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Introduction

Thomas Paul Burgess and Gareth Mulvenna

‘Flags’
‘Emblems’
‘The Past’

Like Macbeth’s three witches incanting ‘Double, double toil and trouble; Fire burn, and cauldron bubble’, these three seemingly insurmountable challenges continue to hinder the Northern Ireland peace process.

And for many, the responsibility for the impasse that scuppered the Haass talks and brought violent protest onto the streets of Belfast seems to lie directly with the apparent intransigence of the so-called and supposedly monolithic Protestant-unionist-loyalist bloc, or ‘PUL community’, and its apparent inability to embrace change in these matters. That this imagined ethnic bloc is itself riven with internal rancour and discord should come as no surprise. The term PUL itself is a modern concoction which has been used by commentators as shorthand to describe an entire community while reflecting the class and cultural differences inherent within it. While being far from a perfect moniker, the editors have decided that this acronym be used for the purposes of reference in this introduction.

Issues of social class, denominational alignment, political aspiration and national identity have historically divided what outsiders have often mistakenly viewed as a collective cultural, religious and sociopolitical monolith, a perception which could not be further from the truth. Allegiances between the main actors within the ‘PUL’ communities are tentative and rarely, if ever, enduring. Furthermore the mandatory coalition at Stormont has alienated and polarised a phalanx of opinion and allegiance across the entire unionist tradition.
Following the failure of the Haass talks, an exasperated Deputy First Minister Martin McGuinness claimed that the Orange Order, the Progressive Unionist Party and the Ulster Volunteer Force were ‘... one and the same thing’.\(^1\) He was roundly reproached by the Orange Order for doing so. Yet behind closed doors, McGuinness claimed, ‘mainstream Unionists’ agreed with his analysis.\(^2\) Whether this was an adroit political manoeuvre on his part – or the frustrated lament of a political pragmatist – what his comments did serve to reiterate was the gulf existing between those ‘mainstream Unionists’ with their hands on the levers of power and those ‘dispossessed’ whose core constituency lay within the loyalist working classes. These divisions were additionally exacerbated along socio-economic lines, as commercial and civic classes fiercely rounded on protesters who insisted, and continue to insist, that their political representatives are sleepwalking into an irredeemable diminution of their cultural identity.

It is arguable whether a single text could hope to exhaustively reflect the diversity of opinion and experience that exists within the PUL communities. Susan McKay, with her study *Northern Protestants*, attempted to do just that but ended up creating a deeply self-flagellating tome that failed to reflect the positive aspects of Northern Ireland’s Protestant communities.\(^3\) *Northern Protestants* was more a personal exorcism of Protestant self-loathing than a credible attempt to provide that community with a voice. Some participants felt let down by their representation in McKay’s book and viewed the work as an ‘opportunity missed’.

As co-editors of this book on Northern Ireland’s broad Protestant community we saw a unique opportunity to let people speak directly; whether they themselves were from a Protestant, unionist or loyalist background, or alternatively, were outsiders with an interest in Northern Ireland’s (and indeed Ireland’s) social and political progress. The book’s varied collection of insights and observations, drawn from an eclectic group of politicians, broadcasters, academics, artists and former paramilitaries demonstrates how we set out to ‘take the pulse’ of a grouping who are clearly struggling with the internal and external pressures and requirements of a transitional period in which previous certainties have been challenged, affecting all aspects of their place in the ‘new order’ of things.

While Irish nationalism translates more cohesively in a global context, it is true that in almost every aspect of civil society – sport; the arts; broadcasting; education; history and the relationship with our near neighbours in the Republic of Ireland and Great Britain (as well as further afield) – the ‘PUL community’ has presented a bewildering
diversity of opinion and affiliation that serves only to perplex those who seek to understand it. Unfortunately it is often those who are the most bellicose in reinforcing an easy negative stereotype who succeed in being afforded the chance to represent this collective’s true character to the wider world.

A brief journey through the contested identities

One of the most stubborn challenges to progress in Northern Ireland has been the conundrum of the Protestant working class and loyalism. Devoid of mature political leadership and with a devastating legacy of educational underachievement, drug abuse and violence it is frequently left to underfunded and often non-funded community workers to keep people in communities such as the Shankill, inner-east Belfast and Ballysally afloat. It has become apparent that many in Northern Ireland’s middle class and beyond would prefer that these people reside in a social and political cul-de-sac where they would remain, unable to tamper with the brittle peace that has formed since the ceasefires of 1994. In that respect Northern Ireland has created its very own ‘chav’ problem, whereby people who are on the fringes of society are easily parodied and easily dismissed. There is a sense however that the period in the wake of the ‘flag’ controversy has borne witness to something of a ‘loyalist spring’.

Previously voiceless constituencies have sought out the power of social media to convey their message. That it is unrefined at present is hardly the point – that the fledgling process of democratising social and political debate is underway is the real headline here. Of course, rather than welcoming this manifestation of popular expression from within one of its core constituencies, mainstream unionists had at first attempted to demonise and further marginalise this voice. Then, fearing electoral damage at the ballot box, they sought to placate it behind closed doors, much to the chagrin of republicans.

The most recent mobilisations by loyalist protesters at Twaddell Avenue and Belfast City Hall have been driven by groupings who understand more fully the role that media plays in the dissemination of their views. They have also taken a leaf out of the Sinn Féin playbook in embracing the agenda of the dispossessed and the marginalised, citing civil rights and liberties at every turn. The experienced journalist Malachi O’Doherty has written in this book about his involvement in media ‘workshopping’ with young loyalists. Many of these young people have found that their private lives have been amplified, distorted
and used as fodder by the local Sunday tabloids. The protests have led to an increasing climate of non-violent politicisation among young loyalists, yet the negative aspects of the Protestant working class appear to be of more interest to the hacks in the Sunday World and Sunday Life. O’Doherty’s chapter outlines the difficulties and frustrations encountered by young people in the loyalist community as they attempt to counter these negative stereotypes.

The high-profile role that women have taken in these protests is also noteworthy. In their contribution Ashe and McCluskey explore the complex processes through which PUL gendered identities are constituted and suggest that a continued analysis of gendered protests by unionist and loyalist women has the potential to draw out further insights about the impact of women’s political resistances on gendered-power relationships in the PUL community, which has been traditionally dominated by masculine narratives.

Additionally, the place of the Orange Order and Orange culture in Northern Irish society has moved to centre stage, particularly in relation to Parades Commission designations and subsequent stand-offs regarding territorial claims and rights. Rev. Brian Kennaway, a controversial commentator on the Orange Order, evaluates the Twelfth of July ‘flagship’ events and ‘Orangefest’ as a means of attracting tourists on what is generally considered to be a divisive and controversial date in Northern Ireland’s calendar.

And whilst the Order may at times appear outmoded, outdated and out of touch, there can be no gainsaying the important role that the marching band culture plays in the lives of young working-class loyalists in terms of community belonging and rites of passage. Sam McCready and Neil Symington present the case for the defence, highlighting the transcendence of meaning of the band culture for young people, above simple notions of perceived triumphalism. A tapestry of community emerges and the pieces illuminate the complexity of what culture means to the Protestant working class.

Nevertheless, old shibboleths have undoubtedly departed the scene. Previous convictions regarding the totemic leadership of Rev. Ian Paisley (in both a religious and secular setting) have been severely tested, not least by the revelations of Church and party infighting that emerged from a recent BBC television documentary. There is perhaps an even wider rift developing between the political classes and huge swathes of disaffected PULs. James Greer uses his chapter to demonstrate that ‘while unionism is in the midst of another cycle of its particular form of pessimism it is important to note it is not alone in struggling to
articulate a vision for the future, or an honest reckoning with the past. Across all communities in Northern Ireland economic peace dividends have been sporadic or insecure, and Irish nationalism and republicanism have many unanswered questions about their own Troubles narratives. The current political landscape may have secured an uneasy peace, and may be supported by an ethnic-bloc style of power-sharing, but recognition of its inadequacies is spreading', further stating that ‘Further afield, the constitutional reconfiguration of the UK and political and economic crises in the EU point to broader uncertainties and challenges. How unionism responds to these evolving local, British and European circumstances will dictate its future. A re-engagement with unionist history highlights the continuity and strong structural roots of old mindsets, but it also points to the potential for Ulster Protestants to move beyond the default-settings when facing the challenges of a rapidly changing world.’

Fundamentalist beliefs vie with progressive aspiration, secular realities with religious conviction. The hunger for practical, day-to-day political administration regarding jobs, health and housing is frustrated by a slavish allegiance to an unbending sense of identity which the community still perceives as being under attack from without and within.

Questions of Britishness, Irishness and Northern Irishness are still viewed as mutually exclusive and diametrically opposed. The battle for cultural supremacy raging within council chambers and media platforms has, for the most part, usurped the violent conflict of the past.

These restrictive alignments pay scant regard to a wider historical legacy that may actually offer liberation from limited and limiting national identities. In his chapter Eoghan Harris looks at a number of what he terms ‘moral milestones … which saw the South put aside its stereotypes of northern unionists and see them for the first time as fellow human beings and acceptable agents of their own history’.

Observers may have felt that the establishment of Irish language classes in the heart of Loyalist East Belfast, spearheaded by Linda Ervine, the sister-in-law of former UVF man and Progressive Unionist Party leader David Ervine,4 augured well for a more fluid embracing of identity and place. However, George Chittick, the Orange Order’s Belfast County Grand Master, was quick to denounce the move and dissuade Protestants from taking such classes, again revealing the scope of divergence and discord within the PUL communities. Indeed some argued that this resistance to embracing a traditional cultural facet of the ‘other’ community demonstrated that large elements of this community continue to be actively suspicious and hostile toward difference
6  *The Contested Identities of Ulster Protestants*

and change. In his chapter Robbie McVeigh casts a critical eye on the origins of these controversies and outlines the choices that he feels the PUL community faces for the future.

Whereas the largely Catholic constituency of Irish-America has managed to maintain a veneer of coherence and homogeneity, the Protestants of Ireland have been largely disowned or denied by their diaspora in the United States. The apparent confusion around designations of Scotch/Scots/Irish within the US and at home does little to ameliorate the problem. These debates are contained in the illuminating and essential contribution to this volume by John Wilson and Alister McReynolds.

Within the arts community, administrators and artists alike have struggled to represent or reflect an artistic expression that sits easily within the subdivisions of these communities. This is further exacerbated by the embarrassment and rancour engendered through Newtownabbey Council’s attempts to ban The Reduced Shakespeare Company’s ‘The Bible: the Complete Word of God (Abridged)’, on the grounds that it was blasphemous.5 Or DUP MLA William Humphrey’s claim that,

> The Protestant working class unionist community see their culture as culture, and the concept of ‘the arts’ is not something which the Protestant working class community in this city buys into at any great level.6

Such knee-jerk reactions on the part of influential faith-based minorities, and sweeping statements by elected representatives serve only to reinforce the accepted stereotypes of this community as anti-intellectual, backward-looking religious fundamentalists. Humphrey’s observation of course ignores the significant canon of artistic work by writers from a Protestant working-class background such as Sam Thompson, Graham Reid, Gary Mitchell, Robert Niblock and Marie Jones, among many others. Indeed the fact that, around the same time that Humphrey made this accusation, there was a Shankill ‘people’s history’ play entitled *Crimea Square* being staged at a venue only a few hundred yards from his constituency office, was a delicious irony; it was ignored by the media, who were only too keen to carry his words of admonishment and belittlement.

Stephen Baker’s contribution to this volume, ‘Loyalism On Film and Out of Context’, describes the fatalistic and negative stereotyping of working-class Protestants in television and film – a trend which is...
lambasted by figures such as Humphrey, but at the same time enabled by their entrenched outlook.

If there was once a narrow vision surrounding ‘little Eire’ during the de Valera years, that has perhaps been replaced by representations of a ‘little(r) Britain’ as ‘seen’ through the eyes of the loyalist working class in Northern Ireland. Baker appeals for loyalists to take the power back by representing themselves; getting involved in the arts. Again it is a question of confidence. How free from the shackles of traditional unionism is the loyalist working class?

Other contributors chose to represent their sense of PUL identity in terms of personal biography. In doing so they perhaps reveal a view of their homeland, their community and their identity that remains heavily rooted in past experience and nostalgia for simpler, more certain times. And whilst the state that they grew up in was certainly a sectarian one, it is salutary to learn how the change and upheaval they lived through influenced and affected individuals, setting them on particular life courses, informed by their notion of identity and duty.

Billy Hutchinson’s chapter in particular provides a more nuanced narrative describing his decision to join the fledgling loyalist paramilitaries in the early 1970s. While much emphasis is rightly placed on the victims of violence in Northern Ireland, little is known about the motivations and experiences of those who chose to pick up the gun. Hutchinson describes a normal childhood and British working-class way of life prior to the late 1960s and outlines how he believes that it was this very existence in itself which was under threat when republicans enforced their campaign of terror on the people of Ireland and Britain.

Graham Reid, from a similarly normal working-class background in Belfast, recalls the ‘big black cloud’ which the advent of violence heralded. Rather than pick up a gun, Reid chose the pen; and drew bittersweet but unsentimental portraits of Belfast’s Protestant working class. Enveloped by the great tragedy of tit-for-tat violence in Northern Ireland, the Martin family in Reid’s much-loved ‘Billy’ plays live out a life which is mired by domestic concerns – family, love, jealousy – rather than the contemporary scenario. For the first time the Protestant working class could see themselves portrayed on television in a manner which was similar to the great tradition of Northern ‘kitchen sink’ dramas played out by their counterparts in cities such as Leeds, Liverpool or Glasgow.

In conclusion, a work of this nature can but hope to reflect the central premise of the project; namely to explore somewhat the multifaceted aspects of the ‘PUL’ communities and by doing so, in some small way
encourage readers to question the stereotype, look beyond the lazy denunciation and reject the cliché. There are many complex facets informing the shared identities of these groups, some of which are visited here. However, as the old Ulster adage would have it, ‘If you’re not confused, you haven’t understood the situation’ and this certainly holds true for the often perplexing and frustrating portrayal of those ‘PUL’ allegiances and aspirations, reservations and antagonisms, that continue to be presented to the wider world in a dangerously oversimplistic manner.

June 2014

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2. Ibid.
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