process. But they are still maintaining control. Their activities are shifting, but the fact of the matter is, umm, they can still be as ruthless as they want to be, they can still be as threatening and intimidating, umm, they still actively control communities and they will control the drugs market as much as they can, not by keeping it at bay, but by them being the main dealers. [...] So they are still there, and they are not just there in the background, people in the community are very much aware of their presence." (Jack McKee in an interview on 15th March 2010).

Looking at this, we can see the apparent acceptance of paramilitary structures and presence, although they can be ruthless, cruel and lethal within their own community. As the city is slightly changing and opening up, more and more people start to question the existence and necessity of paramilitaries, but still

the field changes slowly. „For each field fills the empty bottle of interest with a different wine.“ (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 26).

To express it in simple words, every player only knows the rules of his game perfectly. He/she can move in their field and knows how to react appropriately. Every field has its interest-driven agents and these interests differ from field to field.

To give some popular examples (comp. Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992), a middle class academic would not understand the value of boxing sub proletarian youngsters see when fighting in a boxing club.

A field also means that as in economics, there is no action without interest. In this game actors play subconsciously along. In the end, by having a subconscious consensus of habitus and field Bourdieu recognizes the internalization of relations of domination between the dominant and the dominated (comp. Zips, 2002: 259).

„It is to give ourselves the means of satisfying the principle of sufficient reason which demands that there be no action without a *raison d'être*, that is, without interest, or, if one prefers, without investment in a game and in a stake, illusion, commitment“ (Bourdieu 1990: 290 in Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 26).

The field in Bourdieu's sense is a battle field, a playground for its actors. To think in terms of field means to think relationally (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). This is exactly where the concepts of Bourdieu's "tool kit" and governance interlock. Governance gives a frame and the tool kit fills it.

As I said above, governance is an ahistorical concept and therefore only analyzes the horizontal. One could picture it as a cross section. At this point Bourdieu comes in. His concepts of field, habitus and capital are not ahistorical but describe the embodied historicity, socialized bodies which carry around dispositions.

Bas Arts classifies in Koenig – Archiburgi (2006) five different types of NDA's (non-state actors). In his fifth and remainder category, he describes non-state-actors such as terrorist networks, professional organizations, churches, etc. To classify these only as the "remainder category" sounds as if their power

would be underestimated. However, this is exactly the category where to fit in Northern Irish paramilitaries as terrorist networks.

So to combine historicity and governance, Bourdieu even says in an interview with Wacquant that “in analytic terms, a field may be defined as a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (*situs*) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.).” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 97)

The field, as defined above, is seen by Bourdieu as a game (“*jeu*”) with rules and regularities that are not explicit and codified. Players agree on these rules or regularities by playing. Bourdieu explains (1992) that we also have “trumps” which we can play. He lays a comparison to a set of cards. Each game requires different cards, the hierarchies of capital change.

As from my understanding, you always have the same set of cards but each game delivers different trumps. So in different games ace can either be trump of the lowest card. As given in the example above, a Professor of Social Anthropology will most probably not gain his student's and colleagues respect (symbolic capital) by driving his new Porsche to university, whereas in a different field, in another game, he might have trump by doing that.

Why a field is functioning, always depends on the players, on the agents and therefore on the relations, distances and asymmetries they produce. (comp. Bourdieu and Wacquant , 1992: 101). Further, he says that a “capitals do not exist and function except in relation to a field” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 101). A field is also designed by struggles. One could argue that the players are in the permanent “fight” for gaining a certain kind of capital to define their position in the field.

Subconscious at least in my understanding, to the players is the understanding or let us say the definition of the field. Therefore “social reality exists, so to speak, twice, in things and in minds, in field and in habitus, outside and inside of agents. And when habitus encounters a social world of

which it is the product, it is like a “fish in the water”: it does not feel the weight of the water, and it takes the world about itself for granted.” (Bourdieu 1992: 127f)

Thus it is also clear, that when you grow up in Belfast you learn from the beginning on where and how to move, how to handle this game. It is an unwritten law that Catholics do not go to Protestant areas and vice versa. 90% of the taxis (unproven source) are controlled by paramilitaries. Growing up in Belfast also means that you know which taxis go where.

To give an insight to what can happen when you are a stranger to this field, I have to tell a story which happened to me back in 2004. A friend of mine, another international volunteer from Germany, and I were invited to a house party. As this house was quite far away from our place and hardly any public transport went there, we decided to take a taxi. We told the driver the address and jumped in. As we arrived in this particular area, he said that he could not find the house. We argued that this was impossible as we had the address which we got from our friend. Anyhow, the driver was not in the mood to argue with foreigners, took the money we owed him and literally kicked us out of the taxi. The area was not one of Belfast's nicest and safest and we had no idea what to do and where to go. Fortunately an old man crossed our way and we asked him for the house. He started to laugh and said: “Can you see the wall over there? That's a peace line. You're on the wrong side of it.”

He was very kind and showed us the way how to get around the peace line. He stopped at the corner and told us that he would not go any further, they would kill him. And he also told us that due to the fact that we are young foreigners it should be no problem for us to walk down there. “Just keep talking German” he said and smirked. Of course this wasn't really soothing but we managed to find the house safely. We obviously had not been moving like a “fish in the water” because we had no idea that most of the taxis are only taking you to specific areas, either Catholic or Protestant.

3.2.2. Durable but not Eternal

A habitus anyhow, is neither a given state of being, nor your fate, but an open system of dispositions (comp. Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 133). We make

new experiences every day, which can modify or reinforce our habitus. Therefore, “habitus is durable, but not eternal” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 133) In most cases however, our experiences confirm our habitus, which lies in the social structures in which we live. It is the relation to certain structures, to a certain field and within this field discourses and practices full of historicity, which produce habitus.

I worked in a Protestant working class area in east Belfast, which is basically a village in itself. It is completely shut away from Catholics and the people living there mainly stay with each other and only leave the area to go to the city centre in order to do some shopping. Very often I was told that they “don't have anything against Catholics”. It was said that “they are just different, we don't know them, but I don't mind them living in Belfast”.

Of course this attitude is transmitted from generation to generation, and even the youngest kids who really do not know anything about the conflict appear with the same opinion. When I approached them and asked if they would be friends with Catholics, the answer was always the same: “No”. The explanation given was always the same “they are not like us”. This is a very common attitude towards “others” in every society. The fear of the “other” has led to many wars already.

3.2.3. We're one but we're not the same (U2, One)

I remember a trip we were doing with the O.A.K. Centre to Dublin Zoo. In Dublin we met a children's group (just like ours) from Dublin who were coming with us to the Zoo. Of course they were Catholics and everyone knew about that before. It was in the frame of one of the peace-building funds, that was why the centre could afford the trip. We were speaking about the “South” before we left and the kids reaction was between “why do I have to meet Catholics” and excitement of going to the zoo. In the end the trip was as peaceful as possible with these kids and even the games we played with the other group afterwards went ok. When we talked about the trip on the way home, the kids said that “them Catholics” were ok, but you don't have to be friends with them. It is important to note that for most children on this trip, those were the only Catholics they had ever met. In fact, they had never met

anybody from the Northern Irish Catholic community but were sure that they could never have any Catholic friends because “we're not the same”.

Nevertheless, some of the boys will join the British Army when they are 16 due to a lack of possibility for education. In the British Army avoidance of Catholics, Muslims, Hindus and so on will be impossible. It is a completely new field, with new structures, new discourses, new practices and in the end, you have no influence with whom you have to serve. The relations change and so will their behaviour. A comrade is a comrade. But let me assume that whenever they go home to Northern Ireland and thus to their “old” field, the behaviour towards Catholics will be the same. But as I said, this is just an assumption and cannot be proven here.

3.2.4. Tool Kit

One important point of Bourdieu's work is the so called “tool kit” which includes field, habitus and capital. After explaining field and habitus, I will now give a short explanation and overview about capital.

Bourdieu focuses mainly on three types of capital: economic, social and cultural (comp. Bourdieu, 1986). Further, he adds symbolic capital “which is the form that one or another of these species takes when it is grasped through categories of perception that recognize its specific logic or, if you prefer, misrecognize the arbitrariness of its possession and accumulation” (Bourdieu in: Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:119).

Economic capital, so to speak, shall be the clearest of all forms, mainly the economic power in form of monetary means you possess. Cultural capital, which concerning Bourdieu, can also be called informational capital, appears in three forms: embodied, objectified and institutionalized. Further, he describes social capital as the sum of resources which an individual or a group gathers in terms of social networks (com. Bourdieu in: Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 119).

The position a person has in a certain field is therefore linked to these three forms of capital and as a summary, symbolic capital. Of course, the forms of *creating and gaining* symbolic capital depend on the structures, the dispositions in the field. A University Professor of Social Sciences will not gain

his students' respect by making a lot of money and having a career at BP. Rather he obtains respect by having a big network or writing well-known and acknowledged books or publishing articles in journals for Social Sciences. The sum of his social and cultural capital will give him symbolic capital.

On the other hand will the owner of a car dealership who originated in a typical working class district and neighbourhood and built up his business of the years quite successfully and therefore drives a Porsche now, be well respected in his community because he is a "self-made man"? These forms of capital can be found in every field and all agents play within these structures for different forms of capital.

When society turns into a society of war, another accumulation of capital leads to symbolic capital and thus powerful positions in the field. Peter explains his paramilitary career by explaining his way of gaining respect in the community. As he was growing up as an orphan and later adopted by a family who never treated him like their own son, he was obviously looking for a way to find his own life worthwhile.

"I found that here in Northern Ireland, personally I found that, you got some respect when you were a good fighter. D' know what I mean? And I went to a school where good fighters had some status. Most of them were smart. I had some status in that. And I also found that people would follow you if you sorta protect them. So I had quite a following. And uh, I knew there was some status for me." [...]

Here it becomes clear that in the Northern Irish society, the public support of violence was something in-questionable. Violence has been supported over the centuries and has been supported in the last couple of centuries. Through the alternation of the *constitutional* and the *extra-constitutional* tradition, democratic elections and a violent procedure in terms of political change (comp. Hayes and McAllister, 2001:911f) the inhabitants got used to the permanent use of force and violence.

"I quickly realized that people were scared of paramilitaries. And that paramilitaries had power. And if I joined, you didn't need any exams for that. You know what I mean, you would've some sort of status and power. And people would often, the Troubles were a very empowering period of time for people. See, Northern Ireland was very class

orientated. You didn't need education or anything, you could put on a mask and just go on the street and stop cars, d' know what I mean? And things like that. You could bring society to a standstill, you know what I mean?" (Peter McGuire in an interview in march 2010).

Peter describes how he found his way of being respected and accepted in the part above. Today, these explanations are used by many to find excuses why they joined paramilitaries and started killing. If we go back to Bourdieu in this, dispositions of embodied behaviour in the field can be analyzed. Most paramilitary members never got any riches by being a member of a paramilitary organizations. Only the late UDA under Johnny Adair started big money businesses, as I will show in another chapter. Capitals do not exist except in relation with a field (comp. Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 101), here symbolic capital could be gained by joining a paramilitary.

3.3. Violence and the Effects of Violence

In the political-education classes held by Republican prisoners conducted in the 1970s, the current situation and "schisms" in Northern Ireland were even traced back to the geological division of the island to the European continent. Due to this mixture of geographical-economic division and outside forces, such as Christianity, British Colonialism and Capitalism, so they said, the conflict has emerged. These categories have disturbed the "natural" course of the island, which has been separated from the mainland to be left alone with its culture and traditions.

This theory has later been adapted by some politicians, and is certainly does give a very noble excuse for those, who have been assassinating others during the conflict. It states the division and partition as natural, almost evolutionary, and traces back history until the prehistoric. It includes historical context to the conflict, but on a scale which is not open for any discussion.

Loyalist origin myths on the other hand, show a strong connection to the Bible. The myth I am going to introduce now is inspired by the Orange Order (Protestant secret society). It traces back the origins of Ulster Protestants to the ten lost tribes of Israel. In this case, the Biblical-territorial component prevails.

What both stories have in common, is the fact that they give a legitimate reason for the struggle, for fighting, for bombings and for murders – put in a nutshell: for violence. (without considering the closer and maybe more relevant history) (comp. Feldman, 1991: 17f).

Since at least 1916 the people of Northern Ireland have to live with violence, at times there was more, at times there was less. Open violence mostly occurred in the 1920's (a.a.O.) and from 1969 – 1998. This doesn't mean that the years in between were without violence.

In many societies marked by violent outbursts, barricades between the battling groups are constructed. Feldman (1991) writes about *Spatial Violence* when describing the segregated cities (especially Belfast and Londonderry). One of his examples is the parades, which are held till this day. They shift the symbolic centre of the demonstrating community to the interfaces. This, on one hand symbolizes a violent act, and on the other hand leads to violent outbursts at the interfacial-areas. After 1969, as times got more violent, so called “peace-lines” have been erected, to separate communities and through this avoid every-day clashes. The “peace-lines” of Belfast and (London) Derry have till this day not vanished. Of course the “environmental barriers” have not reduced violent acts in these certain areas. Quite antithetic, they have drawn more attention to awareness that “There's Taigs (Catholics) on the other side of that!” Or “There's prods (Protestants) on the other side of that!” So they get within a few yards of it and throw bricks over it thinking that there's one there they might hit. The next thing you get is fucking petrol bombs and everything coming over. Then some jolly lad decides to come out, stands about twenty yards from the wall and shouts “Drop!” Everybody by the wall drops, and he puts two hundred machine gun rounds through it.”(in Feldman, 1991: 31)

Violence appears in many different forms. Northern Ireland specifically has gone through many traditions of violence. Implicit, political violence can be seen over the centuries and has had high-peaks at certain times in history.

Bernadette C. Hayes and Ian McAllister (2001, 901- 922) see three main agencies responsible for the deaths of people. The Provisional IRA has been responsible for by far the most deaths (1,696 - just under half of the total),

Loyalist Paramilitaries for 991 (29 percent) and the third agency, the British Army, the Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR) and the Royal Ulster Constabulary (the Police – today called Police Service of Northern Ireland – PSNI). The British Army has been responsible for 9 percent of the deaths and the RUC and the UDR for 64 in numbers.

The assumption of the main responsible agencies has to be closely looked at, as in my opinion the main agencies held themselves back as so often. Therefore I will analyze potential candidates later on, showing the governance approach.

As so often in armed conflicts, the affected ones have been and still are mostly innocent civilians. Over many years they have been confronted with different forms of violence, which should be described here. While, Hayes and McAllister write that terrorist attacks in Europe hit a large amount of people at the same time, a relatively small percentage of people are affected. Since the end of the Second World War no other *advanced industrial* society has experienced political violence at a level like Northern Ireland. The duration of the “Troubles”, the extent and the intensity have ensured a great level of people being confronted with personal experience of political violence. (comp. Hayes and McAllister, 2001: 908).

Referring to Hayes and McAllister (2001) there are three types of political violence that a population might be exposed to.

First, there is the ***direct experience of violence***: Direct experience of violence means being the victim of a violent event and probably suffering injury due to this violent event. If you have a look at Table 4 in Hayes and McAllister (2001: 909), one in seven adults claimed that they have been the victim of a violent incident. Threats and intimidations have been common throughout the conflict, and I would even claim that they still are in certain areas under special circumstances. Due to heavy threats and intimidations, large parts of the population moved in the early years of the conflict, with the result that hardly any religiously mixed areas were left. They left to areas where they could live with people of their faith, feeling more secure around those (comp. Whyte in Hayes and McAllister, 2001: 908). Of course threats have been inter-communal as well, to make sure that people would not inform

on paramilitaries and to “police” the areas, which means to speak out threats and intimidations in order to prevent drug-crime and other offenses (especially vandalism). In 1973 the first study on threats and intimidation was conducted. Numbers showed that one in five persons have been intimidated at some point.

The second dimension Hayes and McAllister address (ibid) is ***indirect experience of violence***. This dimension implies to know someone, e.g., a family member or close relative, who has been killed or injured, or to know someone to whom this has happened.

Tracey is a perfect example for the experience of indirect violence. She was growing up with her uncle and her Dad being shot, her Dad in due course being paralyzed, her Mum trying to cope with the situation that her brothers has been literally slaughtered, her husband has been shot and with a couple of kids surrounding her. “So it was an emotional trouble as well, so it was, it wasn't just literally being paralyzed. You know, so it's all that as well, so there was a lot of difficulty with that” (Tracey Seawright, 06.01.2010).

Tracey herself has never experienced this kind of violence but growing up on the Shankill Road meant to have a specific, violent surrounding constantly under threat. In Belfast the protestant Shankill Road and the catholic Falls Road are right beside each other and were one of social hotspots during the Troubles. Today, these streets are divided by a peaceline which can only be passed at certain points. Both roads are lower working class areas, hatred and fear was something most people grew up with. Tracey is today very active in cross-community work, but it took her a while to realize and thus overcome her habitus: “So me had a wee bit of a feelings on me about that. So it took me a wee while to deal with that (...)” (Tracey Seawright, 06.01.2010)

As Hayes and McAllister (ibid) find, Northern Ireland has very strong family and community ties. From my own experience, I can only emphasize that. Families are very often extended and large families, which might also come from the fact that girls get pregnant at a very early age and that abortion is

prohibited in Northern Ireland.

To me, it was absolutely striking how many young parents can be seen in the streets of Belfast. In the community centre where I was working (The O.A.K. Centre, Clarawood) I was often been asked if I was married or if I had children. I was 18 at that time. My “boss”, June, was 40 years old and a mother of four. First, I met her youngest daughter Chloe (3 years at that time), her son (Ryan, 11 years) and her daughter Carleen (15 years old, by now she has a one year old baby daughter as I have found out recently). This would not have been very exceptional, but after a couple of weeks she told me that her oldest son (20) and his girlfriend had a baby and that she has just turned “Granny”. For other women in the centre (the centre was mostly frequented by women and their children) it was totally normal to be a “granny” at 40.

From the beginning on, a very young woman was helping June and me in the centre. Sometimes she dropped by for setting up whatever we had planned, or helped preparing toasts and juice. Gloria was 26 at that time, with her oldest son (Darran) being 11, the second son 5 years and her third baby on the way. As I said, extended families are common, which I think has different reasons. On the one hand, the times of the Troubles were absolutely frightening to everybody, and you never knew who you could trust. On the other hand, as the age of women giving birth is very low, they might very often need the help and support of their families to raise the child.

To come back to the influence of indirect violence, a death or an injury of someone has wide repercussions in these strong and extended networks of communities and families. By 1995 approximately one in five reported having had a family member or member of community killed or injured (Hayes and McAllister, 2001: 908).

Living in Northern Ireland in 2004/5 was supposedly safe. But even being an international volunteer was not always secure, especially in the first weeks, when we did not know certain “rules”. One evening we were going to a pub in the city centre, which had had some Catholic connotations, but was more or less known as non-sectarian and a good pub to “party”.

Irish music was playing, and people were relaxing and having a good time. As we were a bigger group of international volunteers, most of the pub had realized that we were foreigners, which was always a good sign because it

helps to keep you out of trouble. However, after some time we decided to leave, and got dressed. The pub was extremely crowded and most of our group were waiting outside. I forgot my scarf, which was a Palestine-scarf and had to go back into the cramped pub to get it. As I was wrapping the scarf around my neck, a guy suddenly turned towards me, grinned and asked: "Is this a statement?"

As I always thought a Palestine-scarf to be some kind of political solidarity symbol, I certainly answered "Yes, so it is". The man's eyes got smaller, he grabbed my arm, squeezed it and said: "Right girl, f**** Nationalist, get out of this pub immediately". At this moment his friends came over and dragged him away from me, and I, as told, left the pub as fast as I could.

Being quite astonished, I asked at the YMCA on the next day if they knew why the man got so emotional about Israel and Palestine. They knew – the black and white scarf I was wearing was, without my knowledge, a symbol of Irish - Nationalism/Republicanism, as Republicans felt solidarity with occupied Palestine, while Protestants sympathized with Israelis, as they believe themselves to be descendants of the twelve tribes of Israel (as mentioned above). I have certainly never worn that scarf in Northern Ireland again.

Hayes and McAllister (ibid) add an additional form of indirect experience violence, which is **collective exposure to violence**. This could be being caught up in a violent event, either an explosion or a riot.

Exposure to violence is not equally shared between the communities. Catholics are twice as likely to have been intimidated or threatened and they are one third more likely to have been the victim of a violent incident. This is natural, considering the nature of the conflict: The conflict has mainly been between the IRA and the British Army, and between Loyalists and Nationalists/Catholics. This means that the Catholic community has been exposed to a higher risk of violence.

3.3.1. Public Support of Violence

The conflict in Northern Ireland shows a significant ambiguity towards the use of political violence. The support for use of violence usually occurs in societies when political institutions emerged from civil war or civil conflict. This support,

however is transitional and can vanish as soon as democratic processes are installed. In Northern Ireland, two traditions of political change have been used.

The constitutional tradition:

The constitutional tradition seeks to achieve political change through democratic processes, such as elections. Parties compete with each other, and further there can be pressure and interest group activity. These forms are used in established democracies

The extra-constitutional tradition:

The extra-constitutional tradition implies change through the use of force. This could be protest activity or the use of armed force itself.

In Ireland, these two traditions have been used parallel ways in the last two centuries, each being stronger at a certain time. As we have seen in the historical part, bringing “the Irish Question” to the parliament was a success for the constitutional tradition. Since it was rejected, the Easter Rising in 1916 followed and further led to the formation of the Irish Free State in 1921. Here we can see both traditions, each at a certain historical time. The question of which tradition to use is not a matter of morality, but rather of practicality. If it is proven that either one or the other tradition has been working out, it will be utilized.

In present Northern Ireland, both traditions have been seen. For example, with the formation of the Sinn Fein, which emerged from the IRA and is its political agent, we can see a concrete example of the use of both traditions. (comp. Hayes and McAllister, 2001:911f)

Population-wise, the use of violence, as mentioned above, is usually seen very ambiguously. Support of paramilitaries is not expressed very openly, and most people condemn it publicly. Most of the paramilitary violence is condemned. As I will demonstrate later, it is hard to break this wall of silence.

Political violence has strong influences on a society. Its impact can be found in everyday life, in the lives of individuals, and of communities. It destroys

properties and jobs and further has an influence on political behaviour and beliefs. I go under the assumption that violence causes further violence in a continuous cycle. (comp. Hayes and McAllister, 2001: 915). This assumption also comes from my experience talking to former paramilitaries, who have reported that violent experiences in their life led to violent reactions:

“[...] One night meself and a friend we were walking home, it was a Friday night about twelve o'clock and two RUC vehicles drove by, two jeeps and the second jeep opened the door and started shooting at us. Uh, that was no big deal, you didn't expect anything else from the RUC, they were always aggressive, they were always cheeky, they were always, ah, you know even when you were going to school, stopping you and forcing off your schoolbags and stuff like that. They were just, to us they were never police force in any shape or form. So that was a Friday night, it was in the Sunday papers on the front page but a sideline, you know, a sideline. And it said: RUC opened fire on mob of forty. I started reading the article, and I found it really funny, you know, because I realized that it was myself and my friend that they were talking about. [...]

I thought about that, because my friend had come down to the ground and I stood and shouted out, shouted an abuse at them. Actually at home there was mug spots on my trousers from where the bullet had hit the field beside me and in front of me. So they weren't even shooting in the air, they were shooting at us. So, I started thinking about this. [...]

Ah, so I realized that there was no recourse there, the media just reported, there was no journalist there who would have seen what had happened, why there was a riot on a quiet evening and stuff like that. So, I started thinking about it and I started realizing, you know, it wasn't just the British army and the RUC in the street it was media, it was the whole state, they could commit murder and get away with it. So I have sort of said to myself “well if these people are willing to use violence to maintain the state, then I will use violence to try and break the state”. I joined the INLA at 18 years of

age, the Irish National Liberation Army, and I joined the INLA for no other reason than they were more active in the Andersonstown area at that time than the Provisional IRA. So I made the decision of getting involved and it wasn't only that incident, there was obviously a number of things, reasons of getting involved. Yes, a part of it was getting involved and yes a part of it was the harassment in your face British Army and the RUC, and the laundry itself, all different things of how I got involved. But you know, it was no one's fault but me own." (Gerry Foster, 18th March 2010)

Political violence, the experience of direct, collective exposure to violence, and indirect violence are important factors for a society and its behaviour. I can only speak for Belfast, because that is where I spent most of my time. Although the peace process has been accomplished, paramilitaries have decommissioned and direct violence has decreased, the trauma of the conflict has been re-routed. The atmosphere of the city is very harsh, very shaken. People are suspicious and I saw a lot of curtains moving the first couple of weeks every time I got off the bus in Clarawood.

When my parents came over to Northern Ireland to visit me in April 2005, I had to find an accommodation for them. As we (the volunteers) were living in a students' area close to the University, and "religiously" mixed, I of course wanted my parents to live close by. I was looking around for B&B's and found two close by, more or less directly in one of the hippest streets of Belfast, with a lot of Cafés and little shops. My intention was to simply ask in the B&B's if they would have any spare rooms and so I knocked at the door of the first one. I could hear somebody moving inside, and tried to look through the parts of the door which were made of some kind of translucent glass. I knocked again, but no one opened the door. So I decided to come back another day, turned around and was about to leave. At this moment, an old man opened the door and said: "Oh love⁴, you freaked me out love, so you did. Couldn't see you through that door, thought you were a gunman, so I thought".

He had not seen me through his door because apparently I was standing just behind the wooden part of the door. He finally let me in and showed me

⁴ Common expression in Belfast for everyone who is female, while males would be called "son".

around. But honestly, I preferred to have my parents in a B&B where no one is actively expecting gunmen.

Working in the Protestant, working-class area of Belfast gave me some small insights into paramilitarism as well. A point I will discuss later is the church as a player in the field. Churches, Protestant and Catholic, are extremely important agents and can perform a strong influence on their visitors and believers. In recent years, a new type of Church has emerged in Northern Ireland. These churches are called “charismatic churches” and represent a church which is “controlled” by its base, which means that there are supposedly no hierarchical structures, or at least less. June, the woman I was working with, was a member of such a charismatic Church. She was absolutely convinced that Jesus was her best friend and saves her every day. Most of the women coming to the centre felt that way and often talked about it.

3.3.2. “It’s the wall in people’s minds that we need to break down first.”

3.3.3 Reflexivity

One thing which Pierre Bourdieu stresses in his work is reflexivity. Most striking we can find this in “Homo Academicus” (Bourdieu, 1988). Here he analyzes the structures of the French intellectual elite, knowing well that he is a part of it, a player in the field. Concretely he suggests three biases with which social scientists have to deal, because they might blur their gaze at the obvious.

The first one is social origins and coordinates. These origins and coordinates are e.g. Class, gender, ethnicity etc. They are individual with every researcher. This bias is quite obvious and thus mostly reflected in self criticism.

The second bias can be found in the position of the player in the academic field. That is possible offered positions offered to him or her in the specific microcosm and beyond. Further, social scientists are situated near the dominant pole of the field of power and are “therefore under the sway of the forces of attraction and repulsion that bear on all symbolic producers” (comp.

Bourdieu, 1971, 1988 in Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 39).

The most interesting bias although is the third one. Bourdieu (1992) calls it the intellectualist one, which makes us construe the world as a spectacle, as something which needs to be interpreted and analyzed rather than to solve concrete problems. As it might have become clear already, it is of high importance to me to bring a strong account on self-reflexivity into this thesis. It is important to mention that I do not consider it a post-post modernist way of thinking but as a necessity because my first approach to the field was without any academic knowledge, before I started my career at university. So now let me go back to the three biases Bourdieu set.

As for the first bias, I am a young, white, middle-class Austrian woman. This brings along a variety of advantages, but also disadvantages, depending on the field I am playing in. If I consider the world as a field, I have clear advantages over others. My passport shows the name of one of the richest countries in the world and gives me the freedom of traveling. To continue, my parents are neither rich nor poor, both of them went to university which is an advantage in many ways again.

If I consider the field of academia in Austria, my advantages suddenly seem to shrink. Being a young woman is, if we may believe statistics, not exactly the best position to have on an academic level. Almost the same structures count for Northern Ireland, except for the fact that I have first experienced a language barrier due to the broad and hardly understandable Northern Irish accent. Fortunately, this problem was soon to be overcome and I adapted the accent.

To come to bias number two, I am of the opinion that it is also related to bias number one. This bias is linked to the academic microcosm and the position one holds in it. Considering the fact that I am only a Master's student, neither my power nor my influence in this field is worth mentioning. When I look back at my collected experience with Northern Ireland, my first contact was without any academic touch. I was fairly young (18) and not in any position of having knowledge and therefore cultural or symbolic capital.

Going over to the third bias, the intellectualist bias, I have to admit that Bourdieu addresses a problem which is in my opinion of the biggest in social sciences. Creating the world as spectacle with signs to be interpreted does

not help to gain people's trust in sciences such as sociology or anthropology.

3.3.4 Interviews

I conducted interviews with the following people, whom I will briefly introduce now. Some, whose information was used more frequently, are introduced a little longer than others.

Prof. Adrien Guelke: Professor of Comparative Politics at Queens University, Belfast. He got shot by Loyalist paramilitaries in 1991.

Peter McGuire: Former Loyalist. Peter McGuire, as mentioned in the acknowledgement, was one of the most important persons for me concerning my approach to the field. Peter was working for the Loyalist paramilitaries, UDA as well as the UVF. In Loyalism, he was one of the most important commanders and as he said himself in an informal conversation we had in Trademark on the Lower Falls Road: "I only got so far in Loyalism because of the flatness of the people surrounding me". He was in jail a couple of times and is now, as are many ex-prisoners, actively working in peace work, e.g., the EVS (European Voluntary Service) where I met him first. But now I will let him speak, as it is my wish to let those speak who usually remain unheard.

Richard: Former UDR man. Originally British.

Tracy Seawright: I met Tracey while I was working for the YMCA in my European Voluntary Service. Back then, Tracey was very young and just recently graduated from University. She was doing a lot of programs for the YMCA, most of them youth-related. When I returned for my research in January 2010 I decided to visit the YMCA and also talk to them about my Thesis. Some of the staff is new, but most of them could still remember me and I was lucky that they were so helpful and also contacted Tracey for me. Tracey called me back later and we arranged a meeting.

We held the interview on the Shankill Road in a community centre where Tracy is working. The centre is called “The Spectrum Centre” and is on the Shankill Mainroad. Tracy is 28, she is married and has a „wee boy“⁵, her son is two years old. Tracy is Protestant. She is very active in community work and in her church, the “New City Life Church”. Her Dad got shot and her uncle died during the Troubles.

Stephen Nolans: Irish-English and founder of Trademark

Joe Law: Grew up on the Protestant Shankill and soon realized that he needed to get away.

Jack McKee:

Jack is the Senior Pastor of the New City Life Church on the Shankill Road. The New City Life Church is a so called “charismatic” church, which means that there are no strict hierarchies and things like tongue speaking are welcome. The charismatic church movement has its roots in the USA. New City Life Church is a part of the pentecostal movement (<http://www.newlifeministriesireland.co.uk>, 26.08.2010). When I was working for the YMCA in 2004/2005, one of my colleagues, Tracy (see interview) was already a member of the New City Life Church. She knew that I was more than sceptical towards this movement but still kept persuading me to see a mass.

Gerry Foster: Gerry Foster is a Catholic from a suburb in West Belfast, Andersonstown. He was a very active member of the INLA (Irish National Liberation Army) and is still a member of its political wing, the Irish Republican Political Party. Gerry Foster is working in cross-community projects, especially with young Loyalists. The interview with Gerry Foster was one of the most intense and emotional. His honesty was impressive and after these one and a half hours, I was excited and exhausted at the same time.

⁵ “wee boy” means “small boy”. “Wee” is an old expression which is still commonly used in Belfast.



(Andersonstown, http://leargas.blogspot.com/2010_07_01_archive.html, last seen: 29.09.2010)

Robert: Robert lives on Sandy Row, as they themselves call it: the heartland of Loyalism. He is a totally “normal” looking young man, whom you would not suspect of any illegal actions. The Sandy Row is a traditional, very poor Protestant (Unionist-Loyalist) working class area.

I had been told before doing the interview that Robert was in the UDA. During the interview however, he clearly said that he was not. I leave his statements and the statement I have heard before like that, and suggest that it is in the person of conception's personal regarding, what he/she wants to believe. As it is not my position and aim to judge over what people tell me, I will stick to Robert's version as he himself was sitting in the interview and denied to be part of any illegal organization. Anyway, it is totally understandable that if he was, he would not tell someone he has only met a couple of times on a tape which has been recorded.

Robert is 23 years old and would be regarded as the typical “Belfast lad”.

Chapter 4. Loyalist Paramilitaries – and the Situation Now



(<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/images/cartoons/t95p63.gif>, last seen: 23.09.2010)

This next part will mainly contain information about Loyalism and Loyalist paramilitaries, but as well I want to mention something on Republicanism. In the glossary you can find all the paramilitary names and abbreviations listed, in order to look them up. What I want to bring in here, are the most important paramilitaries, their function and nicknames-which were pejoratively given to them. My focus although will still be on Loyalist paramilitaries, especially the UDA (Ulster Defence Army) and the UVF (Ulster Volunteer Force). Why I have decided to lay my focus on them is easily explained.

First, I was working in a Unionist/Protestant working-class area and my experiences with Loyalism were closer than with Republicanism. Second, I found that there is a lot of literature on Catholic paramilitaries but hardly any on Loyalist. Third, through my connection to Peter McGuire, I felt the necessity of highlighting this part of the conflict as well. Again I want to stress out, that this does not “reveal” or express any personal affiliation with Unionists/Loyalists/Protestants. Anyhow, my interviews were held with different people, one of them was Gerry Foster, an ex-INLA (Irish National Liberation Army) member. This interview turned out to be one of the most important ones and showed me a strong insight to the conflict.

In my opinion, both sides of the conflict are important for the conflict and thus I want to give an overview of the most important loyalist and the most important republican Paramilitaries. I also regard this important in the sense of showing the partition within the Loyalist and Republican community. The information

about the nicknames and the functions I found out in conversations with Chris, Stephen, Patrick, Richard and others.

4.1. Paramilitary Nicknames

Loyalist

Ulster Defence Association, (U.D.A) The Wombles. The Wombles was a children's TV programme popular in the 1970's. They were small furry creatures who lived under Wimbledon Common (large fictional) English park. After everyone (humans) had gone home they came out and collected all the rubbish left behind by the people, which was then put to various good uses. The U.D.A forced people in Loyalist areas to pick up rubbish/litter as a punishment for minor offenses. Formed 1971.

Ulster Volunteer Force (U.V.F) The Blacknecks. The U.V.F wore black leather jackets as part of their uniform. Formed 1965. (ed. By the author: Peter further explained to me that in former days leather jackets, when they were new, coloured your neck – that's why they were called the blacknecks).

Red Hand Commando's (R.H.C) The Chili Peppers. Named after the pop group the Red Hot Chili Peppers. This is a very modern name. Formed 1971.

Loyalist Volunteer Force (L.V.F) The Columbians. Because they were heavily involved in drug dealing. Formed 1996.

Republican

Irish Republican Army (I.R.A.) (Formed 1916, split 1970 into P.I.R.A and O.I.R.A).

Provisional I.R.A (P.I.R.A) The Provies, The RA, The Bon Jovies (After pop group) The Chuckies (after their motto). *Tiocfaidh ar la* is the motto of the P.I.R.A. It is Irish for Our Day Will Come. It is pronounced Chuckie r la, hence the P.I.R.A are often referred to as the Chuckies, but not by themselves. Formed 1970.

Continuity I.R.A (C.I.R.A) The Contos. Splinter group from P.I.R.A. Formed 1986.

Irish National Liberation Army (I.N.L.A) The Erps (After the initials of their political wing I.R.S.P) Formed 1974.

Official I.R.A (O.I.R.A) The Stickies (after the practice of sticking, instead of pinning Easter Lilies to coat lapels). Formed 1970.

Official Republican Movement (O.R.M) The Super Sticks (Splinter group from O.I.R.A) Formed 1996.

Oglaigh na h'Eireann (ONH) Name means Irish Volunteers. Splinter group from R.I.R.A. Formed 2006.

Real I.R.A (R.I.R.A) The Real Thing (After adverts for Coke) Splinter group from P.I.R.A. Formed 1996.

This brief explanation should only show the different paramilitaries existing in Northern Ireland and with it show how difficult it is to get rid of so many different non-state actors. The feuds between them do not make it easier for the state. The next part will contain more information about the establishment, history, fields of control and functions of the UDA and the UVF.

4.2. They haven't gone away, you know?

4.2.1. A Paramilitary Country

Living in Northern Ireland might not be very different nowadays from living in many other countries in Europe. When you come there as a tourist, the Troubles seem far away, and the only hint that Northern Ireland was a country at war are the murals (note: paintings mostly on the walls of buildings) in certain areas. The city centre shines bright, packed with international brand shops and modern cafés and people strolling around. Tourists would maybe visit the Titanic “Giants” and do a bus tour, which also leads you around the areas where you can see murals. Belfast does everything to get of its bad reputation as a city of war and bombs. At the same time, paramilitary groups have taken over most parts of the city.

“I'm only talking generally here now, you know, that's an accepted fact, you know, this pub we are sitting in would be paying money to the UVF, because that's their area of control. Like everywhere it is like this” (Peter McGuire, 4th

January 2010, interview with the author).

The IRA, UDA, UVF but also smaller groups have long served as policemen in their communities. They have conducted Punishments (from knee-capping to beatings), sorted out disputes between shop or bar-owners as well as prosecuted antisocial behaviour. As much as they police others, they could never accept their own demise.(comp. Gallaher, 2007: 212). Paramilitaries are still in control of certain areas, specific fields of daily life and they wouldn't let go of them. In the following, I will try to give a short account of the history of Loyalist Paramilitaries. Further, I want to explain the situation now. This is probably something I can only accomplish by using interviews and my own experience, as there is no literature available for this topic.

4.2.2. “They are like Chameleons” – Formation of Paramilitaries

Long before the UDA was found, Unionists gathered to defend themselves and their values against the Irish-Catholic threat. This started long before the First World War, and in 1912 the “new” UVF was reformed.

At this time the leaders and commanders were mainly knights, lords and senior army officers. The entirely illegal and unofficial UVF had an extremely privileged relationship with the police and the army. After the partition, a lot of Catholics or Protestants were at “the wrong side of the border” and so riots, shootings and troubles continued. It is a common mistake to believe, that Northern Ireland, respectively Ireland, was at peace after the partition until the beginning of the “Troubles”.

Sectarian riots shook Belfast in the 1930's, and in the 1940's the IRA launched a new campaign, in which subsequently in the 1950's three RUC officers were killed (note: but also seven Republicans) (see Bruce, 1992). Internment was used in the North as well as in the South, where the government was at war with the IRA. The country definitely was not at open war, as it was after 1969, but still it is important to remember that the IRA constantly launched campaigns, even if they were not very successful. In 1966 Leo Martin, a well-known Republican, should have been killed by a

group of Loyalists. As they failed to find Martin, they came across a young lad who was drunk and made the mistake of singing Republican songs. He was killed immediately. Only a month later, four Catholic barmen were shot, one of them died and two others were seriously wounded. (Comp. Bruce, 1992: 2ff)

In Stormont House, the parliament of Northern Ireland, Prime Minister Terence O'Neill announced the banning of the UVF, and put it alongside the IRA. He had just returned after from a visit to France where he honoured the men who were fighting in France:

"Let no one imagine there is any connection whatever between the two bodies; between men who were ready to die for their country on the fields of France, and a sordid conspiracy of criminals prepared to take up arms against unprotected fellow citizens. No, this organization now takes its proper place alongside the IRA in the schedule of illegal bodies".

(In: Bruce, 1992: 14)

According to Bruce (1992: 15) almost all Ulster men were Unionist and ready to defend the country against the threat of being forced into a United Ireland. Most of them were in the Orange Order. Some working class Unionists (Loyalists) would have been willing to go further, but in general it can be said that in prosperous times the willingness of using violence and killing was relatively low.

4.2.3. Ian Paisley



Ian Paisley (here with his lackey and his bodyguard), Presbyterian Church minister and until 2008 leader of the DUP (Democratic Ulster Party). Known for his sectarian preaching against the Catholic community. Picture taken in March 2010. I was lucky to catch the retired politician in front of the Belfast City Hall preaching, whilst surrounded by bodyguards.

Interestingly, no one stopped to listen to him.

One person that definitely needs to be mentioned when talking about Unionism/Loyalism, is Reverend Ian Paisley. Since the opening of the Parliament in Northern Ireland, Stormont Building, The UUP (Ulster Unionist Party) was the leading party. Northern Ireland at that time could be described as a “one party state” and further this party was supported by a popular mass organization, the Orange Order. (comp. Bruce, 1992: 19)

Ian Paisley, the son of a Fundamentalist Baptist preacher, studied theology at the Reformed Presbyterian College in Belfast and preaching at an evangelistic college in Wales. Soon after his education, he was invited to pastor a small dissident Presbyterian congregation in East Belfast. His preaching was radical and forceful, but mainly unheard until the 1960s and the liberation of religion and politics.

Here I have to go back in history a little bit. As we have heard above, the change in politics caused tremendous shaking of the Protestant earth.

Until the 1960s Ulster leaders were more or less unimportant, and were happy to be ruled by Westminster. Sir James Craig (later Lord Craigavon) was Prime Minister from 1921 until his death in 1940, and after a short period of his

deputy J.M. Andrews, he was followed by Sir Basil Brooke (later Lord Brookeborough). As mentioned above, neither Brooke nor Craig needed or wanted to exercise power and were more than happy to be ruled and instructed by Westminster. Until 1963 Brooke ruled the country, after that he gave his job to Captain Terrence O'Neill. O'Neill, who definitely was more cosmopolitan than his predecessors, had little sympathy for anti-Catholicism. His goals were development, infrastructure and improved labour relations. Therefore he needed Catholics and Protestants in the country. O'Neill's politics in Northern Ireland were groundbreaking, at least symbolically. He visited a Catholic school, he met a Cardinal and invited the Irish Premier Sean Lemass to Stormont (comp. Bruce, 1992:20ff)

To understand Paisley's success, it is important to note the dramatic change in Northern Ireland's policy. On this change and on symbolic ground, Paisley built his career – in denouncing O'Neillism. Paisley was responsible for some of the worst riots in the 1960's. He was politically active in various organizations, the UPA (Ulster Protestant Action), the NUP (National Union of Protestants, a religious pressure group), and more importantly the Ulster Constitution Defence Committee (UCDC), which provided a platform for Paisley's radical evangelical religion and his right-wing Unionism. Many former UVF men joined the UPV (Ulster Protestant Volunteers).

Although active and involved in strong right-wing Unionism, Paisley could never be sentenced or found guilty of illegal activity. Some scholars (see Boulton, Pollak, Molloney) see Paisley as the main figure responsible for the Troubles. This of course cannot be proven (comp. Bruce, 1992: 26ff).

4.2.4 The Civil Rights Movement

Even graver than Paisleyism was the Civil Rights Movement. The Years of O'Neill created a huge frustration among Catholics, because expectations rose, but failed to deliver enough to satisfy them. A new generation of Catholics, influenced by the Civil Rights Movement in the US, organized to protest against discrimination in housing, employment and gerrymandering. Of course counter-demonstrations and marches by Paisley and his supporters were held. The slogan "one man – one vote" was immensely powerful,

because it created the impression, that “racial” discrimination, as the Apartheid system in South Africa, was held. It referred to a property qualification which stopped some Catholics and even more Protestants (!) to vote in the local government elections.

As I said before, the slogan was very powerful and was not unheard by Westminster. The pressure on Stormont grew, and the Civil Rights Movement was soon declared and abused as old fashioned Republican-Catholicism (see also Bruce, 1992). One common opinion expressed by Unionists, is that if there would have been no IRA, there would have been no UDA/UVF. The argument of most Unionist/Loyalists includes retaliation and defence.

This is not entirely true. As we have seen above, the UVF came into being long before the Troubles started in 1969. The first bombings were set up by UPV/UVF men pretending to be the IRA. One of the major arguments for Protestant paramilitary activity was that an absence of the IRA never meant a change in Catholic attitude, but rather that the IRA was regrouping, reforming and recruiting. Of course this was not too far-fetched either.

In the beginning of the civil unrest, only a small amount of men was involved in paramilitary action. The questions that were posed to them when they entered one of the “wee units”, if they were ready to kill, ready to go to prison and ready to be killed to preserve Ulster from a united Ireland, were answered by only a few men (Bruce, 1992: 31ff). As described above in the short history of Northern Ireland, the tensions rose in the summer of 1969. Minor incidents happened, especially in the time of the parades. Politically, Terence O'Neill resigned to be replaced by his cousin, Major Chichester-Clark.

In late 1969 right-wing Unionists pressed the government to lead a tougher line against Republicans, and the IRA split up. Due to the discontent over the missing reactions in August expressed by many, the PIRA (Provisional IRA, the “Provos”) were formed in 1970. Since 1969, the number of deaths caused during riots and shootings was constantly rising. In 1969 the Troubles had claimed thirteen lives, including one RUC officer and twelve civilians. In 1970 the number had already risen to 25 deaths, two of them RUC men, the rest civilians. In the following year, the number rose to 174 deaths. (Bruce, 1992:41) Subsequently Brian Faulkner, who had replaced Chichester-Clark as Prime Minister, went back to an old strategy: internment.

As a response to the (re)formation of the IRA and the PIRA, Protestants felt that they needed vigilante groups as well. Especially in the areas of Woodpile, Oldpark and the Shankill, shortly the areas of communal interface, a great response was given to those who asked around if protection by vigilantes was needed. In due course the formation of the UDA, the Ulster Defence Association, was performed (comp. Bruce, 1992: 47ff). The origins of the UDA, The Ulster Defence Association, date back to the 1970s. According to Ian S. Wood (2006: 1), David Fogel, a former soldier who served in Northern Ireland founded the Association in 1970, a period of growing tension in Northern Ireland. In the marching season, in June 1970, a Protestant parade was attacked by Catholics with bricks and paving stones. The marchers and supporting soldiers reacted with CS gas, which caused quickly spreading violence and rioting. Three Protestants were killed in due course and as a reaction to that, Protestant men gathered for a hearing. Fogel recalls that all they did was "moaning and exchanging rumours. "It was all talk" (Fogel in Wood, 2006: 1). Fogel demanded more action and less talk. He promised to recruit twenty local men, who would bring friends and give them military training. This was the beginning of the "Woodvale Defence Association".

In many parts of Northern Ireland men who were fed up with IRA attacks followed his example and formed associations to defend themselves. (comp. Wood, 2006: 1ff). The first UDA meeting in 1971 attracted only 18 persons, the second more than a hundred and the third about three thousand (Bruce, 1992: 50). The UDA got more powerful and many Protestants were overheard saying that it was time that "their side" would "*effin* do something" (comp. Bruce, 2009: 50). The presence of the UDA in the streets rose, not only in form of graffiti, but also leaflets, bulletins and news-sheets to explain the role the UDA wanted to play. (Wood, 2006:11)

In February 1972 a bulletin was printed and handed out, which is characterized by incredible hatred and an anti-Catholic propaganda. I feel I must quote this bulletin to give an impression of this hatred. There might not have died that many people in Northern Ireland during the "Longest War". The more important part of this "Conflict" seems to be the fear, with which the inhabitants had to live with for so many years. The bulletin said:

“I have reached a stage where I no longer have any compassion for any Nationalist, man or woman, or child. After years of destruction, murder, intimidation, I have been driven against my better feelings to the decision – it's them or us. What I want to know is, where the hell are the MEN in our community? Have they any pride? Have they any guts? Why are they not organized in, not defence, but commando groups? Why have they not started to hit back in the only way these Nationalist bastards understand? That is, ruthless, indiscriminate killing. If I had a flame-thrower, I would roast the slimy excreta that pass for human beings. Also I'm sick and tired of you yellow packed Prods, who are not even prepared to fight for your own street, let alone your own loyalist people. When civil war breaks out, and God forgive me but I hope it's soon, I at least will shoot you along with the Fenian⁶ scum”
(UDA Bulletin, February 1972 in Wood, 2006: 12)

4.2.5. First Steps in a Post-War Society

This extremely sectarian and violent rhetoric is without any denial cruel and gruesome. As I was completing an European Voluntary Service, I also had to take part in special trainings for the international volunteers. Our trainer was Peter McGuire, who is an ex-UDA man and a good and beloved friend today. The trainings were utterly interesting, as Peter did not care for the guidelines of the European Union. Instead of doing games to support group dynamics, he was leading us to meetings, paramilitary graveyards, giving an overview of the history and speaking about his personal history. Unfortunately he is not a trainer any more. I suppose they found someone a little bit more compliant. One of our meetings took place in Londonderry, and Peter lead us to a group of young lads he and his friends where coaching, in the sense of getting them away from the streets. The young lads, all between 14 and 20, were

⁶ Note by the author: Fenian is a pejorative expression for Irish Catholics in Northern Ireland and derives from the “Fenian Brotherhood”, which was a brotherhood in Ireland in the 19th and 20th century.

Protestants from a poor area in Londonderry. A peace line marks the landscape and everywhere around the peace line you can see traces of colour and petrol bombs. Peter took all of us Ceili dancing, which is an Irish-traditional dance.

We all had a lot of fun, the young men as well, even though Ceili dancing usually is an Irish tradition. After the dancing, we were sitting in a circle and talking about internationalism. As it was the time of the death of the old Pope, Johannes Paul II, and the election of the new Pope, Benedict XVI, the conversation quickly turned towards Catholicism and the lads were going on about how much they hate Catholics, the Pope and all “Fenians” in general.

Still it has to be taken in account, that not only Protestant paramilitaries have had sectarian thoughts. The IRA did better in covering up the degree of sectarianism. Their “non-sectarian principle” was widely believed, still is today, but is simply not true. The romantic, heroic touch the IRA has managed to publicize is still in the heads of many. Just have look at movies that have been shot about the IRA.

I cannot exclude myself from believing in the romantic side of the conflict when I first arrived in Northern Ireland. But admittedly, only after two weeks I was taught otherwise. After this conversation with someone from Newry, a small town at the border, I started researching the conflict. The conversation went like this:

“V: So, would you know someone who is in the IRA?

S: Shush, not that loud, we're in a Protestant pub. See, Valerie, I'm a Catholic 'cause I'm from Newry, we're mostly Catholics there. 'Course I know someone who is in the IRA.

V: That's interesting. Do you think in my time here, I will meet someone who is in the IRA?

S: Believe me, that's nothing special. First of all, everyone here knows someone who is in a Paramilitary, and second, Valerie, that's not cool, not romantic, heroic, martyrdom or anything like that, whatever you guys on the continent believe. The IRA are ruthless killers, and that's that. ⁷ (Conversation reflected from my

⁷ This person was Simon from Newry. We never met again in my whole year in Northern Ireland.

memory)

In my own defence, I have to say that I was only 18 and that this was definitely the last time that I saw anything “romantic” in any paramilitary.

As the community of international volunteers is quite big in Belfast, we just called each other “the volunteers”. I was the only one of the “volunteers” working alone. I have to say that I was lucky. The area where I was working was a Protestant-Loyalist working class area, and every person who did not belong there was closely observed. So was I, and it happened very often that people came over to ask me who I am and what I was doing here. I always answered that I was a “volunteer” and that I was working in the O.A.K. Centre. People usually gave me a strange look and walked away. I was confused why that happened, until the day that I realized, after having visited a paramilitary graveyard, that “volunteers” in Northern Ireland are people working for a paramilitary. From that day on, I started telling everyone that I was an “international Volunteer from Austria working for the YMCA in a project called the O.A.K. Centre”. Suddenly I was not looked at strangely anymore.

To come back to the IRA, the principle they had was not as heroic as they propagated. Catholics, just as Protestants, hated “the others” and

“Indeed some [...] joined because they hated Protestants. The actions of the Protestant murder gangs ensured that sectarian assassinations became part of the Provisional's routine activities.” (Bishop and Mallie, *The Provisional IRA*, 181 in: Bruce, 1992: 57)

The Troubles were getting worse and worse every year, and the government did not know how to react anymore. To give an idea of how the situation

When I came back this time, in March 2010, I went to a pub with my housemate and her friends and was introduced to a young man called Simon. After one minute he said: “I think I know you”. My answer was: “Well, I don't think so because I don't live here”. But then I looked at him and said: “One second, did you say your name was Simon?” We both could hardly believe that we met again and I had to tell him straight away that I mentioned him in my thesis. Simon later told me more stories from his family, who was involved with the IRA. Simon was one of the most important persons concerning my understanding for the conflict in Northern Ireland. Even five years later, he gave me some new perspectives and views on Northern Ireland.

changed, some figures are listed below. In the 1970s security forces recorded 213 shooting incidents and 153 explosions and defused 17 bombs. In 1971 there were over a thousand explosions, 471 defused bombs, and 1,931 robberies. In 1971 the Troubles caused 174 deaths; the next year the total was 467; and that in a country with a population of around 1.5 million. (Bruce, 1992: 79) Bruce also suggests that the high death rate was a sign of political instability. The IRA killed because they saw a chance to destroy Stormont and the Protestants killed because they saw a real threat of a united Ireland.

Within Loyalism there has always been - and still is - a rivalry between the UDA and the UVF. The UVF always saw itself as a military organization, while the UDA only developed this attitude. Even today the Protestant Shankill Road is parted into two. One part is controlled by the UVF, the other part by the UDA. Most of the murders in 1972 and in the beginning of 1973 were committed by the UDA, but the UVF soon caught up. They started bombing campaigns and managed to set more bombs than the IRA and the UDA together. Part of the rivalry between UDA and UVF was that the UVF always condemned UDA sectarian murders. If you look at the assassinations performed by the UVF, they are no less sectarian.

To list some examples: In Bangor in July a 16-year old Catholic boy was killed, when he approached a 12th of July bonfire. On the 4th of October two Catholic men were shot when they walked to work on the Lisburn road. One of them died. The list could be continued. Most of the killings were, as we can see above, clearly sectarian although it was often claimed that they were "only" retaliation.

The Feud between the UDA the UVF, as mentioned above, has always been another important point in Loyalism. Killings between the two groups happened, and retaliation was never far away. But this should not be stressed in the present paper, as it would lead towards too many details.

The times got more quiet in the late 1970's (which is only to be seen in comparison to the beginning of the 1970s; still around a 100 lives were lost in the war). The peak year of the Troubles was 1972 when the Trouble-related deaths went up to 467. Between 1973 and 1976 the number varied between 250 and 297. From 1977 on, the annual figure stayed around 100 deaths until 1982.

Bruce (1992: 137 ff) sees three reasons, for the reduction in UDA and UVF violence: The first was the belief amongst Loyalists, that there was no longer a need for violence because the government was more rigid and resolute. The second was the decreasing Republican violence. This does not mean that Loyalists did not plan more attacks and jobs anymore, but they felt that with the slow-down of Republican violence, they would have more time for planning their jobs. The third reason is related to the security forces. The RUC was increasingly successful against the PIRA (the 'Provos') as well as it was against the UDA and the UVF.

After a series of trials against UVF men and the state taking over the security situation, the UVF had to re-organize its goals. As they had to compete with the government, also in cultural questions, the UDA and the UVF both found their own very distinct authorization. While the UDA went back in Ulster's history until Ireland's Cruithin Prehistory, the UVF stepped a little bit closer in history and referred to the glorious contribution of Ulster in the First World War.

4.3 The UVF – The Men in Black

"I, whoever your name was, swear by almighty god to pay true allegiance to my homeland Ulster, to obey without questions any and all lawful commands directed to me by my superior officers. I swear never to betray a comrade or to give any information which may prove detrimental to my cause.

If I fail in my obligations, I shall deserve the justice outperformed at me, as a volunteer, in the Ulster Volunteer Force. To all of forgone, I have no reservations whatsoever I do so swear for God and Ulster". (recited by Peter, March 2010)



8

“And then I joined the UVF. Simply, because it was the bigger organization. I never had this loyalty to an organization. It didn't matter to me what kind of organization it was. It was for the greater cause, or my conscious. I never had this thing, you know, loyalty to the UDA or the UVF.”(Peter McGuire, March 2010)

The UVF, or the men in Black as they called themselves or “blacknecks” as they have been called by others, grew rapidly between 1970 and 1974. It always saw itself as a military organization, but never gained as much attention and presence as did the UDA.

Most paramilitaries are mainly supported in Belfast, and so is the UVF although it has achieved considerable respect on the countryside, due to the 1912 UVF. The UVF has managed to develop a cultural side to the movement and to get rid of the mere image of gangsters, which is the actual fact, as it is widely recognized by security state forces and Republican paramilitaries(comp. Bruce, 1992 147f). In order to be part of a Paramilitary you had to swear an oath. Although people were gladly taken, even Paramilitaries had to choose their people.

The ceremonies were an important part of joining. A ceremony makes you feel part of the system and gives a sense of mystery. Everything was set up in very ceremonial and every new member had to go through this kind of initiation.

The oath was apparently quite similar to the oath you had to swear in the

⁸http://loyalengland.homestead.com/files/UVF_SOLDIER4.jpeg, last seen:

British Army and that “You know the British Army would shoot people that come in treason. “And we shot people who'd committed what we believed was treason. You know?” (Peter, March 2010)

Moreover, Peter explained to me how they punished people when they did not react to discipline. Paramilitary punishment shootings (knee-capped, hands) or being beaten up with a baseball stick are widely known and unfortunately still common today.

The UVF, however, obviously began to be less ruthless and less active than the UDA.

“I was in the UVF in Londonderry. They were not active enough in the conflict for me. Their commanders were older men, who were active in the 70s and who didn't wanna be active again and who wanted to maintain the position they had.” (Peter, March 2010)

4.4. The UDA – Simply the Best



9

Many UDA killings were as cruel and ruthless as they were unnecessary. In 1974 UDA/UFF (UFF – Ulster Freedom Fighters – carried out most killings in the name of the UDA) men followed a grim pattern and killed 19 more or less innocent people. The people killed were late night drinkers on their way home alone. It was not only adults, who got into the UDA's cruel killing pattern. A

⁹<http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/gallery/2009/jun/22/1#/?picture=349184134&index=0>last seen on: 29.08.2010

thirteen year old boy, Joseph McGuinness, walked with a friend to a chip shop and they got into a Loyalist crowd. One single shot was fired, Joseph died soon afterwards.

Another incident was the killing of 31 year old Ann Ogilby, a Protestant single mother. She was beaten to death in a UDA club in the Sandy Row area. Her cries were audible to her “wee” daughter waiting on her outside the room. The motive for the murder was not established in court, a man and eleven women were convicted of involvement in her death (comp. Gallaher, 2007).

In the next year, the killing got even worse, and Andy Tyrie, the UDA's leader, went to Libya in November 1974 to meet President Gaddafi. The relations between Loyalists and Libya or other states will be discussed further down, using the information I gained in my interviews.

In what way was the UDA – the Ulster Defence Army – really an army? Until recently, 6th of January 2010, the UDA was still claiming to be an army. Only then, more than ten years after the peace treaty, was the UDA decommissioned.

“Today the leadership of the Ulster Defence Association can confirm that all weaponry under its control has been put verifiably beyond use”¹⁰

Mr. Gallagher said he wanted to pay tribute to former UDA members who had died or been imprisoned during the Troubles. “To all those in the community who have lost loved ones, we understand and we share in your sense of loss but we are determined and are willing to play our full part in ensuring that tragedy of the last 40 years will never happen again.” He said the move paved the way for a new future for Northern Ireland and helped close the door on the past. “We have fulfilled our obligations, our commitment remains intact and we trust the future for all the people of these islands will be one of equality, harmony and fulfilment and those future generations will achieve their aspirations and dreams in an environment of peace and prosperity.”¹¹

¹⁰<http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/breaking/2010/0106/breaking4.html>
I, 10.03.2003

¹¹<http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/breaking/2010/0106/breaking4.html>.

In the early seventies, confrontations with the British Army were quite regular, and for the British Army they were a tough business. But the growing frustration and anger with the IRA and the feeling that the British State did not react enough drove a lot of young Protestants into the UDA. A “typical” UDA career would have been a former soldier of the UDR who got frustrated and wanted to lead a “real war” against the IRA.

“I joined the UDA for revenge and to take a real war to the IRA. We thought we could do it better than the security forces and we did. I was in a lot of successful operations until I was caught.”

(In: Wood, 2006: 109)

“I was the second of the command of the brigade. There was a brigadier and then there was me and that's what you call a 2IC, the Second in Command. And I was also the head of the political wing, the UDP. I would have been the head of anything else I could've been the head of, d'you know what I mean? And I just lived it and breathed it, everything. D'you know what I mean? I wasn't interested in music, I couldn't tell who is top of the charts since 1977, umm, I wasn't interested in nightlife or socializing or girls or sport or TV or anything. My only interest was the conflict and my role in it.” (Peter, 10th March 2010)

When growing up in country which is basically all your lifetime at war, this is your normal “field”. As Northern Ireland always has been a poor country, the membership of with paramilitary could at least guarantee a little money, and, as mentioned before, status, which is symbolic capital.

The end of the 80's and the beginning of the 90's were marked by internments, feuds and the rise of personality cult of the like of Johnny Adair. His rise was part of the remilitarization of the UDA. He was born in the 1960's and brought up in very tough area, where he experienced the Troubles from their worst side. He did extensive training in the UDF – the Ulster Defence Force, which was set up by McMichael and Andy Tyrie to regain the strength

of the UDA/UFF. A couple of the most brutal and cruel murders can be related to Johnny Adair and his men (comp. Wood, 2006: 158ff). Even Loyalists themselves, they might have even been in the same organization like Peter McGuire, were disgusted by Adair and the C company.

The second high of the UDA was strongly linked to people like Johnny Adair and John Craig, ruthless UDA leaders. It is told that Adair, who is still worshipped by some today, and his gang went partying after they killed somebody. Adair apparently paid his crew when they had successfully killed somebody. This was even too much for other paramilitary members: "We thought that was revolting". (Peter McGuire, Interview 10.03.2010)

Another point, apart from the personality cult which increasingly got important, was the lifestyle UDA leaders had. UDA commanders were mostly unemployed men, which they had to be, because to be a commander was a full-time job. At the height of the troubles, paramilitaries grew rapidly. Hence having a leading position meant having a lot of responsibility. As these commanders were unemployed, it was accepted that "commanders could draw a percentage of the funds we raised" (Peter, *ibid*). After some time, in the glorious time of the UDA, some leaders began to take more to live a life they otherwise could have never afforded.

On the 30th of October 1993 one of the most horrific and terrible attacks took place in Greysteel. Over 70 people were waiting in a pub for a country and western band to play, when camouflaged men with balaclavas burst in. Before they opened fire with their AK47s and Browning automatic pistols, one of them shouted "trick or treat". Nineteen people were hit in the gunfire, eight were killed, amongst them a Protestant who was serving in the UDR. The Loyalist had no problem justifying this terrible attack. They claimed and explained that being loyal nowadays does not mean being loyal towards the Queen or Great Britain, but means being loyal to Ulster and its people.

4.5. Fighting for Peace

Most books about Northern Ireland or at least the most common and appreciated ones stop in the mid nineties or after the Good Friday Agreement

in 1998. Since the peace treaty Northern Ireland is said to be a peaceful spot. And it is true: there is no more gunfire, no bombings (hardly any), no snipers in the streets or tanks waiting around the corner. But not everybody is convinced about the peace treaty. I am of the opinion that the conflict went on in many ways and was simply transformed to another level.

What needs to be mentioned first is something I can tell from my own experience: Belfast after the peace treaty is more segregated than it was before. The division of "religious groups" is taken for granted and the only place where Catholics and Protestants "meet" is the shiny new City Centre and some clubs and pubs around around the city centre. Most schools are strictly segregated, as are housing districts (comp. [Wwww.Nisra.gov.uk/](http://www.Nisra.gov.uk/) last seen 06.09.2010; Gallaher, 2007: 53ff)

It is sad to watch the division along these lines. In order to avoid further outbreaks, people are avoiding each other. That this is not a durable solution seems to be clear. Another part of the policy of avoidance is living with ongoing paramilitary structures. The acceptance of these gives them the right to go on and in my opinion, to create a great "mafia-style" network.

Carolyn Gallaher's book "After the Peace. Loyalist Paramilitaries in Post-Accord Northern Ireland". (2007) is updated until the decommissioning of the UVF, but the UDA stayed in the battlefield until the 6th of January 2010. Policing of their areas is up to now a well-known and somehow still accepted punishment. Knee-capping and beatings with a baseball bat and the like are still used to frighten teenagers and anybody else in the community. Northern Ireland secretary Mo Mowlam (Mackay 1999 in Gallaher, 2007: 9) once called this "internal housekeeping". This she said related to an event where a man was killed in a pub after having a row with an IRA man. The same happened to Robert McCartney, who was stabbed in a pub after arguing with an alleged PIRA - man. His sisters were the first ones not to stay silent and started to accuse the IRA. In the end they were driven out of their home in the Short Strand Area in Belfast and up to now the murder has not been cleared.¹²

Most of the time punishment beatings or shootings are taking place and no

¹²comp.wwww.guardian.co.uk/uk/2008/jun/27/ukcrime.northernireland; last seen 6.09.2010

one would have seen or heard anything. Why is it still like this?

For the long period of the Troubles, the police was often engaged in military-style operations and had no time to police the communities. The security forces recruited from the loyalist working class. Many paramilitaries were former soldiers, who believed the same, were brought up the same and wanted to go into the same direction. On the Republican side, the police was often justifiably mistrusted and not let into the areas. This was because policemen were mainly Protestant and not only a few of them involved in Paramilitary action. What happened between the UDR or the RUC and loyalist paramilitaries could not be identified as collusion. Rather it was infiltration. Within the police were supporters of loyalist paramilitaries, and through this loyalist paramilitaries had an easy game by being informed by policemen. “(...)we infiltrated them, I mean there was supporters in the police. I mean, why would you not, if you were a policeman, I mean and your comrades got killed all the time and blew up, battered and stoned and spat at...” (Peter, March 2010)

When I was living in Northern Ireland, in 2005, I once watched the evening news and I was more than surprised by what I saw: A doctor pleaded to Paramilitaries not to shoot young people in their hands, because then they can probably never work again, but rather to knee-cap them again. In this month, 13 people were shot in the hands. What astonished me so much was the way the doctor spoke – that he asked them not even to stop the violence, but only for a less destructive method. To see this kind of desperation also opened my eyes to the fact that this society really is a post-war society and everything which comes along with it.

4.5.1. Just because it's legal it doesn't make it right.

Since the peace treaty Belfast's, or let us even say Northern Ireland's society has divided more and more. Even though Protestant and Catholic working-class areas are flamboyantly alike, the division is drawn along religious lines (comp. Gallaher, 2007: 53). The typical Belfast working-class area has two stories and is built in the typical Edwardian red brick style, a small back yard

which mainly contains the oil basin.



(Belfast: Typical houses. Belfast, March 2010, Picture taken by the author).

Except for the Stranmillis “village”, which is a student's and artist's area and the houses along the Malone Road (big, elegant houses with neat front and back gardens), Belfast looks more or less the same.



(Belfast: Middle Class Area, January 2010, Picture taken by the author).



¹³ Belfast: Working-Class area.

¹³ <http://img.findaproperty.com/mccleary&co/Belfast/sl16662440.jpg>. last seen: 13.09.2010

Some areas are shabbier than others, but in the end the difference would be between “classes” and not between religions. What I want to express here, is that the real differences lie in class structures and not between Catholics and Protestants. A couple of years ago it was very common that working class areas had painted pavements and flags flying at lampposts in front of their houses, either with the Irish Tricolour or with the Union Jack. These statements have started to fade away in the last years, but returned again in 2009/2010 due to certain instances.

Another factor creating division is of course the famous murals, which are slowly disappearing or being painted over with less sectarian and more peaceful paintings. “Class” has always been important in the UK and there were times when workers’ councils tried to unite the religiously divided working class of Belfast. Unfortunately without any success.

4.5.2. Different Arms

In 1998 a decision was reached: all paramilitaries on both sides agreed to put down their arms. Most of them did, except for some occurrences, and most paramilitaries stuck to the treaty; Northern Ireland was not a country of snipers behind the next corner anymore. What has happened since 1994, since the ceasefires, is that both sides have been busy finding their cultural heritage, including linguistic, historical and artistic elements. Families who regard themselves as Irish, would sometimes even cross the border in order to send their kids to schools which also teach gaelic.

As Irish-Catholics had their own language, Protestants had to find their way linguistic ownership as well. Ullans is a language which descends from Ulster Scots who claim that it is a proper language and should be given this status. On one of the websites which promote Ullans you can read:

“If we are to share the island as a united nation sometime in the future as the Irish, and some Scots desire, equality of cultures and languages should be paramount. While retaining the special status of Irish, Ullans too should be given official language status, as the

Scots are / will be a legitimate minority in our island when united. This will help bond our peoples, and built trust between our traditions.”¹⁴

Culture and history have become new weapons to claim land and territory (comp. Gallaher, 2007: 85). On both sides you have famous stories about battles which have been fought and won. Every Catholics kid knows about the 1916 Easter Rising as every Protestant kid can tell you all about the Battle of the Boyne.

The legitimization of cultural heritage is an important topic nowadays and cultural centres all over Northern Ireland claim that the origin of the people living there is either Gaelic or Cruthin (comp Gallaher, 2007: 95). These “cultural” disputes and arguments will probably go on for a very long time, as it also seems impossible to prove either or the other.

4.5.3. New Volunteers

When arms are handed in, people like Peter or Gerry, who have been growing up with this conflict, in a society of war, are suddenly left alone. What happens in many post-war societies is that the NGO – civil -society sector literally explodes. Most of the NGOs now focus on the peace process.

The YMCA, the organization I was working for, as well put a strong focus on peace-building projects, most of them with kids and teenagers. Among many other programs, they had intercultural days with different schools (Protestant and Catholic schools). In the program “Girls Night” Catholic and Protestant girls gathered once a week to chat and work on a dance choreography together (admittedly mostly working-class girls). Further the YMCA participates in a political project where teenagers learn about the constitution and even go to London to see the Parliament and many more. The funding for all these “peace” organizations is found in “Peace I” and “Peace II”, two programs by the European Union to foster peace (information taken from

¹⁴http://www.celtichosting.com/ullans/news_item.asp?newsID=1, last seen: 13.09.2010

many conversations; Gallaher, 2007: 111ff).

I am convinced that all of these NGOs, the peace work and all other actions taken are tremendously important to keep the peace. Former combatants and ex-prisoners, like Peter and Gerry, have to have options besides continuing paramilitarism and criminality. Many of the former combatants never learned anything else but fighting, ended up in jail and never got any proper education. There will not be a lot of employers waiting for them. Further, paramilitarism and being a member of a paramilitary, at least for the ones in important positions, very often meant some lifestyle and, as Peter told me, status as well. This status somehow has to be obtained in order to prevent further criminality (see Gomes, Porto and Parsons 2003; Herbert 1996 in Gallaher: 2007, 95).

4.5.4. Never-Ending Story

Since January 2010 all Paramilitaries have been officially decommissioned, but the situation looked very different back in 2004/2005. Especially Loyalists were committed to feuds. The UVF and the UDA were involved in cruel feuds, attacks and crimes. A so-called low intensity conflict lives of criminality (comp. Kaldor, 1999; and Mueller: 2004 in: Gallaher, 2007). If legal means of support drop out, guerrillas and paramilitaries rely on criminality such as racketeering and trafficking illegal goods (Gallaher, 2007). Paramilitaries needed to finance themselves, to buy weapons and run their day to day business. Furthermore, after some years of the war, in especially in the time of internment, prisoners and their families also had to be supported. Operations, especially big ones, were costly. Enormous businesses were set up, legal and illegal. When the ceasefire came in 1994, no one believed that it would actually last. Businesses were still there and are still there today. If the paramilitary structures would break-down immediately, a lot of jobs would be lost. “

“paramilitary organizations are still in control of financial empires, which are never gonna disappear because people’s jobs are at

stake.” (Peter, 4.01.2010)

From what you can see in Northern Ireland, paramilitaries have gone from fighting over political reasons to fighting over illegal business. Revanchist Loyalism left political Loyalism with a deep sense of disappointment and pessimism. The feuds continue, even if they are not as bad as they once were. There is one Loyalist feud I want to mention because friends of mine and I witnessed it very closely.

4.5.5. The 2005 Feud

The UVF – LVF feud began with a murder on the 1st July 2005, when James Lockhart was murdered in a lorry (see also Gallaher, 2007). This shooting happened in front of the house of a friend of mine, an international volunteer himself. This volunteer was planning a party where he invited a lot of people. He was about to prepare for the party when he suddenly heard a loud knock at the door. Thinking that maybe somebody was early, he opened the door. Unfortunately this was not an early bird, but the murder of James Lockhart. My friend saw the body in the lorry and was wise enough to immediately close the door. The police came shortly after that and he claimed that he had neither heard nor seen anything, which was another very wise decision. When we arrived at the housing estate, we were not allowed in due to the police investigation, and the party was transferred to another friend's house who lived close by. He also lived in a Loyalist area and when we arrived there we were dragged into the house and doors and windows were immediately closed, respectively locked. Shortly after that a “street – war” started, petrol bombs were thrown and you could hear the occasional shot. But as most of my friends were born and raised in Belfast, they just let the party go on.

We were not allowed to leave the house until the next day; until our host decided that we were safe to leave. Why we had not been attacked in this house also has a simple reason – our host's uncle was one of the UDA's senior members and his home well-protected...

Our friend who had witnessed the murder did not tell anybody until he left. We all knew, by the way he acted, that there must have been something, but he

kept repeating that he had not seen or heard anything. The decision to keep his mouth shut probably saved his life. The feud between the UVF and the LVF officially ended in October 2005, when they announced a truce (see Gallaher, 2007: 155).

4.5.6. Friends

From what we have seen in the past chapters, Northern Ireland's society is still divided - or even more divided and segregated than it used to be - although weapons like guns and bombs have turned into *cultural weapons*. This nevertheless does not change the situation of corruption and criminality, I have mentioned that many former members of a paramilitary have gone a peaceful way and joined NGOs and NPOs to work for and with them. But not all of the former combatants are tired of fighting and even more difficult, many young people, especially young men, join paramilitaries because of a lack of jobs, education, status and power. The general support for paramilitaries and violence is decreasing, certainly on an international level. In former days international support from all over the world was given to both sides.

4.5.7. Believers

Libya's Gaddafi was a strong supporter of the IRA, as he believed in armed struggle in order to liberate a nation. Not a lot of countries would admit to the support of the IRA. A good example here is the United States, which officially never supported the IRA but on the contrary the British Government. At a lower level of the American officials they seemed to have a different opinion. In 1979 the sale of handguns to the RUC was successfully blocked by the Congress because, they argued, the police in Ulster oppressed the Irish people (see Bruce, 1992: 150). The same United States which argued like this had supported dictatorships all over the world at the same time, e.g., Panama, Iraq etc. While the government was against the IRA, the situation was different for the powerful Irish lobby, which supported the armed struggle (Bruce, 1992: 150).

“But they also had support in America, particularly Boston. Boston

and Chicago, where you had all the Irish Americans, you know?”
(Peter, 4.01.2010)

All in all, it was fairly easy for the IRA to buy weapons, as they had all sort of friends and supporters outside the UK, including Ireland. The situation looks different though when it comes to Loyalist paramilitaries, who never had a lot of friends outside Ulster.

4.5.8. Supporting the Unpopular

The IRA was always portrayed or has even portrayed itself as left wing and therefore left no other option that to see the other side as right wing. It is true that there have been links between Loyalists and fascist or racist groups, but the links were between individuals.

“Loyalists, the UVF went out and the made contact with something English I think with a person that was involved I think it was the National Front, but it was some sympathizers and UVF went to Belgium to meet them. They didn't even know who they were going out to meet. It was actually a shock to them when they found out that these people were Neo-Nazis. It was actually a shock to them. Oh yes, speaking generally, there is another myth about Loyalists being right wing Fascists.” (Peter, 04.01.2010)

Steve Bruce (1992) argues further that “such ethnocentric tendencies as Loyalists have are overridden by the British army's history of fighting Nazis and the fact that most European right-wing groups are distinctly Catholic” (p. 153).

Another source of supporters came from Canada. Large amounts of people migrated to Canada in the 1900's and it seems like nearly every family knows someone who has migrated to Canada. Apparently the supporters of the UDA/UVF posted weapons from Canada to England or other big European towns in a very simple way: they wrapped the weapons in tin foil, always two, put them in a shoe box and posted them. Big post offices apparently were too busy to control every parcel (Peter; see also Bruce, 1992).

Another connection which has often been denied and is still not 100 percent clear, is the connection to South Africa. Nearly everybody told me, that the connections have only been between individuals and that no official cooperation has been taking place between the two parties. The connection which has been mentioned and discovered is the one between the Shorts Company, the UR (Ulster Resistance) and South Africa. Basically, two or three individuals were involved in buying arms in South Africa, but they have been discovered. Another strange instance is the near-murder of Prof. Adrian Guelke, who told me that he somehow got into the dislike of the South African intelligence and Loyalists got the job to kill him. What other connection there may have been, he would not have told me.

Peter and Richard insisted on the fact that many weapons were old material from WWI and WWII (interview 04.01.2010). Put in a nutshell, the only true believers and supporters of Loyalism have been relatives in Canada and Scotland.

4.5.9. State Forces

Talking to Loyalists about why they joined a paramilitary, most people would answer that they wanted to defend “their” state against the *Taigs*¹⁵, because they were attacking the state. In fact they felt that the state forces didn't do enough to defend the state and jumped in instead of the state forces.

Here I want to explain the concepts of *anti-state terrorism* and *pro-state terrorism*. Under the assumption that a state is relatively stable, with a government, a security system a justice system and so on, some groups are willing to destroy and radically change the state. This would be *anti-state terrorism*. Anyhow, there are others, who see it as their duty to defend that state, although through the same means as the ones who are willing to destroy it. This would be *pro-state-terrorism*. (Bruce, 1992: 71f) Even though UDA and UVF forces would not like to be seen as *state-terrorists*, they are. To prove this theory, we can see Loyalist paramilitaries competing with the state in many areas:

¹⁵ Derogatory term for Irish Catholics

4.5.10. Recruitment

The middle-class was not exactly flocking to paramilitary organizations, mostly due to the fact, that their life was less affected than that of the working class. Business life continued much as usual (Bruce, 1992:72).

Seemingly, any *pro-state* terrorist group has the problem that it competes with the government's security forces for personnel. Opportunities for a Catholic to fight for the Unity of Ireland or equality within Ulster were quite limited to joining either the IRA or the INLA, both paramilitary forces.

A Loyalist on the contrary, mostly working class Protestant, could either join the RUC or UDR, or one of the paramilitary organizations. The state and the *pro-state terror group* recruit from the same population. The Crown Forces have some clear advantages, such as being legal, respectable and well-paid. Of course there are also some advantages on the *pro-state* terror side, e.g., that they sometimes have the chance to tap the expertise and resources from the state. On the other hand, state related forces could easily penetrate them. Due to this and many other factors, which I unfortunately cannot discuss here, it can be said that *pro-state terrorists* have advantages in many respects.

To sum up, it can be said that a *pro-state* terrorist group can prosper, if the population of the state has the feeling that it is not being protected by State Forces. But if the state is not weak anymore, these organizations are bound to lose. (Bruce, 1992:73ff)

The claim of active support if so called *pro-state terrorists* by the crown forces is not as significant as it is often presented, but there was definitely some cooperation between the state forces and Loyalist paramilitaries. Bruce (1992: 201) has read in the Irish News on 22 February 1974 that "the Republican Press Centre claimed that the members of the UFF were "in reality members of the British Army assassination squads." and further mentions: "with sixteen years of hindsight to draw on, and considerable knowledge of the UFF, I am sure that there is little or no truth in this claim."

There have certainly been murders and killings taking place where single persons of the Crown Forces have been involved, but I am not going to discuss these single cases any further. Another point I want to mention, is infiltration.

4.5.11. Infiltration

Infiltration was partly played on a big scale, especially with the newly found UDR (Ulster Defence Regiment). The UDR was founded in Londonderry when the B-section of the Ulster Royal Constabulary, wholly Protestant was replaced by a force which should be accepted by the Catholic community. The reactions to that were different within both communities and in the first years they were successfully recruiting Catholics (18 percent) but by 1978 this number had fallen to only 3 percent. Loyalists, on the other hand, joined the UDR for two reasons: First, for the same reason they joined the UDA or UVF – patriotism. Second, many joined because of the training they received, access to arms, intelligence on Republicans and so forth. A membership of the UVF could not get you listed, but being a member of the UDA was not an obstacle. There are many cases in which UDR men committed serious paramilitary crimes (see also Bruce, 1992).

The UDR are until today detested by many Catholics because of the proven and alleged collaborations with Loyalist paramilitaries. It is common knowledge that UDR was infiltrated by loyalist paramilitaries, or as some might say, that the UDR and RUC were working with loyalist paramilitaries. The catholic population although still detests the former RUC and UDR for their (mostly proven) cooperation with loyalist.

“Sometimes when I come across from people who are in the RUC or in the UDR or whatever, if they believe that they are the moral high ground because they were legal, they were the law. And my argument to that has always been: Well, just because it's legal it doesn't make it right.” (Gerry Foster, 18th March 2010)

4.5.12. Funding - who's going to pay for it?

Paramilitaries are never cheap and especially in the case of pro-state terror groups, the likes of Loyalist paramilitaries, it might be even harder to raise that money because, as we have seen above, of the lack of international support.

The IRA has always been very well-supported and funded, whilst Loyalist paramilitaries had to fight a little harder for their weapons and funding. Criminality is self-evident, although there are good reasons not to start criminal businesses in order to obtain money; most important the loss of moral-status in the community. Even though racketeering is widely used as a method to raise money (on both sides), the public reputation suffers enormously. But not only the public reputation and view can change, but also within the community status can suffer (this is a double-edged sword) as well as the recruitment. A group of gangsters and criminals attract different people than a “patriotic group” which claims to defend “their” home. (comp. Bruce, 1992).

4.5.13. Funding Today

In my year in Northern Ireland as well as at many stays in the years after that, I learned from numerous conversations that paramilitaries either live off owning businesses, e.g., taxi companies, hotels, pubs, or racketeering. After the war has ended, the actual, original role of a paramilitary ceases to exist. Fighting and defending is not necessary anymore. Nearly inevitably “(...) all the paramilitaries all over the world after a war turn into criminal groups” (Richard, 04.01.2010).

In most post-war societies jobs are rare, especially for those who have spent some time in prison and are known for fighting for one or the other side. Most probably these former combatants have not had a lot of education and all they ever really learned is how to fight, shoot, lay bombs and kill. As mentioned above, paramilitaries were and are important employers. Because they own pubs, taxis, clubs and have a prosperous drug business, a lot of the Northern Irish economy is linked to paramilitaries.

It is clear that the UDA, UVF as well as the Irish-Republican groups nowadays live off racketeering, blackmailing, small and bigger robberies¹⁶ and the like.

¹⁶ On the 20th of December 2004 the Northern Bank in Belfast was robbed and the gang escaped with 26. Million £. The Irish and the British governments accused the Provisional IRA of being guilty, but until today it is not clear through whom the money has been stolen and where it disappeared to. (www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Northern_Bank_robbery, last seen on: 17th September 2010).

Other sources of income are drug-dealing and prostitution. Put together, this leaves Mafia-like structures. Nowadays paramilitaries are neither needed to fight, nor to defend. Unfortunately this also means that their only function lies in criminal activities.

4.6. Governance and Paramilitaries

As I have mentioned in the overview of the different concepts of governance, I have found a concept to apply to Northern Ireland, which includes the so-called remainder category terrorist networks, churches etc. As a reminder: Bas Arts (in Koenig-Archibugi and Zürn, 2006) notes that five types of NSAs (non-state actors) can be distinguished:

1. Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs)
2. International Non-Governmental Organization (INGOs)
3. Corporate Interest Groups (CIGs) and Transnational Corporations (TNC's)
4. Epistemic Communities (ECs)
5. A remainder category (including terrorist networks, professional organizations, scouts, churches, etc.)

This fifth remainder category is interesting in the context of Northern Ireland in terms of the interference of paramilitaries, which can be regarded as Mafia-like groups, at different levels of governance. We have heard about paramilitaries, how they survive and where they get their money from. We have also heard about receiving weapons and how many different layers, or if we use the example of the "matrouchka" dolls (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003:8) - containers – are involved in these structures. But not only during the time of the Troubles, which can be considered as a civil war, but also nowadays, more than ten years after the peace agreement, the interactions of these "informal" non-state actors and the state are clearly visible.

"Jack: For me, the police would rather have a good positive relationship with some of the people who were actively involved or

were known as paramilitary leaders rather than being seen to go after them. So the community is very loathe to go to the police, even now regardless of the peace agreement. Because most people feel that the police wouldn't do anything. And unless they catch these guys red-handed, smashing up a house, there is nothing anyone could do about it. So therefore, to go to the police and report an incident like that to the police, umm, the people are setting themselves up as touts rather than...you know trying to defend themselves.

V: Would you see some kind of cooperation between the state and the paramilitaries?

Jack: I would certainly say that that is the agenda, is that every effort should be made in order to build positive relationships and not even the police should do anything to hinder the possibility of those *positive* relationships being established. I wouldn't go as far as to say that the police are not doing their job, umm, but they are not proactively trying to climb down stuff that's going on within the community. They might very well know who is involved in certain things, but (hesitates) I think that there is more tolerance and there are certain things that seem to be permitted." (Jack McKee, 15th March 2010)

Certainly, Northern Ireland is not like it used to be and the relations of law and order have changed a lot. But it is also clear, that some things are accepted on a wide political range. I suspect, this is something which I can not prove because I neither have literature on this topic nor do I believe that it would be clever to do more research concerning this. This is why I can only rely on my interview partners and what they have told me. Paramilitarism is still not executed as much as it should be in order to keep the peace.

"Well, see, I think, you know, looking at it from the outside in terms of whatever was agreed between umm, politicians and paramilitary

commanders, looking at it from the outside, it seems to be sending a message, that the only way to secure the paramilitary commanders bringing along their men is that they could get certain guarantees: that their men will not be pursued for certain past activities and that (hesitates long), be careful with this one, because I don't wanna suggest that the police are ignoring what's going on, but **if** some of the paramilitary commanders and those involved in some of the exclusions of people from their homes and their community, if they were actively pursued, than that could certainly cause a disturbance within the ranks of the organizations, you know?" (Jack McKee, 15th March 2010)

Just recently articles on Belfast and the rough beauty of this city appeared in various newspapers and journals. Every time there was a travel article about Ireland and its capital Dublin, there was at least a note on Belfast. Many things have changed over the past years, the city has got more quiet and peaceful, shootings are rare and there have not been any bombs in years. That the people of Northern Ireland's capital and other towns live separated lives, which fell apart even more after the peace agreement, is behind the scenes.

4.7. Future Scenarios

The conflict in Northern Ireland is one of the oldest conflicts in Europe and seems to be deeply rooted in the society. The conflict is regarded to be nearly as insolvable as the conflict between Israel and Palestine. I do not want to imply similarities between these conflicts nor do I judge on their gravity. All I am confessing is the similarity in the problems of solution. The last time I was in Belfast, I had the urge to query about the future.

Chris, a friend of mine, is of the opinion that the conflict is going to break out again. He is about my age, and in a conversation we had, he was convinced that during his lifetime he is going to experience more of this war. Chris, by the way, is one of the few young people who was willing to talk about the conflict.

Most of the younger ones try to push their past aside, they sometimes even act as there never has been anything. Young, educated Belfast folks tell you, that they are completely non-sectarian and that they absolutely do not mind what religion somebody has – but they are also the ones who leave the country as soon as they can. I don't want to give a future scenario from my point of view, first of all because I do not think that it lies in my qualification to do so and second because I want to go back to what all interview partners have asked me to do: let them speak.

4.7.1. Opinions on the Future

Jack McKee:

“History just keeps repeating itself and Ireland's history has been repetitive. And when we look back to the last century, it was only ten years ago, during that century there was quite a number of uprisings and almost civil wars that were taking place. Umm... so that's nothing to say that that's never gonna happen again. The peace process gives us an opportunity to ensure that it doesn't happen again, but with regards to the segregations since the Peace Agreement, Belfast has become more segregated, more than it was prior to 1998. Rather than any of the gates being removed or any of the walls coming down, we built more walls. So there is more segregation today. The concerns are still there. And yet, a high percentage of the people, probably as high as 99,5 % of the people, never want to go back to the violence. Both sides of the community want to embrace each other, they want to work alongside each other and live beside each other. We did that prior to 1996. Regardless of what happened prior to that. People lived side by side. I had Catholic neighbours, Catholic work friends. You know, umm, all of a sudden, in 1999 or 1996 where Catholic neighbours were having to leave, even though their Protestant neighbours encouraged them to stay. They never felt safe.

And so to see them moving out and then their home was taken over by Protestants by moving in from Catholic communities. And you had to see that peace lines grew up on the wall, and grew up. That, that was something new to us. And people want to try to get back to those days prior to the days of the

walls getting up. But because of the ongoing suspicions no one can guarantee that the walls are ever gonna get down. And if they did that, that people would embrace each other.

Our difficulty here is that the wall that divides Belfast and you compare it to the wall in Berlin. When the wall in Berlin came down people ran across and embraced each other and kissed each other, because they were family members or friends. If this wall came down, between the Shankill and the Falls, I'm not too sure if people would literally running across and embracing and kissing each other. Because we are not divided friends and families, we are unfortunately divided enemies.”

Stephen Nolans

“I don't think that the conflict is going to break out again, it's not likely to happen. There is no popular support for it. Umm, Irish Nationalist in Northern Ireland are not second class citizens, or anywhere near it. They are in the civil service, quite a number in the public sector. There is always gonna be violent Republicanism, but that at the moment isn't gonna get any popular support, but that's, well without popular support it won't survive. And it can kill people. But that's not very clever. But it's not getting any popular support. Having said that, we would, we've always said: Are we doing enough now to make sure that it doesn't break out? To make sure that we are doing enough. To guarantee that it doesn't break out again. Because the ethnic problems remain.” (held on 15th March 2010)

Prof. Adrian Guelke:

“Well the safest prediction to make always is things will stay as they are. [...] Some people think it's 50:50 that there will be a collapse. If there is a collapse of institutions the parties would come under immense pressure to solve it, so it might not.” (held on 5th January 2010)

Robert:

“I don't really, well it's, we've been in this situation many times before and it's never went this far. You know, it usually happens three months, two years, one year. This has been the longest political ceasefire.” (Robert, Interview 18th

March 2010)

Valerie:

Would you say that there is a change in the structures of segregation?

Robert:

“Yeah, I think nowadays it slowly is changing. Now, fair enough, to me it's more, in today's world it's more like a role play now. They have to do this because this is what it was before. Now all the tourists are coming, they are keeping it that way”. (held on 18th March 2010)

All the possible future scenarios are not real predictions, but more the wish and hope that the *Troubles* don't start all over again. On the one hand, people are tired of the hick-hack between paramilitaries and the communities. On the other hand they move in familiar ways and continue to live in segregation.

4.7.2. Endangerments for the peace process

There are definitely certain possibilities which would could lead to a breakdown of the peace process and in which paramilitaries engage once again stronger in territorial fights. Still the most immediate danger are the especially dissident republican groups, which stick to their traditional objectives. Dissident groups until today are very active in punishments, policing and robberies. If these attacks get more frequent it would be very likely that loyalists react so the result would be an escalation. Then there is the danger of from attempts by the governments to impose structure of policies which could be seen either all-Ireland or unilateral British. In this case mass protests or attacks from one community to the other may happen (comp. Boyle and Hadden, 1995: 281). Regarding the present situation of Ireland in the middle of the financial crisis, it is not very likely that this might happen.

Another danger is resulting from the fact that the Northern Irish government is very unstable (comp. Boyle and Hadden, *ibid*). The members of the Northern Irish Parliament sometimes do not hold meetings for months. These and other

eclats have been taken place in the last years. If the Northern Irish Parliament would break down, the country is very likely to be reintegrated into the British Parliament and has no self-determination. Resulting from this, immediate protests and paramilitary action would be taking place.

4.7.3. The hope for a continuing peace

It is still an enormous task to combine the members of the Northern Irish Parliament as well as the suppression of paramilitary action. As all paramilitaries have officially decommissioned their weapons, the possibility for a stable peace is given.

But as proven in this Thesis, life in Northern Ireland still resembles a tightrope walk. There are two communities closely watching every step the other community makes. In case one community makes a mistake in terms of getting too close to the other one, peace could immediately break-down.

As a lot of weapons are legally held (comp. comp. Boyle and Hadden, 1995: 279f), mostly by unionist, there are still arms available in case they should be necessary. Further paramilitaries are big business networks today and one can be convinced that all kinds of weaponry could easily be provided.

To keep peace, it is necessary that both sides are accepted as legal heirs of Northern Irish soil and territory. Only by providing the ground to develop a right cultural education and by assuring these rights through concrete action such as teaching Gaelic at school an escalation of the conflict gets unlikely.

To conclude, let us hope that Jack McKee is not right with his statement that Northern Ireland's history is repetitive.

Chapter 5. Conclusion

The aim of this Thesis was to summarize, analyze and show the experiences of one of the longest conflicts in Europe in the last century, or as some might even say, in the last centuries. Hereby I wanted to analyze the influence of paramilitaries nowadays, after the Peace Agreement in 1998. There are no simple concepts, nor in Governance, neither in conflict theories, which you could apply on Northern Ireland.

By using different governance approaches, as well as Bourdieu as some kind of surrounding layer, I was aiming to provide a profound basis.

Terrorist networks after the peace

Terrorist networks are in most cases, and especially in the case of Northern Ireland, more than just a group of people who gather to terrorize others.

This group is mostly connected through ideas, ideals, maxims and goals. They are furthermore social networks, who provide jobs, stability, security, power and status. When the peace comes, when a peace agreement is signed and in many cases various sections decide to dismantle (or are forced to dismantle), paramilitaries should fall apart and with them the social structures for many people. To prevent this, different programs (in terms of peace-building) are applied, but beside this, terrorist networks continue to exist.

On the one hand, the fear of the “men in black”, or whatever names they are given, keeps them alive. Since they have been policing the areas (both, loyalist and republican paramilitaries), the people who live there are used to their power and control.

On the other hand, they provide jobs, as mentioned above. Clubs, pubs, taxis and many other types of businesses are in paramilitary hand. Belfast is split into small communities where people know each other, which is also a kind of controlling body. It is nearly impossible to step back from these controlling structures.

Terrorist networks still exist after the war, sometimes even more so than before. As a difference, they don't run as a gun, bomb and war business anymore, but still hold all other functions of a network which exists parallel to the state.

“Growing up beside you” (Paolo Nutini)

Today's Belfast is an extremely separated, segregated and highly delicate town. Every step you take, wherever you look and how you move is linked to the structure of segregation of the town. The city centre is highlighted by a

shopping mall, a lot of glamorous high street-shops and one coffee shop company after another. But the city centre is small, and right beside it, in every direction, the separated lives start – even more today than it used to be. Differences are pointed out instead of seeing visible similarities. Segregation starts at school and continues in private life.

Only if you reach university, you are confronted with “the others”. Due to the Northern Irish school-system, kids from working-class areas hardly ever reach this stage. This way the vicious circle of fear, anxiety, refusal and exclusion continues.

Northern Irish Politics as well as the island's terrorist networks have been supported by many different sides, inside and outside of the UK and Ireland. The maintenance of weapons has kept the conflict alive, the smuggling of drugs has brought constant money. Not only political-territorial reasons have kept paramilitaries alive, but also status, power and security. Northern Ireland has always been a very poor country and unemployment very high. Under these circumstances, as history shows, conflicts erupt easier.

Today

Paramilitaries today have an influence on every possible level. They intermingle with politics, employment and social life. Put together, traces can be found at state level as well as in all private sectors. It is impossible to say where exactly these groups interfere – it would also be too dangerous to try and have a closer look at it.

As a matter of fact, the war itself is over, hence the necessity of paramilitaries is questionable. Some of the young ones might still hold on to the thought of fighting for/against a united Ireland, but reality shows that this scenario is absurd, especially considering the current situation of Ireland in the economic crisis. Nevertheless, the importance of these “Mafia”- networks is still there, invisible to visitors but tangible when you remain a little longer. “Small fish” who try to work against this or try to step back from the overpowering network may be forced to go to exile or at least move to another area (see the McCartney family).

We have heard people like Peter, Jack, Gerry and Tracy speaking about their

personal history and experiences. Further they have given predictions on the future. The peace has held more than ten years, which is the longest peaceful period in Northern Ireland since the beginning of the Troubles. By conducting interviews, visiting Belfast over and over again and by using the narrow, but useful literature, it was shown that nowadays paramilitaries still exist but have changed from defending “their” country and rights to simple gangster networks.

By using the concept of governance and Bourdieu's various ideas, especially the “tool kit”, I could get hold of the manifold ways of expressing these old and new structures. Northern Ireland after the peace is a more or less politically stable country, the economy is slowly getting better and the city does everything it can to get rid of its bad reputation. The future of the country although is not clear and it will for sure not be able to go on with this segregation. Solutions have to be found to prevent Northern Ireland from a collapse and thus another civil war.

Over the past years I have closely observed the past and present of Northern Ireland, concretely since September 2004. Through ongoing stays in the country, many questions and field research, I have found out about things, which are often invisible – or are held invisible. The development since the peace agreement has been enormous in terms of ceasefires and dismantling, except for some dissident groups, all paramilitaries have dismantled since January 2010.

Paramilitaries still have, as I have shown above, a great influence on the community and are responsible for drugs, prostitution, racketeering and policing their community. They are on both sides still accepted, as the case may be in terms of employers, police or simply the some kind of “Big Brother” who is watching you. Further, status is still given to paramilitaries, which means that you get respect and acceptance, you can even cause fear.

“But having said that, the organizations are still intact and, then whenever they are seen walking their dogs down the Shankill Road, and everyone knows who walks their dogs down the Shankill Road or whether they are seen standing at the pub corners, people

know who they are. In that sense there is still a bit of status there, you know. And people know that these are the guys that you don't mess with.” (Jack McKee, 15th March 2010)

The field is still dominated by paramilitaries and they know how to use their power and control. But it is also getting less, the acceptance, the status, the willingness to live with paramilitaries which control your daily life. In Bas Art's (a.a.o.) concept of non-state actors terrorist groups are in the remainder category. This remainder category seems to be highly important in (post)-war societies, where these networks are a part of the daily life. From important politicians to police everyone knows that they are there, but it is sometimes easier to accept that than to risk the so-called “cold peace”.

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Appendix 3: Pictures

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All other pictures: Author's own

Appendix 4: Formal Interviews

Peter McGuire, Belfast: 04.01.2010

Richard, Belfast: 04.01.2010

Prof. Adrian Guelke, Belfast: 05.01.2010

Tracy Seawright, Belfast: 06.01.2010

Peter McGuire, Belfast: 14.03.2010

Stephen Nolans, Belfast: 15.03.2010

Joe Law, Belfast: 15.03.2010

Jack McKee, Belfast: 15.03.2010

Gerry Foster, Belfast: 18.03.2010

Robert, Belfast: 18.03.2010

Appendix 5: Informal Conversations and Anonymous Sources

September 2004 – July 2005

January 2006

January 2008

January 2010

March 2010