

# Identity Troubles: Establishing National Identity in Post-War Northern Ireland

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“ If you ever get into a conversation with someone while out in Northern Ireland there are certain things you cannot talk about: religion, football and nationality,” Liam, my Irish Catholic colleague says with a serious face. “You don’t live here. You don’t have an opinion. Try not to make eye contact. If someone looks at you or comes toward you, quickly get away.”

Liam’s eyes burn with intensity. His warning hits me like a gust of cool wind. I defensively zip up my jacket. My expectations of peaceful Irish culture are drowned in the rain puddles surrounding me.

More importantly, he adds, don’t talk about The Troubles.

I zip up my jacket a little tighter.

Northern Ireland<sup>1</sup> is considered to be a post-war society. Beginning in 1969 and peaking in the mid-1970s, an ethno-political conflict dubbed as “The Troubles” caused an estimated 3,529 deaths in

Northern Ireland. This conflict dates back to the 17th century, when land was confiscated from the native Irishmen by the British. In 1921, during the Irish War of Independence, Northern and Southern Ireland gained their territorial freedom. Declaring themselves as the Republic of Ireland, southern Ireland became dominated by those who identified as Irish and Catholic. These Irish Catholics were opposed to the Irish Catholics in Northern Ireland who called themselves Unionists. Unionists wanted to keep Ireland as one independent nation. However British Protestants held the political power. This group wanted to remain loyal to the Crown and decided to remain a part of the United Kingdom.


It was a dispute that by the late 1960s led to “The Troubles” – a war of nationality, religion, and political beliefs. Remnants of this hostility are visible even today: divided neighborhoods, widespread presence of paramilitaries, and youth violence are a constant reminder of Northern Ireland’s divided past. It is in this context that Liam bids me his warning; he speaks of the tenuous nature of The Troubles’ continuing impact on Northern Ireland.

This past summer I interned at Beyond Skin in Belfast, the capital of Northern Ireland. Working with students in segregated communities, Beyond Skin aims to foster understanding of and develop appreciation for outside

cultures. Through various workshops, this community-building organization brings together not only Protestants and Catholics, but also other cultures, such as Nepal’s. Their workshops are essential to healing. If the next generation continues to be hostile toward the other side, there is fear that another war could break out.

As I helped Beyond Skin conduct its workshops, I grappled with one overarching question: Given the socio-political and religious division that lingers in Northern Ireland, how can one define a national identity? Will these lines of segregation ever allow a cohesive local culture? I am curious and driven to understand how I can define Northern Irish identity.

To help answer my questions, I explore three general identities present in Belfast, Northern Ireland. There is my housemate, Patrick, whose Irish Catholic identity contrasts with my own Protestant affiliation. Through our exchanges I become curious about how Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland can separate themselves so much, when they are so similar. I then present an example of a mixed marriage: my Protestant boss, James, and his Catholic wife, Sinead. Their marriage reveals hope for a united Northern Ireland through the normalization of mixed marriages and mixed communities. Finally, Gita, a Nepalese immigrant, represents the impact outside cultures have on the people



of Belfast. Collectively, these three stories enable me to explore the possibility of establishing a cohesive national identity in Northern Ireland.

### Tension in Northern Ireland

Endless green hills and peaceful farmlands shield visitors from Northern Ireland's bloody past. With roots in the civil rights marches in the late sixties – an attempt to give equality regardless of religion and political affiliation – The Troubles have been a source of bloodshed and shame in Northern Ireland.<sup>2</sup> Residents experienced fighting and hate crimes for three decades. Neighbors turned on each other, killing those who were different, using methods that included bombings, military involvement and street fighting. Citizens, driven by passion, fought to their death to protect their family and their national roots. Both the British and the Irish felt the land was rightfully theirs. In 1998, the Good Friday Agreement laid the groundwork for stronger relations between the Irish and British government. This was meant to calm tensions between residents who identified with the “other” side.

I arrived in Northern Ireland expecting to find a country amidst conflict transformation. I wanted to engage in communication and negotiation, both proven and successful approaches in the conflict resolution process. After all, I had learned that by acknowledging cultural differences and engaging in discussions warring factions can arrive to a new place, a shared understanding.<sup>3</sup> What I discovered, however, was that Belfast has not been able to integrate its different cultures. “Certainly, religious difference is bound into divided Belfast, but the religious labels really signify more broadly ramifying ethnic difference, an ethnic difference that has increasingly been sharpened by the addition of opposed nationalisms.”<sup>4</sup> Belfast has been divided based on community

demographics since The Troubles, and remains segregated today. Ethnic difference – whether someone identifies as British, Irish, or other – continues to keep Northern Ireland conflicted.

Communities in Belfast are segregated on loosely defined religious labels.<sup>5</sup> North and East Belfast are mainly Protestant communities, poor socioeconomic areas, with 41 percent of residents unemployed.<sup>6</sup> In fact, it is not uncommon for large communities of Protestants to be unemployed, as it is fairly easy for this community to receive welfare benefits. The local government in Belfast is run by a majority of Protestants and falls under British rule. Many Catholics choose not to apply for unemployment stipends out of pride, or are denied based on their religious identity.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, Protestants have less competition, and easier access to government financial services, and don't feel much pressure to be employed. Opposing the North and East, West Belfast is known for being home to most of the city's Irish community. Pubs are on every corner, and Republic of Ireland flags hang from shop windows. South Belfast is a mixture of identities from the most segregated communities. Queen's University is in the South, attracting a young and diverse population. Many refugees and immigrants make their homes in South Belfast.

These separations are apparent through physical walls throughout the city of Belfast, known as “peace walls.”<sup>8</sup> There are Irish or British flags on either side of the walls. Murals supporting soldiers and martyrs for the Ulster Volunteer Force or Irish Republican Army cover every side street. These paramilitary groups were those leading the bloody fighting in The Troubles and represent the extremists for the Loyalists and Nationalists, respectively. These extreme differences in opinions also lead to segregated schooling. Catholics go

to private schools while Protestants go to public schools. This separation is due to a desire by the parents for their children to learn a certain history. Public schools, funded by the British government, teach a biased view of the troubles favoring Loyalists, and vice versa.

Each group adheres to its own traditions, music, food, religion, language, sports and national anthems. For example, British would play a version of football that is equivalent to American soccer. The Irish have their own version – Gaelic football. This sport is a mixture of American basketball and soccer. At an Irish pub, there would be not only Gaelic football on television, but a live, traditional folk music group playing all night. A Protestant pub would instead rely on bar conversation to provide the background noise and atmosphere. Differences such as these make each culture unique, but rich.

Through all of the differences, I was still able to find some similarities between these two identities in tension. Differences between Protestants and Catholics are often believed to be truth, based on surface level analysis. However, a closer look may reveal that these two groups are more similar to one another than they may believe.

### Religion as Identity

It is my first time in a Catholic mass. Patrick quietly grabs my arm and guides me up to my seat. The eyes of the saints, whose images adorn the walls, seem to fixate on me. Down the pew, two middle-aged women also stare while I self-consciously return to my seat. In a Catholic mass, there are certain prayers that require the congregation to kneel on the bar at their feet. Genuflection is a sign of respect and adoration to God. Apparently, I missed the cue that we were done with the prayer, and am the last to return to sitting upright.



Until I met Patrick, I had planned to stay out of Catholic churches during my stay. Patrick is my 24-year-old housemate in West Belfast. His strong commitment to his Catholic faith led him to his current position as Youth Ministry Coordinator at Clonard Monastery. Clonard Youth Outreach holds sports activities, cleanups, social dances, and field trips in the community to offer a safe place for the youth to connect with each other and learn about having a relationship with God. His Catholic identity is as central to him as my Protestant identity is to me.

Catholic mass procession is unfamiliar to me. I sit, stand, kneel, recite. I go through the motions but there is no meaning or understanding behind them. Patrick does his best to keep me informed of what is going on. Many of the songs and recitations reference the Virgin Mary or other Saints, blasphemy according to my Protestant background. I try to look at the mass through Patrick's perspective. Being Catholic is the identity he was raised with. It is part of what being Irish means to him. Catholics believe that their church is the original church of Christianity.<sup>9</sup>

Patrick would see no reason to question the legitimacy of his mass in the same way that I would as an outsider. He is a part of the in-group, in this case Catholics. He is, therefore, defensive of his tradition to any member of the out-group, Protestants. Likewise, Protestants who are observing a Catholic mass are instinctually more aggressive.<sup>10</sup> This need for defensive behavior was a constant tension between the two communities I noticed in Belfast.

In the Catholic church I feel as though I don't belong. Is this how the Irish in British-ruled Northern Ireland feel? When the North and South were split, many Irish communities were forced to be under British rule because of their location. Patrick is from one of these communities.

His family maintains that they are Irish and that they live in Ireland. In these areas where pockets of Catholic communities remained, surrounded by Protestants, violence and discrimination prevailed. "It is generally argued not only that Catholics were denied political rights and their 'fair share' of government goods and services, but that they suffered from economic discrimination."<sup>11</sup> Catholics and Protestants in Belfast did not get along or feel they belonged together. They created and maintain segregated schools, shops, pubs, political parties, and even neighborhoods. Walls – as physical barriers – mark this segregation: showing citizens where they can and cannot go safely. Catholics under Protestant rule were at an unfair disadvantage and found it easier to create their own communities than to venture out of their comfort zones. This is why the following week, when Patrick accompanies me to a Protestant service at Fisherwick, he tells the driver to take us to "The Bot," a club around the corner from the church.

"It may not be safe to have a Catholic taxi service drop us off in front of a Protestant church. And these guys drive me around a lot. If they knew I was going there they may not take me anymore," Patrick tells me when we arrive to the church. I take note of his emphasis on what his community thinks.

Catholics are very focused on the idea of community. The high population of Catholics in West Belfast and Patrick's fear of offending the local cab drivers encompass a common group mentality that social relations are extremely important and should be held over individual values.<sup>12</sup> Patrick offered to come to a Protestant service with me, yet his allegiance to his community prevailed over any level of comfort he felt about attending.

Contrary to Patrick's uncertainty about attending the service, Fisherwick feels like


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home for me. Familiar songs and prayers frame Protestant services, so even 3,000 miles away I am able to find comfort in a bread and grape juice communion. Glancing at Patrick, I notice his silence and stiff discomfort. We leave the church, and I ask what he thought of the service.

"I was pretty uncomfortable. I tried not to talk too much so that they couldn't tell from my accent that I was Catholic. They would have picked up that I'm from the country and not Protestant, and I didn't want them to know I was from County Armagh," Patrick says in an almost joking matter as a cheek-to-cheek smile spreads across his face. This sticks with me. He was as uncomfortable in the Protestant service as I was in the Catholic service, yet we get along with each other fine.

Religion is arguably one of the most important factors in terms of creating a social identity, however there can be unification even without the common thread of religion.

*Some integrative values are necessary in every society, irrespective of its relative stability. No matter how pluralistic a society and how numerous the value systems to which its groups adhere, some core values must exist that demarcate the boundaries of that society and distinguish it from others... Values are by definition nonempirical [sic] statements, but that does not necessarily make them religious.<sup>13</sup>*



In Patrick's case, his Catholic identity makes him the minority, and therefore brings him to conclude that he has nothing in common with the dominant Protestants. However, through our interactions, we notice how our worship services are different, but also learn that the values behind the sermons are in fact complementary. As is the case with many religions, faith is meant to provide followers with a positive moral compass which they can follow. At both Clonard and Fisherwick churches, messages were shared about the importance of kindness to one another and the place of love in the Christian heart. I am able to find more similarities between the faiths than differences. Values such as kindness and love are essential teachings of Christianity. Yet outside the frame of Sunday services, Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland seem to have forgotten them in light of The Troubles.

Although contrasts do exist, through the commonalities of the religions there can still be a strong bond and close relationships, as with Patrick and me. Spiritual differences in our identity remained, but did not hinder our ability to share a house or a friendship. Both Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland associate the other side with being the reason for the deaths of The Troubles, and further dissociate from them. However, if they were able to see shared values behind their religion, and discover their similarities in being Christians despite their separate denominations, they may find they have more in common.

Instead, what one finds in Northern Ireland is that religion hinders one's ability to form friendships, to develop broader bonds and to eventually create a local culture. Due to their associations with the past, religious titles carry negative connotations. However, it is not the religions that make these groups different, it is only their assumed hatred of each other stemming from the

past. Through my interactions with Patrick I questioned why these groups are not able to acknowledge how similar they are. In order for commonalities to be discovered between the two, they need to set aside their differences, and focus on the core beliefs that the Northern Irish share. If they continue on as if they have nothing in common and further discriminate against each other, it is uncertain whether there can ever be peace.

### **Mixed marriages in a segregated land**

Monday morning in the Beyond Skin office, James, my Protestant boss, is telling me about his weekend with his Catholic wife, Sinead. James is British and Sinead is Irish, but they were both born in Northern Ireland. "She hated it," James said. "Hid in the back the whole time. And at one point a reporter came over to interview us and she ran off!"

James is describing his weekend during Northern Ireland's holiday weekend: July 12th. On this day, there is a parade in Belfast, a day commemorated by Protestants since the 18th century. Celebrating the victory of Protestant King William of Orange over Catholic King James II in 1690, men of the Orange Order<sup>14</sup> among other Protestant political figures and bands march through the streets in a continuous three-hour parade. Happily drunk, and dressed in the red and blues of the United Kingdom, the British line up in the streets surrounding Belfast's city hall, cheering their fellow religious comrades – i.e., Protestants – parading before them.

This year, James decided to bring Sinead to see the bands. Identifying as Catholic, she was nervous to be seen. He told me that if Sinead had been recognized on the news at a July 12th parade, many of her friends and family members in West Belfast would shun her for betraying her Catholic roots.


James and Sinead exemplify a mixed marriage in Belfast. Statistics show that by 2009, one in 10 Northern Irish marriages were in fact considered "mixed."<sup>15</sup> This is a relatively new phenomenon in Northern Ireland, one that only started to occur after the Good Friday Agreement, and one that has been rising ever since. Still, many families do not approve of mixed marriages, or rather one who is considered as the "other."

*Othring is the social, linguistic, and psychological mechanism that distinguishes 'us' from "them," the normal from the deviant. Othring marks and names the others, providing a definition of their otherness, which in turn creates social distance, and marginalises [sic], dis-empowers and excludes.<sup>16</sup>*

Due to the segregation of communities, shops, and jobs, this notion of "othering" is exacerbated in Northern Ireland. In these divided communities, it becomes hard for Protestants and Catholics to meet in a friendly, social setting. James and Sinead met in a conference outside of work and were able to make their relationship work. They have been lucky that their families have accepted their decision to marry. Other couples are forced to keep their relationships secret from their loved ones, and attend support groups such as those of the Northern Ireland Mixed Marriage Association.<sup>17</sup>

This idea of "othering" is the most disheartening to me. Back home at Brandeis University, I am in relationship with someone who is Catholic while I identify as Protestant. To me, Catholic and Protestant are the same religion, just two alternative ways by which to comprehend the same ideologies. During my various conversations with locals in Belfast about my relationship, I found I received many mixed responses. Many told me that it





would not last between us because we were not of the same religion, and that we should try to find someone within our own community. In Northern Ireland, however, religion isn't the issue – it is used as the cover for two opposing political views. Because of this manipulation of religious identity, a woman from a Protestant community and man from a Catholic community would never have the same opportunity to be together that I have in the United States.

James and Sinead make their relationship work, but it is difficult. They differ on almost every political and social issue. For the holidays they alternate churches, respecting that religion is still a large part of both of their families' lives. An unresolved issue for them is children; it's an issue that they've deferred for the time being.

Interestingly, mixed marriages are considered to be "mixed" only if they fall along the Protestant and Catholic divide. Marriages between different denominations of Protestants, for example, are not forbidden or taboo. This marriage segregation is considered by some to be the most prominent reason Northern Ireland is still so divided. Couples are from the same community and thus of the same religion. In the case that there is a mixed marriage, it often does not help desegregation, because the husband is forced to cut ties with most of his former relationships.<sup>18</sup> Dissociation from old friends and communities is due to not only the religious statement your faith makes, but also the ethno-political. By converting from Catholicism to Protestantism, one is converting from an Irish Unionist to a British Loyalist.

These fundamental differences which separate Catholics and Protestants make it hard to imagine a unified culture. Sinead and James struggle with making their relationship accepted in their communities.

Sinead's willingness to see the bands on July 12th, and James' to spend Christmas at a Catholic mass are incremental steps toward creating peace between their respective religio-political sides. The sacrifices and compromises they make allow for a peaceful household and relationship, even when the two sides do not see eye-to-eye. But it is in the next generation that will ultimately bring true – and perhaps, lasting – change.

### Many cultures, one land

James addresses a group of bright-eyed children sitting before him on the floor. "Alright then, would you all like to share a song from your culture with us?"

We are in West Belfast visiting an Irish-speaking summer school. Beyond Skin is holding a Nepalese culture workshop.

At first, the fourth graders are silent, shy it seems. Quick looks are exchanged and elbows nudge each other's sides. One brave boy slowly inches a reticent but proud hand into the air and suggests they sing the national anthem. His teacher shoots him a stern look while uttering something in Irish.<sup>19</sup> Then I notice the dark-haired, freckle-faced teacher and James lock eyes. Her mouth curves into an apologetic smile. From these tacit glances I gather there is tension, something is amiss between their teacher and this boy's idea of singing the national anthem.

The goal of this workshop is to bring a variety of world cultures to students in Northern Ireland who may never experience them otherwise. On this day their instructor is a Nepalese woman, Gita, who has immigrated to Belfast after marrying a Northern Irish native. So far, she has taught students some Hindi, demonstrated how to make beaded bracelets, and even sang the children a popular Nepali folk song called "Resham

Firiri." She has also set up tents around the room to represent Nepalese huts. She has covered them with hanging tapestries; some to act as walls, others as blankets on the floor for sitting. Vivid and bright colors abound. There is a mock fireplace in the middle of one tent; a picture of Lakshmi, a Hindu goddess of fortune, with burning incense (considered Hindu worship) rests in the tent's far corner. Hanging outside the tent is a Nepalese flag. I am in awe of how well Gita seems able to simplify and share her Nepalese culture.

After learning about Gita's culture, I did not see harm in the class expressing their own culture by singing the national anthem. As

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an American student based just outside the nation's first capital, Philadelphia, patriotism was instilled in me. Grade school class trips to Philadelphia included constant praising of Benjamin Franklin and the Liberty Bell, and tours of Independence Hall and the Betsy Ross house. Each day, before school, we'd stand erect reciting the Pledge of Allegiance, followed by the playing of "The Star Spangled Banner," the United States' national anthem. We were encouraged to be proud Americans.

"Why are they not allowed to sing their national anthem?" I ask James.



“That’s not the anthem they’re talking about. These students are raised in Irish communities and taught to speak Irish. All they know is that they are Irish, and that their national anthem is “The Soldier’s Song.” These families don’t see themselves as part of the U.K., even though they live in Northern Ireland. They’d never accept “God Save the Queen”<sup>20</sup> as their own.”

Swept up in laughter, the children drop their persistence on singing the national anthem and play along with their instruments, rejoining Gita’s culture. For the moment, Irish culture has once again been swept under the rug.

In her work on national anthems, Karen Cerulo offers analysis on the creation of a single national symbol, such as a national anthem.<sup>21</sup> For areas being colonized, such as the United States of America or Ireland in the 17th century, the structures from the parent country are not always kept. She explains that national symbols are meant to establish the individuality of the region they are representing. They are meant to be created as their own. In the context of Northern Ireland, it is not about choosing one national anthem over the other. In fact, the legal national anthem is “God Save the Queen.” Both anthems separately represent distinct cultures that make up Northern Ireland. The way to unify the people is through a new symbol. Cerulo offers flags, crests, or mottos as alternatives. By teaching these

as representatives of the land and culture of the land in Northern Ireland, they will gain power and effectiveness as symbols, and can be a complement to one’s identity, past one’s ancestry.

This continued segregation and clinging to an identity associated with another country has led to Northern Ireland having no culture, tradition, or pride to call its own. In his research on identity, S.P. Huntington claims dual national identities can sometimes force individuals to choose. If they feel they have been displaced from the source of one identity, such as the Irish living in a British-ruled land, they will choose to defend the threatened identity.<sup>22</sup> In post-Troubles Northern Ireland, Irish and British defend their heritage from being lost or attacked. Living through The Troubles has made both sides defensive of their identity. Some fought, even killed, to defend their communities, so until they feel that their identity is no longer under scrutiny, there is no chance of a single identity for everyone in Belfast to emerge.

In these segregated communities, children are taught to fear and dislike the “other” from an early age. It is a fear that leads to continuing violence and little hope for reconciliation. Without intervention from outside programs, many students may never understand the benefits of peace in Northern Ireland.

*What is disturbing about segregation in Northern Ireland is not that there are tradeoffs; it’s that the people entrench themselves in segregated communities, and many of their leaders help them do it ... A 2009 study by the Belfast-based Institute for Conflict Research found that kids still identify themselves along sectarian lines. It’s a question not of religious doctrine but of belonging – your people versus mine.*<sup>23</sup>


Belfast continues to find comfort in using titles of religion to self-segregate. Children growing up in these communities do not know any better.

Ironically, in the setting of workshops such as this, it is okay to learn another culture. Nepalese customs have no place in The Troubles, therefore engaging in these practices is not a threat to the existence of the Irish or British culture. Through interactions with immigrant culture, Northern Irish will have to defend the authenticity of their own culture, as well as make it distinct.<sup>24</sup> Both sides have been fighting for so long, focused on their differences. By exposing both Protestants and Catholics to outside cultures, they may see how similar they truly are. And unless they learn to focus on the similarities over the differences, the next generation of children may fall into the same biases of their parents, suggesting a potential for future wars.

James takes control and asks the children to quiet down. He directs Gita to begin another Nepalese song on her hand drum, and passes tambourines to the children to create their own music. Swept up in laughter, the children drop their persistence on singing the national anthem and play along with their instruments, rejoining Gita’s culture. For the moment, Irish culture has once again been swept under the rug.

## Conclusion

Liam’s warning lingered with me through the summer like the relentless Irish rain. It made me wary to ask questions, to engage in conversation. Fear of asking the wrong thing initially restricted my tendency to be inquisitive. Two weeks into my internship, I conducted my first interview and realized that Liam’s caution did not apply to me. People were willing to share their story with me. My role as an outsider to Northern



Ireland, regardless of my nationality, religion, or political affiliation, granted me access to neutral ground. I was able to talk about religion, football, The Troubles and nationality.

Belfast is a city with a bloody past. Some residents are making strides to put The Troubles in the past and integrate neighborhoods. Others prefer remaining segregated and maintaining the culture and tradition that is familiar to them. My experiences as an American intern in Belfast – an outsider – have led me to believe that there may not be an opportunity for adults who have lived through The Troubles to reconcile their differences. They have seen the other side at their worst and may not have the capacity or desire to forgive.

Hope for a peaceful Northern Ireland lies in future generations. Catholics and Protestants need to be able to come together and coexist. Patrick's story shows that religious identity is important, but that there is more to a person beyond this. Sometimes one must set aside surface differences to get to their core values. Once this happens, there is room for mixed marriages, such as that of James and Sinead. Mixed marriages allow partners to fully express their identity. These can work through compromise, and focusing on similarities instead of differences. Immigrants such as Gita in Belfast can help to highlight these similarities. She contrasts with Northern Ireland's Christians. Her culture can serve as a lens for Protestants and Catholics to better see their similarities.

These workshops and conversations seem to be helpful while they are taking place, but we are unable to know the lasting effects once the students leave the classroom. Future research should look into following up with students as they age. Keeping them involved with groups like Beyond Skin can help organizations know which models of conflict transformation are most effective.

These can then be implemented in schools for future generations.

By exposing children to cultures besides their own both within and outside Northern Ireland, they can further see their similarities to each other. If they are not taught how to get along with their neighbors, another generation will experience the legacy of The Troubles' hatred and violence. I am confident that once these opposing sides can set aside their differences there can be peace in Northern Ireland, and a national identity will have room to emerge.

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## Notes

1. Of these deaths, 1,114 were British Security, 10 Irish Security, 168 Loyalist Paramilitary, 395 Nationalist Paramilitary, and 1,842 Civilian. [http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/sutton/tables/Status\\_Summary.html](http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/sutton/tables/Status_Summary.html)
2. Munck, Ronnie. "The Making of the Troubles in Northern Ireland." *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 27, No. 2. Apr. 1992, pp. 211-229.
3. Conflict transformation assesses historical roots and inter-group dynamics in establishing a successful course of action in healing after a conflict. <http://www.springerlink.com/content/978-1-4020-6956-7/#section=142708&page=1&locus=0>
4. F.W. Boal. "Belfast: Walls Within." *Political Geography*: Volume 21, Issue 5. June 2002, Pages 687-694.
5. Belfast is divided based on religious labels of its residents. [http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/images/maps/belfast\\_religion.gif](http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/images/maps/belfast_religion.gif)
6. Based on a 2001 census for area post code BT14 8HY, by the Northern Ireland Neighbourhood Information Service. <http://www.ninis.nisra.gov.uk/mapxtreme/report.asp?INIT=YES&POSTCODE=BT148HY&DESC=FromGeneral&CurrentLevel=COA&ID=95GG060008&Name=95GG060008&Override=WARD&OverrideCode=95GG06&OverrideName=BALLYSILLAN#Employment, Economic Activity and Social Welfare>

7. Field notes on June 20, 2012.

8. Munck, Ronnie. "The Making of the Troubles in Northern Ireland." *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 27, No. 2. Apr. 1992, pp. 211-229.

9. Donovan, Daniel. *Distinctively Catholic: An Exploration of Catholic Identity*. New York: Paulist, 1997. Print.

10. Carrillo, K. A. (2007). Let's Play. In-Group vs. Out-Group: Game Playing and Ostracism in an Immersive Environment. The University of Texas at El Paso. *ProQuest Dissertations and Theses*. p. 2. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/304767322?accountid=9703>

11. Catholics under Unionist rule suffered daily discrimination and economic grievances. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/589283>

12. Harvard Theological Review / Volume 95 / Issue 03 / July 2002, pp 319-339. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0017816002000214>. Published online: 20 September 2002.

13. Weissbrod, Lilly. "Religion as National Identity in a Secular Society." *Review of Religious Research* 24.3 (1983): 188-205. JSTOR. Web. 16 Nov. 2012. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3511814>>.

14. Field Notes: The Orange Order is a fraternity that originated in Northern Ireland. It is named after William of Orange. Members are only Protestant and anyone who is Catholic or has Catholic familial roots cannot become a member.

15. This statistic shows a rise in mixed marriages post-Troubles. [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/northern\\_ireland/8344480.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/northern_ireland/8344480.stm)

16. Taket, Ann, and Sarah Barter-Godfrey. "Othering, Marginalisation, and Pathways to Exclusion in Health." *Theorising Social Exclusion*. Ed. A. R. Taket. London: Routledge, 2009. p 166. Print.

17. NIMMA exists for the mutual help and support of people involved in or embarking on mixed marriage in Northern Ireland. They offer support and information through activities, publications, and direct contact. For more information, visit <http://www.nimma.org.uk/>.



18. Whyte, John H. *Interpreting Northern Ireland*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1990. Print.

19. Also known as Irish Gaelic, Irish is the national language of Ireland.

20. National anthem of the United Kingdom.

21. Cerulo, Karen A. "Sociopolitical Control and the Structure of National Symbols: An Empirical Analysis of National Anthems." *Social Forces* 68.1 (1989): 76-99. JSTOR. Web. 17 Nov. 2012. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2579221>>.

22. Huntington, S. P. *Who are We: The Challenges to America's National Identity*. 2nd. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 2004. Print.

23. Kirk, Robin. "City Of Walls." *American Scholar* 80.4 (2011): p 7-11.

24. Triandafyllidou, Anna. *Immigrants and National Identity in Europe*. London: Routledge, 2001. Print.