

**CONSTRUCTION AND MAINTENANCE OF
POWER THROUGH RITUAL: THE
ORANGE ORDER AND ORANGE
PARADES IN NORTHERN
IRELAND**

by

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

For more than two centuries, the Orange Order has remained a dominant institution in Northern Ireland. The Orange Order's dominance is reflected in the Twelfth of July Parades. In addition, the dominant ideology of the Orange Order in Northern Ireland is symbolized through the Twelfth of July Parades. My study examines the ritualized practices that reproduce this ideology, focusing on the Orange Order in Belfast. Finally, this study focuses on very recent Northern Irish history, dealing with events that occurred during the past five years.

I first became interested in the orange parades in 2000. Although I have been interested in the conflict between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland for several years, it was not until I began working on a research project with two professors that my interest in the Orange Order and the Twelfth of July parades developed.

During my preliminary review of the literature I found several themes revolving around symbols of dominance. However, I did not find in-depth studies on the ways in which groups such as the Orange Order use ritualized activity to reproduce their dominant ideology. This led to the idea of examining the Orange Order and the way it uses ritualized behavior to maintain power.

The Orange Order

The Orange Order, a Protestant organization, was established in 1795 in honor of King William III, Prince of Orange, due to his victory over King James II. After the victory at the Battle of the Diamond on September 21, 1795, Protestants gathered together and declared their brotherhood in loyalty to the crown, the country, and reformed religion (www.grandorange.org.uk). The primary purpose of the development of the Orange Order was to preserve religious freedom for Protestants. Modeled after the Masonic Lodges, the Orange Order emerged during a time of sectarian friction as a religious organization (Cecil 1993).

During the early years of the organization, the members of the Orange Order were predominantly rural poor who came together due to a desire for religious ritual lacking in Protestant churches (Cecil 1993). During the 1870s, Orangeism was taken up by the bourgeois class who attained a hegemonic position in Ireland. Further, “Orangeism became ‘respectable’ and the ritual and symbolic manifestations of the Twelfth developed accordingly” (Bryan 2000:155).

During the early part of the twentieth century a major debate emerged in Northern Ireland revolving around the issue of home rule, an initiative that would allow Ireland self rule. The Orange Order played a key role in the anti-home rule campaign. From 1921-1972, the Orange Institution occupied a position of political power (Bryan 2000). Thus, the major political leaders in Northern Ireland, particularly Northern Ireland’s prime ministers, were Orangemen (only three members of the cabinet were not members of the Orange Order) (Bryan 2000). Additionally, “during much of this period Orange

halls were used as meeting places for unionist constituency associations” (Bryan 2000:60; see also Harbinson 1973:90-3).

History of Northern Ireland: An Overview

As previously stated, the Protestants supported King William III, primarily because he did not abandon the English state. However, during the seventeenth century, diversity among Ulster Protestants caused a division; that is, Protestants were not a monolithic group with a single set of ideas, but rather they were composed of various factions (Gillespie 1992). As the Presbyterian Church grew stronger in power, they developed an organizational structure, creating an identity as the main Church of Ireland. Yet, confusion among the general Protestant population continued (Gillespie 1992). As Gillespie (1992:133) observed:

More than anything else, Irish Protestants felt confused in the late 1680s... The economic and social situation and the breakdown of local government with the consequent rise in violence in the first half of 1689, combined with heightened religious sensibilities, as evidenced by the Catholic seizure of Protestant churches, had proved to Irish Protestants that James was unable to govern Ireland and that their only hope of economic and political salvation lay with a declaration for William – the last such declaration to be made in the British Isles.

The word “loyalty,” referring to Loyalist ideology, emerged during this time period. By 1689, a Protestant polarization was taking place (Gillespie 1992). For Unionists, the goal was to establish an Orange and Protestant state, obtaining the political power and patronage to rule councils and to run an elaborate program of discrimination in housing and employment (Farrell 1980). As a result, a Protestant state emerged and alienation and disaffection of Nationalists became a standard practice (Farrell 1980). This practice of alienation continued well into the twentieth century.

Twentieth Century Northern Ireland

As stated previously, during the early part of the twentieth century, a debate emerged regarding the issue of home rule, the initiative that would allow Ireland self governance. As a way to encourage Irish culture, two major organizations were developed. First, the Gaelic Athletic Association was started to encourage interest in Irish sports, and second, the Gaelic Athletic League began in an attempt to foster interest in the Irish language and literature, thus representing an emerging nationalism that was revolutionary in nature (Darby 1997). However, a crisis over Irish self rule was emerging as aspects of Irish culture were adopted by nationalists in the north of Ireland; that is, those who desired Home Rule were met with resistance by those who remained loyal to Britain (Darby 1997). Therefore, while Irish culture was being adopted by Nationalists in Northern Ireland, there were those that remained loyal to Britain and desired to maintain British rule in Northern Ireland.

Between 1906 and 1914, the seriousness of the crisis increased. As Darby (1997:26) remarked:

The quarrel was regarded in increasingly general geographical terms as one between the northern and southern parts of the country. Lip- service was paid to the existence of minorities within the enemy camps, but their causes did not receive really serious attention until the 1920s when their minority conditions had been confirmed within separate states.

A major issue regarding home rule revolved around the minority status of nationalists in Northern Ireland. Thus, if the Home Rule initiative passed, Catholics would outnumber Protestants in an Irish state. Therefore, it may be argued that the Protestant loyalist population in Northern Ireland would benefit from the failure of the Home Rule initiative. As Darby (1997:262) suggested:

The vast majority of the Protestants in the north of Ireland were bitterly opposed to home rule. 'Home Rule' is 'Rome Rule' was their slogan. They believed that under a Dublin parliament in which they would always be in a minority, their religion, their way of life and their economic interests would be endangered. And home rule aroused strong passions in Britain too, so that powerful elements there were ready to encourage and sustain the Ulstermen in their opposition.

As a result of the fears of Protestants in the north of Ireland, the anti-home rule campaign gained power (Darby 1997). Perhaps one of the most vocal anti-home rule organizations was the Orange Order which emerged to provide leadership to the campaign to prevent the Home Rule initiative from passing (Darby 1997). Thus, it was the anti-home rule campaign that changed the general attitude toward the Orange Order as a disreputable institution to that of a respectable group (Darby 1997).

In 1920, the Government of Ireland Act was developed proposing two states in Ireland. The first state would consist of the six northeastern counties and the second state would include the remainder of Ireland (Darby 1997). However, controversy emerged regarding the counties in Ulster (Northern Ireland); that is, traditionally Ulster was comprised of nine counties, yet in the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, Northern Ireland would consist of only six counties (Darby 1997). This would become a problem. As Darby (1997:26, 27) stated regarding the two sides competing over development of the Irish state:

Each was to have its own parliament to deal with domestic matters; each was to send representatives to Westminster; and a council of Ireland was to deal with matters of common interest...The size of the new state was a case in point. The borders between Ireland's had never been intended as anything more than local administrative boundaries, and fairly arbitrary ones at that. Now some of them became international frontiers. As to why six counties had been selected rather than four or nine or any other number, the reasons were unashamedly straightforward. They formed essentially the area which could be comfortably held with a majority in favour of the union with Britain. The traditional nine counties of Ulster

held 900,000 Protestants, most of whom supported the British connection, and 700,000 Catholics, most of whom wanted to end it. However, in the six counties which were later to become Northern Ireland, the religious breakdown was 820,000 Protestants and 430,000 Catholics.

By the 1920s, the Protestant State had fully emerged. One of the most significant forces in the birth of the Protestant State was the British government. “It was the British government that set up the Special Constabulary in 1920, and armed, supplied and even paid for the A, B, and C Specials until the boundary of the new state was confirmed in 1925” (Farrell 1980:325). Nationalists were only left with control of areas where the Catholic majority was so large that it could not be dispersed, even through gerrymandering (Farrell 1980).

The loss of control was a significant event for Nationalists as local government councils controlled the building and allocating of public housing and appointments to hundreds and later, thousands of jobs in an area of high unemployment, poor housing, and emigration (Farrell 1980). Further, Unionists who controlled Catholic areas were in a position to deprive Catholics of jobs and houses, giving local Unionist and Orange bosses a powerful source of patronage, thus maintaining Protestant support (Farrell 1980).

Catholics remained helpless. As Farrell (1980:97) observed:

The Catholic minority was deprived of political and economic power through gerrymandering and discrimination. If they turned to extra parliamentary agitation for redress, they were prevented or inhibited under sections of the Special Powers Act and later the Public Order Act. The Unionist government, by its maintenance of the Special Powers Act and by keeping the RUC as a paramilitary force, evidently expected the minority to turn to violence. When they did so they were ruthlessly suppressed.

While disputes were minor during the 1920s, specifically regarding the orange parades, during the 1930s, tensions between the north and south became stronger. For instance, the Twelfth of July 1931 was marked by conflict over orange and black parades.

The conflict appeared to revolve around a resolution warning of Roman Catholic propaganda. As Bryan (2000:65) observed:

Any sense in which the parades were proving uncontentious in the late 1920s seems to have dissipated in 1931 and 1932 as a number of factors raised the tensions between north and south. The Twelfth of 1931 had a resolution warning of the 'insidious propaganda of the Roman Catholic Church' and this was followed by conflict over Orange and Black parades in the south. Orangeism in the Free state had not been strong for many years but there were Orange lodges in counties such as Donegal, Monaghan and Cavan.

During the 1940s, there was an attempt to describe Northern Ireland as totalitarian as Protestant influence grew. "Populist Orange pressure was evident in the government's subsequent decision to augment the Public Order Act with the Flags and Emblems Act in February 1954" (Bew, Gibbon, and Patterson 1996). Further, a political crisis between the "traditionalists" and "modernizers" became more evident as economic tension between businesses grew (Bew, Gibbon, and Patterson 1996). Yet, for the Orange Order, this time remained the "golden era" for Orangeism (Bryan 2000).

As previously discussed, the fear of minority status remained at the core of disputes surrounding the Home Rule initiative. Thus, the fear of experiencing unequal treatment drove both sides to fight for what they perceived as their best interests. One of the major issues regarding inequality emerged during the 1930s and 1940s. The issue was education. As Darby (1997:28, 29) stated:

Education too was an area where Catholics felt bitterly that the system established by the Education Act (Northern Ireland) 1930 was one which had been tailored by Protestant pressure, producing a state education system which was in fact Protestant, and forcing Catholic schools to fund 50 per cent of the cost of education. In the administration of justice Catholics have long believed that the Special Powers Act, which

placed considerable emergency powers in the hands of the minister of Home Affairs, was aimed exclusively against the nationalist minority...Disputes about the extent of institutional discrimination, and about the reasons for it, have always been particularly bitter, but one point is clear. Far from resolving intercommunal suspicion and fear, the establishment of the state actually helped to make them more precise.

However, the Education Act of 1947 provided educational opportunities for Catholics; that is, free secondary education was provided, resulting in an increase in the number of Catholics continuing on to university (Darby 1997). While it may be debated whether these changes made a major impact in Northern Irish society, it can be argued that during the 1950s, Catholics in general, began to see their future in Northern Ireland as opposed to seeing their future in an all-Irish society (Darby 1997).

A major issue during the 1950s involved economic development. Several objectives were introduced in a national survey entitled *Economic Development* in which goals such as reducing unemployment and emigration were outlined (Lynch 2000). As a result, in the years following 1958, growth increased four percent as opposed to a growth rate of less than half of that figure in previous years (Lynch 2000).

In addition to economic changes during the 1950s, other issues were confronted. Confusion emerged regarding the foundation of the Orange Order. John M. Andrews, Grand Master of Ireland in 1950, commented on the confusion. As he stated:

There are a few Brethren who feel that we are exclusively a religious order. While I agree that we are mainly a religious body, the Order has been in the front rank for generations in preserving our constitutional position. The Orange ritual lays it down that it is the duty of Orangemen to support and maintain the laws and constitution. It is fundamentally important that we should continue to do so, for if we lost our constitutional position within the United Kingdom 'civil and religious liberty for all' which we are also pledged to support would be endangered.

The Orange Order represents a religious and patriotic organization committed to Protestantism and British rule in Northern Ireland. To become an “Orangeman,” one must have a “sincere love and veneration for his heavenly Father, and a humble and steadfast faith in Jesus Christ and he should honour and diligently study the Holy Scriptures” (Cecil 1993:154). The Orange Order remains anti-Catholic, yet does not encourage members to exhibit overt hostility towards Catholics. As Cecil (1993:155) observed:

An Orangeman seeks by all lawful means to withstand the spread of Roman Catholicism and an Orangeman is not married to and will never marry a Roman Catholic...An Orangeman is gentle and courteous, not acting with hostility towards his Roman Catholic neighbors, but seeing by his example and conversation to spread the Protestant faith.

During the 1950s, change was visible in Northern Ireland. However, during the period of 1966-82 major changes occurred in all parts of Ireland. As Whyte (2000:288) suggested:

The leading feature of the period 1966-82 in both parts of Ireland was the unprecedented pace of change. In Northern Ireland, change was most obviously political, with turmoil succeeding decades of outward calm, but important social and economic changes occurred as well. Northern Ireland in 1966 seemed on the way to a brighter future. Economically, it was progressing...Politically, too, the atmosphere seemed to be improving. Ever since its foundation, Northern Ireland has been sharply divided between a Protestant majority and a Catholic minority. The ethnic boundary was maintained by a lack of intermarriage, by separate education, and, in some places, by residential segregation. Political attitudes largely followed religious adherence, with Catholics generally favouring a united Ireland and Protestants supporting the maintenance of the link with Britain.

According to Whyte (2000), four major time periods illustrate the numerous issues facing Northern Ireland between the mid-1960s through the early 1980s. They are:

a) 1966-9, b) 1969-74, c) 1974-5, and d) 1975-82.

From 1966-9, the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, which primarily represented the Catholic minority, grew and demanded that unequal treatment of Catholics in Northern Ireland stop. The Association was not calling for an end to Northern Ireland, but rather the abuses inherent within it (Whyte 2000). However, the Protestant right wing, along with the police, viewed these attempts as a way to undermine Northern Ireland (Whyte 2000).

Between 1969-74, the situation grew more intense as confrontation between the unionist right wing and republicans escalated. It was during this time that the Irish Republican Army was preparing for another campaign (Whyte 2000). However, as Whyte (2000) points out, less radical elements were gaining political power on both the Catholic and Protestant side.

Although more moderate individuals were gaining political power, problems within Northern Ireland continued. From 1974-5, the British government attempted to allow politicians to work out an acceptable solution to problems in Northern Ireland (Whyte 2000). As Whyte stated:

In May 1975 a convention of seventy-eight members was elected, in which politicians of all shades could seek to agree on the future government of Northern Ireland. Agreement in the convention seemed not impossible. By the end of August 1975, a unionist negotiating team led by William Craig – who had hitherto been seen as one of the most intransigent unionist politicians – was exploring with the SDLP the possibility of a compromise on ‘voluntary coalition,’ which in effect meant that unionists would concede power-sharing for an experimental period, provided the SDLP put in abeyance their demand for a council of Ireland. However, the hope for an agreement was short-lived. During 1975-82, Northern Irish politicians reached an impasse in their struggle to reach an agreement about creating a more equal society (Whyte 2000).

During the time periods discussed above, one major issue encompassed every other issue experienced in Northern Ireland: politics. During the period between 1921-

1972, the Orange Institution gained political power, receiving 122 out of 760 seats on the Ulster Unionist Council while Catholics remained excluded from important roles in civil service (Bryan 2000). As Orangeism became more significant, the Twelfth of July became an increasingly important ritualized focus for the Unionist government, thus becoming a “State of the Nation” occasion (Bryan 2000). However, the Twelfth continued to represent an event in which diverse political interests were expressed (Bryan 2000). Although the interests of senior Orangemen generally reflected the government’s interests, particular sections of the Orange Order differed on some issues (Bryan 2000).

The 1970s and 1980s represented an unsettling time for Northern Ireland; that is, there was no peace. The Orange ideology was too deep-rooted to be defeated overnight and any suggestion of reform created Protestant backlash (Farrell 1980). Orangeism and Protestant supremacy became the reason for the increased state, thus producing Nationalist protest, forcing the British government into a dilemma – crushing Nationalists by force alone was failing, but power sharing did not seem feasible (Farrell 1980). The “Bloody Sunday” event of 1972, in which thirteen people were killed in the city of Derry (also referred to as Londonderry) during what started as a peaceful protest, represents an example of resistance by the nationalist community to give up the fight for fair treatment. Farrell (1980:333) states: “Britain will only withdraw when to remain seems likely to prove even more dangerous and costly.”

While Orange ideology was prominent in Northern Irish society, the nationalist community did not give up their struggle for equality. Their efforts often came in the form of protests. In 1981, perhaps one of the most noticeable protests occurred in Northern Ireland. Known as the “blanket protest” or the “dirty protest,” imprisoned Irish

Republican Army (it should be stated that the nationalist community is not the same as the republican community, yet during this protest, many members of the Catholic nationalist community joined imprisoned IRA members in the protest) members at the Maze Prison went on a strike in protest due to being stripped of their status as political prisoners. Although imprisoned with “common criminals,” the Irish Republican Army inmates were separated from the others, allowing them to be viewed as political martyrs. However, their “special” status was removed, meaning they would now be treated as other prisoners. Outraged, several IRA prisoners protested, refusing to wear prison clothes (they would simply wrap a blanket around themselves).

As the protest continued, several IRA prisoners decided to begin a hunger strike when it appeared that statements made by the prison officials and the British government indicated that a settlement would be reached. In the end, ten prisoners died as a result of starvation. However, in the midst of frustration experienced by the nationalist community, some success emerged out of the protest. The individual who began the protest, Bobby Sands, gained so much attention that he was voted into parliament, yet died at the same time. By 1982, both sides were still attempting to come to agreement. During the 1990’s cease-fire agreements, when an agreement was made between unionists and Republicans to resolve disputes through dialogue, a transformation took place. As Jarman (1996:40) claimed:

This transformation, initially the product of a shift in paramilitary tactics and currently enforced by the cease-fires, changes the point of engagement of the viewer away from the effects of violence onto the causes of it. This suggests a shift towards a representation of the contested ideological background to the Troubles, rather than a simplistic presentation of mindless criminal violence.

The transformation occurred as a result of the cease-fires. The focus shifted from violent acts to the ideologies of the conflicting parties.

Statement of the Problem

There is an unstable power balance in Northern Ireland that is reflected in the parades. Loyalist ideology has survived political and social change and continues to be a dominant force in Northern Irish society (Todd 1994). Furthermore, Loyalist ideology is reproduced in practice through parades, banners, and murals, born out of deep seated, irreconcilable conflict between Protestants and Catholics (Todd 1994).

The Orange Order, founded to symbolize Protestant loyalist ideology, is clearly defined through symbols via the Orange Parades. The Orange Parades have become a public ritual in a complex society and a tool used to symbolize Protestant dominance and power. Gestures of dominance are expressed during the parades as the Orange Order marches through predominantly Catholic neighborhoods (Kenney 1991). For instance, Protestants march in Cookstown, a town with a Catholic population that protests the marches. It is evident that both ritual and politics are integral components of the annual festival. Indeed, it may be argued that both politics and ritual contribute to the conflict and violence in Northern Ireland. As Kenney (1991:81) observed:

Both political aspects of ritual can be seen at work, influencing the course of the ongoing Northern Irish political crisis. The role of parades and micro-territoriality can be understood by examining the relationship of political ritual and political violence with the local social organization in Northern Ireland, with the groups, “quasi groups and non-groups” (Boissevain 1968) that organize and participate in the parades and the other ritual contexts of political conflict and violence.

Moreover, Rappaport (1979) contends that expressions of political power on the local level (i.e., Orange Parades in Belfast) influence outcomes on the national-international level, thus explaining the role of parades in fueling political violence and determining the course of political events.

However, the parades have not always been seen as a legitimate practice. After the 1930s, Northern Ireland experienced widespread anomie, resulting in an identity crisis within the Orange Order as members lost their focus regarding the goals of the Orange institution. In an attempt to restore their identity, Loyalists had to redefine Ulster (the center of loyalism) as part of the British culture rather than Irish culture (Todd 1994). Using a blend of high culture and folk tradition, the Orange Order continued the Twelfth of July parading tradition, publicly celebrating their British identity (Todd 1994). Part of the Orange Order's identity involves anti-Catholic sentiments, and in some cases, overt hostility.

I suggest that the Orange Order uses the Orange Parades to express their hostility toward Catholics. It appears that this ritual has prevented violence in that the Orange Order verbally expresses hostility rather than engaging in overt violence. However, it may also be suggested that the Orange Parades have prompted violent responses from Catholic organizations.

Although research indicates that the Orange Order uses the Orange Parades as a mechanism to express their hostility toward Catholicism, it also appears that the Orange Order fears Catholic uprisings. It may be argued that the Orange Order marches through Catholic neighborhoods in an effort to make their presence known through this gesture of

power, thus coping with the perceived threat to the current political order of Northern Ireland.

As previously stated, the Orange Order remains a dominant institution in Northern Ireland. However, local level aspects of social life in Northern Ireland have received little attention; that is, social scientists have paid little attention to the rituals of the Orange institution and the role the members play at the local level in Northern Irish society (Kenney 1991). Rituals, internal relationships, and dominance are the foundation of the Orange Order.

For this dissertation, I examine the Orange Order and Orange Parades, focusing on the way power is manifested and maintained by the Orange Order through processes involving social ritual. Specifically, I ask how does the Orange Order use or modify the Orange Parades to maintain their dominance in light of the changing political climate of Northern Ireland?

Power

Several definitions of power have been developed. For instance, some identify power as the ability to make laws, regulate and preserve property, and employing force within the community in order to preserve property (www.plsc.uark.edu). Others define power strictly as it relates to a political system. Thus, political power may be defined as

The power of the state, body politic, or civil government, operating under the forms of law, and compelling, or threatening to compel subjection to its requirements by physical force. It comprehends every description of influence founded on the authority of the State, which either applies or threatens to apply physical coercion (www.adinballoon.org).

Further, political power is strictly concerned with keeping things as they are and this can be influenced by things such as religion (www.adinballoon.org).

For the purposes of this study, power will be defined as the ability of a group (i.e., the Orange Order) to fulfill its goals despite resistance from others. This may incorporate aspects of political power as the goal of many groups is to maintain things as they are and in the case of the Orange Order, this may be influenced by religion.

Theoretical Framework

To better understand the social dynamics occurring in Northern Ireland, I employ structural ritualization, a theoretical perspective examining the use of ritualized practices by actors in society. Thus, I study the extent to which a particular group, such as the Orange Order, uses ritualized activity to produce certain outcomes.

A related goal of this dissertation is to determine what themes emerge through certain ritualized activity. Therefore, I analyze the specific outcomes and themes the Orange Order produce through activities such as the Orange Parades (there are approximately 3,000 parades each marching season, yet I focus on the Twelfth of July parade in Belfast as it is the most important). In other words, I examine the dominant ideology of this group and how it is reproduced through ritualized activity.

By utilizing the theory of structural ritualization, I investigate the dominant nature of the Orange Order as it is expressed through ritualized activity. In order to study the power of the Orange Order, which is demonstrated in the Orange Parades through structural and strategic ritualization, the historical development of the group must be understood.

The dominance of the Orange Order emerged out of loyalty to the British Empire. Unionists (Protestants) had to convince the British government that they were a legitimate part of the British state and not just Irish (Jarman 1997). Furthermore, they had

to redefine Ulster, the center of Unionism, as being part of the British culture rather than Irish culture (Jarman 1997). Combining cultural aspects and tradition, the Twelfth of July Parades is a ritual celebrating loyalty to Protestantism and Britain (Jarman 1997).

Social relations in Northern Ireland are often referred to as the Protestant/Catholic conflict, reflecting an intense Protestant opposition to Catholics. Furthermore, a high level of social distance exists between Protestants and Catholics. The practice of parading serves to bring people of the same faith closer together, thus intensifying the social distance between Protestants and those of other faiths, and dramatizing the differences between the two groups (Jarman 1997). According to Todd (1994), these differences are irreconcilable. “The central binary opposition is ‘Ulster Protestant versus native Irish Catholic,’ with an unremitting power struggle posited and the only alternative to defeat and humiliation seen as dominance” (p. 69).

Internal Organizational Structure

To more fully understand the Orange Parades as a ritualized practice, I examine the internal organizational structure of the Orange Order. I look at the ways in which the internal organizational structure influences the ritual practices of the Orange Order. I am particularly interested in the hierarchical structure of the Orange Order and the rank of the members of the organization. For instance, does the organization contain an internal authority hierarchy, steering committee, or employ a voting process among all members? And, do subgroups, factions, and/or cliques exist and exert an influence over the making of major decisions including those dealing with ritual activities such as parades.

Summary

To summarize, the key argument of this dissertation is that the organizational structure of the Orange Order influences the power of this group which is maintained through ritualized activity. Receiving particular attention is the nature of these ritualized activities (e.g., parades), their social dynamics, and the ways they influence actors and the Orange Order as a whole.

The next chapter will provide a survey of the literature regarding the Orange Order and Orange Parades. Particular attention will be given to the relationship between ritual and power, focusing on the way the Orange Order uses the parades to construct and maintain dominance in Northern Ireland. Further, a general discussion of the Orange Order and Orange Parades will be presented.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Research focusing on orangeism addresses several important themes regarding the parading tradition. This chapter provides a discussion of five major areas of orangeism. They include: a) rituals/parading in general, b) rituals relating to power, c) the Orange Order, d) the Orange Parades, and e) the need for further research.

Several key studies are discussed in this chapter in relation to the five areas stated above. In one study on the Orange Order, Buckley (1998) examined identity and power and the meanings of symbols relating to each of these concepts. This research is an integral part of the effort to understand the use of symbols by the Orange Order. In yet another study, Bryan (2000) provided an in-depth discussion of the Orange Parades, thus providing a foundation for further analysis of the relationship between ritual and power. Moreover, Leichty and Clegg (2001) focused on the consequences of sectarianism, and Keating (1996) examined the relationship between ritual and power in the Orange Parades, focusing on sectarianism. These studies provide a valuable assessment of sectarian beliefs and how such beliefs affect orangeism and Northern Ireland. Finally, Jarman and Bryan (1999), McIntosh (1999), and Bryan (2001) identify the ways the Orange Order has sought power through politics. Jarman and Bryan (1999) examined traditional parades as being directly related to power, focusing on the solidarity and

cohesion of the Orange Order. Bryan (2001) studied the importance of the Twelfth of July and the relationship between ritual and power.

In addition to research focusing on the relationship of ritual and power, several scholars have examined the Orange Order as an organization. Haddick-Flynn (1999), Jarman (2001), Jarman (1999), Bryan (2000), and McAllister (2000) have contributed to a growing body of knowledge regarding the Orange institution. In one study, Haddick-Flynn (1999) looked at Protestant loyalty. Jarman (1999 & 2001) examined the importance of culture, focusing on such areas as Orange banners and other important displays of Protestant faith and British loyalty. Further, Bryan (2000) studied the structure of the Orange Order, thus providing important information regarding the inner workings of the organization. Finally, McAllister (2000) examined the concept of religious liberty as a common theme in Protestant churches. And, McAllister (2000) analyzed the Orange Order's position regarding religious liberty, providing a detailed description of the meaning of such freedom to the Orange Order.

In sum, research on the Orange Parades focuses on three major areas. They include: a) Protestant culture and history, b) bands, and c) types of parades. Darby (1997), Jarman (2001), and Keating (1996) examined parading as part of Protestant culture and history. Bryan (2000) studied types of parades and types of bands.

Rituals/Parading: A General Discussion

Rituals play an important role in society. Ritualized behavior may be engaged in for the purpose of having recreational activity or people may participate in rituals as a means of bringing about social change. On the other hand, they may engage in ritualized activities in order to maintain the current social or political structure.

In most instances of ritualized behavior, certain ideas are expressed. For instance, during the Fourth of July in the United States, the annual ritualized activity of fireworks demonstrates the idea of American patriotism. However, rituals may express many different ideas. As Wolf (1991:1) observed:

Ideas have been used to glorify or criticize social arrangements within states, and they have helped warriors and diplomats to justify conflicts or accommodations between states. Ideas have furnished explanations and warrants for imperialist domination and resistance to it, for fascism and antifascism, for holy wars and the immolation of infidels. They also reach into our everyday lives: they inform discussions about 'family values,' prompt some people to scare their neighbors by burning crosses in their yards, cause believers to undertake long pilgrimages to Mecca or Lourdes or to await the Second Coming in a Rocky Mountain retreat.

Although many types of ritualized activities exist, the practice of parading represents a particularly striking ritualized behavior. In a parade, two basic categories of people exist: a) those who directly participate in the parade, and b) those who participate as spectators. As Kenney (1991) suggests, parades may be described as social dramas, representing symbols and culture. However, parades may also display power. Thus, parades may reflect the political power of certain organizations. For instance, parades may be used to maintain dominance and power, resulting in attempts to structure political processes (Kenney 1991).

As previously stated, parades represent symbols and culture as they are social dramas. In many societies, parading remains an important aspect of culture. In addition to the cultural displays, parades bring about unity through a festive environment and this can reflect certain cultural beliefs, as well as dominance, power, and religion, among other things.

Rituals Relating to Power

As previously stated, rituals play an important role in society. During times of peace, rituals may be routinized, becoming an image of the state (Mach 1992). However, power can influence ritual, particularly during periods of social conflict. As Mach (1992:50) states “it is only when social conflict becomes open that routine behaviour acquires meaning for participants, and then traditional patterns may be changed.” Rituals may also act to keep conflict within tolerable limits or they may be a mechanism for preventing conflict from regularly ending in violence (Kertzer 1988).

Although rituals may act to prevent violence, the literature suggests that they are generally used (when related to power) to express intergroup hostilities. “For as long as intergroup hostilities have existed, rituals have been used to express them...Such rights identify the enemy, recounting their moral inferiority while glorifying the celebrant’s own group” (Kertzer 1988:130). As a result, ritual may, at times, directly prompt violence.

Engaging in ritual activity provides the mechanism to cope with threats to the political order (Kertzer 1988). Security is based on the symbolic construction of reality created by the dominant group. When an opposing group threatens the symbolic construction, a crisis may arise (Kertzer 1988). For the dominant group to survive a periodic crisis, survival mechanisms must be available. Ritual serves as one such mechanism (Kertzer 1988).

According to Wolf (1999), power represents an aspect of all human behavior; that is, it is not separate from human behavior, and therefore, can be seen through displays. Further, as Wolf (1999) suggests, power can be structural. “By this, I mean the power

manifest in relationships that not only operates within settings and domains but also organizes and orchestrates the settings themselves, and that specifies the direction and distinction of energy flows” (Wolf 1999:5). In that regard the Orange Order, according to Bryan (2000), gained a high position of power when they gained control of the ritualized practice of the Twelfth of July parades, resulting in the ability to influence politics and the social structure of Northern Ireland. As Kenney (1991:80) observed, “parade organization and customs structure the political views and tactics of actions but are simultaneously used by them to achieve both official and unofficial publicly stated as well as covert, political goals.” Moreover, Jarman (1997) argues that Orange Parades are the crucial element in maintaining Protestant power in Northern Ireland, and parading continues to remain the most significant means of asserting political dominance and collective identity in Ulster.

Whether it involves Orange Parades or other activities, the literature suggests that symbols are an essential aspect to ritualized behavior. Cohen (1969) examined symbols and their relationship to power, suggesting the challenge is the “analysis of this dynamic involvement of symbolism, or of custom, in the changing relationships of power between individuals and groups” (p. 219). Thus, symbols and ritual have been used in the articulation of political groupings and power relationships, expressing types of interpersonal relationships, as well as, being involved in the articulation of large-scale political groupings (Cohen 1969). However, as Cohen (1979) later points out, most politically significant symbols are nonpolitical, suggesting that the less obviously political a ritual, the more effective it is. Several researchers have contributed to the

growing body of literature on symbols, ritual, and power, providing examples of these phenomena.

Cecil (1993) provides a specific example of research on symbols and power, examining religious rituals (the Protestant/Catholic conflict). She suggests that the relationship between Protestants and Catholics may at best involve fear; that is, Protestants may fear Catholic uprisings, yet it most likely involves the Protestant belief that Catholics are the enemy. The Protestant identity and feelings toward Catholics are expressed during the marching season. “In the case of 12 July, for example, not only is an historic event commemorated, but a statement of contemporary political dominance is expressed. Throughout Northern Ireland political ascendancy at a local level is expressed by the activity of marching” (Cecil 1993:164).

Power relationships represent, or are an aspect of, nearly all social relationships (Cohen 1969). The continuity of a group, in a relationship of power with another group, is maintained through group symbolism, particularly through symbolism of authority which the group manipulates (Cohen 1969). As Cohen (1969:220) observed:

Social relationships develop through and are maintained by symbols. We ‘see’ groups only through their symbolism. Values, norms, rules, and abstract concepts like honour, prestige, rank, justice, good and evil are made tangible through symbolism, and men in society are thus helped to be aware of their existence, to comprehend them and to relate them to their daily life. Symbols also objectify roles and give them a reality which is separate from the individual personalities of their incumbents.

The literature suggests that a group may manipulate symbols of authority, expressing this through ritual activity such as a festival. Hunt (1988) contends, from a Durkheimian perspective, that festivals emphasize consensus, creating social solidarity through ritual.

Additionally, according to the research on Northern Ireland, it may be argued that Protestant (as well as Catholic) rituals reify sectarianism in Northern Ireland, thus perpetuating the power structure in Northern Irish society. According to Leighty and Clegg (2001), the reification of sectarianism creates a forum whereby members of a particular group can struggle against a shared enemy. For the Orange Order, the shared enemy represents those who fight for a united Ireland and those who attempt to prevent Orange Parades from taking place. However, sectarianism comes with a price. As Leighty and Clegg (2001:16) stated:

Reflection on sectarianism as a system reveals just how high are the costs attached to it. The pervasive nature of sectarianism means that social relations are too often tainted and stunted, sometimes in obvious ways, sometimes subtly.

The result has meant damage to political progress; that is, when the people of Northern Ireland are unable or unwilling to live at peace with each other in new political structures, sectarianism becomes systemic, thus rendering well-meant actions null and void. This then contributes to the cycle of poor social conditions, possibly leading to violence (Leighty and Clegg 2001).

In perhaps no other arena, according to the literature, is the relationship between ritual and power in Northern Ireland more visible than in the Orange Parades. Researchers have suggested that the Orange Order marches through predominantly Catholic neighborhoods in an effort to intimidate residents and deter Catholic rebellion. As Keating (1996:27) argued:

The Orange Order sponsors marches through Catholic neighborhoods in an effort to deter Catholic rebellion. Many of the marches reaffirm the historical ancestry of the community and often their historical battles to

defend their community against the Irish. During one annual march, Protestant marchers usually wear black derby hats and purple colarettes with the slogan “No Surrender.”

Further, Jarman and Bryan (1999) suggested that traditional parades are directly related to political power in Northern Irish communities, thus providing solidarity and cohesion to members of the particular Orange Lodge. Moreover, such traditional parades provide a way for members to display power, authority, and strength through celebration and entertainment (Jarman and Bryan 1999). However, these events may also serve as a warning or challenge to other segments of society. This may explain why parades have been so widely utilized in Northern Ireland to display strength and power and to assert control over space (Jarman and Bryan 1999).

Researchers contend that while the Orange Order participates in approximately 3,000 parades each marching season, displaying Protestant identity, strength, and British loyalty, decisions regarding parades and parade routes are not always in favor of the Orange Order. When a parade is banned or re-directed, it directly affects the power and dominance of the Orange Order. Thus, decisions made to ban a parade have been viewed as a government policy of appeasing the Nationalist population (McIntosh 1999). As a response to Royal Ulster Constabulary decisions to ban or re-direct a parade, members of the Orange Order have sought power in the political arena. As McIntosh (1999:125) observed:

In direct response, in the elections at the end of the coronation year, seven independent unionists challenged the government, standing on a platform of “ultra-loyalism,” and anti-Catholicism, and social and economic populism.

Although parade disputes remain an element of the marching season, the literature still suggests that no event participated in by members of the Orange Order has more importance than the Twelfth of July Parades. As Bryan (2001:25) suggests:

Among all the commemorative events in Northern Ireland, none has quite such a galvanising effect on communal politics as the Twelfth of July. It is on that day that thousands of Orangemen take to the streets, accompanied by a variety of types of bands, and carrying flags and banners symbolising a British, Protestant “heritage.” Spectators watch and cheer as Orange lodges parade images that constantly hark back to the past, chief among them being the picture of William III, Prince of Orange, astride a white horse at the Battle of the Boyne in the process of defeating Catholic King James in 1690.

Yet, as Bryan (2001) suggested, the Twelfth of July also represents a time when many Catholics and some Protestants feel alienated or threatened by the presence of the Orange Order in their neighborhoods. As a result, many Catholics and some Protestants plan their holiday, leaving Northern Ireland, during the Twelfth of July (Bryan 2001).

In addition to studies focusing directly on the Orange Parades, several classical sociological theorists have discussed ritual and power. For instance, Durkehim focused on religion, identifying the sacred or beliefs and rites. Aron (1999) discussed Durkheim’s views, stating that “religion hence presupposes the sacred into a group; finally, rites or practices which proceed in a more or less logical manner from the body of beliefs” (p. 48). Moreover, religion is identified as an independent system of beliefs and practices, providing unity for followers, thus it is a part of a moral community (Aron, 1999).

Furthermore, Aron (1999) suggests that according to Durkheim, “society favors the rise of beliefs because individuals, brought together, living in communion with one

another are able in the exaltation of festivals to create the divine, as it were, to create a religion” (p. 58).

In addition to Durkheim, Weber also focused on religion. However, Weber examined the Protestant ethic and spirit of Capitalism. Specifically, Weber investigated the relationship between the Protestant ethic and spirit of Capitalism, focusing on economics and religion (Aron, 1999).

Whereas Durkheim focused on religion and rituals, Marx identified society as a system revolving around conflict. Marx’s decisive idea is that:

Human history is characterized by the struggle of human groups which will be called social classes, whose definition remains for a moment, ambiguous, but which are characterized in the first place by an antagonism between oppressors and oppressed in the second place by a tendency toward a polarization into two blocs, and only two. (Aron, 1999:150, 151)

All three of these classical theorists present ideas that are relevant to the current study. My research focuses on religion, ritual, and power, conflict, and inequality, thereby incorporating elements of each of the classical theorists discussed above.

The Orange Order

The Orange Order is different from other religious organizations as it expresses loyalty to the Protestant faith in a very visual and controversial way (Haddick-Flynn 1999). As Jarman (2001:13) noted:

Orange culture has remained important in Northern Ireland, not simply because of its perceived longevity but because it has been a dynamic culture, which at key times of political transformation has continued to look both forward and backwards. It has adapted old styles, forms and techniques to new times, and allowed them to change while appearing to stay the same.

Moreover, McAllister (2000) suggested that one of the most, if not the most, common themes regarding Protestant churches is the concept of liberty. As such, the Orange Order has proclaimed that it stands for religious freedom for everyone and this includes religious expression. As McAllister (2000) suggested this remains a key debate in the banning of parades; that is, marches such as the Drumcree parade carry major significance for Protestants. Thus, when Protestants are informed that they cannot march down Garvaghy Road, they feel they are being denied their freedom – a basic right (McAllister 2000). As such, they often react in a violent manner to this prohibition. As McAllister (2000:851) observed, “to deny freedom to people living with a Protestant world view is to remove their ability to act morally. Lack of freedom is a moral threat with potentially dire consequences.”

The literature indicates that the Orange Order was founded to celebrate the Protestant faith and proclaim loyalty to Britain. As previously stated, the major expression of Protestant identity and Protestant pride occurs on the Twelfth of July in honor of William’s victory over King James II. To reiterate the previous statements regarding religious freedom, it is vital to the Orange Order to freely march using traditional routes.

Moreover, the literature suggests that when members of the Orange Order parade, it represents an expression of Protestantism and religious freedom, as well as, loyalty to Britain. One of the primary methods for expression is the banner. During Orange Parades, members carry banners depicting symbolic messages such as an open Bible or Prince William riding a white horse. As Jarman (1999:vi, vii) remarked:

The images reflect the interests of their respective groups and also serve to help define that group. Orange banners display subjects related to

Protestant faith and British nationality, but at the same time the sense of British identity is defined by the subjects on display.

Further, Jarman (1999) state that the banners serve as a visual commemoration of the massacre of Protestants in 1641 at Portadown.

According to experts on Northern Ireland, while the images displayed on banners symbolize key events in Northern Irish history, they represent much more; that is, they in part contribute to the identity of the Orange Order. Thus, members of the Orange Order have, in part, created an identity through the banners (Jarman 1999). For instance, one lodge may choose to display a certain image while another lodge displays a different image. According to Jarman (1999), these lodges may lay claim to the image they display.

The literature also suggests that the Orange Order is geographically structured into various hierarchical levels including private, district, and county lodges. At the top of the structure is the Grand Lodge. In his major work, *The Orange Parades*, Bryan (2000) discussed the structure of the Orange Order:

Each lodge elects a number of officials annually, usually in September. The most important of these is the Master, the symbolic head of the lodge, but the lodge also has a Deputy Master, a Secretary, a Treasurer, a Chaplain, a lecturer and a number of "Tylors." These roles can change on a regular basis although it is not uncommon for an individual to hold a position for a number of years. The "Tylor" controls entry to and from the lodge meetings, with movement to and from the lodge room being allowed by the use of a password or a particular knock on the door. The Orange Order still has many of the trappings and rituals of what might be described as a "secret society."

It is important to note that researchers suggest that the structure of the Orange institution remains egalitarian and the authority structure remains weak. Thus, according to the literature, the Grand Master does not have a high level of power within the organization (Bryan 2000). However, the Grand Lodge serves as an important link

between county, district, and private lodges and the media as the Grand Lodge (particularly the Grand Master and Executive Officer) publicly answers for and defends the institution (Bryan 2000).

While the Orange Order is regarded by members as primarily religious and patriotic in origin, researchers on Northern Ireland argue that the Orange institution in Northern Ireland is also political (Bryan 2000). According to Bryan (2000), reasons given for joining the Orange Order may be grouped into three categories. They include: a) religious, b) political, and c) cultural identity. However, the literature suggests that the most common reason reported for joining the Orange Order centers on its religious significance (Bryan 2000). Further, the religious significance of the Orange Order is seen as a part of folk culture as the rituals and music are distinctive to Ulster (Bryan 2000).

Although research suggests that the main reason people give for joining the Orange Order is religious, the political aspect of the institution must be considered when analyzing the structure of the organization. For some, according to current research, joining the Order represents an act of sectarianism – a statement that they are pro-Protestant and anti-Catholic. According to Bryan (2000:108):

This discourse could be described as overtly sectarian or openly anti-Catholic, it is a discourse that reveals a distrust or hatred of Catholics. This is not the response of “respectable” orangeism and not the impression that most Orangemen want to give to an anthropologist, journalist, or anyone else enquiring about their orangeism. Most Orangemen do not see themselves as sectarian. Some Orangemen will explain at length that whilst the Institution opposes the false doctrines of the Roman Catholic church it is not sectarian... In fact it is common for Orangemen to go out of their way to tell stories that seem to prove the good relationships that they have with Catholics.

The Orange Parades

According to the literature, parading represents for members of the Orange Order a time when Protestant culture and traditions are celebrated. Further, the parades provide an avenue for Orangemen and women to commemorate the victory of Prince William at the Battle of the Boyne, a victory that helped create Protestant domination today. For members of the Order, parading is a right. As Darby (1997:93) observed:

In Northern Ireland the fondness for demonstrations and marches provides a predictable cycle of such confrontations. Orangemen claim the right to march, especially in the weeks leading up to their traditional celebrations on 12 July. Their claim is based on precedent – that they have marched certain routes for decades – and on what they regard as a basic right “to walk the Queen’s highway.”

While researchers contend that the majority of Orange Parades are loyalist in nature, several different types of parades exist. Jarman and Bryan (1996) developed a typology of parades representing the annual parading season. In all, they identified eight types of parades. They include: a) main annual commemorative parades, b) local parades, c) feeder parades, d) church parades, e) arch, banner, and hall parades, f) social parades, g) occasional parades, and h) competitive band parades (Bryan 2000).

According to the literature, the main annual commemorative parades are the focal celebration for the Orange lodges and the Royal Black Institution (the elite group of Orangemen). For the Orange Order, the Twelfth of July represents the main annual commemorative parade and for the Royal Black Institution, the demonstration at Scarva on the thirteenth of July is the main event (Bryan 2000).

Local parades include mini-twelfth of July parades or pre-twelfth of July parades, occurring between the middle of June up to the Twelfth of July. According to Bryan

(2000), these types of parades have grown in importance for the Orange Order, increasing in numbers since the mid-1960s. Prior to the troubles, mini parades were conducted with members of a lodge carrying banners to the lodge master's house. However, as Bryan (2000) suggested, when the troubles commenced, local parades were replaced by one district parade to relieve problems for the police. However, during the 1980s and 1990s, mini parades re-appeared and have continued, including celebrations in Portadown where sectarian hostilities remain high (Bryan 2000).

Another type of parade, according to the literature, is the feeder parade. A feeder demonstration involves a combination of a local parade and a main parade. As Bryan (2000:120) stated:

Many lodges, and most Districts have small parades in their own area before leaving to travel to a main commemorative parade, and have another parade on their return...In Belfast, the feeder parade leads directly onto the main commemorative parade...However, in country areas the feeder parade will start at a lodge hall and take a route through the village to the buses that will transport the lodges and bands to the main parade.

According to Bryan (2000), church parades represent yet another type of Orange Parade. Based on his research, Bryan (2000) concluded that although church parades are an important ritualized practice, they differ slightly from the other forms of parading. According to Bryan (2000), during church parades, members of the loyal lodge gather at the Orange hall and parade to the church for the religious service. Church parades differ from traditional parades in that no banners are carried. In addition, bands are asked to be more respectful in their music selection. As Bryan (2000:120) observed, "while bands do accompany lodges on church parades they are asked not to play party tunes and it is often the accordion and more respectable bands that are arranged for these occasions."

The research suggests that arch, banner, and hall parades, sometimes part of a mini-twelfth parade, represent the opening of a new Orange hall or the introduction of a new banner or Orange arch. During this type of parade, Orangemen and women parade through neighborhoods surrounding the Orange hall. Upon completion of the parade, members gather around a stage where speeches are made. Further, religious services are often conducted (Bryan 2000).

According to the literature, social parades are carried out by junior lodges and women's lodges. These parades do not take place to commemorate any particular anniversary. Social parades are:

organized by the Junior Orange Institution on Easter Tuesday, in May and June, a number of parades organized by the women's Orange Institution, the Apprentice Boys parade on Easter Monday are not related to any particular anniversaries (Bryan 2000:120, 121).

Another type of parade, according to Bryan (2000), is the occasional parade. Occasional parades are primarily organized and carried out for a specific event. For instance, an occasional parade might be carried out for a bicentenary celebration (the bicentenary of the Orange Institution) or for a demonstration at Drumcree (Bryan 2000). In many cases, as the literature suggests, a feeder parade will proceed and follow an occasional parade (Bryan 2000).

According to the literature, the final type of parade is the competitive band parade. This form of parading represents a major development in parading (Bryan 2000). During this celebration, bands play songs, competing against each other, yet in a festive manner (Bryan 2000).

According to Bryan (2000), one of the most important participants in the Orange Parades is the band. Bands provide the music for parades, often creating a particular atmosphere.

Bryan (2000) identified five types of bands. The first type is the silver band.

Silver bands require members to have considerable musical ability, and the upkeep of such a band, particularly given the instruments involved, is enormous...Many of the remaining silver bands take part in major Irish and British competitions and draw their membership from both Protestant and Catholic communities (Bryan 2000:126).

As suggested by Bryan (2000), silver bands are not as common as other types of bands because they are expensive. Thus, the Orange Order often finds it difficult to afford silver bands (Bryan 2000).

The bagpipe band, according to the research, represents the second type of band. Bagpipe bands are very popular and are seen in most Orange Parades as well as band competitions (Bryan 2000). However, the most common type of band, according to the literature, is the flute band. As Bryan (2000:126) observed:

A full music flute band uses a five-key instrument and its members may be able to sight-read music. Members of a melody or “part music” band are slightly less skilled, use a simpler single-key flute but can, nevertheless, play some harmonies.

According to the literature, the accordion band represents another type of band. While these are common bands, researchers suggest that they used to be viewed as a more rebellious band (Bryan 2000). Today, however, the accordion band represents a less animated band; that is, the literature indicates that the music is quieter and therefore does not create much animation at parades (Bryan 2000).

The final type of band, according to Bryan (2000), is the “blood and thunder” flute band. In his analysis of bands, Bryan (2000) suggested that members of “blood and thunder” flute bands generally have little musical knowledge; that is, musicians are

required only to play a single-keyed flute (Bryan 2000). While little research has been conducted on “blood and thunder” bands, this type of band has become a distinct cultural development regarding loyalism since the 1960s (Bryan 2000). As Bryan (2000:128) suggested:

Through uniforms, through the display of insignia on the bass drum and through the carrying of flags, blood and thunder bands have imposed their own symbolic expressions on parades organised by the loyal orders. Since many of the symbols are drawn from the lexicon of loyalism and unionism, significant numbers of Orangemen are supportive of these expressions, but the association of some of the bands and their symbols with paramilitary groups is also highly problematic for “respectable” Orangemen.

Regardless of the type of parade or band, the research indicates that parading in general represents an expression of solidarity and celebration of Protestant culture and history (Jarman 2001). However, as Jarman (2001) observed, the parades also symbolize power and strength. This expression of power and strength may be viewed in the banners (Jarman 2001). As Keating (1996:7) argued:

The unfurling ceremony is important because it announces the public existence of the group of men as a collective identity. Lodges can, and do, parade without any form of distinguishing regalia, but they are effectively invisible if they do so without a banner to display at public events. The men are a nameless group of individuals, lacking a collective identity and lacking a history. It is the banner that displays the name of the body, its geographical base, its political and religious orientation and from its warrant member and sometimes from the image born on the banner, its history.

Moreover, Keating (1996) suggests that the banners focus on a central theme.

Thus, banners are used to elaborate history and ideals of communities in Northern Ireland, representing a valuable resource for those wishing to express their faith, culture, nation, history, and traditions (Jarman 2001).

According to the literature, for members of the Orange Order, the parades are a symbol containing multiple and significant meanings. Thus, the symbolic nature of the parades reveals aspects of the individual identity of group members, as well as group identity. However, the symbols displayed in orangeism also represent power. As Buckley (1998:2) stated:

Seldom does any symbol have a single meaning. Symbols are therefore a means through which individuals grasp and express new and significant truths about their individual identities and about the world. Symbols, however, may not be taken lightly, since they bring about both order and disorder. If they arise out of human creativity and spontaneity, they are also about power.

Moreover, Buckley (1998) proposed that rituals make the meaning of relationships clearer due to social interaction and, as a result, questions of power are created; that is, the social interaction between members of the Orange Order during the ritualized practice of parading defines the meaning of the relationships, whether it be relationships between Orangemen, the relationship between the Orange Order and British identity, or other relationships. Through the ritualized practices, the power of the Orange Order is manifested. According to the literature, members of the Orange Order depend on rituals and symbols to define who they are as an organization and to present the message of pride in Protestantism and British loyalty.

The Orange Parades, according to research, are complex events, characterized by pride, unity, loyalty to Britain, and Protestant faith. The literature also indicates that as a major and significant ritualized activity, the Orange Parades represent an event of empowerment through which Protestant identity is strengthened, relationships between members developed, and British authority displayed. As Bryan (2000:176) observed:

Ritual empowers, but only with limits; it enables domination and disguises domination but also only within limits. Ritual provides a space for resistance and negotiation. The parades in Northern Ireland take place within a complex set of relationships involving those with authority over the events attempting to exert control, those participating and watching (willingly or unwillingly), the wider political communities, and the forces of the state.

Further, Bryan (2000) suggests that the utility of the parades for the groups varies or changes depending on the situation or political climate of that time. For instance, over the last several decades, several changes have been implemented in the Twelfth of July Parades; that is, new symbols, reflecting the changing political climate, have been presented (Bryan 2000). As the literature suggests, one such change has been to include different types of bands in the parades. However, as Bryan (2000) explains, these changes have not disrupted the rituals engaged in by the Orange Order or disrupted the Orange tradition.

Finally, in addition to displaying power, loyalty, and Protestant pride, the parades provide a sense of belonging:

The parades clearly provide a sense of belonging and identity. Individuals can place themselves within the wider Protestant community, even trace their relationship to the community's leaders. The parades not only embody the participants' belonging to the community but serve to remind leaders of their responsibilities. This explains why attempts to prohibit or undermine the rituals can create such violent reactions (Bryan 2000:178).

A Need for Further Research

Social scientists have examined the political contexts of conflict in Northern Ireland, as well as, ritualized practices such as Orange Parades. However, the relationships between strategic ritualized practices and the maintenance of power have not been studied in an in-depth manner, particularly from a structural perspective. More specifically, there is a need for further research on the relationship between ritual,

symbolism, and power as limited attention has been paid to this issue in sociology, as well as, in other social sciences. That is, while the dominance of groups such as the Orange Order has been discussed and analyzed, in-depth analysis of the structure of the Orange Order and the ways that structure influences certain ritualized activity which then contributes to the maintenance of Protestant power in Northern Ireland, has been neglected. More precisely, previous research has focused to varying degrees on symbols, power, politics, and/or ritual in relation to the Orange Order. However, the process of maintaining power and dominance through the use of ritualized practices such as the Orange Parades, has not been studied in a comprehensive and systematic manner. For instance, researchers have not interviewed members of the Orange Order as a method for obtaining data regarding the relationship between the ritualized practices of the Orange Order and power.

Further, social scientists have not utilized a formal theory to examine the ways the social dynamics of a group and power and ritual are connected. By using a formal theory, the relationship between ritual and power may be systematically studied. A formal theory may also be used to study the relationship between ritual and power in a specific case (i.e., a particular social group using a certain type of ritual). My dissertation provides an original case study which uses a formal theory to examine the relationship between ritual and power. Specifically, I investigate the way the Orange Order uses the ritualized practice of the Orange Parades in Northern Ireland as a means to maintain Protestant dominance in that region. In addition, I utilize the theory of structural ritualization to systematically study how the rituals affect actors. Therefore, my study contributes to a growing body of research on the Orange Order and sociology in general as I utilize a

formal theory to investigate the ways the Orange Order use the parades and other ritualized activities to maintain their dominant position in Northern Ireland. In addition, my research represents an original investigation in which members of the Orange Order were interviewed regarding their experiences in the organization as well as their beliefs about Protestantism, the meaning of being an Orangeman, and the importance of the Orange Parades in relation to Protestant culture in Northern Ireland.

While researchers have examined the specific types of ritualized activities engaged in by members of the Orange Order, my dissertation expands on the previous research by studying each type of parade in relation to a structural theory of ritualized practice. The end result is an original investigation of the relationship between ritual, power, and the organizational structure of the Orange Order.

Chapter Three provides a discussion of the theoretical framework employed in this research. This chapter involves a discussion of the theoretical perspective which is used to investigate the way a group such as the Orange Order uses ritualized activities such as the Orange Parades to create certain outcomes.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As stated in chapter one, there is an unstable power balance in Northern Ireland, reflected in the parades. The irreconcilable conflict between Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland continues today, in part due to loyalist ideology or a set of beliefs which endures despite political and social change. As a result Protestants continue to be a dominant force in Northern Ireland. Of crucial importance to this situation is the ideology that is reproduced through parades, banners, and other ritualized practices (Todd 1994).

Previous research suggests that the Orange Order uses the parades in part to express their hostility towards Catholics. Yet, it may also be argued that the Order marches out of fear of losing Protestant domination. In other words, research suggests that the Orange Order marches through Catholic neighborhoods in an effort to make their presence known through this gesture of power, thus coping with the perceived threat to political power in Northern Ireland.

While the Orange Order and Orange Parades have been studied by various scholars, local level aspects of social life in Northern Ireland have received little attention; that is social scientists have paid little attention to the rituals of the Orange institution and the role the members of the Order play in Northern Irish society (Kenney 1991). My dissertation addresses these themes by focusing on the way the Orange Order uses ritualized practices to maintain power in Northern Ireland. In other words, my study

adds to the growing body of knowledge regarding the Orange Order and Orange Parades as I utilize a the theory of structural ritualization and the concept of strategic ritualization to investigate the organizational structure of the Orange Order and how this structure influences the maintenance of power through ritual in Northern Ireland. A formal structural theory has not been employed in previous research on the Orange Order and Orange Parades; that is, a study of the organization of the Orange Order and how this structure influences ritualized practices engaged in by members of the institution has not been studied in an in-depth manner. Further, I investigate the affect of the ritualized practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order on the wider society and how society is reproduced.

Theory of Structural Ritualization

To better analyze and understand the social dynamics involved with the tradition of the Orange Parades and how such processes are related to social power, I employ the theory of structural ritualization. The theory of structural ritualization in its original formulation focuses on “embedded groups or groups that are nested or located within a more encompassing collectivity” (Knottnerus 1997: 260). More precisely, it is concerned with “activities such as routinized interaction sequences and social behaviors that occur in varying contexts including secular settings” (Sell, Knottnerus, Ellison, and Mundt 200:6). Central to the definition of this theory is the concept of Ritualized Symbolic Practices (RSP) (Knottnerus 1997). Ritualized symbolic practice (RSP) refers to an “action repertoire that is schema driven.” (Knottnerus 1997:260) These ritualized symbolic practices express symbolic themes. Further, such practices involve:

regularized and repetitious actions which are grounded in actors' cognitive maps, or, to use another phrase, symbolic frameworks. These practices are found throughout social life and can include routinized styles of interaction within offices or other organizational milieus, prevalent types of relationships within subcultures, secret societies, or informal groups, typical behavioral patterns within civic, religious, or political settings (both ceremonial and nonceremonial), and even stylized bodily movements such as dance repertoires (Knottnerus 1997:260, 261).

The theory of structural ritualization emerged out of other perspectives (e.g., Berger and Luckman 1966 and Giddens 1984 and Sewell 1992). Berger and Luckman (1966) focused on the social construction of reality. Giddens (1984) and Sewell (1992) discussed routine social interaction and the institutionalization of social life (Knottnerus 1997).

The theory of structural ritualization suggests that embedded groups construct their own reality due to the influences of patterned interactions operating within the larger social environment. The patterned interactions of those in the larger social milieu shape the social reality of the smaller embedded group (Knottnerus 1997).

In the theory of structural ritualization, four components are identified that determine the rank or strength of a ritualized symbolic practice. They include: a) salience, b) repetitiveness, c) homologousness, and d) resources. Salience refers to the "degree to which a ritualized symbolic practice within a domain of interaction is prominent, conspicuous, or noticeable" (Knottnerus 1997:262). It refers to the prominence of certain actions, or to state it somewhat differently, the degree to which an action is noticeable. For instance, certain actions may have a low degree of salience, thus the action is not conspicuous or at the center of the interaction. However, some actions possess a high degree of salience such as formal ritualized practices that are prominent in all situations. For instance, certain ritualized practices possessed high a degree of salience in nineteenth

century French schools where staff consistently used strict discipline and dealt with students in an authoritarian manner (Knottnerus and Van de Poel-Knottnerus 1999).

Repetitiveness is the “relative frequency with which an RSP is performed” (Knottnerus 1997:262). The extent to which ritualized symbolic practices are repeated varies. The event may rarely occur or it may occur often (Knottnerus 1997). As Knottnerus (1997:262,263) observed:

In certain institutional contexts distinctive ritualized interactions between staff and patients/residents or teachers and students may happen hundreds of times a day while in other institutional settings they may be an infrequent occurrence. The former might be the case, for instance, in certain schools where the staff’s repeated interactions with students are characterized as close, affectionate, strongly committed, and informal. So, too, staff might repeatedly engage in the same social practices among themselves (which students continually observe). On the other hand, in the elite secondary schools of early modern France formal and highly rigid ritualized interactions between staff and students occurred hundreds of times a day. Interactions characterized by marked differences in authority, impersonality and high social distance, and overt attempts at social control were repeatedly engaged in by staff when dealing with students and each other.

Homologousness refers to the “degree of perceived similarity among different RSPs in meaning and in form” (Knottnerus 1997:263). Different ritualized practices may exist in a domain or several domains of interaction, and these practices may correspond to one another. The greater the correspondence, the greater the outcome or effect on actors. For instance, Knottnerus (1997) uses the example of a slave plantation system in which owners, staff, and slaves within the plantation system engage in several ritualized practices. For instance, owners may treat slaves in a demeaning manner in the same way staff act toward their charges, particularly when dealing with misbehavior. Further, these interactions may occur in different settings (i.e., different domains of interaction) such as

the workplace of slaves as well as, their living quarters. These practices represent highly homologous activities.

They are all highly homologous practices involving, for instance, pronounced hierarchical relationships and status distinctions, an emphasis on power, dominance, and control, and to varying degrees the use (and threat) of aggression (Knottnerus 1997:263, 264).

Finally, resources, refers to “materials needed to engage in RSPs which are available to actors” (Knottnerus 1997:264). The more resources are available, the more likely ritualized symbolic practices will be engaged in by actors. Although cognitive representations remain the key factor in the development and execution of ritualized symbolic practices, resources are essential in order to accomplish these practices. There are two major categories of resources. They include: a) human RSP resources, and b) nonhuman RSP resources. Human RSP resources refer to “abilities and characteristics of actors perceived by group members to be of value (or have utility) for themselves or the group” (Knottnerus 1997:265). On the other hand, nonhuman RSP resources refer to “all that is not human that is perceived by group members to be of value (or have utility) for themselves or the group” (Knottnerus 1997:265).

The four factors discussed above determine the overall importance or “rank” of the ritualized symbolic practice in a social milieu (Knottnerus 1997). In my study, I investigate the degree to which the four factors determine the rank or dominance of Orange Parades and other ritualized activities engaged in by members of the Orange Order.

The theory of structural ritualization has been used in several studies. One project focuses on deritualization, addressing the “presumptions that ritualization is a fundamental component of human behavior and that it significantly influences people’s

ability to cope with coercive disruptions of their lives” (Knottnerus 2002:1). This study provides support for key concept and argument underlying the theory of structural ritualization. Support for the theory’s arguments concerning the reproduction of rituals and social structure in an embedded group is provided by an experimental study conducted by Sell, Knottnerus, Ellison, and Mundt (2000). In addition, Knottnerus and Van de Poel-Knottnerus (1999) and Van de Poel-Knottnerus and Knottnerus (2002) in a historical-comparative analysis, demonstrate how female and male youth societies in 19th century French elite schools mirrored the respective institutional systems they were embedded in. Other research includes the study of slave plantations and slave societies, focusing on the transmission of status structures from owners of slave plantations to the slave society (Knottnerus 1999; Knottnerus, Monk, and Jones 1999), and the training of youth to become military warriors in a state - run militaristic social system (Knottnerus and Berry 2002; see also Guan and Knottnerus 1999 for an elaboration of the theory focused on the marginalization and acculturation of ethnic groups embedded within society).

In this study I examine the ways in which the Orange Parade is a ritualized symbolic practice influenced by all four theoretical components: salience, repetitiveness, homologousness, and resources. I investigate how the organizational (or power) structure of the Orange Order facilitates the implementation of ritualized practices such as parades and other ritualized enactments. Further, I study the degree to which the four factors (i.e., salience, repetitiveness, homologousness, and resources) determine the overall rank of the ritualized practices and their impact on actors.

Strategic Ritualization

Another concept that is of value for this study is strategic ritualization. Strategic ritualization refers to activities which are carried out in a calculating and deliberate manner. As Knottnerus (1997:275) suggests:

Agents can strategically engage in ritualized practices and actively foster their reproduction or transformation of social structures for various purposes including self-aggrandizement. Such ‘strategic ritualization,’ in which actors utilize or manipulate a system of ritualized practices in order to realize certain outcomes, can have profound consequences for members of society. This also attests to the fact that social rituals can be ‘invented’ or changed and can play an integral role in power and politics.

According to Knottnerus and LoConto (2003; see also Mitra and Knottnerus, forthcoming), there are several ways that ritualized symbolic practices may be manipulated to achieve a particular outcome. Here I argue that the Orange Order manipulates the Orange Parades in order to achieve certain outcomes such as continued dominance.

Knottnerus and LoConto (2003) identify three types of strategic ritualization. They are: a) “ritual legitimators” or those who authorize or validate the RSPs associated with a specific group; b) “ritual entrepreneurs” who utilize ritualized practices to achieve economic goals; and c) “ritual sponsors” who develop and promote RSPs associated with a specific group. The fourth type of strategic ritualization is the ritual enforcer. Ritual enforcers may be defined as those who use their power to determine ritualized practices (see also Knottnerus, Van Delinder, and Wolynetz 2002).

I study the way the Orange Order participates in strategic ritualization, particularly the way the institution acts as a ritual sponsor, ritual enforcer, and ritual legitimator. Thus, I examine how the Orange Order sponsors the Orange Parades by

developing and promoting this type of event. Stated somewhat differently, I look at the use of power by the Orange Order, focusing on the ways in which the Orange Order as a social organization uses strategic ritualization to maintain its visibility and dominance. I investigate how the use of ritual sponsors, ritual legitimators, and ritual enforcers contribute to the maintenance of power and social cohesion and the standing of this group in Northern Ireland.

The theoretical perspectives discussed in this chapter guide the methodologies employed for conducting this research. Chapter Four focuses on the methodology for this study. This research utilizes the triangulation strategy; that is, I employ several research strategies to carry out my investigation. A detailed description of each method, along with the interview questions will be presented in the next chapter. Interview questions will be discussed in relation to orangeism, the organizational structure of the group, structural ritualization, strategic ritualization, and themes and outcomes. In addition, a discussion of ethics, reliability, and validity will be provided.

CHAPTER 4

METHODS

This dissertation consists of a qualitative study involving the use of a triangulation strategy. Observations, in-depth interviews, and historical analysis were employed to conduct the research. I traveled to Northern Ireland for one month during the summer of 2000 to conduct my fieldwork. It was not necessary to stay longer than one month as the parades only last a few days, thus, the time needed for observations was short. In addition, all interviews were completed within this time frame.

Patton (1990) suggests that time spent in the field should only be long enough to complete the work. Furthermore, he argues that two main requirements must be met prior to the commencement of the fieldwork. First, the researcher must discuss with participants the nature of the research and intended use of the findings. Second, the researcher must gain actual physical entry to the place where fieldwork will occur. I received written permission from the Orange Order in Belfast to conduct my research prior to my arrival. Some interviews (approximately five) were, therefore, scheduled one month before I left for Belfast. Furthermore, I satisfied all legal requirements for entry into Belfast.

First Contact With the Orange Order

Upon arriving in Belfast, I contacted the Grand Lodge of Ireland and arranged a meeting with the executive director. During our initial meeting, the director described to me the general operation of the Orange Order and answered any questions I had. In addition, he provided the names of three members of the Order who would serve as contacts. I was advised to contact these individuals as they could help set up interviews and guide me to certain parades. Thus, the idea was to introduce me to members of different lodges in order to provide me the opportunity to interview a variety of people and view several types of parades.

I attempted to contact the first individual on the contact list. He was not available and I was informed that he would call when he was available. He never returned my call. I then attempted to contact the second individual. He was somewhat receptive, yet suspicious of my desire to obtain information regarding the Orange Order. When I explained that the executive director advised me to contact him (the second individual), he became more receptive and arranged for me to attend a commemorative parade in Belfast. This parade took place in remembrance of the Battle of the Somme where many members of the Orange Order gave their lives. I was instructed to meet a group of Orangemen in a section of Belfast and follow their parade to the hall where the commemorative service was to take place.

I arrived in Belfast, excited to observe my first Orange Parade. I followed the directions as provided by my contact and proceeded to the section of Belfast where I was to meet the group of Orangemen. However, upon finding the group, they informed me that I should instead meet them at the hall in order to observe the procession. They had no

knowledge of the original plans. I then traveled back to the hall where I observed the procession and commemorative service.

While attending the service, I met several Orangemen who then invited me to a parade in East Belfast the following night. I attended that parade (a traditional parade) and then proceeded back to the university where I stayed. The second contact then left for Paris.

The next day, I telephoned the third and final contact, nervous that this would be my last chance to secure any more interviews. I became discouraged. It seemed members of the Orange Order were not as willing to share their ideas and beliefs as I had hoped. However, my fear was short-lived because the third contact was very enthusiastic about talking to me. Further, he arranged for me to meet several members of the Order and observe every type of parade. My research goals were becoming a reality.

Research Strategies

Observations

To fully understand the structure of the Orange Order and Orange Parades, I observed the Twelfth of July parade/festival as well as several additional types of parades, including arch opening ceremonies, speeches, church parades, and mini-twelfth parades, focusing on the interactions between Orangemen themselves and interactions between Orangemen and others. In addition, I observed the various types of ritualized practices occurring in the parades and other events and the social dynamics of the Orange Order. By observing, I gathered in-depth (i.e., photographs) without attempting to change

or manipulate the setting. According to Denzin (1978a:8, 9), this involves “studied commitment to actively enter the worlds of interacting individuals.”

Patton (1990) suggests that the purpose of observations in fieldwork is to provide an opportunity for researchers to unveil complexities of a social group as well as the group’s social reality. In doing this, the researcher seeks to accurately describe the processes operating in social settings and then relate this information to generalizable, theoretical formulations.

While in Belfast, I observed parades (a detailed list of parades is discussed in chapter six), as well as other ritualized practices such as rallies, formal teas, and other gatherings of members of the Orange Order. As previously stated, collecting observational data allowed me to generate meaningful data without manipulating the setting. This allowed me to focus on the ritualized practices being engaged in by members of the Orange Order in a more natural way. That is, participants were generally aware that I was conducting research, yet they did not have to speak with me in order to explain the activities they were engaging in. Further, this type of research strategy allowed me to collect evidence that I would not have been able to when using interviews or historical analysis.

Interviews

According to Denzin (1978b), it is important for researchers to allow participants to tell how they see things. By employing the use of semi-structured, open-ended questions, the respondent may elaborate on their answers. As Patton (1990:24) observes, open-ended questions reveal respondents’:

depth of emotion, the ways they have organized their world, their thoughts about what is happening, their experiences, and their basic perceptions. The task for the qualitative researcher is to provide a framework within which people can respond in a way that represents accurately and thoroughly their points of view about the world, or that part of the world about which they are talking.

For this study, I used in-depth interviews composed of semi-structured, open-ended questions to elicit information regarding the theoretical issues driving the study, specifically the four factors which determine the overall rank of ritualized practices, strategic ritualization, and outcomes of people engaging in ritualized practices. In addition, information regarding the internal organizational structure of the Orange Order was obtained. As a result, I was able to conduct detailed research, examining the structure of the Orange institution, as well as the rituals engaged in by the Orangemen. Using in-depth interviews allowed me to obtain information that I would have been unable to collect through observations or historical analysis. For instance, with in-depth interviews, I was able to discuss in detail with an individual member of the Orange Order the ritualized practices I observed. When conducting observations, I was unable to discuss what I observed (there were, however, instances when I was standing next to a member of the Orange Order and could ask a brief question). The same argument may be applied to historical analysis. When collecting data through historical documents, I was limited in that I could only read preexisting archival evidence regarding the Orange Order.

To collect data through in-depth interviews, I used a snowball method. The snowball method involves interviewing one person and then asking that individual for references so further interviews can be conducted. Responses were tape recorded and later transcribed by me. Transcriptions were typed on a computer, stored on a disk, and

locked in a file cabinet in my office. In addition, I recorded notes taken during interviews.

The notes were kept in a journal and locked up in my office. I conducted twenty interviews. Interviews were only conducted with members of the Orange Order. The questions include:

1. What does it mean (to you) to be an Orangeman?
2. What is the purpose of the Twelfth of July Orange Parades?
3. What does it mean to parade?
4. How important is it to you to parade?
5. Where do the parades take place?
 - a. How is the parade route selected for the Twelfth of July Parades in Belfast?
6. How does the Orange Order prepare for parades?
7. Who determines what events will take place (such as parades and other festivities)?
8. Who (if anyone) plays a key role in sponsoring the parades?
9. What do the banners represent?
10. Are there other parades (apart from the Twelfth of July Parades)?
11. Does the Orange Order participate in other Protestant activities such as celebrations, church services, and local political events?
 - a. What is the meaning of these events?
 - b. How important are these events to you?
 - c. How important are they to the Orange Order?
 - d. How often do they take place?
 - e. Are resources available to run these events?
9. What supplies are needed to run the Twelfth of July parade?

- a. How are they provided?
- 12. How is the Twelfth of July parade funded?
 - a. How are the other activities funded?
- 13. Is the Protestant community involved in the Twelfth of July parade? How?
- 14. Does the Catholic community protest against the Twelfth of July parade?
 - a. How does the Orange Order respond to this?
- 15. Are there Catholic parades and/or festivals?
- 16. Does the Protestant community protest against Catholic events?
- 17. How would you describe the organization of the Orange Order in Northern Ireland?
- 18. In the Orange Order, who makes decisions regarding the organizing of the parades?
 - a. Has this changed over time?
- 19. Who makes decisions regarding other events such as rallies and church services?
 - a. Has this changed over time?
- 20. What is your position in the Order?
- 21. Are you involved in other community organizations?
- 22. What do you think about the role of the government, police, and media in regard to the parades?
 - a. Do you think the government, police, and media have benefited the Orange Order or have been a detraction?

Questions were divided according to specific areas of orangeism. They are: a) orangeism, b) organizational structure of the Orange Order, c) strategic ritualization, d) structural ritualization, and e) themes and outcomes. Questions one, two, and twenty-one were asked in regard to orangeism. Questions six and seventeen was asked in regard to

the organizational structure of the Orange Order. Further, questions five (a), seven, eight, fourteen and fourteen (a), fifteen, sixteen, eighteen and eighteen (a), nineteen and nineteen (a), and twenty-two applied to strategic ritualization, and the remaining questions were asked in regard to structural ritualization. All of the questions related to themes and outcomes. These questions provide valuable information which allowed me to analyze the rituals of the Orange Order, as well as the internal organizational structure of the institution.

Historical Analysis

I employed historical evidence to examine the ritualized practices of the Orange Order as they relate to the Twelfth of July Orange Parades in Belfast. I utilized materials primarily from the Public Records Office of Northern Ireland. In addition, I examined written material provided by the Orange Order. These materials were used to discover information regarding the organization of the Orange Order as well as the practices of the group. I had free access to the Public Records Office of Northern Ireland. In addition, I was able to photocopy the records I needed. I later studied the records. In addition, I continued to read and study the secondary literature and historical scholarly work dealing with this topic. These records and information include Northern Irish newspapers (both conservative and liberal), information produced and distributed by the Orange Order (this provided historical data directly from the view of the Orange Order), and a documentary distributed by the Orange Order focusing on the conflict in Northern Ireland.

The use of historical documents allowed me to obtain detailed evidence that I would be unable to collect through observations and in-depth interviews. With observations I was unable to observe everything and with in-depth interviews a research

participant may have left out important information. Historical analysis allowed me to collect and examine written (archival) material to supplement the data collected through observations and interviews.

Analysis of Data

The data were analyzed through the development of typologies or categories of symbolic themes. The themes emerged from the use of the literary ethnography method (Van de Poel Knottnerus and Knottnerus 1994). This method involves a series of steps that are utilized to discover patterns and themes from literary works. While my research involves observations, interviews, and historical documents, the literary ethnography method provides a useful means of accurately and clearly identifying certain patterns and themes in the data.

As previously stated, the literary ethnography method involves six steps. They are: a) identify the scope of literary sources; b) read and interpret the texts; c) identify textual themes; d) classify thematic elements; e) develop analytical constructs; and f) reread the collection of works (Van de Poel Knottnerus and Knottnerus 1994).

The first two steps require the researcher to define the scope of the works and read the documents, beginning to interpret the content. Specifically, the researcher must establish clear boundaries and determine what texts are available in regard to the subject matter. Further, the researchers must read the texts as they relate to the research problem or question (Van de Poel-Knottnerus and Knottnerus 1994). During the next step, the researcher identifies textual themes which requires multiple readings. “This represents the first recognition by the researcher that certain elements are surfacing in different works” (Van de Poel-Knottnerus and Knottnerus 1994:72). Following the third step, the

researcher identifies thematic elements; that is, various elements are repeated throughout the literature. This involves interpreting and identifying various themes with attention given to the commentary within the literary work (Van de Poel-Knottnerus and Knottnerus 1994). The final steps involve the development of analytical constructs. “These constructs should provide greater understanding of the phenomenon by interpreting its distinguishing features in terms of abstract formulations usually employed in sociological analysis” (Van de Poel-Knottnerus and Knottnerus 1994:74). Finally, the researcher must reread the collection of works, making sure textual comments correspond with classification schemes and analytical generalizations. This involves checking for accuracy of the analytical constructs and affirming that the narratives within the text actually fit the constructs and categories (Van de Poel Knottnerus and Knottnerus 1994).

For this study, the themes and patterns were discovered through reading and rereading interview responses and historical documents as well as the repeated study of observational data such as photographs and field notes. The themes were analyzed according to their relationship to structural and strategic ritualization. Moreover, the themes were interpreted through observations of parades and other ritualized activities, interviews with members of the Orange Order, and investigation of historical evidence.

In regard to observations, I recorded field notes in a journal, the events that took place, and looked for similar and recurring themes. For observations, in-depth interviews, and historical analysis, I analyzed the data in terms of the analytical framework provided by structural ritualization theory, specifically in relation to the four factors that determine the overall rank of ritualized symbolic practices. For instance, in regard to salience, I looked for similar responses regarding the prominence or centrality of a ritualized

practice. These data were analyzed in a qualitative manner; that is, to determine the salience of a particular ritualized practice, I used an interpretive approach. In addition, I employed a qualitative/interpretive approach for analyzing homologousness and resources. However, for repetitiveness I quantified the data, counting the number of times a ritualized practice took place.

In addition to examining the data in relation to these ideas from structural ritualization theory, I investigated the data as they relate to strategic ritualization. Specifically, I investigated how the Orange Order used ritual sponsors, ritual legitimators, and ritual enforcers to maintain their power in Northern Ireland. Again, the data are presented in a qualitative form, as I had to interpret instances in which the Orange Order was acting as a ritual sponsor, ritual legitimator, or ritual enforcer.

Limitations

For this study, the limitations were minimal. The people of Northern Ireland speak English, although they have accents. However, I have traveled to the United Kingdom three times, once for a four-month period. I encountered people who spoke with heavy English and Scottish accents and had very little difficulty understanding them. Furthermore, I am familiar with British symbols and differences in wording and names for certain objects. I familiarized myself (in greater detail) with the Irish culture, preparing myself to conduct research there.

Ethical Issues

When conducting research involving human subjects, it is important to complete a mental risk assessment; that is, will the research physically or emotionally harm the

participants? I gained permission from the director of the Orange Order to conduct my research, thus I did not coerce or trick people into participating.

Other ethical issues involve the protection of privacy. I can assure confidentiality; that is, I know subjects' identity, yet I protected it. I did not use participants' real names in the study. In addition, I kept the field notes separate from identifiers (numbers assigned to the interviews) and locked up in my office and in locked cabinets. Further, I used consent forms and received IRB approval.

I did not ask members of the Orange Order any questions regarding national politics. I asked general questions regarding their participation in local politics such as the city council, yet only as that information related to the parades and the internal organization of the Orange Order. I did not ask any questions that could incriminate the Orange Order or the Irish Republican Army, nor did I ask any other questions that law enforcement agencies or the government might be interested in. The purpose of this study is to examine the ritualized practices of the Orange Order revolving principally around the Orange Parades.

Reliability and Validity

To ensure validity and reliability, I did more than simply observe and ask questions. I conducted in-depth research, making sure I studied, in a systematic manner, what I had planned to study. In so doing, the research should make a contribution to the study of society and the discipline of sociology. Generally, there is more validity in field research as the researcher gains deeper insight into a particular group; that is, there is greater depth of meaning. I observed the Orange Parades as well as the organization of the group. In addition, I conducted historical research and in-depth interviews with

members of the Orange Order, thus providing me with a deep understanding of the organization of the group and the practices central to their identity.

Although there is generally more validity associated with field research, there are problems regarding reliability. It is probable that participants' answers regarding the group will be reflective of their own beliefs and judgments; that is, one person's views on the structure of the organization may not be another's. As a researcher, I must be conscious of this, understanding that field research can be affected by personal bias.

According to Rubin and Rubin (1997), there are several strategies employed by researchers to ensure reliability and validity in qualitative research. The first strategy involves transparency. By examining the research, the readers may determine the strengths and weaknesses of the investigation (Rubin and Rubin 1997). I maintained a record of each step of my data collection to ensure transparency. The second strategy involves consistency; that is, the procedures of the interviews should generally be consistent (Rubin and Rubin 1997). However, when inconsistencies are present, the researcher should employ the use of follow-up questions (Rubin and Rubin 1997). I used follow-up and probing questions during interviews. The final strategy is communication to the reader. During this step, the researcher should describe the experiences of the interviewees (Rubin and Rubin 1997). I listened to each interviewee and recorded their experiences with a tape recorder, as well as in a journal. I was careful to record their experiences and avoid misrepresenting the participants' personal accounts.

Conclusion

The previous chapters provided important information regarding the conflict in Northern Ireland. Chapter one discussed the background of the conflict, as well as, a

statement of the current problem. In addition, the reader was provided with a brief history of Northern Ireland to enable a better understanding of the concepts to be discussed in later chapters.

Chapter two expanded on the current problem in Northern Irish society by presenting a discussion of the relevant research on Northern Irish society. Several key areas were addressed such as the relation between ritual and power, the Orange Order, and the Orange Parades. Chapter three then provided a detailed description of the theoretical framework to be used as the foundation for this study. The current chapter provides a discussion of the research strategies used to conduct this study. These research strategies were discussed in relation to the analysis of the data.

The next chapter presents an overview of the history of major issues in Northern Irish society. The first part of the chapter focuses on the major battles influencing the formation of the Orange Order and the power structure of Northern Ireland. Specifically, I provide a discussion of the Battle of the Boyne and the Battle of the Diamond. Following a discussion of the battles, I focus on Protestantism, the formation of the Orange Order, and early orangeism. This leads to an in-depth discussion of the Orange Parades, the Drumcree conflict, and the role of the police, media, and government in regard to the Orange Order, Orange Parades, and Northern Irish society.

Chapter 5 is an integral part of this dissertation. It provides a detailed account of the history of Northern Ireland, including key issues facing Northern Irish society. Thus, this chapter presents crucial information for understanding the presentation and analysis of the findings. If one does not understand the history of Northern Ireland and the important issues facing that society today, then the findings of this study would be

incomplete. One cannot present, discuss, and then expect the findings to be understood if the core issues and historical developments of this particular society are not fully discussed. Therefore, while I presented a brief history of Northern Ireland in the first chapter, a more detailed account in the chapter preceding the presentation of the findings will provide a deeper understanding of the research analysis.

CHAPTER 5

HISTORY OF THE ORANGE ORDER AND ORANGE PARADES

This chapter provides a discussion of the history of the Orange Order and Orange Parades, as well as, major issues currently facing Northern Ireland. This information is important for understanding the findings to be presented in the following chapters. If one is to adequately analyze of the ritualized behaviors of the parades, one must have a knowledge of the history of the Orange institution as well as the current issues that are related to this ritualized practice.

The Battle of the Boyne

The Orange Order's annual Twelfth of July celebration centers around Prince William's victory over King James II at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. This battle involving the defeat of King James II, signified the beginning of Protestant domination and religious liberty. As Hennessey (1997:2, 3) observed:

The Order's annual Twelfth of July celebrations recall the victory of the Protestant King William III over the Catholic King James II at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 as the point where religious and civil liberty was guaranteed under the British constitution.

Thus, the parades are symbolic of the Battle of the Boyne (Bryan 2000).

The Battle of the Boyne involved an alliance against Louis XIV of France, the Roman Catholic King of Spain, King James II, and the Pope (Bryan 2000). In 1688

William of Orange, a member of the alliance, landed in England to take the throne. As a result, James fled to France and then Ireland in 1689 where he felt the large Catholic population would serve as a stepping stone to regaining the English throne (Bryan 2000). However, in 1690, William's troops defeated James at the Battle of the Boyne (Bryan 2000). While many scholars argue the Battle of the Boyne was not the most significant battle, it remains a critical event for the Orange Order as it represented a shift in political power (Bryan 2000).

The Battle of the Diamond

The Orange Order, a large Protestant and patriotic organization, was formed in 1795 following the Battle of the Diamond (Hennessey 1997). This battle occurred when Protestants and Catholics clashed in county Armagh, Northern Ireland. As Jarman (1999:25) stated: "the Battle of the Diamond was merely the latest in a series of sectarian disturbances that had occurred in this area since the mid-1780s."

Protestantism

In order to understand the history of the Orange Order, a discussion of Protestantism must take place. Protestantism is the foundation of the Orange Order.

For many people, religion represents a major source of identity. For members of the Orange Order the Protestant faith not only represents a theological perspective, it also plays a major role in the way they understand their world as well as their experiences (McAllister 2000).

In addition to Protestantism and identity, religion in Northern Ireland symbolizes opposition. As McAllister (2000:843, 844) observed: "Protestant thought and logical

processes differ from Catholic thought and logic; Protestant values and styles of communication differ from the values and styles characteristic of Catholics in Northern Ireland.” Indeed from 1921, the focus of Protestantism was to develop a legitimate legislative apparatus influencing policy, leading to opportunities to oppress Catholics (McAllister 2000). For instance, orthodox Presbyterians have referred to the Pope as the antichrist in recent times (McAllister 2000).

In addition to identity and opposition to Catholics, Protestants in Northern Ireland value religious liberty and freedom. This becomes very apparent when examining the beliefs of the Orange Order and Protestantism; that is, liberty is a major theme in Protestant churches. As McAllister (2000:850) suggested:

Freedom of conscience and freedom of action are high moral values for Protestant people. This is one of the reasons why marches through such villages as Drumcree take on such significance to Protestants once they are told they are not free to do something, prohibition sets off primordial reactions within the society. To deny freedom to people living with a Protestant worldview is to remove their ability to act morally. Lack of freedom is a moral threat with potentially dire consequences.

Further, Leichty and Clegg (2001) argue that much of the rhetoric of the Protestant ideology in Ireland centers around the idea that the Catholic church has greatly erred in its teachings and practice. As a result, the members of the Catholic Church cannot be accepted as Christians (Leichty and Clegg 2001).

Still another important aspect of Protestant identity centers around the arches displayed at parades and in Protestant areas of various towns and villages. Arches represent the tradition of loyalist culture (Jarman 2001). As Jarman (2001:9) observed:

Most arches were still short-lived constructions. They were erected a day or so before the Twelfth and were taken down a few days afterwards. However, the availability of industrial paints and skilled painters at a time when many arches were being forced to be relocated and new styles of

visual displays were being explored led to a completely new form of representation being developed. The symbols hitherto painted on fabric and suspended from an arch began to be made directly onto the gable walls of the terraced houses. By painting directly onto solid walls rather than onto the ephemeral structure of an arch, the displays of faith and loyalty could remain in place all year round. The painting of a mural would not necessarily stop an arch being erected, but it would be a permanent reminder to neighbors and others that this street was not just occupied by fair weather loyalists.

The arches and other symbols of Protestantism in Northern Ireland are defined according to Britain; that is, Protestant identity in Northern Ireland is a reflection of British identity and culture (Keating 1996). As a result, British policy toward Northern Ireland has recognized Protestants as a legitimate group, overriding Ireland's historic claim to the region (Keating 1996).

The Formation of the Orange Order

During a time of significant sectarian conflict in the eighteenth century, the Orange Order emerged as a group dedicated to the protection of Protestants who had just defeated Catholics at the battle of the Diamond (Cecil 1993). "The Orange Order was formed in 1795 when a need was felt for a federated society, disciplined and respectable enough to attract the patronage of the gentry (Cecil 1993:154). One of the major factors leading to the development of the Orange Order was the conflict over land. As McDowell (2000:198) observed:

By concession and repression, authority was preparing to meet a time of crisis. Abroad, Britain was now at war with France; at home, there was much agrarian discontent, directed against tithe and rent. And in Ulster, competition for land led to rural rioting between Catholics and Protestants, rioting culminating in the 'battle of the Diamond' and leading to the formation of the Orange society (September 1795).

Borrowing much of its structure and secrecy from the freemasons, the Orange Order was formed in 1795 as a predominantly rural organization (Jarman 1999). The

Orange Institution remained strongest in the Southern counties of Ulster until later in the 1800s (Jarman 1999). Although the Orange Order borrowed ideas from the freemasons, the primary goal of the organization was to protect Protestant interests and to preserve the memory of the victories during the Williamite period, specifically the Battle of the Boyne which represents the core of Orange celebrations (Jarman 1999).

In addition to being Orangemen, some members of the organization may join the Royal Black Institution, the elite Protestant group comprised of Orangemen. As Jarman (1999:45) observed:

All members of the Black Perceptories are also members of the Orange Order...Black lodges were first recorded in the late eighteenth century although the institution only began to have a public impact in the early part of the twentieth century when members began to parade at Scarva for the Sham Fight on 13 July.

Since the beginning of the Orange Order, members of the institution have shared a belief in Protestantism, religious liberty, and British identity. However, such beliefs and identity have and continue to conflict with the Nationalist population in Northern Ireland, thus contributing to national divisions in Ulster reflected in Unionist and Nationalist opinions regarding cultural identity (Hennessey 1997). Aspects of cultural identity have evolved from the beginning years of the Orange Order and include symbols such as flags, Orange parades, British colors painted on sidewalks, and the British national anthem. According to Hennessey (1997), these symbols provide a sense of security for Protestants at a time where they face the possible unification of Ireland. This occurred during the early 1920s and again today. In addition to playing a role in the cultural national division in Northern Ireland, the Orange Order remains active in politics. As Ryder and Kearney (2001:15) suggest:

Although the Order's marches continued to be a persistent source of sectarian disorder in Belfast and elsewhere, including Portadown, it was a reflection of the Order's great influence and standing that it could still secure such a significant place in the new body which was to steer Ulster unionism through the crises of the next fifteen years and lead to the foundation of the state of Northern Ireland.

Early Orangeism

Following the Battle of the Diamond, "Armagh outrage" occurred; that is, the persecution of Catholics intensified as Protestant peasantry went on the offensive attacking Catholics during night raids (Haddick-Flynn 1999). Although the persecution of Catholics increased following the Battle of the Diamond, and soon after the formation of the Orange Order, the Orange Institution denied responsibility, instead blaming another Protestant group (the Peep O'Day Boys) who was not a part of Orangeism (Haddick-Flynn 1999). However, as Haddick-Flynn (1999:148) notes:

It cannot be established that Orangemen, acting as such, were responsible for the terror, but it is likely that a number wore two hats: one, as upright citizens acting as Orangemen, and another, when engaged in moonlight activities against Catholics.

While some members of the organization may have found the methods used quite rough, the Orange Order provided a social bond and a sense of cultural identity at all social levels (Haddick-Flynn 1999). Moreover, the Orange Order was different from other Protestant peasant organizations in that the Order loudly proclaimed Protestant loyalty and faith (Haddick-Flynn 1999).

As the Orange Order proclaimed its beliefs, the organization quickly grew, exceeding expectations. The organization remained strongest in Armagh, yet accepted allies wherever they could be found (Haddick-Flynn 1999). As Haddick-Flynn (1999:154) states:

Cohesive combination of landlords and tenants acting jointly, and stiffened Protestant resistance to the propaganda of the united Irishmen. The Order set about the political management of the areas in which it was strong.

Orange Parades

As previously stated in Chapter One, the Orange Parades have become a public ritual in a complex society and a tool used to symbolize Protestant dominance and power.

As Jarman (2001:2) observed:

The culture of parading has become a particularly potent arena of both symbolic and actual conflict in recent years as disputes over parades have emerged as a counterpoint to attempts to establish the structures that might form the basis of a new society in the north. Orangemen have vigorously defended customs and practices – such as the right to march along customary routes and to mount visual displays – which have been established, extended and consolidated alongside the Protestant community's rise to political dominance in Northern Ireland.

In addition to the symbolic strength of the Orange Parades, marching has and continues to serve as a form of political expression (Ryder and Kearney 2001). This political expression is evident since the first parade in 1795. Thus, the marching season has represented a period of time when the Orange Order celebrates Protestant culture, yet also displays British pride, loyalty, and unionist political views. Further, according to Jarman (2001), loyal orders resisted and continue to resist today, attempts by opposing groups or anyone else to enforce changes in the organization's customs including parade routes, flags, and music played during parades. Thus, these customs have been considered by the Orange Order to be almost sacred, and therefore, should never be changed (Jarman 2001).

While every Orange parade represents a significant ritualized practice, the Twelfth of July parades carry the most important meaning. As Jarman (1999) notes, while the early Orange parades of the late 1700s and early 1800s were primarily rural activities, the Twelfth of July parades quickly became important throughout Ulster, attended by large crowds. Support for the Twelfth of July parades grew, particularly among the middle classes, as well as the political elite during the early 1800s. As Jarman (1999:31) observes:

The Williamite anniversaries, which had long been acknowledged as expressions of popular loyalty to the crown, became more widely supported by the middle classes and the political elite and participation was encouraged as an expression of a Protestant – Ulster – British identity.

As previously stated, the Orange Order has several customs incorporated into the parades. Perhaps the most important representation of Orangeism may be found in the visual displays. According to Jarman (1999), the visual displays, such as arches and banners, reaffirm the maintenance of the Order. For instance, during the marching season, it is common to find Orange arches, displaying Protestant and British symbols, placed in Protestant areas in Northern Ireland. Moreover, Jarman (1999) states that there are two categories of meaning in regard to arches. First, the triumphal arch represents honor to military victories, and second, the arch of the brotherhood symbolizes unity, equality, and protection (Jarman 1999). As Jarman (1999:3, 6) suggests:

Both meanings, of course, can exist simultaneously, and may well do so; an object or symbol, therefore, may convey very differing sentiments to different people. Members of one community may see an arch as a sign of welcome and fraternal solidarity, while those of another may see it as a threat or as a sign of intimidation...Orange arches were widely viewed by Catholics as political artifacts and as assertions of local power, while attempts by Catholics to make similar displays often provoked a violent reaction from Protestants.

However, as Jarman (1999) acknowledges, arches only symbolize the conservative elements of Orangeism. They do not display political slogans or paramilitary references as found on wall murals throughout Belfast.

The importance of parades and demonstrations have been and continue to be marked by conflict, particularly in the form of confrontations just prior to the Twelfth of July (Darby 1997). The Orange Order claims the right to march, arguing that parade routes are based on precedent – “that they have marched certain routes (Darby 1997:93). As Darby (1997:93) suggests:

These are both territorial claims which may ignore changes in the demographic composition of a neighborhood. Garvaghy Road in Portadown is such a place. Orangemen had walked the road for 188 years. But the Catholic residents who predominated in the area by the 1990s claimed the right to live undisturbed by a hostile culture.

Arguments over the traditional practice of parading became prominent during the late 1960s, mid-1980s, and mid-1990s (Bryan 2000). However, in general the post-World War II period has been considered a relaxed time. As Bryan (2000:69; see also Jarman and Bryan 1998:41-58) states:

The post war Twelfth is remembered as a relaxed, good-humored time when politics was of secondary importance during what was perceived as a religious event. It is recalled, by way of anecdotes, that Protestants and Catholics, the Orange Order and the Hibernians shared instruments and banner poles in county areas; that whole communities shared pride in, and collected money for, the local bands; and that Roman Catholics want to watch the pageantry of the Twelfth parade. However, whilst Catholics will confirm some of these stories, and an analysis of the period confirms it to be untroubled compared with the previous 150 years, parades still provided a focus for local politics and could still prove divisive.

The conflict over Orange Parades has been evident throughout the twentieth century. While the parades represented expressions of unity by Orangemen and other

unionists, sectarian bitterness also grew stronger. For instance, during the marching season of 1935, Belfast experienced the worst rioting since 1920-2 (Bryan 2000).

Drumcree

As previously noted, the Orange Order proclaims that religious liberty is important for all. While the Orange Institution enjoys a significant amount of liberty and freedom in regard to parading, there still remains a parade route that has gained a considerable amount of attention during the past several years. The parade route in question is the annual march from Drumcree Church through Portadown via Garvaghy Road, a Nationalist neighborhood. As Jarman (2001:12) points out:

In recent years, Portadown has witnessed a protracted dispute over attempts by residents to have Orange parades from Drumcree Church re-routed so they do not pass along the predominantly nationalist Garvaghy Road area. The parade disputes have resulted in violence on a number of occasions: they have threatened to undermine attempts to consolidate the peace process and they have served to widen the already existing gulf between the two communities.

For the Orange Order, the primary dispute regarding the Drumcree march revolves around the traditional parade route; that is, members of the Orange Order have marched down Garvaghy Road for the past 188 years. Further, the Orange Order argues that the road has only been occupied by Nationalist residents since the 1990s (Darby 1997).

The conflict between Orange marches and the Garvaghy Road Residence Group has been fueled by both sides attempting to obtain a particular outcome. The Orange Order proclaims the right to peacefully march, seeing this as religious freedom. However, Nationalist residence groups find the Drumcree march to be based on hostility toward Catholics. As a result, members of the Orange Order and supporting Protestants gather

each year at Drumcree to protest the banning of the parade. The government has responded by placing a barricade between Protestant protesters and the beginning of the Nationalist neighborhood, at times igniting violent outbursts by protesters. As Darby (1997:103) states:

The confrontations between marchers and nationalist protesters in July 1996 invited comparisons with the civil disturbances and riots which sparked off the quarter century of violence in 1969. The traditional Orange parade along the mainly nationalist Garvaghy Road in Portadown on 12 July, which had led to serious confrontations exactly a year earlier, was re-routed by the RUC. The Orange Order responded with a series of pre-planned demonstrations, blocking roads, bridges and airports and converging in increasing numbers at Drumcree in the days immediately preceeding the parade. The protesters forced a number of Catholic families from their homes by intimidation. None of these was prevented by the police.

In 1995, an event referred to as the “siege of Drumcree” occurred, causing a confrontation when members of the Orange Order were prevented from marching down their traditional route which included Garvaghy Road (Hennessey 1997). While marchers were eventually allowed to proceed, providing Unionists with what they believed to be their first political victory since the Anglo-Irish Agreement, the siege at Drumcree was repeated one year later, thus plunging community relations to the lowest point ever (Hennessey 1997. When the march at Drumcree was stopped, it caused anger and frustration. As Ryder and Kearney (2001:103) state:

The Orangemen were thrown into immediate disarray. After almost 200 years of marching to Drumcree on the Sunday before the twelfth, and despite all that had transpired in the dozen years, they had never made any contingency plans to deal with that eventuality because they had never contemplated the march being halted.

In 1997, Dr. Mo Mowlam, Secretary of State, delivered a statement regarding the decision to halt the Drumcree march. He discussed equality, arguing that there is a clash

of identities in Northern Ireland, yet Northern Ireland needs to represent a society where identities are treated equally. According to Mowlam (1997:1):

This government is committed to the fundamental principles of fairness and justice. There will be no second-class citizens in Northern Ireland. I am determined to see full respect for, and equality of, civil, political, social and cultural rights and freedom from discrimination for everyone. We will give real expression to this by bringing into our law all the rights and freedoms protected by the European Convention of Human Rights (ECHR)...Many people agree that the best approach where rights are in conflict is to seek to balance them in an accommodation. It's the commonsense approach.

The key challenge regarding the debate is to encourage each side to consider a compromise that is acceptable to each, such as a controlled march on Garvaghy Road, which would create an atmosphere in which the rights of both sides are recognized (Mowlam 1997).

In response, the Orange Order made four major proposals regarding Drumcree. They include: a) allow only Portadown District members to parade (approximately 1,200 total); b) bands would be permitted to play hymn music only, thus no "offensive" bands would participate; c) the parade must pass any given point in less than five minutes; and d) the march must be well marshaled and disciplined; that is, no triumphalism or confrontations would be permitted (CAIN Web Service). Later, the Orange Order proposed several additional changes they believed would make the parade more acceptable to residents. They included: a) a sizeable reduction in numbers participating; b) no bands or music would be present during the march; and c) the time of the parade being changed to earlier in the day.

Police, Media, and Government

Police

As in most societies with conflicting racial, ethnic, or religious groups, the police play a pivotal role. Perhaps no other institution in Northern Ireland possess the power in decision making regarding Orange parades as the Royal Ulster Constabulary (the police force in Northern Ireland). However, questions have risen regarding the sectarian nature of the RUC, particularly during the “Troubles” during the 1970s and 1980s. As Liechty and Clegg (2001:192) report:

Perhaps more than any other institution in Northern Ireland society, the place of the RUC depends on the standpoint of the person doing the placing, especially whether she is nationalist or unionist...Sectarianism is a problem the RUC must address... To join the RUC is to leave communal identity behind and replace it with a new identity as an RUC officer, equidistant from nationalist and unionist communities and standing impartially between them.

Of particular interest to scholars studying Northern Irish society and the RUC is the relationship between the RUC and the Orange Order. According to Griffith (1999), there are close links between the RUC and the Orange Order. Evidence concerning this relationship may be seen in the way the RUC has handled contentious Orange marches through predominantly Catholic areas; that is, in many instances, Orange parades were allowed to proceed by the RUC (Griffith 1999). As a result, many Catholics grew to distrust the RUC. At the same time the RUC did not recruit many Catholics (Griffith 1999).

Media

The media plays an important role in most societies. Indeed, for many, the media represents the only source of information regarding the events that take place in the world. More important, the media frame the meaning of these events, thereby possessing the ability to portray a group in a certain way (Bryan 1998). This is particularly evident in Northern Ireland where Ulster loyalists believe the media have acted irresponsibly in the way they have portrayed the troubles in Northern Ireland (Parkinson 1998). Moreover, most people in the United Kingdom have little direct knowledge of the conflict in Ulster, and therefore, they are almost completely dependent on the media for information and interpretation of events taking place. As a result, the British population may be influenced in a particular direction (Parkinson 1998). As Bryan (1998:30) points out: “it is significant to note that the coverage given to the Twelfth by newspapers, and latterly by the broadcast media, has been, and still is, a constant concern in the higher echelons of the Orange Order.” Bairner (1996) suggests that in recent history, the media has focused on two issues regarding the Northern Ireland conflict. First, attention has focused on the degree to which the media (willingly or unwillingly) have supported certain political actors as the IRA or British government. The second issue revolves around the extent to which paramilitary groups and their sponsors have used the media to their advantage (Bairner 1996). Regarding the second issue, Bairner (1996) argues:

According to this perspective, the real propaganda victories have been won, not by the democratically elected governments, but by the terrorists. Despite the obvious differences between these two approaches, both share the view that media coverage of the politics of Northern Ireland has actually contributed to the problem.

Government

During the past several decades, the Northern Irish government has experienced significant changes. For the Orange Order, a Unionist government represents an administration loyal to the maintenance of British identity and the continuance of Northern Ireland as part of the United Kingdom. The Unionist government developed rapidly following 1905 (Jarman 1999). As Jarman (1999:41) notes, “from a unionism on the defensive at the turn of the century, a movement beset by internal and external difficulties, a rather more formidable institution had emerged by 1911-12.”

In addition, prior to the third Home Rule Bill in the early twentieth century, politics in Northern Ireland experienced quite dramatic changes. As Boyce (1994:91) observes:

Before the introduction of the third Home Rule Bill in April 1912, and the foundation of the Irish Free State in 1922, Irish politics underwent revolutionary changes. One Nationalist political party was replaced by another, Southern unionism disappeared as an effective political force; Ulster unionism found itself obliged to abandon its battle against Home Rule for the whole of Ireland.

Prior to the emergence of Home Rule, Protestant support was divided between the two major British political parties (conservative and liberal) (Phoenix 1994). However, not every Protestant identified themselves with the two major British political parties. Thus, a small group of extreme loyalists identified themselves as supporters of Orangeism (Phoenix 1994). As Phoenix (1994:107) discusses:

The more dramatic result of the Home Rule crisis in the North of Ireland was the revival of the Orange Order. Formed in North Armagh in 1795 against a background of sectarian faction – fighting, the Order’s sectarian overtones had tended to repel the better-off during the nineteenth century. From the 1880s the gentry and middle-class returned to its banner,

realizing its potential as a powerful cross-class alliance against an all-Ireland Home Rule scheme.

Although Unionists remained loyal to Britain, problems emerged. According to Porter (1996) two major problems developed in regard to Unionism and the United Kingdom. They were: a) the bond between Northern Ireland and Britain proved to be weaker than unionists had hoped; and b) certain actions that Westminster deemed acceptable did not always correspond with unionist wishes (Porter 1996).

While Unionism rapidly gained strength, another movement (Sinn Fein) developed, becoming a broad-based movement of Nationalism in late 1918 (Tauthaigh 1994). As Tauthaigh (1994:66, 73) states:

As Sinn Fein became a broad-based movement it was supported by many who had faithfully supported Redmond's Home Rule Party in its day and whose instincts and inclinations were firmly constitutionalist...All of this may give us a comparative context for understanding the Northern Ireland problem of the past seventy years. But it cannot alter the fact that from the perspective of Nationalist Ireland the major losers of the dramatic political upheavals of 1912-22 in Ireland were the Nationalists in Northern Ireland, who found themselves after 1922 looking back in bewilderment and shock at what in 1912 they had confidently expected to be their political future as part of the national majority in a Home Rule Ireland.

In a speech to the House of Commons in 1912 Carson responded to the Nationalist movement. The message was clearly delivered that Nationalists cannot be trusted. Thus, Carson proclaimed that the only protection against Nationalists was the protection of the executive power (Buckland 1994).

Today, the animosity between Nationalists and Unionists continues. Perhaps the greatest tension exists between Orangeism and the Nationalist communities, particularly residence groups. The Nationalist residence groups attempt to and have succeeded in persuading the Parades Commission to ban parades that travel through predominantly Catholic neighborhoods.

In sum, the Orange Order developed following the Battle of the Diamond in 1795 in honor of William III's victory over King James. The Order was formed to preserve religious liberty and loyalty to the British Empire. The Orange Order has been viewed positively by some (Protestants) and negatively by others (Nationalists). However, while the Orange Order has encountered several obstacles (i.e., Drumcree) to engaging in their ritualized practice of parading, the group has remained dominant in Northern Ireland. A more in-depth discussion of the role of the government, police, and media will be presented in the following chapters.

The next chapter presents the findings of this study. Specific attention will be given to the Orange Parades, as well as other ritualized practices, as they relate to the theory of structural ritualization and strategic ritualization. Further, several themes that emerged from an analysis of the data will be discussed as will the outcomes that ritualized practices such as the Orange Parades produce.

CHAPTER 6

PRESENTATION OF THE FINDINGS

In this chapter, the findings of my research will be presented. The purpose of this study is to investigate the ways in which the organizational structure of the Orange Order influences the power of the group which then acts as a ritual sponsor, ritual legitimator, and ritual enforcer as they engage in ritualized practices in order to maintain British dominance in Northern Ireland. I will examine the influence of the four factors, presented in the theory of structural ritualization, that determine the overall rank or strength of a ritualized symbolic practice as well as the effect of these practices on members of the Orange Order. I contend that the Orange Order engages in certain highly ranked ritualized symbolic practices as measured by salience, repetitiveness, homologousness, and resources in order to maintain British identity and dominance in Northern Ireland.

For this study, I employed observations of Orange Parades, rallies, speeches, and other festivities; interviews with members of the Orange Order, and analysis of historical documents and material obtained from the Orange Order. Observational data include field notes and photographs (taken by the researcher) of parades and other festivities.

In regard to interviews, twenty adult male members of the Orange Order were asked a series of questions in a face-to-face format. Of the respondents, one was the chief executive of the Grand Lodge of Ireland (a paid position); one held the position of private lodge and district lecturer; six were past masters of their private lodge; three were past

masters of their district lodge, and two held the position of current district master. In addition, I interviewed one grand secretary and one district treasurer. Of the twenty respondents, five were Orangemen, yet held no official position; one lay chaplain was interviewed as well as one private lodge treasurer, one deputy district master, one county grand master, and one county grand secretary. Some respondents held more than one office. All but one respondent became Orangemen due to family tradition.

Historical documents and material produced by the Orange Order include papers obtained from the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland. Material produced by the Orange Order include brochures, books, and statements.

Qualitative data include information regarding orangeism, the organizational structure of the Orange Order, and the use of structural and strategic ritualization by the Orange Order in Northern Ireland. Specifically, I present the findings regarding the extent to which each of the four factors that determine the overall rank or strength of a ritualized practice is present in the Twelfth of July Parades as well as other ritualized practices and the effect of the ritualized practices on members of the Orange Order. For instance, the Orange Order engages in several types of parades. I will discuss each type of parade and the four factors in relation to the parades (and other ritualized practices). Finally, I present the findings regarding strategic ritualization, focusing on ritual sponsors, ritual legitimators, and ritual enforcers.

While data obtained from this research are primarily qualitative, I quantify data regarding repetitiveness; that is, I show the number of times a ritualized practice occurred. Moreover, in regard to interviews, I provide a numerical value for the number of times a particular answer is given by respondents. In regard to interviews, some

respondents provided more than one answer; that is, responses were organized into categories, yet some participants' answers qualified to be placed in more than one category. As a result, the total number of responses for some questions will be greater than twenty – the number of Orangemen interviewed.

In addition to presenting the findings regarding the types of ritualized behavior, I identify various themes and outcomes contained in the data as they relate to the ritualized symbolic practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order. While these themes and outcomes are similar to what is generally discussed in the literature, my study focuses on how the Orange Order uses the ritualized practice of parading to maintain dominance in Northern Ireland. In other words, this research contributes to a growing body of literature as by investigating, through observations, interviews, and historical analysis, how the Orange Parades strengthen certain distinct the themes and outcomes and act to maintain Protestant and British dominance in Northern Ireland.

Orangeism

Data regarding orangeism will be presented in the following order: a) data obtained from observations; b) data obtained from interviews; and c) data obtained from historical documents and material published by the Orange Order. The research will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Observations

Data on orangeism were obtained through the observation of Orange Parades, specifically the Twelfth of July parade, and observation of other ritualized activities. The observational research reveals that the Orange Order engage in different types of

ritualized practices that demonstrate the importance of orangeism. Eight ritualized activities were observed. They are: a) traditional parades, b) commemorative parades, c) arch opening parades, d) church parades, e) open air rally, f) Republic of Ireland parade, g) the Drumcree demonstration, and h) the Twelfth of July parade.

Two traditional parades were observed and one observation was made in regard to the other seven types of parades. Each type of parade yielded data that confirmed the importance of orangeism in Northern Ireland. The traditional parades demonstrated orangeism in the bands, the clothing worn by members of the Orange Order, the bands and type of music played, the crowd of supporters, and the arch displayed in the center of town. In regard to the commemorative parade, aspects of orangeism were visible in the clothing worn by participants, the speech delivered by the Grand Master, and the parade that followed the service.

Perhaps one of the most visible characteristics of orangeism were displayed in the arch opening parades. During this parade, members of the Orange Order gather under an arch, which contains numerous Orange and Protestant symbols, and listen to a speaker prior to parading through the community. During this event, the arch is erected in the center of town and is visible to members of the community and others passing through. In addition to arch opening parades, church parades demonstrate aspects of orangeism, yet are less visible; that is, they do not play loud music or carry banners. This type of parade exists for the purpose of marching to church for a service.

While not a parade, open-air rallies demonstrate the importance of orangeism through speeches. The Republic of Ireland parade represents the equivalent to the Twelfth of July Parade but it takes place in the Republic of Ireland as a means of

producing unity and solidarity between Orangemen in Northern Ireland and Orangemen as well as Protestants in the Republic of Ireland. Finally, the Twelfth of July Parade represents the most important ritualized practice engaged in by members of the Orange Order, demonstrating all important aspects of orangeism. Data regarding orangeism will be discussed in further detail in Chapter Seven. While data were obtained from observations and historical documents, the majority of data were obtained from in-depth interviews.

Interviews

Regarding orangeism, three questions were asked the twenty members of the Orange Order, including a) what does it mean to you to be an Orangeman, b) are you involved in other community organizations, and c) what is the purpose of the Twelfth of July parade? The first question yielded several responses. Eleven respondents stated that being an Orangeman means a great deal or it is important to him. Ten people indicated that being a member of the Orange Order is traditional, a part of family history, or a major part of his life. In addition, five participants discussed the cultural aspect of the Orange Order, saying that the organization is a symbol of cultural pride. Moreover, three respondents stated that being an Orangeman provided friendship and one stated that the Orange Order represented unity. Finally, four members stated that membership in the organization represented a desire to preserve religious liberty; one participant stated that being an Orangeman was a way to express certain political views, and three members indicated that being an Orangeman symbolized faith and religious practice.

The second question focused on involvement in other community organizations. Seven respondents stated that they are involved in community organizations outside the

Orange Order and three members indicated that they are primarily involved in their church in addition to being Orangemen. Additionally, four members replied that they are involved in other organizations, yet they are fraternal organizations associated with the Orange Order. One participant stated that he is only involved with organizations associated with the Orange Order, and one indicated that he is a financial contributor to other organizations, but not actively involved.

The responses to the final question produced very similar responses. When asked the purpose of the Twelfth of July Parade, eighteen out of the twenty respondents stated that the purpose of the Twelfth of July Parade is to celebrate or commemorate the victory at the Battle of the Boyne. Moreover, five indicated that the Twelfth of July represents religious liberty and freedom and human rights. In addition, three mentioned that parliamentary democracy emerged after the battle of the Boyne, and three mentioned the cultural aspects of the Twelfth of July. Finally, one member simply stated that the Twelfth of July Parade is important.

Historical Analysis

Written material regarding orangeism is organized into several categories. They include: a) the purpose and beliefs of the Orange Institution; b) British identity; c) the Orange Order and the government; and d) the Orange Order and sectarianism. Data were collected from miscellaneous Orange materials and documents and Orange Order publications. (The Twelfth 2001; Steadfast for Freedom: 200 Years of Orangeism; The Orange Standard; LOL Information Booklet)

In regard to the written material, the primary reference to orangeism revolved around the Battle of the Boyne and/or the celebration of the anniversary of the Battle of

the Boyne which represents the first two categories stated above. The purpose of the Orange Order and British identity are important themes in regard to the Battle of the Boyne as that is the Battle that produced Protestant freedom and strengthened British identity and unity. The Battle of the Boyne was mentioned fifteen times in the material and the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne was mentioned three times. In addition to references regarding the Battle of the Boyne, the religious and patriotic aspects of the Orange Order were cited as well as the preservation of liberty. (The Twelfth 2001; Steadfast for Freedom: 200 Years of Orangeism; The Orange Standard; LOL Information Booklet)

In regard to the Orange Order and the government, data were obtained from material published by the Orange Order. (The Twelfth 2001; Steadfast for Freedom: 200 Years of Orangeism; The Orange Standard; LOL Information Booklet) Specifically, references to the Parades Commission were made. Finally, a general theme of sectarianism was revealed in the miscellaneous material and material published by the Orange Order; that is, while sectarianism was not specifically stated, the writings detail the importance of Protestantism and the Orange Order.

As previously stated, data obtained from historical documents will be further discussed in Chapter Seven. In addition, the majority of data were obtained from interviews conducted with members of the Orange Order.

Organizational Structure

The organizational structure of the Orange Order is a very important element that influences the strength of the Orange Order as a visible and powerful organization in

Northern Ireland. The structure of the Orange Institution is discussed in this section.

Again, the focus is on observations, interviews, and historical analysis.

Observations

The observations of Orange parades and other ritualized practices show that the organization and structure of the Orange Order is important. During parades, the members of the Orange Order were observed marching in a particular order with officers in the front; that is, the hierarchical structure of the Orange Order is visible in parades. The order of the marchers is visible in photographs (see Appendix A), and in field notes taken by me as I observed parades and other ritualized practices. Again, the observational data will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Seven. In addition, the majority of data were obtained from in-depth interviews conducted with members of the Orange Order.

Interviews

Two questions were presented to members of the Orange Order regarding the organizational structure of the institution. They are: a) how would you describe the organizational structure of the Orange Order, and b) how does the Orange Order prepare for parades? The first question produced several responses. Eleven respondents reported that the Orange Order is structured in a hierarchical manner or a pyramid. In addition, three stated that the Orange Order is decentralized; that is, the local lodges have significant power in the institution. Further, three members indicated that the Orange Order represents a democratic organization, two stated that the structure is based on geographical areas, and six simply stated that they believe the Orange Order has a good structure. However, two participants indicated that there are communication problems

within the organizational structure of the Orange Order. Finally, one member stated that the structure of the Orange Order is based on religious freedom and liberty.

The next question focused on the preparation of parades. Again, this question yielded several different responses. Ten members stated that the Orange Order prepares for meetings primarily through meetings and/or committees and six indicated that the most important step in the preparation of parades is to give notice to local lodges and informing members of the Orange Order as well as informing the community. Seven respondents discussed the importance of receiving permission from the necessary agencies. For instance, three members stated that in order to prepare for and carry out a parade, permission must be granted from the parades commission, and four stated that the parade route must be submitted to the Royal Ulster Constabulary before a parade can take place. In addition, three members reported that it is important to hire a band, and three others stated that the Orange Order has to arrange for the church hall and a minister if it is a church parade. Finally, one member stated that the parades are traditional and therefore, there is not much preparation involved, and one stated that purchasing clothes and preparing oneself for the parades is important.

Historical Analysis

Historical documents and material produced by the Orange Order showed evidence of the organizational structure of the Orange Order. Such evidence was found in miscellaneous material on the Orange Order, including books, booklets, and parade information. (The Twelfth 2001; Steadfast for Freedom: 200 Years of Orangeism; The Orange Standard; LOL Information Booklet) In addition, a discussion of various lodge

activities and characteristics of parades and the expected behavior of Orangemen was discovered in Orange Order publications.

Specifically, the material demonstrated the functions of the Orange Order as an organization as well as the hierarchical structure of the Orange Institution. Again, data obtained from historical documents will be discussed further in Chapter Seven. While data obtained from historical documents are important, little information was obtained. The majority of the data regarding the organizational structure of the Orange Order were obtained from interviews conducted with members of the Orange Order. (The Twelfth 2001; Steadfast for Freedom: 200 Years of Orangeism; The Orange Standard; LOL Information Booklet)

Strategic Ritualization

The use of strategic ritualization is visible in the Orange Parades as well as historical documents and material obtained from the Orange Order. Moreover, interviews with members of the Orange Order reveal that strategic ritualization is an integral part of the organization and ritualized practices.

For this study, the use of three key types of strategic ritualization is examined. First, I investigate the way the Orange Order acts as a ritual legitimator as it authorizes or validates ritualized symbolic practices associated with the Orange Order. Further, I examine the use of ritual sponsors or those who develop and promote ritualized symbolic practices, and finally, I study the use of ritual enforcers, which includes those who use their power to determine the ritualized symbolic practices associated with a particular group.

Observations

The primary evidence of strategic ritualization was found in speeches delivered by members of the Orange Order and other unionists. Speeches included platform rallies, arch opening ceremonies, and the Twelfth of July field ceremony following the parade. During the platform speech, the Protestants and members of the Orange Order were referred to as those that God will protect and that God is on the side of Protestants (The Reverend Ian Paisley).

During the arch opening ceremony, the speaker (an officer in the Orange Order) validated the Orange Order and Orange Parades and introduced the new banner following a parade. In addition, the speaker for the Twelfth of July field ceremony discussed the validity of the Orange Order and the ritualized practices it engages in. Moreover, the Twelfth of July speaker (a member of Parliament) promoted the ritualized practices. Details of the evidence obtained from observations will be discussed in Chapter Seven. As previously stated, the majority of data were obtained from conducting in-depth interviews with members of the Orange Order.

Interviews

In regard to strategic ritualization, nine main questions were asked members of the Orange Order. They are: a) who, if anyone, plays a key role in sponsoring the parades; b) who determines what events will take place; c) in the Orange Order, who makes decisions regarding the organization of parades; d) how is the parade route selected; e) in the Orange Order, who makes decisions regarding other events such as speeches and rallies; f) does the Catholic community protest against the Twelfth of July

parades; g) are there Catholic parades and/or festivals; h) does the Protestant community protest against Catholic parades and/or other festivities; and i) what do you think of the role of the government, police, and the media? The questions were designed to determine the extent that the Orange Order engages in strategic ritualization by the Orange Order in Northern Ireland. The question in regard to the Catholic community protesting the Orange Parades relate to strategic ritualization as they demonstrate that although the Catholic community may protest the parades, the Orange Order is able to overcome resistance to carry out ritualized practices. Further, the question in regard to the Protestant community protesting Catholic parades is relevant in relation to strategic ritualization as it demonstrates the view of some Protestants that Protestant activities are more valid than Catholic ritualized practices.

In regard to question (a), the majority of respondents indicated that there are no sponsors. However, several members of the Orange Order did state that leaders of the Order, political leaders, and business people act as sponsors for the Orange Parades. For question (b), responses ranged from the events being decided by tradition to the parades commission having the decision making power for parades. Four respondents stated that no one determines the events to take place as they are traditional, yet eleven reported that the local lodge would determine what events take place. In addition, six stated that the pyramid structure of the Orange Order plays a key role in determining the events with the grand lodge as the highest power. Finally, one member indicated that Orangemen vote on what events should take place; one stated that the parades commission decides, and one indicated that committees make the decisions.

Question (c) relates to the organization of parades. For this question, responses were mixed. Three stated that the grand lodge maintained control over the organization of parades, and three stated that local lodges possess control. Six replied that the district lodges played a key role in organizing parades. One stated that the county lodges organized parades, while three suggested that the police along with the Orange Order organized parades. Finally, one implied that the parades commission controlled the organization of parades; two stated that the president of the lodge made the decisions regarding parades; one stated it is based on tradition, and four either answered the question in a previous discussion or did not answer the question at all. When asked if this changed over time, thirteen respondents indicated that it has not changed over time, and three stated it has to a certain extent. Four did not answer.

For question (d), eleven participants stated that the district lodges select the parade route. Eight stated that the parade routes are traditional and one indicated that the Royal Ulster Constabulary played a role in selecting the parade route. In addition, one stated that the local lodge decides while one indicated that the parade route is based on geographical areas. Three stated that county lodges have the power to decide the parade route and one reported that the grand lodge makes the decisions regarding the parade route.

In regard to question (e), nine members of the Orange Order indicated that the local private lodges organized speeches and rallies, three stated that this is the responsibility of the district lodges, four suggested that the county lodges determine who will speak at Orange rallies, and three stated that the grand lodge decides these matters. Three members either did not respond to this question or they discussed it during a

previous question. Finally, one member stated that there are not many speeches. When asked if this changed over time, fourteen indicated that it has not changed over time while two stated that it has changed over time. Four did not provide an answer.

For the next question, respondents were asked to discuss whether the Catholic community protests against Orange Parades. Five stated that the Catholic community occasionally protests and two stated that when they do protest it is mostly from the Republican community. Further, nine indicated that the Catholic community protests but only in certain areas, and one stated that in most cases, there are no protests. Finally, four stated that there are no protests at all.

When asked how the Orange Order responds to protests by the Catholic community, nine did not provide an answer, two reported that the Orange Order may engage in peaceful protest in return; one stated that Orangemen are instructed to parade with dignity. However, one indicated that the Orange Order may create a standoff situation; one stated that the Orange Order will argue, and one indicated that the Orange Order does not respond very well. Two reported that the Orange Order will listen to the concerns of the Catholic community, yet one stated that the Orange Order will not negotiate.

In regard to the next question, eighteen indicated that the Catholic community engages in parades and/or festivities. One member did not respond and one other reported in a previous question that Catholics engage in parades. When asked if the Protestant community protests, fifteen respondents stated that the Protestant community does not protest against Catholic parades and/or festivities and five indicated that the Protestant community occasionally protests.

The final question in regard to strategic ritualization focuses on the perceived role of the government, police, and media. Regarding the government, nine respondents indicated that they believe the government creates obstacles for the Orange Order and one indicated that this is due to a decrease in the number of Orangemen in the government. One stated that he believed the government is a good help at the local level and one indicated that he believes the government is simply caught in the middle, and one stated that the government is not doing enough.

When asked about the role of the police, one indicated that there are some problems associated with the police and two stated that the police are also caught in the middle. Two reported that they believe the police are usually okay while two stated that the police are definitely helpful. In regard to the media, seven stated that the media projects a negative image or they are biased. In addition, two indicated that the media has always been against the Orange Order and one stated that the media does not provide enough exposure to the Orange Order. Finally, two remarked that the media is okay and the remaining participants did address the media. Data obtained from in-depth interviews will be interpreted and discussed in greater detail in Chapter Seven.

Historical Analysis

Evidence of strategic ritualization was found in miscellaneous orange material and Orange Order publications as well as the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland. (The Twelfth 2001; Steadfast for Freedom: 200 Years of Orangeism; The Orange Standard; LOL Information Booklet; The Twelfth 2001; Steadfast for Freedom: 200 Years of Orangeism; The Orange Standard; LOL Information Booklet Orangeism) In the material obtained from the Orange Order, references to power were made throughout the

material. While some references to power were made throughout the material, little data were obtained from historical documents in regard to strategic ritualization. As in the case of orangeism and the organizational structure of the Orange Order, the majority of data were obtained from interviews.

Structural Ritualization

The use of ritualized practices to maintain a dominant position in Northern Ireland was found in observations of parades and other activities, interviews with members of the Orange Order, and in historical documents as well as material obtained from the Orange Order. Specifically, the theory of structural ritualization is used to analyze the ritualized symbolic practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order and how these ritualized processes relate to social power. Moreover, the four factors that determine the overall rank or strength of a ritualized symbolic practice were evident in the parades and other festivities, particularly salience with a moderate to high degree of homologousness and resources and a low degree of repetitiveness.

Observations

Observational data were obtained by viewing the Twelfth of July parade as well as other parades and festivities. More specifically, evidence of salience, repetitiveness, homologousness, and resources were found in traditional parades, commemorative parades, rallies and speeches, arch opening parades, church parades, and the Twelfth of July parade. The data obtained from observations will be interpreted and discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

Interviews

Several questions were presented to respondents in regard to structural ritualization, particularly the degree of the four factors which determine the overall rank of a ritualized symbolic practice. Questions include: a) what does it mean to parade; b) how important is it to you to parade; c) where do parades take place; d) is the Protestant community involved in the Twelfth of July parade; e) what do the banners represent; f) are there other parades; g) does the Orange Order participate in other Protestant activities such as celebrations; h) what are the meaning of these events; i) how important are these events to you; j) how important are these events to the Orange Order; k) how often do these events take place; l) what supplies are needed to run the Twelfth of July parades; m) how are these supplies provided; n) how is the Twelfth of the July parade funded; and o) are there resources available to run the events?

The first five questions were asked in regard to salience while the next five related to homologousness. The following three that were presented to respondents related to repetitiveness, and finally, the last question was in regard to resources.

In regard to the first question, thirteen members of the Orange Order stated that parading represents an expression of culture and tradition. In addition, two participants indicated that parading is a part of their identity and four reported that the practice of parading is a representation of Protestant faith. Further, five respondents discussed the meaning of parades, arguing that parading shows allegiance not only to Protestantism but other loyal orders and one specifically stated that parading represents an expression of what Orangemen stand for. Moreover, two indicated that parading serves as a commemoration of important battles while one reported that parading is a celebration of

religious liberty. Finally, four stated that parading represents a fun day out for families and two simply stated that parading is about marching.

For the second question, responses did not vary much. Fourteen Orangemen indicated that parading is very important; one stated it represents his identity; four stated that it's how Orangemen express themselves; one reported that parading produces unity; and four stated that parading is important as it is a part of Protestant heritage and tradition. In addition, two stated that parading is important as it represents faith and four indicated that parading is important in order to maintain religious liberty and freedom. Further, one indicated that parading is a great achievement and one other stated that parading is a source of pride. However, two indicated that the act of parading is not that important.

In regard to the third question, the majority of respondents stated that parades take place in several areas. Three reported that parades take place all over while seven indicated that parades take place in different districts. Six stated that parades take place primarily in local towns and two stated that parades take place according to traditional routes. Finally, one stated that parades take place in different counties.

When asked if the Protestant community is involved in the Twelfth of July parade, sixteen respondents indicated that the Protestant community is involved in the twelfth of July parade as well as other parades and festivities in that they watch the parades. One stated that the bands are involved (many band members are not members of the Orange Order, but are members of the Protestant community) while one member stated that the wives and families of Orangemen are involved as they prepare meals and watch the parades. In addition, one member stated that since parades are a festivity, the

Protestant community would be involved. Two members stated that not all Protestants are involved in the Twelfth of July parades or other festivities. One member did not provide an answer.

In regard to the banners, fourteen respondents stated that the banners contain Biblical scenes and represent religious identity. In addition, ten participants indicated that the banners represent culture, history, tradition, and contain symbols or emblems associated with the Orange Order. Further, eleven members of the Orange Order reported that the banners contain images of war or battles such as William on a horse at the Battle of the Boyne. Finally, four respondents stated that the banners may have memorials of deceased members or war memorials painted on them.

Questions (f), (g), (h), (i), and (j) focused on homologousness. The first question was asked in regard to the existence of other parades. Ten respondents simply stated that there are other parades while the remaining members either did not provide an answer or they provided specific examples. One indicated that there are other parades on a regular basis throughout the year and another member stated that there are a lot of other parades. In addition, one respondent stated that there are district parades; two reported that there are local parades; four stated that there are church parades; and three stated that there are commemorative parades. Moreover, four discussed the Royal Black Perceptory, stating that they participate in a parade while one stated that the Boys of Derry hold a parade. Further, one stated that the Apprentice Boys have a parade.

Question (g) focused on other Protestant activities. When asked if the Orange Order participates in other Protestant activities, sixteen stated that members of the Orange Order do participate in other Protestant activities while eleven specifically stated that

members of the Orange Order participate primarily in church services and two reported that Orangemen participate in community events and activities. In addition, seven respondents indicated that several members of the Orange Order are involved in politics. Finally, one member stated that many Orangemen are involved in charities, yet one member reported that most Orangemen are not directly involved in other Protestant activities such as celebrations, church activities, and other events.

The follow-up question (h) to the previous question focused on the meaning of these events. Seven respondents indicated that the meaning of the Protestant activities is scriptural or religious while five stated that the meaning represents culture, heritage, and history. Further, one member stated that the meaning of other Protestant activities specifically related to tradition and carried the same meaning as parades, yet one other member indicated that other Protestant events are not as important as the parades. Moreover, one participant stated that the meaning of other events is commemorative and one reported that these events are important for the running of the Orange Order. One member also stated that that the events represent an expression of religious liberty and freedom; one stated that the events are primarily political while another member stated that they are primarily social. Finally, one member indicated that other Protestant events keep the Order in contact with the community.

When asked how important these events are to Orangemen (question i), the majority of respondents indicated that the events are very important. Thus, eleven stated that other Protestant events are very important while two stated that they are important as they maintain Protestant tradition and one indicated that they possess cultural importance. In addition, one member stated that these activities are important for religion. Three

respondents did not provide an answer and two participants discussed this issue in previous questions.

The final question (j) regarding homologousness focused on the importance of other Protestant activities to the Orange Order as an institution. Responses to this question were primarily answered during the previous question; that is, when asked how important these events are to Orangemen, the majority of respondents discussed the importance to Orangemen as well as the Orange Order, thus stating that other Protestant events are important not only to Orangemen, but also to the Orange Order as an organization.

Question (k) relates to the repetitiveness of ritualized symbolic practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order. When asked how often events take place, four stated that it depends on the area as there are different ritualized practices in different areas. Several members stated that ritualized activities take place regularly with one member indicating that the events take place everyday while another stated that they take place every Sunday. In addition, one respondent reported that they take place primarily in July and two indicated that they take place once a year (referring to the Twelfth of July parade). Finally, ten respondents did not provide an answer as the occurrence of ritualized practices was discussed during previous questions. In addition, data regarding the repetitiveness of ritualized practices were obtained through observations and material published by the Orange Order which I will provide and discuss at a later point.

Questions (l), (m), (n), and (o) were presented to members of the Orange Order in regard to resources needed to carry out ritualized symbolic practices. The first question focused on the supplies needed to run the Twelfth of July Parade. Six respondents

indicated that the main resource is the band while seven members stated that crowd control was the most important resource. However, nine participants indicated that catering represented the primary resource needed for the Twelfth of July Parade. Three members stated that personal items were necessary such as new clothes, a sash, or a haircut while one indicated that the banner was the most important item needed for the Twelfth of July Parade. In addition, two members reported that the leaders of the Orange Order represented an important resource and one stated that the parades commission was important in that they granted permission for the Twelfth of July Parade. Finally, two respondents indicated that invitations to the lodges are an important resource; one stated that the organization of the parade is a valuable resource; and two stated that there are not many resources needed to run the Twelfth of July Parade.

The next question relates to how the resources necessary for the Twelfth of July Parade are provided. One member specifically stated that the members supply the resources. Five members did not respond and fourteen respondents provided their answer in the following questions regarding the funding of parades.

To determine how the Twelfth of July Parade is funded, members were asked to discuss the financial aspect of running the Twelfth of July Parade. Thirteen members stated that the Twelfth of July Parade is funded by members of the Orange Order through a monthly subscription and dues. In addition, three respondents indicated that the funds are obtained from the districts and one stated that this is the responsibility of the grand lodge. Moreover, one member stated that money is raised through fundraising, yet three members reported that there is little to no expense involved in the Twelfth of July Parade.

When asked if resources are available for other Protestant activities, seven respondents stated that the members of the Orange Order fund the parade and one simply stated that people fund the parade. In addition, one member indicated that the parade is funded through community involvement and one reported that funds are available from the church. Finally, eight respondents stated that the parade is not really funded as members pay dues, yet no outside funds are necessary. Finally, two members did not provide responses.

Historical Analysis

Evidence of the use of structural ritualization by the Orange Order in Northern Ireland was found in Orange Order material. (The Twelfth 2001; Steadfast for Freedom: 200 Years of Orangeism; The Orange Standard; LOL Information Booklet) Specifically, data regarding salience, homologousness, repetitiveness, and resources were obtained in material published by the Orange Order. This data will be discussed and analyzed at a later point.

Themes

Four major themes were found in the data. They are: a) dominance, b) British loyalty, c) opposition to Republican community, and d) moral superiority. Evidence of dominance was found in observations, interviews, and historical analysis. Specifically, the theme of dominance may be seen in the parades, as they are celebrations of past victories and the current structure.

British loyalty is an important aspect of Orange ideology. The Orange Order identifies itself as an organization in Northern Ireland which remains under British

control. Further, the Orange Order opposes the Republican community who continue to attempt to free Northern Ireland from British control.

Finally, the Orange Order, through the Orange Parades, expresses moral superiority as they affirm Protestants' beliefs about their own moral value.

The various themes were discovered in observations and historical documents. However, the majority of data in regard to themes were obtained from conducting in-depth interviews with members of the Orange Order. In addition, the themes relate to the four factors that determine the overall rank or strength of a ritualized symbolic practice.

Outcomes

In addition to the themes, four key outcomes are revealed in the research. They are: a) the development and strengthening of collective identity; b) a heightened sense of moral worth; c) power; and d) an elevated status of the group. In this study, collective identity is defined as a similarity of beliefs, ideas, and behaviors among members of the Orange Order. A heightened sense of moral worth refers to a collection of beliefs involving a differential evaluation about the value or desirability of the group, and power refers to the Orange Order's ability to exercise their will regardless of resistance from other actors or groups. The final outcome, an elevated status of the group, refers to the Orange Order's position in the social prestige system of Northern Ireland.

The outcomes were obtained from observations, interviews, and historical documents. As with the various themes discovered in the data, the majority of data obtained in regard to outcomes were obtained from interviews conducted with members of the Orange Order.

The next chapter provides an in-depth discussion of the findings. The results will be broken down into data obtained from observations, interviews, and historical analysis. In addition, a discussion of each aspect of the Orange Order such as orangeism, the organizational structure, strategic ritualization, structural ritualization, and the themes and outcomes, will be analyzed.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

The Orange Order, a dominant Protestant organization, maintains power through ritualized activity, primarily the Twelfth of July Parades. Several components of the Orange Order and the ritualized symbolic practices of the Orange Institution are discussed in this chapter. They are: a) orangeism; b) the organizational structure of the Orange Order; c) strategic ritualization; d) structural ritualization; e) themes; f) and outcomes of the ritualized symbolic practice of parading.

Orangeism

The Orange Order continues to be a dominant institution in Northern Ireland. Despite a changing political climate, orangeism remains an important and visible aspect of the loyalist community throughout Northern Ireland. According to my research, the most visible ritualized practice relating to orangeism is the Orange Parades, specifically the Twelfth of July Parade. To document the importance and visibility of orangeism, I employed observations, interviews with members of the Orange Order, and historical analysis.

Observations

During my study of the Orange Order and the relationship between the ritualized symbolic practices of the Orange Order and power, I observed eight major types of

ritualized activities including traditional or mini Twelfth of July Parades, commemorative parades, arch opening parades, church parades, open air rallies, the Republic of Ireland parade, the Drumcree demonstration, and the Twelfth of July Parade.

During the traditional parade, the members of the Orange Order marched through a predominantly Protestant community. The music could be heard for some distance. The music included patriotic and religious songs, representing British culture. The crowd was comprised of people of all ages. Further, some wore British hats (souvenir type hats) and waved small British flags.

The commemorative parade involved several Orange lodges whose members marched from different areas of Belfast to a large hall where a church service was performed to commemorate the Battle of the Somme (World War I). A large banner was placed at the front of the hall with a loyal Orange lodge number symbolizing orangeism; that is, the lodge represents the heart of the Orange Order as it is the local lodge that reaches into the community to communicate the meaning of the Orange Order and Protestant pride.

The arch opening parade was a smaller parade, yet important for orangeism. The members of the local lodges paraded through the community and then gathered in front of the arch where an officer in the local lodge delivered a speech. The banner contained four large red poles with a middle section and two side sections. The middle section was blue with a red star off to the side. Further, on one side section, the word "Boyne" was posted and on the other side, a British flag was flown. The word "Boyne" symbolizes the battle that gave Protestants freedom. Moreover, the arch is quite tall (approximately twenty feet) providing a view of the symbols of the Orange Order to the entire community.

Church parades involved members of the Orange Order parading from a meeting point to the church for a church service. During the church service, members of the Orange Order sat in the front of the church and the sermon provided an affirmation of the Orange Order and orangeism, as well as encouragement to members to maintain Protestant faith. Following the service, members marched back to the meeting place.

Although not a parade, the open-air rally represents an important ritualized practice for members of the Orange Order. During this type of rally, the speakers stand on a platform (generally a converted semi-truck). The speaker, not a member of the Orange Order but referred to as a “man of God,” proceeds to deliver a message to the audience. The speech contained many negative utterances toward Roman Catholics. They include references to the Pope as the anti-Christ and the belief that God will crush the Roman Catholics and uplift Protestants and orangeism.

The Republic of Ireland parade involved members of the Orange Order from Northern Ireland and members of the Orange Order from the Republic of Ireland gathering together to parade in the Republic of Ireland, thus demonstrating solidarity among members of the Orange Institution from all over Ireland and Northern Ireland. Although it takes place prior to the Twelfth of July, this parade is considered to be the equivalent to the Twelfth of July Parade in Ireland.

The Drumcree demonstration developed in 1998 in response to the Parades Commission’s decision to ban the parade from Drumcree Parish through Garvaghy Road, a predominantly Catholic neighborhood in Portadown. Members of the Orange Order gather together at Drumcree Parish and walk up to the blockade. It has the appearance of a festival with various booths, providing food and souvenirs, lining the street. In addition,

people dressed in Orange gear such as sashes socialize with each other. However, closer to the blockade, some members of the Orange Order throw bottles filled with gasoline over the blockade in protest over the ban on the parade. The protest demonstrates the importance of orangeism and the ritualized practices of the Orange Order; that is, members of the Orange Order would not engage in a protest if the ritualized practice that was banned was not important.

The Twelfth of July Parade combines elements from all of the previously discussed ritualized practices. Members of the Orange Order meet and then take their place in the parade. The members march through the streets to an open field where platform speeches are delivered in the midst of a very festive atmosphere. There are numerous banners carried in the parade as well as flute bands, lambeg drums, traditional bands (trumpets, drums, and clarinets). The twelfth of July Parade resembles a traditional parade (also referred to as a mini-Twelfth parade), yet the Twelfth of July Parade is much more grand; that is, in the Twelfth of July Parade, there is more of every element such as bands, banners, members of the Orange Order, entertainment, spectators, and speeches. Further, members of the Orange Order and their families spend several days prior to the event preparing for the festivities of the Twelfth of July Parade. For instance, many members purchase new clothes for the event and family members remain busy preparing refreshments and organizing transportation.

While the preparation of refreshments and other necessities for the Twelfth of July begin several days prior to the parade, the Orange Order begins preparing for the twelfth of July Parade approximately six months prior to the day itself. This involves meetings, discussions with the Parades Commission, interviews with the media, mini-

Twelfth of July Parades, and other ritualized activities. Thus, approximately half of the year is devoted to preparing for the Twelfth of July.

Interviews

As previously discussed, three main questions dealing with Orangeism were presented to the members of the Orange Order who participated in this study. They are: a) what does it mean to you to be an Orangeman; b) are you involved in other community organizations; and c) what is the purpose of the Twelfth of July Parade?

In regard to the first question, the majority (eleven out of twenty) of respondents specifically stated that it means a lot to be an Orangeman and it is related to family tradition. For instance, one participant stated:

It means a great deal. Uh, as far as our family was concerned, you just when you come of age, you just joined it. But, I believe in the Orange Order. It's sworn for the protection of Protestants. At a greater or lesser degree, it's still that, but it does, yes it does – it means a lot to me.

Another responded:

Uh, personally, I think, uh for me personally, it's traditional first of all. It's a family tradition. It means a lot to me – Protestant culture. There's a lot of people in this day and age who are trying to shoot the Protestant culture down, and, it means a lot to me to try and keep my identity alive. They're friends for life.

In addition to the previous responses, several members of the Orange Order stated that being an Orangeman represented culture, pride, and friendship. For instance, one member indicated that being a member of the Orange Order is very important and a source of pride. He also stated that giving up membership in the organization would be very difficult. In addition, another Orangeman reported that being a member of the

Orange Order represents an expression of Christian faith and an opportunity to engage in social fellowship with like-minded people.

Finally, some of the orangemen discussed the religious aspect of being a member of the Orange institution. In addition, a few members also indicated that being an Orangeman is a way to express unity and political views, as well as functioning as a mechanism for personal improvement. For instance, one Orangeman stated:

To me, we maintain our free and religious liberty for everyone. And, that is what an Orangeman stands for – free and religious liberty for everyone.

Others responded:

Um, for me personally, it's a way for me to express my political views.
Um, it's also a way to follow traditional routes – family routes.

Well, as I say because I uh, an orangeman's expected to attend his place of worship wherever it may be – Protestant denomination. It could be Church of Ireland, Presbyterian, Methodist or whatever and uh, he's expected to attend his place of worship which would be every Sunday.

Regarding the second question which focused on involvement in other community organizations, the majority (twelve out of twenty) of respondents indicated they are involved in one or more of the following: a) other community organizations, b) other fraternal organizations, c) organizations associated with the Orange Order, and d) churches. In regard to community involvement, one Orangeman stated:

Yes, yes, uh they would range from things associated with the Orange hall and I'm involved with the historical society. Uh, I'm involved with youth work. Um, I'm also involved in community property development. Our little village where we're trying to uh offer derelict property and turn it into business centers and things like that, uh again to help the community and I think the majority of Orangemen and Orangewomen at some level are involved in different things in their churches, what have you.

Other responses include:

I'm involved with quite a lot of charities in Northern Ireland. Um, I'm a marathon runner. I run for the church, Alzheimer's Disease, uh and the Children's Hospice. I'm an Orangeman and I'm proud to be able to do that. I'm the official runner for the Chest and Heart Association of Northern Ireland.

Yes, I would be involved in other loyal orders. I'm involved in the Royal Black Preceptory. I'm also involved in the Ulster/Scotch Council and Ulster Society.

The final question in regard to orangeism, focusing on the purpose of the Twelfth of July Parade, yielded similar responses as the previous question. Almost every (eighteen out of twenty) Orangeman stated that the purpose of the Twelfth of July Parade is to celebrate or commemorate King William's victory at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. One member reported that the Twelfth of July represents the victory of William over King James, and thus represents the start of the Protestant culture.

In addition to the previous responses, several Orangemen made reference to religious liberty and freedom, parliamentary democracy, and cultural importance. During one interview, the respondent stated:

The purpose is to commemorate the Battle of the Boyne, Twelfth of July, 1690. The reason that battle was so important was the events that took place afterwards: the constitutional monarchy that we now have in the United Kingdom and our parliamentary system of democracy. The civil and religious liberties that we have – expression, freedom of assembly, free worship as we choose. So, the whole society would be different today. So, it's an essential thing not just for Orangemen, but the whole community.

Historical Analysis

As previously discussed, the importance of orangeism is found in Orange publications and miscellaneous Orange material and documents. (The Twelfth 2001; Steadfast for Freedom: 200 Years of Orangeism; The Orange Standard; LOL Information Booklet) According to Orange material and documents, orangeism represents religion

and patriotism. In addition, it stands for allegiance to the British Crown. Further, the documents indicate that the primary goal of orangeism is to preserve religious liberty, reflecting a determination to maintain a Protestant throne. In other words, orangeism represents three major loyalties that Orangemen must follow, including loyalty to their church, loyalty to their country, and loyalty to their queen.

In addition to miscellaneous documents, evidence of the meaning and importance of orangeism can be found in Orange Order publications. For instance, in a statement by the Grand Master, the responsibility of Orangemen is discussed.

Our first responsibility as Orangemen is to be Christian; to think, speak and act as imitators of Christ in the several relationships, situations, and circumstances of our lives; to deliberate and constantly witness to our faith in Christ and to serve Him in the service of others. (The Orange Standard 2001)

Moreover, the Battle of the Boyne is mentioned several times throughout the material.

In sum, the data regarding orangeism indicated that the Orange Order participates in numerous types of ritualized parades and other ritualized practices. While the meaning of these parades and other ritualized practices vary somewhat, the central theme or meaning is to promote and celebrate orangeism, the Orange Order, Protestantism, and British identity. Further, being an Orangeman is very important to members of the Orange Order as it represents culture, pride, and friendship. In addition, members of the Orange Order value community service as the majority of members interviewed are active in other community organizations.

Finally, while the majority of data were obtained from interviews conducted with members of the Orange Order, observations and historical documents supported and complemented the data yielded from interviews. I observed the ritualized practices that

members of the Orange Order engaged in. Further, the participants discussed these ritualized practices during the interviews. The historical documents demonstrated the purpose of the Orange Order in Northern Ireland which was expressed in the parades as well as interviews.

Organizational Structure

The organization of the Orange Order consists of a hierarchical structure. At the top of the structure is the Grand Lodge of Ireland, followed by the county lodges, then the district lodges, and finally, the private lodges. Within the grand lodge, there are three hundred representatives from county lodges. Twelve county lodges were formed in different counties. They include: a) Antrim, b) Armagh, c) Belfast, d) Cavan, e) Donegal, f) Down, g) Fermanagh, h) Leitrim, i) City of Londonderry, j) Londonderry, k) Monaghan, and l) Tyrone (see Figure 1). In addition to county lodges, there are 125 district lodges and 1400 private lodges (www.grandorange.org.uk).

The Orange Order, a religious and patriotic organization, also participates in politics at both the local and national levels. The organizational structure of the Orange Order encourages members to become involved in politics or at the very least, support unionism. Thus, the organizational structure of the Orange Order operates in a hierarchical structure based on power. Further, the organization is formed in such a way that lodges exist in many communities throughout Northern Ireland and members are encouraged to become involved in the communities.

The Orange Order has strong ties with the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP), but the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) remains the largest unionist party at both the Northern Irish Assembly and the Westminster Parliament. Within the Westminster Parliament,

there are six seats available for the DUP with five available for the UUP; four for Sinn Fein, and three for the SDLP (a Nationalist party) (www.wikipedia.org).

Within the Ulster Unionist Council, 122 members are Orange delegates with twelve members from the association representing the Loyal Orange Women (Tonge, 2002). In addition, of the DUP Assembly members, fifteen of the twenty members are Orangemen (Tonge, 2002).

Although the Grand Lodge represents the top of the pyramid, research shows that private lodges have a certain amount of power to organize and carry out ritualized symbolic practices such as parades. As a result, the organization of the Orange Order is structured in such a way that ritual practices take place in almost every community in Northern Ireland. However, this does not mean the private lodge has total power. The evidence indicates that the district and county lodges are involved in decisions regarding parades.

Observations

Aspects of the structure of the Orange Order are visible in several ritualized practices including traditional parades, commemorative parades/rituals, arch opening parades, and the Twelfth of July Parades.

During the traditional parade, top officers march in the front. This demonstrated the hierarchical structure of the Orange Order as top officers march in front, followed by members of the lodges. In addition, members of the Orange Order on parade wear a sash with a badge indicating his position in the Orange Institution.

During the commemorative parade, members of the Orange Order march from different areas of Belfast to a hall where a service is held to commemorate those lost at

the Battle of the Somme (World War One). During the service, the Grand Master was seated in the middle of the stage. He then prayed and the service continued. The Grand Master of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland represents the highest position in the Orange Order.

Another example of the organizational structure of the Orange Order is present during an arch opening parade. Following the parade, an informal meeting, to discuss future events, took place in a room located in the Orange hall. The meeting was attended by officers in the Orange Order. No others were permitted to attend.

Officers (from private lodges up to grand lodge) play an important role in the structure of the Orange Order as they make key decisions (such as what events will take place and what information will be revealed regarding the Orange Institution) regarding parades and other ritualized practices. Moreover, they relay information from higher levels to members of their private lodge.

Finally, during the Twelfth of July Parade, officers march in front, followed by members of the Orange Order, and then the band. Some officers (the Grand Master and up and coming Grand Masters) carried mallets, symbolizing power and authority. The organization of the Twelfth of July Parade is similar to traditional parades.

Interviews

Two main questions were presented to the twenty participants in regard to the organizational structure of the Orange Order. They are: a) how would you describe the organization of the Orange Order in Northern Ireland, and b) how does the Orange Order prepare for parades?

In response to the first question, the majority (eleven out of twenty) of Orangemen indicated that the organizational structure of the Orange Order is fashioned in a pyramid or hierarchy. For instance, several participants stated:

Um, it is a hierarchical structure – that's the term. When members join, they are initiated into the Order; they go through and are elected to various offices. After a period of time, they would then be entitled to attend senior levels of the Order and they move up the structure. They gain experience at the lower levels and they take that experience to the higher levels.

Um, the structure is pyramidal in that everyone joins at the base level what we call a private lodge which everyone belongs to that. Then, there are piers as we go to the top. All of the private lodges in a geographical area form a district lodge. All of the districts in a geographical area form a county lodge. And, the counties come to the grand lodge of Ireland. The grand lodge of Ireland is the governing body. Having said that it's the governing body, the ethos of the Orange Order reflects the ethos of Protestantism which is decentralization. There is tremendous power at the local level. There is a lot of autonomy because we believe in freedom of the individual. Uh, and a lot of power goes down from the center to the local level.

It's organized in counties and then every county is organized in districts. Each district has local lodges. It's a tiered structure and the grand is at the top.

In addition, several respondents discussed the democratic nature of the Orange Order, referring to the structure as being good. One participant stated:

It is uh, it's democratic. Uh, it works in a structure: private, district, county, and grand lodge.

Another reported:

I would describe it as very democratic because um all the officers of the lodge are kind of ordinary members. That applies at district levels, county levels, and grand lodge as well as the private lodge. It was conceived and set up by ordinary working men, and I think that is commended today because they set it up and always kept it a very democratic organization. It has never been dominated by the aristocracy or anything.

While the majority of responses indicate that the structure of the Orange Order is good, two members suggested that there are some problems with communication as one participant stated that communication in a hierarchical structure is a bit slow. The other respondent discussed the structure as making it difficult for those at the bottom of the hierarchy to communicate with the higher levels.

In regard to the second question, most of the respondents stated that the Orange Order prepares for parades by attending meetings (lodge meetings and committee meetings). As one member of the Orange Order discussed:

Most meet twelve times per year about monthly. You have the chairman which is called the worshipful master and deputy master and then you have the treasurer and secretary and a chaplain, that is a lay chaplain, who reads portions of scripture at large meetings.

Another responded:

Oh, preparation starts right away. Like we would have district meetings come October. Likely we would start in August and we would talk about how things went this year and then after that, everything is a preparation.

Still other members of the Orange Order discussed the process of preparing for parades, stating that it involves submitting the route to the Royal Ulster Constabulary (Northern Ireland Police), receiving permission from the Parades Commission, and notifying other members of the Orange Order and the community where the parade will take place.

Historical Analysis

The organizational structure of the Orange Order is mentioned or discussed in the material obtained from the Orange Order. (The Twelfth 2001; Steadfast for Freedom: 200 Years of Orangeism; The Orange Standard; LOL Information Booklet) In several

publications, it is stated that the Orange Institution is organized into lodges and lodge meetings are not open to the public.

Moreover, the rules of Orangeism, created by the Grand Lodge, are clearly stated. Specifically, Orangemen are expected to unreservedly condemn the unscriptural doctrines of the Church of Rome. Following this statement is a list of the characteristics of parades as outlined by the Orange Order organization. They include: a) they are part of the Protestant heritage; b) they are a witness of Protestant faith; c) they are commemorative; d) they are cultural expressions; e) they follow traditional routes; f) the parades bring responsibilities; and g) members are expected to abide by standards. (The Twelfth 2001; Steadfast for Freedom: 200 Years of Orangeism; The Orange Standard; LOL Information Booklet)

The data indicate that the Orange Order is organized in a pyramid or hierarchical structure. Members of the Orange Order stated that the structure of the Orange Order is hierarchical. However, the private lodges maintain a high degree of freedom to make decisions regarding parades and other ritualized practices. While the parameters of the Orange Order organization demonstrate a hierarchical structure, there is a high degree of autonomy within those parameters. Thus, the private lodges maintain the ability to determine certain ritualized practices to be carried out within the parameters of the hierarchy. The observational data and historical documents support this view.

Strategic Ritualization

Evidence of strategic ritualization was found in observations, interviews, and historical analysis. In regard to strategic ritualization, the majority of data were obtained from interviews with members of the Orange Order. While aspects of strategic

ritualization by the Orange Order was visible in observations of parades and other ritualized activities as well as in historical documents and material obtained from the Orange Order, specific evidence of the use of strategic ritualization by the Orange Order was found primarily in interview responses.

Observations

Regarding observations, strategic ritualization is most visible in speeches. While the majority of observational data indicate that ritual legitimators play a more prominent role in Orange Parades, evidence supporting the presence of ritual sponsors and ritual enforcers also exists.

As stated above, evidence of strategic ritualization may best be found in speeches. In one address given during a commemorative parade, the speaker acted as a ritual legitimator. He presented his speech in the middle of a commemorative ceremony, stating to members of the Orange Order that “we are on the winning side – we have God.” Through his speech he validated, in religious terms, the ritualized practices of the Orange Order.

An example of the Orange Order acting as a ritual sponsor took place following an arch opening parade in which a group of Orange officers gathered in a private room above an Orange lodge. During the meeting, the officers planned and discussed future ritualized practices.

Finally, an example of the Orange Order as a ritual enforcer occurred during the Drumcree demonstration which represents a ritualized practice that was developed in opposition to the ban of the Garvaghy Road parade. During this demonstration, members of the Orange Order use their power to determine and carry out a ritualized practice.

Although the parade is banned, the Orange Order created a new practice, i.e., demonstration, which keeps attention on the Garvaghy Road area; that is, the Orange Order demonstrated the power or capacity to create a different ritualized practice in order to highlight the banned parade.

Interviews

Responses obtained from conducting interviews with members of the Orange Order indicate that the Orange Order uses strategic ritualization and that this ability is largely based on the organizational structure of the Orange Institution. The structure of the Orange Order is organized in such a way that private lodges have power as well as district and county lodges, thus providing an opportunity for ritualized practices to be developed and carried out in many communities throughout Northern Ireland.

Members of the Orange Order who participated in this study were asked nine questions in regard to strategic ritualization. The first question: who, if anyone, plays a key role in sponsoring parades?, produced similar responses. Several respondents indicated that leaders of the Orange Order acted as sponsors, and a few stated that political or business leaders played a larger role in sponsoring parades and other ritualized practices. For instance, one member stated:

Well, I think you would find leading members of the Orange Order. Um, together with some elective representatives, counselors, local assemblymen, or even members of Parliament. Uh, of course, many of them are members of the Orange Order.

Another responded:

Well, we'd all pull together when there are parades and almost all lodges have officers such as the secretary and the worshipful master who would look after the actual organization that carries on at district level and county level so they would have key roles and everybody helps.

While several members discussed the role of leaders in sponsoring the parades, the majority indicated that there are no sponsors in regard to parades and other ritualized activities. However, these respondents did not appear to understand the question in the context it was meant; that is, the respondents answered as if to suggest that there is no corporate, business, or commercial sponsorship of parades. Thus, the majority of respondents did not address to the concept of sponsorship as it is understood within the theoretical framework of strategic ritualization, even when the question was re-phrased.

The second question, “who determines what events will take place,” was presented to the twenty respondents. The majority of participants stated that the lodges, whether it be grand lodge, county lodges, district lodges, or private lodges, determine the events such as parades and other festivities. One member stated:

Uh, if a private lodge decides to hold a church parade, they will organize that themselves. If it's the district lodge, the normal, uh, they inform all the private lodges within their district and uh a parade's gonna take place on a certain day and a time. If it's a county parade, then the county lodge will organize it. Normally, they're all traditional parades.

Other responses include:

Normally, the local lodge. For a district service, the district, and if it's a county service, then the county. Uh, usually the local district lodge which is made up of all the officers of the private lodges.

The remaining participants stated that the Parades Commission and police play an important role in deciding which events will take place. And, some respondents discussed the traditional nature of parades, stating that it's not really a decision to hold certain activities as they are traditional events.

In addition to the question regarding the decision-making process of parades and other festivities, a follow-up question, “has this changed over time,” was presented to

respondents. Almost all (thirteen out of twenty) members who were interviewed stated that the decision-making process has remained the same over time. Some members indicated that things have changed somewhat.

The responses to the next question, “how is the parade route selected,” reveal that the Orange Order acts as a ritual legitimator as it authorizes and validates parade routes, therefore helping to make parades possible. In other words, the majority of respondents stated that parade routes are selected by lodges, particularly the district lodges. One member stated:

Uh, the parade route is usually selected uh by the, the district where the parade is taking place.

Others reported:

Well, me as I say are the _____ and we are made up of seven districts and each district selects their own area within their own district.

Uh, within our own district, within the county, we have different districts. They would go down to the county and around every seventh year (we have seven different districts), it's just a rotation.

The remaining respondents stated that either the Royal Ulster Constabulary plays a key role in selecting the parade route or the parade route is simply traditional; that is, the parade has followed the same route for many years. While many of the parade routes are traditional, the Orange Order may still be viewed as a ritual legitimator as they use the traditional aspect of the parade route to authorize and justify parades.

The fourth question focused on those in the Orange Order who are specifically responsible for organizing the parades. Again, the majority of respondents indicated that the lodges play a key role in organizing parades, particularly district lodges. Some members stated that the district lodge, which is comprised of all the private lodges within

a district, organize parades. In addition, several members stated that leaders of local lodges and the grand lodge organize the parades.

Moreover, one member discussed the traditional nature of parades, stating that this has been going on for years. Finally, several Orangemen reported that the Royal Ulster Constabulary or the Parades Commission must grant permission in order for a parade to proceed. Responses include:

Yes, you have to give seven days notice to uh the Royal Ulster Constabulary and ask to hold a parade. Well, at the present time, it's the Parades Commission that makes the decisions.

When asked if this has changed over time, almost all of the respondents indicated that it has not changed over time. As one member stated:

No. That was born from its inception – greater or lesser degree of autonomy.

The next question corresponds with the previous questions, yet this question focused on those in the Orange Order who are responsible for making decisions regarding other events such as rallies, speeches, and church services. The majority of respondents reported that it's the responsibility of the local private lodges to develop, promote, and validate such events. Others indicated that events are organized by district lodges, county lodges, the grand lodge, or special committees. One member stated:

Uh, once again, rallies, speeches, and things are decided by the local organizers who selects who's going to say things. Basically, the speeches are fairly free – you have a fairly free hand within the guidelines set down by grand lodge.

Others responded:

Well, that again would be coming from the lodge. It would be organized at the local level. If it's a private lodge event, the private lodge would organize it. If it's a district event, the district lodge would organize it. If it's a county lodge event, the county lodge would organize it.

When asked if this has changed over time (during the past 100 years, approximately), almost all respondents stated that it has not changed over time; that is, almost every Orangeman who was interviewed responded that the way rallies and speeches are organized has been the same. Although a few members reported that the organization has changed over time, they stated that the changes were minimal.

In regard to strategic ritualization, the remaining questions focused on the protest against Orange practices by the Catholic community and protest over Catholic events by the Protestant community. In addition, respondents were asked what they thought about the role of the government, media, and police in Northern Ireland. These questions relate to strategic ritualization as they show how the Orange Order acts as a ritual legitimator and ritual enforcer. More specifically, when members of the Catholic community protest against Orange Parades, the Orange Order often responds by validating their (Orange) practices by delivering speeches, talking with the press, or engaging in a parade to name a few. The responses to the question regarding the role of the government, media, and police demonstrate that the Orange Order acts as a ritual enforcer in that they possess the power and means to carry out several types of ritualized practices in spite of government and police regulations, as well as negative media exposure (the Orange Order is often presented as a hostile and anti-Catholic organization). However, in some cases, the police have been helpful regarding Orange practices.

One question focused on whether the Catholic community protests against the Twelfth of July parade. Several Orangemen responded that yes, the Catholic community occasionally protests against the Twelfth of July Parade, and many respondents stated that protests occur in certain areas. For instance, one member stated:

They do in certain areas, yeah. It's all a bit of misunderstanding especially now. If history hadn't been fought, I don't think we would have had the same troubles.

Others responded:

In certain areas they do. Not in Nationalist areas. In areas where they [Nationalists] weren't there years ago. They built houses in the area and planned in advance and then object to our parades within an area which years ago they did not live in. There are some people predominantly in the Republican areas who would come out and cause havoc over parades. We feel that parades are not a genuine source of offense to anyone. Our parades are about our religion, our culture, and they're not set out to give offense. However, there are some who would deliberately take offense for political reasons. So, unfortunately, that has been manifested in recent years.

The next question focused on the existence of Catholic parades and festivals. All but two respondents indicated that the Catholic community engages in ritualized activities such as parades. One responded stated:

Well, there would be Catholic parades. They have an order called The Ancient Order of Hibernians and they would parade on the fifteenth of August. They got to different venues, mostly Republican towns.

Another responded:

Yes, but 95% of parades in Northern Ireland would be Protestant. The Protestant people would have more parades just as part of their culture. Um, but there is Roman Catholic parades. The fifteenth of August is the Ancient Order of Hibernian parades. And, there would be other parades.

In yet another question, respondents were asked whether the Protestant community protests against Catholic parades or other festivities. The majority of members stated that Protestants do not protest against Catholic events. However, some reported that the Protestant community occasionally protests against Catholic parades. For instance, one Orangeman stated:

There have been some minor protests, not to the extent of the protests of our Orange Parades.

The final question in regard to strategic ritualization addressed the role of the government, police, and media as they relate to the Orange Order and Orange Parades. When asked to discuss the role of the government in the parades, most Orangemen who were interviewed stated that the government created obstacles, specifically through the development of the Parades Commission. As one member reported:

Well, the government, un the Parades Commission, yes, would be hindering quite a bit.

Others mirrored this response indicating that the government bans certain parades (i.e., Drumcree) or gives in to outside pressure (i.e., from the Nationalist community). Others stated that the government does not do enough and remains caught in the middle. However, one member stated that the government is helpful to the Orange Order, yet he did not elaborate on how the government is helpful.

Although respondents generally reported that the government represents a hindrance, the Orange Order uses its [the Orange Order's] power to develop ritualized practices such as the Drumcree demonstration. This protest replaced the banned Garvaghy Road march for four years, thus becoming a ritualized symbolic practice which demonstrates how the Orange Order can act as a ritual enforcer.

In regard to the role of the police, reactions by Orangemen were similar. Some indicated that there are some problems associated with the Royal Ulster Constabulary, yet the majority of Orangemen stated that the police are helpful. However, some stated that the police are caught in the middle.

In addition to discussing the role of the government and police, respondents were asked to discuss the role of the media. Almost every Orangeman stated that the media

projects a negative image of the Orange Order, and the media is biased. For instance, one respondent stated:

The media to me – they discuss things they should not. They haven't got the proof or the evidence before. They hit the limelight with something that may be entirely wrong in regards to the situation on the ground.

Still another stated:

The media in Northern Ireland I think are very biased against the Orange Order, against the Unionist community in general and I think they have made the situation worse in a lot of propaganda they have put out because the stuff they put out is no longer believable. You know, they deliberately misrepresent facts, that's been proved time and time again. Those three sources are all negative as far as Orangemen are concerned. Hopefully with the will of God, those things will change, but I'm not optimistic.

Despite the negative image of the Orange Order portrayed in the media, the Orange Institution still possesses the power to develop, promote, validate, and carry out ritualized practices. For instance, the Orange Order produces its own written material, including a newspaper (the "Orange Standard," printed monthly), to promote and validate the ritualized practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order, thus acting as a ritual sponsor and ritual legitimator.

Evidence of strategic ritualization was visible in parades and other ritualized activities such as speeches which promoted Protestantism and the Orange Order. Moreover, these ritualized practices occur in almost every community in Northern Ireland, thereby making them important aspects of life in Northern Ireland.

In regard to ritual sponsors, the majority of respondents indicated that there are no sponsors, yet they were referring to corporate sponsors. There is evidence that the Orange Order acts as a ritual sponsor in that they develop and promote various ritualized practices throughout Northern Ireland. These ritualized activities are primarily organized

by private and district lodges. In addition, the Orange Order acts as a ritual legitimator as they authorize and validate the activities engage in by members of the Orange Order and the Protestant community. Examples of the activities include parades, speeches, and rallies. Finally, the Orange Order acts as a ritual enforcer as it carries out ritualized activities in spite of resistance from the Nationalist community. For instance, the Orange Order created and carried out a new ritualized activity when the Garvaghy Road parade was banned by the Parades Commission.

The Orange Order view the police as helpful as they patrol traffic and protect the community, yet the Orange Institution believe the police are caught in the middle of the tensions between the Loyalist and Nationalist communities. In regard to the government, the Orange Order believes the government has not been helpful in Northern Ireland as they have developed the Parades Commission which the Orange Institution argues is an unelected body which has violated the rights of freedom for the Orange Order. Finally, the Orange Order views the media as presenting the Orange Institution as a negative, hostile organization who expresses anti-Catholic sentiments.

Historical Analysis

Evidence of the use of strategic ritualization by the Orange Order is found in Orange Order publications (The Twelfth 2001; Steadfast for Freedom: 200 Years of Orangeism; The Orange Standard; LOL Information Booklet) as well as documents obtained from the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland. In one Orange Order publication, a reference to power is made. The Orange Order has been and remains a powerful force in binding Protestants together (Steadfast for Freedom: 200 Years of

Orangeism) This demonstrates that the Orange Order has the ability to develop, promote, and carry out certain ritualized activities such as parades.

Moreover, there are nine additional references to power throughout the Orange publications. These references refer to the idea that the Orange Order is a powerful organization and that through past revolutions such as the Glorious Revolution, the ideals of Protestantism have flourished in Northern Ireland. In addition, the Orange Order had the power to exclude anyone who did not accept and adhere to the beliefs of Protestantism. For instance, one publication states:

If Orangeism's exclusive aim were to only promote these principles then any man who could make out his claim to hold them could properly object to being excluded. But, while Orangeism does indeed heartily advocate true tolerance and civil and religious liberty, and these of course were part of the watch-word of the Glorious Revolution of 1688, it also upholds the distinctive religious principles of the Protestant Reformation...It should be quite obvious therefore, that no consistent Roman Catholic could belong to such a movement even if, miracle of miracles, the Orange Order were to invite him in. (Steadfast for Freedom: 200 Years of Orangeism:65)

Further, the literature states that the Orange Order has played a major role in defeating a past rebellion and as a result, the Protestants were unified.

In addition to Orange publications, references to inequality and power are found in documents obtained from the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland. In one historical document a discussion of the conquest of Orangemen over Catholics was discussed. This refers to the power to take land from others in the name of religion (referring to events over two hundred years ago) (Orangeism). Today, the Orange Order believes their ritualized practices are valid and they feel the members of the Orange Order possess the right to parade as they believe they are celebrating Protestantism,

resulting in the power to carry out certain ritualized practices. Further, they believe they are a godly organization.

In sum, the Orange Order develops, promotes, and carries out certain ritualized activities such as parades, rallies, speeches, and other demonstrations (i.e., Drumcree). As a result, the Orange Order acts as a ritual sponsor, ritual legitimator, and ritual enforcer. Evidence of strategic ritualization is found in observations, interviews, and historical documents. In regard to observations, evidence of strategic ritualization may best be found in speeches where speakers discussed the importance and validity of Protestantism and the Orange Order. In addition, evidence of strategic ritualization is demonstrated in the responses obtained from interviews conducted with members of the Orange Order. The responses indicate that the Orange Order develops, validates, and promotes ritualized practices as it believes in the legitimacy of Protestantism and Orangeism, as well as the importance of maintaining British identity. Further, the responses demonstrate that the Orange Order possesses the ability to develop and carry out ritualized activities in spite of resistance from the Nationalist community, evident in the Drumcree demonstration.

Finally, evidence of strategic ritualization is found in historical documents. (The Twelfth 2001; Steadfast for Freedom: 200 Years of Orangeism; The Orange Standard; LOL Information Booklet) Specifically, references to power were made that indicate the Orange Order has the ability to develop, promote, validate, and carry out ritualized practices that promote Protestantism, the Orange Order, and British identity. In addition, the documents suggest that the Orange Institution has the power to exclude others from participating in ritualized practices.

Structural Ritualization

The data obtained in regard to structural ritualization show that the Orange Order engages in process and activities involving ritualized symbolic practices that can be analyzed and better understood by employing the structural ritualization theory. The way the ritualized symbolic practices are influenced by the four components of the theory are evident in the data.

Observations

Observational data were obtained from viewing several types of parades and other examples of ritualized practices, including traditional parades, commemorative parades, church parades, and the Twelfth of July Parade. In addition, structural ritualization processes were found in speeches and rallies.

In regard to traditional or mini-twelfth parades, several aspects of the four components: salience, homologousness, repetitiveness, and resources, were observed. The research shows that traditional parades possess a high rank. First, there is a high degree of salience. This is visible in the participants, i.e., the crowds that attended the parades as well as the arch. The size and composition of the crowd demonstrates salience as the crowd enhances the visibility and prominence of the parade. The crowd consisted of a large number of people from the community, ranging in age from young children to the elderly. The crowd lined the streets, some waiving small British flags and some wore British hats. In addition, the participants consisted of members of the Orange Order who were of all ages. The majority were men and boys with a few women marching in the

parade. Some participants carried banners and one young boy, at the front of the parade, carried a baton, twirling it as he walked.

In addition to the crowd and participants, the arch contributed to the high degree of salience evident in the parades. During the traditional parade, the participants marched up to an arch and then stopped in front of it. The arch was one of the largest arches in Northern Ireland, thus demonstrating the prominence and visibility of orangeism. On the top of the arch were symbols such as a picture of the Red Hand of Ulster, a picture of William of Orange, and a listing of all the Loyal Orange Lodges in that particular district.

In regard to homologousness, the traditional parade is a ritualized practice that expresses a symbolic meaning (to celebrate Protestantism, the Orange Order and British identity) similar to that expressed by the Twelfth of July Parade. The traditional parade contains the same elements of the Twelfth of July Parade such as similar bands, music, formation, and banners. Traditional parades are actually referred to as mini-Twelfth parades.

Traditional parades occur throughout the parading season (April through August) and therefore exhibit a greater repetitiveness than the Twelfth of July Parade. While the Twelfth of July Parade only occurs once a year, the traditional parades produce a high degree of repetitiveness as there are many traditional parades that occur throughout the year. Therefore it may be concluded that there is a high degree of repetitiveness in the traditional parades engaged in by members of the Orange Order.

In addition to repetitiveness, the traditional parades require certain resources such as clothing, banners, and bands. During parades, members wear a suit, a tie, and a sash which indicates which lodge they belong to. Further, some members wear a bowler hat

and white gloves, and all wear black shoes. Moreover, each parade contains a band that is generally hired by the Orange Order (in some instances, the lodge may have a band of their own). Some participants carry swords and banners. The banners represent an important resource as it contains symbols of orangeism. Finally, some members of the Orange Order walked up and down the parade route, collecting monetary donations for future parades.

In addition to traditional parades, commemorative parades possess a high rank. During the commemorative parade, members of the Orange Order (from several different lodges) marched from different points around Belfast to the hall where a memorial service took place. This parade possessed a high degree of salience as it was very visible and prominent. For instance, several major streets in Belfast were closed in order to provide a path for members of the Orange Order to march, thus making this event the center of attention throughout Belfast.

In regard to homologousness, the commemorative parade was somewhat different in meaning from the Twelfth of July Parade in that the commemorative parade focused on remembering those lost at the Battle of the Somme, suggesting a lower degree of homologousness in this case. In addition, this ritualized practice occurs once a year, also indicating a low degree of repetitiveness. However, there was a high degree of resources as the parade aspect of this ritualized practice required the same resources as other parades, such as bands, sashes, suits, and the police for traffic control.

Church parades are important ritualized practices for members of the Orange Order. Representing a religious organization, Orangemen participate in church parades as a demonstration of Protestant faith. As with the other parades, church parades possess a

high degree of salience. Members of the Order march from an Orange hall to church and then attend a church service. This practice is a visible, prominent, and a central activity in many communities throughout Northern Ireland. They are conspicuous or highly visible as Orangemen march in public to the church. Contributing to their salience is the fact that members of the Orange Order wear their sashes and suits during the church service and are seated together at the front of the church.

In regard to homologousness, the church parades generally communicate the same meaning as the other ritualized symbolic practices. They involve a parade and contain many of the same elements of other parades such as bands and the clothing of the participants. However, during church parades, participants do not carry banners and only hymn music is played. Further, in some church parades, drums are not permitted to be played in order to provide a quite more reverent parade; that is, the focus is on the religious aspect of the Orange Order and loud patriotic music is not included in this ritualized activity. This indicates that although the church parades possess the same meaning as other parades in that it is a celebration of Protestantism and the Orange Order, the focus of the church parade is primarily religious and centered around church. Therefore, it cannot be concluded that the meaning of the church parade is exactly the same as other Orange Parades.

While church parades represent a moderate (they do not possess a high degree of homologousness as they do not have exactly the same meaning as other parades, yet they do not possess a low degree of homologousness as they do share the same underlying dedication to Protestantism and the Orange Order) degree of homologousness, they possess a moderate to high degree of repetitiveness and moderate to high degree of

resources. The church parades occur throughout the parading season (April through August) and in most communities in Northern Ireland. During the months of June and July, church parades occurred two times in one community. While this is not a large number of parades, it only represents one community. Thus, church parades may occur two times during these months in every community throughout Northern Ireland. Regarding resources, the members of the Orange Order provide their own such as clothing and refreshments, as well as the band.

The most prominent, visible, and central ritualized symbolic practice engaged in by members of the Orange Order is the Twelfth of July Parade. As a result, this parade possesses the highest degree of salience. For instance, the Twelfth of July is an official holiday in Northern Ireland which contributes to its public and formal salience.

During the Twelfth of July Parade, the streets are lined with observers. Further, large fields serve as car parks. The field also serves as a gathering place for people following the parade and is festival-like in its structure with refreshment booths, face painting, balloons, and a platform set up for the speakers.

For the parade, members begin at a meeting place and they march along the parade route. Officers in the Orange Order march in the front of the parade and the band. Following the band are members of the Orange Order representing lodges within the districts.

In addition to the order of the parade, several members carry banners representing various images such as William of Orange sitting atop a horse or William at Cerrickfergus; battle scenes, including the Somme and memorials depicting murdered members of the Orange Order and reverends. Furthermore, some banners contain black

ribbons on the top, symbolizing that the lodge is mourning the loss of a member who died during that year. The banners contribute to the prominence of the parades as they are large, visible, and a very important aspect of the parades.

The music played during the parade is a combination of religious and patriotic songs. In addition, Lambeg drums are played. This type of drum is a large (in some cases, as large as a person), loud instrument that can be heard from miles away. This also attests to the salience of the Twelfth of July Parade as the drums contribute to the visibility of the parade.

The Twelfth of July Parade also contains many additional symbols. For instance, on one drum, a scene of William is painted. Further, as band members marched, some shouted “no surrender.”

Finally, following the parade, platform speeches take place. Some speeches are religious-based and some politically based. During the religious speeches, members of the Orange Order were encouraged to follow the example of Paul: members should put God first and others second, and themselves last. During the politically based speech, the speaker challenged Gerry Adams of Sinn Fein/IRA and Seamus Mallon of the SDLP. The speaker stated to observers, “choose Sinn Fein/IRA or support Unionists. Stand up for what is right. Protestants have been treated like second-class citizens. We will not go away.” Again, the speeches contribute to the high degree of salience as there were many observers and the speeches were the central focus. Further, the speeches represent an important aspect of the Twelfth of July Parade as the members, as well as observers gather together following the parade in a display of Protestant unity.

The Twelfth of July Parade possesses a high degree of homologousness and resources, yet a low degree of repetitiveness. In regard to homologousness, the Twelfth of July Parade is similar in meaning to other ritualized practices as it represents a celebration of Protestant and British identity and memorials of those lost in battle. All of the other ritualized practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order contain one or more of these elements.

Just as the Twelfth of July Parade has a high degree of homologousness, it also possesses a high degree of resources. In addition to the other ritualized symbolic practices such as parades, speeches, and rallies, the Twelfth of July Parade requires that members wear a suit and a sash. Further, refreshments are needed for members and their families. In addition, booths, the speakers, the band and other volunteers are needed. As with the other ritualized practices, members of the Orange Order provide all of the resources.

Finally, in regard to repetitiveness, the Twelfth of July Parade exhibits a low degree of this factor. This parade occurs once a year.

In sum, while some ritualized practices possess a lower degree of homologousness and repetitiveness than the Twelfth of July Parade, the overall rank of the ritualized symbolic practices is high. That is, when evaluating each practice in comparison with the Twelfth of July Parade, there may be some differences in meaning and number of occurrences of the activity. However, each ritualized practice has the same general purpose: to celebrate Protestantism and British identity.

The Twelfth of July Parade, and other activities engaged in by members of the Orange Order, are highly ranked ritualized practices. The Twelfth of July Parade exhibits a high degree of salience, resources, and homologousness. However, it possesses a low

degree of repetitiveness as it takes place once a year. The other ritualized practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order demonstrate a high degree of salience and resources, yet a moderate to high degree of repetitiveness and homologousness. That is, several ritualized practices activities take place throughout the year (there are approximately 3,000 parades each year). However, some practices take place once a year. Therefore, I contend that these practices (i.e., commemorative and church parades, rallies, and speeches) exhibit a moderate to high degree of repetitiveness. Further, while these practices share some similarity in meaning to the Twelfth of July Parade, they differ from the Twelfth of July Parade in certain ways. For instance, while the church parades are similar to the Twelfth of July Parade in that they celebrate Protestantism and the Orange Order, they are different as the primary purpose of the church parade is to march to church and attend the service.

While there is a lower degree of repetitiveness in regard to the Twelfth of July Parade and other parades (i.e., church parades and commemorative parades), when considering all of the ritualized symbolic practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order, it is evident that all of the ritualized activities are highly ranked ritualized symbolic practices. Thus, while the Twelfth of July Parade occurs once a year, there are approximately 3,000 other parades that take place throughout the year, thereby demonstrating a high degree of repetitiveness in ritualized symbolic practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order. Moreover, while the meaning of other ritualized symbolic practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order differ somewhat from the Twelfth of July Parade, the general purpose of all the ritualized symbolic practices of the Orange Order is to celebrate Protestantism, British identity, and the Orange Order.

Therefore, I conclude that there is a high degree of homologousness in the ritualized symbolic practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order.

Interviews

The first five questions in regard to structural ritualization, specifically salience, pertain to the meaning, importance, and location of all Orange parades, the involvement of the Protestant community in the Twelfth of July Parade, and the meaning of the banners. These questions reveal a high degree of salience in the Twelfth of July Parade and other ritualized activities.

The responses (thirteen out of twenty) to the first question indicate that the meaning of the Orange parades revolves primarily around expressions of tradition and culture. For instance, one participant stated:

For someone like myself and I think for most members of the Order, it's an expression of our culture. Uh, it's how we identify ourselves as a community. Uh, it's a very old tradition. Parading takes different forms. When we're parading to and from church and many of our parades are church parades, uh, it's actually an extension of our witness of our faith. We're Christians and we're parading to and from church and identify with that. Uh, we also parade on days like the Twelfth of July and other days to commemorate great events in history and to celebrate our culture. So, there's a mixture of things in there as to why we parade.

In addition to the previous respondent, others reported that the Orange parades express aspects of identity and faith, celebrate religious liberty, express what the Orange Order stands for, and represents a family recreational event. Responses include:

Uh, to be on parade, it's a whole lot to us here in Northern Ireland because of our beliefs in Orangeism and uh to be an Orangeman is a lot for us to be Orangemen. Down through the years, our forefathers fought for freedom. It means a whole lot for us to be able to carry on the tradition of our forefathers and to be on parade on the Twelfth of July, that's a day out – a family day out and we take it as a family day out. We have our parade and religious service and we don't get into politics.

It's a part of our culture in the Orange Institution. Uh, it's the focal point within the Protestant faith. And, um, it shows our patriotic side uh with the banners and the parades range from remembrance of the fallen at the Somme to the opening of arches, to reveal new banners, to the traditional services um which have a divine purpose.

These responses demonstrate the prominence and visibility of the Orange parades in Northern Ireland. For instance, the arch opening parades serve to celebrate a new arch in the community. The arches stand tall, containing Protestant symbols, thus visible to members of the community. In addition, the banners used in Orange parades are also visible and have Protestant symbols. They are carried during parades and also contribute to the importance of parades. Finally, the parades themselves demonstrate the high degree of salience. The members of the Orange Order, who march in parades, stand out; that is, their clothing, as well as the bands produce a high visibility. Moreover, the observers line the streets, again showing the prominence and visibility of parades.

In addition to the meaning of parades, participants were asked to discuss the importance of parades and the location of parades. Respondents indicated that the Orange parades represent a very important aspect of Orangeism. Further, participants stated that Orange parades produce unity, they represent Protestant faith, they demonstrate religious liberty and pride, and they are a part of Protestant heritage and culture. One respondent remarked:

Yeah, it's very important. Uh, I say it's a mark of identity of our community – how we express ourselves. People express themselves (across the world) in different ways. Uh, whether it be through sport or dance or music. We do all that within my community. But, we also parade and it's uh, there's also the sense of continuity. You're in it because that's what fathers and forefathers and mothers – not to be sexist about it. There's that sense of continuity about it.

Others responded:

Very important because we are expressing our faith and we are a Christian organization. We are showing our faith or expressing our faith to others.

It's very important that we are allowed uh to express our culture because we are a parading organization.

In addition to the importance of parades, the location of Orange parades contributes to the high degree of salience of this ritualized activity. Parades take place in numerous communities throughout Northern Ireland. As a result, the parades remain highly visible and prominent. One participant reported:

Yeah, we're all over the country. Uh, the Orange Order is very firmly established in Northern Ireland. Not just in Northern Ireland but throughout the world. But, there are something like 1,300 lodges, you know, like clubs, societies. So, every little town, village, rural area has them, and you create in your own local area essentially. Then, on bigger occasions like the Twelfth of July, we join together in larger parades.

When asked if the Protestant community is involved in the Twelfth of July Parade, almost all respondents stated that the Protestant community is primarily involved as observers. This type of participation contributes to their prominence and visibility, thus demonstrating the high degree of salience of the parades.

In regard to the participation of Protestants in the parades, responses include:

The Protestant community is all encouraged to become involved and participate in the Twelfth of July Parades. It is really a family day out. It's not a triumphant parade.

Yes, very much so. We get a lot of support from our local communities. As we saw today, a big crowd came out to support and watch the parades – not just families in the parades, but members of the local communities. Also, in the bands as well, a lot of people, especially young people, they aren't old enough to join the lodge but they play in the bands, so it's important as well.

Finally, when asked what the banners represent, the majority (fourteen out of twenty) stated that the banners represent religious themes and contain Biblical scenes. Others reported that the banners symbolize culture, tradition, and history. Still others

indicated that many banners contain war scenes or memorials of members of the Orange Order who have died. In regard to the banners, one respondent stated:

Um, the banners in one sense express our culture and our history. Um, most banners will depict either historical scenes, important characters, uh, buildings, a sense of belonging – a sense of time and place. There's location involved there as well. Um, regrettably uh a number of banners will also portray some of the members who have been murdered by the IRA and things like that. Um, there are symbols of remembrance as well as an expression of your culture.

Another stated:

Well, most of the banners usually have a picture of King William crossing the Boyne on one side. There are several different events on the reverse side. Maybe the Battle of the Somme. On our own particular banner here, we have a Biblical picture of the chosen Israelites and of course there are quite a lot of different ones – different things.

In regard to homologousness, there is a moderate to high degree evident in the Twelfth of July Parade as well as other ritualized practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order. Five questions relating to homologousness were presented to respondents. The first three questions pertain to the existence of other parades apart from the Twelfth; the fourth deals with participation in other Protestant activities such as celebrations; and the fifth addresses the meaning of the other events. Half (ten out of twenty) of participants stated that there are parades other than the Twelfth of July Parade and there are other Protestant activities in general. One respondent reported:

Oh, yes, you have the Twelfth of July as the climax of the parades for Orangeism, but there are Sunday services with parades throughout the year, specifically in June and on the first Sunday in July for the Somme - for the remembrance of those who fell at the Somme and also the last Sunday in October, quite a number of the districts would have church parades uh for Reformation Sunday.

In response to the second question, again the majority of respondents indicated that members of the Orange Order participate in other Protestant activities, yet the activities primarily revolve around church or politics. Responses include:

Yes. There are quite a lot of Orangemen who would hold political office as members of Parliament and members of the assembly and we always try to get involved in our local communities. A lot of lodges would have events like sponsored walks you know to try and involve the community more. A lot of lodges would have gospel missions to try and present the gospel to the local community. So really it can be anything and everything. Some lodges have groups for mothers and toddlers as well. The halls are more or less community centers.

Oh yes, there's quite a lot of church services held, particularly prior to the Twelfth. The anniversary of the battle of the Somme around the fourth of July is a lot of services and at other times during the year. The relief of Derry which is usually in August, a parade and church service too.

Regarding the meaning of these events, respondents stated that the ritualized practices relate to religion, heritage and culture, and are similar in meaning to the parades. These responses reveal similar meanings to the Twelfth of July Parade. However, the meaning of other ritualized practices vary somewhat; that is, the primary purpose of the Twelfth of July Parade is to celebrate the victory at the Battle of the Boyne. Therefore, evidence indicates that there is a moderate to high degree of homologousness in relation to the Twelfth of July Parade and other ritualized practices.

While the meanings between the Twelfth of July Parade and other ritualized practices may vary, there are still basic themes affirmed by the ritualized symbolic practices. For instance, all of the ritualized practices engaged in by the Orange Order demonstrate support for the Orange Order and British identity and commitment to Protestantism.

The final two questions relating to homologousness pertain to the importance of other ritualized practices to individual members as well as the importance to the Orange Order organization. The majority of respondents reported that ritualized practices such as parades other than the Twelfth, speeches, rallies, and meetings are very important to individual members of the Orange Order as well as the Orange Institution. Again, these results demonstrate a moderate to high degree of homologousness.

As previously discussed, the Twelfth of July Parade occurs once a year, and therefore, yields a low degree of repetitiveness. However, in regard to other ritualized symbolic practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order, there is a higher degree of repetitiveness as these activities occur throughout the year to a greater or lesser extent. When asked how often these events take place, the respondents provided different answers. One member stated:

Yes, there are regular activities. These are regular community activities.

Other responses include:

Different areas. Some – May, June, July are the main months for parades and that type of thing.

Basically everyday of the year.

There are approximately 3,000 Orange parades each year and they take place in nearly every community throughout Northern Ireland.

The final questions in regard to structural ritualization relate to the resources needed to engage in ritualized symbolic practices. Respondents were asked to discuss the supplies needed to conduct the Twelfth of July Parade, the availability of these resources, how the resources are provided, and how the Twelfth of July Parade is funded. Results indicate that there is a high degree of resources.

For the first question, respondents stated that several supplies are needed to engage in the Twelfth of July Parade, including the band, suits, sashes, catering, the police for crowd control, permission from the Parades Commission, banners, and transportation. For instance, one member remarked:

Yeah, you need the band. Uh, if you start with the individual Orangeman, uh most of them, um, I'm dealing specifically with Orangemen, not Orangewomen, but if you forgive me for being slightly sexist in dealing with this, but they [orangmen] probably need a new suit – the Ulster Protestant – it's a big day to dress up as if you're going to church. So, new suit, whatever that costs – 150 quid. If you need a sash or collaret, that's another 50 pounds. So, you have to buy all that to allow you to participate in the parade. Uh, a banner which you don't purchase every year, but lasts about ten years, you're probably looking at 2,000 pounds. That's quite a nice little industry – banner painting. Uh, you hire the bands; that's probably in the region of 500 pounds. Uh, on the Twelfth of July, if you're outside your local area, you have to get a bus or another form of transportation. A few hundred pounds for that. Then, there's all the catering. Uh, a lot of organizations, participating churches and things will cater sandwiches and things and people buy those. The burger stalls and so on and so forth. Uh, then at night the majority of wherever you return to, every lodge will have another meal – an evening meal and a time of social occasion and enjoy each other's company. Uh, it's quite a big thing. There's quite a lot required to see the day through.

According to the data, the resources are readily available to the Orange Order.

The majority of respondents stated that the members of the Orange Order provide the resources themselves through dues (referred to as subscriptions) and volunteers. One respondent stated:

The private lodge would fund the event. And, uh the private lodge would fund the event and uh in the case of charity, the lodge would take it out of their own accounts.

Yet another remarked:

Yes, we would pay dues every month as Orangemen. That can range from a pound to ten pounds depending on the size of the lodge. We would also pay what's called walking money. That's basically, it's usually about ten to fifteen pounds for your fee, for your right to walk on the Twelfth. That

goes towards things like financing the day itself and hiring a band and so on. So, it's getting more expensive – bands going up and things like that – maintain halls and so on. It's getting more expensive as well.

In conclusion, the responses of the participants indicate that the Orange Parades are highly ranked ritualized symbolic practices. In regard to the Twelfth of July Parade as well as other ritualized practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order, there is a high degree of salience as the ritualized practices are visible and prominent. In addition, the ritualized practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order exhibit a high degree of resources. According to the responses from members of the Orange Order who were interviewed for this study, the resources needed to engage in a ritualized practice are supplied by members of the Orange Order.

In regard to the parades and other ritualized practices such as speeches and rallies, there is a lower degree of repetitiveness and homologousness. For instance, the Twelfth of July Parade along with certain other parades (i.e., the Battle of the Somme commemorative parade, some church parades, and rallies/protests) occur once a year. However, there are approximately 3,000 other parades that take place throughout the year. Respondents stated that these parades are regularly occurring practices. While the Twelfth of July Parade possesses a low degree of repetitiveness, when considering all of the ritualized symbolic practices, there is a high degree of repetitiveness.

In addition to repetitiveness, there is a moderate to high degree of homologousness in parades apart from the Twelfth of July Parade; that is, parades and other ritualized symbolic practices (i.e., such as traditional, church, arch opening and commemorative parades) share a similar, yet somewhat different, meaning to the Twelfth of July Parade. However, the respondents indicated that all of the ritualized symbolic practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order are more similar to the Twelfth of

July Parade as they promote Protestantism, British identity, and the Orange Order.

Therefore, it may be concluded that there is a high degree of all of the ritualized practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order.

The responses from participants who were interviewed regarding their experience in the Orange Order and Orange Parades indicate that the parades demonstrate expressions of tradition and culture. Further, they represent British and Protestant identity and faith as well as religious liberty and pride. The Orange Parades are an important aspect for the Protestant community and for the Orange Order.

Historical Analysis

Data regarding structural ritualization were obtained from Orange Order publications. Unlike observational data and information obtained from conducting in-depth interviews, few results emerged, in relation to structural ritualization, from historical documents.

The primary information was obtained from a booklet which highlighted a Twelfth of July Parade. In one section, an Orangeman stated:

Most importantly of all, Britain is a great country that has given a lot to the world, making it only right and proper that the 200th anniversary of the United Kingdom as we know it today be commemorated by its citizens, if not the government. (The Twelfth 2001:20)

Another reported:

The right to parade on the Queen's highway remains severely circumscribed by the Parades Commission and the so-called resident's groups who are fronts for Sinn Fein. (The Twelfth 2001:25)

These ideas attest to the salience of the ritualized practice of parading in Northern Ireland.

The evidence shows that the Orange Parades demonstrate tradition, culture, religious and British identity. Further, the parades and other ritualized practices possess a high rank overall as analyzed by the theory of structural ritualization.

As previously stated, there is a high degree of salience and resources in the Twelfth of July Parade as well as other ritualized symbolic practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order. However, there is a moderate to high degree of homologousness and repetitiveness in some of the ritualized practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order. For instance, in regard to the Twelfth of July Parade, there is a low degree of repetitiveness as this event occurs once a year. Yet, there are approximately 3,000 other parades throughout the year, thereby demonstrating a high degree of repetitiveness in the ritualized symbolic practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order. In addition, while parades such as church parades and commemorative parades differ somewhat in meaning from the Twelfth of July Parade, these parades and all other activities engaged in by members of the Orange Order share a similar meaning as the Twelfth of July Parade in that they promote British culture and identity, Protestantism, and the Orange Order.

Themes

This investigation and analysis shows that several themes are expressed in the ritualized symbolic practice of parading. Themes refer to symbolic themes expressed through ritualized symbolic practices such as parades. The themes were discovered and analyzed through the use of the literary ethnography method (Van de Poel Knottnerus and Knottnerus 1994). This method involved analysis based on reading historical documents obtained from the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (Orangeism). In

addition, observations of parades and other ritualized symbolic practices, as well as interviews with members of the Orange Order were conducted. The field notes and photographs obtained from observing the ritualized practices were carefully studied in order to discover specific themes. Further, responses from interviews were read and reread. Four major themes emerged from the data. They include: a) dominance, b) British loyalty, c) opposition to the Nationalist community, and d) moral superiority.

The Orange Parades express the idea of dominance as they demonstrate unity with Britain which maintains control over Northern Ireland. Further, the Orange Order is a very visible and active organization in Northern Ireland and this is expressed through the various ritualized practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order. In addition, the Orange Parades occur in nearly every community throughout Northern Ireland.

In addition to dominance, a theme of British loyalty is very prominent in the activities engaged in by the Orange community. For instance, in a speech, the speaker stated, "God save the Queen" and at many ritualized events, the national anthem is sung. Further, at the majority of parades, observers wave British flags and wear hats and shirts with British symbols. During the parades, patriotic music is played and can be heard one to two miles away. Moreover, in many Protestant communities, the street curbs are painted in British colors (blue, white, and red) and blue, white, and red streamers are hung from lamp posts.

Opposition to the Nationalist community is not as visible as dominance or British loyalty. However, instances of opposition were apparent in my observations. For instance, during one parade, an Orangewoman yelled at members of the Nationalist community, stating that they are going to burn in hell. Further, members of the Orange

Order have protested the banned parade in Portadown. This parade became one of the most important issues during the parading season when members of a Nationalist group in Portadown protested the Garvaghy Road parade. They (the Nationalist group) claim that members of the Orange Order march down Garvaghy Road (situated in the middle of the Nationalist community) in a display of dominance and opposition to Catholicism. As a result, the Parades Commission banned the parade for several years in a row. Due to the ban on the parade, members of the Orange Order gather each year in Portadown (at Drumcree Parish) to protest the ban and the arguments set forth by the Nationalist community. In addition, members of the Orange Order gather the night before the Twelfth of July Parade to celebrate the Twelfth and Protestantism. During this time, members of the Protestant community and the Orange Order gather around a bon fire. Prior to the fire being lit, some members of the community (Portadown) place pictures of well-known members of the Nationalist community such as members of Sinn Fein. And, in some instances, pictures of the Pope are placed on the fire. These represent symbols of opposition to the Nationalist community. However, it must be noted that not all members of the Protestant community or the Orange Order commend this behavior.

Moral superiority refers to the affirmation of Protestants' beliefs about their own moral value. In a speech delivered by a member of Parliament (he was not a member of the Orange Order, yet is involved in Orange activities and strongly supports the Orange Order), the speaker stated that God is on the side of Protestants and that the Catholics would be crushed. In addition, several members of the Orange Order indicated that they believe they need to share their faith with others and this can in part be achieved through parades. Further, the Orange Order and the parades themselves demonstrate moral

superiority as the foundation for the Orange Institution and the parades is religion; that is, the Protestant faith and belief that Protestants are supported by God thereby affirms their belief in their own moral value. In addition banners are carried during parades. These banners contain religious images painted on them and these images demonstrate the belief among members of the Orange Order in their moral value.

In sum, four major themes are identified in the data. They are: a) dominance, b) British loyalty, c) opposition to the Nationalist community, d) moral superiority. Further, these themes are expressed in the ritualized symbolic practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order. For instance, the idea of dominance is expressed in the Orange Parades as members of the Orange Order engage in activities that demonstrate British unity and Protestantism. Thus, Britain maintains control over Northern Ireland thereby remaining a dominant force.

In addition to dominance, the Orange Parades express a theme of British loyalty. This theme is demonstrated in several ways such as speeches, parades, and meetings (i.e., dinners and informal gatherings). Moreover, opposition to the Nationalist community is expressed in the Orange Parades. Although this theme is not as visible as the previously discussed themes, opposition to the Nationalist community was observed in several instances such as parades, demonstrations, and bon fire celebrations.

Finally, moral superiority was observed in speeches, and parades. During one speech, the speaker stated that God is on the side of Protestants. Further, the foundation of the Orange Order and Orange Parades is religion.

Outcomes

In addition to the themes, four major outcomes resulted from the ritualized symbolic practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order. They are: a) the development and strengthening of collective identity; b) a heightened sense of moral worth; c) power; and d) an elevated status of the group.

The Orange Order share a collective identity as they have similar ideas, beliefs, and behaviors. These beliefs, ideas, and behaviors are evident in the parades. For instance, in some Protestant communities (where the parades take place), the street curbs are painted with British colors (blue, white, and red). Additionally, the crowd gathered to observe the parades may be seen waving British flags, and wearing shirts and/or hats with British symbols.

Furthermore, the Orange Order achieves a heightened sense of moral worth through the parades and other ritualized practices; that is, Protestantism and British loyalty produce a differential value of the group. For instance, in a speech delivered at an Orange Order rally, the speaker stated that God is on the side of Protestants. Further, images of the Pope and other well-known Catholics are placed on the wood to be burned during the celebratory bon fire. The Orange Order views Protestantism and Orangeism as being valuable in comparison to other groups such as the Nationalist community.

In addition to collective identity and moral worth, the Orange Order represents power. The Orange Institution has the ability to exercise its will regardless of resistance from actors or groups. While the Resident's groups have had some success in getting parades banned by the Parades Commission, the Orange Order still possesses the ability to achieve its goals despite resistance from such groups. For instance, when the Garvaghy

Road parade was banned for four consecutive years, members of the Orange Order developed and carried out a new ritualized practice near the site of the parade. They gathered in protest in unity, socializing and demonstrating their power.

Finally, the Orange Order has achieved elevated status overall; that is, the media portrays a negative image, yet at parades, the support by the Protestant community remains strong. Thus, there are large numbers of participants and observers of the parades, thereby demonstrating the positive image of the Orange Order in many Protestant communities. In addition, many members of the Orange Order are active in politics. This allows these members to portray a certain image of the Orange Institution.

The outcomes presented above are my interpretation based upon what I have observed and learned. While I did not formally collect data in regard to these outcomes, I suggest that these outcomes are apparent based on what I have seen and learned from observing parades, conducting interviews with members of the Orange Order, and other interaction with the group. More specifically, I argue that highly ranked ritualized practices, conducted by organizations that have the capacity to do so, can have an impact on actors (i.e., social impact or outcomes) affecting their cognitions and behaviors in various ways underlying: identity or self representations, definitions of moral worth, sense of power, and perceptions of their status or prestige.

In sum, the data indicate that the Orange Order creates and maintains power through ritualized symbolic practices, specifically parades. The relationship between ritual and power remains strong in Northern Ireland. Moreover, the Orange Order uses or modifies parades to maintain its dominance. The organizational structure affects the power of the Orange Institution which acts as a ritual sponsor, ritual legitimator, and

ritual enforcer. Further, the organizational structure of the Orange Order affects the four factors that determine the overall rank of a ritualized symbolic practice as the organization is responsible for organizing and carrying out ritualized practices. (See Figure 2) As a result, several themes have emerged that demonstrate the dominance of the group and the group's loyalty to Britain, which are visible in the parades and other practices. While the moral superiority of the group and opposition to the Nationalist community are less visible than the first two themes, they are also important aspects of the Orange Order and Orange Parades as they affirm the value of the practices of the group and the value of the group itself.

Finally, several outcomes occurred. These outcomes emerged out of highly ranked ritualized practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order. The ritualized practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order affect the cognitive processes and behaviors of the group in various ways. For the Orange Order, these practices contribute to the development and strengthening of a collective identity, a heightened sense of moral worth, a sense of power, and perceptions of their status and prestige.

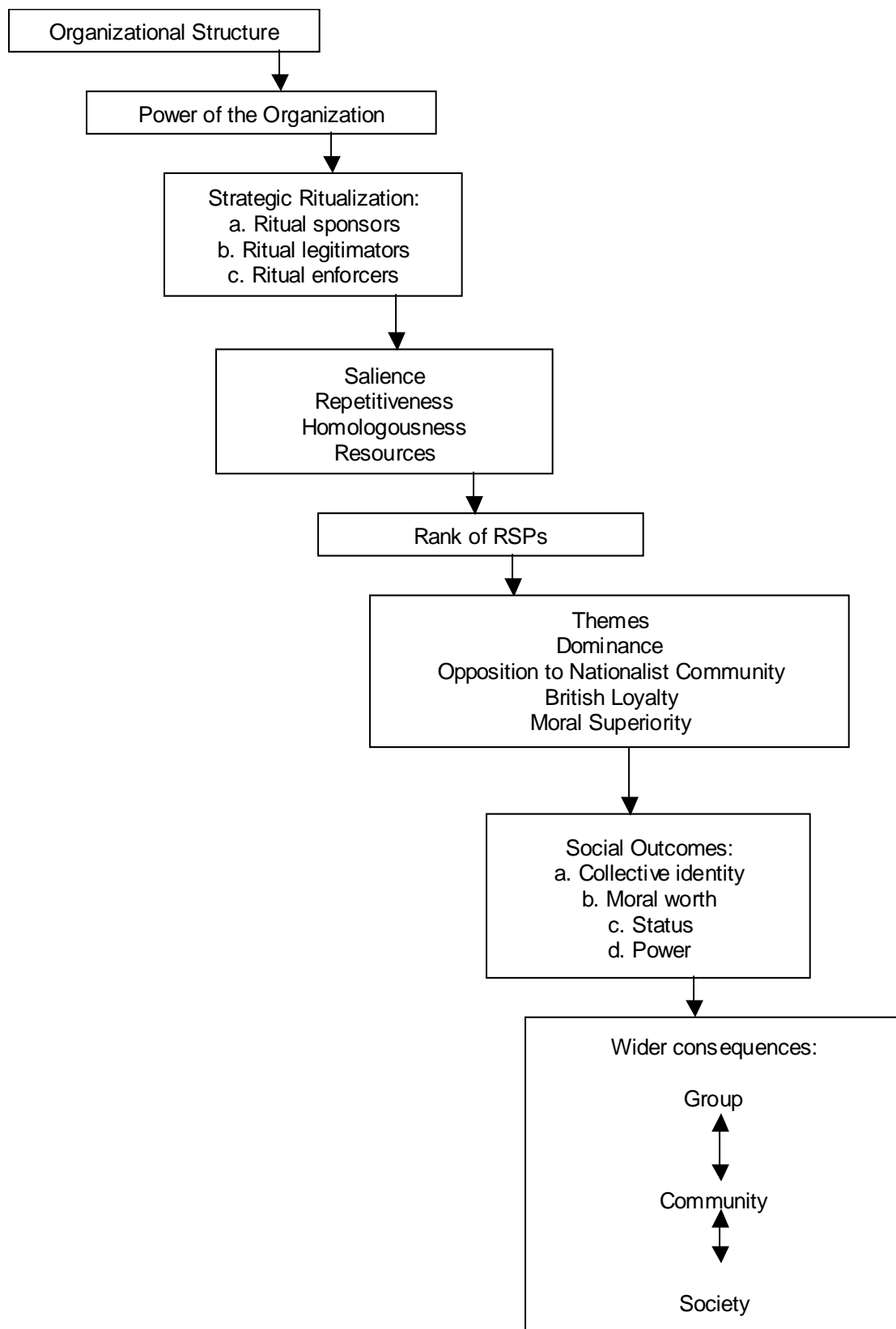
In addition, the greater degree of salience, homologousness, repetitiveness, and resources, the greater the rank of the ritualized symbolic practice. The overall rank of the ritualized symbolic practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order are highly ranked ritualized practices. The ritualized practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order exhibit a high degree of salience and resources. These factors are exhibited in parades, speeches, and rallies. Further, while there is a lower degree of repetitiveness and homologousness in certain practices (i.e., church and commemorative parades, speeches, and rallies/demonstrations), when considering all of the ritualized practices, it is evident

that there is a high degree of all four factors: a) salience, b) homologousness, c) repetitiveness, and d) resources. That is, while the Twelfth of July Parade occurs once a year, there are approximately 3,000 other parades that take place throughout the year, thereby demonstrating a high degree of repetitiveness. In addition, while certain ritualized practices differ somewhat in meaning from the Twelfth of July Parade, the general meaning of all ritualized symbolic practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order is similar: to promote Protestantism, British culture and identity, and the Orange Order. Therefore, I suggest that while there is some variation in the degree of homologousness and repetitiveness in some ritualized practices (i.e., parades, rallies, speeches, and demonstrations), when analyzing all of the ritualized practices, there is in fact a high degree of salience, homologousness, repetitiveness, and resources.

Figure 1 Map of Northern Ireland



Source: <http://www.nidex.com/map.htm>

Figure 2 Structure of the Orange Order

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

The research shows that there is a relationship between the ritualized practices of the Orange Order and power. In other words, the Orange Order utilizes ritualized symbolic practices in order to maintain a dominant position in Northern Ireland. Orangeism is a crucial part of life for many Protestants throughout Northern Ireland. Further, the Orange Institution is structured in such a way that it encourages interaction between Protestants and other members of the Orange Order which produces unity, a strengthened collective identity, and the power to engage in ritualized symbolic practices.

The internal organizational structure of the Orange Order influences the ritual practices of the Orange Order. Specifically, the Orange Institution affects the four factors which determine the strength or overall rank of the ritualized symbolic practices. The organization contains an internal authority hierarchy, yet the local lodges maintain a great deal of power and are therefore able to develop, promote, and conduct ritualized practices in virtually every community throughout Northern Ireland.

Based on responses from members of the Orange Order, as well as observations and material obtained from the Orange Order, it may be concluded that the Orange Order engages the Orange Order engages in strategic ritualization to create and/or manipulate certain practices in order to obtain a particular outcome and strengthen certain themes. The Orange Order uses strategic ritualization, particularly by acting as ritual sponsors,

ritual legitimators, and ritual enforcers. The Orange Order sponsors the Orange parades, developing and promoting this type of special collective event, i.e, ritualized symbolic practices. For instance, according to responses from members of the Orange Order, they hold rallies in the communities to promote parades, attempting to encourage people to participate in the parades. This is done primarily to sustain the collective identity and status of the group. In addition, the Orange Order acts as a ritual legitimator as it validates the various ritualized practices engaged in by members of the group. The research also indicates that the Orange Order uses its power to carry out ritualized practices despite resistance from others, thereby acting as a ritual enforcer.

The theory of structural ritualization demonstrates the ways in which the social processes and ritualized practices of the Orange Order operate and are related to social power. Specifically, the Orange Parades are ritualized symbolic practices that are influenced by all four theoretical components: salience, homologousness, repetitiveness, and resources. There is some variance in the degree to which these components are present. There is a high degree of salience as the parade is seen as a prominent or central practice in the lives of members of the Orange Order. In addition, it is evident that there is a high degree of resources involved in the conducting of these rituals as members of the Orange Order pay dues and fund the parades. However, repetitiveness remains low for the Twelfth of July Parade as it only occurs once a year. Yet there is a high degree of repetitiveness as there are approximately 3,000 other parades that take place each year. There is a moderate to high degree of homologousness. There are similar meanings in the parades in relation to the Twelfth, but not in all parades. Therefore, it may not be concluded that there is a high degree of homologousness, but rather, it must be concluded

that there is a moderate to high degree of homologousness. While there is some variance in the degree of repetitiveness and homologousness between the Twelfth of July Parade and other ritualized symbolic practices, the practices, when examined as a whole, demonstrate a high degree of salience, repetitiveness, homologousness, and resources. Thus, each Orange Parade possess the same underlying theme, meaning, and purpose as the Twelfth of July Parade. For instance, in all of the ritualized practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order, the purpose and meaning of these events is the celebration of religious freedom and Protestantism, as well as British identity. While each practice may vary somewhat (in comparison to the Twelfth of July Parade) in purpose and meaning, the same basic underlying meaning and purpose exist. Each ritualized practice contributes to the meaning and purpose of the twelfth of July Parade. Therefore, there is a high degree of homologousness overall. In the same respect, the Twelfth of July parade occurs once a year, yet there are approximately 3,000 other parades and ritualized practices that occur throughout the year. This demonstrates a high degree of repetitiveness overall. Each ritualized practice engaged in by members of the Orange Order contributes to the importance and functioning of the Orange Order.

It may be concluded that the Orange Order creates and engages in ritualized symbolic practices (i.e., Orange Parades) to achieve its goals and maintain power. Overall, the ritualized symbolic practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order possesses a high rank; that is, there is a high degree of salience, homologousness, repetitiveness, and resources.

Finally, several themes and outcomes are evident in the ritualized symbolic practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order. The various themes manifested in

the ritualized symbolic practices have numerous consequences; that is, they affect the members of the Orange Order, the surrounding communities, and society.

Four major themes, articulated by the ritualized practices of parading, emerged in the data. They include: a) dominance, b) British loyalty, c) opposition to the Nationalist community, and d) moral superiority. Based upon my research, these themes are clearly evident in the Twelfth of July parades. The parades express themes of dominance and a time to celebrate Protestant victory. By parading, members demonstrate loyalty to Britain. This is demonstrated in parades in that observers wear shirts and hats with British symbols and wave British flags.

In addition to dominance and British loyalty, the parading demonstrates opposition to the Nationalist community, specifically the Resident's groups who fight to have certain parades banned. The Orange Order will not engage in discussion with these groups as they do not negotiate with Sinn Fein, a group who supports the Resident's groups. Finally, moral superiority represents another theme displayed in the parades. Specifically, the moral value of the group is visible in the banners and speeches. The banners contain images of Protestantism (i.e., the Bible) and scenes of battles in which Protestants were victorious. In addition, speakers affirm the moral value of the Orange Order as they state that God is on the side of Protestants. The Orange Order develops, promotes, and carries out the same ritualized practices every year, thus expressing their moral beliefs about the value of the group.

It is important to recognize that, according to statements of Orangemen, the Orange Order is involved in other ritualized symbolic practices supported by the Protestant community, such as church services, other Protestant parades, and political

meetings. The themes of dominance, British loyalty, opposition to the Nationalist community, and moral superiority are also evident in these other ritualized practices.

Processes involving structural and strategic ritualization by the Orange Order in Northern Ireland produce several outcomes such as the development and strengthening of collective identity, a heightened sense of moral worth, a strengthening of social power, and the elevated status of the group. The collective identity of the group may be seen in the music and banners used to display Protestant messages. The banners (carried during the parades depicting past and current events) express the symbols of Protestantism and British identity.

The moral worth of the Orange Order is demonstrated in their expressed belief that they are religiously superior to other groups. For instance, in speeches delivered at Protestant rallies, the speakers make statements about how God is on the side of Protestants.

In addition to moral worth, the Orange Order believes it is entitled to and has the power to express itself and engage in practices that are meaningful and relevant to them. The Protestants have declared that they should have the right to parade wherever they want and that they will not go away. Moreover, the status of the group has been and continues to remain high. The Protestants' belief and affirmation of their sense of superior status is demonstrated through their engaging in ritualized practices that, in their eyes, express their distinctive rank. Thus, engaging in rituals creates, expresses, affirms, and demonstrates their (the Orange Order's) sense of high status, moral worth and superiority, sense of realization of power, and their identity and solidarity.

Consistent with these outcomes, we find that the Orange parades and other ritualized practices have a powerful impact on the personal lives of members of the Orange Order. For instance, one member indicated that he lives for the Twelfth of July Parade. In addition, others remarked that their entire year is devoted to preparing for parades, and still others stated that they plan their vacations around the parading season and they would never leave during that time as it is a major part of their lives

Limitations and Recommendations for Further Research

For this study, the limitations were minor. There was a lack of knowledge on the part of the researcher, about the intricate details of the political system. Members of the Orange Order are more involved in politics than anticipated, and therefore, this presented a challenge in regard to developing a full understanding of the political process and Orange Order involvement. Having a better understanding of the political process would allow the researcher to obtain a deeper understanding of the power structure of the Orange Order in Northern Ireland.

In addition, the historical documents were expensive to obtain and were of limited value. Prior to leaving for Northern Ireland to collect the data, the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland was contacted and it was determined that there was an extensive collection of Orange Order material. However, upon arrival, it was discovered that the majority of the material was not relevant to the current study.

Despite these limitations, this study has significantly contributed to our understanding of the Orange Order and certain social processes that play a crucial role in the functioning of this group. Moreover, this study contributes to the existing literature and to the research and our understanding of the Orange Order and other groups such as

this. In addition, it contributes to research dealing with structural ritualization theory and expands or builds upon concepts in the theory. Specifically, this research contributes to a further understanding of ritual processes and how these processes relate to power. Finally, this study contributes to the discipline of sociology as it merges the functionalist (i.e., Durkheim) and conflict (i.e., Marx and Weber) perspectives. Thus, this research provides a structural analysis of ritual and religion, yet it also focuses on issues of power and inequality.

In order to obtain a deeper understanding of the social, religious, and political processes engaged in by members of the Orange Order in Northern Ireland, it would be beneficial to expand on the current research. Several studies could be carried out to further understand Protestant culture and the Orange Order.

First, it is important to further investigate the extent of political involvement of members of the Orange Order in the national as well as local political system. This is related to strategic ritualization and could therefore increase our understanding of how the Orange Order operates as ritual sponsors, ritual legitimators, and ritual enforcers. In addition, future research could examine the role of the Nationalist Resident's groups in relation to strategic ritualization as well as how they may affect the ritualized symbolic practices of the Orange Order.

Finally, there has not yet been an in-depth study of the role of women and Orangewomen in maintaining and strengthening Protestant collective identity. Women play an integral role in the operation of Orange parades and other ritualized practices, yet they have been ignored by researchers. Many women requested that I return to Northern Ireland to interview them regarding their role and experiences in relation to Orangeism.

Further, there is a need for additional research and comparative studies of similar social processes involving ritual and power (i.e., in other groups, cultures, and historical periods). Thus, comparative studies would contribute to the body of work in regard to ritual and power as well as providing a further understanding of ritualized practices.

In conclusion, the Orange Order produces and maintains a dominant position in Northern Ireland through the use of ritualized symbolic practices such as parades. Further, the Orange Order engages in strategic ritualization to create and/or manipulate certain practices in order to obtain a particular outcome as well as strengthen various themes. Specifically, the Orange Order acts as a ritual sponsor, ritual legitimator, and ritual enforcer.

In addition to strategic ritualization, the theory of structural ritualization demonstrates the ways in which the ritualized symbolic practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order are highly ranked ritualized practices. As such, they clearly contribute to the power and perpetuation of this group in Northern Ireland.

Further, processes such as these may operate in other societies and social settings and are a fundamental social dynamic in the structuring of social life within these cultures. That is, ritualized practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order have broader implications for understanding society. Thus, examining these ritualized practices produces a greater understanding of the dynamics of society in general.

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**Oklahoma State University
Institutional Review Board**

Protocol Expires: 6/3/02

Date: Monday, June 04, 2001

IRB Application No AS0169

Proposal Title: MANIFESTATIONS OF POWER IN THE TWELTH OF JULY ORANGE PARADES: THE
USE OF STRUCTURAL AND STRATEGIC RITUALIZATION BY THE ORANGE ORDER
IN NORTHERN IRELAND

Principal
Investigator(s):

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Dr. David Knottnerus
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Reviewed and
Processed as: Exempt

Approval Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): Approved

Dear PI :

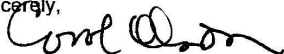
Your IRB application referenced above has been approved for one calendar year. Please make note of the expiration date indicated above. It is the judgment of the reviewers that the rights and welfare of individuals who may be asked to participate in this study will be respected, and that the research will be conducted in a manner consistent with the IRB requirements as outlined in section 45 CFR 46.

As Principal Investigator, it is your responsibility to do the following:

1. Conduct this study exactly as it has been approved. Any modifications to the research protocol must be submitted with the appropriate signatures for IRB approval.
2. Submit a request for continuation if the study extends beyond the approval period of one calendar year. This continuation must receive IRB review and approval before the research can continue.
3. Report any adverse events to the IRB Chair promptly. Adverse events are those which are unanticipated and impact the subjects during the course of this research; and
4. Notify the IRB office in writing when your research project is complete.

Please note that approved projects are subject to monitoring by the IRB. If you have questions about the IRB procedures or need any assistance from the Board, please contact Sharon Bacher, the Executive Secretary to the IRB, in 203 Whitehurst (phone: 405-744-5700, sbacher@okstate.edu).

Sincerely,



Carol Olson, Chair
Institutional Review Board

APPENDIX A



Figure 3 Religious banner carried at the end of a Traditional orange parade.



Figure 4 Example of a traditional (also known as a “mini-twelfth”) Orange parade.



Figure 5 Orangemen marching under an arch during a traditional parade.



Figure 6 An Orangeman giving a speech following an arch opening parade.



Figure 7 Twelfth of July parade band



Figure 8 Orangeman playing a Lambeg drum. The Lambeg drum is a tradition in the orange Parades.



Figure 9 Orangemen marching during the Republic of Ireland Parade (The Republic of Ireland is equivalent to the Twelfth of July Parade). The banner depicts deceased Orangemen.



Figure 10 A banner, carried during the Twelfth of July Parade, depicts Jesus by a lake. Religious symbols are often depicted in Orange banners.



Figure 11 Twelfth of July Parade. 2001.



Figure 12 William of Orange depicted on a banner during the Twelfth of July Parade.



Figure 13 Preparing for the Eleventh Night bonfire celebration which takes place July 11th each year.



Figure 14 The wall that prevents Orangemen from marching on Garvaghy Road in Portadown.

VITA

Jennifer Lynn Edwards

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis: CONSTRUCTION AND MAINTENANCE OF POWER THROUGH
RITUAL: THE ORANGE ORDER AND ORANGE PARADES IN
NORTHERN IRELAND

Major Field: Sociology

Biographical:

Education: Graduated from Capistrano Valley High School, Mission Viejo, California in June 1986; received Bachelor of Arts Degree in Sociology from California State University, Stanislaus, Turlock, California in 1993. Received a Master of Science Degree in Criminology from California State University, Fresno, Fresno, California in 1999; completed the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy Degree from Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma July 2004.

Experience: Research Assistant at a victim/offender reconciliation program in California 1995-1996; teaching intern for the San Diego and Imperial Counties Community College Internship Program 1997-1998; four years as a teaching assistant at Oklahoma State University 1998-2002; Assistant Professor of Sociology at Southwestern Oklahoma State University, Weatherford, Oklahoma 2002/2003 academic year; community sentencing group leader 2003; Assistant Professor of Sociology at Northeastern State University, Tahlequah, Oklahoma, current position.

Professional Membership: American Sociological Association; Mid South Sociological Association.

Name: Jennifer Edwards

Date of Degree: July, 2004

Institution: Oklahoma State University

Location: Stillwater, Oklahoma

Title of Study: CONSTRUCTION AND MAINTENANCE OF POWER THROUGH
RITUAL: THE ORANGE ORDER AND ORANGE PARADES IN NORTHERN
IRELAND

Pages in Study: 182

Candidate for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Major Field: Sociology

Scope and Method of Study: This study investigates the construction and maintenance of power by the Orange Order, a Protestant and patriotic organization, in Northern Ireland. Specific attention is given to the relationship between the ritualized practice of parading and dominance and power. This research consists of a qualitative study involving the use of a triangulation strategy. Observations, in-depth interviews, and historical analysis were employed to conduct this study. Further, structural ritualization theory, as well as strategic ritualization processes were used to determine the overall rank of the ritualized symbolic practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order.

Findings and Conclusions: The findings suggest that the Orange Order uses ritualized practices to maintain Protestant dominance and British loyalty in Northern Ireland.

ADVISER'S APPROVAL:_____