

RITUAL AND SYMBOLISM IN NORTHERN IRISH PARADING CULTURE

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Tutkielmani tavoite on tuoda esille ja kuvailla Pohjois-Irlannin paraatikkulttuurissa esiintyviä poliittisia piirteitä, pyrkiä selvittämään paraatirituaalin ja siinä käytettävien symbolien funktio. Tutkimusmateriaalina olen käyttänyt Pohjois-Irlannin lojalistien perinteisiä lauluja (lähteinä internet ja Ruth Dudley Edwardsin kirja ‘The Faithful Tribe’) sekä tukena David Cairnsin oranialaisveljeskunnan jäsenten keskuudessa tekemiä haastatteluja.

Olen lähestynyt tutkimusaiheeni historiallisesta näkökulmasta. Analysoimalla Pohjois-Irlannin lojalistien laulujen sanoituksia olen pyrkinyt löytämään symbolisia ulottuvuuksia, minkä jälkeen olen tulkinnut niitä Pohjois-Irlannin protestanttien ja katolilaisten yhteisen historian kautta.

Pohjois-Irlannin kulttuurihistoria on kompleksinen kokonaisuus, joka pitää sisällään eri kulttuurien yhteentörmäyksiä sekä katolisen ja protestanttisen uskonnon keskinäistä taistelua. Vuosisatojen epäselvyydet protestanttisen ja katolisen yhteisön välillä ovat johtaneet nykytilanteeseen, jossa uskonto ei ole avainkonfliktin ratkaisemiseen; poliittiset, kulttuuriset ja uskonnolliset tekijät ovat kietoutuneet tiiviisti yhteen ja muodostaneet kaksi yhteisöä, jotka kamppailevat symbolisesta vallasta, sosiaalisesta tilasta ja asemasta yhteiskunnassa.

Pohjois-Irlannin poliittiset ja taloudelliset muutokset ovat vaikuttaneet sekä katolisen että protestanttisen yhteisön asemaan ja kokemukseen omasta identiteetistä ja yhteisöstä. Protestanttisen ylivalan kaatuminen on kasvattanut lojalistien tarvetta turvautua entistä enemmän historialliseen paraatirituaaliin ja symboleihin, jotka viittaavat protestanttisen yhteisön saavuttamiin taisteluvoittoihin ja katolilaisten kukistamiseen. Paraatit ja niissä käytetyt symbolit toimivat yhteisön jäseniä yhdistävinä, toisesta yhteisöstä erottavina, identiteettiä muokkaavina, yhteisön jatkuvuutta edustavina ja oman yhteisön maailmankuvaa legitimoivina tekijöinä.

AVAINSANAT

Protestanttisuus, katolilaisuus, protestanttinen ylivalta, symbolismi, rituaali, territoriaalisuus, sektarianismi, sosiaalinen tila ja luokka.

Abstract

Northern Irish parading ritual is an exceptional cultural form. Parading and marching as such is not exceptional, it takes place all over the world, but the motives for parading are quite different in the case of Northern Ireland. Parading ritual includes and excludes people. Northern Irish population can be divided in two communities, Protestant and Catholic. Parading is a Protestant tradition, but lately has the Protestant community divided into two parts; to loyalists, who still want to keep on marching and to educated, urban Protestants, who wish to stay separated from the parading culture.

Parading has been going on for hundreds of years in Northern Ireland. However, the significance and function of parades and parading symbols has undergone a change when the political and economic situation within the society has changed. During the Orange rule (from 1920's to 1970's) parades were proceeded just to remind Protestants of their power and Catholics of their powerlessness. Since the Protestant community lost most of its political and economic power when the British government took Home Rule away from Northern Irish government, the significance of Orange Institution and parading got totally different forms.

Since 1972 and the suspension of Stormont have Northern Irish Protestants felt that Great Britain has betrayed them and their social position is under threat. Until that Protestant ascendancy secured the political and economic welfare of the community and gave no chance for Catholics to fight back or to seek for a better social status. However, the collapse of the Orange state changed it all and gave an opportunity to the Catholics of Northern Ireland, supported by the fair jobs legislation and Anglo-Irish Agreement signed by British and Irish governments.

Parading ritual, as well, as symbols belonging to it are loyalists' way to bring the past to the present moment, to remind the community of the power existed and to teach younger 'brethren' the victorious history of Protestant community. Parading functions as an integrator for the loyalist community and as a separator between the loyalist and the Catholic communities. And most of all, nowadays parading also gives visibility to the working class, since the tendency has been that the marchers are more and more working class male, who protest for the weakening of their social being.

The loyalist community of Northern Ireland is confused, the identity of its members has been based on their ascendancy and now that it is over they cannot figure out there is anything else to do than to try to hang on to the past. Parading ritual and symbols are familiar ways of confirming community's status, and they used to be effective means of intimidation of Catholics, so that is where the loyalists in need search for help in the current situation.

KEYWORDS

Protestantism, Catholicism, Protestant ascendancy, symbolism, ritual, territoriality, sectarianism, social space and class

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1. INTRODUCTION

I first got interested in Northern Ireland's culture and politics while I was studying at The Queen's University of Belfast in spring 2000. At that time I found it somehow difficult to believe when I was told that the more one reads about and familiarises oneself with issues concerning Northern Ireland the more confused she or he gets. Now, after I have tried to study Northern Ireland's history, culture and politics for over a year, I have to admit that I really am confused. Not that I have not found out the essential aspects of Northern Irish culture and politics, but I have found out that the elements of cultural and political fields are wrapped very tightly together and are almost impossible to separate from each other.

According to the census carried out in 1991 approximately 46 per cent of Northern Ireland's population identified themselves as Protestant and 38 per cent as Catholic. In the case of Northern Ireland being Protestant or Catholic does not simply mean identification with religion or church, classification is based on the fact to which community person has born. Even if a person does not have any contact to the religious life she or he is defined to be a part of either community. However, even though Protestants form the majority of the whole population of Northern Ireland the community is not very integrated. There are many different Protestant Churches; biggest support belongs to the Presbyterian Church, which has over 21 per cent of Northern Ireland's population as its members. Some of the Churches are more fundamental than others and this causes also political tension within the Protestant community. (Bryan 2000, 12-13.)

1.1 THE ORANGE ORDER

The Orange Order has managed to collect members from different Protestant Churches and to integrate Protestants in order to urge their common target: to be loyal to the Bible and the crown. Not even the Orange Order has been able to avoid internal schism and political tension caused by opposition of fundamentalists towards ecumenical moves within Protestant Church. (Bryan 2000, 13.)

Orange marches symbolise Protestant dominance and resistance within Northern Irish society. The most important marching day is the 12th of July; commemoration of the battle of the Boyne, but the marching season comprises the entire summer. The marches or parades (I will use these concepts as synonyms to each other) are institutionalised, repetitive and highly ritualised. Clothing, music, banners and routes are, as loyalists themselves argue 'traditional'. The intention of the parades is to show and affirm the validity of the Protestant faith. Stressing of the trials Ulster Protestants have gone through is supposed to indicate that despite of all the troubles Protestants stay loyal to the crown. Parades are communal celebrations of loyalists and at the same time they symbolise the power Protestants have over Catholics. Since the parading routes often go through Catholic neighbourhoods it is possible that Catholic residents are forced to stay in their apartments for hours, sometimes the reason is the order given by police, but as well it may be because of fear. Catholics obviously feel harassed, which is no miracle, since they may experience the same disturbance caused by marches up to a dozen times per summer. (Ruane & Todd 1996, 108-110.)

1.2 PROTESTANTISM, ORANGEISM, UNIONISM AND LOYALISM

I will use many different words defining the Protestant community of Northern Ireland in my work. So, I think it will help the reader if I first of all write open the exact meanings of those words. The keywords to describe Protestant community of Northern Ireland are Protestantism, Orangeism, unionism and loyalism.

Protestantism usually refers to religion and representatives of the Protestant Church are called Protestants. Orangeism is connected to the Orange Institution, especially the Orange Order even though there are also the Apprentice Boys of Derry and the Royal Black Preceptory that represent same kind of tradition as the Orange Order. The basic pillars of Orangeism are: loyalty to the Bible and to the crown, and it is painted as a religious tradition although when objectively perceived it can be said that Orangeism has very clear political aspirations connected to unionism. Unionism is a political orientation tending to keep Northern Ireland as a part of United Kingdom. Loyalism is represented by a particular group of Northern Irish Protestant people who emphasise special cultural characteristics of Protestant community; the Orange Order is an

institution representing Ulster loyalism. Protestantism, Orangeism, unionism and loyalism were almost synonyms to each other during the rule of Northern Ireland government from 1920's to 1970's, unionist politics and politicians supported the Orange Order, which was mainly composed from loyalist Protestants. (Cairns 2001, 87.) However, previous research as well as following chapters of my work show that the situation has changed and the discourse of Ulster Protestantism has come to a point where it needs to be re-defined and it seems to be something very frightening for Ulster Protestants, at least for some of them.

1.3 THE RESEARCH QUESTION, THE METHOD AND THE INTENTION OF MY MASTER'S THESIS

My research question is: What do the symbols of Northern Irish loyalists represent, what do they stand for and how do they serve the Protestant community of Northern Ireland? The intention of my work is to try to find out what is the symbolic meaning of Northern Irish parades and how far-reaching is it. I will define the symbols used in parades as political although I will pay attention to the fact that Ulster loyalists themselves claim their symbols to be religious. It is possible to find explanations, which claim parading symbols to be religious, and on the other hand, explanations that highly suggest that they are political. However, I am going to dive deeper to the world of political symbols. Religion is an element that will walk hand in hand with the political aspect through my work, which I think, is inevitable since religious, political and cultural seem to be a trinity strongly connected to each other, when studying Northern Ireland. I have made an assumption that there are deeper meanings for parading and parading symbols than could be supposed. All in all, my intention is to show what kind of symbolic significance can be found from the Ulster loyalist parading culture.

Since I am an outsider and do not know all the aspects affecting on the relations of two Northern Irish communities only way I can think of approaching the matter is historical. I will try to open up a world of meanings by interpreting parading ritual and symbols from a historical point of view, since history of Ulster is something I can get to know even if I was not a member of the society. From the beginning, one of my problems was that it was not too easy to get right kind of research material for my thesis. Finally, I ended up using material found from the Internet; pictures of symbols and loyalist songs

and cuts from the interviews done by David Cairns, who was kind enough to sent me some of his interviews.

1.4 THE STRUCTURE OF MY WORK

First of all, I will handle a bit history of culture politics of Northern Ireland (Chapter 2), since I think it helps to understand the present situation of Ulster. Secondly, I will shortly tell something about the background of the conflict (Chapter 3). The fourth chapter deals with theory concerning rituals and symbols. Then a look at the symbols used in parades (Chapter 5), and an attempt to find political elements behind symbols used in loyalist songs (Chapter 6). Finally, I will present some elements, which make the symbolism so important for the Ulster loyalists (Chapter 7) and Pierre Bourdieu's view on social space and class (Chapter 8).

2. A HISTORICAL VIEW ON CULTURAL POLITICS OF NORTHERN IRELAND

In the 16th and 17th century there was no need for English people to worry about their position in Ireland; cultural and political power of England was secured in Ireland. English and Scottish settlers took care of implanting English culture in Ireland. The collision of cultures of settlers and local people was exceptionally fierce in Northern Ireland. End result was a culturally complex society. English culture took root among higher class Northern Irish, middle class was influenced by Scottish culture, and Celtic-Irish culture remained to be the cultural form of lower social classes. (Ruane & Todd 1996, 178- 179.)

Moving to towns in the 19th century caused the collision of these different cultures, this was to be seen in particular in Belfast. The partition of Ireland (1921) made the strengthening of dominant culture possible, both in southern and in northern parts of Ireland. Nationalists wanted to differ from the cultural features of Great Britain in the area of Republic and unionists wished to differ from 'Irishness' of the South in Ulster. In Republic of Ireland the forming of own cultural identity succeeded, while in

Northern Ireland culture became to be one of the essential aspects of the conflict. (Ruane & Todd 1996, 179.)

After the partition, the cultural aims of Northern Ireland unionists took following shape:

- 1) to separate Northern Ireland from the Southern part of the island,
- 2) to allow parallel forms of Protestant culture to live side by side, and
- 3) to control the expressions of Northern Catholic culture.

Protestants in Northern Ireland wanted to define Ulster comparable to Scotland with its own cultural expressions even if it was a part of Great Britain. However, the unionists were keener in breaking loose from Irish culture tradition than in developing a tradition of their own. Defining own culture proved to be difficult and instead of defining their own culture Protestants started to stress their speciality as honest, hard working people, who had made major contributions in developing the economy and science of Ulster. Attention was tied to Protestantism and Britishness. (Ruane & Todd 1996, 179-180.)

Protestant culture ruled the public image of Northern Ireland: street preachers, Protestant Sundays and public appearing of the Orange Order. The Unionist government identified the state with the Protestant culture; Orange celebrations and parades were generally accepted. British symbols and rituals came to be a part of Northern Irish cultural tradition - the flag, the anthem, the royal, and the national commemoration days, etc. Protestantism and British history melted together; the battle of Somme became a mark of Ulster loyalism and loyalty. (Ruane & Todd 1996, 180-181.)

Unionists did not mind about the existence of Catholic culture as long as its expressions were not openly political, did not restrict Protestant expression or threat the cultural structure of the state. Public use of political symbols of Catholics, as the use of tricolour, was banned. Nationalist parades were also easily attacked. Eamon McCann tells in his book *'War in an Irish Town'*, how police stopped a Catholic man called Francis Meenan in 1957. He was asked what was his name and since Meenan answered in Gael he was arrested and kept in jail for seven months without a trial. (Ruane & Todd 1996, 182-183.) McCann's description is a violent portray of the attitude unionists have had towards nationalist culture.

For years there has been an atmosphere where Catholics are supposed to be discreet when gathered together with Protestants. To respect Protestants' feelings about the Queen and the Union Jack and also to avoid talking about Pope. However, these expectations pointed to Catholics did not cause any reciprocal demands among Protestants; Catholics were often treated as dirt. Attitudes softened a little in the 1960's, but still equality would not be a right word to describe the situation. (Ruane & Todd 1996, 183.)

Catholic culture had many aspects: religious; like going to church, family and community orientated values and the interest in Ireland's history and culture. However, Catholics felt that they could not freely express themselves and their culture; sometimes they even were openly mocked in the streets. Catholics did not have ways to defend themselves or their culture, opposing Protestants was trouble, fate of Francis Meenan was feared. Since 1969 and the start of the Troubles it was inevitable that all the issues dividing and defining these two communities stepped into the picture: control, silence, avoidance and humbling. Mutual hostility was ready to take its place. (Ruane & Todd 1996, 185-186.)

Existence of Northern Ireland has a very different meaning for Catholic and Protestant people of Northern Ireland. For Protestants Northern Ireland is a place, where they belong, its existence is a sign of their will and power. Northern Ireland is something they have shaped from it during the centuries. Incorporating Ulster to Republic of Ireland would be a major loss for them, it would wipe away their past and present. For Catholics has the existence of Northern Ireland a different kind of meaning. It symbolises a historical defeat, which concerns both northern and southern parts of the island. Catholic community cannot get its self-respect back without showing its power and getting out of Protestant ascendancy. This could be a way to heal the historical wounds. (Ruane & Todd 1996, 147.)

3. THE ROOTS OF THE CONFLICT

The roots of the Troubles can be traced back to 1968 civil rights marches. Civil rights campaign started in the middle of the 1960's, and its intention was to get attention to the injustice experienced by Northern Irish Catholics. Northern Ireland Civil Rights

Association (NICRA) aimed to equal distributing of housing and jobs; whatever religion or political view the person represented. Appeals written to MPs did not yield any improvements. NICRA decided to organise a march from the railway station of Derry to the city centre. The march was banned by the government, which started riots in the Catholic area called Bogside. (Melaugh, <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/crights/sum.htm> [6.11.2000].)

Since the situation did not calm down the government of Great Britain decided to locate its troops to the streets of Northern Ireland in 1969. However, appearing of British troops did not make the situation any better, instead it brought a new element to the conflict, paramilitary group, Irish Republican Army (IRA). The situation and control of it seemed to be slipping away from the hands of Great Britain, so it proposed to the government of Northern Ireland that it would start to imprison people causing problems. This proposal led to campaigning of NICRA to prevent the imprisoning. (Melaugh, <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/crights/sum.htm> [6.11.2000].)

Beginning of the present conflict is strongly related to civil rights. Civil rights of Catholics were trampled on and that is what started marching and further problems. Afterwards have Protestants started to defend organising parades by saying that it is one of their civil rights. Catholics aimed to get civil rights by marching, Protestants are not claiming for rights by marching, but finally they argue on behalf of marching by saying that they have 'right to march'.

Northern Irish parades are part of the unique culture of the area. Marching or protesting is not unusual elsewhere in Europe, but the scale and purposes are quite different from Ulster's. The major significance of marching in Ulster is showing and strengthening own identity. Parades are a way to separate 'us' from 'them'. (Cairns 2001, 85,101.) Even though the civil rights marches can be seen as the starting point of the conflict, the tradition of marching is not too strong among Catholics. Protestant parades and marches are notably more general. For instance, in 1995 3 500 parades were organised and only 302 of them were so called republican parades, 2 581 so-called loyalist parades. Statistics show that from the middle 1980's to the middle 1990's there have been 200-300 republican parades and 2000-2500 loyalist parades annually. (Jarman & Bryan, <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/issues/parade/bryjar3.htm> [17.11.2000].)

Members of Protestant community argue that parades are an important part of their tradition. However, a closer look reveals that some of the traditional parades are not so old after all. Parading tradition is an old tradition, but in some cases it seems like exaggeration when parades are defended based on tradition. It is understandable to celebrate the Battle of the Boyne, even though this celebration includes provocative elements which will be discussed later in my work, which was a tremendous victory for Protestants, but how about the parades, which got their form in the 1930's and after that? After the partition strong political emotions churned up Northern Ireland, the parades originated at that time are hard to perceive only as cultural or entertaining heritage. On the other hand, it is very difficult to separate political aspect from cultural and religious when talking about Northern Ireland. The situation and the conflict is like a big package including religious, political and cultural elements, and it seems like really difficult to separate the impacts of one element on the entity.

4. SYMBOLISM AND RITUAL IN POLITICS

4.1 SYMBOL AND SYMBOLISM

Symbols are effective because they are inaccurate. Part of the meaning of the symbol is subjective. People can speak the 'same' language and participate the 'same' rituals through symbols. Symbol and its various meanings integrate the individuals within the community. The 'common form' of the symbol provides the means for its expression and interpretation; symbol transforms the difference in to the similarity. Symbols have a capacity to unite people within community as well as they define the boundaries of the community, exclude 'outsiders'. (Cohen 1985, 21.)

Politics arises through symbolism. One form of symbolism is ritual. Rituals have usually been connected to religion, politically meaningful rituals are believed to exist only in primitive societies. However, the power of symbolism should not be underestimated. People often take symbolism as self-evident truth, without questioning it and that is where the power of symbolism lies, people do not realise that their world is a symbolically constructed reality of world. Political rituals make it possible to

understand the world and what is happening in it. People and their cultures create symbolism through which an individual interprets the world. Formation and changing of symbolism depend on how the resources are divided within the society, and what are the relations between different societies, whatever symbolic system is not possible. (Kertzer 1988, 2-5.)

Through symbolism it is possible to find out who is having the power. Manipulating the symbols can strengthen the position of those who rule. Creation of symbols or identification with popular symbols are ways to get and maintain power. Creation of symbols also creates reality and the ability to create reality brings power. To state it pointedly, whether we decide to tap person's back or to shoot him at his back depends on the colour of his uniform. This is a clear example of symbolism and its connection to political environment. (Kertzer 1988, 5, 8.)

Concepts as state, government and political party are often distant to people and people tend to think them as completely separate from their own concept systems. Political symbols, such as state's flag, make it possible to bring the political world nearer to common people and to make it easier to understand concepts through things. (Kertzer 1988, 6-7.)

Concrete significance is not defined only by the symbolism within the culture. Symbolical point of view lays stress on changing and converting situations to meanings. Sahlins has divided the concept of meaning in two parts: meaning and significance. Meaning contains all the possible uses of the word and it comes true in concrete events. Construction of significance is about functioning of people and structure that makes the functioning possible. Significance connects the past and the concrete event. The relationship between the symbolic system and the matter under consideration makes the matter meaningful. According to Sahlins the difference between a sign and a symbol is that the sign is seen just as it appears, but the symbol has a given meaning. Abstractions and immediate images are tightly connected with symbols; objects have nothing to do with them. The sign is directly connected with some fact while the symbol points to some idea. By understanding the idea we also understand the meaning of the symbol. Langer has said that there is a social aspect related to the creation of symbol, the symbol gets a so-called social extra-meaning. There is a special world of meanings, which

contains interpretations of symbols. Depending on situation and interpreter symbol can function in different ways, for example the flag can receive different kinds of meanings in different situations and in different people's minds. (Pekonen 1991, 18, 25-26.)

Raymond Firth has defined symbolic representation relationship as following: actor's cultural and personal experience defines the connection between two things. Sentimental attachment describes this connection but at the same time this connection is complex and arbitrary. Something hidden or difficult to express is often communicated through symbols. The dependency on interpreter and situation gives the symbol an endless variety of meanings and after all symbolic representation is about interpretation, not about solving the meaning. So, what is the communicational value of symbols? Using symbols can be an attempt to awaken feelings of identification. On the other hand, symbols may increase the effectiveness of the message; for example gestures and expressions support the speech. Thirdly, symbols can have a normative use, since they often contain values; they can be used when trying to supervise behaviour. Finally, symbol tells about the relationship between two different things and can be used to increase knowledge about something. (Pekonen 1991, 27-28.) Loyalist parading symbols seem to have at least three functions. First of all, they unite loyalist people to each other by producing a vision of an integrated community with shared interests. Secondly, the parades define the relations between two communities: Protestant and Catholic. Parading symbols increase Protestants' consciousness of their own history and identity as well as relationship between 'us' and 'them'. Finally, symbols are a way to root loyalist values into the younger marchers' minds.

Alfred Schutz's definition of symbol is based on so called appresentation relations. Appresentation relations include the relations between an object (or event), physical event (or a fact), and appresentation. The object or event does not have its own justification instead it is experienced to represent something else than it directly shows. The object is tempting the actual fact to come out. The fact cannot be directly perceived; it can be physical or emotional, real or imagination. Symbolism is about displaying meanings that diverge from everyday life routine experiences. The object of the appresentation relationship comes true also in everyday life, but it gets its meaning from the event or fact that has ideological meaning that goes beyond day-to-day thinking. Appresentation relationship functions both in the areas of language and experience. By

using symbols individual can escape his separateness and feel that he is part of something bigger and that his life is socially important and meaningful. (Pekonen 1991, 31-32.)

So, symbols are not based on immediate sensory perceptions. With the help of symbols, the things that are not within reach of senses are made understandable. It cannot be said that symbols intermediate pure reality. Symbols often get a kind of halo; besides portraying the reality they define what is valuable within reality. Symbols have political meaning, but the symbolic power does not lie in symbols themselves but in the hands of them that authorise and control the symbols. Schutz has pointed out that meaning of symbols can be found from crossing the everyday routines and shifting from personal to public. However, he notes that the need of symbols is not always strong, but the crises- and shock situations create a need to step out from the safe everyday life and that is when the symbols get their special meaning. (Pekonen 1991, 32-33.)

The parading culture of Northern Irish loyalists holds lots of symbols and symbolism within it. Loyalist symbols have got their birth and significance in the run of the Northern Ireland's history. These symbols are inaccurate in two ways: they mean different things to Protestants and Catholics, but they also have different kind of significance for the people within the Protestant community. Loyalists see their parading symbols as a part of their legitimate cultural heritage whereas Catholics think these same symbols as means of domination. On the other hand, not all Protestants feel the same way about the symbols of the loyal Institution and because of that they aim to separate themselves from the whole parading ritual.

It seems like the loyalists take their symbols as self-evident truth but part of the Protestant community and most of the Catholics question the legitimacy of those symbols. Use of the symbols referring to the ascendancy of the Protestant community does not exactly mean that the people carrying those symbols have the power. The loyalist community does not create reality even though they identify themselves with popular symbols; instead they hang on to the past and try to maintain the position and the status they used to have.

In the case of Northern Ireland's loyalist community symbols can be defined as means of integrating the members of the own community and separating them from the other community. These symbols can be interpreted in many different ways depending on the interpreter. However, loyalist symbols get a special significance within Northern Irish society; no matter from which community a person comes from he has his interpretation about those symbols. As Firth has stated it, it depends on actor's cultural and personal experience how he defines the connection between the symbol and the actual thing it represents (Pekonen 1991, 27).

All in all, in my work, the definition of the symbol is following:

- 1) the significance of the symbol is not strictly defined but depends on the interpreter as well as on the situation,
- 2) symbols integrate the members of the community,
- 3) separate them from the members of the other community,
- 4) get the people understand who they are and where they come from, in other words to make them understand why should they be ready to defend their own community, and
- 5) define the boundaries of the community.

4.2 SYMBOLIC POWER

Bourdieu has divided symbolic instruments in three sections: structuring structures, structured structures and instruments of domination. In structuring structures the symbolic universes function as instruments for knowing and constructing the world of objects. Durkheim sees the forms of classification as universal forms, which are socially determined. In other words sense of the world takes form by the agreement of the structuring subjectivities; subjects define objectivity by agreeing about it. Structured structures are a tradition established by Saussure. Structured structures are means of communication. These symbolic objects, such as language are objective structures. Instruments of domination can be linked to political functions of symbolic systems. Symbolic productions represent the interests of the dominant class; ideologies tend to integrate the dominant class, even though they are presented as universal interests. (Bourdieu 1991, 164-167.)

The power of the structuring structures and structured structures (instruments of knowledge and communication) lies in their ability to be agreeable, in other words they make consensus possible, people take the social world defined through these instruments as given and do not question its legitimacy. (Bourdieu 1991, 164-165.) This kind of consensus is called doxa. Doxa is a point of view of the rulers who represent their vision of the world as universal. Symbolic order is based on cognitive structures, which have been adopted by force. Cohesion and strength of these cognitive structures springs forth from their apparent homogeneity and harmony with the objective structures of the social world. This immediate and wordless agreement creates a basis for the unconscious attachment prevailing between people and predominate social order. (Bourdieu 1994, 110, 112.)

In the case of Northern Ireland Protestant or unionist community functioned as a dominant class for 50 years and practically had all the symbolic power within the society. Nowadays parading and the use of the symbols are means of presenting the Protestant way of life and definition of the vision of the world as legitimate portrayal of the social system as well as to increase the integration of their community. Northern Irish Protestants or to be more exact, loyalists tend to present the present as a continuum to the past. They parade and perform ritualistic displays to show how the past still exists in this moment, parades and symbols are a way to try to legitimise loyalism and its values, since 'that is what has been and should continue to be'. Also the material culture of loyalism, flags, banners, emblems, murals, etc. reflect the loyalist discourse and strengthen their aim to create the hierarchies defining the divided society.

With the help of symbolic structures mentioned above it is possible to construct reality. Symbolic power makes it possible to create a homogeneous portrayal of the meaning of the world. The dominant culture contributes to the legitimating of the existing order by establishing distinctions and legitimating these distinctions. *"...the culture which unifies (the medium of communication) is also the culture which separates (the instruments of distinction) and which legitimates distinctions by forcing all other cultures (designated as sub-cultures) to define themselves by their distance from the dominant culture."* (Bourdieu 1991, 166-167.) Forms of loyalist culture unifies the Protestants of Northern Ireland whereas it separates Protestant community from

Catholic equivalent and makes them define their identity by juxtaposing their own resources with Protestants’.

Different classes are in continuous symbolic struggle. Every class aims to a definition of social world that serves its own interests best. The ideological attitudes reproduce in the social positions, even if in transfigured form. The benefit available for the dominant class is the power over the hierarchy of the principles of hierarchization, possibility to rule hierarchization. Symbolic power enables confirming or transforming the vision of the world. However, power can be exercised only when it is recognised. This means that there is a relation between those who have the power and those who yield to the power. Most importantly it has to be remembered that the power of the words and slogans lie in the legitimacy of the words and of those who say the words. (Bourdieu 1991, 167-170.)

Since the suspension of Stormont in 1972 there has not been class boundaries as obvious as before between Protestants and Catholics. British government took some important measures that improved the social position of Catholics, which meant that Catholics were now able to compete in the job markets with Protestants and occupying of social space came possible also for Catholics. So, it seems like the Catholic community has not been the only subject of symbolic power in Northern Ireland. The Protestant community has had to yield in front of the symbolic power of the government of Great Britain.

Since the material and symbolic resources are very likely to be concentrated to the state, it is possible for the state to control the movements within the social space. The means of control for the state are economic measures as well as legislative measures. Power in all is a prevailing state of power relations between different capitals (economic, political, cultural, etc.). The position of the state becomes important since the state is the quarter, which defines the relative value of each capital. Naturally, every actor within social space wants to have power over the quarter, which decides about the relative value of the capital, because that is a way to get best possible value to one’s own capital. (Bourdieu 1994, 45-46.)

Home Rule period guaranteed the influence of the Protestant community, since the government of Northern Ireland was mainly Protestant. Ever since the direct rule of

British government, fair jobs legislation and Anglo-Irish Agreement the social position of Ulster Protestants changed, Protestants were forced to recognise that their days of power were over. Now that the Protestant working class is in the same position with Catholic working class, they have to compete to get the best possible value for the capital in their possession. This competition has been hard and Protestants have got setbacks in the form of legislation and agreements signed by British government.

State has a kind of meta-capital; it is a product of a developing process of physical power, economic capital, cultural capital and symbolic capital. State can distribute power to the other owners of the capital by defining the value of different capitals. (Bourdieu 1994, 92.) In modern societies the state has the main responsibility in creating categories according to which populations define themselves (Bourdieu 1994, 126). Since the Protestant community of Northern Ireland and especially working class Protestants have felt that they have lost a big part of the value of their capital, because of the British government, they try to keep up their cultural / religious / political tradition and represent it as a showing of symbolic power they still possess.

4.3 RITUAL

Strict definition of ritual limits its use to religious events. On the other hand, loose definition of ritual makes almost every established action ritualistic. It is impossible to define ritual so that all of its aspects would come out, so it is better to keep it as an analytic category that makes analysing peoples' experiences possible. After all, ritual can be seen as symbolic action that is socially standardised and repetitive. (Kertzer 1988, 8-9.)

With the help of rituals we learn, strengthen and also change our images of the world. Rituals give meaning to the universe. The political meaning of rituals becomes understandable, when we understand how the rituals connect an individual to the society. Individual's experiences get social influence through rituals. Ritual and its continuity are not based on the physical process but on prevailing social circumstances. People define their roles through rituals. Rituals also make it possible to feel, however

feeling may be manipulated from above. Rituals give people the feeling of continuity. (Kertzer 1988, 9-12.)

First of all, people interpreting world through symbolism moulded by culture gives power to ritual. Secondly, ritual's effectiveness is based on its nonverbalism: orders given from above often cause discontent among people and make them think about acting against the orders. However, ritual is not a verbal command, people feel that they are part of the ritual and they do not even think about violating it. And after all, ritual does not have an opposite. According to Kertzer there has been rituals as long as there has been hostilities between groups. (Kertzer 1988, 12-14, 129.)

Lukes' definition of ritual is that it is symbolic action covered with rules. This action draws the attention of participants to thoughts and feelings, which have special meaning to them. Luke's premises for his definition are following:

- 1) Rites are not just expressive, but they are more expressive than instrumental. Rites are formal, stylised, stereotypic and repetitive actions. They free expressive feelings, but it is not their most important function.
- 2) Rites are not purely formal, participating rites means accepting their significance, at least at some level.
- 3) The effect of rites is not limited to ritualistic situations. Rites have the capability to give meaning to performers' lives. (Connerton 1989, 44-45.)

Festivals are often represented like mythic commemorations. In other words they are connected to certain historical dates or remembering of the mythic past. Rites that have a calendric character do not only hint that the past is continuing in the present, they directly claim that this continuity exists. Practising performances or telling tales about the events of the past expresses continuity. Commemoration ceremonies diverge from other ceremonies by making direct references to certain persons or events, which may have a mythic or historic background. Commemoration ceremonies are about re-approving the ritual, which functions as an important shaper of collective memory. Thomas Mann has described a way of thinking and –living that is opposite to the present in his book 'Freud and the Future': myths are not to be understood only as a categorical field appearing to an individual but as a subjective possibility. Individual can live his life as repeating the sacred. On the other hand, it is possible that the

individual tries to live his life by obeying his role models without even realising it. This is a so-called mythic identification, which reflects the past to the future. (Connerton 1989, 45, 61, 63.)

Commemoration ceremonies express continuity between the past and the present with the help of their formality and constancy. So, meaningful shapers of collective memory? But are they just about honouring traditions or are there hidden meanings behind the curtains? In commemoration ceremonies the society is reminded of its identity by telling a kind of collective autobiography. Ceremony can only be effective, if the participants have enough cognitive competence so that the performance can get its realisation, and in addition they have to be used to those performances. According to Connerton, if there is such thing as collective memory it can be found from commemoration ceremonies. (Connerton 1989, 48, 70-71.)

Psychoanalytic point of view stresses that ritual action can be interpreted, as a form of symbolic representation. Rites are indirect stances covered with symbolism. Rituals are often connected to conflict and they are shadowed by the strategies of denial. Sociological viewpoint points out that communicating shared values is essential within ritual action, and diminishing disagreements within the group is the most important function of ritual. Historical perspective suggests that rites cannot be understood only by examining their internal structure. The interpretation has to be made by considering the context that is the only way to get to understand the meaning of the rite. In other words, the original circumstances, where the rite has emerged, have to be known before the understanding is possible. (Connerton 1989, 48-51.)

All the interpretation methods mentioned above, state ritual as a form of symbolic representation. They try to find the hidden aspect of ritual through symbolism. To understand the hidden meaning of ritual it is notable to compare the features of ritual and myth. Ritual and myth are both collective, symbolic texts. Based on the common features of ritual and myth it could be said that ritual is a way to demonstrate cultural values as myths do. The difference is that ritual is not just an alternative way for myth to express beliefs, some things are impossible to express otherwise than through ritual. Secondly, myths can be sung or told as entertainment, myth is not necessarily accepted or believed. Myth does not specify the relationship between the performer and the

performance as the ritual does. The structure of the ritual includes the element of stability the structure of myth does not. It is possible for myth to get a permanent form as Mozart's Don Juan or Goethe's Faust, but the process contains many phases of re-working and re-interpretation before the myth reaches its final form. (Connerton 1989, 53-54.)

When it is desired to secure the identity of cultural symbolism, it is best to take measures that confirm the identity of the rituals of culture. In traditional societies, where symbolism seems to appear as unchanging, has often been made great effort to keep things as they are. (Connerton 1989, 57.) So, where does the power of ritual really lie?

According to Connerton ritual is powerful because it is a performative action. Performative action is not a portrayal of some other action; it forms the action itself. Without performance there is no ritual. As mentioned before, ritual is also formal, stylised and stereotypical. The performers of the ritual do not make up expressions used in ritual. Expressions already exist and are repetitive; words and actions used have been performed before. Verbal expressions give power to the ritual; pronouns such as 'we' and 'they' help to divide groups, also the verbs that bless, curse and vow are powerful. These verbal expressions require participants certain attitudes; faith, gratitude, respect, etc. It can be said that the society gets its form by repeating the pronouns of solidarity. Stressing 'we' makes action collective. By pronouncing 'we' the participants achieve a kind of ideal situation through their speech. Performative expressions are where societies are established and reminded of the establishment. (Connerton 1989, 58-59.)

When societies undergo rapid changes they generate traditional forms appropriate to contemporary circumstances, forms that unite the past with the present and may also imply that the forms of customary practices should be reserved. Ritual is one of the symbolic devices reinforcing the boundaries of the community. People experience community through ritual, ritual's power is in its ability to heighten consciousness. Ritual strengthens social identity and sense of social location. Symbolic expressions that strengthen the boundaries of the community become more important if the actual geo-social boundaries of the community weaken. The meaning of the ritual is not necessarily fixed. Rituals are symbolic expressions, which get different significance in participants' minds. The imprecise nature of the ritual makes it powerful; although

individuals experience the ritual in different ways it still integrates people and gives them a feeling of belonging. (Cohen 1985, 46, 50, 53-54.)

Parading ritual of Northern Ireland loyalists is socially standardised and repetitive. It also gives people, especially loyalist people, the feeling of continuity; brings the past to the present. The most important parading day, the 12th of July can be defined as a commemoration ceremony, telling about the history of Northern Ireland and loyalists and awakening feelings that define their identity. Psychoanalytic, sociological and historical points of view are all needed when interpreting loyalist parading ritual. Parading ritual includes indirect stands covered with symbolism, it also aspires to intermediate common values and to increase the integration within the community and it can not be interpreted without considering the historical context.

5. PARADING SYMBOLS

5.1 DRESSING AND EMBLEMS

Emblems used in parades vary depending on the position of the carrier of the symbols, what is his position within the Institution and what is his lodge. Orange Degree justifies the use of the orange sash which is marked with the lodge number the participant belongs to. Some lodges have blue collarettes based on historical reasons that no one can remember. Six months after becoming a member of the Institution, the member can apply for the next rank that is called Purple Degree. After achieving Purple Degree a person is allowed to use a collarette with a purple stripe. Also the width of the collarette depends on the status of the wearer. The Orange Institution has a Ten Degrees –system, the degrees measure the emotional growth of the members, and progress in Degrees should deepen the biblical knowledge of the person. The Apprentice Boys carry carmine red sashes to represent blood flown in the fight of Derry by the defenders. The officers of different districts are allowed to use broader sashes than other parading participants. The sash of the supreme officer of the district has silver borders, and letters ‘WM’ on the front. ‘WM’ tells that the person is ‘Worshipful Master’ in other words he is the leader of the lodge. (Dudley Edwards 1999, 66, 72, 88-89.)

Two most often used symbols pinned on the Orange collarettes are the British crown and the Bible. Loyalty for the crown and faith in the Bible are the basic pillars of the Orange. The crown, the Bible and King William sitting on his horse's back are symbols that everyone can use. The members of Royal Arch Purple are also allowed to use following symbols.

- 1) An anchor, which symbolises safe arrival into the hereafter,
- 2) The Ark of the Covenant, as a sign of God's promise to guide Israelis safely through life,
- 3) A coffin, reminder of mortality,
- 4) An eye, meaning omniscient God,
- 5) A five-pointed star tells about Jesus' five wounds,
- 6) A ladder and its three steps represent faith, hope and charity,
- 7) Noah's ark symbolises God's ways of saving and renewing life on earth, and
- 8) Three branches of the candlestick functions as a symbol of light, which is revealed in the Holy trinity: Father, Son and The Holy Ghost.

These symbols may be intentionally obscure and aim to exclude the other more than express anything specific. Many loyalist symbols are Masonic symbols, which can be seen as provocation of Catholics since Roman Catholicism has traditionally had antipathy towards Masonic organisation. (Cairns & Smyth 2001, 16.) Besides the symbols mentioned above, there is many other symbols connected to religion and emblems and medals that have something to do with remarkable parades persons have participated. Most valuable are medals got for serving the home country (which is naturally Great Britain not Republic of Ireland), those medals can also be heritage from fathers and grandfathers. (Dudley Edwards 1999, 89-90.)

Besides the emblems attached to collarettes there is an orange ribbon which is often tied to the front of the jacket. The ribbon was invented as a counterpart to the green ribbon used by Catholics. The orange ribbon got special significance in July 1998 when Drumcree parade was banned by authorities. The orange ribbon is a sign that implies support for Orange Order. Bowler hat is an essential part of traditional parading clothing. It is part of an entity formed by a collarette, white gloves and a bowler hat. There are two different views about the symbolism of the hat; some say that it is a symbol of a British gentleman, others think that the hat symbolises the authority that the

British used to have in shipyards and construction sites in Belfast. (Mulhern, <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/images/symbols/unionloyal.htm> [20.9.2001].)

Glifford Geertz's interpretation of religion is that religion is a symbolic system that tries to create strong moods and motivations in people's minds. Creating these moods and motivations is possible through creating images of general order of existence and by giving these images a nature that makes the moods and motivations feel realistic. (Geertz 1986, 93.) It seems like that Geertz's definition suits well to describe the 'religious' community of the Orange Order. If something the Order aims to create moods and motivations in people's minds, but whether those moods and motivations are supposed to be religious or not is a different question. It is obvious that the Orange Order itself claims to be purely religious even if it admits that loyalty to the crown is one of its basic targets, but when studying the rules concerning the respectability of an Orangeman and the customs practised by them it is hard to agree with the statement that the Institution is religious.

5.2 FLAGS AND BANNERS

Flags and banners function as an essential part of parading culture and contain great quantities of symbolism. While watching pictures from parades it is possible to see many different kinds of flags carried by paraders. The flag of Great Britain is functioning as a sign of the identity of the paraders; they feel British and respect Great Britain as their home country. On the other hand the official flag of Northern Ireland can also be seen among the paraders. The flag of Northern Ireland contains symbolism, which brings up the connection between United Kingdom and Northern Ireland. The central symbol of the flag is the crown, under the crown is the Star of David, and the star has 'the Red Hand of Ulster' in it. The crown symbolises the British monarchy in Ireland (Mulhern, <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/images/symbols/unionloyal.htm> [20.9.2001]). The Star of David has been interpreted in two different ways; the six points of the star have been explained to represent the six counties of Ulster or alternatively the intention of the star is to link Northern Irish Protestants with Israelis, to see them both as continuously persecuted nations (Mulhern, <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/images/symbols/unionloyal.htm> [20.9.2001]). 'The Red Hand of

Ulster' is connected to the myth that tells of two Scottish princes, who struggled against each other over the control of Ulster. They sailed towards the shore of Northern Ireland and agreed that the one who is first to touch the shore with his hand is the winner and gets to rule Ulster. Another of the princes soon noticed that he is about to lose and decided he had to win what ever it took. He cut his hand off, threw it to the beach, won the competition and got Ulster. (Powers, <http://www.cat.cc.md.us/~mpowers/sociology.html> [5.10.2001].) Politics, religion and myth combine, loyalty for crown and God, the basic pillars of Orange Order. The myth of 'the Red Hand of Ulster' legitimises the Protestant identity. Settling and conquering histories of Northern Ireland seem to have a special meaning when the Protestants argue for their rights to cultural expressions and being part of Great Britain.

Flags and banners have been part of the Orange tradition ever since it started. In the end of the 19th century the tradition reached a point when these symbols developed extensively, unionism started to feel threatened by Irish nationalism and that led to the eager developing of symbols. Neil Jarman has pointed out that the banners became more standardised and more professional, the quality of paintings became better and the characters appearing on them became diversified. It was not just King William, the crown and the Bible anymore, but also a great range of heroes of Ulster unionism. (Dudley Edwards 1999, 91.)

The symbols in Orange flags and banners can be divided into thirteen categories: 1) Biblical symbols are usual; they mostly refer to Old Testament. 2) Buildings are often churches or otherwise significant buildings for the people participating the parades. 3) Home Rule and symbols connected to it reflect the Protestant 'no-surrender' -mentality; for example the formation of Ulster Volunteers is portrayed in these paintings. 4) Historical symbols are linked to the establishment of the Orange Order. 5) Industrial category shows how proud Protestants are about the development of industrialism, especially in Belfast. 6) World wars are there to remind of the brave victims, for instance the men slaughtered at the Somme. 7) Personalities such as Churchill and Sir James Craig, long-term Prime Minister of Northern Ireland are often there. Only dead persons can get to be on banners. 8) Troubles and people murdered during this period are also portrayed. 9) Reformation and Martin Luther as well as 10) the royalty can end up on the banners. 11) King William and his battles are very usual motifs as mentioned

already. 12) Old flags and banners and 13) miscellaneous can be defined as two last categories. (Dudley Edwards 1999, 91-92.)

When studying the emblems, flags and banners of the Orange tradition, it seems like they are mostly religious or historical. However, the fact is that they may or may not be that; biblical symbols may be purely biblical or have hidden meanings that do not open up to the people outside Northern Irish culture. Still, if thinking about the symbols occurring on Orange flags and banners: buildings, Home Rule, symbols linked to the establishment of the Order, persons and battles portrayed in the flags, they all have bigger significance for Protestants and Catholics of Northern Ireland than could be supposed. Friedrich Engels saw the religious movements of the German peasant wars as agents of social revolution; the religious image was only a disguise that hid the social aims of the peasants (Alho 1986, 239). A same kind of tendency can be found from the functioning of the Orange Order; covered to be religious tradition, but actually functioning according to what is best for its members in the present social situation.

5.3 VISUAL SYMBOLS: HIERARCHIZATION, INTEGRATION AND SEPARATION

Visual symbols such as emblems, flags, banners and dressing in all are a way to create a symbolic world of its own. This symbolic world defines the relations within the community and between two communities. The hierarchy within the community is important in order to define the status and the position of the member and it is also important for members to have something to reach for. The hierarchy is no less important for the Institution than it is for its members; the people with highest aspirations and dedication to the Institution get the highest status within it and that function for the best of the Order. The decision-making is in the hands of those who really are 'loyal and true'.

Although the hierarchization kind of puts the members of the Institution in different positions the symbols have also an aspect that integrates the members. Different people may be allowed to carry different kinds of clothes, colours or emblems, but still they all carry certain similar symbols and the parading itself connects them all to the same ritualistic action. The feelings of belonging and integration are obviously stronger than

the feelings created by the hierarchization; there is more integrating than polarising aspects in loyalist parading when the loyalist community is concerned. When thinking about the polarisation effect between the Protestant and the Catholic community it is all different: all the parading symbols strengthen the division between these two communities. Visual symbols used by loyalists refer to the victorious events of the Protestant past whereas those same events have been moments of defeat for Catholics. There is one symbol, official flag of Northern Ireland, that is used by both communities, but it seems like it is not too widely used, after all the independence of Northern Ireland is not an aspiration for many people.

According to Smelser community tends to actualise certain characteristics of the tradition. These characteristics are chosen so that they have a consistent connection to the social elements affecting on the background of the movement. Hence tradition is not chosen randomly; factors connected to the structure of the society as well as factors in connection with the crises experienced by the community determine the tradition. (Alho 1986, 236.)

Although there are certain limitations in Smelser's theory it is applicable to describe the 'tradition' of Orangeism. Orange tradition is something that has been chosen on the basis of its suitability to the present situation, not because it is religious tradition that cannot be forgotten. It is carefully covered to be religious but I strongly suggest that its significance is more political than anything. However, all these religious symbols, emblems and flags, may really have religious meaning for part of the paraders, but the obvious function of parades and many symbols displayed in them is political as will be shown in the following chapter concerning loyalist songs and stories behind them.

6. STORIES BEHIND THE SYMBOLS

6.1 MUSIC

John Molden has researched traditional songs and has pointed out that the Orange tradition cannot be understood without understanding its musical context. There are many types of Orange songs, some of them openly unpleasant and offensive towards Catholic religion. Songs are often parodied upon nationalist songs, melody is the same,

but the words have changed to be advantageous for the own community. Many of the songs handle the history of Ireland and events that have caused killing or wounding of Protestants. The message of the songs seems to be 'Watch out or it will happen again'. (Dudley Edwards 1999, 93-94.)

Parading music includes the same symbols that appear in visual form in the clothing and decoration of paraders: flags, battles, heroes, martyrs, religion, etc. According to Dudley Edwards there is a religious meaning for almost every symbol used in Protestant parades. The Chief Executive of the Orange Order, George Patton, agrees with Dudley Edwards, David Cairns' interview with Patton (6.9.1996) reveals that Patton considers 99 % of Orange symbols, as biblical, only non-biblical symbol he mentioned during the interview was the crown, which according to Patton symbolises patriotism. So, are all the symbols used in parades purely religious and is their intention just to respect religion and tradition? Ruane and Todd have stated that in divided societies the stage of cultural inequality is where one community celebrates its achievements that another community would like to forget (Ruane & Todd 1996, 200). It is not too hard to find that stage when studying parading culture; Protestant songs and their words celebrate the victories over Catholics, so it is quite obvious that Catholics feel antipathy towards these songs and parading culture in general.

When studying loyalist songs it can be noticed that not always there is symbolism but straight offences concerning Catholics. Catholic nature has been stereotyped and Pope has been insulted without even trying to cover it. Snatch from the song '*King Billy's On the Wall*' shows this:

*"There is slogans painted in red white and blue,
They tell the pope where he can go and what he can do,
There's one for Gerard Rice, well that's a different class,
Go take the Lower Ormeau Road and stick it up your ass."*

(<http://theproddyboy.freeservers.com/contact.html>)

King William is one of the most used symbols among the loyalist people, visually as well as linguistically. William is a reference to the events of 1689 and 1690, the battles of Derry and Boyne, both successful for William and Protestants. 1690 King William

won Catholic King James in the Battle of the Boyne and this is the most meaningful point of identification for Northern Irish Protestants, the battle of 1690 assured the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland (Cairns 2000, 441). Every year, 12th July there are parades for King William, this is a way to liven up Protestant power and authority over Catholics.

Mentioning of Gerard Rice and Lower Ormeau Road are references to the territorial aspect of the conflict. Gerard Rice has been the spokesman of the Lower Ormeau Road Concerned Community, association established to stand for the rights of the Catholic residents of Ormeau Road. However, territoriality will be discussed further in chapter 6.2.

Ron Eyerman (2001) has studied the role of music in the formation of collective identity and collective memory, for example music performed by the American civil rights movement members. He has come to a conclusion that music links the past, the present and the future and that is how it reminds a collective of its existence. Besides of reminding the members of the collective, music can also get more distant listeners to share feelings, motivations and attitudes; collective memory included in music. Through these songs it is possible to identify oneself with an imagined community, which could be hard otherwise because the members of the imagined community never really meet face-to-face. Through music a collective or a movement can make itself visible for its members and others, music can also express the history of the collective or the movement, which implies to the continuity.

6.2 TERRITORIALITY

Even though the snatch of the song '*King Billy's On the Wall*' seems like a very direct statement about Catholics and their faith, when studying the song more carefully it is possible to find out meanings that are not so obvious. Mentioning the Lower Ormeau Road gives the song a dimension of territoriality, which is an essential part of the Troubles. Anna-Kaisa Kuusisto has studied the relations of two Northern Irish communities with physical place and space from the political point of view. She has reached a conclusion that Catholics of Northern Ireland have reached a strong sense of

belonging to the place where they live ('sense of place'), whereas Protestants live in the state of not belonging anywhere ('sense of placelessness'). Kuusisto's statement is based on the impression that Catholics have a strong culture, which is defined by Irishness, Gaelism and Catholicism, whereas the Protestant identity is in the state of confusion. Protestants define themselves first of all 'non-Catholic' and then British. Protestants have never had a strong landscape of their own or steadfast myths or traditions on which they could have built their collective identity. Their national identity is politically constructed, based on Britishness. (Kuusisto, <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/issues/identity/kuusisto99.htm> [13.6.2001].)

On the other hand, it is easy to agree with Kuusisto about the strong cultural identity of the Catholic people and the identification with the place alongside with that. Construction of the Protestant identity may very well have been political and still be political. As it was already mentioned in the chapter concerning the cultural history of Northern Ireland, the constructing of Protestant culture got left behind, since it seemed to be more important to stress the 'non-Irishness' than to create the culture of their own. However, Kuusisto has not paid attention to the fact how Protestantism has affected Catholic culture and its expressions, she has examined the issue from the opposite point of view. Kuusisto seems to think that Protestants have had great difficulties developing their collective identity, while Catholics have managed to do that and even more managed to create a strong cultural and collective identity. How about the golden era of Protestantism (from 1920's to 1970's)? Did not it have any impact on Catholic cultural identity or 'sense of place'? During the Protestant ascendancy expressions of Catholic culture were not too well tolerated or might even be directly reviled. So, did not this have any kind of affect on how Catholics felt about their physical environment and how much they felt it to be their place of belonging? It can be assumed that during the Protestant ascendancy Catholics identified themselves with the people of the South (Republic of Ireland), and kept the southern part of the island as their landscape, culturally and geographically. If we were talking about Northern Ireland as a physical place, I would argue that it is more Protestant landscape than Catholic. History of Ulster, in which Protestants eagerly in their parading music and visual symbols refer to, includes many stories about Protestant conquests and victories. Why would not they feel Northern Ireland geographically or historically advantageous for them?

During the last few years have the Catholic resident groups started to organise themselves to oppose parades crossing through their home streets. Protestant marchers have been amazed about this, because according to them Catholics have accepted the parades going through their streets for decades and now suddenly they have started to protest against them. (Jarman & Bryan, <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/csc/reports/parade11.htm> [19.3.2001].) However the changes in political situation in Northern Ireland have to be considered. The golden era of Stormont, from 1920's to 1970's guaranteed the welfare of Protestants; the Unionist government took care of the benefits of the Protestant community; Catholics were no threat neither in job markets or when social benefits were concerned. (Cairns 2001, 87.)

The way Protestants see it, Catholics have just decided to start opposing their cultural heritage such as parades. It has to be understood that since the ascendancy of Protestants ended the situation has changed a lot. From 1920's to 1970's Catholics did not have resources to fight against Protestants or their cultural authority. Stormont's Unionist Government legitimised Protestant culture and its expressions. In other words, there was nothing Catholics could have done; both political administration and police forces were totally supporting loyalists. (Cairns 2001, 90-91.)

Catholic point of view is naturally very different from Protestant. Catholics see parades as a way to dominate them and as symbols of victory. With the help of parades Protestants want to enliven their victorious moments experienced when beaten Catholics in the battle. The worst part about the parades is that they go through the Catholic neighbourhoods. Protestants defend their routes by claiming them to be traditional, Catholics think that the routes are intentionally provocative and their purpose is just to show the power of the Protestant community. (Jarman & Bryan, <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/csc/reports/parade11.htm> [19.3.2001].)

Parades are closely connected to territorial issues. Ormeau Road is located in Belfast; it is divided to upper and lower Ormeau Road. The way Protestants remember it, Ormeau Road used to be Protestant until it was partly snatched by Catholics. After Catholic population started to move in to Ormeau Road it was divided to lower and upper part: Catholic and Protestant. This is also one argument, which is used to legitimise traditional parading routes; if Catholics have deviously taken part of a Protestant street,

they still can not stop loyalist parades marching through that street. The idea is probably that, if the tradition is given up in one area or street it will lead to further problems and banning of parades. The fear is that little by little Catholics will be able to prevent more and more parades from proceeding. This would eat Protestant culture and its expressions and furthermore there is a risk of losing the rest of the social power still left for Protestants, imaginary or real, whatever it is. (Jarman & Bryan, <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/csc/reports/parade11.htm> [19.3.2001].)

6.3 KING WILLIAM AND THE 12TH JULY

The Battle of the Boyne got its commemoration ceremonies in the 18th century. In the 19th century the ceremony was changed to serve better the portraying of 'respectable' identity of Protestants. During the ruling period of Henry VIII England became Protestant. The view of the 16th century English authorities was that the nine counties of Ulster (before the partition Ulster contained nine counties, after partition only six) were rebellious, and the rebels were to be settled. The last big Celtic rebellion was put down in 1601 and after that the English decided it was best to settle English and Scottish people to Ulster in order to calm down the situation (so called 'plantation myth'). (Bryan 2000, 29.)

By the end of 17th century the English monarchy turned back to Catholic and both in England and in Ireland the distrust between Catholic and Anglican aristocracy was widespread. Finally, this led to the Battle of the Boyne. (Bryan 2000, 30.) The Battle of the Boyne still seems to have a big symbolic significance in Northern Ireland. Boyne did not concern just England and Ireland; it was a consequence of the power play played by many different European countries. The King of France, Louis XIV, politically ruled Continental Europe but he was not without adversaries, one of Louis' enemies was Prince William of Orange. James II, the King of England, who had brought Catholicism back to England, had also made opponents in his home country. In 1688 Prince William, who was married to daughter of James II, arrived to England and took over the throne without opposition. King James travelled to France to get some help from King Louis and in 1689 he landed in Ireland, which he considered to be friendly place for him because of the Catholicism. William instead started the battle by arriving to Northern

Ireland, where his support was great because of the security of land owning he had promised to Protestants. The final battle took place in Boyne and as mentioned before William led his men to the victory. (Bryan 2000, 30.)

As a consequence of the battles of the Boyne and Aughrim, which of Aughrim was decisive and fought on the 12th of July, and the peace agreement Irish Catholics were given, as a sign of good will, freedom to exercise their own religion. However, Irish Anglicans did not show out to be too liberal about this issue and since the parliament got more power than monarchy, Protestants were able to exercise their ascendancy over Catholics. (Bryan 2000, 30-31.) So, when considering the Battle of the Boyne it has to be remembered that the event can be thought as a beginning of the Protestant ascendancy and domination of the Catholic of Ireland. The celebrations of William and the battles he guided are not exactly neutral cultural happening for either of the communities, both sides have their impressions about what William or his battles have brought to their lives. These pictures are very different from each other; time of glory for one was time of domination and oppression for another.

6.4 DERRY'S WALLS

A Traditional loyalist song called '*Derry's Walls*' is a good example of a song containing a great deal of symbolism.

*"The time has scarce gone by boys, two hundred years ago,
When Rebels on old Derry's Walls their faces dare not show;
When James and all his rebels band came up to Bishops gate;
With heart and sword and shield we caused them to retreat;"*

(<http://theproddyboy.freeservers.com/contact.html>)

Derry's Walls are one important symbol for Protestants. In 1688 Catholic troops tried to conquer Derry, however the siege did not put down Protestants, they held the line and Catholics had to retreat. Hannu-Pekka Huttunen has interpreted that the siege of 1688 and surviving from it can be compared to the present fear of Protestants to end up incorporated with the Republic of Ireland (Huttunen 1995, 41, 46). The lyrics of

'Derry's Walls' contain pronouns of solidarity described by Connerton. The words clearly divide people to 'us' and 'them'. Of course, 'our' courage and ability to win has been stressed as it can be seen in the end of the verse; our power got them to escape.

(Chorus)

*"Then work and don't surrender but come when duty calls,
With heart and hand, and sword and shield - we'll guard old Derry's Walls.*

*The blood it did flow in the streams for many a winter's night,
They knew the Lord was on their side, to help them in the fight;
They only stood upon the walls determined for to fight,
To fight and gain the victory and hoist the Crimson high;*

*At last with one broadside the heavens sent their maze,
The boom was broke that crosses Foyle's shores and James he was dismayed;
The Banner, boys that floated, was run aloft with joy,
God bless the hands that broke the boom and saved Apprentice Boys."*

<http://theproddyboy.freeservers.com/contact.html>)

The chorus emphasises the Protestant idea of the hard working, persistent and responsible character of Protestant community. By emphasising these qualities the communal identity and feeling of community are being provoked and maintained. The battles, blood flown and the victory gained with the help of God picture the values of the community, and the readiness to sacrifice oneself for the freedom of the community. James symbolises the whole Catholic community suppressed by Protestants, and then there is a flag lifted up for a sign of victory. One fight, in this case Derry's siege, is no more one historical event, but a way to enliven present situation, to remind about the juxtaposition, and to make own community believe in its possibility to beat the opposition, since it has happened before. The anti-Catholic aspect of 'Derry's Walls' can be seen in a sentence: *"They knew the Lord was on their side, to help them in the fight"*. This is a way to stress the superiority of the Protestant religion; the sentence gives an impression that God has chosen to defend the Protestant faith and helps them in the fight. 'Derry's Walls' creates a social reality in which the Protestant community with heart, power and help of God beats the Catholic community. Also the territorial

element shows in *'Derry's Walls'*. Already the name of the song refers to a place that has been a bone of contention; in every day life Protestants usually use the name Londonderry referring to the same place that Catholics call Derry. Using the name Londonderry is a verbal way to connect the town to Great Britain.

6.5 SECTARIANISM - THE OULD ORANGE FLUTE

Sectarianism can be used as a synonym for the anti-social acts that often involve intimidation or physical violence of 'religious' paramilitary groups (Cairns 2000, 438). As a result of sectarianism there has been killings, injuries, shootings, extortion, etc. Besides these violent results of sectarianism it is also possible to see the divisive impacts it has on every day life of Northern Irish people. All the facts separating Ulster's two communities, mentioned before are sectarian acts. Symbols, flags, murals, etc., rituals as parading, discrimination because of language or accent and many other matters are all expressions of sectarianism. According to Cairns (2000, 438.) sectarianism is religious only by semiotic association as is also the conflict: there is no religious conflict, it is members of religious communities that have antipathy towards each other, it is not religious systems that are incompatible.

In its most general sense sectarianism can be defined as a term describing attitudes, beliefs, symbols and practices through which a group of people separates itself from another group within an otherwise shared culture. Every day social practices are such that they represent the social political division of the society. (Cairns 2000, 439.) Sectarianism and Pierre Bourdieu's definition of 'distinction' both describe division existing between two Northern Irish communities. Loyalist song called 'Ould Orange Flute' is an example of sectarian measures and distinction existing in Northern Ireland.

*"In the County Tyrone, near the town of Dungannon,
Where many a ruction myself had a hand in,
Bob Williamson lived - a weaver by trade,
And all of us thought him a stout Orange blade.
On the twelfth of July as it yearly did come,
Bob played on the flute to the sound of the drum,*

*You may talk of your harp, your piano, your lute,
But nothing could sound like the ould Orange flute.*

*But this treacherous scoundrel took us all in,
For he married a Papish called Bridgit McGinn,
And turned Papish himself, and forsook the ould cause,
That gave us our freedom, religion and laws.
Now the boys in the townland made some noise upon it,
And Bob had to fly to the province of Connaught;
He fled with his wife and his fixings to boot,
Along with the others the ould Orange flute.“*

(Dudley Edwards 1999, 94.)

First two verses of the song describe a Protestant male called Bob Williamson, who was a loyal Orangeman until met a Catholic woman and decided to marry her. Second verse makes it clear how Protestant community disapproves of the marriage between a Protestant and a Catholic. By marrying a Catholic woman and even turning Catholic himself, Bob Williamson got the hatred of his former 'brethren' onto him. The disapproval of this marriage caused that the married couple had to escape from their hometown. This is not purely fictional song; it still is the practice in Northern Ireland that marriage contracts are entered within 'the own' community. There are marriages between the members of these two communities, but they can easily lead to the situation described above, to mocking and haunting.

*“At the chapel on Sundays to atone for past deeds,
He said Paters and Aves and counted his beads,
Til after some time at the Priest's own desire,
He went with his ould flute to play in the choir;
He went to his ould flute to play in the Mass,
But the instrument shivered and sighed, 'Oh, alas!'
And for all he could blow, though it made a great noise,
The ould flute would play only, 'The Protestant Boys'*

Bob jumped and he started and got into a splutter,

*And threw his ould flute in the blessed holy water;
For he thought that this charm would bring some other sounds,
But when he blew it again it played 'Croppies Lie Down'.
And for all he could whistle, and finger, and blow,
To play Papish music he found it no go,
'Kick the Pope', 'The Boyne Water', and such like it would sound,
But one Papish squeak in it just couldn't be found."*
(Dudley Edwards 1999, 94-95.)

The Orange flute of the song represents Protestant faith. No matter how Catholic Bob Williamson became after marrying a Catholic woman he does not seem to be able to get rid of his Protestantism. Even though he would like to play Catholic songs with his flute, it only allows him to play loyalist songs: 'The Protestant Boys', 'Croppies Lie Down', etc. Not even holy water of Catholics can destroy the tunes of the flute, in other words according to this Protestant song Catholic religion is not strong enough to wipe out Protestant religion, it is something that can be trusted in every situation. The last verse of the song stresses the strength and the immortality of the Protestant faith:

*"At a council of priests that was held the next day,
The decided to banish the ould flute away,
For they couldn't knock heresy out of his head,
So they bought Bob another to play in its stead.
So the ould flute was doomed and its fate was pathetic,
it was branded and burned at the stake as heretic;
While the flames roared around it they heard a strange noise
'Twas the ould flute still whistling, 'The Protestant Boys'."*
(Dudley Edwards 1999, 95.)

According to Cairns (2000, 439.) religion serves sectarianism and sectarian actors by offering a mask behind which to hide when challenged. In the case of Northern Ireland sectarian acts can not be directly connected to class struggle, at least in terms of the struggle between the classes, it is more of a struggle within one class, working class.

Readiness to perform sectarian acts can be seen as a condition for being an Orangeman. The initiation ceremony of the Orangemen includes promises that have to be made before the joining is possible:

“Do you promise, before this Lodge, to give no countenance, by your presence or otherwise, to the unscriptural, superstitious, and idolatrous worship of the Church of Rome? And do you also promise never to marry a Roman Catholic, never to stand sponsor for a child when receiving baptism from a priest of Rome, or allow a Roman Catholic to stand sponsor for your child at baptism? And do you further promise to resist, by all lawful means, the ascendancy, extension, and encroachments of that Church [...]”

(Dudley Edwards 1999, 62.)

7. THE IMPORTANCE OF SYMBOLISM

7.1 ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

The importance of symbols for Northern Irish Protestants is different today than it used to be during the golden age of Protestantism. Most of all the economic situation and allocation of jobs in Northern Ireland has changed a lot from 1970's till present. The rule of the Orange collapsed after the suspension of Stormont (1972), which meant direct rule (rule of British government) and the ascendancy of Protestants got a big slap in its face. The British government has undoubtedly tried to remove inequalities appearing in allocation of jobs and housing in Northern Ireland, but when thinking about the starting point; the discrimination of Catholics in almost every sector of social life, it has not been an easy job for the government and some parts of the discrimination are still there. However, the British government prescribed 'fair jobs legislation', which has obviously had a major impact on both Protestant and Catholic communities. Catholics were finally able to get jobs previously available only for Protestants and Protestants now had to compete with Catholics for the jobs that used to belong to them self-evidently. It goes without saying that the relationship between the Orange Institution and British government has not been too friendly after changes caused by the direct rule; Protestants strongly feel that the British government has betrayed them.

Following statistics show what kind of changes has happened in Northern Irish economic life from 1971 to 1991. In 1971 Catholic population formed 36,8 per cent of the total population of Ulster and 31 per cent of the economically active population. In 1991 were the corresponding numbers 43,1 per cent and 39,9 per cent. Even though the employment rate of Catholics has improved there still is a clear difference in the occupations of Catholics and Protestants. In 1971 Protestant males were over represented in three occupations: security services, management and administration and skilled engineering; Catholic males were over represented in lower-status manufacturing and construction. In 1991 Protestant males were over represented in same three occupations and Catholic males in skilled construction, labouring, and on government employment schemes. (Ruane & Todd 1996, 168.)

Since the methods of agricultural production changed and small scale farmers started to move into towns, the competition within job markets became harder and harder. In the early 1950's shipbuilding employed 30 000 people, mostly working class Protestants, in the end of the century the same figure was less than 2 000. The change in industrial manufacturing, and later, a shift into services weakened the position of the Protestant working class as it did weaken the position of the Orange Order. Industrial sector had been an area, which was dominated by the Orange Order and now that the structure of the industrial life was totally changed the Order lost part of its power. The decline of the industry was bad enough for the Orange Order but the suspension of Stormont in 1972 made it all even worse for the Institution. The direct rule meant that all the decisions concerning Northern Ireland were made in London, and the influence the Orange Order had had on the political decision-making was gone because the close relations with the Ulster Unionist Party did not help anymore. (Cairns & Smyth 2001, 23-24.)

It looks like the position of Catholics in the labour market has improved, but they still are not likely to get higher-status occupations. This is one thing to explain the status of the members of the Orange Order. Orangemen are most likely lower class or middle class people, who has to share their job markets with Catholic men.

Social class is one of the most important matters defining the ethnic relations in Northern Ireland. Class differences between and within communities have an impact on social intercourse. Working-class areas have clear visible boundaries, which

geographically divide them from other areas. Besides geographic isolation working class areas appear to have political symbols, such as flags, murals and graffiti in their streets, which is not general in the middle-class areas. Since 1850's the membership of the Orange Institution brought economic and political advantages along with it. Nowadays the situation is quite different, many of the members think that the membership has been a burden since the fair employment legislation was signed. However, in some areas, especially in rural areas the Orange Institution still has its network which function pretty much like a golf club; business relations are easier to create if you are a member of the Institution. (Bryan 2000, 14, 109.)

Since the Protestants of Northern Ireland have started to feel that their position has become under threat, the number of Orangemen has declined. This can be explained with two following facts: 1) political and economic power of the Order has remarkably decreased, and 2) the parades have recently been connected to civil unrest and violent eruptions between Protestants and police and army. Particularly middle-class, educated, urban people have begun to leave the Institution. The political impotence of the Order has also caused some people to support paramilitary groups such as UVF, but mostly they leave the Institution because they want to maintain the 'respectability' of Orangeism and that is not possible when the public image of the Institution is connected to the riots and fights with police and army. The Orange Order, loyalist paramilitary groups and political parties have links between each other, but it seems like all of them want to be 'the one' that rescued unionism from drowning. Because of this power play there are many tensions within Ulster unionism and also the Orange Institution has failed to unify unionist people in the name of common interest. (Bryan 2000, 111-113.)

Because of the political and economic changes of Northern Ireland has the ritualistic behaviour and symbolism connected to it got a special meaning. After the collapse of the 'Orange state' Protestants lost many previously self-evident benefits and besides that the economic structure of societies has changed globally, which has had its impact also on Northern Irish society and especially on Ulster Protestants since they used to rule the economics of Northern Ireland. For Catholics it may have been easier to adopt to the new circumstances since they never really got to experience Ulster's economic glory, but Protestants proud of their achievements in the areas of industry and ship building have had difficulties to adopt to the situation that they are not needed in those

professions in such range as before, their social status has changed but not for better direction.

According to Cairns and Smyth (2001) people who feel themselves threatened or marginalized tend to construct symbolic worlds within which they can freely express their apartness from other symbolic worlds. Since the collapse of Unionist rule and signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement (agreement between British and Irish governments, which gave the Republic of Ireland a role in the government of Northern Ireland) have Northern Irish Protestants felt that their culture and political beliefs are under threat. This has made them to seek for help from the Orange Order, which has taken care of the symbolic world and political orientation of Protestants supporting unionism. Orange symbols displayed in its ritual marching culture represent values, beliefs and attitudes that compose the content of the whole community. Hence the Orange Order is seen as a representative of the Protestant community and an insult pointed to Orangeism is seen to be an insult to the entire Protestant community. The symbolic power of the Orange Order reaches all over the unionist part of Ulster's population. (3-5.)

The state of Orangeism seems to be in confusion, on the other hand members of the Institution are eager to leave it, but at the same time a part of Ulster's population wish more and more support from the Order for its agony. As stated before this can be explained with the help of class division. The support of the Orange Order comes now mainly from the older working class males who have been forced to fight for their jobs and social status with Catholic equivalents. The Orange Order is the last straw for Protestant working class to try to get back their social space controlled by symbolic means, such as parading ritual and symbolism used in it. Another part of the Protestant population joining and supporting the Order is young, musically orientated men. However, this seems to be something else than political statement, these men simply enjoy playing in the band and participating in band contests arranged in connection with parades.

“All my friends were in it, and to be with my friends, I had to join the band. All my friends had joined [the band], and then I just carried on from there, just learning the flute. At the start, I'd've maybe just been there because of my friends, but now that I'm

in the band, I'm starting to enjoy it. I enjoy parades that I go to as well. It's not the cause, as much as I enjoy it. I enjoy being out, you can make a night out of it by going out drinking as well."

"We're paying out of our own pocket to entertain, to go to competitions every weekend. What you're trying to do is be better than that band beside you. You're gonna go out there and do something different, that wee spark of difference that you have, and hopefully will get you more points than the other bands.[...] You know if you're pleasin' the crowd the whole way,...you're feeling brilliant..."

These two cuts from the interviews David Cairns has done with loyalist marching band members tell reasons why men join the bands. As far as these men are concerned, they do not seem to have any political or economic aspirations for being a part of the Institution or parades, reasons are purely social.

8. SOCIAL SPACE AND CLASS

Social field can be defined as a multi-dimensional space of positions constructed on the basis of principles of differentiation or distribution of properties. Agents on the field are divided in different groups according to the volume and the composition of the capital they possess. Classes can be defined on the basis of knowledge of the space of positions; people with similar interests represent similar position and class. (Bourdieu 1991, 229-231.)

There are two sides in the perception of the social world: objective and subjective. The objective perception of the social world is socially structured because the properties connected to agents or institutions cannot be perceived independently, they occur in certain combinations with certain probabilities. Also the subjective side of the perception is socially structured. Perception and evaluation in operation are formed by previous symbolic struggles and symbolic power relations can be seen in them. However, the objects existing in the social world can be perceived and expressed in different ways because they are not stable, but include certain vagueness. Uncertainty makes the plurality of worldviews possible, which in turn is the basis for symbolic struggles, struggles fought for the production and legitimating the own vision of the

world. These fights are actually battles over producing the meanings of the objects of the social world in general, not only with directly visible attributes but also by using references to the future or the past. (Bourdieu 1991, 234-235.)

Social world can be described as a symbolic system because it gets its contents through properties and the distribution of them. The logic of difference gives the symbolic system its form. The differences in life-styles and groups representing these different life-styles within the social space function as distinctive signs and since the difference is recognised and approved every practice is a sign of distinction. Distinction may be expressed in many different ways, for example, in ways of speaking or in refusal to marry anyone else than a person representing same social position as oneself. This kind of practices produces separations, which are meant to be perceived and recognised as natural and legitimate differences. (Bourdieu 1991, 237-238.)

Understanding of distinction and distance is necessity when wishing to understand the concept of social space. Social space is a set of positions that differ from each other, exist at the same time and determine in relation to each other. When putting together social space, groups or agents can be divided according to economic or cultural capital. To understand right the relations between social positions, behaving tendencies and stances it has to be remembered that the comparison is possible only between the systems, single features should not be compared to each other. In other words, cultural capital and economic capital form an entity that defines the final existence of the class or the group and the relationship between different groups. (Bourdieu 1994, 14-17.)

Social positions create certain life-styles and these life-styles make people choose certain things, which produces distinction. On the other hand, distinction is possible only if it is perceived by an observer who is capable of understanding it, hence she / he cannot be ignorant about the social space but has to have cognitive understanding about the situation. (Bourdieu 1994, 18-20.)

Bourdieu's theory of class struggle and distinction suits well to describe the situation of Northern Ireland. Although the struggle between classes is not traditional or same as in integrated societies it still exists. The speciality of Northern Ireland is that the classes are not just social classes. Classes are divided according to social position, religion and

political aspiration, as is everything else within Ulster. During the Protestant ascendancy the Protestant community was the ruling class and the Catholic community represented the lower class, although there was also the Protestant working class, for long there was no need to question the status of Protestants because Catholics did not have resources to fight back. Now that Ulster Catholics have got attention to their exploitation and improvements to their social status along that, Protestants have started to feel need for clearer distinction in order to maintain the previous distribution of social space.

Social space and class division are essential elements of Northern Irish conflict. The perception of social space has had to change while the society has changed. It can be said that the social world of Ulster has been under re-evaluation since the collapse of Stormont and the Protestant ascendancy. Until the 1970's the symbolic power, production and legitimating the vision of the world were under Protestants' rule but since the direct rule the situation changed dramatically. Up till 1972 naming of social objects was in loyalists' hands and they lived in a society following their own definitions of legitimate and good. Symbolic capital was invested in Protestant community and interests of loyalist people were naturally sheltered. Since 1972 it was no more obvious that Catholics were lower class citizens or did not have access to 'Protestant jobs', class struggle was ready to burst out.

Parades and loyalist symbols are a way of Protestant community to try to maintain the previously legitimate symbolic order. Or as mentioned before, it is in particular a way used by working class Protestants, educated, urban Protestants are more anxious to leave the Orange Institution and parading. For older, lower class Protestants the Institution and its symbolic power (nowadays more imaginary than real) seems to be the final line to preserve their status within the Northern Irish society. Parades and symbols are exactly to what Bourdieu (1991, 234-235.) refers to when writing about using not only direct attributions but also references to the past or to the future when struggling over the producing of meanings of the social world.

According to Bourdieu a class exists only in so far as the representatives feel that they are authorised to speak in its name. In other words it has to be possible to say: "the party is the working class", or "the working class is the Party" or "the Church is the Pope"

and vice versa. This is a way to empower the class within the political field. (1991, 250.) “The Orange Order is the Protestant people“ and “ the Protestant people is the Orange Order“. This equation can be seen as an aim of the Orange Order. As mentioned before the Orange Order as well as loyalist paramilitary groups and unionist politicians want to be ‘the one’ who managed to save Protestant people’s cultural heritage and kept them away from nationalist rule. The best possible status for the Orange Order is to be perceived as an institution representing the whole Protestant community and its interests. The Order may have been perceived like that for some decades ago and that is exactly what the Order and its present members want to enliven; to make the Protestant community look like an intimate and integrated community with one common interest, staying loyal to the crown and the Bible. And most importantly to make this vision legitimate by bringing the past to the present and claiming it to be what was and is supposed to be.

Working class gets its representation through the co-operation of the people who has an interest in believing that this class really exists and the people who think that they belong to this particular class. This co-operation has created a symbolic system, which includes symbols, slogans and emblems that make the class visible. However, this system could not live without believers, people who by believing in this idea give their representatives the power to reproduce the idea of the working class. (Bourdieu 1991, 250-251.) The Orange Order gives voice and a visible presence to the Protestant working class. The Orange Order is a representative of the Protestant working class, and the relation is symbiotic as is Bourdieu’s description of the relation between working class and its representative body, they need each other to exist. The Orange Order functions as a kind of trade union apparatus for Protestant working class.

9. CONCLUSION

Ritualistic behaviour and symbolism have an essential role in Northern Ireland’s social life. They seem to be two elements, which produce and maintain the communal polarisation within Northern Ireland. The members of Northern Irish society do not see each other as individuals but as members of communities (Ruane & Todd 1996, 313). Because of the communal division that has existed for so long, individualism has not had much of a role in Northern Ireland. Everything and everyone is defined through

religion and politics connected to that religious view. Both communities have their own vision about the past and the present as well as the future and those visions seem to clash. The symbolic struggle has been going on for so long that it seems to be impossible for both communities to give up their goals.

The Protestant community or to be more exact, the loyalists seem to be eager to hang on to the past which has been successful for them whereas Catholics are more keen to step forward and forget the past. It is probably impossible to forget the entire past of those two communities, but the way the Protestant community enlivens the past by parading and stressing their symbols referring to the historic defeat of Catholics, is unnecessary provocation. Since the Orange marches have lost their status as state's ritual have the Orangemen been forced to claim for their rights to be able to reserve the part of their culture that serves their own interest best. Since the Catholic residents have started to organise themselves to residents' groups opposing parades proceeding through their streets, it has been a challenge to the loyalist marchers to be able to show that they still have enough power to get their parades go through the 'traditional' routes.

'Respectability', 'tradition' and 'right to march' have been the arguments used by the loyalists to defend their parading. But as it shows in previous chapters of my work, 'respectability' seems to be long gone or at least educated, urban Protestants and Protestant politicians seem to think so because they have been eager to leave the Orange Institution. Paramilitary marchers and public violence connected to the parades have exposed the 'respectability' to be suspicious. 'Tradition' might be accepted as a ground for parading if it was admitted to include also political aspect but since it is claimed to be purely cultural and religious tradition that awakens opposition. There is no way that an objective observer could see parading and all the parading symbols without political meaning, if a person knows anything about Ulster's history and political background it is impossible to consider these showings of power as innocent tradition. 'Right to march' is based on human rights, Protestants see marching as one of their basic rights, and they have to be allowed to express their cultural heritage. This is true in a way but on the other hand where was the rights of the Catholic population when they wanted to express their cultural heritage or when they wanted equal opportunities in allocation of housing and jobs during the golden era of Protestantism? Well, yes it is wrong to deny rights of one community on the basis of injustice another community has experienced

but are Protestants ready to grant Catholics all the same rights they have? Although this is more of a rhetorical question since the question of equal rights is no more a question that Protestants alone can decide about. British government and nationalist MP's of Stormont have also their opinions to say; time of the unionist rule is over.

Ascendancy, territoriality, distinction and power formed to be basic concepts of my work wrapped around the theoretical ideas of symbolism and ritual. History of Ulster reveals the importance of the Protestant ascendancy; from 1920's to 1970's Orangeism was entirely legitimate, as were the Orange rituals and symbols. That period of approximately 50 years gave birth to the present conflict and its expressions. The dominant community of Protestants had no interest in giving the Catholic community any benefits or paying any attention to the discrimination suffered by Catholics. This ignorance was probably a result of the previous schisms between Ireland and Great Britain, since there has been some kind of struggle going on for hundreds of years and partition of Ireland was just another reason to keep on fighting. When the Republic of Ireland got its independence the chaos in the political atmosphere made it possible for Northern Irish Protestants to get their ascendancy almost as a gift. And they certainly received the gift with joy and pleasure. Not that it would have been somehow different if Catholics were the community who had all the power, I do not claim that they would have used their power better way but anyway in this case it was the Protestant community which got to rule the life of Northern Ireland.

Territoriality and distribution of social space are keywords that make Northern Ireland's troubles understandable. There is a strong sense of a local identity among Northern Irish people, especially in the rural areas but also in urban areas people identify themselves with their village or neighbourhood. Also the idea that the conflict is caused by people who do not belong to the community and do not have those values the members of the community have is connected to the local identity. However, the sense of locality is not so strong that it would be more important than the ethnic division; suspicions towards another community are so strong that locality cannot remove them, not even in the rural areas. The neighbourhoods in urban areas are not so mixed as in rural areas and because of that the local identity is often tied only to ethnic and political identity. Still there is a sense of locality that can be perceived in towns; Protestants from the Donegall Pass area

of Belfast may see themselves different from the Protestants from Sandy Row, even if there is only one road separating these areas from each other. (Bryan 2000, 13-14.)

The division of space has also caused the division between the people or vice versa, it is hard to say which one was first, divided areas or consciousness about two different communities. The people of Northern Ireland have learned to distinguish persons who do and do not belong to their own community. This ability to recognise 'us' and 'them' is called 'telling'. There are many different ways how to 'tell', for example name, school, accent, address, dressing or occupation are features, which help people to 'tell'. 'Telling' is a skill that people learn so that they can avoid conflicts in every day life; they know how to behave to sustain politeness when meeting representatives of another community. (Bryan 2000, 13.)

Politeness may be a goal for ordinary people in day-to-day life but that is certainly something that cannot be found from parading culture. Parades are about domination of space, domination through ritual and symbolism. Parades proceed through Catholic streets and often force Catholic residents lock themselves in their houses or flats, this again is one of the means for loyalists to show that they still have power over Catholic population. Besides the ritualistic marching the banners, flags, emblems, songs and slogans, all are a part of symbolic world both sides know, one of them approves and respects it another fears and hopes to get rid of it. However, the struggle is over the power, who gets to decide, who owes the resources or the capital that makes decision-making possible.

At some level it is possible to compare the history of the nation with the history of a human being. People tend to forget their childhood after they have experienced puberty. Teenage years cause big emotional and physiological changes in people's lives and those experiences somehow wipe away the memories of the earlier life. However there are many ways to help a person to remember his / her past: photographs, birth certificates, diaries, etc. Through this kind of narrative which creates a certain continuity to the life of the person he / she defines his / her identity. It is not quite same with nations as it is with individuals since nations do not always have accurate birthdays and days of death like people do, however the nations need to be reminded of their past as do the people. The existence and the continuity of the nation can be and often is

enlivened through a narrative told to the members of the nation. (Anderson 1991, 204-205.) Ulster loyalist parades and symbols refer to certain geographical places and historical events that are basic elements to form 'imagined community'. This narrative told by loyalist paraders, strengthen the feeling of the members of the community that the community really exists.

All in all, there are at least five functions for parades and parading symbols within Northern Irish loyalist community:

- 1) to integrate the members within the loyalist community,
- 2) to separate the members of the loyalist community from the members of the Catholic community,
- 3) to help the loyalist citizens define their identity,
- 4) to legitimate the world view which guarantees the best possible position for the loyalist community, and
- 5) to remind of the continuity of the community.

Studying of the loyalist songs has brought up all of these five functions parading and symbols connected to it seem to have. The lyrics of the songs have lots of implications to the integrity of the loyalist community, 'we', 'us', 'you and me'; pronouns of solidarity have been widely used and there is also references such as 'brothers and sisters' telling about the collective existing.

The struggle fought over the social space and class is exceptional in Northern Ireland. The Protestant working class has already had to give space for the Catholic equivalent, those two classes share the same job markets and social status (at least apparently), but Protestants still try to get back the situation where most of the Catholics had even lower social status than working class Protestants. During the golden era of Protestantism the class struggle was not visible; the setting where jobs were self-evidently allocated to the Protestants was legitimate, Protestants had no need to struggle and Catholics did not have resources to struggle.

Contemporary situation of Northern Ireland is both economically and politically very different from the circumstances prevailing from the 1920's to the 1970's. Still, the division of these two communities has existed through decades, no matter what has the

political climate been. Also the loyalist parading culture has lasted in spite of all the troubles it has gone through, especially during the last three decades. As has been stated before the need for the symbols and rituals has increased within the loyalist community since the crash of the 'Orange state'; direct rule, fair jobs legislation, Anglo-Irish Agreement, change in the economic structure of the society and probably many more things have affected on the two communities of Ulster.

Symbols and parading ritual are the last means for loyalists trying to keep their own crowds integrated and at the same time separate them from the 'other' community. Since the Protestant community does not have that obvious and legitimate power they used to have, they are trying to maintain their past image by showing their power in symbolic way; marching 'traditional' routes, singing sectarian songs, showing that they still can do what they want to.

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