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Nonviolent Resistance to Security Policy in Nationalist Northern Ireland, 1970-1981

Thomas E. Caulfield
Walden University

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Walden University

College of Social and Behavioral Sciences

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Thomas E. Caulfield

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Walden University
2019

Abstract

Nonviolent Resistance to Security Policy in Nationalist Northern Ireland, 1970-1981

by

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MA, Vermont College of the Union Institute

BS, State University of New York College at Buffalo

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Public Policy and Administration

Walden University

February 2019

Abstract

Political division has plagued Northern Ireland since its partition from the rest of Ireland in the 1920s. Current literature recounts the role of nationalist actors in the violent struggle that erupted in 1969 initiating a 3-decade period of civil strife described as the Troubles. However, very little scholarly coverage exists providing details of nonviolent resistance on the part of some community members. The purpose of this interpretive phenomenological study was to examine the meanings and perceptions evoked from Irish nationalists from Belfast and Derry who chose to challenge security policies through nonviolent actions from 1970 through 1981. Using a chain sampling approach, 14 protesters volunteered to tell their stories. Benet's polarities of democracy unifying model was used as the theoretical framework for the study. The data collected were analyzed using the modified Stevick-Colaizzi-Keen method, which involved a synthesis of meanings generated from respondents. Data analysis revealed 4 major themes that underpinned informant experiences of protest: social identity, coping, perseverance, and empowerment. Data showed in many instances that more aggressive security tactics used against demonstrators incited more intense antistate activities. Public administrators, through a combination of written policy and security personnel training, should, therefore, address sociopolitical grievances in a manner that will promote mediation in an effort to avoid instigation of further and more physical protest actions. State officials, as well as elected legislators who write and analyze public policy, may incorporate the findings of this study to expediate the delivery of more democratic government services and to support and promote nonviolent active citizenry.

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this endeavor to all people who find the courage to fight injustice.

It is with very special thoughts that I devote the finished product to my forebears Thomas and Ellen Caulfield. And finally, a heartfelt dedication to Matt Comerford: your love of life infected us all. I pray that someday our paths will meet again.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Introduction

A curb wall on the Falls Road in West Belfast boldly announces to passers-by that “Oppression Breeds Resistance” (see Figure I5). This minority Catholic enclave has produced some of the most ardent activists of Irish nationalism in the British province of Northern Ireland (Elliott & Flacks, 1999; Wiedenhoft-Murphy, 2010). Approximately 70 miles further west across the landscape, the gable-end inscription defiantly alerts visitors and reminds residents “You Are Now Entering Free Derry” (see Figure I6). The Catholic nationalist community of Derry city, historically known as the Bogside, became a regional epicenter of antigovernment activism since August of 1969 (Kerr, 2013). Graffiti on walls, buildings, monuments, or other public spaces has always provided individuals with a means for airing sociopolitical grievances in response to injustice or the marginalization of a minority community (Waldner & Dobratz, 2013). These two cities were no different.

The grievance in both locations stemmed from the installation of British army troops embedded in the communities (Van der Bijl, 2009). After sectarian violence broke out in August 1969, the British government sent troops to Northern Ireland in order to separate the pro-Irish (Catholic) and pro-British (Protestant) warring factions in an effort to ensure peace (Darby, 1997). Government relief and conflict management were short-lived. According to McKittrick and McVea (2001), the initial calm and period of harmony within the Catholic neighborhoods soon deteriorated. The military detail was soon viewed as an occupying force, and the security measures used to control civilian

activities within the minority community became the catalyst for resistance (Cochrane, 2013). The Derry gable-end mural acted as a warning to British troops and state police that the nationalist community would resist any enactments or policies that infringed on the equal treatment of its members. Likewise, the Belfast graffiti advised that mistreatment of the citizenry through oppressive measures on the part of the government would be met with counter actions.

The antigovernment activism that erupted in Northern Ireland moved from spray-painted walls to social mobilizations which followed separate paths. One strategy involved the use of physical force resistance that resulted in massive property damage, personal injuries, and death (Elliot & Flackes, 1999). The alternate path of resistance, however, involved the pursuit of social change through a strategy of nonviolent action in the form of civil resistance, civil disobedience, and noncooperation (Sharp, 2012). Large and persistent nonviolent movements have the potential to deteriorate centralized oppressive state structures and redistribute control to the public masses.

In this study, I examined the minority nationalist efforts to restore justice and equal treatment through those nonviolent actions and influence the balance of power between the state and its citizens. Understanding the convictions of the participants in nonviolent movements similar to the Northern Ireland nationalist resistance may provide a roadmap for other antistate activism that might avoid destructive means. As Chenoweth and Stephan (2011) noted, Irish nationalist groups who chose nonviolent methods to combat perceived government oppression may have found a more legitimate and effective manner to combat disparate state policy.

This chapter begins with a brief background to the study as well as a discussion of the gap in the current literature I sought to address. After presenting the questions that underlay my investigation of minority resistance, I offer an overview of the study's conceptual and theoretical frameworks. I used Johnson's (1996) polarity management as a conceptual framework and Benet's (2013) polarities of democracy model as a theoretical framework to gain insight into the manner in which actors attempted to alter what they believed to be justice imbalance.

Benet's (2006, 2012, 2013) polarities of democracy model incorporates polarity management into workplace conditions. Tobor (2014) and Strouble (2015) applied the same theoretical framework to a wider or regional relevance. I would argue that the same model may be practically employed as a management tool in all levels of public administration. Domestic and international conflicts noted in the study may provide a venue for the theory's functional application. Nonviolent and widespread resistance on the part of aggrieved citizenry may provide the only avenue for substantive reform in these constituencies of conflict.

After discussing these frameworks, I describe the nature of the study. The conflict, the players within, and the language applied to the struggle have in many instances taken on a meaning of their own. As such, I included a definition section to clarify and identify terms for the reader. I expected to encounter challenges with access to participants as well as limitations posed by my worldview or other circumstances beyond my control. Therefore, the chapter also includes sections on the assumptions,

delimitations, and limitations of the research. A section on the study's significance is followed by a conclusion containing a summary of the chapter's key points.

Background of the Study

In order to understand the course of nonviolent actions taken by a certain segment of the Irish nationalist community, it is necessary to explain the political path that physical force Irish republicanism has forged for the last 44 years (Edwards, 2011). Equally important is the need to explore the social dynamics of diverse groups who engaged in antigovernment mobilization in an effort to correct sociopolitical imbalances. From 1970 the armed resistance movement in Northern Ireland continued to gain momentum notwithstanding persistent influences from both domestic and international sources to pursue a nonviolent path (English, 2003). Nonetheless, armed activism against British rule had infected the sociopolitical milieu for decades (Smith, 2011a). More specifically, the Irish republican community harbored the philosophy (as well as the participants) of armed resistance since a resurgence of physical attacks was reinvigorated in the late 1960s and claimed responsibility for more than half the fatalities that had occurred throughout the period of unrest known as "the Troubles" (Rafter, 2005).

However, the people of Ireland did not exist in a vacuum devoid of preaching that encouraged nonviolence. In his *Letter from a Birmingham Jail*, which he authored in 1963, Dr. Martin Luther King pleaded for peaceful solutions to social unrest by stating, "we must see the need of having nonviolent gadflies to create the kind of tension in society that will help men to rise from the dark depths of prejudice and racism to the majestic heights of understanding and brotherhood" (King, 1986, p. 291). Likewise, John

Hume, a charter member of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) and 1998 Nobel Peace Prize laureate, explained that the nonviolent strategies to overthrow subjugating British policy were patterned after Dr. King's nonviolent civil rights movement in the southern United States (Hume, 1996). Furthermore, Mohandas Gandhi, in a similar effort to dissolve the bonds of British imperialism in India, sought independence through the use of noncooperation and nonviolence (Fischer, 2010). And, Irish statesman and human rights activist Seán MacBride evolved from his Irish republican roots that promoted physical force politics to embrace a nonviolent agenda encouraging resistance through legal constitutional means (Dháibhéid, 2011). MacBride's campaign against oppressive state practices drew international respect, and he was awarded the Lenin Peace Prize and Nobel Peace Prize respectively (Jordan, 1993).

Members of the nationalist minority Catholic community had maintained a contentious relationship with their majority Protestant counterparts since the formation of Northern Ireland in 1921, a self-governing state within the United Kingdom. In August 1969, however, a minor stone-throwing incident between Catholic teenagers and Protestant marchers boiled over into full-blown sectarian riots in the city of Derry (Kerr, 2013). In response to the unrest in Derry, similar confrontations erupted between the same combatants in the city of Belfast (Cochrane, 2013). On the Falls Road in West Belfast, entire blocks of homes belonging to Catholics were being burned out as police forces whose membership consisted mostly of majority pro-British Protestants assumed a role as spectators during the riots (Elliott, 2001).

It was at this time that the British parliament in London chose to install army units to patrol and restore calm through the streets of both cities (Edwards, 2011). The troops were initially welcomed as protectors of a threatened minority community. However, the installation of a military force in a civilian environment had transformed the temporary calm into a foreign siege as a result of operations and practices employed against the very population that the army was designed to protect (Punch, 2012).

The British military employed long-term strategies that the minority community considered oppressive such as the use of baton rounds (rubber bullets) during crowd control, a practice which was subsequently condemned by the European Commission of Human Rights (Dickson, 2010), or the disbursement of CS gas canisters (tear gas) to discourage assembly (Bardon, 1992). Punch (2012) noted ten specific acts on the part of British government that caused the divide to expand between minority and majority communities.

This study however, focused on four security actions that aroused ire and resistance on the part of the civilian nationalists. The first event, which became memorialized as the Falls Road curfew, took place in July of 1970 (Bew & Gillespie, 1993). The second security implementation was politically known as internment but was carried out militarily as Operation Demetrius (McCleery, 2012). This policy had far reaching tentacles and broad powers of arrest and detention which British authorities put into effect from 1971 through 1975 (Dixon, 2001). The third event was a directive known as Operation Motorman that consisted of incursions of heavy equipment into

Belfast and Derry in order to destroy and control the nationalist enclaves referred to as “no-go” areas (Smith & Neumann, 2005).

Finally, criminalization policy eliminated political status for republican prisoners incarcerated throughout Northern Ireland detention centers (McKittrick & McVea, 2001). The nonviolent resistance to this policy that included hunger strikes was initiated by prisoners to restore treatment as political prisoners. The hunger strikes also had the end result of re-aligning a physical force movement down the path of democratic pluralism (Ross, 2011). Likewise, the international attention brought about from the hunger strikes of 1980 and 1981 garnered more sympathy for the republican/nationalist cause in Northern Ireland than any assassination, ambush, or bombing that the physical force side might ever attain (Flynn, 2011).

This study included an investigation of methods to resist security measures in general and the groundswell of nonphysical acts in response to those four impositions mentioned above in particular. It should be noted that as a counter-action to more aggressive security measures enforced against the nationalist community members, the enlistments of volunteers into the violent factions increased drastically. Nonetheless, the focal point of this study explored collective actions that caused no physical harm to other groups or individuals such as withholding rates/rents, mass assembly/protests, boycotts, civil disobedience, and other political agitation that was deemed necessary to effect sociopolitical change.

One other politically sensitive matter requires attention and clarification. Sociopolitical conflict brought about labels applied to certain segments of the population. On

one side of the divide the term Irish nationalist referred to an individual who believed that the six counties comprising the province of Northern Ireland - Antrim, Armagh, Derry, Down, Fermanagh, and Tyrone - should be re-united with the 26 counties that make up the Republic of Ireland. An Irish republican would have been an individual who also believed Northern Ireland should be united with the Irish Republic to the south, and those ends should take place at any cost, including the use of physical violence to achieve such goals. Therefore, all republicans were nationalists, but not all nationalists were necessarily republicans because some individuals may have been unwilling to espouse violence.

However, somewhere in between these political ideologies were activists who supported the republican cause, but did not actively participate in physical force politics. Members of this group engaged in nonviolent actions of protest. These individuals assuredly referred to themselves as nationalists, and some admittedly called themselves republicans, but others might be insulted by the republican label because they chose to separate themselves from violence through their own volition. Therefore, for the purposes of this study and in an effort not to cause any offense or resentment on the part of participants during data collection and within subsequent print versions of these engagements, participants in nonviolent antigovernment activism were referred to as nationalists. The exceptions to this rule were those individuals who openly use the term “republican” when referring to themselves and to their antigovernment activism.

The other side of the conflict was made up of unionists and loyalists. In most cases unionists were members of the Protestant majority who maintained that the six

counties of Northern Ireland should remain an integral part of the United Kingdom, and that this union should be prolonged through democratic means. Loyalist individuals or groups insisted that the province of Northern Ireland must remain part of the United Kingdom and the use of physical force measures to preserve this relationship was acceptable.

Throughout this study I attempted to examine how active resistance may have achieved beneficial ends in an effort to overcome injustice through nonviolent methods. An exploration took place of the dynamics that contributed to sociopolitical upheaval between state forces viewed as oppressive and the counter-measures of a resistant minority. Additionally, the study investigated how state policy makers must consider the effects on and actions of aggrieved populations when implementing security measures. I reviewed literature in the area of security policy that occurred in Northern Ireland from 1970 through 1981 as well as current research on nonviolent action as a form of resistance.

Problem Statement

Northern Ireland has been politically, socially, and culturally divided since it was statutorily partitioned from the rest of Ireland in the early twentieth century (Lawlor, 2005). Political tensions have occurred periodically from the 1920s through the mid-1960s. The schism between Catholic nationalists and Protestant unionists became violent in the summer of 1969 (Dixon, 2001) and initiated a three-decade period of civil strife described as the Troubles. The period experienced paramilitary beatings, bombings, and tit-for-tat murders as well as massive antigovernment demonstrations, labor strikes,

orchestrated acts of noncooperation, random arrests, and physical abuse on the part of state officials directed towards civilian populations. The most remarkable statistic emerging from this wave of contentious politics is that over 3,500 men, women, and children lost their lives during this period of social unrest (Fay, Morrissey & Smyth, 1999). The social conflict and the street violence contributed to such political dysfunctionality that the region was unable to govern itself.

Scholars, witnesses, and journalists have written volumes on the destructive conflict contested between Irish republican activists who considered themselves “freedom fighters” (Cochrane, 2013) and their adversaries, British loyalists, who called themselves “crown defenders” (Mulholland, 2002). The current literature reinforces the active role that Irish republicans played in this armed struggle as a mechanism of self-protection (White, 2017). However, very little scholarly coverage of organized and prolonged nonphysical resistance on the part of the same community members can be found, based on my review of the literature.

In conducting this study, I sought to locate determined members from the nationalist community who refrained from resorting to physical means when actively protesting British state security policies. Nationalists carried out these protest actions in an effort to end or modify such policies that many citizens considered oppressive or unjust. The British state repressive measures were tightened through the implementation of various security policies that enforced curfews, mass arrests, and trial without jury (Dickson, 2010). I attempted to fill a gap in the literature by exploring the perceptions and meanings of that lesser known nationalist subset whose participants chose an

alternative path to political resistance in order to secure a more peaceful and equitable society.

This study included an examination of what took place in the nationalist community with its implementation of nonviolent activism against the British government. The nationalist minority community carried out these protest actions as a means to articulate grievances against state security policy in order to achieve social and political justice. According to Blake and Mouton (1967), sovereign states that claimed to be democratic provided “arrangements by which disagreement can be confronted and injustices redressed” (p. 164). If avenues for protest did not exist or protest actions became a target of punitive counter attacks, then the democratic constitution of that state might be subject to question. A focus on the nationalist community members and their perceptions of the overall role they played in the peace process was of particular interest throughout the research.

I employed an interpretive phenomenological approach in which I examined the meanings associated with the experiences of nonviolent actors who engaged in antigovernment resistance. My rationale was to obtain a better understanding of the power of nonviolent action and its effectiveness in achieving the ends: justice and equality. Study results may also add to the body of knowledge used by public policy analysts, writers of policy, and state authorities who interact with factions of resistant citizenry protesting underrepresentation, marginalization, or disparate treatment under the law.

The social condition of citizens throughout the world continues to erode as a result of oppressive public policy. Sri Lanka has emerged from a nearly three decade long civil war, but still accusations of police brutality and criminal justice abuses have come under international scrutiny and criticism (Mohan, 2014). Likewise, the central government of Venezuela has continued to allow the erosion of human rights through either ineffective administration or censorship. Police and army raids into homes and the violent subjugation of protesters has led to accusations of unchecked abuse of its civilian population (Lardner, 2016). Moreover, local police agencies in the United States are being accused of disparate treatment of African American citizens and a criminal justice system that is disproportionately tougher on minorities and the poor (Duran, 2016). My examination of the lived experiences of nonviolent actors in Northern Ireland revealed that protest actions led to a strengthening of public policy which, in turn, reduced oppression. Using the study's findings, policy makers and administrators may be able to effect positive social change through better management in government operations that focuses on the needs and well-being of its citizenry.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this interpretive phenomenological study was to explore the meanings derived from the lived experiences of minority Irish nationalists from the cities of Derry and Belfast, Northern Ireland, who participated in nonviolent action as a form of resistance to specific government security policies between 1970 and 1981. The literature revealed that higher levels of government resistance occurred in the urban areas throughout Northern Ireland. As such, I selected participants who engaged in political

activism with the intent to effect social change (Kemmins & Wilkenson, 1998) from nationalist communities in both cities.

Research Question

Citizens who lived through the civil unrest that has been identified as the Troubles withstood a toxic social order that pitted pro-British guardians of the union (United Kingdom) against pro-Irish resistors who demanded equal treatment and access to opportunities (Tonge, 2013). The chaos that took place etched separate paths of resistance – violent and nonviolent. In conducting this examination of nonviolent Irish nationalist experiences and perceptions, I attempted to determine what benefits or drawbacks arose from choosing this strategy of resistance. Specifically, I sought to answer the following question:

RQ – How do Irish nationalists who lived in Derry and Belfast and engaged in nonviolent actions against the security policy in Northern Ireland in the period between 1970 and 1981 perceive their actions?

Theoretical Framework

The conflict that emerged between minority Catholics and majority Protestants created a contest for power and control throughout the Northern Ireland sociopolitical landscape. The issue existed that a significant portion of Northern Ireland society, in this instance Irish Catholics, perceived itself as marginalized under the governance of mainstream Protestant political parties. In these cases, we applied Johnson's polarity management principles (1996) as a conceptual framework for this study. Although the applications in the Johnson model were primarily organizations, this framework was

expanded to examine such polarities on a macro level in relation to the political quagmire that infected everyday life in Northern Ireland pitting the fears and values (Johnson, 1996) from separate communities against each other.

Johnson's two tests apply in consideration of the combative relationship between political participants – minority Catholics and majority Protestants. First, this was certainly a case that was not a problem to solve but a protracted dilemma brought about by competing interests. Second, this situation, in essence the polarity, must be managed rather than a problem to be solved with a correct answer as Johnson (1996) noted.

The study employed a theoretical framework that used the polarities of democracy model developed by Benet (2013). The five paired relationships that comprise the polarities of the democracy model are freedom and authority; justice and due process; diversity and equality; human rights and communal obligation; and participation and representation (Benet, 2006, 2012, 2013) which partly evolved from the “decatalogue of democratic civil values” described by Butts (1980, p. 121). Each antipode contains both positive and negative components, and the intent would be for actors to manage the polarities in a manner that optimized the positive aspects and minimized the negative aspects (Johnson, 1996).

As Johnson (1996) noted, players attempted to impact the balance of the polarity. Furthermore, Johnson (1996) added that the “tradition-bearers” (p. 55) pursued their own interests. In this study, the tradition-bearers were represented by British government forces composed of the army and the national police force – the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), and the loyalist paramilitary organizations. Influence was also

applied from the “crusaders” (Johnson, 1996, p. 55) represented in this study by the members of the nationalist community who resisted state policy in a nonviolent manner as well as other nationalists/republicans who engaged in physical force politics. The examination of the push-pull relationship in an effort to manage the polarities provided knowledge into how tactics using nonviolent actions employed by some Irish nationalists contributed to a more “sustainable and just community” (Benet, 2013, p. 36). Furthermore, these nonviolent actions contributed to the restoration of the perceived principles of democracy within that community and also provided impetus to the peace process and positive social change.

Nature of the Study

A qualitative study provided the best method to collect data that identified perceptions and explored the experiences of nonviolent actors during the planning and execution of antigovernment demonstrations. Likewise, it was necessary to explore the personal or group perceptions and mobilizations as a reaction to state policy implemented to counteract resistance movements. As such, a phenomenological study examined the lived experiences of nationalist community members who pursued a path of nonviolent action in an effort to restore a balance in justice.

The goal of the study was to gather information related to the perspectives of participants living under the oppressive security measures and the successes and failures of their antigovernment actions carried out to counterbalance perceived injustices (Groenewald, 2004). A phenomenological study allowed me to document the perceptions and meanings of participants in their own words, writings, or expressions (Van Mannen,

2014). Moustakas (1994) noted that the data collection process involved an intimate interaction between researcher and participant and examined the very rudiments of experiences. The data analysis phase employed a modification of the Stevick-Colaizzi-Keen method of analysis that Moustakis (1994) suggested. Additional details of this method of analysis will be addressed in Chapter 3.

Participants for this pool were drawn from the nationalist communities of Belfast and Derry, Northern Ireland. These larger cities contain the highest concentration of Irish nationalist members and sympathizers within the region. Previous contact with community leaders indicated that a concerted nonviolent movement did take place and that certain participants in that movement were willing to discuss such matters in further detail in an effort to explore the personal relationships, perspectives, experiences, mechanics of activism, and outcomes of these nonviolent actions. The same key players acted as gatekeepers while the study employed a snowball method of sampling. Data collection consisted of face-to-face semi-structured interviews with individuals who took part in various antigovernment actions, written summaries of participant experiences, and a focus group consisting of resistant women from a particular action that occurred in 1970.

Definitions of Key Terms

The examination of feelings, emotions, and reactions in response to state policy involved the use of language associated with a specified time and place that required clarification or explanation for the readers of the study. Much of the city landscapes have been modified by design or circumstance, and most players in the struggle have gone

either through the call of nature or a will to separate themselves from the battlefield. As such, some of the terminology has fallen from common use. The following section attempted to bring about a better understanding for readers as it related to the events that took place and those actors engaged in the conflict.

Blanket protest: Resistance of noncooperation demonstrated by Irish republican prisoners in response to the removal of Special Category Status during which inmates wrapped themselves with cell block blankets rather than wearing prison-issued clothing. The blanket protest began in September 1978 and ended in March 1981 (Coogan, 2002).

Bloody Sunday: The calamity that occurred in Derry's Bogside on January 30, 1972, during which 14 unarmed civilians were shot dead by members of the British army following a march protesting internment (arrest without trial). The incident has since been referred to as Bloody Sunday (Kerr, 2013; Saville, 2010).

Bogside: That region of Derry city with a predominantly Catholic nationalist population situated below the old city walls. It was in this location where clashes took place between Protestant and Catholic youth that incited riots marking the beginning of the Troubles in the summer of 1969. This area was also the location of the reinforced 'no-go' areas that were demolished during the British army movement named Operation Motorman in July 1972 (Punch, 2012). The gable-end mural inscribed with the republican slogan "You Are Now Entering Free Derry" from the late 1960s still stands in the Bogside (Kerr, 2013).

Criminalization: The treatment of prisoners in Northern Ireland as common criminals against the state. The policy resulted from the removal of Special Category

Status granted to members of paramilitary groups who were previously considered political prisoners (Cochrane, 2013). The implementation of criminalization on the part of the British government instigated the H-Block hunger strikes of 1980 and 1981 (Walker, 2009).

Diplock courts: Special anti-insurgency courts set up in 1973 in which juries were eliminated and single judges reviewed and heard evidence before issuing verdicts. The practice of no-jury trials was abolished in 2005 (Jackson, Doherty, & McGowan, 2015).

Falls Road: That region of Belfast with a predominantly Catholic nationalist population situated between the city center and Andersonstown in west Belfast. The Falls Road was the site of the security force curfew in 1970 as well as the location of the fortified 'no-go' areas that the British army dismantled under Operation Motorman in July 1972 (Goalwin, 2013; Wiedenhof-Murphy, 2010).

H-Block: The incarceration center in the Maze Prison so called because of its structural shape that housed republican and loyalist prisoners from 1977 to 1999. This encampment was the site of the blanket protest, the no-wash (dirty) protest, as well as the hunger strikes of 1980 and 1981 (Cochrane, 2013).

Hunger strike: Resistance of noncooperation where republican prisoners refused food that took place in 1980 and 1981 in protest of the British government's removal of Special Category or political prisoner status for internees (Flynn, 2011).

Internment: The security policy whereby suspects of insurgency were arrested and held without charge or trial. Internment was introduced on August 9, 1971, under the

British army code name Operation Demetrius (Edwards, 2011; English, 2011; McCleery, 2015; Sanders, 2012).

Irish Republican Army (IRA): The republican paramilitary organization that led the physical force movement for a united Ireland (Coogan, 1996). The organization split between the Official IRA (OIRA) and the Provisional IRA (PIRA) in 1969 (English, 2003). The OIRA declared a ceasefire in May 1972 while PIRA continued military incursions until the Belfast Agreement in 1998 (Elliot & Flackes, 1999; McCleery, 2015; Sanders, 2012).

Loyalist: An individual whose political goals were to retain the political relationship of Northern Ireland as an integral part of the United Kingdom. Loyalist ideology believed that violence was an acceptable means to achieve this goal (Reed, 2012).

Military Reaction Force (MRF): A special unit of the British army that operated as an antiterrorist intelligence collection unit in Belfast between 1971 and 1973 (Cursey, 2013).

Nationalist: In this study, the term refers to an Irish nationalist or an individual whose political goals were to reunite the northern six counties that make up the British province of Northern Ireland with the 26 counties of the Republic of Ireland (Dixon & O’Kane, 2011; English, 2008).

No-go areas: The areas erected in nationalist communities within which control was held by republican paramilitaries rather than security forces of the state. Although no-go areas existed throughout Northern Ireland, the most notorious were constructed in

Derry's Bogside and west Belfast's Falls Road (Smith & Neumann, 2005; Van der Bijl, 2009).

No-wash protest: Noncooperation on the part of republican prisoners in response to the removal of Special Category Status where inmates refused to wash themselves or their cells. The no-wash protests (referred to as the "dirty protest" by British authorities) were ended after the hunger strikes began in March 1981 (Coogan, 2002; Ross, 2011).

Nonviolent action: A technique of conducting protest, resistance, noncooperation, and intervention without the use of violence (Sharp, 2012).

Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA): The body created in 1967 to promote civil rights by means of protest, civil disobedience, and noncooperation (Darby, 1997; Hume, 1996).

Northern Ireland: The political subdivision of the United Kingdom made up of six of the nine traditional Ulster counties of Ireland – Antrim, Armagh, Derry (Londonderry), Down, Fermanagh, and Tyrone. The British province was statutorily created through the Government of Ireland Act of 1920 incorporating only six counties to ensure a Protestant majority. The remaining three counties of Ulster (Cavan, Monaghan, and Donegal) continued to be a part of the Irish Republic. Irish nationalists did not recognize the province of Northern Ireland as legitimate and thus referred to the same area as "the North," "the occupied counties," or the Irish Gaelic term *an Tuaisceart* meaning the North as M. Ferris recounted (personal communication, March 27, 2016).

Paramilitary: An armed organization whose command structure was designed like that found in the military (Goalwin, 2013). The term *loyalists* applied to

paramilitaries fighting to keep Northern Ireland an integral part of the United Kingdom, and the paramilitary groups seeking reunification with the Republic of Ireland were referred to as *republicans* (Rea & Masfield, 2014).

Plastic bullets: Low velocity projectiles used by security forces in Northern Ireland to disperse crowds, which are also known as baton rounds or rubber bullets (Dickson, 2010).

Republic of Ireland: The independent republic comprised of 26 counties but still laying claim to the northern six counties which were permanently incorporated into the United Kingdom in 1922.

Republican: An individual who sought to dissolve the political relationship of Northern Ireland as an integral part of the United Kingdom and integrate the same entity with the Republic of Ireland. Republican ideology included the belief that violence was an acceptable means to achieve this goal of reunification (McKittrick & McVea, 2001; Tonge, 2013).

Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC): The national police force of Northern Ireland (McKittrick & McVea, 2001).

Stormont: The administrative capital of Northern Ireland located in Stormont Castle situated on the outskirts of Belfast (Elliot & Flackes, 1999).

The Troubles: The term applied to the period of civil unrest erupting in August 1969 that was ended by the Belfast Agreement in April 1998 (Moody, Martin, & Keogh, 2012; O'Dochartaigh, 2005). The boundaries of this study, 1970 through 1981, represent only a portion of the entire conflict.

Ulster: One of the four traditional provinces of Ireland comprised of nine northern counties: Antrim, Armagh, Cavan, Derry, Down, Donegal, Fermanagh, Monaghan, and Tyrone. More currently, the term has evolved to signify the province of the United Kingdom that is known as Northern Ireland which consists of only six of the original nine counties: Antrim, Armagh, Derry (Londonderry), Down, Fermanagh, and Tyrone (Moody et al., 2012).

Unionist: An individual whose political goals were to maintain the political relationship of Northern Ireland as an integral part of the United Kingdom (Dixon & O’Kane, 2011).

United Kingdom (shortened term for the official name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland): The political sovereignty made up of England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland.

1st Battalion, Parachute Regiment (1 Para): A special-forces unit of the British army, whose members are highly trained to execute complex assault operations. This military unit fired upon unarmed protesters in Derry on January 30, 1972, killing 14 unarmed citizens in what became known as Bloody Sunday (Saville, 2010).

Assumptions

As it relates to qualitative studies, accurate and rich recollections are the main ingredients in the research (Moustakas, 1994). Also, respondents need to express freely and accurately their “motivations, experiences, and behaviors” (Tracy, 2013, p. 141) of events that took place. For the purposes of this study it was assumed that participants were truthful in that they participated in these antigovernment demonstrations and that

their recounting of the same was accurate. For some participants, publications, and public records presented evidence of their involvement in nonviolent action. This was not the case for thousands of other individuals, some of whom took part in this study as interviewees. Accuracy and truthfulness when describing the common experience identified in this study as well as the perceptions and meanings of those experiences were crucial to the study (Lewis, 2009; Shenton, 2004). Close contact with participants revealed the significance of their experiences in protest activities, and whether these individuals believed their actions promoted or hindered a more peaceful society. Moreover, an intimate examination of the experiences provided insight into the human conditions that led to the choice to engage in nonviolent resistance.

Social members construct their realities through discourse with other humans. Moreover, every researcher brings his or her own experiences, background, and training into the study which may result in particular inclinations or biases. This study which addressed nonviolent resistance to certain security policies in Northern Ireland was no exception to that premise. Therefore, as it related to ontology, the participants in this study demonstrated varied realities as might be expected from their acute and chronic experiences within a conflicted society. Moreover, my own reality was constructed from experiences and interactions with security personnel within the Northern Ireland socio-political structure. As a result of these past encounters, a certain amount of empathy developed for minority members of this region who withstood what many considered unequal treatment administered through security policies.

Qualitative researchers enter into prolonged engagements with participants in order to gain knowledge and understanding of their lived experiences. An epistemological approach suggests that the relationship between the researcher and the participants achieves a level of intimacy such that their interactions actually shape or influence each other (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I utilized face-to-face interviews, lived experience descriptions or narratives, and a focus group during this study in an effort to collect meaning and interpretations from participants who actively protested government security measures. These exchanges uncovered firsthand information related to personal significance generated from the experiences of the participants.

Axiology is the philosophical assumption related to values (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Rudestam & Newton, 2007). All agents of research bring their own value systems which are comprised of life experiences. As such, I must attest that my professional career where I acted as an administrator in higher levels in municipal management stressed the rule of law, equality, and fairness. This background provided a value-laden frame of reference that entered into the study. Additionally, it was necessary to be mindful of my personal past that endured anti-Catholic prejudices from affecting my own interpretations during data collection and analysis.

Delimitations

The study examined the experience of Irish nationalist protesters from the cities of Derry and Belfast, Northern Ireland who engaged in nonviolent actions against perceived unjust security policies. The urban sites were chosen due to the higher concentration of nationalist populations which resulted in higher instances of antigovernment activism.

Moreover, these cities were targeted under Operation Motorman, a large-scale British army strategy which destroyed the fortified minority Catholic enclaves known as “no-go” areas.

Other boundaries limited the time of the study to activism that occurred from 1970 through 1981. The reason for bracketing this time frame was two-fold. First, while the nonviolent struggle persevered, a parallel physical force war rendered the most casualties during this period. This time period also encompassed nonviolent actions on the part of the H-Block prisoners, all of whom were once actors in the violent struggle. These same inmates transformed their efforts to a nonviolent strategy through acts of noncooperation such as the blanket protest, the no-wash protest, and invoking a mass hunger strike against the policy of criminalization.

Other practices that repeated throughout this study required clarification for a better understanding of the politics that saturated the region. The city of Derry which straddles the east and west banks of the river Foyle has suffered from a bit of an identity crisis depending on a person’s political ideology. Those who professed an allegiance to Great Britain referred to this urban incorporation as Londonderry in gratitude to the guilds of London, England who contributed to the rebuilding of the city in the early 1600s (Moody, Martin, et al., 2012).

In contrast, however, those who pledge allegiance to the Republic of Ireland referred to the same cityscape as Derry, the traditional name for the area reminiscent of the old Irish Gaelic place name, *doire*, meaning grove of oaks (Flanagan, 2002). For all intents and purposes and in most publications, Londonderry and Derry were

interchangeable terms. During this study, however, all references to this urban area and the surrounding county were written as Derry because such references were consistent with those made by the Irish Catholic nationalist population throughout the province of Northern Ireland.

After a review of the experiences and actions of the study's participants, this information may prove of value to public administrators who review, write, or analyze policy especially as it related to police or security action in urban environments. Therefore, the transferable results provided beneficial input into the relation between law enforcement and a minority community. The environment circumscribed in this study provided a distinct backdrop where the underrepresented civilian sector was identified by religion and politics and not by racial makeup.

Limitations

Some limitations exist in the accessibility to participants. Certain events that occurred in the study took place over forty years ago, and many individuals have passed away. Most others have moved from Northern Ireland to all parts of the world, especially Canada, United States, Australia, mainland Great Britain, and South Africa. Therefore, tracking down former activists presented significant challenges.

Another limitation of note was bias. From a political point of view the responses from participants involved in this study were undoubtedly critical of the British government. It was important to note that I have blood relations, living and deceased, who have expressed similar Irish nationalist inclinations and have engaged in anti-government activism, but I must stress that no relations were participants in this study.

For the sake of transparency, it is important to note that I (as the researcher) have sympathized with Irish nationalist ideology during that period known as the Troubles. However, subsequent examination of the circumstances contributing to and the ramifications of extended civil unrest have moderated my prejudgments. Nonetheless, I realized that my life experiences played a role in this interpretive phenomenological study.

Interpretive phenomenological research carries with it inherent limitations. The degree of interpretation on the part of the participant and the researcher (and incongruence therein) attracted a certain level of criticism with many such studies. Also, interpretive research can be very difficult to replicate due to the degree of subjectivity.

Husserl's approach to phenomenological studies recommended that the researcher bracket, or set aside, prior experiences (Vagle, 2014), however, Heidegger believed this practice was close to impossible, and that prior knowledge and suppositions added to the meanings and interpretations derived in the study (Tuohy, et al., 2012). Since this was the case, then it was incumbent upon me to possess or develop a certain amount of expertise in the field of study and the human condition surrounding the phenomenon. Otherwise, the data collection process might have become burdensome. Notwithstanding, the inclusion of my own experiences, I was still cognizant that stereotypes and prejudices might adversely affect interpretations.

Interpretive phenomenology can also encounter challenges in the data collection phase through the size of the sample, which in this study totaled 14 participants. This amount of information provided the rich data required to successfully answer the research

question. Still, other hurdles in the field arose. Asking participants to relate information from over 40 years ago did not appear to present memory gaps or less than accurate recall. However; as it related to analysis, interpretive phenomenological research can encounter difficulties in making sense of different interpretations of the same phenomenon. I found one more challenge prevalent in interpretive exploration. That challenge was the requirement of long engagements with participants in order to explore the essence of the experience. As such, this design was very time-consuming and expensive (Maxwell, 2013).

I must acknowledge a final matter of importance to readers that the eventual social stability which came to fruition through enactment of the 1998 Belfast Agreement would not have occurred without the efforts and collaboration of all parties involved in the three-decade conflict. This study addressed the actions of just one community. A lasting peace in Northern Ireland occurred through the cooperation of the British and Irish governments, the unionist and nationalist communities, the republican and loyalist paramilitaries, the Protestant and Catholic cleric groups, several not-for-profit cross-community organizations, and international mediation from the United States of America, Canada, Finland, and South Africa. Readers must comprehend that this study was an examination of an identified subset that persevered within a very complex and multi-layered sociopolitical organism.

Significance of Study

This study centered on the will and actions of those people determined to challenge government oppression without resorting to activism that inflicts harm, terror,

or danger on other social members. An examination of the experiences of individuals from the nationalist community provided a better understanding of how nonviolent tactics employed against state mechanisms achieved reform that encouraged stability in a divided society. This study aroused bygone emotions such as futility, frustration, disenfranchisement, despair, disdain, anger, commitment, perseverance, and fear which were typical of repressed minority populations. The nonviolent resisters from the nationalist community focused these highly charged sentiments into concerted outputs that allowed groups to redress state injustices in a more participatory and non-destructive format. For the purpose of this study, justice was defined as per O'Manique (2003) as "an appropriate response to the needs of others" (p. 6).

This research examined the conflict down to its most rudimentary form which could be simply an outgrowth of diversity (Weeks, 1994). Lovell (2000) stressed that a hallmark of justice was a system that ensured the mutual well-being of its social members. This regional struggle was punctuated with violent and nonviolent demonstrations of citizen action whose members insisted on fair treatment expected within a democratic society. The intent of the study was to uncover the perceptions of individuals from the nonviolent action subset who focused on individual and community efforts to combat what were seen as injustices brought against one segment of Northern Ireland society. Interaction with members of this resistant group provided insight into how they viewed their contribution to a long-term peace which eventually came to the region through the 1998 Good Friday Agreement. The people of both Northern Ireland

and the Republic of Ireland passed this referendum which provided tolerance to diversity and ended specific claims to territory on the island.

Summary

This study examined the lived experiences of Irish nationalists who resisted oppressive security policy through purely nonviolent action. The study also included an exploration of the choices made on the part of physical force prisoners who transitioned from violence to a noncooperation strategy in order to effect policy change. In an effort to understand the conviction and perseverance of those community members who pursued change through nonviolent activism, it was necessary to perform face-to-face interviews with activists who participated in the various forms of resistance such as marches, protests, noncooperation actions, civil disobedience, and fasting.

Certain value emerged from this study from a public policy standpoint in that security or policing guidelines must be applied in an equitable and just method or the resulting counter-action could lead to civil unrest and social chaos. Groups involved in the planning and strategy of public protest and grievance demonstration might find the benefit of nonviolent actions. The study's results could provide that template for social change that circumvents more destructive means.

The literature review in chapter 2 will specifically address areas of security policy in Northern Ireland implemented between 1970, the year of the Falls Road Curfew, and 1981, the last year of the Irish prisoner hunger strikes. The review will also include current literature on active resistance from both an individual and group level initiated to restore justice for an aggrieved citizenry. Additionally, works authored by seminal

players in nonviolent movements such as Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Nelson Mandela, Seán MacBride, and John Hume will contribute to the study's literature.

Gandhi's nonviolent movement helped liberate India from British colonial rule while King, Mandela, MacBride, and Hume each received the honor of Nobel Peace Laureate.

Chapter 3 will explain the qualitative methods of an interpretive phenomenological study in an attempt to capture the meanings generated from experiences through personal dialogue or individual summation. This exchange will attempt to understand the subject's interpretation (Vagle, 2014) while maintaining a certain control of my biases which were noted previously. This method will explore the nexus between the inner feelings of the participant, her/his interpretation, and reaction(s) to the phenomenon (Moustakas, 1994).

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

The purpose of this interpretive phenomenological study was to explore the meanings derived from the lived experiences of minority Catholic Irish nationalists from the cities of Derry and Belfast, Northern Ireland. Respondents would have participated in nonviolent action as a form of resistance to specific government security policies between 1970 and 1981. I selected participants who engaged in political activism with the intent to effect social change from nationalist communities in both cities.

Conflict is a very complicated social dynamic. Conflict by itself is neither positive nor negative, but simply an outgrowth of diversity (Hayward, 2012; Weeks, 1994). This diversity may be caused by differences in ethnicity, politics, class, or religion, for example. When conflict takes the form of physical force employed against other people, or involves the destruction of public or private property, then such actions may be considered a destructive side of conflict (Deutsch, 1972). Conversely, other forms of conflict that do not incorporate harm to others may provide more constructive or positive results (Sharp, 2012). The relevance of conflict in this study arose when portions of the minority community protested certain British security that they viewed as oppressive and applied unjustly or unequally. Nonviolent protest actions resulted in increased repressive actions on the part of the government which, in turn, generated more intense protest. This sociopolitical cycle evolved into an environment of chaos.

A review of the literature showed that the condition underpinning the conflict in Northern Ireland was the disparate allocation of power between the government and the

governed minority Catholic nationalist community (Kerr, 2013). Kumar (2014) noted that citizenry as well as state actors share power but this exertion of power is not always equal. As such, the underallocated or underrepresented side must assert whatever power it possesses in an attempt to balance its uneven distribution. This study focused on the nonviolent sector of the activists who protested the political power imbalance.

The intent of the literature review is to investigate various means of nonviolent resistance used to combat perceived injustices inflicted on a minority population by state security forces. In the study, I focused on government security policies that were used to apply martial tactics to a civilian population of Catholic nationalists and the nonviolent counter-actions of individuals who protested such treatment as a means to bring about social justice. Much of the literature I reviewed highlighted historical information such as specified military operations, both long- and short term, reactionary measures that took place as a result of street security enforcement, and state policy that dealt with the status and treatment of incarcerated minority nationalists (see O’Rawe, 2010; Punch, 2012; Rost, 2012; Ryder, 2000). Though dated due to the boundaries of the study of 1970 through 1981, this literature provided critical information and points of reference related to security actions and the resulting resistance.

My examination of publications on the subject of resistance and social movements that did not entail violence or physical force provided data from political, societal, cultural, and psychological points of view. The literature illustrated that in many respects the civil chaos that took place in Northern Ireland within the time frame of this study had its roots in ethnic, religious, nationalistic, and geographical issues that

contributed to the power struggle between the majority and minority from the late 1960s until the Good Friday Agreement of 1998 (Tonge, 2013).

Chapter 2 will also provide a literature search strategy as well as an explanation of the theoretical framework and how I will use the framework as a lens during the data collection and analysis phases. In addition, I will supply details of the four security policies that the nationalist sector protested. Finally, a summary of the chapter and the description of chapter 3 will take place at the end of chapter 2.

Literature Search Strategy

In my search of the literature for this study, I examined peer-reviewed publications on security policy in Northern Ireland, nonviolent action, passive resistance, sociopolitical disenfranchisement, as well as some historical references that occurred during the Troubles. The libraries located at the State University of New York at Buffalo, State University of New York College at Buffalo, St. Bonaventure University, Queens University, Belfast (Northern Ireland), and the Linen Hall Library, Belfast (Northern Ireland) contained significant research materials. Additionally, the Museum of Free Derry and the Public Records Office of Northern Ireland in Belfast Harbor provided literature and historical artifacts. Other online sources that supplied valuable information were found in the National Archives of Great Britain; International Conflict Research Institute referred to as INCORE, which is a research partnership between the United Nations University and the University of Ulster; and Conflict Archive on the Internet, a collection housed and maintained by the University of Ulster, Magee Campus, in Derry (Northern Ireland). I also used Walden University's digital databases to access peer-reviewed

articles from Political Science Complete, SAGE Premier, ProQuest Political Science, and Google Scholar.

Search words (single and combinations) that provided sources for this study included nonviolence, passive resistance, nonviolent action, noncooperation, civil disobedience, minority disenfranchisement, social movements, nonviolent revolutions, and social power. I also obtained sources by investigating citations from previously selected publications that supplied pertinent viewpoints or statistics.

Theoretical Framework

The interaction of humankind in societies often leads to social conflict which exists on a personal, communal, and intercommunal level (Crozier, 1974). In a political forum, the conflict may be born from imbalances in control delineated in terms of a minority versus a majority during the governance of a state (Sharp 2011). In this study, I examined the relationship between the British state and a portion of its citizenry.

I used Johnson's (1996) polarity management as a conceptual framework in this study. Johnson described a polarity as a "set of opposites which can't function well independently" (Johnson, 1996, p. xviii). Johnson added that polarities consisted of those issues that were ongoing and chronic which required attention and management rather than resolution. Moreover, Johnson applied two test questions, both of which must be met to determine if the condition is a polarity to manage. The first question is "Is the difficulty ongoing?" (Johnson, 1996, p. 81). The second question is "Are there two poles which are independent?" (Johnson, 1996, p. 81). If the answers were yes, then we had a case for polarity management as opposed to a problem to solve (Johnson, 1996).

Treating a polarity as a problem merely exacerbates the situation and escalates complexities. When confronting any matter that challenged relationships, Johnson (1996) asked the questions, “Is this a problem we can ‘solve’, or is this an ongoing polarity that we must ‘manage’ well?” (Johnson, 1996, p. xviii). Most times, problems have one answer; however, in some independent cases, more than one answer suffices to solve it. Polarities having two or more answers that are codependent and the dynamics of polarity management were presented optically through the polarity map which was depicted as two poles with upsides (positive) and downsides (negative). Each quadrant consisted of components or elements germane to the upside and downside of each pole (Johnson, 1996). Understanding the components that constituted each quadrant brought with it the ability to view the polarity holistically.

Polarities possess a dynamic characterized as “normal movement” (Johnson, 1996, p 14) through which quadrants are attenuated or fortified depending on the “push for movement” (p. 14). This push originated from individuals or groups who either foresaw or experienced the downside of the polarity map, and who continued to make efforts to move their environment to the upside quadrants (Johnson, 1996). The path tracked as a result of this constant variation or migration from pole to pole and from upside to downside was what Johnson (1996) refers to as the “infinity loop” (p. 12).

The polarity map remained in a state of constant strain to continue movement from one quadrant to another. According to Johnson (1996), two forces were responsible for this unceasing movement: “the crusaders and the tradition-bearers” (p. 55). Johnson explained that the crusaders were members of that force attempting to move from

downside quadrant to the upper side of the opposite pole (p. 58). Crusaders may be described as “change agents” (Johnson, 1996, p. 60) who resented being prevented from moving or formulating a better condition for themselves. This force also provided the impetus to initiate movement within their environment (individual, social, corporate, political).

The other force that played a role in the movement across the polarity map, the tradition-bearers, contained members that resisted any change in an effort to maintain the current norm or status quo. These groups will have maintained a position in the upper quadrant and, through their own energy or force, obstructed any efforts to effect change for fear of moving to the lower quadrant as a result of the change (Johnson, 1996, p. 61). Just as crusaders were discouraged as a result of efforts to resist change or movement, tradition-bearers likewise became discouraged due to the efforts of the crusaders as agents of change.

Polarities were ineffectively managed or poorly leveraged when too much effort or focus was trained on one pole at the expense of neglecting the other pole. In cases of power or control imbalances, a larger group maintained control by numbers or resources and felt no pressures or urge to take into account the needs of others, thereby, leading to a poorly managed polarity. Conversely, a well-managed polarity harnessed the energy required to optimize the benefits of the upper quadrants of the polarity map which, in turn, avoided the negative features of the downside quadrants.

Johnson also concluded that if polarities were left unmanaged, then momentum flowed from quadrant to quadrant and either remained in one quadrant too long or

remained too long in the negative quadrants. Some examples of polarities that Johnson identified were: Individual and Team, Planning and Action, Stress and Tranquility, Stability and Change, Individual and Family, State and Country, Individual and State, and Competition and Collaboration This was only a partial list of polarities that Johnson (1996) referenced (pp. 265-267).

Johnson's polarity management provided the conceptual framework for this study which underpinned the theoretical framework that Benet (2006, 2012, 2013) developed. As a theoretical framework, this study used the polarities of democracy model (Benet, 2006, 2012, 2013) which suggested democracy may be attained by managing five polarity relationships consisting of freedom and authority; justice and due process; diversity and equality; human rights and communal obligations; and participation and representation (Benet, 2006, 2012, 2013). These ten elements paired into five polarities resulted from an expansion of the ten democratic civic values that Butts (1980) previously proposed.

According to Benet (2012) the polarity relationships contained positive and negative applications of each pairing, therefore the challenge for actors was to maximize the "positive aspects" (Benet, 2012, p. 13) of the polarities while minimizing negative aspects" (Benet, 2012, p. 13) in an effort to promote a democratic society. Democracy itself is not a polarity but is a solution to oppression (Benet, 2012). In analyzing Benet's polarities, specific upsides and downsides of each element became evident as a general application to workplace issues and arguably could apply to wider social conditions.

An examination of the polarity of freedom and authority contained identifiable upsides in each element. Upsides of the freedom could include, but are not limited to, dignity, security, self-fulfillment, justice, and equality as both Butts (1980) and Benet (2013) noted. It is worth adding that unfettered association as well as freedom of movement might also be considered building blocks of freedom. Benet (2006) contended that allowing the aforementioned freedom components promoted a less “oppressive and demeaning work environment” (pp. 84-85), the same argument was expanded to encourage a more stable and secure sociopolitical atmosphere.

Freedom also came with some downsides. Mill (1859) believed that negative freedom allowed an individual to harm herself/himself as long as no harm came to others. Likewise, choices that individuals made on their own may lead to isolation or feelings of disenfranchisement. Benet (2006) used Fromm’s (1965) example that negative freedom could contribute to a “sense of powerless and insignificance” which led to an “individual’s loss of security” (p. 84).

Notwithstanding the fact some authors believed that authority and freedom cannot co-exist, Benet (2006) suggested that authority contains upsides. Among those that Benet delineated which were also applicable to work environments were improved health and safety, an acceptance of work value, enhanced work productivity, power transformation (sharing), and communal commitment (p. 88). A possible addition to this list might be the acquisition of knowledge through job training or holistic awareness of the production processes both of which may contributed to self-fulfillment or enrichment.

One of the most obvious downsides of authority was oppression which Benet (2013) attributed to the misuse or abuse of authority. Other downsides included stress, physical harm, feelings of helplessness and alienation as well as a separation of the worker from the “intrinsic value of their labor” (Benet, 2006, p. 91). On a more protracted scale, all or any of these downsides could contribute to a complete removal altogether (either voluntary or involuntary) of the individual from the work or social environment, thus piling additional challenges onto the worker/citizen.

A review of the polarity of justice and due process also came with upsides in each element. According to Benet (2006), justice acts as a tool to “overcome oppression and constrain the use of power” (p 144). Additionally, justice afforded support to individuals who held no position of power and promoted opportunity for all members of work/society. Justice also encouraged “protection of the least advantaged” individuals (Benet, 2006, p. 151). Commenting from a general perspective, another upside to justice could equate to fairness or fair treatment within the overall social arena.

Some upsides of the due process element consisted of restricting the use of power. Likewise, due process systems or processes could correct unjust circumstances or conditions. Additionally, the mechanisms of due process addressed uncivil or unacceptable behavior and prevented infringements on individual and group rights. Not unlike justice, due process protected individual rights. Due process systems normally received oversight through an independent judiciary.

Benet (2006) agreed that very few examples of the downside of justice exist, but stipulated that Butts (1980) insisted that “corrupted forms” (p. 128) of justice (and due

process) occurred. The compromised structures evolved into downsides in that “protections” found in the upsides of justice became mitigated. As such, Butts (1980) stressed simply informing oneself of the criticality of civic values did not go far enough. Individuals should actively embrace and practice the same (Butts, 1980, p. 130).

Likewise, the downsides of due process may stem only from the “corrupt forms” of which Butts (1980, p. 128) warned. Deviations from the upsides of due process normally occurred as a result of human neglect or a control imbalance within the system’s infrastructure, for example, if “justice without due process” (Benet, 2006, p. 164) became the case. If such conditions did exist, ancillary downsides cropped up such as frustration, desperation, separation, and dehumanization on an individual and societal level.

The next pairing that Benet (2006) examined was the diversity and equality polarity and both had upsides and downsides. Some upsides of equality occurred when unique opportunities for an elite class were eliminated (Benet, 2006; Butts 1980). Additionally, self-worth, opportunity, and social stability enhanced the positive aspects of diversity.

An upside of diversity took place when varied inputs (of experience and thought) were considered as well as an expanded opportunity for individual or groups. Also, Benet (2006) added that creativity, competition, and work performance were realized through diversity. In such cases, variety stimulated professional and social interaction.

According to Benet (2006), some downside or negative aspects of equality came about with the “stifling of motivation, creativity, hard work, diligence, and commitment

to excellence” (p. 181). Downsides of diversity resulted in the concentration of power, oppression, and erosion of individual rights. In these cases, social interaction was stifled.

The human rights and communal obligations polarity carried with it a wider perhaps universal application than Benet’s (2006) model of workplace democracy. Some upsides of human rights brought about individual and group protection, safety, security, self-fulfillment and self-esteem. Positive aspects of communal obligations included collaboration, cooperation, communication, and a broad-based vigilance that extends from the individual to small groups to the community at-large

The negative aspects of human rights rendered a concentration of power, oppression, subjugation, and a disintegration of individual and group’s rights. Moreover, some downsides of communal obligations were demonstrated through disenfranchisement, neglect, miscommunication, and dysfunctionality. Discrimination on an individual and group level resulted from the downsides of human rights.

The final pairing of the theoretical framework was the participation and representation polarity. In this case, the positive aspects of participation were education, association, personal development, individual control, and creativity. The upsides of representation included achievement of stakeholder status, developing a sense of community, human (social) interaction, and empowerment.

Some negative aspects of participation led to stress, disengagement, powerlessness, exhaustion (burn-out), and violence. Similarly, the downside of representation yielded alienation, obstructionism, withdrawal, and disaffection. An

individual's inability to become involved on social processes also contributed to the feeling of hopelessness.

Benet's (2013) polarities of democracy model identified five polarities - freedom and authority; justice and due process; diversity and equality; human rights and communal obligations; and participation and representation. During the course of this study, I used Benet's polarities of democracy model as a lens to analyze results in an effort to determine if those results conformed to or differed from what the theory suggested with respect to managing the polarities. The discovery suggested new ways or verified existing ways to leverage the polarities through protest actions in order to get more out of the positive aspects and less from the negative aspects.

Throughout the literature review, many examples were cited where conflict or social disorder may have been avoided with a more effective management of one or more polarities on the part of the British government or the nationalist citizenry, or both. Notwithstanding, the development of five pairs that Benet's model noted, this study leaned heavily on two polarities - justice and due process as well as participation and representation. Identification of other polarities and suggestions as the proper management of those polarities did take place in this study, but the focus remained on the justice and due process as well as the participation and representation polarities.

My review of the literature showed evidence that the majority Protestant interests controlled all the mechanisms of the state, and that minority Catholic community members perceived certain security policies of the British government as oppressive and unjust. The inability of the government to effectively manage the due process and justice

polarities led to the nonviolent actions from minority groups organized to bring about a more beneficial social situation. The nonviolent actions and resistance movements on the part of the nationalist members were an attempt to offset the protracted negative aspects of the justice and due process polarity. The continuance of protests and acts of noncooperation initiated to counter-leverage the same polarity evolved into an opportunity to affect a prolonged environment that also maintained the negative properties of the participation and representation polarity. These efforts to affect the positive aspects of participation and representation appeared to have taken place through the contesting of the democratic processes of free elections.

Tobor (2014) conducted an ethnographic study that employed the polarities of democracy model as a theoretical framework. The research examined the relationship between components of Urhobu culture and militancy in the Niger Delta. Additionally, Strouble (2015) used the polarities of democracy model as part of a case study to explore the association between racism and social capital in African American communities. George (2016) did not use the polarities of democracies model as a theoretical framework, but acknowledged that the effective management of the ten elements that Benet's (2013) theoretical model proposed was necessary to achieve an optimal level of collaborative leadership.

The Tobor (2014) and Strouble (2015) research indicated that oppression contributed to the social ills that plagued the subjects in each study. Tobor's ethnography of the Urhobo people demonstrated that regional inhabitants had been denied access to the wealth of resources prevalent throughout the Niger Delta. This condition contributed

to participation in militant activities and civil unrest. Likewise, the low-diversity majority Black communities (LDMBC) that Strouble examined demonstrated a consistent presence of structural racism and differential treatment. In the Tobor (2014) and Strouble (2015) studies, issues related to equality, fairness, and empowerment arose as themes within the overall communities. These same themes were reflected in the exploration of the Northern Ireland nationalist community which contributed to similar forms of resistance and social discord. In view of the political atmosphere and the nonviolent protest actions that endured in Northern Ireland, Benet's (2013) polarity of democracy model provided an appropriate lens through which an examination of the struggle between the majority and the minority took place.

The literature supported the contention that the British government attempted to bring about social order through the use of military measures applied to a political problem (Dixon & O'Kane, 2011; Punch, 2012). In choosing this course of action, many nonviolent members of the minority Catholic community were subjected to policy and urban directives designed to contain the physical force social members of that same community. Consequently, the nonviolent action in resistance to such government policy was perhaps an attempt to maximize the positive aspects of justice and due process.

Most nationalist individuals who became imprisoned during this period considered themselves political prisoners to a British and Northern Ireland government that they refused to recognize. As such, no engagement in the political system, other than destructive violence, took place. Prison matters took on a more urgent tone, however,

when the British government stripped the previously agreed upon political prisoner designation after which a block of prisoners began a hunger strike in 1980 and again in 1981. At a seminal moment of conflict transformation, the heretofore violent actors took up the nonviolent role of noncooperation (through a hunger strike) and simultaneously chose to enter into legal democratic processes by contesting open legislative seats (O’Rawe, 2010). Some moderate nationalists had already entered mainstream politics, but the more radical nationalists and republicans had refrained from this sort of activism for over 55 years (Tonge, 2013). These actions were an attempt to level the socio-political playing field by seeking public representation through pluralistic means in hopes of effecting positive social change.

Literature Review

Falls Road Curfew

Bohman (2012) stated that power is described as social control over the actions of others (p. 181) and added that non-domination is nurtured through an individual’s ability to avoid the “injustices of domination” (p. 178). As events unfolded in the early evening of July 3, 1970, security officials received a telephone tip that firearms were being concealed at a home located on 24 Balkan Street in the Falls Road area of Catholic west Belfast (Walsh, 2013). According to Coogan (1996), approximately 3,000 troops descended on the area to commence a neighborhood-wide search. Helicopters fit with speakers warned residents that they were under a curfew and demanded residents remain indoors (Walsh, 2013). Simultaneously, military personnel imposing the cordon-and-search effort were exposed to sniper fire by republican paramilitary volunteers, thereby

increasing the tensions on the streets (Warner, 2006). Over the next day and a half houses were searched for weapons but not without complaints filed by citizens that the army employed heavy-handed and destructive techniques in a civilian environment eventually resulting in allegations of brutal, degrading, and coercive search tactics (Walsh, 2013). If the army's attempt to maintain order did, in fact, utilize methods that violated the rights of law abiding citizens on the Falls Road, then any resistance that took place constituted an effort to affect the freedom and authority polarity.

In a chronicle of the Troubles, Elliott and Flackes (1999) referred to the actions that occurred in Falls Road in the summer of 1970 as a curfew imposed by the British army. The British army and government countered by referring to the same actions as a "restriction on movement" necessary to facilitate a sweep for weapons. General Officer Commanding (GOC), Lt General Ian Freeland, called for the curfew (Sanders & Wood, 2012), but such an action would have been illegal because only the Northern Ireland Home Secretary could authorize these security measures (Walsh, 2013). To the individuals whose movements became restricted or whose freedoms were diminished, the description or label applied to these blockade maneuvers mattered little. Those civilians who resided within the restricted area experienced their homes being ransacked during this 34-hour incursion. What does matter, however, is the army's treatment of the approximately 20,000 inhabitants within an area the size of 50 square blocks; the same army whose sole purpose was to protect and preserve peace in the region (McKittrick & McVea, 2001). It might appear that corralling such a large population where most residents could be assumed innocent could be considered illegal. If this was the case, then

grievances from civil society may have been legitimate and may have resulted from the ineffective leveraging of the justice and due process polarity.

Rost (2011) proposed that governments who employ repressive tactics to control citizens must be prepared to face the consequences of protracted resistance on the part of the oppressed social segment. When a state applies coercive measures against the public, individual freedoms are likely to become curtailed (Davenport, 2012). As such, Davenport (2012) added that democratic institutions are the remedy to state repression and coercion. The United Kingdom had long considered itself committed to “democracy” (McCrone, 2013, p. 477), but such treatment of private citizens may have gone too far according to witnesses (Walsh, 2013). These instances of poor treatment may have been the result of ineffective management of the diversity and equality as well as the human rights and communal obligations polarities.

The stage had been set for this army maneuver as a result of civil agitation that had occurred the previous weekend in the neighborhoods known as Crumlin Road, Springfield Road, and Ballymccarrett where sustained rioting between Catholics and Protestants left five dead and hundreds wounded. After the events of that weekend military units had received heavy criticism from government officials for its inaction and lack of planning during these riots. Warner (2006) noted that government officials wanted the army to show that it could demonstrate greater control over events in the streets, and the Northern Ireland prime minister, James Chichester-Clarke, agreed with “demands for tougher security measures” (Dixon & O’Kane, 2011, p. 29). At this point it might have been wise to examine the relationship between the minority community and

the security forces which could have led to more effective management of the diversity and equality and the justice and due process polarities.

The use of military means to address a political solution led to continued chaos and division as the minority community believed the equality gap was increasing (Punch, 2012). The democratic template that rested on majoritarian principle made a political solution more difficult (Gormley-Heenan & Aughey, 2012) as the ruling pro-British majority in Northern Ireland demonstrated little concern for a disenfranchised Catholic community while at the same time action by security forces apparently became more aggressive. The situation evolved into a conflict between the nationalist portion of civil society and the state security policy that transformed into a condition that Kim (2012) referred to as a “contentious democracy” where actions were contested directly against the state rather than through deliberation between political parties (p. 60).

The relationship at the nexus of Catholic nationalism and Protestant unionism may have boiled down to a question of legitimacy. For years, the minority community refused to recognize the British government in the north of Ireland. Groups and individuals had failed to enter the civil service, did not to recognize or obey regulations and legislations, abstained from the electoral process, and even refused to complete census forms (McKittrick & McVea, 2001; Walsh, 2013).

This refusal to participate in any form of political structure due to its Britishness, may have resulted from a feeling of being powerless leading nationalists to feel less than “willing to seek further opportunities for participation” (Benet, 2006, p. 268). Such circumstances also may have buttressed the perception of an unequal control over their

sociopolitical environment. If this was the case, then the minority community's failure to enter into or recognize public institutions along with continued disenfranchisement on the part of state authorities may have contributed to support of the negative aspects of both the participation and the representation polarities.

Hurrelmann (2014) insisted that state legitimacy originated from the citizens and their respect for its "monopoly of force" (p. 89), but by the time of the Falls Road curfew, Catholics resisted the efforts of state security forces, thereby calling into question the legitimacy of the Northern Ireland state. Hurrelmann (2014) added that "only a sovereign state can be fully democratic" (p. 91). If this was the case, and the Catholic community refused to recognize the state's legitimacy, then the government's mechanisms could not be accepted as democratic and its use of force against a minority community could be questioned.

Haugaard (2012) took a slightly different view of democracy as a mantle of codifications that coerce a society into acting in an orderly fashion even though players within this political sphere have contested interests. More precisely, democracy was described as a "a set of institutional procedures for containing conflict" (p. 1056). It was becoming clearer that the security forces were not able to contain the conflict but might be guilty of actually instigating unrest as a result of policies such as curfews and house searches that took place on the Falls Road in July 1970. It seemed that if the forces assembled to ensure the peace were actually disrupting the peace, then any resistant actions may have been warranted from any section of society – minority or majority.

The weapons sweep that occurred initially appeared to render significant benefits. Bew and Gillespie (1993) reported that the army had collected over 100 firearms, 100 homemade bombs, 250 pounds of explosives, and 21,000 rounds of ammunition for its efforts in defense of the area. Walsh (2013) noted that in the process of neutralizing resident movement during the operation the same troops discharged 1,500 rounds of ammunition, launched 1600 canisters of CS gas, and arrested 337 residents (Punch, 2012). Four civilians also lost their lives during the operation – three were shot by army personnel, one was crushed by an armored vehicle, and 57 injuries occurred (Van der Bijl, 2009; Walsh, 2013; Warner, 2006). None of the fatalities had any ties to violent paramilitary groups (McKittrick & McVea, 2001). It may have appeared to government officials that the curfew's ends justified the means, but such a broad application of force must be implemented with impartiality (Haugaard, 2012). The position of consequentialism may not have been politically applicable as it related to an engagement pitting military forces against civilians.

On Saturday morning July 4, residents from outside the area began to rally for what they perceived as victims under home-arrest and gathered on the outskirts of the restricted zone. The curfew prevented residents from obtaining basic supplies and essential “foodstuffs like milk” (O’Keefe, 2013, p. 27). Ultimately, in an effort to deliver much needed provisions to the Falls Road citizens, a group of approximately 3,000 women and children from the neighboring Ballymurphy/Andersonstown section of west Belfast passed through army blockades (Cochrane, 2013). Although this external relief outside was sometimes depicted as a busting of the curfew, the timing of the civilian

charge was such that the army's orders on restricted movement were to be lifted approximately the same time (Walsh, 2013, p. 114). This action that removed women from the more likely domestic role and directed their efforts to combat injustice through nonviolent protest (McIntyre, 2004) eventually became known as the "Bread March" (Walsh, 2013, p. 15; Wahidin, 2016, p. 31).

The show of support and resistance appeared to buoy the spirit and resolve of the Falls residents and of other nationalist communities (Campbell & Connolly, 2006). The march in defense of those in the curfew area consisted of women and children only. The army may have been hesitant to use any physical means to thwart the efforts of the crowd pushing prams (baby carriages) loaded with bread and milk. Women began to play an increasing role in resistance against the state in Northern Ireland (O'Keefe, 2013), and the assembly of protest marchers determined to provide relief became more than just a symbolic exercise. The Ballymurphy/Andersonstown women enmeshed themselves in active, yet nonviolent, resistance against the installation of the security forces in the residential neighborhoods and the practices carried out on the part of the security personnel. The nonviolent resistance demonstrated during this event may have resulted from less than optimal leveraging of the freedom and authority and the justice and due process polarities on the part of British security forces.

May (2015) believed that a nonviolent approach to protest encompassed not only a moral high-ground but should carry with it a better opportunity for political benefits. The "Bread March" elevated contentiousness between the protesting women and the soldiers, but the activism remained nonphysical throughout the encounter. More stable

and resilient movements may occur as a result of nonviolent action rather than resorting to physical means (Chenoweth & Stephan, 2011).

The attachment to a particular cause that involved nonviolent antistate behavior required less commitment (as well as less chance of personal physical harm) and might encourage credibility to the grievance motion. The members of the “Bread March” from west Belfast began the march with a smaller number of protesters and drew more marchers as they moved closer to the curfew zone (Warner, 2006). The purpose of the women’s march may have been three-fold. First, the basic need for provisions was an obvious intention of the protest (Walsh, 2013). Second, Smith (2011b) stated that some forms of resistance are intended to bring public attention as “opposition to law or policy” (p. 145). Third, mobilization for a particular cause can be an overt act of resistance with the intention to destabilize government actors which can garner additional support from other aggrieved community members (Louis, 2009). The reality may have been that all three of the incentives led the Belfast women to converge on the military cordon.

The restriction on free movement may have given rise to this reactive movement. Likewise, the plan to comprise the group of women and children only may also have caught security forces off guard leading to a condition of uncertainty and hesitancy on the part of the security forces. If the state’s actions during this curfew deprived large segments of the community from the need of sustenance, then this action in the form of a small insurgence may have been attributed to a failure to effectively manage the human rights and communal obligations polarity.

Silvermint (2013) defined oppression as “the social circumstance that systematically and wrongfully burden’s a victim’s autonomy or overall life prospects” (p. 405). In the situation of the Falls Road curfew the argument that autonomy and life prospects became lessened may prevail. Home invasion and restrictions on movement could constitute a violation of human rights. In December 1948, the United Nations adopted a Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (Winter & Prost, 2013). The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland was signatory to this agreement along with 47 other nations (Rauschnig, Wiesbrock & Lailach, 1997). The actions of the military that occurred during the Falls Road curfew when compared to historical accounts and personal recollections may have violated several articles delineated in the UDHR.

Article 3 of the declaration notes, “Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person” (UN General Assembly, 1948, p. 6). Those individuals who were killed during the incursion would have experienced a breach of this article as well as the innocent individuals and families whose homes were invaded during the same period.

Article 5 of the declaration states that, “No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment” (UN General Assembly, 1948, p. 12). Invasion of homes, limiting association and movement, destruction of property, and verbal as well as physical abuse could constitute violations of this article.

Additionally, article 12 reads, “No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his (sic) privacy, family, home, or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honor or reputation.” “Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks” (UN General Assembly, 1948, p. 26). The citizens of the Falls Road who

experienced the stop-and-search tactics and door-to-door raids (Walsh, p. 149) on the part of the British army became victims of blanket treatment as suspected paramilitary agents. Such actions could be considered an abrogation of the United Nations document.

Finally, as it related to the Falls Road curfew, article 13-1 states “Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state” (UN General Assembly, 1948, p. 28). The restriction on movement, in or out of the cordoned area, that the security forces imposed may be viewed as a violation of the UDHR. These apparent violations of an affirmed multi-national document may have been a result of ineffective leveraging of the freedom and authority, justice and due process, diversity and equality, and human rights and communal obligations polarities.

Subsequent to the adoption of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the states of Europe convened in Rome, Italy in 1950. These meetings resulted in the publication of a document designed to safeguard freedoms for European civilians. The European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) agreed on a set of protocols that paralleled United Nations’ UDHR (Schabas, 2015). Restricting the free movement of an entire community might be considered a violation of Article 5 of the European Convention which states “Everyone has the right to liberty and security of person” (Council of Europe, 1952, pp. 7-8). Additionally, random searches of homes might be considered a violation of Article 8 which reads “Everyone has the right to respect for his (sic) private and family life, his (sic) home and his correspondence” (Council of Europe, 1952, p. 10). During the time the army placed a curfew on the residents of the Falls Road, the provisions of the ECHR were in effect and the United

Kingdom would have been expected to comply with this framework (Rainey, Wick, & Ovey, 2014).

Seung-Whan and James (2014) noted that human rights become safeguarded or bolstered through the promotion of democracy, thereby protecting citizens from abuse by the state and/or by other individuals or groups within the state. If this is the case, we may infer that human rights infringements weaken the state's democratic infrastructure.

Hafner-Burton (2013) contended that such breaches or violations "can incite civilians to openly challenge the government" (p. 275). Furthermore, Benhabib (2011) believed that democracy not only legitimized a government but also promoted human rights.

Tilly and Wood (2009) indicated that physical activism against the government in order to make a political statement or simply to stop what can be interpreted as an injustice or a wrong constituted the "expansion and contraction of democratic opportunities" (p. 3). Corduwener (2014) added that a state must be neutral when dealing with separate factions of the population, and Tufis (2014) argued that political instability will result if the overall government infrastructure is popularly viewed as unacceptable. This is especially noteworthy since the state was dominated by one political party – in the case of Northern Ireland – the Unionist party. Corduwener (2014) also added that democracy is encouraged when the state practiced "political equality" (p. 431). The military's treatment of the nationalist residents of the Falls Road might have raised the question as to whether it promoted equality and neutrality of a democratic state. This condition may have been brought about by the ineffective management of the diversity and equality polarity

Notwithstanding their examples of nonviolent resistance, Nelson Mandela and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. knew that participants in movements of resistance all had a limit to their conviction to avoid a physical confrontation. Mandela stressed that once the nonviolent path became inadequate to achieve an end, then violence was an acceptable alternative (Mandela, 2010, p. 82). Likewise, King acknowledged that every social movement contained factions of violence, but King (1986) also pointed out that violence was but “the posturing of cowards” (p. 55). Additionally, Mohatma Gandhi preached that the choice of violence resulted from frustration and despair (Easwaran, 2011, p. 126). In reference to the Falls Road curfew, the march of the women and children may have had an entirely different outcome had the protesters approached security forces in a manner that threatened the military through physical force tactics

As emotionally charged as the situation may have become after living under martial law on the Falls Road, the women and children of Ballymurphy/Andersonstown possessed the conviction to resist without physically engaging the soldiers. Scott (1985) described various forms of protest such as deception, evasion, and passive resistance as “weapons of the weak” (p. 31); however, Gandhi (2001) described nonviolent resistance behavior as “satyagraha” (p. 6) which was not a method employed by the weak, but exercised by the strongest individuals. Gandhi added that satyagraha was “superior to the force of arms” (p. 5). Nepstad (2011) contended that Gandhi’s liberation movement “demonstrated that nonviolence was a pragmatic alternative to war” (p. xi). Gandhi (2001) also posited that women maintained superior discipline over men in order to

pursue nonviolent actions. The “Bread March” of July 1970 may have been such a demonstration of what Gandhi referenced as female conviction.

Similarly, King (1986) stated that it was injustice that caused courageous participants of good will to stand and protest against evil (p. 590). King continued that these actions must follow a path of nonviolence because any physical insurrections might be unfortunate and hopeless. Thalhammer, et al. (2007) stressed that one of the most remarkable developments of the late twentieth century took place in the large-scale mobilizations that protested mistreatment of fellow humans. The accounts of the spontaneous march to the Falls Road demonstrated the concern that one group of Belfast residents had for their neighbors, friends, and relations who experienced the ordeal of block arrest. Easwaran (2011) noted that Gandhi insisted that nonviolent action was more than a tactic or strategy as Sharp (2012) professed. Gandhi believed that true nonviolence resulted from a “way of life” (Easwaran, 2011, p. 23). Furthermore, King (2010) insisted change effected through nonviolent action required “total participation” (p. 21). The participants in the march initiated to support the residents of the Falls Road risked arrest and possible injury but persevered to complete what could be considered a selfless task.

One final incident of note demonstrated additional inequitable application of justice during the curfew. Elected officials who represented the Falls Road nationalist constituents, Gerry Fitt, Westminster Member of Parliament (MP) and Paddy Devlin, Member of Parliament in Stormont, were refused entry into the cordoned area. Devlin was actually held at gunpoint and arrested for his attempts to review the conditions of his district (Walsh, 2013). However, during the same period army officials allowed pro-

British (Unionist) government ministers to inspect the area during the lockdown (Warner, 2006).

After the curfew, residents seemed convinced that the sitting government, as well as security forces, both army and police, were conspiring to crush the Catholic ghettos across Northern Ireland (Elliott, 2001). Sending 3,000 troops into a “residential area with CS gas and Saracens (armored cars) was a dangerous exercise” according to Walsh (2013, p. 114). The rift seemed complete between the British army and the Catholic community as a result of the curfew (McCleery, 2015), and Cochrane (2013) noted that relations between the Catholic nationalist community and the army became irreparable. Immediately after the curfew, complete alienation between the nationalist community and security personnel was solidified (Dixon & O’Kane, 2011; Sanders & Wood, 2012).

The nationalist population, as a result of the weapons confiscation, was now unable to defend itself from the hard-line advances of security forces or attacks from rival loyalist paramilitary factions. Moreover, nationalist civilians had galvanized their resistance against all state mechanisms whose hostilities became targeted in their opinion towards a Catholic minority. The British government through its employment of tactics that penalized nonviolent civilians may have avoided marginalization of the Catholic nationalist minority community through a more effective management of the freedom and authority, justice and due process, diversity and equality, and human rights and community obligation polarities.

Operation Demetrius (internment without trial)

The Northern Ireland security operation commonly described as internment without trial became codified militarily as Operation Demetrius (Edwards, 2011; McCleery, 2012). Ruane and Todd (1996) noted that the “government gave itself security powers that were remarkably coercive by liberal democratic standards” (p. 120). The Special Powers Act of 1922 allowed security forces to take any actions deemed necessary to preserve peace and order (Rosland, 2012). The underpinning of internment policy was to round up as many paramilitary members as swiftly as possible in order to weaken physical resistance against the state (Smith, 2011a). However, the state used what some might have considered repressive measures that often times increased resistance rather than abating the same (English, 2011; Rost, 2011). If that was the case, then these actions may have been an indication of poor leveraging of the justice and due process elements of the polarity of democracy model.

Civil unrest continued throughout the summer of 1971 as casualties from all ranks, including army and police, increased (Dixon, 2001). The Unionist government found itself under increasing pressure to initiate firmer measures against Irish Catholic nationalists and at the same time needed to appease an increasingly unsettled Protestant majority population (McKittrick & McVea, 2001; Moody et al., 2012). Sargisson (2013) warned that “democracy has always favoured (sic) those with the loudest and best organized voices” (p. 124), and the pro-British leadership demonstrated no exception to this premise. Historically, internment without trial had been utilized in every decade since the inception of the Northern Ireland state in the 1920s, and at this point the Northern Ireland prime minister, Brian Faulkner, felt it necessary to invoke the terms of the Special

Powers Act against nationalist resistance (Cunningham, 2001; Edwards, 2011). Little (2006) viewed the use of repressive measures in a democratic society as the exception rather than the norm taken only as a means to subdue a threat to state authority.

Considering the resources available to the British government, this did not seem to be the case related to the application of force upon the minority Catholic population in the summer of 1971 (Snow & Soule, 2010). Such an unbalanced employment of public security assets may have been the result of a less than prudent management of the freedom and authority elements of the polarities of democracy model.

The re-instatement of internment took place on August 9, 1971 just after 4:00 am. During this time, British army personnel infiltrated nationalist strongholds with the intention of arresting citizens who had been identified as having paramilitary (violent) connections (Bartlett 2010). The intent of the operation centered on the incarceration of paramilitary leaders which would whither the effectiveness of the violent movement (Cochrane, 2013). However, the effort appeared to be one-sided as any intelligence collected by security forces targeted only members of the Catholic nationalist community despite violent raids undertaken by Protestant paramilitary groups.

Gormley-Heenan and Aughey (2012) remarked that one of the problems leading to the sociopolitical chaos in Northern Ireland stemmed from the fact that the Unionist establishment governed “without consensus” (p. 654) through the authority of a pro-British Protestant majority. Haugaard (2010) argued that democracy is a “system for managing conflict” (p. 1052). If this was the case, then a system that lacked consensus could be deemed undemocratic as a result of the social imbalances that minority

Catholics experienced. In response to these perceived inequities, the Catholic population intentionally disengaged from all facets of government (Tonge, 2013). These actions might have been an attempt to affect the polarity elements of freedom and authority as well as justice and due process. Likewise, the intentional withdrawal from government mechanisms on the part of the nationalist population might have favored the negative side of the participation and representation elements of the polarity of democracy model.

McKittrick and McVea (2001) referred to the implementation of internment as “institutionalized partiality” (p. 17), and the “social reality” (Bevir, 2009, p. 189) of the Catholic minority perceived this policy as institutionalized state bias. In contrast, however, the pro-British community and government believed that invoking control over the minority population was a measure necessary to protect and preserve the unionist state based on the “social construction” (Kumar, 2014, p. 34) configured by a Protestant majority. The nationalist community seemed to view internment as a form of capricious harassment and state initiated fear tactics (Punch, 2012). This perception may have been fueled by an ineffective management of the freedom and authority elements on the part of state administrators.

Tonge (2013) revealed that the intelligence which was gathered by the police, the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), was outdated and inaccurate. Additionally, the army possessed little experience in policing civilian matters such as house searches, traffic stops, and pedestrian interrogations (Van der Bijl, 2009). Consequently, army operations arrested hundreds of individuals with no ties to the physical-force movement or rounded up civilians who were guilty of nothing more than speaking out against the current

Unionist government (Bartlett, 2010). On the first day of internment 342 men were arrested, but over 104 were released within 48 hours as a result of the unreliable intelligence (Elliott & Flackes, 1999). Over the next six months 2,357 individuals would be interned, two-thirds of which would be released after cursory questioning (Tonge, 2013). It appeared as though an unequal application of arrest policy contributed to the feelings of alienation on the part of the minority community which may have been rooted in an ineffective management of the justice and due process polarity.

As the sweep of arrests continued throughout Northern Ireland homes, thousands protested the actions of security forces through demonstrations, boycotts, labor strikes, withholding of rents to landlords, or withdrawing from any infrastructure of the state (Kerr, 2013). Moreover, by October of that same year it was estimated that approximately 25,000 individuals had agreed to withhold payment on rents as a form of resistance to internment (McCleery, 2015). The military strategy implemented to reduce violence by removing nationalist/republican paramilitary leaders (Operation Demetrius) seemed to produce just the opposite effect which led into an increase in civil unrest, injuries, and deaths (Cochrane, 2013). These counter measures may have been an attempt on the part of the minority community to adjust management tactics that favored the positive ends of the justice and due process polarity.

Tarrow (2012) posited that protesting groups manage to create “political opportunities” (p. 91) in which minority groups might encourage reform of policy or law, and Taylor, Howard and Lever (2010) went further as to state that protests are both an instrument and an outcome of social policy (p. 162). Rawls (1999) noted that acts of

resistance were intended to bring about “change in laws or policies of the government” (p. 320). It appeared as though the minority Catholic population was initiating a broad scheme of resistance in various forms in order to disrupt the workings of government and bring about change that might force a more effective leveraging of the freedom and authority; justice and due process; and the diversity and equality polarities.

Tarrow (2012) warned, however, that such public demonstrations against the state may provide the rationale for open repression on the part of the state against the resistant masses. Milligan (2013) added that protests against the government may be necessary, but the consequences in the form of legal punishment must be expected by the protester or as Sharp (2013) noted “all nonviolent action involves risks” (p. 52). The benefit that antistate activism might accrue was that nationalists resisting internment seemed to retain some sociopolitical power and encouraged a social movement through the employment of nonviolent strategies. These actions appeared to draw widespread attention to what they considered an oppressive security situation. As could be expected, in some instances where a tense stand-off occurred, protesters and security members were both guilty of using what English (2011) described as “uncivil forms of action” (p. 82). This push and pull relationship may have been a manifestation of the improper management of the freedom and authority polarity wherein the state officials failed to maximize the positive sides of that polarity.

Prime Minister Faulkner’s gamble in the form of the reintroduction of internment policy “visibly failed and the British army found itself the target of vastly increased Catholic animosity” (Bew & Gillespie, 1993). Prior and Barnes (2011) stressed public

policy, especially that related to security matters, was a very complicated undertaking which could affect all members of society. Dixon and O’Kane (2011) reflected that the internment “policy proved to be the most disastrous security initiative taken in Northern Ireland during the Troubles” (p. 29). Smith (2011a) stated that the large-scale resistance against the Northern Ireland government began to weaken support for the current pro-unionist administration, a situation that might have been avoided with a more effective management of the freedom and authority as well as the justice and due process polarities.

Internment endured until December 1975 (Cochrane, 2013). Demonstrations against internment intensified as evidence arose that internees were being mistreated by the security forces during questioning. This alleged abuse took place in the form of white noise, sleep deprivation, hooding, starvation, and water torture (Kerr, 2013). Hurrelmann (2014) posited that in exchange for being interwoven into the fabric of the nation, public citizens agree that, in some cases, a restrained level of force on the part of the state was necessary to maintain social stability. The perception on the part of the Catholic minority, however, was that many were being punished for actions of a violent few who resided in that same community.

Razmetaeva (2014) argued that the public has the right to resist state forces when the aim is to bring an end to “abuse of authority and violation of human rights by its agents” (p. 766). Acuto (2012) simplified the circumstances by stating that conflict remains an “unavoidable presence in society” (p. 122). The Catholic minority had begun to exercise nonviolent actions in an effort to engage the Northern Ireland government and

its security forces in an examination of the treatment of sociopolitical diversity that was at the root of the conflict (Richmond & Tellidis, 2012). It may be that this treatment and the resistance stemmed from the ineffective management of the diversity and equality polarity.

According to Abrams (2011), the act of protest emerged from a desire to articulate a grievance against a group, in this case the Northern Ireland government, that certain political strategies or policies must be examined with the intent of mitigation or modification. The protests that ensued as a result of alleged abuse charges mobilized a sector of the population, Catholic nationalists, to rally in support of change or to encourage further dialogue that might lead to reform on the part of state security forces (Smith, 2011b). The breakdown in constructive dialogue between majority and minority may have led to the feeling of disrespect and contempt on the part of Catholic nationalists. Silvermint (2013) stated that resisting such seemingly oppressive tactics can “protect the victim’s well-being” (p. 417). This condition may have exacerbated the friction occurring within the sociopolitical landscape and possibly resulted from the improper leveraging of certain elements of the polarity of democracy model – human rights and communal obligations.

Benhabib (2011) noted that a democracy must recognize and accommodate diversity within society and at the same time state authorities must demonstrate support for human rights. Fischer (2002) proffered that people who suffer from oppressive states find justification in taking up arms for their cause, but Gandhi added that “nonviolence is infinitely superior to violence” (p. 137). It seemed that the reaction of the minority

citizens against the state may have found root in the government's improper management of the diversity and equality along with the human rights and communal obligations polarities of democracy

Darby (1997) suggested that the arrest and mistreatment of internees violated the aforementioned United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) specifically referencing Articles 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 19, 20 and 26. The European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) had also issued a statement that the application of internment was "ill-balanced" and favored one portion of the community over the other (Dickson, 2010, p. 66). As it related to the mistreatment of those arrested, ECHR eventually ruled that individuals arrested during internment had been subjected to inhuman and degrading treatment but would not go so far as to say it constituted torture (Dickson, 2010; Elliott & Flackes, 1999). Some months after internment had been re-introduced, the British government commissioned an investigation into the ill-treatment of detainees. The results were encapsulated in the Parker Report (1972), which were delineated in the minority report issued by Lord Gerald Gardiner that stated abuse of arrested individuals was "not morally justifiable" and should be considered "alien to the traditions of the greatest democracy in the world" (Parker, 1972). This social conflict might have been avoided if state authorities had effectively managed the human rights and communal obligations polarity.

Rost (2011) professed that arbitrary application of repressive tactics often produced unpredictable results that escalated conflict rather than quelling resistance. Strong-arm tactics may have the effect of turning "neutral civilians" (Rost, 2011, p. 436)

into sympathizers for protesting factions. Increased activism was met with further repression, thereby deteriorating relations between security forces and the Catholic minority (Mulcahy, 2006). These actions may have been an indication that the government did not properly manage the freedom and authority as well as the justice and due process polarities of democracy model.

In order for large forces of resistance to unfold, portions of the population must be at the point when it can no longer tolerate state injustices (Nepstad, 2011). Gills and Gray (2012) added that resistance to oppressive state measures constituted a course of liberation which evolved in cycles to produce optimum results. In protest of what nationalists viewed as indiscriminate arrests and the inhumane treatment of those who had been arrested “a massive campaign of civil disobedience” ensued (Kerr, 2013, p. 122). Similarly, British officials feared that the introduction of internment would draw international criticism and would be considered “a contravention of the European Convention on Human Rights (McCleery, 2015, p. 18). The escalating conflict between the minority community and the state may have been avoided if the government had effectively negotiated the polarities of freedom and authority along with justice and due process.

The use of force communicated power (Calabrese, 2010), and the army incursion into the homes of the nationalist community to arrest individuals appeared to send the message that the state was prepared to utilize the unequal distribution of resources between military and civil society in order to stabilize a political environment. By the end of 1971 over 17,000 houses had been searched for republican paramilitary members

(McKittrick & McVea, 2001, p. 70). Sharp (2011) noted that the dominance of the state military stemmed from its abundant resources, but the primary weapon of nonviolent protest derived from the minority struggle “to defend freedoms and resist central repression” (p. 16). The mass protests garnered the most attention as a means to popularize minority grievances, however McAdam (2010) and Sharp (2011) urged that to ensure effectiveness such protests proceed in diverse forms and with varied tactics.

The response to the treatment of detainees came to a boiling point. Just as it seemed that matters could not get any worse in Northern Ireland, the tragedy known as Bloody Sunday took place on January 30, 1972 (Horgan, 2013; McKearney, 2011). A crowd estimated at 13,000 gathered and marched in Derry in protest of internment policy (Cochrane, 2013). As the demonstration began to break up, members of British army forces belonging to 1 Parachute battalion opened fire on the unarmed protesters. In the midst of confusion and terror, thirteen people were pronounced dead at the scene and one woman died months later as a result of injuries sustained during the shootings (Edwards, 2011; Kerr, 2013). At this point the Northern Ireland conflict became broadcast to the entire world through media coverage on television, radio, and other news outlets.

The years following the implementation of internment, 1973 and 1974, saw more than 75,000 searches take place in each year (Dixon, 2001). Rosland (2012) concluded that the introduction of internment intensified the conflict and further disenfranchised the minority Catholic population in Northern Ireland. The aggrieved population began to utilize mass protest more frequently. May (2015) contended that nonviolent action was a

method to neutralize advanced military movements because the might of the army was of no consequence against a group avoiding a physical force confrontation.

Razmetaeva (2014) argued that “the right to resistance is a legitimate aim” (p. 766) and nonviolence added legitimacy to the grievance process thereby increasing the chances of effecting concessions from the regime in power (Chenoweth & Stephan, 2011). Tarrow (2011) warned that although protesters planned to refrain from violence, repression and state efforts to control such movements can become violent and dangerous (Earl, 2011). The general intent of protest was to cause a disruption and state actors sometimes had little patience for the nonviolent demonstrations that attract attention and disrupt daily routines (Tarrow, 2011). Repressive responses to public protests and the minority community may have demonstrated that the state was not willing to effectively manage the polarity elements of freedom and authority, justice and due process, and diversity and equality.

Austin Currie, one of the founders of the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland, stated that had he known these protests would lead to the violent period that endured for 30 years, he would have refrained from the whole resistance movement (Currie, 2004). Bloom (2013) maintained that the power struggle between minority and majority was a natural outgrowth of any social relationship, and further noted possible benefits can be achieved through the examination of the rudiments that caused the struggle. The negative ramifications of protest can also occur if the confrontations turned physical. In such cases, it appeared that Bloom (2013) and Acuto (2012) agreed with Darby (1997) that “conflict is an element of social discourse” (p. 148). However, Darby

(1997) concluded that resorting to violence as a result of conflict demonstrated a breakdown in the accepted methods of resolving sociopolitical tension. Sorenson & Vinthagen (2012) put forth a similar argument that simple resistance alone will not garner change. It would seem that resisters might be better served through engagement against the state in a manner that encouraged substantive dialogue. Such constructive interaction might lead to effective leveraging of the justice and due process polarity.

The security situation eventually became so untenable that on March 30, 1972 British Prime Minister Edward Heath prorogued Northern Ireland Parliament at Stormont Castle, and direct rule from London took place under the Northern Ireland Temporary Provisions Act of 1972 (van der Bijl, 2009). But political matters worsened in 1973 under the Emergency Provisions Act whereby judge-only (no-jury) courts were set up to deal with security matters while internment continued and the army was given broader powers of arrest (Punch, 2012). Special legal proceedings, known as Diplock courts (named after Lord Kenneth Diplock) held trials heard before a single judge (Smith, 2011a, p. 258). The elimination of juries was suggested in order to eliminate witness tampering and intimidation (Cunningham, 2001; Tonge, 2013), but international criticism rained down on the British justice system as an inadequate means to deal with crime in a democratic society. It would appear that the special courts might deviate from a cornerstone of democracy that includes a right to a fair trial judged by a group of peers which might encourage more effective management of the justice and due process polarity.

Accusations of state oppression could be countered through the demonstration of “robust non-domination that comes from an equitable legal system” (Bohman, 2012, p.

182). Normally, citizens should feel that the powers of the state will not be administered in a repressive manner (Punch, 2012), but internment and special courts might be an instance which could constitute an “abuse of human rights” (Darby, 1997, p. 129). Such a legal environment might have resulted from ineffective management of the justice and due process as well as the human rights and communal obligations polarities. Moreover, skepticism to the claim of impartiality would arise from legal proceedings that encouraged a juryless trial.

Benhabib (2011) opined that citizens have the “right to have rights” (p. 62) and through this premise equal treatment and protection must be respected by the state. As such, the inability of the state to provide certain democratic rights might have been a result of the failure to properly manage the freedom and authority, justice and due process, and the human rights and communal obligations polarities on the part of the British government.

Rawls (1999) might condemn the Diplock system simply because such actions deviated from “rational procedures of inquiry” and led to an abridged “due process” (p. 210). Gomez & Ramcharan (2014) stated that a triangulation existed between democracy, the rule of law, and human rights. Random arrests, expedient legal procedures, and abuse of detainees might have indicated a breakdown within the legal infrastructure and administration of justice. Cho (2014) noted that a legitimate state administration will acquire its underpinning in “public support” (p. 478). This was not the case in the nationalist community as it related to the policy of internment. Contrary to Faulkner’s original intent, the introduction of internment actually increased civil unrest and deadly

violence (Tonge, 2013). This seemingly unbalanced application of security and legal policy may have resulted from leveraging the negative side of the polarity elements justice and due process and diversity and equality.

Snow and Soule (2010) also warned that repressive state strategies against resistance do not always subdue the protest but may increase protest frequency. The minority population may have felt that the repressive policy of the state had been concretized and any hopes of reconciling the Catholic community and security mechanisms had evaporated (Darby, 1997). The minority perception that arrests were based on sectarianism; the brutal treatment of those questioned or arrested; the arrangement of trial without jury; the fact that many incarcerated had no paramilitary ties; and the number of civilians maimed and killed during this operation again brought into question the legitimacy of the Northern Ireland state (Rosland, 2012). The situation in Northern Ireland evolved into “a society under siege and on a constant, pervasive security alert” (Punch, 2012, p. 174), and these security measures directed against minority Catholics may have contributed to what Pearlman (2011) categorized as a “constituency of protest” (p. 204). Such a prevalent disenfranchisement may have been a product of a state that poorly managed the justice and due process and the human rights and communal obligations polarity.

Tilly and Wood (2009) wrote that a democracy offered certain protection to its citizens, especially for members of the minority; however, the belief among Catholic nationalists appeared to be quite the opposite. These individuals viewed an entire segment of the population as being targeted for being members of a community that

contained very few actively armed rebels (Tonge, 2013). The disintegration of trust for the government seemed to accelerate the schism between nationalist and unionist camps. Inglehart (1999) added that when communities become “dissatisfied with their lives, they may reject the regime” entirely (p. 107). Darby (1997) stressed that only the state could reverse or reform those disadvantages that challenged minority populations. Dixon and Kane (2011) concluded that repressive security policies incited actions of mass resistance from both the violent paramilitary and nonphysical force segment of nationalism. Stuckey and O’Rourke (2014) insisted that communication between the citizenry and the government forged the linchpin of a democratic society. The repressive security policy and the counter actions may have been avoided through alternative state models that stressed the positive aspects of the justice and due process polarity.

It appeared that members of the minority Catholic community feared random arrests, searches, incarceration, and bodily harm as a result of hard-line security measures implemented on the part of the pro-British Unionist government. Nationalist families felt especially vulnerable and violated as they became “susceptible to arbitrary violation by armed men” within their own households (Aretxanga, 1997). It became evident that the statelet of Northern Ireland, legislated through the offices at Stormont Castle, had been deemed ungovernable (Cochrane, 2013). Not unlike the physical force movement which was preparing for the long war (Cochrane, 2013; McKearney, 2011), the nonviolent side of the minority population appeared to dig in for a protracted process required to bring about sociopolitical change to secure a regional peace, especially after the events of Bloody Sunday. At this juncture, however, the global population witnessed the brutality

that the Northern Ireland security forces doled out to their own citizens as the minority sector aired their grievances in the public sphere (Smith, 2011b). Nonviolent protest and demonstrations were the only manner that the marginalized community seemed to be able express its frustration and anger (Fatke & Freitag, 2013; Mandela, 2010; Rousseau, 2014).

The fourteenth Dalai Lama stated that “peace means solving differences through peaceful means; through dialogue, education, knowledge and through humane ways” (Dondrub, 2011). The fight back on the part of the nonviolent resisters may have been the best weapon to bring about peace in this society that was experiencing so many challenges between the minority community and the government. The nationalist citizenry seemed to perceive the state as unjust and intolerant in its application of security measures. This perception may have resulted from the state’s inability to maximize the positive sides of the justice and due process; freedom and authority; and diversity and equality polarities.

Gandhi received countless jail sentences as a result of his years of noncooperation and nonviolent protests (Gandhi, 2001), and added that when jails became filled, the oppressors created new communities that found kinship and a unity of cause because in prison “all strangers are friends” (Fischer, 2002, p. 237). Furthermore, Mandela (2010) believed that security forces engaged in capricious acts will undermine democracy and send a country into a spiral of sociopolitical chaos. Finally, King (2010) noted that grassroots protests begin slowly because communities do not immediately understand their strength in numbers or their organizational capacity. As such, the enforcement of

internment without trial might have provided credence to feelings of disengagement of minority citizens which could lead to volatile community-wide responses in the form of protest actions.

Operation Motorman (removal of “no-go” areas)

The enforcement of civil order in Northern Ireland, particularly on the part of the army, had utilized means that may have been uncharacteristically heavy handed in a democratic society (Punch, 2012). Bennett (2010) and Punch (2012) noted that such British army tactics were a carryover from military operations like those that occurred in colonial holdings such as Cyprus, Malaya, India, and Kenya. From 1969, the year civil chaos set upon the province, some nationalist communities in Derry and Belfast had holed up in barricaded sections of the cities known as “no-go” areas (Tonge, 2013). These areas were so named because the police and army refrained from entering such enclaves. Several sources confirmed that these barricaded zones allowed the armed paramilitary members to organize and train without interference from British security forces (Cochrane, 2013; Edwards, 2011; Smith 2011a).

One specific attack that occurred on July 21, 1972 has been memorialized as Bloody Friday. On this afternoon, the Irish Republican Army (IRA), a paramilitary organization, detonated a total of 26 separate bombs in downtown Belfast killing nine people and injuring 130 others (Bew & Gillespie, 1993). No one can determine with any certainty that the details of the bombings were planned from within the “no-go” areas or not, but the body count in Belfast city-center demonstrated the atrocities that could be dispensed at the direction of the armed resistance. As a result of these actions, the British

military and London government believed it was necessary to re-assert control over all of Northern Ireland including and especially within the barricaded “no-go” areas of west Belfast and Derry. Northern Ireland’s Secretary of State, William Whitelaw, stated that the government was to restore sociopolitical calm at any expense (Edwards, 2011). Much of the pressure originated in the majority Protestant community that believed the existence of any area outside the reach of law enforcement was untenable in a British society (Bennett, 2010). Smith and Neumann (2005) wrote “as long as the ‘no-go’ areas continued to exist, there was no chance of a political settlement” (p. 424) to the conflict. The decision to remove the barricades was yet another exercise to end the chaos plaguing Northern Ireland.

In an effort to provide a balanced account of the security situation, and in consideration of the administrative changes that had just occurred, the British government found itself in a serious predicament. Since the suspension of the Northern Ireland Parliament, all security matters had been issued from London rather than locally from the administrative center at Stormont (Hennessey, 2014). The existence of the “no-go” areas had become somewhat of an embarrassment to the British government who felt that no place should be beyond control of law enforcement (Cochrane, 2013). Security officials believed that the basic democratic principle referred to as the “rule of law” was breached by the construction of the barricades to form these zones which were prohibited from being patrolled (Dixon & Kane, 2011; Smith & Neumann, 2005; Van der Bijl, 2009). At the same time, the undertaking of a military operation that was destined to incur hundreds of civilian nationalist casualties would also be an abrogation of the same principle. It

seemed that British authorities found themselves in an unenviable position of being criticized regardless of how they proceeded with the military operation.

Crozier (1974) stated that the implementation of extreme or desperate measures in a free society came with certain drawbacks related to public opinion. Repressive measures had a way of escalating the intensity of resistance rather than suppressing the same (Lange & Balian, 2008; Smith, 2011a). Members of the Catholic nationalist community believed that the government failed to administer security matters in a just or equal manner which may have led to the perception that the British authority was not legitimate. Punch (2012) believed that such acts of aggression and occupation, though intended to mitigate the violence, caused many from the Catholic community to doubt the validity of the state. This perception of the state on the part of the Catholic minority may have resulted from improper management of the freedom and authority polarity relationship that existed between the British security mechanism and the resistant actions of the minority members.

Nonetheless, the directive to dismantle the barricades had been decisive, and one that significantly altered the landscape and mindscape of Irish nationalism. On July 31, 1972, thousands of security forces descended on the “no-go” areas of Belfast and Derry under the military codename Operation Motorman (Edwards, 2011). This operation was to be the largest British deployment since Suez conflict in 1956 (Sanders & Wood, 2012). By means of moving tanks, demolition equipment, and armored vehicles, the army removed all barricades in these sectors (Punch, 2012). Security forces deemed the maneuver a great military success in light of the fact that violent republican paramilitary

members removed themselves to remote sites outside the cities prior to the operation. But the massive military movement in a civilian environment may have led to a further disassociation of the remaining nonviolent civilian population. DeSchuffer and Ringelheim (2008) posited that this sort of hyper-response might be perceived as a gross profiling of all Catholics as shooters and bombers which encouraged “differential treatment” (p. 362) of social members based on ethnicity. It may not seem feasible that all the residents of the “no-go” areas constituted a violent security threat.

Kerr (2013) estimated that no more than 250 republican soldiers were reported to have been housed in Derry’s Bogside and Creggan areas. These soldiers were imbedded within a local civilian population of approximately 25,000. The same can be said for Belfast’s Falls Road, Andersonstown, Ballymurphy, and New Lodge in that nonviolent civilians outnumbered paramilitary members significantly. The Military Reaction Force (MRF), a British antiterrorist team, had been formed to infiltrate into nationalist areas of Belfast in an effort to eradicate active paramilitary members (Cursey, 2013). Former members of this special unit that operated between 1972 and 1974 recounted having harassed unarmed civilians with no ties to paramilitary organizations (Cursey, 2013). In view of this treatment, law-abiding citizens may have sought safety by living within the confines of the “no-go” areas to seek freedom from the intimidation of army patrols.

Van der Bijl (2009) countered that the removal of barricades was less of a punishment upon a segment of the population as it was an exercise to restore order. The installation of troops in such numbers might seem an over-utilization of military resources; however, this operation was consistent with the British military maneuvers

employed to repress political upheaval in other foreign territories (Bennett, 2010). But McGarry and O'Leary (1995) stressed that the conflict must be seen not as an anti-colonial campaign on the part of minority Irish Catholics but as a struggle defined through "domination and discrimination by Ulster Protestants" (p. 89) who maintained the majority in all matters of politics and government administration.

These circumstances may have led to the condition that Mill (1859) referred to as the tyranny of the majority. Nevertheless, whether the issue of unjust treatment was underpinned by alienation from the lack of access to state structures or domination of the majority over the minority, the Catholic nationalist population seemed compelled to take measures to balance the social and political environment. It appeared at this juncture that the sociopolitical ends continued to oppose each other. The state needed to eliminate chaos and establish a more stable social environment, while nationalists who overtly sought a united Ireland in the long-term became focused on just treatment as a more urgent short-term need. In consideration of the resources available to the state, however, it might appear that the government's goals would reign "supreme" (Hayek, 1994, p. 67). These efforts to counteract the perceived one-sided application of security measures may have been an outgrowth of the state's inability to effectively manage the polarities – freedom and authority as well as justice and due process – in order to garner sociopolitical order of Northern Ireland.

Most government officials considered the heavy military tactics necessary as the physical force side of the resistance movement continued to inflict human and property casualties throughout the region (Dixon & Kane, 2011), but many citizens sympathetic to

Irish nationalism resisted without taking up arms. The tactics of this sector of the nationalist population chose alternative strategies and opted to disrupt the workings of government and socioeconomic mechanisms by withholding rents, organizing protests/marches, or engaging in other acts of civil disobedience or defiance (Kerr, 2013). This behavior was consistent with the position illustrated by Sharp (2013) which also promoted resistance through the various nonviolent actions. In the case of the Irish nationalist community, flyers distributed to the citizenry (see Figures I7, I8, and I9) encouraging antigovernment protests, as well as other disruptive actions. These resistant measures may have in many cases been outside the law, but the activities certainly inflicted no physical harm to other social members. As such, a large sector of the nonviolent minority Catholic population, those espousing a unified Ireland but who chose not to inflict harm or damage, received treatment from security forces that would normally be applied to physical force members of the paramilitary organizations. Such a broad application of security tactics might have been avoided through better management of polarities of democracy model related to the elements of freedom and authority.

Taylor, Howard, and Lever (2010) stated that large scale activism was an attempt to influence governance vis-a-vis policy or legislation. Razmetaeva (2014) added that “the right to resist is an individual right” (p. 768), and Silvermint (2013) went a step further as to state that for people who experienced oppression “resistance is obligatory” (p. 408) because failure to take action against an oppressive force will only lead to “continued oppression” (p. 408). Corduwener (2014) also stated that democratic societies needed to allow political space for displaying dissatisfaction with state policy. If this was

the case, it appeared that the nonviolent actors of the nationalist community had chosen from an array of resistant methods in order to communicate their grievances to the state as an attempt to influence the negative sides in the existing polarities.

Likewise, Prior and Barnes (2011) believed that the variables that make up the form of resistance resulted from a myriad of “complex relations between individuals and groups” (p. 275). The path that resisters chose, whether violent or nonviolent, and the effectiveness of that choice remained no less complex. It seemed that the methods chosen by participants from the nonviolent sectors were a matter of individual choice in which each member could optimize her/his resources and strengths to counter-balance the ineffective polarity management chosen by state authorities.

The generalization on the part of security forces that all minorities within the barricades had the potential to physically or violently resist government operations was probably an overestimation. As a result of the massive display of military might utilized against minorities, innocent residents of the “no-go” areas might experience another “traumatic event” (Smith & Neumann, 2005, p. 423). Security forces had taken into account during the planning phase that this incursion into the nationalist community would “produce a significant number of civilian casualties” (Smith & Neumann, 2005, p. 424). Accounts from one British soldier who was deployed to the conflict in Northern Ireland stated that training from senior officers provided generalized instructions that “Catholic=IRA=Bad; Protestant=British=Good” (O’Mahoney, 2000, p. 110). This partisan practice could be what Rawls (1999) considered a failure of the state authorities to act in “good faith” (p. 208) as it related to the treatment of the nonviolent members

during this military operation. Such treatment might be construed a mismanagement of the diversity and equality polarity.

The perceived harassment doled out on the part of the security forces upon the nationalist citizenry dissolved trust in the army/police and gave way to feelings of group and personal insecurity. Entire neighborhoods had been held under restricted movement and random mass arrests of nationalist individuals had taken place up to this point in the conflict - the summer of 1972. Inside the “no-go” areas, the minority population was able to avoid the haranguing at the hands of the state security arm as well as pro-British loyalist gangs.

A more diligent use of counter-insurgency intelligence might have better served both adversaries in the conflict allowing security to make the distinction as to whether the citizens were protecting the paramilitaries or whether the paramilitaries were protecting the citizens. MacBride (1985) noted that security tactics applied to an entire sector of the population “became more and more indefensible” (p. 60). The unraveling of such a Gordian knot might have been a consideration in the decision to bulldoze minority neighborhoods. Disemboweling what were perceived as violent strongholds might have yielded a security benefit, but disengaging a dissatisfied but nonviolent sector of the population might have also created additional and protracted social unrest (Punch, 2012).

Rost (2011) believed that the use of government force to subdue political dissent often instigated additional activism or resistance. Moreover, Sorenson and Vinthagen (2012) argued that antigovernment movements should never be “underestimated” (p. 63) by state authorities in sociopolitical conflicts. Smith (2011b) also stressed that actions of

resistance must be made public in order to ensure that authorities within the “democratic system are made aware of the new problems” (p. 152). Once particular problems become aired, the various parties may negotiate an acceptable sociopolitical settlement.

Members of the Catholic minority appeared to have reached a breaking point by the time of Operation Motorman. This community had experienced home invasions and curfews; body searches and harassment; beatings, random arrests, and now a full-scale military incursion of urban neighborhoods (Cochrane, 2013; Cursey, 2013; English, 2003; Kerr, 2013; Punch, 2012). It might seem that such treatment could engender resentment and create a reason for sociopolitical grievance. Also, it appeared that activism in the form of nonviolent resistance was becoming more prevalent in an effort to achieve justice for all as opposed to fair treatment reserved for only one sociopolitical sector of the province. The resistant demonstrations may have evolved from the inability of the government to manage polarity elements of freedom and authority as well as the justice and due process during this conflict.

From a quantifiable perspective, no one can argue that the number of deaths resulting from sectarian violence decreased since the inception of Operation Motorman (Coogan, 1996). British authorities touted this strategy as a military success (Bennett, 2010; Smith & Neumann, 2006). However, the success may be attributed to ancillary strategies that occurred as a result of or simultaneously with Operation Motorman. First, Bennett (2010) stated that a complete retraining of troops sent to Northern Ireland took place that stressed integration with the civilian population, rather than taking an adversarial position. Second, it would appear that the population of Northern Ireland, on

both sides of the societal chasm, was beginning to tire from the carnage. In the aftermath of Bloody Friday where 9 people were killed and over 100 hundred were injured, civilians started to believe that all parties needed to seek a political solution to the unrest rather than further military operations (Smith & Neumann, 2005). The decision to appease the concerns of one sector of society at the expense of another cannot co-exist in a democratic state according to Scalet (2010), but as it related to Operation Motorman, it appeared as though the government viewed that a broader social order could be achieved through the forceful opening of the restricted nationalist neighborhoods.

The army surely had the authority to invade the “no-go” areas vested in the power provided through the British state, however, the morality of massive military operations (though legitimate) against a defenseless civilian population might be questioned. Applbaum (2010) claimed that states have an obligation to provide “human rights” (p. 238) and a social condition that was “stable for the right reason” (p. 238). Furthermore, Gomez and Ramcharan (2014) believed that the mobilization of force or the use of power on the part of the state must exist in order to prevent an infringement of human rights. If this was the case, then the Westminster government’s endeavor to bring about social stability should not have taken place with disregard for law-abiding Irish nationalist community members whose social security may have evaporated as a result of Operation Motorman.

Fay, Morrissey, and Smyth (1996) provided yearly figures of deaths caused as a result of political violence in Northern Ireland. It appeared the death rate declined significantly in the aftermath of Operation Motorman (see Table 1).

Table 1

Distribution of Deaths by Years During the Troubles

Year	Deaths	Year	Deaths
1969	18	1984	74
1970	26	1985	61
1971	186	1986	64
1972	497	1987	103
1973	274	1988	105
1974	307	1989	81
1975	265	1990	84
1976	314	1991	101
1977	117	1992	93
1978	83	1993	90
1979	124	1994	68
1980	86	1995	9
1981	115	1996	21
1982	112	1997	23
1983	88	1998	12
Total deaths			3,601

Note. Table data are from Fay et al. (1996).

As such, it would appear that the operation provided a societal benefit at the cost of the law-abiding inhabitants of the ‘no-go’ areas. Schurrman (2013), however, was quick to point out that the use of repressive measures to deter resistance sometimes had just the opposite results as intended where resistance actually increased. Bennett (2010) and Smith and Neumann (2005) suggested that, pursuant to Motorman, the republican paramilitary organizations may have undergone a period of strategy re-alignment that sought resistance to British authorities through means other than the use of physical force. If such a modification of tactics did take place as a result of Operation Motorman, then some long-term sociopolitical benefit such as a leaning toward less violent means of resistance may have resulted from this military incursion.

Sharp (2011, 2013) and Helvey (2004) both itemized a general list of 198 nonviolent forms of resistance to communicate grievances. The erection of the barricades like those built in the “no-go” areas represented one method referenced in this list of resistance strategies. The troops and armored movement that infiltrated the “no-go” had expected serious defensive tactics on the part of the nationalist community. In view of this prediction, security forces and government officials were prepared for hundreds of civilian casualties to occur by the end of this operation (Bennett, 2010). However, only two individuals were killed in Derry (Kerr, 2013), neither of whom resisted the barricade removal. Concurrently, no form of resistance seemed to have been reported in Belfast during the same period (Edwards, 2011). This non-action came as a surprise to most military officials (Dixon & Kane, 2011). It may be that the nationalist community came to the realization that to resist in the presence of such a massive military accumulation would have been irresponsible, or the nationalist community may have embraced a tactic that Sharp (2011, 2013) and Helvey (2004) might consider adding to their list of nonviolent tactics – number 199 –which would be to watch the enemy with disdain and do nothing. This strategy might ensure that an individual survives to resist another day.

Resistance and protest may be carried out in many arenas - in the public by way of marches or boycotts or in institutional forms such as courts or parliaments (Abrams, 2012). Resisting actors may have found these actions necessary to reclaim what they believed to be a restoration of order or to diminish societal chaos (May, 2015) which may have accrued as state authorities failed to control polarity elements of freedom and authority; diversity and equality; and justice and due process. Additionally, Newton

(2011) pointed out that the removal of arms from political forms of communication and protest promoted “democratic legitimacy” (p. 130). The quest for equal treatment and justice on the part of nonviolent Catholics continued to take shape in various protest forms subsequent to Operation Motorman.

Gandhi (2001) insisted that social strife existed because laws and/or policies were unjust, and Milligan (2013) countered that acts of violence during protest and resistance were usually committed by the government through its representatives. In the environment of Northern Ireland, the republican and loyalist paramilitaries could be added to the list of violent offenders. If this was the case, then it may have been that nonviolent resistance on the part of nationalist Catholics was exercised to separate themselves from what they perceived as oppressive practices of the authorities as well as the actions of the physical force (violent) organizations in order to pursue equal treatment and justice from the state. These actions became necessary as a result of a state security apparatus that was unable to deliver equal treatment to its citizenry in general and to the minority population in particular. Mandela (2010) demanded that such protests proceed in a nonviolent fashion so members cannot be accused of “violating a peace process” (p. 335). Furthermore, King (2010) added that the ways of nonviolent action rendered the “maximum effect” (p. 18) for the identified cause. The overall resistance movement of nationalist community members may have been due to the government’s inability or unwillingness to manage polarity elements of freedom and authority; diversity and equality; and justice and due process.

Criminalization (removal of special category status)

This study focused on resistance that caused no harm to others, however, the initial passages of this section on the criminalization policy in Northern Ireland addressed the conditions of republican prisoners, all of whom were accused of using (or attempting to use) violence against the state. This background information benefited in the understanding of how paramilitary members inside the prison gates subsequently engaged in nonviolent disobedience and non-cooperation which led to a greater paradigm shift of the republican/nationalist ideology that came to embrace the mechanisms of democracy through the process of public office elections.

For the purposes of clarification, it is worth reiterating the difference between the use of the labels, nationalist and republican. Politically speaking, Irish nationalists believed that the six counties that formed the province of Northern Ireland should be reunited with the Republic of Ireland. Similarly, Irish republicans held to the same political aspiration of a united Ireland through any means necessary including the use of violence. If this was the case, all republicans were nationalists, but not all nationalists were republicans. In this section that addressed the criminalization of prisoners, it was important to understand that those members of the nationalist community were incarcerated because they were convicted of violent crimes and openly ascribed to tenets of Irish republicanism. However, within the prison the internees chose methods of resistance that employed tactics of non-cooperation causing no harm to other groups or individuals. Concurrently, outside the prison walls nationalist community members demonstrated their support for the prisoner protest also through nonviolent actions.

During the policy of internment prisoners from the nationalist community were filling jails. As of 1981, 1,244 men and 50 women internees were being held in Northern Ireland prisons (MacBride, 1985). These prisoners were demanding special category status in which case they would have been considered political prisoners. Inmates insisted the situation in Northern Ireland warranted such consideration because the nationalist community believed that the Northern Ireland government and the very formation of the statelet known as Northern Ireland was illegitimate, and that the six northern counties should be ruled as part of the Irish Republic. As such, since their crimes were in pursuit of political reform, the prisoners believed political status was a reasonable request (MacBride, 1982).

Members of paramilitary groups engaged in physical force conflicts against members of the national police force but mostly waged war with the British army's very elite and battle-tested units. This situation added credence to the mindset that the Troubles that took place in Northern Ireland resulted from a complex struggle involving politics, national identity, minority rights, and sovereignty as opposed to a conflict based on religious differences. Therefore, according to nationalists and republicans, these encounters were particular instances of a larger war (Flynn, 2011) and combatants incarcerated as a result of these struggles should be treated as prisoners of war.

In June of 1972, in an effort to achieve political prisoner status, republican prisoners in Crumlin Road prison, Belfast began a hunger strike (Bew & Gillespie, 1993). The use of the hunger strike had been used on several occasions in Irish history as a means of political communication. Thomas Ashe had fasted in 1917 during his

incarceration for speeches against the British authorities. In a demand to be treated as a prisoner of war he commenced a hunger strike which led to his death (Bartlett, 2010). And in 1920, the mayor of Cork City, Terrence McSwiney, had refused food in protest of his arrest and imprisonment for antigovernment activity (Walker, 2009). Beyond the borders of Ireland, Mohatma Gandhi fasted on several instances in support of striking labor (Fischer, 2002); in protest against community violence (Fischer, 2010); and to take a stand against the British voting system in India (Cochrane, 2013).

This form of nonviolent resistance was consistent with Gandhi's ideology of satyagraha which embraced self-sacrifice for the greater good (Gandhi, 1993). Likewise, Sharp (2013) and Helvey (2004) recommended fasting as a form of non-violent action to draw attention to certain grievances. Individually, Nelson Mandela participated in a prison hunger strike against "poor conditions" (Mandela, 1995, p. 421), and mass hunger strikes took place on Robben Island (South Africa) for additional visitation rights (Buntman, 2003). The use of hunger strike has periodically punctuated world history as a form of political protest against injustice or ill-treatment. Fasting as a form of protest has normally accelerated the focus on the grievance at hand.

A hunger strike employed to achieve reform might be used in response to the inability of state authorities to manage the human rights and community obligations polarity model. It could be argued that a population (general or prison) that believes it is oppressed, may engage in activities that countered the oppressor in order to reform the living environment through a leveraging of the polarity.

The eventuality of the Crumlin Road jail protest was that hunger striker, Billy McKee, was approaching a terminal state. In an effort to avoid more unrest on the streets, Northern Ireland Secretary of State, William Whitelaw, agreed to the prisoners' request for special category status provided the hunger strike was called off (Coogan, 1996; Gillespie, 2008). Special category status meant that prisoners did not have to perform prison work; were not required to wear prison uniforms; and received more visits and parcels than other internees without this special status (Elliott & Flackes, 1999). It is important to note that special category status was granted to all paramilitary prisoners – Catholic republicans and Protestant loyalists.

Several years later, however, the prison policy of special category status was eventually phased out as a result of recommendations made by the Gardiner Commission (1975). This independent inquiry examined the handling of terrorism “in the context of civil liberties and human rights” (Elliott & Flackes, 1999, p. 264). The report stressed that “the introduction of special category status for convicted prisoners was a serious mistake” and concluded that “the earliest practicable opportunity must be taken to bring special category status to an end” (National Archives of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (Gardiner Report), 1975, p. 34).

As a result of these recommendations, Whitelaw's successor, Merlyn Reese, instituted a program to discontinue political prisoner status and declared that the new policy would treat any individual incarcerated after March 1, 1976 as a common criminal or as an offender of state law (Cochrane, 2013). This began the policy that the British government referred to as “criminalization” (van der Bijl, 2009, p. 88) in which

paramilitary convictions would be considered infractions under the penal code. British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, repeated that the administration would offer no concessions to the prison protesters (Hennessey, 2014). As such, special category status was applied to anyone serving time for crimes committed before this new policy was put into place (Walker, 2009). Consequently, at the moment the criminalization policy was put in effect approximately 1,500 inmates in Northern Ireland and in the remaining United Kingdom jails were already being treated as political prisoners (Gillespie, 2008). The policy of criminalization was an attempt on the part of the British authorities to depoliticize the Troubles, but concurrently, the new security policy failed to address the rudiments of a problem which seemed up to be inherently political up. It appeared that the stage was being set for a protracted standoff between prisoners and the government administration.

In September of 1976, Kieran Nugent arrived in prison (Sanders, 2012). He would be the first internee in four years who would not receive special category status as a result of the newly implemented criminalization policy (Cochrane, 2013; van der Bijl, 2009). Nugent was arrested on charges of car hijacking (Moloney, 2010) and was sent to serve time in the newly constructed H-Blocks (so named as result of their construction) Long Kesh (see Figure I10) near the town of Lisburn located less than ten miles outside Belfast.

Prison authorities handed the prison uniform to Nugent which he refused to wear responding “you’ll have to nail it to my back” (O’Rawe, 2010). Since Nugent refused to don the prison clothing and was not allowed to wear his own clothes as a result of the

newly implemented criminalization policy, he was handed a blanket to wrap around his naked body. This act of resistance was the beginning of the non-cooperation protests against penitentiary officials known as the “blanket protest” (O’Rawe, 2005). Subsequent prisoners who chose the same form of resistance were referred to as being “on the blanket” (Ross, 2011). These actions against criminalization initiated an extended period of nonviolent behavior in the form of noncooperation.

Smith (2011b) and Della Porta (2013) stressed that minority groups often engaged in protests or demonstrations to modify laws or policies they viewed as unfair or prejudicial in hopes of winning over the majority to their side or as a means to encourage negotiations. The nonviolent actions of Nugent and later prisoners stood as a statement against the criminalization policy employed as an attempt to reverse the criminal characterization of the republican prisoners. Furthermore, the protest might have demonstrated an effort to “offset the powerlessness” (McAdam, 2010, p. 497) of a certain section of the incarcerated prison population. The act of denying oneself basic necessities for a prescribed cause might demonstrate the deep conviction of those minority inmates on the protest.

Republican prisoners escalated the intensity of protest by commencing the “no-wash” protest (Aretxaga, 1997) or the “dirty” protest (van der Bijl, 2009) as it was referred to by British authorities. The “no-wash” initiative meant that inmates refused to wash or leave their cells which eventually led to the smearing of human feces on the walls and floors. These actions of non-compliance or non-cooperation appeared to be the only weapons available to incarcerated individuals who perceived that the removal of

previously accepted special category status as a form of injustice. Prison personnel countered this form of protest with regular beatings and other forms of physical abuse (Campbell, McKeown, & O'Hagen, 1994). These protests also manifested the prisoners' resolve to the achievement of a more equitable environment within what they believed to be a biased political system.

The non-violent actions in hopes of gaining political prisoner status continued until 1980 when the leadership of the republican prisoners decided to embark on a traditional form of non-cooperation – the hunger strike. The hunger strike had a track record of success for achieving prisoner demands as demonstrated through McKee's initial demand for special category status in 1972. Thus, in the minds of the republican prisoners, another hunger strike might result in similar ends. The tactic of a hunger strike might transfer the power struggle in the prison from the authorities to the internees through their refusals to cooperate. The nonviolent actions might also draw attention to the criminalization policy that the prisoners perceived as an unfair branding on the part of the British administration.

Support for the strikers was mobilized outside the prisons through the National H-Block/Armagh Committee (Flynn, 2011) as well as the Relatives Action Committee (Coogan, 2002). On October 25, 1980, the streets of Belfast saw 17,000 protesters demonstrating in support of the prisoners and their plea for political prisoner status (Ross, 2011). On October 27, 1980, while protests continued inside and outside the prisons, seven republican prisoners refused to take food until special category status was granted by prison officials (Flynn, 2011). And on November 22, 1980 thousands marched on the

Irish parliament building in Dublin (Ross, 2011) in support of the hunger strikers. Nine days later on December 1, 1980, three republican prisoners from women's jail in Armagh commenced a hunger strike of their own in support of the men's H-Block protest (Gillespie, 2008).

Independent Television (ITV) aired a documentary that held a brief interview with one of the hunger strikers (Ryder, 2000). The film showed the prisoners in frail condition but somewhat strengthened through the prisoner solidarity as well as the publicity that might be generated outside the prison. Moreover, on December 6, 1980 marchers protested in front of the British embassy in Dublin in an attempt to place more pressure on government officials (Ross, 2011). Actions both inside and outside the prison were expected to draw public attention to the plight of the prisoners' pursuit of a more realistic and just condition.

Polletta (2014) referred to such bottom-up movements as a form of "participatory democracy" (p. 84). It appeared that the citizen action was beginning to exercise its own sway through the number of demonstrators willing to assemble and protest. The hunger strike endured until mid-December when the prisoners believed that their demands were being met by British authorities. In light of this perceived breakthrough, the prisoners called off the strike as one of the protesters, Sean McKenna, lay close to death after 53 days without food (O'Rawe, 2005). The women ended their strike the following day (Ross, 2011). As it turned out, the government did not concede to the prisoner demands. The subsequent disappointment and desperation that engulfed the prison after almost two months of striking with no measurable results appeared to galvanize the prisoners and the

nationalist community against the issue of political prisoner status. Notwithstanding the actions of the prisoners, no relief from the government-assigned criminal status had been achieved.

Although it turned out the demands of the hunger strikers for political prisoner status were not met at the conclusion of the fast, it became evident that the use of the body as a means of protest encouraged nationalist/republican sentiment and support from the general public (Dingley & Mollica, 2007). Tarrow (2013) referred to this period of wrangling between the British government, the nationalists, and the international communities “critical juncture in contention” (p. 14). The demonstration and support for individuals, men and women, who were willing to sacrifice their health for the cause of justice inspired popular support as indicated through these demonstrations. A new strategy to address prisoner grievances began to evolve and appeared to ratchet up the consequences for all parties involved in this standoff.

A second hunger strike was planned to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the implementation of the criminalization policy. On this occasion, however, the strategy designated a hunger striker be added sequentially to place more political pressure on the British government (Beresford, 1987). As such, Bobby Sands, from west Belfast, refused food on March 1, 1981 (Fierke, 2013). Francis Hughes followed on March 15; Ray McCreesh and Patsy O’Hara joined the strike on March 22; Joe McDonnell began fasting on May 9; Kieran Doherty’s protest commenced on May 22; Kevin Lynch abstained on May 23; Martin Hurson volunteered on May 28; Thomas McElwee initiated the desperate act of self-denial on June 8; and Mickey Devine committed himself to a resistance of last

resort on June 22 (Moloney, 2010). Table 2 details the chronology and the succession plan of the 1981 hunger strikers.

Table 2

1981 Hunger Strike Succession

Protester Name	Age	Days	First Day	Last Day	Outcome	Succeeded by
<i>Fatalities</i>						
Bobby Sands	27	66	Mar 1	May 5	Death	J. McDonnell
Francis Hughes	25	59	Mar 15	May 12	Death	B. McLaughlin
Ray McCreech	24	61	Mar 22	May 21	Death	K. Doherty
Patsy O'Hara	23	61	Mar 22	May 21	Death	K. Lynch
Joe McDonnell	29	61	May 9	July 8	Death	M. Devlin
Martin Hurson	24	46	May 28	July 13	Death	P. McGeown
Kevin Lynch	25	71	May 23	Aug 1	Death	L. McCloskey
Kieran Doherty	25	73	May 22	Aug 2	Death	P. Sheehan
Thomas McElwee	23	62	June 8	Aug 8	Death	J. McMullan
Mickey Devine	27	60	June 22	Aug 20	Death	No successor
<i>Survivors</i>						
Brendan McLaughlin	29	13	May 14	May 26	Medical emerg.	M. Hurson
Paddy Quinn	21	47	Jun 12	Jul 31	Family orders	No successor
Laurence McKeown	25	70	Jun 29	Sep 6	Family orders	No successor
Pat McGeown	25	42	Jul 9	Aug 20	Family orders	No successor
Matt Devlin	31	52	Jul 14	Sep 4	Family orders	No successor
Liam McCloskey	25	55	Aug 3	Sep 26	Family orders	No successor
Pat Sheehan	23	55	Aug 10	Oct 3	Strike suspended	End of strike
Jackie McMullan	26	48	Aug 17	Oct 3	Strike suspended	End of strike
Bernard Fox	30	32	Aug 24	Sep 24	Medical emerg.	No successor
Hugh Carville	25	34	Aug 31	Oct 3	Strike suspended	End of strike
John Pickering	25	27	Sep 7	Oct 3	Strike suspended	End of strike
Gerard Hodgins	21	20	Sep 14	Oct 3	Strike suspended	End of strike
James Devine	24	13	Sep 21	Oct 3	Strike suspended	End of strike

A total of 23 prisoners joined the strike in 1981 (Hennessey, 2014). The prisoner protests were, from the point of view of the prisoners, a moral stance (Applbaum, 2010) against the criminalization policy and an action to rally support from outside the prison walls and outside of the United Kingdom. This latest and most desperate prisoner action initiated in an effort to right a perceived wrong came with the possibility of a dismal end-game. These prisoner actions might have stemmed from the state's inadequate management of the freedom and authority polarity model as prisoner protests appeared to be an attempt to affect their environment.

It would seem that any hunger striker who persists with the protest to the death must possess an immense conviction of purpose. The protest in the H-Blocks demonstrated this commitment to achieving the several demands of the prisoners and a re-instatement of political prisoner status. The republican H-Block prisoners perceived the entire conflict as one of politics. The British authorities and the impetus behind the revocation of special category status was that the republican prisoners had committed crimes against the people. Therefore, agreement could not even be made as it related to the source of the civil unrest that had plagued this region for the past 12 years up until 1981. This situation presented itself as a battle within the battle.

Thatcher and government officials viewed the internees as thugs while the nationalist community and the republicans therein felt that the injustices perpetrated on the part of the security forces and the polices of the British government administered to the same community must cease. Danny Morrison (2006), the director of communication

for the Sinn Fein political party, commented that the republican prisoners after “having been arrested under special laws, been questioned in special interrogation centres (sic), been tried in special courts with special rules of evidence, the prisoners were told after they arrived at the specially built H-Blocks that there was nothing ‘special’ about them” (p. 15). Figure I11 (Fierke, 2013, p. 47) depicts the disparate mindset of the prisoner standoff at this time from the perspective of both sides – the Irish nationalists and the British government. Irish sentiment felt that the hunger strikers dedicated their efforts to a cause while the government officials sought punishment for common criminals. It is worth noting that prison officials who served in the H-Blocks at that time admitted that they had a certain amount of admiration for the strength of conviction that the republican prisoners demonstrated (Ryder, 2000). Moreover, the same prison officials agreed that the prisoners from the Catholic community would never have “seen the inside of a prison had it not been for the Troubles” in the six counties that made up Northern Ireland (Ryder, 2000, p. 211).

In view of these circumstances, the only form by which to achieve a balanced and equal application of law or policy was through resistance, a condition which may have been brought about by ineffective management of another polarity mode – justice and due process. Silvermint (2013) and Nagler (2014) argued that victims who do not resist oppression not only condone such ill-treatment but will encourage the continuance of such injustices. Moreover, Razmetaeva (2014) added that the right to resist consisted of an individual human right that was often directed against maltreatment on the part of a public authority paralleling other rights such as freedom of opinion and expression. In

the case of the Irish republican prisoners neither the “blanket” protest nor the “no-wash” protest had achieved acceptable prison reforms.

At this point the prisoners chose to increase intensity to the next level of protest - a hunger strike. This action of self-sacrifice may have been one that was designed to focus broader attention on the conditions of the prisoners that might bring both sides together to negotiate a settlement related to the matter of political prisoner treatment. However, it appeared that the hunger strikes further polarized the issue, thereby driving a wedge between the prisoners and the nationalist community on one side and the unionist community and the British government on the other. The discourse over the depoliticizing of the Catholic minority prisoners eventually turned lethal.

During the course of this second hunger strike massive demonstrations took place throughout the British Isles and abroad (Cochrane, 2013). Ryder (2000) noted that every night during the hunger strikes “there were torchlight processions, pickets, traffic hold-ups, sit-ins at public buildings, prayer vigils, and demonstrations” out on the streets in support of the prisoners (p. 213). Notwithstanding these protests, British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, refused to modify existing policy related to political prisoner status (Bartlett, 2010).

The most critical set of circumstances that punctuated these tense months occurred with the sudden death of Frank Maguire, a member of the British Parliament representing Fermanagh-South Tyrone. Maguire passed on March 5, 1981 when Bobby Sands was only four days into his hunger strike. The republican leadership made the decision to contest the vacancy by running the incarcerated Sands for the vacant office.

This action was a break from the policy of the mainstream armed struggle which denied recognition of the British element on the island of Ireland and with it brought about a refusal to participate in any form of government. Standing for office appeared a rather substantial risk on the part of the protest movement since a Sands' loss would prove incredibly unpopular for the political prisoner cause and might be perceived as a victory for the British authorities. It might also seem that the nationalist resistant forces in this case sought opportunities that provided what O'Hearn (2009) viewed to be a mix of confrontation and opportunity (p. 496).

The nationalist/republican community decided to run Sands on the anti-H-Block ticket as a candidate for the parliamentary seat against Harry West, a pro-British unionist candidate. The nationalist strategy was that the British authorities would not allow a sitting Member of Parliament (MP) to die as a result of political action. Election flyers were distributed to the voting community pleading for support that stated "Bobby Sands: His Life in Your Hands" (see Figure I12). Sands won the election as he continued to fast in his cell. Nevertheless, Prime Minister Thatcher dug in further on the political prisoner issue. As a result of what appeared to be a refusal of either side to make concessions in this standoff, 10 hunger strikers perished in the wake of the 1981 hunger strikes.

But prior to Sands' death and subsequent to his election victory, additional candidates were put up for election in Republic of Ireland during the hunger strikes. Paddy Agnew, a prisoner who was on the "blanket" and "no-wash" protests won a seat in the Irish parliament – Teachta Dála – representing County Louth (Clarke, 1987). Likewise, Kieran Doherty, who was on the hunger strike, was elected to the Irish parliament from County

Monaghan (O'Malley, 1990). Doherty died while on strike and Agnew did not receive his release until 1986. Therefore, neither victor took their seat in office. It appeared, however, that the hunger strikes and associated protests had escorted in a new wave of nonviolent action.

The death of Bobby Sands, MP on May 5, 1981 made for another electoral vacancy since he was the standing member of Parliament. Sands' election manager, Owen Carron, ran for the seat and was also successful in his bid for election. As a result of the success and the political support that the nationalist/republican movement was beginning to acquire, it became obvious that a new avenue for reform was now available. It appeared as though the frontiers of resistance had been expanded through entry into democratic processes. This method of effecting change through public representation reshaped the existing energy that had previously come in the form of street demonstrations, boycotts, open forms of resistance, legal action, public graffiti, postings, community meetings, work stoppages, and prison non-cooperation protests, all of which comprise variants of what Tarrow (2012) referred to as collective action.

The new representative alternatives provided an additional outlet other than the physical force portion of nationalism known as republicanism. Irish republican members now contested elections as the practice of abstentionism was eventually removed, so that sociopolitical barriers might be debated rather than eradicating their bases. The violent campaign did not end at this point in the Troubles, however; the efforts to bring about political reform provided yet another means to secure change that did not include

violence. This new means to bring about social reform afforded another means to secure change by participating in the established democratic infrastructure.

Though opportunities expanded for Irish nationalism as a result of the 1980 and 1981 hunger strikes, a horrible price seemed to be paid by the strikers, their families, and the community at-large. These ten men made the ultimate sacrifice through death that was frightening, painful, and humiliating. Additionally, putting a human body through such shock and anxiety can be terrorizing, horrific, and confusing with lapses in and out of consciousness that continued for months accompanied by convulsions (Ferris, 2016). In spite of these gains, significant criticism surrounded the actions inside the prison as the public and families accused the paramilitary organizations of protracting the hunger strike for the purpose of electoral gains.

At the same time the demonstrations in support of the prisoners began to become violent with physical clashes between security authorities and demonstrators resulting in injury and loss of life (Clarke, 1987). The solidarity of the 1981 hunger strike deteriorated when the families of some protesters insisted that medical intervention would occur once the protester lost consciousness (Collins, 1987). Those prisoners who remained on the protest along with the H-Block command, and republican leadership realized that the culmination of the prison hunger strike would no longer be a fight to the death. As a result, the prisoners ended the strike on October 3, 1981 (Flynn, 2011).

Not long after the end of the hunger strike, most of the demands of the hunger strikers were met, in theory, by prison authorities (Dixon & O’Kane, 2011). But no apparent winner seemed to emerge from the standoff between H-Block prisoners and the

Thatcher administration. According to Hennessey (2014), the Thatcher government was not willing to make any concessions until the prison population ended the hunger strike. This stance was taken to avoid being criticized for yielding to prisoners' actions which might have had an adverse effect on the administration of the prison system. The struggle appeared to be one of control or leverage between incarcerated republicans and the British government. This power imbalance might also have resulted from the inability to manage the polarity model on the part of the state leading to the negative sides of the freedom and authority elements. This analysis comes, of course, with the realization that members of a prison population naturally experience limited freedoms during incarceration.

Gandhi himself fasted for political ends as a form of nonviolent protest (Fischer, 2002). Furthermore, Gandhi stressed that "sacrifice even unto death is the final weapon in the hands of a nonviolent person" (Gandhi, 2001). Gandhi also warned that the use of fasting as nonviolent protest could lead to public condemnation (Gandhi, 2001). The hunger strike of 1981 did not pass, however, without criticism – from the British government, from the families of the hunger strikers, and members of the nationalist/republican community. Furthermore, Mandela insisted that hunger strikes could only succeed if the general public was made aware of the protesters' demands (Mandela, 1995). If it was the case that the hunger strikers and their demands gained international attention and support, then the republican movement might refer to this protest as a victory. It appeared, however, that the continuous processions of funerals were starting to wear on the spirit of Northern Ireland's citizenry (Flynn, 2011)

The stakes, unfortunately, were dire for both sides. The British government received ridicule from around the world for being inflexible to negotiation. In the wake of these deaths an outpouring sympathetic to hunger strikers came from France, Mexico, Poland, the Soviet Union, Spain, and the United States in accordance with what Sharp (2012) predicted as long as resistance remains nonviolent. Anti-British demonstrations occurred in Australia, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, and the United States (O'Malley, 1990). Likewise, the republican movement was criticized for allowing 10 young men to die even though the republican leadership outside the prison insisted the decision to initiate and prolong the strike was a decision for the prisoners themselves and their command structure; not the republican leadership (O'Rawe, 2005).

Nevertheless, those later victories for the republican political party, Sinn Fein, by way of the ballot box might be traced to the hunger strikes and the decision to enter into the election process. The subsequent successes in elections through the formation of "credible negotiating partners" (Chenoweth & Stephan, 2011, p. 10) added a legitimate outlet for Irish republicanism over the next two decades (Benhabib, 2011). The choice to participate in the structures of democracy appeared to have engendered representation for the Catholic minority which, in turn, facilitated an opportunity to bring about socio-political change. Such collective action would also appear to have been an attempt to affect the lack of polarity management on the part of the British government as well as the nationalist population as it related to the participation and representation model.

Representing communities through the democratic systems appeared to form an alternative conduit for resistance and a way to pursue justice and reform. The Belfast

(Good Friday) Agreement did not occur until 1998; 17 years after the 1981 strikes, but an argument could be made that gradual representation from the nationalist communities throughout Northern Ireland during the peace talks contributed to the historic accord. Following the Good Friday Agreement, the resulting Northern Ireland Assembly elections found the nationalist/republican party, Sinn Fein, contesting, winning, and taking a significant number of seats in this cross-community parliament. The ability to engage in the electoral process provided opportunity for those who seek “a fairer and better society, rid at last of systemic social, economic and political inequalities” and to circumvent blockades that hamstring the implementation of more beneficial social structures (McKearney, 2011, p. 214).

A former member of the RUC noted that the physical force campaign was ugly and nothing to be glorified. This security member added that if the struggle had now turned to the ballot box, this alternative was a more palatable battleground than the street atrocities that had occurred throughout the Troubles (Warner, 2009). It appeared that if this paradigm shift was a requirement for peace, then the electoral alternative provided much less lethal means for such social transformation. The minority struggle for equality through representation became a reality after a long trail of protest that was initiated at the grassroots level and was eventually elevated to the halls of governance.

According to Tarrow (2011) certain groups formulated their own “history and memory of contention” (p. 29). The hunger strikes against criminalization that took place in 1980 and 1981 appeared to have etched that period in Irish nationalist historiography wherein the struggle gained popular momentum and provided greater latitude for social

change. In the end, it appeared that the overarching nonviolent actions might have underpinned the peace movement by way of its popularity, perseverance, and versatility throughout the limits of this study (1970–1981) and beyond.

Summary

A review of the literature for this study addressed security policies in Northern Ireland and the perceived oppressive application of those policies towards a minority Catholic population. An understanding of the security policy is no less important than the means employed to resist and reform the same in order to bring about a more just and balanced social order. This study, however, focused on those nonviolent actions that caused no harm to others as opposed to particular forms of protest that may have followed a physical force path.

Most of the literature published on the period bordered by this study dealt with the armed struggle while very little literature existed as it related to the nonviolent efforts that might have contributed to the peace accord which was eventually signed in 1998. This study attempted to fill that gap in the literature. Also, the literature reviewed for this research did not indicate whether the nonviolent and violent efforts were coordinated or conducted in tandem by members of the nationalist/republican community. Furthermore, publications in the subject areas of popular resistance, contentious politics, and social movements also contributed to this literature review. Works and studies from Tarrow (2011, 2012, 2013), McAdam (2010), Sharp (2011, 2012, 2013), and Chenoweth and Stephan (2011) provided particular insight into the effectiveness, strategies, and legitimacy of nonviolent resistance. It might appear that resistance to any oppressive

authority, regardless of where or when it occurred, followed similar paths in pursuit of a more diverse and inclusive social model.

The next section of the study, chapter 3, will provide detail of the proposed methodology used during the data collection phase of the study. An explanation of the relationship between the researcher and the participants as well as concerns related to any biases will take place. Issues related to sample sizes, participant selection strategies, instrumentation, and issues of trustworthiness will also be addressed in the next chapter.

Chapter 3: Research Method

Introduction

The purpose of this interpretive phenomenological study was to explore the lived experience of Irish nationalists who resisted certain British security policies in the cities of Derry and Belfast between 1970 and 1981. These examinations took place through interviews of those who participated in the protest movements against what Catholics perceived as oppressive security measures applied to a minority community. These nonviolent actions against state authority might have been an attempt to achieve fairer and more just treatment within society in general and within the legal system, in particular. In addition to protests against restrictions on free movement, random arrests, and neighborhood military sweeps, I also examined another form of resistance involving free elections or political representation.

According to Jun (2006), perceptions are based on “past experiences” that “vary from individual to individual”; therefore, “our view of reality is subjective” (p. 11). If this was the case, then the treatment of the minority population in Northern Ireland through the selected security policies yielded the resistant culture which was part of the study. Poor relations between the minority community and the government resulted from a reluctance to engage in a what June (2006) referred to as the “democratic framework” (p. 102). This process would normally bring conflicted parties together in the resolution of sociopolitical problems (June, 2006). This separation between a selected citizen base and the policy makers can contribute to alienation and disenfranchisement (June 2016). An examination of the resulting disengagement provided knowledge as to the root of the

minority dissatisfaction experienced and the protest actions that community members pursued. The perceived oppression within the nationalist community led to withdrawal and dissatisfaction with its station in the British social order. Those feelings of separation provided knowledge regarding the underpinning of grievances that evolved into protest actions in an effort to bring about sociopolitical change.

In this chapter, I address the processes by which I collected data and the measures used that promoted trustworthiness. I also discuss my role as the researcher and the means I employed to mitigate bias. Additionally, the instrumentation used during the study is also addressed in this section.

Research Design and Rationale

Individuals form a worldview based on life experiences and those experiences contribute to the construction of personal ideas, concepts, or perceptions. As such, an interpretive phenomenological study will provide the opportunity for participants to relive those occurrences and to provide the meanings and essences derived from those experiences. The research question I sought to answer was, how do Irish nationalists who lived in Derry and Belfast and engaged in nonviolent actions against the security policy in Northern Ireland in the period between 1970 and 1981 perceive their actions? In order to discover these meanings, I needed to have discussions with certain minority members in Northern Ireland. I explored how these actors endeavored to bring about social change through nonviolent resistance to what they perceived as oppressive security measures administered through the British government. The failure to administer security policy in an equitable and just manner may have contributed to resistance movements (Punch,

2012). An interpretive phenomenological design provided the appropriate method of discovery for this study.

In order to collect the experiences of the minority resisters, I recorded and transcribed narratives from those who participated in protest movements. After prolonged engagements with the individuals who shared the experience of the phenomenon, a better understanding became evident of what occurred and how actors mobilized to effect change. Perhaps more importantly was the examination of the interpretations derived from the lived experiences under these circumstances. Such evidence elucidated how similar circumstances might lead to less chaotic outcomes.

Narratives of lived experiences came from face-to-face interviews and a focus group of women who collectively protested the Falls Road curfew. I also collected written summations of experiences from individuals unable or uncomfortable to engage in one-on-one meetings. These various means of gathering narratives provided a triangulation recommended by Tracy (2013) in order to strengthen credibility and promote trustworthiness that Miles, Huberman and Saldaña (2014) also encouraged.

Role of the Researcher

I served as the key research instrument in my role of collecting and interpreting data collection in the form of interviews, focus groups, and narrative summaries as well as the examination of ephemeral material, political graffiti, and historic photos. As such, the importance of diligence during data collection and the ability to minimize biases could not be overstated. Simultaneously, my position necessitated finding a middle ground that was not too immersed with the participants and one that was not too

distant or bring about what Patton (2015) referred to as “emphatic neutrality” (p. 50). My goal in this study was to capture the essence of the experience (Moustakas, 1994) of the minority participants who protested security policy through nonviolent actions within the defined time frame and locations of the study.

A critical concern was adherence to credibility during the study. In an effort to achieve this level of discipline, sharing some personal information was necessary. I have had abundant contact with relations and acquaintances from the Northern Ireland Catholic community who have personally experienced the security policies in question and who have taken part in protests against the same state policy. Nevertheless, I employed, as much as possible, an unbiased approach during the data collection and analysis phases of the study. It is important to clarify that no relations or prior acquaintances of mine participated in this study.

Qualitative researchers normally take as many steps necessary to avoid having their own views and experiences infuse prejudices into the study (Patton, 2015). Therefore, I took precautions to control bias and stereotypes by approaching each engagement as if it were my first interview in the study. This method blocked out previous statements, meanings prior interviews. I used the same approach before and during transcriptions. However, in keeping with a Heideggerian interpretive phenomenological approach, a researcher’s previous experience can actually enrich participant interpretations (Tuohy et al., 2013). The interview and narrative summary processes produced meanings and interpretations associated with the lived experience of

the participants while my own past experiences dealing with security practices in Northern Ireland as well as anti-Catholic prejudices also entered into these interpretations

Methodology

Identification of the Population

Participants for this study consisted of members of the minority Catholic community from (or formerly from) the cities of Derry and Belfast, Northern Ireland. I focused my search efforts on those individuals who believed that security policies applied by state authority between 1970 through 1981 were oppressive, and who felt the need to resist these security applications through nonviolent actions. Some participants have relocated from the urban locations identified in the study. Nevertheless, those displaced participants were still able to provide testimony as to their experiences and actions that occurred within the framework of this research.

Four specific policies enforced by the British government and the effect on the minority Catholic community were explored. First, the British army imposed a curfew on the nationalist Falls Road in July 1970. Second, the government enforced the policy of internment (arrest without trial) under the military codename, Operation Demetrius, from 1971 through 1976. Third, the military movement referred to as Operation Motorman, forcibly removed the street barricades from Derry and Belfast neighborhoods in August 1972. Lastly, criminalization policy implemented in 1976 removed the previously accepted prisoner of war status from internees who were incarcerated as a result of their participation in antigovernment activities.

It was the intent of this study to interview participants who experienced and protested the policy initiatives previously noted. Therefore, members from a protest group who attempted to break the Falls Road curfew were sought as participants for this study. The focus group consisted of women only. This protest became memorialized as the “Bread March” (Walsh, 2013). Likewise, community members who protested the policy of internment through marches, candlelight vigils, and other forms of nonviolent protest were targeted as participants. Other individuals from the Irish nationalist neighborhoods who witnessed the removal of the street barricades also were asked to participate. Finally, individuals who were incarcerated during the criminalization policy and who protested the same were asked to take part in this study. Likewise, non-internees who actively protested criminalization policy were welcome to participate.

Several women who took part in the “Bread March” participated as a focus group. This session consisted of 3 individuals. I also sought those activists who participated in protests against Operation Demetrius and witnessed the activities Operation Motorman. I either interviewed these people personally or received written summaries of their experiences. This group was consisted of 8 activists. Furthermore, ex-prisoners who participated in the no-wash protest, the blanket protest, or the hunger strikes sat for a face-to-face interview. Many ex-internees participated in several forms of resistance and these instances were noted. Due to the finite number of hunger strike survivors, this group was limited to 3 participants. Protests also took place outside the prison walls and I made efforts to include several individuals who engaged in those nonviolent protests while resistance measures took place inside the prison simultaneously. In consideration of

all these avenues of protest, the sample size included 14 participants. As expected this sample size focused on the experiences of the minority participants. Moreover, this sample size fell within the recommendations for a phenomenological study recommended by Polkinghorne (1989), Rudestam and Newton (2007), and Tracy (2013) which provided adequate information to achieve saturation.

Participation Selection Logic

During a phase of the literature review that took place in the cities of Derry and Belfast in November 2014, two community leaders (both were executives of not-for-profit organizations) offered to help in the search for possible participants. It was through these community members serving as gate-keepers who recommended areas to post participant request notices to initiate a process known as snowball or chain-referral sampling. Postings for potential participants included my contact information (telephone, email, or Facebook) in order to set up a mutually agreed time and location for an interview or other arrangements for data collection.

Acting as the researcher, I contacted one or more individuals to inquire if they were interested in participating in the study (a potential participant was also able to contact me directly through information provided through the community leader). When I found success in securing an engagement, I interviewed that individual and asked the interviewee to recommend more individuals who she/he knew participated in protests and who was willing to participate in the study. The snowball process continued with one participant recommending the next potential subject. The non-discriminatory chain method had participants supplying a recommendation for the next interview as opposed

to a discriminatory chain where one or more participants failed to recommend another participant (Etikan, Alkassim & Abubakar, 2016). This sampling type recruited participants through common social networks.

Snowball sampling was advantageous due to the difficulty that arose in the identification of potential participants who met the criteria of the study. Naturally, participants were required to meet the conditions that they actively protested those security policies within the confines of the study (1970-1981). A possibility existed that the snowball or chain might arrive at a dead end. That instance did not occur in this study. A diagram of the snowball/chain sampling pattern was generated to track connection(s) between participants (see figures I13, I14, and I15).

Procedures for Recruitment, Participations, and Data Collection

Data were collected from participants through face-to-face interviews, experience summations, and a focus group who agreed to be part of the study. Participants were selected based on information provided through Irish nationalist community gatekeepers in Derry and Belfast cities. Additional participants were obtained through recommendations of other participants through a snowball approach. Each participant was asked to read and complete an Informed Consent Form.

I alone collected information from the interviews, focus group, or lived experience descriptions. The data collection events occurred until saturation took place. Each event lasted from 55 minutes to two hours depending on the participants. All data were recorded by means of the documentation noted in the instrumentation section as well as digital equipment that included a Canon SX20 IS and Samsung 21X 23mm

cameras, two (2) Olympus VN772PC digital audio recorders, and an Apple iPhone 6s (also digital).

I searched for additional respondents through public postings (in community centers, libraries, or public bulletin boards) requesting participation. I advised participants that all information was to be kept confidential and that any follow-up required was to occur via the contact information provided by each participant at the beginning of the study. At the end of each engagement, I provided a short debriefing or closing summary after which I advised participants how to contact me. It was at this point that participants were able to make additions to, deletions from, or withdrawals from the study at any time via conventional mail systems, email, telephone, or Facebook notification. All participants agreed to these conditions.

Instrumentation

I used an Interview Protocol Sheet (see Appendix A), a Focus Group Protocol Sheet (see Appendix B), and a Lived Experience Description (LED) (see Appendix C) as a form of instrumentation during this study. I also kept a Comprehensive Participant Log (see Appendix D) on any individual who demonstrated an interest in participation. Additionally, I maintained information relating to location conditions, participant demeanor, or any other information that was pertinent to the environment under which the engagement was held on an Interview Notes Sheet (see Appendix E). Any additional information that arose during the session with interviewees or focus group participants I recorded on Contemporaneous Interview Notes Sheet (see Appendix F). I produced the Interview Protocol Sheet, Focus Group Protocol Sheets, the Lived Experience

Description, the Comprehensive Participant Log, the Interview Notes Sheet, and the Contemporaneous Interview Notes Sheet in Microsoft Word yielding eclectic documents compiled from parts of prior studies. In order to ensure content validity, I developed the Interview Protocol Sheet, the Focus Group Protocol Sheet, and the Lived Experience Description to induce responses that align with the research question and the meanings associated with the protest. I also used the instrumentation to align the theoretical framework in a way to discover what participants experienced and what effect their actions had on the protracted efforts to bring about change in the social order of Northern Ireland.

Equipment that aided in capturing the essence of face-to-face encounters included a Canon SX20 IS Camera (for stills and video); a Samsung 21X 23mm camera (for stills, video and audio); and two (2) Olympus VN772PC digital audio recorders; and an Apple iPhone 6s. Any voice and video recordings took place with written consent of the participant(s). These documents and digital equipment were adequate to capture the experiences that the participants recalled to answer the research question through the perceptions and meanings of their protest experiences. Likewise, evidence gathered demonstrated how nonviolent actions and tactics in the Northern Ireland struggle might be replicated in other venues of conflict. No participant objected to video or audio recordings during the engagements.

Data Analysis Plan

Data were collected from three sources: face-to-face interviews, lived experience descriptions (LED) (Vagle, 2014), and a focus group. According to Miles, Huberman and

Saldaña (2014), researchers may encounter situations during data analysis that might fill in the gaps that naturally exist in personal recollections. As such, the organization of data became more critical in an effort to facilitate analysis. Therefore, coding or theme recognition were a requirement while taking notes or performing interviews, all of which might aid in an alignment with the theoretical framework and research question.

As the researcher, I analyzed all data using a modified Stevick-Colaizzi-Keen method. A modified form of the original analysis that Stevick (1971), Colaizzi (1973), and Keen (1975) suggested was developed later through works by Moustakas (1994). This protocol began with the researcher's understanding and description of the phenomenon followed by an examination of the transcribed interviews, focus group, and lived experience descriptions. The exercise parsed pertinent information from the participant statements referred to as the invariant horizons. Invariant horizons pertained to extraordinary or unique experiences that the participant referenced during the phenomenon. This segment of analysis made up what Miles, Huberman and Saldaña (2014) referred to as First Cycle coding which produced a template for organizing the data collected in the field.

The next step in the analysis phase consisted of organizing the unique experiences into themes, after which I integrated these themes into individual textural descriptions which took into account the experiences of the participants (a summation of "what" took place). In a concurrent step, an individual structural description developed when I examined the transcriptions for a connection between the feelings, thoughts, and

meanings derived from the experience and the phenomenon. This portion of analysis leads to “how” the experience affected the participant.

Once all the individual textural and structural descriptions were complete, composite descriptions reflected the experiences and meanings of the participant group. Finally, the composites became integrated into a synthesis of the meanings and essences of the experience which completed the Second Cycle coding (Miles, Huberman & Saldaña, 2014). The coding process facilitated interpretations and allowed me to identify the significance of participant responses.

I reviewed and expanded the recordings, transcripts, note-taking, photographs, and summaries in a manner that provided a more objective review of emotions generated through protest actions. Participant interpretations and perceptions occurred in patterns and consistencies which indicated how individuals reacted to certain security policy. The same perceptions demonstrated how they gaged their successes and failures. Data analysis began as soon as the first interview ended or when I received the lived experience description (Maxwell, 2013).

In the analysis phase, I used NVivo software as a tool to track themes and patterns that emerged from the transcribed interviews, the field notes, the written anecdotes, and the participant descriptions. Not only did this software aid in the storage of data collected, but the clustering, review for themes and consistencies, and connecting these elements became less challenging. No discrepant data cases were encountered during the data collection phase.

Issues of Trustworthiness

Credibility (Internal validity)

In order to establish credibility, this I collected data through various methods: lived experience descriptions (LED); face-to-face interviews; and a focus group. The LED allowed an opportunity for a participant to retell her/his story freely in the event that participant felt hesitant to speak openly of their experience(s) in a face-to-face situation. Semi-structured interviews directly engage the researcher and participant in prolonged contact. A focus group consisted of women from Belfast who attempted to break the curfew barricade in the summer of 1970. This focus group was made up of 3 participants. This form of triangulation aided in the establishment of credibility.

Data collection continued until saturation occurred. I requested member checks for the face-to-face interviews and the focus group in an effort to modify any misunderstandings that arose during the face-to-face encounters. In the case of the transcriptions generated through lived experience descriptions, I had other readers review these documents as well. This type of review encouraged reflexivity on my part. Additionally, the use of peer review took place as much as possible whenever member checks were not available.

Transferability (External validity)

In an effort to provide transferability, participant selections were varied. Initial participants responded to a public posting at the Pilot's Row Community Center and the Central Library, both located in Derry (see Appendix G). In Belfast, I placed similar public postings publicly in the Falls Road Library and the Tar Anall Community Center

(see Appendix H). Individuals responded via email, telephone, or by leaving contact information at the reception desk at the posting facilities.

I coordinated interviews with former prisoners through the community organization, Coiste na nIarchimí, which was established to reintegrate republican ex-prisoners. In exchange for the organization's cooperation, I agreed to provide acknowledgment of its contribution to the study. All interviews and narratives included as much detail in an effort to provide thick description of the lived experience to promote transferability. I made attempts to include participants who engaged in various nonviolent actions during the period of this study. These methods took place to encourage diversity among members of the participant pool.

Dependability (Reliability)

Miles, Huberman and Saldaña (2014) stated that a qualitative study must uphold a level of "quality and integrity" (p. 312). I made all efforts to promote integrity through strategies such as peer review and member checks to mitigate bias in the study. Member checks provided an opportunity for the participant/interviewee to review the actual transcript of the engagement and my interpretations in order to promote greater accuracy of events and recollections. A strategy that synthesized actions against several security policies over a period of 11 years facilitated dependability in the study along with a varied approach in data collection (triangulation). Also, due diligence and cross-referencing of participant information, file notes, and transcriptions occurred. In addition, maintenance of detail and accuracy during the collection and analysis contributed to a more audit-worthy study and made the research easier to replicate.

Confirmability (Objectivity)

I have previously acknowledged that personal background, culture, and family history might lead to biases while reporting on matters within the Irish nationalist community. However, maintaining objectivity or the promotion of neutrality played a critical role as it related to the scrupulousness and thoroughness of the study. A willingness on my part to be fully aware of prior experiences, knowledge, and political leanings through self-reflection resulted in an interpretive study as it related to significance and meanings of information collected from participant experiences. Strategies such as member checking and peer review offered a method to expose stereotypes that might be undetectable to me.

Ethical Procedures

Ethical consideration became paramount in order to protect human subject participants in any study. Additional due diligence occurred as it related to confidentiality of the participants and the information that they provided to the study. A copy of the informed consent form was provided prior to any interaction with participants and the same form was executed before the data collection commenced.

Any access to ex-prisoners was organized through the assistance of Coiste na nIarchimí, an Irish nationalist re-integration organization. A gatekeeper in Derry City and another gatekeeper in Belfast recommended search strategies for initial participants. Once interviews began, I noted other possible participants through the recommendation of previous interviewees as a form of snowball sampling. Due to the defined frontiers of

the study (1970-1981), the age of participants varied greatly. The youngest participant was 61 years of age and the oldest respondent was 92 years young.

I conducted all interviews at an agreed upon location where participants felt most comfortable. This meant engagements occurred at a local community center, library, museum, or other neutral space that provided a private space to ensure confidentiality. The decision on location was at the discretion of each participant. A concern was that during prior visits to Derry and Belfast, individuals have addressed historical events that occurred in the 1970s and 1980s with some degree of emotion. I addressed this issue with significant caution and tact. I allowed each participant to pause and gather their emotions. I also allowed each participant to re-schedule meetings or withdraw from the study entirely at any time. No participants chose to withdraw from the study.

Participant identities and collected data will remain confidential and will be maintained in electronic format and on paper documents for a period of 5 years. These materials will be kept in a lockbox after completion of the study. During this period, only I will have access to any information related to the study.

No participant was a relation, by blood or marriage, of mine. Likewise, no participant was known to me prior to commencement of the data collection phase. Each participant received a £5 gift card to a local restaurant or coffee shop in appreciation for being a part of the study. Any follow up with participants for the purposes of member checking or clarification occurred through conventional mail, telephone, email, or a secure social media site.

Summary

This study sought to understand the lived experience of those minority Irish nationalists who resisted state security measures in order to change a dysfunctional socio-political environment. The efforts to explore those feelings and the nonviolent nature to resist state authorities were brought about through direct contact with the participants by way of an interpretive phenomenological study. As much as the state policy attracts historical interest within the borders of this study, the nonviolent forms of resistance employed to encourage justice and equality evoked the rawest of emotions.

Participants employed protests, marches, candlelight vigils, and unorthodox forms of noncooperation to draw national and international attention to the plight of a minority population within the United Kingdom. This study examined the experiences of that social subset through detailed descriptions of the experiences. Analysis of individual actions may expose the underpinnings of the behavior that larger groups demonstrate to express discontent.

The methodology section addressed critical concerns of how the study was structured so that other researchers could replicate the research. As such, participant selection criteria, instrumentation, data collection, analysis, and the use of NVivo software were outlined in this section. Additionally, I provided detail related to the role of the researcher, trustworthiness, and ethical treatment of subjects took place to ensure probity in research.

Chapter 4 will provide information as to the data collection and analysis of the same, and chapter 5 will delineate any findings that emerge as well as implications for social change. Finally, it appeared that examinations of this nature generated more questions

than answers. With this in mind and as a direct result of the completed study, recommendations for future study will be inevitable.

Chapter 4: Results

Introduction

The purpose of this interpretive phenomenological study was to examine the meanings that minority Catholic nationalists derived from their protest experiences during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Individuals from the cities of Derry and Belfast who engaged in nonviolent action as a form of resistance to specific government security policies between 1970 and 1981 participated in this study. The accounts of their political activism intended to effect social change provided a detailed narrative achieved through personal dialogue and written anecdotes.

Research Question

In an effort to gather information from the respondents in the field, I developed a process of interaction based on questions presented to participants that focused on a central research question: How do Irish nationalists who lived in Derry and Belfast and engaged in nonviolent actions against the security policy in Northern Ireland in the period between 1970 and 1981 perceive their actions? I designed this central question, which was aligned with the interview questions, to elicit responses that generated details of participants' experiences. The responses that I received from the participants in the study reflected their perceptions produced through their experiences of protest. However, much like the different forms of protest that the respondents employed, the perceptions also varied. I could only attribute this diversity to the human condition or the environment in which each participant found herself or himself.

The intent of the central question was to provide some sort of compass that directed the study and, to that end, the question of how protesters perceived their actions remained constant throughout the data collection and analysis phases. The research question remained basically unaltered during the course of the study, however, some of the interview questions did change slightly depending on the individual's method of protest. I did not anticipate the modified questions that I devised during the course of an interview or from one interview to the next. Another question I never anticipated was what purpose did protest action serve. Was it to effect change on a broad level or in a very parochial sense? Or, was resistance perceived as a short-term solution or a long-term strategy? Were these actions designed to satisfy personal needs? Community needs? National needs? As it turned out, the perceptions that surfaced as a result of participant interaction provided appropriate responses to all these questions.

The women who delivered relief to the Fall Road residents all admitted that their actions were their first involvement in any protest activities. Those actions were a reaction to a specific condition, yet their community protest participation continued up until the U.K. Brexit vote in 2016, actions far beyond the scope of this study, but a direct result of the initial actions that took place in the summer of 1970. Based on data collected in the field, participants who marched to end internment or protest Operation Motorman appeared more deliberate, planned, and protracted with a design to bring about change. Some individuals reported an involvement in protest marches that endured for years. The same can be said of protesters who moved on to become active in the electoral campaigns of Sands, Doherty, and Agnew, all republican prisoners who stood for public office. The

movement to engage in electoral nationalist/republican representation was also a long-term application of reformative actions.

As it related to the participant who considered himself a propagandist posting anti-army printed material, those resistant actions occurred over a prolonged period. This participant was not unlike the volunteer who risked personal safety in an effort to maintain community cohesiveness during the antigovernment rent and rate strike or the young woman who sabotaged army barracks and equipment. These were chronic activities that took place over a period of months and years.

The political prisoners, however, engaged in both immediate or short-term forms of protest as well as the most protracted resistance reported in this study. Noncooperation protest actions were, in some ways, directed towards prison staff as a way to sustain antigovernment protest from day to day and, in some cases, from hour to hour. Other forms of prison protest like the blanket and no-wash protests endured for years. Moreover, the second hunger strikes, which lasted from March until October of 1981, produced the most long-term benefits in the form of sympathy toward the nationalist/republican movement and paved the way for electoral representation (Cochrane, 2013). One former prisoner stated, “we could view ourselves as victims or as change agents.” “We chose the latter.”

In view of the dialogic transcriptions and notes produced in the field and the analysis that occurred after review of these texts, the responses of the participants in the study did answer the central question of what the perceptions of nonviolent protesters were, but the meanings that the actors associated with their experiences were far from

uniform or consistent. Their experiences revealed generic emotions such as fear, anger, frustration, desperation, confusion, anxiety/stress, and chaos as well as more refined feelings such as retribution/retaliation, a sense of achievement or strength, a concern for community, change-agency, or reform-minded intentions. Likewise, there were meanings that addressed needs that were more spiritual such as hope and faith. Faith in this instance was used in the sense of the more religious (Catholic) inferences to prayer and God which several participants referenced.

In response to the central question regarding how nonviolent Irish nationalists perceived their nonviolent actions against certain security polices, the meanings must be placed in relation to each individual and the experience explained longitudinally. Almost all participants explained the benefits and the drawbacks of their protest experiences. Those same encounters and the associated meanings changed in relation to time. As some respondents explained, the process of protest was slow; therefore, immediate experiences were sometimes viewed negatively. However, when collectively considered across a longer time frame, the experiences were measured as a series of activities that yielded more positive outcomes.

Further analysis of textural descriptions (what was experienced) and structural descriptions (how it was experienced) revealed interpretations related to collective welfare, survival practices, dogged determination, and cooperative strength. These essences were refined further in a synthesis process incorporating analysis from all participants. Themes that emerged did not appear in every respondent text but derived

from a fusion of the most prominent themes that surfaced from transcript review and analysis.

Setting

The literature revealed that thousands of individuals resisted state security policy in Northern Ireland during the period of civil chaos known as the Troubles. The specific security policies chosen for this study occurred from July 1970 through the prisoner hunger strike of 1981. One group of resisters pursued a path of physical force resistance, and another engaged in methods of protest that caused no physical harm to others. I collected data from the sector of resistance who employed nonviolent tactics.

I selected participants from Northern Ireland who were members of the minority nationalist community. As it related to participants in the Belfast area, I first met with a community leader on September 3, 2017, who suggested I post flyers seeking participants in the Falls Road Library in west Belfast and at Tar Anall community center in search of individuals willing to participate in either a face-to face interview or to complete a lived experience description (LED). I met personally with a senior citizen group at the Tar Anall center asking for women participants who protested the Falls Road curfew in 1970. Individuals from this group comprised a focus group. Face-to-face interviews took place in the Falls Road Library (2nd floor office), in a private training room in the Tar Anall center, or at another neutral location located on the Falls Road.

One face-face interview was executed in the United States that emerged from the chain sampling method. This engagement took place with a former Belfast resident who had relocated to a midwestern state in 1995. The focus group meeting, an integral part of

this data collection related directly to nonviolent resistance, took place in one of the private training rooms in the Tar Anall center. Finally, one participant, formerly from the Belfast area, completed and submitted an LED as part of the data collection process.

As it related to participants in the Derry area, I met with the community leader on September 2, 2017 where I was directed to post flyers seeking participants. These flyers were posted in the Derry Central Library as well as the Pilot's Row community center in the Bogside neighborhood in search of individuals willing to participate in either face-to-face interviews or to complete a lived experience description (LED). Two face-to-face interviews were conducted at the Derry Central Library and one interview took place in a private room located in a local coffee house. The participant in this particular engagement chose the coffee house location purposely because it was not a government supported building such as a library or community center.

A face-face interview was also conducted in Ontario, Canada with a participant nominated through the chain sampling method. This engagement took place with a former Derry activist who had left Northern Ireland and moved to a family member's home in Canada in 1990. The mutually agreed interview location brought us to a private and secure training room in a local public library. Additionally, two participants, formerly from Derry, completed and forwarded LEDs to complete the data collection phase.

Demographics

A total of 14 individuals participated in this study. Participant ages varied from 61 to 92 years. This information came as a result of 8 face-to-face semi-structured interviews

(57%); a focus group that included 3 individuals (21.5%); lived experience descriptions delivered from 3 (21.5%) participants. The gender distribution across participants was split evenly at 7 women (50%) and 7 men (50%). Activists from Derry accounted for 6 of the 14 participants (43%) while protesters from Belfast numbered 8 of 14 (57%). All participants (100%) had at some time experienced confrontations with British army personnel. Three participants (21.5%) served long-term prison sentences for activities against the state and carried out their protests of noncooperation while in prison. Only 4 of the 14 participants (29%) still live in the same area where their nonviolent activism occurred. All names connected to the participant labels (A through N) are fictitious. I performed this exercise to anonymize all respondents.

Data Collection

In Belfast, a meeting with a community leader in Belfast provided direction as to where potential participants may view details of the study and contact information. It was necessary to obtain a temporary (30-day) cell phone with a local number (07427303368 (Belfast)) to facilitate communication. This number, considered “local” throughout Northern Ireland as well as some of the bordering counties of the Republic of Ireland, proved invaluable as a means communication with possible participants and securing neutral premises to hold engagements.

Initially, five potential participants (formerly from Belfast) contacted me from which I was able to schedule two engagements. One meeting was a face-to-face interview (Participant A), and the other respondent chose to complete a lived experience description. The face-to-face interview took place on September 7, 2017. Using a

snowball sampling method, Participant A was able to provide contact information for 4 more potential participants. Of those 4 potential participants, one face-to-face engagement was secured and two LEDs were forwarded to potential participants. A graphic of the sample chain is attached as Belfast interview sampling chain (see Figure I13).

In Derry, a similar process occurred with potential participants who were originally from Derry. A meeting took place with a community leader in Derry's Bogside who provided direction as to where potential participants may view details of participation and contact information. The Belfast cell phone number was also considered "local" for contact/communication purposes. Initially, three potential participants contacted me to discuss the possibility of an interview or the completion of an LED. In this instance, I was able to secure one interview which occurred on September 8, 2017 with Participant I. A lived experience description form was sent out to one potential participant as well. Again, using sample (chain) sampling, Participant I nominated 5 possible participants. A graphic of this process is attached as Derry interview chain sampling (Figure I14).

In the case of the focus group, I personally met (on September 6, 2017) with a senior citizen group (approximately 30 individuals) that met regularly at the Tar Anall community center located in west Belfast. I explained the nature of the study related to the Falls Road curfew to the group and asked for volunteers to form a focus group made up of women only. Fifteen individuals from this group responded and 3 agreed to participate. This group engagement took place 8 days later (September 14, 2017) in one

of the training rooms located in the same community center. Those participants who volunteered for the focus group were coded as Participants F, G, and H respectively as indicated in the focus group chain sampling (see Figure I15).

Face-to-face interview questions and the questions contained on the lived experience description (LED) were identical. A deviation from the prescribed format did occur when interviewing former prisoners simply because the individual's incarceration raised obvious redundancies. The format of the focus group was more open and reflective of a freestyle conversation, but all pre-determined questions were answered during the exchanges. Questions for interviews, the focus group, and the lived experience descriptions were previously referenced in Appendices A, B, and C. Some questions were actually a set of two questions that asked the participant to explain or describe a certain experience.

Interviews

As a result of initial postings at the direction of community leaders in Belfast and in Derry, I was fortunate to make contact with a total of 50 individuals. This contact came via telephone, written notes left at the desk of the community centers/libraries where the postings occurred, through e-mail, or through Facebook notifications. From these connections, I was able to secure 8 face-to face interviews.

The initial contact provided an opportunity to explain briefly the purpose and the requirements of the study. If I managed to secure a face-to-face meeting, I explained again the details of the study while I presented the consent form for examination. Four

participants inquired whether the study was related at all to the Boston College Oral History Project.

For the purposes of clarification, I feel compelled to explain that the Boston College Oral History Project was a collection of interviews and transcripts from republican and loyalist paramilitary members who participated in physical force missions during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. The participants were under the impression that the recordings would remain confidential, however, Boston College officials opened the archives to researchers and journalists, thereby breaching the confidentiality agreement. A legal suit forced the college to return the recordings and documents to the participants to circumvent self-incrimination on the part of those interviewees.

I explained to those concerned individuals that this study had no connection to the Boston College project. I also provided details and any clarification related to the consent form to the participants and made each aware of their right to withdraw from the study at any time for any reason. The interviews began, in earnest, upon completion and return of the consent form.

All interview venues were approved by the participants. In Belfast, interviews occurred at the Falls Road Library, the Tar Anall community center, and one participant chose separate location in west Belfast. Likewise, former residents of Derry approved the Derry Central library location and one participant chose a public coffee house with a private room as opposed to a library or community center. Two participants, one formerly from Belfast and the other formerly from Derry, were interviewed in North America. The engagement with the Belfast activist took place in a midwestern state. The face-to-face

meeting with the Derry activist occurred in a separate training room at a public library in Ontario, Canada.

All engagements were recorded on either an Olympus VN772PC digital audio recorder or an Apple iPhone 6s. I began transcription immediately upon completion of each interview. Local dialect, unfamiliar intonation, and idiomatic phrases occasionally infused challenges to the transcription process. Microsoft Word recognition provided some benefit while transcribing the audio recordings. Interview notes providing detail of the physical setting that accompanied each face-to-face meeting. Contemporaneous Notes were also kept during each interview tracking personal mood, demeanor, body language, and other forms of non-textual communication.

For the most part, the tone and mood of the interviews were normal and uneventful. On occasion, however, the recollection of what were perceived as unpleasant conditions did stir some latent feelings and some participants struggled with these sentiments. In each case, the interviewee was allowed to take time to gather their thoughts and emotions or even take a break until matters settled down. I addressed all these instances with empathy, tact, and sensitivity. No participant felt it necessary to curtail the engagement or withdraw from the study as a result of these circumstances.

All transcripts and accompanying documents such as Informed Consent Forms, Interview Notes, Contemporaneous Notes, and photographs will be secured in a lock box and stored. Audio recordings will be secured in the same manner. Records will remain secure for a period of 5 years. I will be the only individual with knowledge of the whereabouts of the information and access to the same.

Focus Group

A group of women and children provided aid to citizens under a curfew that British soldiers imposed on the Falls Road (Belfast) in 1970. This nonviolent action, commenced in the Ballymurphy and Andersonstown estates, proceeded down the Falls Road until the protesting women broke through the wire barricade to deliver relief to the residents confined therein. The intent of the focus group was to meet with women who protested this British army sweep for illegal weapons.

A community leader in Belfast suggested that I meet with a senior citizen group that meets every Wednesday afternoon at the Tar Anall community center in Conway Mills, west Belfast. Afterwards, I met and explained the study to the group of approximately 23 women (7 individuals from this group were men) and in the process left them with my contact information. I did this by leaving a participant search flyer at the front desk of the center and on the posting (bulletin) board. Responses came from 15 individuals via telephone, written notes left at the desk of the center, and through e-mail. From these connections, I was able to secure a group of three women willing to meet and tell their story. Those who were unable to meet with me were given a Lived Experience Description (LED) protocol sheet to complete and return. Five others declined to be part of the study.

The Tar Anall center provided a private room, normally used for job training and/or counseling, as the venue for the focus group. The meeting took place on September 14, 2017 at 11:00 am. The participants appeared eager to tell their story, but two women demonstrated some reticence that the study might have some connection to the Boston

College Oral History Project which transcribed interviews from republican and loyalist paramilitary members during the Troubles. The Boston College project was criticized for breaching confidentiality of participants and eventually shut down as a result of litigation in the United States' courts. After I provided assurances to the participants that I had no connection with the Boston College project, each signed consent forms and we began the focus group.

The exchange proceeded with each participant explaining their role in the protest and how each was enlisted into the community call to provide relief to the “trapped” citizens of the Falls Road. All participants found it necessary to provide a background of events leading up to the march as well as how matters progressed in the follow-up years. Although none of the participants protested actively prior to the Falls Road curfew, each noted that they continued to resist state security until the British army left the streets of Northern Ireland.

The participants provided details of their experiences and the meanings that they associated with those experiences. As such, the session rendered a rich account of the phenomenon and led to dynamic synergy among the participants. The recounting of experiences, at times, brought about an agitated and demonstrative condition in the participants which only validated the passion that each possessed and their conviction which was to “right a wrong.”

Unlike a face-to face interview, the focus group was less structured and allowed the women to speak freely and, on occasion, off subject while adhering to the goal of securing the same information elicited from pre-determined questions. As a result of the

fluid nature of this type of engagement, the focus group lasted 2 hours and 11 minutes as compared to interviews which averaged approximately an hour. The group of 3 individuals turned out to be more beneficial than a larger number which may have become cumbersome and/or difficult to follow.

Lived Experience Description (LED)

Many individuals were unable to meet with me personally because of scheduling conflicts, geographical/distance constraints, or the simple fact that meeting and speaking with someone unknown to them was uncomfortable. These instances provided an alternative that requested participants to complete a set of questions matching those utilized in the face-to-face interviews. This instrument was referred to a lived experience description (LED). As situations arose where circumstances prohibited personal meetings, those individuals were offered the opportunity to complete a lived experience description form.

A copy of the consent form and the LED were given to any potential participant who demonstrated an interest in providing information for the study. Completed forms could be returned by way of traditional mail or via e-mail. I indicated a sunset date for receipt of this data collection document as November 20, 2017. Some lived experience descriptions were received beyond this date; however, I decided to consider and incorporate these documents for the betterment of the study.

A total of 9 lived experience description forms were distributed to the Belfast interview group. A total of 10 lived experience description forms were distributed to the Derry interview group. A total of 7 lived experience description forms were given to focus

group respondents. Of the 26 LEDs sent out 3 were returned to me in mid-November to early December 2017. All LEDs returned were accompanied by an executed consent form. I noted that the length of responses contained in the completed LEDs was significantly less compared to the transcripts from face-to-face interviews. I could not account for this condition other than that individuals were not willing to complete pages upon pages of answers to the questions. Some questions during the face-to-face interviews yielded a response of multiple pages while the same question from the LED rendered a reply of perhaps a single paragraph. This brevity, however, did not diminish the accounts or richness of the experiences that the respondents described.

An accounting of the participants responses is indicated in Table 3 labeled Participant Response Breakdown below.

Table 3

Participant Response Breakdown

Location of Participants	No. of Contacts Made	No. of face-to-face meetings	No. of LEDs distributed	No. of LEDs returned
Derry	17	4	10	2
Belfast	18	4	9	1
Belfast-Focus Group	15	3	7	0
Totals	50	11	26	3

Data Analysis

I collected information from three sources: face-to-face interviews (8 respondents), lived experience descriptions (3 respondents), and a focus group (3 respondents). Proper analysis of data could not take place without the due diligence

needed to organize the information. Consequently, coding and theme recognition were required during the collection and review of data while simultaneously using the theoretical framework as a lens.

I analyzed the data collected using a modified Stevick-Colaizzi-Keen (S-C-K) method as Moustakis (1994) developed. This methodology began with an exercise in which I went through a period of self-reflection wherein I evaluated the study as a whole with an emphasis or focus on the participants and their responses. I followed this exercise with an identification of significant statements from the respondents. These statements were responses that stood out as important to the respondent. I grouped these statements into larger meaning units. The next step consisted of a collection of significant statements taken from transcripts and addressed “what” each respondent experienced or what Moustakas (1994) referred to as “noematic phases” of analysis (p. 78). A subsequent analysis examined “how” the respondent experienced the phenomenon which in this study was their participation in some form of antigovernment protest. Those concepts or ideals that were generated from the experiences provided the deeper meanings or essences.

I synthesized information from the individual experiences to yield meanings and interpretations applicable to the entire participation group. Figure 11 shows a simplification of sequences used in the S-C-K process that Creswell (2007) and Moustakas (1994) recommended. Each step in this method that I employed during the study was also expanded below in a narrative format. Moreover, the narrative sections were summarized in a table format for clarification.

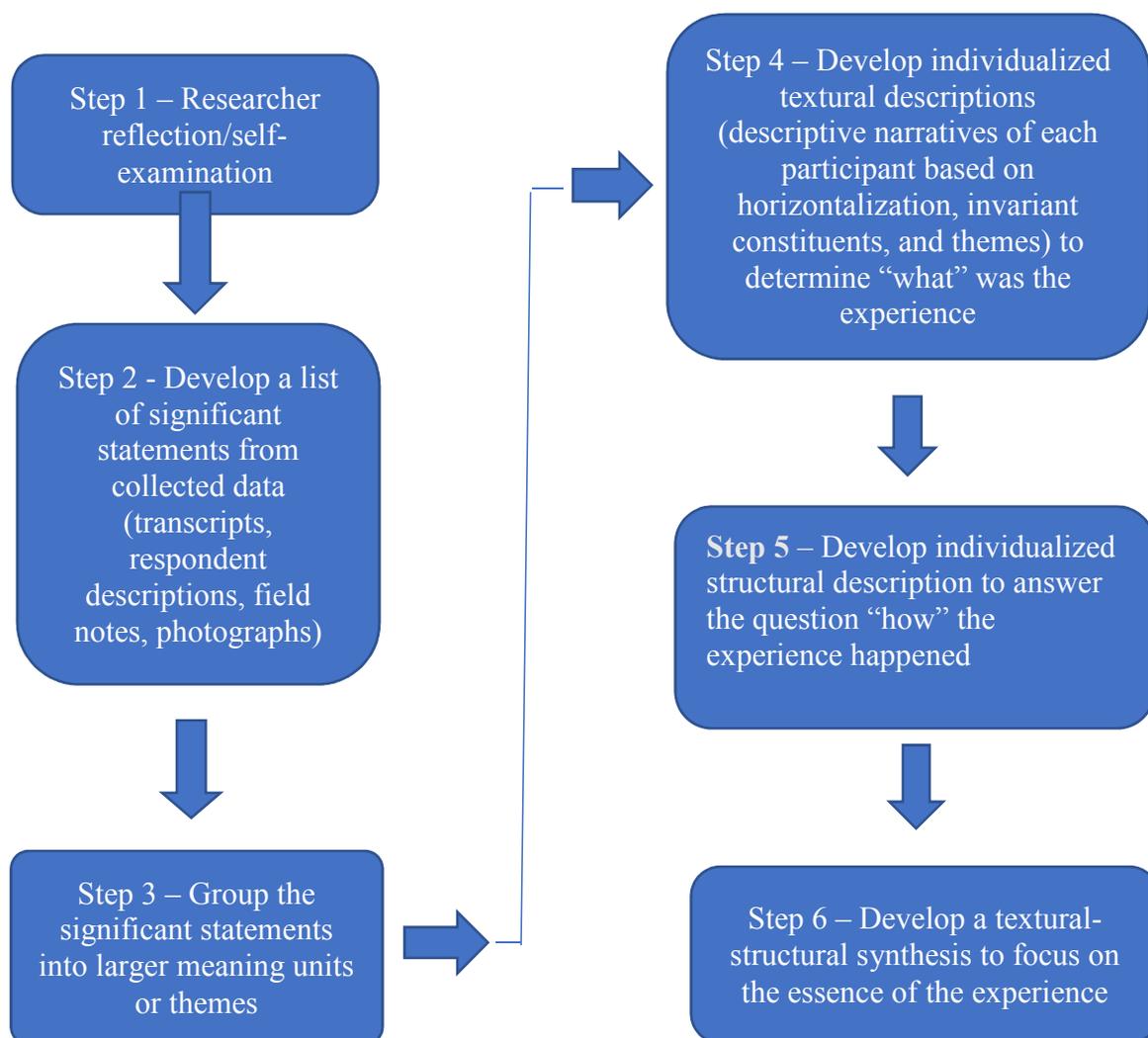


Figure 11. Diagram of modified Stevick-Colaizzi-Keen method of analysis

An interpretive phenomenology does not attempt to bracket out *a priori* knowledge as Husserl suggested (Adolfsson, 2010); rather, the researcher's experiences may contribute to the interpretations developed from the data collected as per Heidegger (Reiners, 2012). Accordingly, the first step in data analysis included an examination of what the experience meant to me as the researcher. I must acknowledge that

notwithstanding the previous knowledge and experience I possessed relative to security measures in Northern Ireland, the face-to-face engagements provided a greater understanding of the environment which minority nationalists endured during this period.

The analysis process began with a full understanding of the phenomenon followed by an examination of the transcriptions generated from face-to-face interviews, a focus group, and lived experience descriptions. The exercise extracted key information from the respondents' accounts of the nonviolent actions against certain state security policy. According to the modified Stevick-Colaizzi-Keen method, these statements were referred to as the invariant horizons. The invariant horizons corresponded to particular or unique experiences that the individuals referenced while experiencing the phenomenon.

Consistent with the modified Stevick-Colaizzi-Keen method, the analysis phase consisted of an organizing of the unique experiences into meaning units, after which I integrated these themes into individual textural descriptions thereby, accounting for the respondent experiences (a summation of "what" took place). The individual structural description developed as I examined the transcriptions for a relationship between the feelings, thoughts, and meanings derived from the experience and the phenomenon. This phase of analysis described "how" the experience affected the participant.

Once I completed all the individual textural and structural descriptions, I analyzed composite descriptions to reflect the experiences and meanings of each participant. The composites were then integrated into a synthesis of the meanings and essences of the experiences of all the participants. I reviewed and expanded the recordings, transcripts, note-taking, photographs, and summaries provided in a manner that provided a more

objective review of interpretations resulting from protest actions. In the analysis phase, NVivo software was used as the tool to track themes and patterns which emerged from the transcribed interviews, the field notes, the written anecdotes, and the participant descriptions.

Evidence of Trustworthiness

In an effort to promote trustworthiness of the study, I employed member checking of the transcripts and summations, peer examination of the same, and researcher evaluation of interview notes, contemporaneous notes, extensive review of transcripts, and analysis notations. Member checking occurred by allowing the participants to review the transcripts and results of the analysis process. Most respondents agreed with my analysis, but in three cases participants modified or added to the analysis. This effort could only add quality to the study.

Peer review of the transcripts and analysis allowed input from sources outside the study. A colleague from the University of Liverpool (UK), a colleague from the State University of New York at Buffalo, and a doctoral scholar-practitioner reviewed transcripts and findings to determine if the results were accurate or affected through researcher bias. This procedure offered challenges to assumptions on the part of the researcher and questions relevant to the results of the study.

Researcher introspection took place at various stages of the study. The first self-examination occurred prior to performing any data collection in Belfast, Northern Ireland. After the data collection phase came to an end, another period of examination took place at the start of full text analyses. Finally, I performed personal scrutiny using

prior learning and new knowledge acquired during the study to infuse greater value into the findings. I completed this researcher reflection through a review of field notes, a daily digest, examining photographs I had taken during data collection, re-listening to audio recordings, and overall summation of the research as well as a re-examination of the interpretations rendered from the participants' experiences.

In order to perform this exercise, it was necessary to reestablish a mental center position related to data collection and analysis. As this study interacted with a participant group who opined on what they perceived as oppressive security policy, it became beneficial to re-orient or re-examine personal objectivity after each engagement. This practice mitigated the flow of repetitive information that might carry over from one interaction to the next.

These reflections and personal examinations added to the acquisition of knowledge related to participant experiences of confusion and desperation in the early days of internment. Likewise, descriptions of the spatial violation that Operation Motorman engendered provided a better understanding of what participants viewed as a personal incursion. The examination phase was also constructive as it reflected on emotions of participants, mostly fear and anger, who protested the Falls Road curfew and criminalization. This level of in-depth description was not revealed through any of the literature.

Credibility (Internal validity)

I established credibility through close contact with participants and spending sufficient time with each respondent. Additionally, data were collected using various

sources that included face-to-face interviews, a focus group, and lived experience (LED). The semi-structured interviews provided a prolonged engagement between participants and me as the researcher. The focus group also allowed for a free-flowing discussion of experiences and the meanings derived from those experiences. The completion of the LEDs gave way to a pressure-free vehicle to deliver detailed accounts of participant experiences who protested security policies.

This form of triangulation encouraged internal validity as I extracted information from varied sources. Field notes and contemporaneous notes also offered another source of valuable data. Personal engagements occurred with a total 11 individuals and 3 other participants each supplied a lived experience description. At that point, no new information relevant to the reasons for resistance, the method of resistance, or the interpretations of the respondents became evident. As such, data collection started to become redundant to a point where saturation occurred. As this was the case, additional participants were neither sought nor needed in an effort to bring forth a betterment to the study.

Transferability (External validity)

Data sources came from participants who protested in various locations and through various methods. Respondents protested as uncooperative prisoners, marchers, information managers, civil saboteurs, election assistants, and strike volunteers. In an effort to provide transferability, participant selections were varied. Using the snowball (chain) sampling method, the first set of participants replied to me as a result of a posting

in a local community center and/or public library. Subsequent respondents were nominated from prior engagements.

The detail of information accumulated through transcripts, contemporaneous notes, and field notes provided thick descriptions of the action and interpretations of respondents who participated in this study. This practice was sufficient to transfer this study to different settings in which minority populations engaged or may engage in nonviolent resistant actions against perceived unjust conditions. The intent of this qualitative study was to achieve an understanding of a particular phenomenon and its effects on certain citizens. Consequently, a transfer of settings could engender, at best, general similarities between conditions (Leininger, 1994).

Dependability (Reliability)

Meticulous record-keeping related to field notes, transcripts, and interpretations, and cross-referencing of participant information, and field notes occurred during this phase. Likewise, member checks provided the opportunity for the participant/interviewee to review the actual transcript of the engagement and my interpretations in order to promote greater accuracy of events and recollections. Also, peer-review of information promoted an audit-worthy study easily examined for accuracy and consistency. The same diligence which was applied to file maintenance promoted a more replicable study.

Confirmability (Objectivity)

I have acknowledged that personal background, culture, and family history may lead to biases while compiling interpretations on matters concerning the Irish nationalist community. Nevertheless, sustaining a level of neutrality became critical as it related to

the integrity of the study. Prior knowledge and experiences were considered in the examination of participant interpretations, but biases were kept in check. Member checking and peer review were also employed as a means to expose stereotypes that may have gone undetected.

Results

After an exhaustive review of the transcripts using the modified Stevick-Colaizzi-Keen method of data analysis several themes became evident. The review of the texts followed a structured analysis and cross-referencing of the subjects experiencing the phenomenon and the meanings generated as a result of the phenomenon. The process began with an examination of the individual and progressed to an identification of the essences that emerged from the experiences of the participants as a group.

This exercise revealed varied perceptions that participants experienced through their nonviolent protests. Social identity was preserved through various coping exercises and maintained through extraordinary conviction or perseverance of cause. The repeated effort to preserve the expanded community or social construct engendered a sense of empowerment throughout the protest actions which facilitated the community's endeavor for social change.

Participant A (Darren)

Biographical Information

Participant A was a 63-year old male from Belfast who participated in protests against the security polices of internment and criminalization. In an effort to maintain a low profile for fear of arrest himself, he provided assistance to families who had loved

ones (father, son, brother, uncle, nephew) incarcerated during the early days of internment. As this policy of random detention continued, he engaged in street protests for a short time to bring an end to what he personally described as “a shameful pall on our society.” Darren stated that he did not become fully involved in protest marches until the criminalization of prisoners was instituted in 1976. The criminalization policy removed the special category status or political prisoner treatment from paramilitary inmates.

Table 4

Significant Statements/Meaning Units for Participant A

Significant statements	Meaning units
It was fierce... the fear I had of being lifted.	Fear
Prison was my worst fear.	Fear
The whole criminalization shite didn't make sense. It was infuriating...	Anger
I was raging. The only outlet was protesting and marching.	Anger; frustration; desperation
We were not going to stand there and do nothing.	Coping
We could no longer tolerate these misgivings.	Desperation; frustration
Who treats people... even prisoners... like that?	Community; empathy
We were at a breaking point.	Desperation
This community... this society was on the brink. Because of the marches and rallies, treatment of the civilians (nationalists) improved.	Anger; frustration; retaliation
The forces of the people did some good to end that injustice (internment).	Achievement
In the end, I think, we played some part in ending it (criminalization) by protesting in such large numbers. It got to be more important to make your statement that you were part of this community and you wanted things to change.	Achievement
We got stronger. Much stronger. Much more determined from their (the soldiers') shite.	Solidarity; retaliation
I'd say the efforts of all those people were not wasted. The solidarity that the community showed for the hunger strikers and (against) the government played a great role in making things change.	Determination; retaliation Achievement
We wanted to show how unfair we thought our community was mistreated, with the abuse, and the intimidation, and the threats. The nationalist community were not gonna take this anymore.	Achievement; change agency Solidarity; Determination
The actual end to all this protesting did bring about a peace in the end.	Solidarity; achievement

Textural Description for Participant A

Darren, like many others, believed the random arrest of nationalists, known as internment, would last only a few days. State authorities had previously used house raids and street checkpoints to send a message to or intimidate Irish nationalists. The arrests, however, continued well after the introduction of Operation Demetrius (internment) in August 1971. Fearing arrest himself, Darren maintained an especially low profile during this period while helping out families who had members jailed on suspicion of belonging to paramilitary groups.

Darren felt an aversion to the physical force threats that permeated the streets in the shadow of the Irish Republican Army. He was a champion boxer who left bodies in tatters in the ring. "I would do anything to win," he stated, but he drew the line at sport. "Killing and maiming were for keeps and a lethal game" of which he wanted no part, he added. As much as he despised the way members of his community were treated and abused by state security forces, he stated he could not "pull the trigger" with a person in the crosshair.

Darren maintained a low profile during the internment years (1971-1976), but the criminalization of republican prisoners was another point of contention that drove him to the brink. He reported that in his opinion, criminalization was "just another British pogrom to show the Irish who was in charge." It was at this point that he believed action was necessary. As such, he began to march in protests against this new policy. He contemplated for a short while joining a paramilitary organization but realized again that

he probably could not “stomach that sort of violence.” He believed these protest actions were the best “outlet” for the bottled-up rage inside a nonviolent community. Protest in the form of marches and vigils continued regularly but reached what he referred to as “massive and more urgent when the first prisoner hunger strike began in 1980.”

Darren added that organizers were well schooled in how to cause disruption. He remembered marchers “being told to mind themselves (behave) for fear the peaceful protest would break down.” He was very impressed with this sort of discipline and structure. He added that, in fact, some marches did break ranks which led to confrontation between marchers and state security forces, but he vowed that every such incident was “initiated by the police or soldiers” rather than the marchers.

Darren felt the pressure the marches put on local officials as well as the attention and criticism levied through international agencies or governments may have accelerated an end to a seemingly intractable situation. He added “the Brits came to their senses 10 funerals too late.” The sacrifice of the hunger strikers cannot be understated according to Darren, but he added thousands of northern nationalists also sacrificed by withstanding “physical abuse” or “intimidation” or “threats.” Darren reminded me this “abuse was a constant in our community.”

Darren added that in many ways our actions were cries saying, “we wanted respect.” He added he wanted to just grab a soldier or an elected official and say “treat this community as you’d treat your own.” The situation became somewhat confusing and mind-numbing according to the respondent. It seemed as though “we got stronger; more cohesive the more we were mistreated,” Darren replied.

Darren provided some recollections of the successes that occurred through protest and stated that internment eventually ended, and that the hunger strikes finally came to a “maddening end.” At long last, peace was secured 17 years after the hunger strikes. As such, Darren considered himself as an “instrument of peace” and his people’s involvement in the protests was a demonstration of “how unfair we thought our community was treated.” Several of Darren’s responses alluded to the fact that, “we were not going to stand there and do nothing.”

Table 5

Textural Descriptions for Participant A

Textural descriptions	Themes
I was raging.	Anger
The chaos was starting to wear on us all.	Confusion
We wanted respect. I told the soldiers to treat this community as you’d treat your own.	Social Identity
We were not going to stand there and do nothing	Coping

Structural Description for Participant A

Darren was not unlike many other respondents in this study in that he wanted to be involved and, at the same time, he was afraid to be involved in any form of resistance. He even became torn as to which form of resistance to employ in venting his frustration as it related to the treatment of fellow nationalists. While openly rejecting violent forms of protest, he admittedly considered on several occasions joining republican military factions. To use the term conflicted when describing Darren might be considered appropriate.

Darren also referenced feelings of anger, rage and confusion from what he described as all the surrounding “chaos.” Notwithstanding his inability to come to grips with some emotions, Darren was able to put trust in the hands of others as in the case of the march organizers who demanded peaceful behavior from its members lest the operation unravel. While he experienced outbursts of impatience, Darren accepted that the nonviolent process was a long and protracted affair that did lead to peace, and he identified his small role in that process by quoting lines from the “St. Francis Prayer.” Darren also opined that “the marches were a statement” which decried “you (British authorities) can’t do this to our lads. It wasn’t right. It wasn’t human.”

Fear also became a driver of Darren’s comportment. He dreaded the thought of prison and only went head long into the protest movement when the numbers became greater and the fear of arrest became less. He recounted pressure from peers to join the protests and to join a paramilitary organization, both of which he was personally trying to avoid. It seemed his fear was eventually overtaken by his intolerance for the policy of criminalization applied to the republican prisoners and his self-professed “disgust at the unbending stance of the British government” that led to the hunger strikes in 1980 and 1981.

As his involvement in the resistance movement became a larger part of his life, it appeared Darren was able to articulate the struggle in more familiar terms and expressing the “singleness” of the nationalist community through a “common desire for respect and dignity” brought about through a “mass determination of thought and action.” Finally, Darren appeared to realize that no change would come about as an observer of the abuses

that occurred. “We could no longer tolerate these misgivings.” “We all had to take action against the oppressor,” he added. Darren’s eventual development from spectator to activist was typical of this nonviolent resistance, especially for the younger (at that time – 1971 through 1981) participants.

Table 6

Structural Descriptions for Participant A

Structural descriptions	Themes
You (British authorities) can’t do this to our lads. It wasn’t right. It wasn’t human.	Social Identity
We could no longer tolerate these misgivings.	Coping
We all had to take action against the oppressor.	Coping
We played some part in ending it by protesting in such large numbers.	Social Identity
Our community just wanted respect and dignity.	Social Identity
I prayed I would remain and instrument of peace (St Francis prayer).	Faith

Composite Textural-Structural Descriptions for Participant A

The face-to-face interview with Participant A, Darren, provided vivid descriptions of the phenomenon of protest as well as the meanings that he associated with these protest actions. An extensive review of the transcripts and field notes that captured details of the engagement provided themes and essences derived from his antigovernment activity. The primary essences that surfaced through Darren’s descriptions, both textural and structural, were identified as anger, social identity, coping, confusion, and faith.

Table 7

Composite Descriptions for Participant A

Composite descriptions	Themes
Derived from Textural and Structural experiences	Social Identity
	Coping
	Confusion

Participant B (Barry)

Biographical Information

Participant B was a 62- year old male former republican prisoner from Belfast who was charged with weapons possession. While in jail, he joined the blanket and no-wash protests after the new British government had revoked a previously accepted Special Category status (political prisoner consideration) for paramilitary operatives during the Troubles. He described the security policies of internment, Operation Motorman, and criminalization as “an attack on the dignity of free men and women.”

Table 8

Significant Statements/Meaning Units for Participant B

Significant statements	Meaning units
We'd be beaten and cavity searched. The more we git abused, the more we resisted.	Conviction; retaliation
We did what we could to resist; to defy the screws. And it drove them mad.	Conviction
My defiance was to make a point; and that point was to say, you cannot break our will.	Conviction; solidarity
This was a battle of wills between the prisoners and the screws, and it was critical to win this battle of wills. There was no way we were going to be broken by those bastards.	Conviction; strength
The guards would physical beat us. Our response was, “Is that the best you can do?” Well, if that's the case, then there's no fucking way you're gonna break me.	Retaliation; endurance
It was our plan to wear down the screws to the point that this mistreatment would end.	Achievement
So, there was a certain satisfaction and accomplishment in that (resisting).	Perseverance; conviction
Our strategy was “the long war” against the British authorities. I think we'd rather fight each other over election districts than we would against the loyalists and the army in the streets.	Engagement Community; change-agency; engagement
We would not be broken, and that was our victory. We were in support of each other of the greater cause.	Achievement; solidarity
We were very proud of their actions (citizen protests outside prison).	Solidarity

Their (the army) presence here only made matters worse	Anxiety; community
What else were we to do but be defiant and resist their illegal authority.	Defiance; conviction; community
Fair and equal treatment might have avoided all this war.	Retaliation; Community

Textural Description for Participant B

The three former republican prisoners, Participant B (Barry), Participant C (Patrick), and Participant J (Eugene), with whom I met as part of this study provided a unique perspective on the war between United Kingdom security forces and the nationalist population of Northern Ireland. It was understood that these individuals took part in the physical force violence that plagued the region for thirty years, but once imprisoned, each embarked on a campaign of noncooperation. These actions were carried out through the blanket protest in which prisoners refused to wear prison uniforms and were provided only a bunk blanket for cover; the no-wash protest during which prisoners refused to bath or clean out their cell; and the hunger strikes where selected inmates refused food leading to the death of 10 republican prisoners in 1981. In each case, the form of resistance for the paramilitary operatives mutated from a position of violence designed to inflict bodily harm on others to a method of noncooperation that caused no harm to other individuals.

Barry was a former prisoner serving time for transporting arms from the Republic of Ireland to a safe house just outside of Belfast city. His sentence was originally 15 years but was reduced to half the time as a result of an appeal of the trial circumstances. Barry's consternation for the Northern Ireland/United Kingdom establishment became obvious when he refused to meet with me in a location having a connection to the

government which he referred to as “illegal.” Rather than meet in the Falls Road Public Library where I met other Belfast residents, Barry insisted that we meet in another agreed upon location where he could provide details of his prison protest that consisted of his participation in the blanket and no-wash protests against the suspension of Special Category status for prisoners.

The revocation of Special Category status on March 1, 1976 made the prisoners common criminals guilty of state crimes rather than the previous treatment as political prisoners. According to Barry, this criminalization policy was “just another attempt to break the will of the prisoners who were fighting to remove what they viewed as an occupying army.” Barry added the conditions in prison were atrocious especially after the blanket protest began. This initiated a scheme of physical and verbal abuse on the part of the prison warders. Barry related that the inmates “would be beaten and then cavity searched” for contraband. Just to make matters worse the “anal cavity search always came before the oral (mouth and throat) examination using the same (protective) gloves.” This was done just to antagonize the inmates, he exclaimed. In the process of all this provocation, “some of us were close to going mental.”

The respondent clearly described how the abuse from the guards, or “screws” as they were called, galvanized most (not all) prisoners as if to say, “is that the best you can do?” And, if that was the case, “we will resist you with even more vigor.” “My defiance was to make a point,” Barry said, and that intent “was to wear down the screws to the point where this mistreatment might end.” He went on to say that “as far as the battle of wills was concerned, we were winning.” Barry added, however, that criminalization was

still the policy for the prisoners. “The screws couldn’t believe our level of defiance,” Barry added.

As time passed the blanket and no-wash protests were not bringing about an end to the criminalization policy. The prisoners then found it necessary to intensify the resistance actions. “That’s when the OCs (prison officer in charge) decided on a hunger strike,” according to Barry. The hunger strikes were “gut-wrenching” but just another action we executed in “the long war” against the British authorities. Barry noted remorse for the 10 men who died as a result of their participation in the hunger strikes of 1981, but argued that “hundreds of my comrades died in the war and thousands of Catholic civilians were murdered.” Barry believed that this sacrifice was for the “greater good; to build a better life for the next generation.” The hunger strikes were part of a deliberate operation within the overall effort to win the war according to this respondent.

Barry believed that all forms of protest brought a sociopolitical benefit to the region, even at a personal cost to the actors. He described how the electoral successes of prisoners underpinned the “beginning of a movement into mainstream politics” and stated he believed the latest “Sinn Fein (republican political party) gains in the Northern Assembly (in 2016) were directly related to the prison and street protests that many endured.” Barry felt it better to “fight against each other over election districts than against loyalist gangs or the army in the streets.” He believed these victories provided a “new wave of influence.”

Barry began to generalize about how the situation in the North got so chaotic. He claimed that “over 250,000 soldiers served in the North,” and his intention was to get the

troops out of “his country.” He was sure the peace would not come without the armed struggle but agreed that the nonviolent struggle was integral to the eventual peace. He added that the injustice was blatant. He described how British troops shot dozens of unarmed civilians and there were no repercussions. “I travel with weapons of protection for my community and I go to jail,” he said. “It was war, and the Brits refused to acknowledge that fact.” “It was desperate,” he muttered. Barry punctuated the meeting by saying “I found the stamina to fight for a better life for the sake of my children.”

Table 9

Textural Descriptions for Participant B

Textural descriptions	Themes
My intention was to wear down the screws to the point where this mistreatment might end.	Perseverance
Sinn Fein gains in the Northern Assembly (in 2016) were directly related to the prison and street protests that many endured.	Empowerment
The protests were for the greater good; to build a better life for the next generation.	Social Identity

Structural Description for Participant B

Barry expressed a high level of contempt for not only the prison officials assigned to his block while he was on the blanket and no-wash protests, but generally to any presence of British authority. He admitted the condition of being incarcerated eliminated the possibility of using force against an enemy, in this case, the warders, which warranted a re-examination of tactics that might form effective resistance to the authorities. Barry also indicated that he felt trapped, not only in the prison system, but in the cycle of abuse that the guards doled out was “maddening and infuriating.”

The respondent also approached his noncooperation actions with an intense level of vindication as a form of retribution for the mistreatment at the hands of the guards and as acts of spite against the criminalization policy as he stated, “we did what we could to defy the screws; and it drove them mad.” He regarded his actions as a strategy to change the guards’ behavior. Barry’s determination to “win this battle of wills” was nothing short of remarkable in that many other protesters failed to withstand the abuse or the prison conditions or both.

Like other protesters throughout this study, Barry felt a single-mindedness of the plight of all nationalists in Northern Ireland, and he displayed a determination to overcome abuse from the prison system as well as the criminalization policy applied to inmates. Barry recalled that the prison protests were “just a small step to the end of war.” A demonstration of this determination was detected as he stated, “we would not be broken and that was our victory.”

Barry spelled out his disdain and vitriol for what he termed as a British occupation when he remarked, “the authorities called us terrorist and criminals, but how can you be a terrorist fighting in and for your own country?” As the masses outside the prison realized the struggle, Barry said, “the protests became more vocal and more powerful as a voice of the nationalist people.” He added that such actions made him “very proud” of the mobilization on the part of those nonviolent nationalists on the outside.

In the end; however, Barry painted a vivid picture of a lopsided socio-political system. Near the end of the interview, Barry provided what he described as

examples of this flawed social structure. He stated that, “they (the government) brought the army in and Catholics get whacked by snipers.” He was referring specifically to what local nationalists referred to as the Ballymurphy and Springhill-Whitrock massacres (both in Belfast), and the Bloody Sunday massacre in Derry. Barry went on to state that the system “was all rigged in favor of the f***ing Unionist government.” The presence of the army in the streets “got people raging for their removal,” according to Barry. Barry’s anger was physically visible as he became agitated while comparing how the soldiers could murder civilians in the street with no accountability, but he served 5 years in prison for trying to protect the community when he responded, “tell me, where was the f***ing justice back then?”

Barry’s disgust for the installation of the British army on the streets of Northern Ireland was repeated by several other respondents in this study. Moreover, Barry’s original choice of resistance was a violent path to fight militarization, but once in prison, his actions were confined to noncooperation (for obvious reasons). Notwithstanding the distasteful avenue of physical force politics, his commitment to an alternate form of resistance brought about through circumstance was quite remarkable and demonstrated extraordinary principle.

Table 10

Structural Descriptions for Participant B

Structural descriptions	Themes
We would not be broken and that was our victory.	Perseverance
The authorities called us terrorist and criminals, but how can you be a terrorist fighting in and for your own country?	Social Identity
The hunger strikes were gut-wrenching.	Desperation

Composite Textural-Structural Descriptions for Participant B

The face-to-face interview with Participant B, Barry, provided vivid descriptions of the phenomenon of protest as well as the meanings that he associated with these protest actions. An extensive review of the transcripts and field notes that captured details of the engagement provided themes and essences generated as a result of his protest actions. The primary essences that surfaced through Barry's descriptions, both textural and structural, were identified as social identity, perseverance, desperation, and empowerment.

Table 11

Composite Descriptions for Participant B

Composite descriptions	Themes
Derived from textural and structural experiences	Social Identity Perseverance Empowerment Desperation

Participant C (Patrick)

Biographical Information

Participant C was a 61-year old male former republican prisoner sentenced to life for attempted murder. He participated in the blanket and no-wash protests as well as the 1980 and 1981 hungers strikes against criminalization. Patrick stated that "the prison protests were a demonstration of defiance against the British security structure." He currently lives in the Republic of Ireland.

Table 12

Significant Statements/Meaning Units for Participant C

Significant statements	Meaning units
It (the prison protest) was a passive statement.	Conviction; community
Protests were defiance against all the British structure.	Community; solidarity
We never believed we were criminals.	
If you didn't wake up with hope for a change, you would have cracked.	Hope; conviction Anger; desperation
By 1981 there was serious anger.	
The hunger strikes were a welcomed relief. They were a new protest strategy.	Determination; hope Change-agency; versatility
Standing for office was a bit of evolution.	Defiance
1981 was the end of rebellion and the start of revolution.	Community; solidarity;
Psychological models were now used...do u see yourself as a casualty of war or an agent for change.	Change-agency
Pushing yourself towards education rather than the physical war.	Versatility; conflict; transformation
It was a matter of respect for humanity.	Community

Textural Description for Participant C

In response to a question of whether the prison protests were well-orchestrated, Patrick, replied, “No, this was purely reactionary and happenstance.” “We thought this criminalization thing would only last a few months at the longest.” In view of that mindset, we thought our protests would only last for that same length of time.” “I was sentenced to life in prison, and I wasn't going to just sit there and do nothing,” he added. He went on to say that the prison protests were a “passive statement that the screws could do little to repress.” After all, he continued, “there was only so much a person could do while in prison.”

Patrick went on to state that the hunger strikes were different than the previous protests. He added, “the 1981 hunger strike was carefully planned by Bobby Sands.” “We actually felt like we were taking more concerted actions against the prison system with the hunger strikes,” Patrick recalled. He also described how “the spinoff of the 1981 hunger strike was the electoral engagements by prisoners.” “This was also unplanned, but

we all figured, it was about time.” Patrick concluded, “it was time to employ a more strategic approach to the war as opposed to the old emotional attachment that republicans had harbored.”

During his own time on the hunger strike he said, “I had volunteered and it was now my own role in what was now described as the bigger plan,” Patrick described. Near the end of his time, day 69 of the hunger strike, he said, “I was falling in and out of consciousness.” He described it like being in a fog. Patrick continued, “I couldn’t tell if I was talking to friends and family or if I was dreaming.” He stated that he finally “fell into a coma and my family allowed medical intervention.” Patrick added, “I am here today because of that intervention.” “Others were not so fortunate,” he said.

Table 13

Textural Descriptions for Participant C

Textural descriptions	Themes
The prison protests were a passive statement that the screws could do little to repress. There was only so much a person could do while in prison.	Coping
It was time to employ a more strategic approach to the war as opposed to the old emotional attachment that republicans had harbored.	Perseverance
I had volunteered and it was now my own role in what was now described as the bigger plan.	Empowerment

Structural Description for Participant C (Patrick)

For the most part, the statements from participant C, Patrick, belong in the structural descriptions as a result of the raw emotion aroused from being part of the blanket and no-wash protests and being chosen to participate in the 1981 hunger strike. Patrick’s responses

were ideologically related to the Irish republican cause. Beyond his prison experiences, Patrick has found success and respect in cultural, political, and academic endeavors.

Patrick believed, like other prisoners, that the “prison protests were a battle of wills; an engagement that the more determined individual will win.” He added that the “republican prisoners never believed they were criminals; they were soldiers.” He further stated, “that the overriding impetus of the protests was strictly political and was held in defiance of an entire British sociopolitical structure.” Patrick admitted that “by 1981, there was serious anger in the community toward the British and the one-sided policies.” One counter-statement came in the form of the hunger strikes which were “a battle-cry for the prisoners.” During the mid-point of the 1981 hunger strikes, Patrick believed that “surrender was not an option.” He maintained that hope for a change and an end to the tribulations of war. He confided that “if you didn’t wake up with hope for change, you would have mentally cracked.”

But Patrick agreed that by this time, the old republican mantras were starting to dissolve, like “those who can endure most will be victorious” or “all republicans will wrap themselves in a green flag.” He said the republican movement started to look at “a bigger plan.” This plan had to include contesting elections, even though nobody could have planned on Frank McGuire passing. For the sake of clarification, Frank McGuire was the Member of Parliament who had suddenly passed away, thereby, leaving the electoral seat vacancy leading to the election of Bobby Sands. “This misfortune offered an opportunity for Bobby Sands to run for the vacant seat of Fermanagh-South Tyrone,” replied Patrick.

“It wasn’t planned, but it was time anti-H-Block and Sinn Fein started to engage in political office.”

The republican leadership was criticized in 1981 for using the hunger strikes for political gain. Patrick’s response to this was, “I would hope that Sinn Fein was exploiting the hunger strikes to advance the cause of a united Ireland.” This respondent felt that the 1981 hunger strikes marked the "end of rebellion and the start of revolution.” He added “the psychological models had all changed.” Patrick believed that “we (he and all the hunger strikers) were not victims of war, but agents of change.” In that sense the prison protests emboldened the prisoners. Patrick proclaimed the protests were their demand for a “respect for humanity” and from there the prisoner mindset became “focused on political and cultural education rather than a physical war.”

Table 14

Structural Descriptions for Participant C

Structural descriptions	Themes
The prison protests were a battle of wills; an engagement that the more determined individual will win.	Perseverance
If you didn’t wake up with hope for change, you would have mentally cracked.	Hope
It was time anti-H-Block and Sinn Fein started to engage in political office.	Hope
The 1981 hunger strikes marked the end of rebellion and the start of revolution.	Empowerment

Composite Textural-Structural Descriptions for Participant C

The face-to-face interview with Participant C, Patrick, provided a vivid account of the phenomenon of protest as well as the meanings that he associated with these protest actions. An extensive review of the transcripts and field notes that captured details of the

engagement provided themes and essences associated with non-cooperation in prison protests. The primary essences that surfaced through Patrick’s descriptions, both textural and structural, were identified as perseverance, coping, hope, and empowerment.

Table 15

Composite Descriptions for Participant C

Composite descriptions	Themes
Derived from textural and structural experiences	Perseverance Coping Empowerment Hope

Participant D (Mervin)**Biographical Information**

Participant D was a 66-year old male who posted antigovernment literature and bills across the Northern Ireland against internment, Operation Motorman, and criminalization. He portrayed himself as a propogandist who scaled buildings and towers to post these protest materials. He described the army’s action during Operation Motorman and other “sweep” activities as “callous, criminal, and unforgivable.

Table 16

Significant Statements/Meaning Units for Participant D

Significant statements	Meaning units
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To my knowledge, I was the first to call the army murderers.	Defiance
The troops were mad with anger. One of my best hours.	Achievement
I was always anxious that I'd end up in prison.	Fear; anxiety
I felt that facts were the truth. And the army hated the truth.	Achievement; defiance
Anything that harmed the Brits was a plus on our side in this lopsided war of nerves, will, perseverance, and attrition.	Conviction; achievement
Fair treatment and individual rights might have been improved (from my protests).	Achievement
I hope I made a difference.	Hope; change-agency
The more truth and antiarmy sentiment I spread on the walls of Belfast made some difference – in a better way.	Achievement; community
If my actions contributed a tiny bit to the process that brought about equality, then I will stand and say I did my share to promote peace and remove the barricades to a fairer society.	Achievement; community

Textural Description for Participant D

Mervin declared himself a “propagandist whose job it was to spread the truth.” He believed that the control of information on the part of British officials was “oppressing and stifling.” Mervin’s method to counter this control issue was to “post antiarmy/anti-government material throughout the city of Belfast and its surrounding townlands.” He described his forté as being able to place materials such as signs or bills on walls, towers, or places where everyone could view the material, but few people could scale.

Mervin stated once the army began to dig in on the streets of Belfast, he felt “subjugated” especially by the “manner in which the British troops treated the Catholic community.” Mervin added, “with all the activity of the RUC (police), the army, the loyalist gangs, and now the IRA, Belfast was becoming a dangerous place to live.” It was at the beginning of internment when Mervin started to take his own action with posts that read “Troops Out” or “End Army Occupation”, or “British Paras=Murderers.”

According to Mervin, this was his own way of protesting what he described as “inhuman treatment unfairly directed at the Catholic community” that resulted from

internment. Mervin added that the barricade clearance achieved through Operation Motorman also aroused anger that transformed into protest action. He went on to say that after Motorman, “no person in the nationalist community had an ounce of goodwill for the soldier pricks.”

Mervin pointed out his posts really enraged the local troops and he believed he was on their hit list. He added that they began interrogating ordinary people as to whether they could identify the transgressor. According to Mervin, the only people who knew his identity were the individuals who were providing the signs, placards, or bills to be placed. He admitted continuing to place “stickies” (self-adhesive signs) until internment ended in 1976 or shortly thereafter. He said by the time the hunger strikes came around in 1980, almost everyone in the community was putting up antigovernment notes and bills on every surface available. He believed by that time his work was complete.

Table 17

Textural Descriptions for Participant D

Textural descriptions	Themes
This was my own way of protesting what he described as inhuman treatment unfairly directed at the Catholic community.	Empowerment; Retribution

Structural Description of Participant D

Mervin felt that entering the violent side of the conflict was not an option. He couldn't see himself “picking up a rock, let alone an armalite (automatic rifle).” Mervin also felt his unique form of protest was a way “to tolerate the madness that made him feel part of the resistance movement.” He went on to say, “when a bill was posted on the wall

touting the British soldiers as murderers, as invaders, as oppressors, that (action) was a very liberating feeling.” “I said things that other people were afraid to say out loud,” he replied.

Mervin added the acts themselves aroused a great deal of fear in him. “During a couple of postings, I was close to being apprehended by the soldiers, and I was frightened out of me wits.” “I almost lost consciousness I was so frightened at some points,” Mervin continued. “I knew if I was caught, the squaddies would have kicked me to death and left my body on the street for the dogs; they were that enraged at my campaign,” he said. He recalled he repressed his fear by repeating that part of the St. Francis Prayer that read, “make me a channel of your peace.” Mervin said he repeated this chant thousands of times.

He added, “after some time, I began to feel guilty, because soldiers on the street would rough up innocent civilians who knew nothing of my identity or whereabouts.” “This was just another form of community intimidation,” he remarked. “Still, I was always anxious that I’d end up in prison as a result of the protests.” He finished by saying, “I feared this fate (prison) the most.”

Mervin recounted how he thought way back then, his contribution was beneficial, but the outcomes were only apparent over the longest of terms. He mentioned “the truth is freedom in an oppressive society.” He added the best way to judge any results was over time. When the hunger strikes came, the truth was there on television and radio. He said, “that wasn’t the case in the early 1970s.” “Information was censored,” he said. “I had to do my part,” he continued. Mervin mentioned it was important to him to be considered

“part of the solution” that could lead to an end to the chaos and eventually to some sort of peace process.

Table 18

Structural Descriptions for Participant D

Structural descriptions	Themes
Make me a channel of your peace, I prayed.	Faith
When a bill was posted on the wall touting the British soldiers as murderers, as invaders, as oppressors, that (action) was a very liberating feeling.	Coping

Composite Textural-Structural Descriptions for Participant D

The face-to-face interview with Participant D, Mervin, provided a vivid account of the phenomenon of protest as well as the meanings that he associated with these protest actions. An extensive review of the transcripts and field notes that captured details of the engagement provided themes and essences related to his antigovernment activities. The primary essences that surfaced through Mervin’s descriptions, both textural and structural, were identified as anger, coping, faith, retribution, and empowerment.

Table 19

Composite Descriptions for Participant D

Composite descriptions	Themes
Derived from textural and structural experiences	Empowerment Coping Faith Retribution

Participant E (Miles)

Biographical Information

Participant E, Miles, was a 66-year old male formerly from west Belfast who acted as a community agent during the rates and rent strikes from 1971-1974. He contacted me via telephone with an interest in being interviewed for the study. I met Participant E near his home in the Republic of Ireland to discuss details and format of the interview. However; for personal reasons, this participant preferred not to be interviewed, but agreed to submit a lived experience description (LED) of his actions to protest internment policy.

Table 20

Significant Statements/Meaning Units for Participant E

Significant Statements	Meaning units
This (protest) was my way of engaging in some sort of antigovernment campaign to demonstrate against this damn internment policy.	Community
We were not going to stand by idle as the government lifted random men from nationalist communities all over the North. This form of civil disobedience was successful.	Hope; change-agency Achievement
Things were getting a bit raw as the strike continued. People took risks to make things right or to stand up against the uncompromising authority.	Fear; anxiety Achievement; anxiety
I felt certain I was in the cross-hairs of an army sniper. The fear in me was about to drive me crazy.	Fear; anxiety
Our rent strike was a way to tell authorities we will not tolerate this treatment any longer.	Change-agency
But this was a war of wills and who could endure the most.	Conviction
The nonviolent road may have averted an all-out civil war where no one would come out a winner.	Determination; hope

Textural Descriptions for Participant E

Miles, obediently kept records of the nationalist estate residents who chose to withhold their rents and utility payments during the early days on internment in 1971 and into 1974. He explained, “my job was to encourage more households to join the rent strike or to provide alternatives for other families who wanted to quit the strike.” “I

wasn't a violent person, so this was my way of engaging in some sort of antigovernment campaign to demonstrate against the damn internment policy," Miles recalled.

This appeared to be a simple undertaking, taking names, dates, addresses, but Miles provided details of the heartache he encountered while meeting residents in their flats day after day. "I felt obliged to stay in touch with all these strikers to provide encouragement," he stated. "My estates were Ballymurphy and Andersonstown, but then I moved down the Falls Road to some other smaller estates where participation wasn't so intense," he added. Miles recalled his aiding in the rent strike made him feel like he was "contributing to the larger antigovernment movement." He went on to write, "we were not going to stand by idle as the government lifted men from the nationalist communities all over the North."

According to Miles, "participation in the strike was not the same in every estate, so the level of support varied with the neighborhood." "Sometimes, I was welcomed and other times, not so much," Miles remembered. He claimed he reported to community leaders who were sometimes affiliated with political parties or social movement groups like NICRA (Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association) or SDLP (Social Democratic Labor Party) which "moved in after the protest took hold."

As the rent and rate strike got more organized, Miles explained the government began to "take measures of their own" which began a series of confrontations. These actions created more counter-measures from the citizens. As Miles noted, it seemed "thousands of people were willing to do anything they could to resist the Stormont government." Miles wrote he believed the residents withholding rents and utility rates

were “starting to add up economically to government officials because the police started to get involved in activities on the estates.” He further explained that “if electric was scheduled to be shut off, the police would escort the utility employees, but then the residents would block the utility worker, and a huge row would erupt.” Miles wrote, “things were getting a bit raw as the strike continued.”

Table 21

Textural Descriptions for Participant E

Textural descriptions	Themes
I felt like I was contributing to the larger antigovernment movement.	Social Identity
We were not going to stand by idle as the government lifted men from the nationalist communities all over the North.	Coping
Thousands of people were willing to do anything they could to resist the Stormont government.	Perseverance

Structural Descriptions for Participant E

As much as Miles wanted to play his part and contribute to the antigovernment movement, he admitted his part in the rent and rate strike was “frightening.” Miles wrote clearly that he did not have the “intestines for violence,” and, as such, he decided to volunteer as an organizer during the rent and rate strike against internment. But he added his involvement as a volunteer led him to areas that had the potential to become “violent as well.”

He noted soldiers and eventually police realized that he was part of the strike movement and he received intense harassment from security personnel. Miles reported that there were times when he “walked across the “Bull Ring” (central square) of the Ballymurphy, he felt certain he “was in the cross-hairs of an army sniper.” “The fear in

me was about to drive me crazy,” he admitted. And when security came to escort utility workers, the potential of an all-out riot existed,” he added. It apparently got to the point where utility workers and rent collectors refused to enter the housing estates at all. Miles stated that at this point he became conflicted. Miles recalled he “feared for his own safety, but still wanted to stand and fight against the politburo (Stormont government),”

Miles wrote, “the rent strike was our way to tell authorities our community will not tolerate this treatment any longer.” He seemed to be determined in bringing about an end to the internment policy that he believed was “directed against Catholic nationalists.” Miles also demonstrated a desire to keep hope alive through his involvement. He maintained “if you don’t resist, you won’t make change, and we all kept hope that change was coming.” He went on to say that “without hope, we’d be condemned to an unending hell.” Miles felt the resistance was “a way to deal with the social chaos; a way to make yourself a part of the massive push for change.”

Many protesters were “so passionate about our fight against the authorities,” wrote Miles. He added some said “the resistance movement was worth dying for just to end the insanity,” but he made it clear he “had no intention of letting it get that bad.” Miles felt his actions were “worth the fight for the cause of justice and freedom” but noted there were limits that did not involve personal harm or worse. It appeared this participant had reached his breaking point in 1982 when he moved with his new family to the Republic of Ireland.

Table 22

Structural Descriptions for Participant E

Structural descriptions	Themes
Our resistance was a way to deal with the social chaos; a way to make yourself a part of the massive push for change.	Coping
Without hope, we'd be condemned to an unending hell.	Hope

Composite Textural-Structural Descriptions for Participant E

The lived experience description submitted by participant H, Miles, provided a vivid account of the phenomenon of protest as well as the meanings that he associated with these protest actions. An extensive review of the transcripts and field notes that captured details of the engagement provided themes and essences that emerged from his involvement in protest actions. The primary essences that surfaced through Miles' descriptions, both textural and structural, were identified as social identity, coping, fear, hope, and perseverance.

Table 23

Composite Descriptions for Participant E

Composite descriptions	Themes
Derived from textural and structural experiences	Coping Perseverance Social Identity Hope

Participants F (Monica), G (Roisín), and H (Sara)

Biographical Information

Participants F, G, and H were part of a focus group of individuals who took part in protest actions against the Falls Road curfew that occurred in the summer of 1970.

Three women, ages 66, 67, and 71 respectively, sat for this 2-hour engagement that took

place in the Tar Anall Community Center in the Conway Mills building in west Belfast.

The meeting was emotional and rich with recollections of their experiences.

In July 1970, after days of curfew imposition, hundreds of women marched to the British army's curfew boundaries and physically removed the barbed-wire barricades to deliver provisions such as bread, milk, and nappies (diapers) to fellow community members trapped in confines of the Falls Road. As a response to a soldier yelling to protesters "you have no business here", Participant H, (Sara) replied, "we will not lie down and stand for this treatment of our people."

Table 24

Significant Statements/Meaning Units for Participants F, G, and H

Significant statements	Meaning units
Leaders were asking everyone to come out to help the people of the Falls Road	Community
The British army actions were unforgivable.	Anger; fear
Did they not know or care what they were doing to the population?	Anger; solidarity
There was so much anger at what they had done to our community.	Anger; community
It was incredible how people from all areas supported our plight.	Community
We wanted to change things.	Change-agency; hope
We wanted our kids to get an education and remain in Ireland to fight for more changes.	Conviction; hope; community
We believed after a time that there was nothing we couldn't do.	Achievement; strength
We were from Belfast 11 and 12 (postal codes BT11 and BT12) and we were the center of protest.	Community
We were not afraid. We would resist in any way we were able.	Strength; achievement
Our weapon was resistance.	Community
We couldn't live through those times without being Catholics.	Faith; hope

Textural Descriptions for Participants F, G, and H

Participants F, G, and H made up the focus group of women who provided aid to fellow nationalists during the Falls Road curfew of July 1970. This engagement was the longest, over 2 hours, during which the women provided a passionate recounting of their

experiences during the early days of military normalization in Belfast. Due to the very nature of a focus group containing several members, the responses often vary depending on the personality and character of the individual participants. This case was no different.

Participant F, Monica, a former resident of Falls Road area, was low key but very incisive. Participant G, Roisín, originally from the Ballymurphy estates, was outspoken and very calculating. She chose her words carefully. Participant H, Sara, also from Ballymurphy, came across as aggressive, uncensored, with outbursts of anger at some recollections. All participants showed great respect for me and for each other. Some disagreement did occur with regard to political interpretations but all agreed on the matters related to the events that took place. Responses from this engagement were recorded as a group response as well as individual replies from the participants.

According to the group, the first recall was the “the older folks running about from door to door to spread the word as fast as possible,” Sara stated. She went on to say, “the best word to describe it was excitement.” “We (Roisín and Sara) were only in our teens and early 20s, and wouldn’t have carried out any action without some direction from an older person,” they said. Sara and Roisin went on to say, “Máire Drumm, one of the more respected women in the Ballymurphy estate, gathered everyone together to say, ‘we have to go help the Falls Road people trapped in their houses.’ ‘They need our help, we must go to set them free,’” they both recalled. “I (Sara) said to my sister, what are we gonna do when the soldiers line up to stop us like they always do?” Sara hinted that the “excitement” was beginning to turn into “apprehension.” “That Friday night passed without any further action, but Saturday morning we all met in the round (central plaza of

the estate) and we were getting directions on what to do and what not to do,” they remembered.

The group provided details of how they marched down the road with prams (baby carriages) full of milk and bread. At the Springfield Road, “the barricade was fortified and well-guarded,” they stated. The women tried to break the barricade but “the soldiers stopped them.” It was at that point the protesters “returned to their neighborhoods back up the road.” The women continued to provide details of how back in Ballymurphy, “Máire Drumm took full control of the protest march.” Sunday morning brought with it another march down the Falls Road to the curfew area. This time, “hundreds of women reached the barbed wire at the same moment,” they said. During this attempt, according to the group, “the soldiers were unable or unwilling to repel the marchers.” “I tell you, my heart almost exploded with determination,” Roisín remembered as she pulled and stomped on the barbed wire.

The entire neighborhood cheered or cried when the women stormed the curfew zone with provisions. “You’d think we liberated Paris, during the Great War for the love of the Lord,” recounted Monica. So many women had “disregarded their own safety,” they said. The group went on to say, “many were bloodied from the wire barricades or from falling in the pile of rubble on the street.” “Young and old, they were so unwavering,” the women remembered. I still believe it was “quite the accomplishment,” Roisín added.

That began the “series of protest activities that continue today,” Sara remarked. “I remember I used to leave my 18-month old daughter with my sisters and not return for 2

or 3 days because I was off either protesting or helping families of prisoners.” “I was more afraid of what my mother might say to me than I was of some British squaddie (soldier),” she quipped. Sara remarked, “that (protesting) was just what we had to do during those times, do you understand?”

Roisín carefully explained, how they protested against the Catholic clergy when the parish priest refused to offer prayers for the republican hunger strikers. “I asked Father Curtin for prayers and he slammed the church door on my finger.” “Look here,” she said. “I still have the scar.” “All this protest and the strength in numbers for a cause began when we busted the curfew,” they affirmed.

The group continued on with descriptions of protest actions that were as recent as funding cuts for certain cultural programs to the Brexit vote where a referendum occurred to remove Great Britain from the European Union. Although this information provided rich descriptions of the nonviolent actions, I felt the data fell well outside the confines of this study. Consequently, I listened and recorded, but no further notes were extracted from this part of the focus group meeting.

Table 25

Textural Descriptions for Participants F, G and H

Textural descriptions	Themes
I tell you, my heart almost exploded with determination.	Perseverance
Hundreds of women reached the barbed wire at the same moment; the soldiers were unable or unwilling to repel the marchers.	Social identity
That (protesting) was just what we had to do during those times.	Coping

Structural Descriptions for Participants F, G, and H

“I was so bloody angry,” one focus group member recalled describing her feelings after the army had barricaded her “neighbors.” As a group, the women noted that “they never actively resisted anything before the curfew, but since that time “they have never stopped engaging in social or political reform.” The group added that, “once you realize how influential you become through such actions, it gets in your blood.” “It becomes a part of you.”

The group told about how the marching chant was, “if you hate the British army, clap your hands.” They sang this chant and others like “We Sang Overcome” to relieve some of the anxiety as they proceeded down the road to the curfew zone where they knew armed troops would greet them. The group unanimously responded to the question about being afraid for personal safety with a “No.” The group added the marchers “were more concerned about the curfewed nationalists than they were for their own safety.” “We just reacted to this cry for help from our neighbors,” the women of the focus group indicated. All participants agreed they could not sit back and let this take place without taking action.

According to the group, the curfew was the point when “the British army turned on the nationalist community, and things were never the same after that.” The marchers tried to break down the barricades at the Springfield and Falls Road on Saturday, but the “soldiers pushed us back,” they recollected. The next day, Sunday, the women reported being more organized “with more marchers and some crude tools to remove the barbed wire fence.” As a community, “we felt so powerful, once we got ourselves all sorted out,”

the women replied. “We were fighting for change; there was nothing we couldn’t do,” they all agreed.

Each member of the group believed they made a difference and the community evolved into a better place as a result of their efforts. “We are all very respected because of our activism in the community,” they added. “If we looked back to that time of the curfew, we were oblivious to the long-term benefits of protesting.” They continued, at that point, “we were just trying to save our own people.” “We were a bit desperate because we never knew what a force we’d become.” Afterwards, they agreed, “we learned how political environments functioned and carried through with concerted efforts to make change in our society.” Sara emotionally warned, “the British will always rue the day that they oppressed our community because we answered with vengeance and vindication.”

All participants in the focus group discussed how being Catholic contributed to their constitution as change-makers. “We couldn’t live through those times without being Catholic,” they recalled. “The faith, the strength, the fight, the determination all came from our religion,” they concurred. That is exactly “what Mother Teresa had taught us.” This was new information to me. The women explained that the Missionaries of Charity had set up a mission in west Belfast to help the poor and struggling of the area in 1971. One of those ministers of mercy was Mother Teresa who spent 18 months tending to the poor of the Falls Road and Ballymurphy areas. Each participant admitted to being touched by her “as a nun for our people” promoting “faith and encouragement during some very difficult times of suffering in the community.”

Table 26

Structural Descriptions for Participants F, G, and H

Structural descriptions	Themes
We couldn't live through those times without being Catholic. We just reacted to this cry for help from our neighbors. We were fighting for change; there was nothing we couldn't do. I was so bloody angry.	Faith; coping Social identity; empowerment Anger

Composite Textural-Structural Descriptions for Participant F, G and H

The focus group that took place with Participants F (Monica), G (Roisín), and H (Sara), provided a vivid account of the phenomenon of protest as well as the meanings that they associated with these protest actions. An extensive review of the transcripts and field notes that captured details of the engagement provided themes and essences associated with their protest against the Falls Road curfew. The primary essences that surfaced through the descriptions of Monica, Roisin, and Sara, both textural and structural, were identified as social identity, coping, empowerment, perseverance, faith, and anger.

Table 27

Composite Descriptions for Participant F, G, and H

Composite descriptions	Themes
Derived from textural and structural experiences	Social identity Coping Empowerment Perseverance Faith

Participant I (Brendan)**Biographical Information**

Participant I, Brendan, was a 65-year old male former resident of Derry who was an artist as well as a teacher of art. This respondent marched against internment, witnessed the barricade clearance resulting from Operation Motorman, actively protested criminalization of the republican prisoners, and continued to march through the campaign for removal of British troops from the Northern Ireland. He stated that the “community violation that took place during Operation Motorman brought up images of Kristallnacht in 1930s Nazi Germany.”

Table 28:

Significant Statements/Meaning Units for Participant I

Significant statements	Meaning units
I had to do something. So, I marched whenever I could.	Desperation
At times, I was afraid not to protest, but afraid to protest.	Confusion
When the barricades came down, we felt all sorts of violated; we had to do something.	Anger; fear
I wanted to let everyone know that we were not happy with the situation and we were showing it by our marching. We were tired of all the fight, the conflict, the insanity and the futility. Internment ended and criminalization ended ...as it was. I suppose we made some headway towards change.	Chaos; frustration
We were all about to go mental, don't you know.	Accomplishment;
We couldn't just sit and let our lives be feckin wrecked by these bastards.	change-agency
They can't ignore us forever.... Someone had to hear us.	
The protests that went off without conflict or violence were more effective than the armed conflict.	Desperation; frustration
I felt like the resistance (movement) was turning a corner.	Desperation; frustration
The hunger strikes were over. The prisoners finally got their demands, and hard republicans were winning elections.	Conviction; hope
But people power came to the fore later as the marches firmed up.	Hope
There was a bit of solidarity throughout the community through marching.	Accomplishment; hope
	Accomplishment
	Strength; community

Textural Descriptions for Participant I

Brendan, from Derry City, became enraged at the security operations that included internment, Motorman, and the criminalization of prisoners. He claimed he would resist these policies as much as possible but admitted he could not find it in himself to join a paramilitary organization and inflict bodily harm to another person. Brendan finally found it necessary to take part in the marches against internment, because, as he said, “young lads and men were being lifted for shite reasons.”

According to Brenden, the Derry environment of resistance provided ample opportunity to display dissatisfaction with the human condition. He explained, “you’d find a flyer or bill posted showing the day and time of each march.” He went on, “me and my mates would go march for the excitement of it all.” “We felt like we were doing something to change things,” he shared. “It was better than sitting there doin’ nothing but whining about the Brits and their shite treatment of us all,” he added.

Brendan’s disdain for security policy became galvanized as he watched the army remove the barricades from the no-go area in the summer of 1972. He likened the devastation to the military sweeps that occurred in Nazi Germany in the late 1930s. “It was such an overkill of military force on the part of the army,” he recalled. Brendan added, “Operation Motorman made every nationalist want to fight the British any way possible.”

Brendan revealed the original excitement changed to purposeful demonstrations after the security policies “continued to subjugate the community.” “Internment started to subside but thousands of men and, after a bit, the strong women as well, were still getting

lifted,” he declared. Brendan admitted for a time, “the marches got a bit dicey with the folks at the head of the march getting roughed up by police or soldiers.”

The prison protests that lead to the hunger strikes increased the “urgency” of the protesters, according to Brendan. The size of the marches was impressive and “the security forces were quite unsettled.” Brendan stated, “I was certain a riot would break out during some of the protests.” It appeared at the “time of the anti-H-Block marches more people were willing to risk their own safety to be a part of the protests,” Brendan supposed.

Brendan also mused how he continued to protest well beyond the hunger strike of 1981. He told how he continued to protest during the movement to de-militarize Northern Ireland. Brendan noted his last protest march took place in 1994 to coincide with the cease fires. The cease fires led to the peace talks that brought about the Good Friday Agreement. “My work was finished,” he said. “I was tired and wanted to just rest and become pensioned.” “It was a bit of a tough climb all that marching to change things,” he concluded.

Table 29

Textural Descriptions for Participant I

Textural descriptions	Themes
It (protesting) was better than sitting there doin’ nothing but whining about the Brits	Coping
By the time of the anti-H-Block marches more people were willing to risk their own safety to be a part of the protests.	Social Identity
It was a bit of a tough climb all that marching to change things.	Perseverance

Structural Descriptions for Participant I

Brendan, confided that he felt conflicted because after some marches, police and soldiers were arresting protesters. He claimed he was “afraid not to protest and afraid to protest, going a bit mental from my fears.” “Mind you, I wouldn’t have let on to anyone that I was afraid to protest.” “I just kept quiet about it,” Brendan added. “I can tell you to see the soldiers with rifles that were 2 meters long was unsettling as a well,” he continued. After Bloody Sunday, “I was scared senseless to march,” he confessed. This respondent told how the troop installation started the anxiety, which was followed by internment; and internment led into Motorman which Brendan believed was “nothing less than a violation of an entire community.”

After Operation Motorman, Brendan protested criminalization through the 1981 hunger strikes that he described as “the heaviest weight on my heart.” “I felt a passion for the prisoners as well as their families who had to watch their loved ones die,” he lamented. Brendan described how he would get physically ill when a hunger striker approached his end. “I would actually bok (vomit) in the morning or double over in pain, I felt so much anguish.” It was “almost unbearable,” he noted as his voice started to crack with emotion.

“I kept involved (in the protests) because I felt I had to mend a wrong,” Brendan stated. He added, “there was a point or a statement we had to make through our protests.” Brendan tried to explain his reasons for participating in the movement. “We couldn’t just sit and let our lives be feckin wrecked by these bastards (British security).” Brendan, detailed the nationalists’ grievances, such as “unfair treatment.” He went on to ask, “Where was the justice?” or “Where was the equality.” Brendan expressed what so many

other Catholic nationalists stated that “their community was treated as 2nd class citizens.” Brendan and so many protesters seemed determined to change this condition. He summed matters up saying “our actions were in protest of the imbalanced treatment in the Northern (nationalist) society.”

Brendan believed the entire political system was “rigged against Catholic nationalists.” He also asserted the conditions that gave rise to an entire protest movement were engineered through unequal application of law and general neglect at the hands of the British government. Brendan decried. “the government needed to administer like a democratic government ought to.”

Table 30

Structural Descriptions for Participant I

Structural descriptions	Themes
We couldn't just sit and let our lives be feckin wrecked by these bastards (British security).	Frustration; Coping
Our actions were in protest of the imbalanced treatment in the Northern (nationalist) society.	Anger

Composite Textural-Structural Descriptions for Participant I

The face-to-face interview that took place with Participant I, Brendan, provided a vivid account of the phenomenon of protest as well as the meanings that he associated with these protest actions. An extensive review of the transcripts and field notes that captured details of the engagement provided emergent themes and essences drawn from his protest experiences. The primary essences that surfaced through Brendan's descriptions, both textural and structural, were identified as social identity, coping, anger, and perseverance.

Table 31

Composite Descriptions for Participant I

Composite descriptions	Themes
Derived from textural and structural experiences	Coping Social Identity Perseverance Anger

Participant J (Eugene)**Biographical Information**

Participant J was a 67-year old former republican prisoner who joined the blanket and no-wash protests against criminalization. He was an active member of a paramilitary organization imprisoned for weapons and explosives possession. This respondent refused to meet me in the Central Library in Derry because of its government affiliation. As a result of this inclination, our interview took place in a private room at a local coffee and tea shop. Eugene recalled that the prisoner's "protest was more psychological than physical."

Eugene presented the most challenging engagement that occurred throughout this study. Eugene, a former republican prison protester, came across as the most combative, contrary, suspicious, and disrespectful of all the individuals who contributed to this endeavor. Eugene accused me of being a member of MI6, the British espionage bureau, or as a contributor to the Boston College Belfast Project, a collection of interviews submitted by former republican and loyalist operatives memorializing activities during the civil strife in Northern Ireland.

Although the engagement last almost 2 hours, the actual interview portion barely reached 55 minutes. The remaining time was spent parsing words and phrases and arguing over the value of some of the interview questions. There were several periods of “dead air” from which either interviewer and respondent (or both) were contemplating an abrupt end to this face-to-face interview. The meeting with Eugene, nevertheless, provided a vivid description of the republican prison protests that took place from 1978 through the hunger strikes of 1981. The theatrics that occurred during the interview only added more richness, in retrospect.

Table 32

Significant Statements/Meaning Units for Participant J

Significant statements	Meaning units
The prison protests were another method of engaging our foe on their own pitch.	Conviction
A mental battle commenced through acts of defiance and noncooperation.	Discipline
As a result (of our protests), a less subjugated existence came about.	Achievement
Protesting in prison was safer than taking part in a mission in the field.	Apprehension
The republican prisoners were determined to continue to defy the staff in any way.	Principle
The turning point in our pursuit for justice and respect arrived, eventually, as a result of the hunger strikes.	Achievement; conviction
I want the next generation to live without fear of subjugation, injustice and violence.	Hope; community
Surely, everyone found their own part in the struggle.	Community

Textural Descriptions for Participant J

Eugene was a republican prisoner on the blanket and no-wash protests who employed a non-cooperation method of resistance. He stated these were actions taken to protest the criminalization of prisoners. Prior to the new criminalization policy, formally

known as the withdrawal of Special Category Status, inmates were considered prisoners of war for committing political crimes. Eugene explained that the removal of Special Category Status was an effort on the part of the “British government to break the will of the prisoners.” Likewise, the prisoner protests were a counter measure to “break the will of the prison staff,” he added. Eugene explained the defiance was an attempt to “erode their (the prison personnel) control structure.”

The protests forced the staff to perform more work or work that was unpleasant which made their jobs, according to Eugene, “more anxious and less tolerable.” As a result, “the warders became furious with our protest strategies, and vented their frustrations on us physically,” Eugene explained. He went on to say, “we were driving the warders mad, which was delightful in itself.” The republican leadership in prison, realized the protest had to “ratchet up the pressure on the prison staff and the authorities,” Eugene remarked, which “led to the decision to call for the hunger strike (1980).”

Eugene stressed the point that the prisoners were already actively and physically resisting the British rule throughout the Northern Ireland, and the “incarceration of these individuals was not going to make them stop resisting.” The protests became “a sort of antagonizing game for the prisoners,” Eugene went on to say. The hunger strikes, however, “amplified the urgency and the attention for our crusade for a better condition, inside and outside the prison walls,” he added.

Eugene commented that he found the “oneness of cause” the most remarkable outcomes for the republican prison protests. He added, “we came from varied places, geographically and ideologically, but in our cells, all our differences disappeared.”

Apparently, republican prisoners congealed around the premise that the prison staff and British authorities were considered a common enemy. Within the penal system, prisoners did what they could to “continue the fight for justice,” Eugene continued. This respondent’s recollections added credence to the republican mantra of “a stone-mason won’t break us” when describing their stance on the tactics of non-cooperation.

Table 33

Textural Descriptions for Participant J

Textural descriptions	Themes
Incarceration of these individuals (Irish rebels) was not going to make them stop resisting.	Perseverance
(Prison protests) amplified the urgency and the attention for our crusade for a better condition, inside and outside the prison walls.	Social Identity
The protests became a sort of antagonizing game for the prisoners.	Retribution
A stone-mason won’t break us.	Perseverance

Structural Descriptions for Participant J

Eugene explained the republican prisoners “saw all the protests as a means to an end.” He continued, “we felt compelled to stand up against the mischaracterization (criminalization) and the mistreatment in prison,” and added, “to sit and do nothing was unthinkable.” “Protesting was our way to deal with the abuse,” Eugene confided.

When asked about his concern for his own safety, Eugene responded, “I was willing to sacrifice my safety for the greater cause of liberty.” He also made a point of comparing his experiences in prison with those of a paramilitary member saying, “protesting in prison was safer than taking part in a mission in the field.” It is worth noting that all respondents (prisoners and non-prisoners) provided similar answers related

to personal safety in that activists persisted in spite of the dangers to which they exposed themselves.

Eugene was compelled to explain how “the republican prison population was determined to defy the staff in any way it could.” This perseverance brought about an environment where “tension and animosity infected the relationship between prisoner and warder.” What was left as a result of all this antagonism and conflict was, according to Eugene, “an atmosphere of war pervading the entire cell block.”

Eugene also confessed that one of the outcomes of the prison protests was the prisoners “gained respect and dignity” from authorities and outsiders who observed the struggle. In many ways, Eugene added, “we proved we were not common criminals; that we had a real cause; that we were dedicated to that cause of justice and fair treatment.” He continued the “cause was about more than our prison struggle.” “It was about the fight for our people against the crown forces.”

“Our effort was a way to gain power in the battle of control in the prison system which was used for momentum to make reform on a larger political scale,” Eugene insisted. “Other republican groups claimed their momentum in the pursuit of election contests, and this worked out quite well in the long run,” Eugene opined. As a point of clarification, this statement was an acknowledgement that the IRA sympathizers and its members had finally agreed to run in free elections which occurred when Bobby Sands contested the vacant Fermanagh-South Tyrone parliament seat. Eugene was a member of the Irish Republican Socialist Party which had already contested elections prior to Sands’

election. Eugene concluded by confiding “our struggle was one that would provide a better life for the next generation.”

Table 34

Structural Descriptions for Participant J

Textural descriptions	Themes
Protesting was our way to deal with the abuse.	Coping
The republican prison population was determined to defy the staff in any way it could.	Perseverance
Our effort was a way to gain power in the battle of control in the prison system which was used for momentum to make reform on a larger political scale.	Empowerment
Our struggle was one that would provide a better life for the next generation.	Social Identity

Composite Textural-Structural Descriptions for Participant J

The face-to-face interview with Participant J, Eugene, provided a vivid account of the phenomenon of protest as well as the meanings that he associated with these protest actions. An extensive review of the transcripts and field notes that captured details of the engagement provided themes and essences engendered from his participation in the prison protests. The primary essences that surfaced through Eugene’s descriptions, both textural and structural, were identified as social identity, coping, empowerment, perseverance, and retribution.

Table 35

Composite Descriptions for Participant J

Composite descriptions	Themes
Derived from textural and structural experiences	Social Identity Retribution Perseverance Empowerment Coping

Participant K (Máire)

Biographical Information

Máire, participant K, was a 64-year old female originally from Derry City who joined dozens of street marches protesting internment and criminalization policies. She mentioned that the street marches became so well-organized people looked forward to becoming involved in the rallies. When the subject of personal safety was raised in our interview, she replied, “after Bloody Sunday, was anyone really safe?” Máire moved from Derry City in 2005.

Table 36

Significant Statements/Meaning Units for Participant K

Significant statements	Meaning units
It was quite amazing to see so many different folks.... but at the same time, I saw neighbors I knew, schoolmates, an uncle, and three or four older cousins.	Community
More people came out cause of being so angry over what happened in 1972 (Bloody Sunday).	Anger; community
Once the (1981) hunger strike began we had to take the prisoners' side. What else was there to do? We had to protest!!!	Anger; community; Retaliation
I tell you the tension was the fierce. On every side.	Anxiety
But as angry as we were, other people had it worse. They were raging mad.	Anxiety; anger
The tension from the anger was thick in every breath.	Anxiety
The madness had to stop. Somebody, or one side, had to stop. This just went on and on. It was just a deadly draw (stalemate).	Frustration
My God, we were wretched angry creatures. And the Brits were heartless, soulless rulers!!!	Anger; frustration
We could show (through protest) the authorities that we wouldn't stand for this sort of treatment.	Achievement
But we were willing to do almost anything to make it end.	Desperation
I want to believe that between the strikers, the protests and the huge momentum that gathered against the prolonged hungers strike, we had something to do with a common good.	Achievement
Everyone has a point that brings them right to the brink. I tell you, the way we were treated drove most people mental.... the hard men (sic) and the peaceful ones.	Anxiety
Everyone had some contribution to make (to ending the injustice).	Community

Textural Descriptions for Participant K

Máire described that on the first day of internment “we felt helpless, confused, angry, and the wits were frightened right out of us.” After the number of arrests had diminished, matters had settled down, “we sort of looked at each other and were wondering how the British authorities could come in and lift all these men,” Máire said. She explained how initially, her parents prohibited her participation in protests for fear of physical harm. However, one day, she recounted, she heard the noise of the bullhorns and, in spite of her mother’s objections, ran to the protest march with her younger sister. Máire added that “the men and older boys would direct the girls and older women to the center of the marching crowd as a form of protection.”

Máire also provided details of how organized the marches became and how “the man on the speaker said to keep your senses and not give the bastards (soldiers) any reason to get violent.” “It was something to watch, all the different people coming together,” Máire said. “I would see neighbors, schoolmates, uncles, and cousins at the marches,” she added. Máire said she enjoyed “the chanting or singing that took place during the marches” or as she called them, “rallies.” These songs included “We Shall Overcome” and “Give Ireland Back to the Irish” and “If I Had a Hammer,” she said. At the end of the rallies, “men and women would have speeches about civil rights, the law, order, peace, and the evil of oppression,” Máire continued.

“Protesting criminalization was a bit different,” according to Máire, “because we were older and were beginning to get political.” She expressed how the criminalization policy “didn’t make sense.” “Some inmates were prisoners of war and others were not.”

During the 1981 hunger strike, “we had to take the side of the prisoners.” “There was no way we were not going to agitate in the streets for their cause,” Máire noted. “I will tell you this,” she added, “we weren’t singing during the hunger strikes.” “It was a much more somber setting,” Máire recalled.

Máire went on to say that some sort of mini-protest always took place within the larger protests. She noted that there was almost always some minor incident that ended in arrest. “Most times, it was an older man, and occasionally an older woman, who just stood by and defied an order by the authorities.” She added, “it would be someone who ignored the directions of a soldier or policeman to stay away from this corner (intersection), or this building, or to get back within the protesting pack.” “I started to think that this was done intentionally,” she continued. “As I got older, the organizers explained to me that this was done to allow the soldiers to vent when matters became a bit tense,” she said. “I thought of this person as the sacrificial lamb, who offered himself (sic) up on behalf of the rest of us,” she said. “I remember some of the soldiers were quite brutal to these decoys.” “They’d get roughed up and hauled away.” She questioned, “Who volunteers to get beat up and hauled off to gaol (jail)?” Máire ended our engagement by stressing to me “the dedication and sacrifice of some people was (sic) inspiring to so many of us.”

Table 37

Textural Descriptions for Participant K

Textural descriptions	Themes
I would see neighbors, schoolmates, uncles, and cousins at the marches.	Social Identity

We had to take the side of the prisoners. There was no way we were not going to agitate in the streets for their cause,	Social Identity
The dedication and sacrifice of some people was (sic) inspiring to so many of us.	Perseverance

Structural Descriptions for Participant K

Máire exclaimed, “it was a bit of excitement and new to us – the marches and all,” in reference to her involvement in the protests against internment. Máire’s demeanor changed quickly when she and her younger sister fully participated in the anti-internment protests. “I was actually very nervous and fearful.” “I was only 18 years old and did not know what to expect,” Máire told me. She added, “I also feared for my younger sister, who was also frightened but very rash.” At one point, Máire said, “my sister was crying and cursing the soldiers at the same time.” “It was very confusing and frightening.” And on another occasion, the presence of “so many soldiers lining the streets almost made me go mental.” she added. Máire suggested this fear took hold of her because of what had occurred on Bloody Sunday months earlier where British troops fired on marchers killing 14 unarmed civilians.

Máire explained she and many others brought a “good deal of anger into the marches from the lifting of so many men and boys in the Bogside.” Máire believed that the community endured so much through internment that the citizens “felt obligated to be part of something to fight back.” “We couldn’t just stand by and be violated by the soldiers,” she explained. “I was willing to do anything (against the authorities) to prevent this kind of shite (random arrests) from happening,” Máire described. “You could sense the level of determination in all of us.” “We felt like an invincible army.” “Our

movement had grown (matured) so much; mostly due to the organization of things,” she boasted.

Máire also recalled the cohesiveness of the nationalist community. “Everyone banded together to take care of one another,” Máire said. She also tried to convey the meaning of that extended community. Máire explained, “men were being lifted from everywhere, and you knew it meant heartache for that family.” “And the anguish was felt by everyone; our neighbors in the Bogside; in Belfast; and for the *culchies* (Irish slang for rural people) between,” she described. She said they all had the mindset “whatever you do to the least of my brethren, you do unto me,” (referencing the book of Matthew in the New Testament). “We felt each other’s pain, and we fought to protect one another,” she added.

Máire contrasted the moods that were prevalent during the internment protests versus the criminalization protests during the hunger strikes. We were singing and clapping during the early day of the internment marches,” but years later when Máire was older with children of her own, she recalled, “the tension was fierce during the hunger strikes.” “I was frightened out of my mind some sort of eruption or riot was going to take place.” She added, “the emotions were just that powerful.” Máire continued by saying, “It was a deadly draw (stalemate), and we all wanted the madness to stop.” Máire bemoaned, “those hunger strikers were so young.” “They never got to be old men.” Máire concluded, “it was very sad and emotional for all of us; we were so sullen and feeling desperate during those protests (over the hunger strikes).” Máire became quite overcome with emotion by the end of the interview.

Table 38

Structural Descriptions for Participant K

Structural descriptions	Themes
Whatever you do to the least of my brethren, you do unto me. (The citizens) felt obligated to be part of something to fight back. Everyone banded together to take care of one another. We felt like an invincible army.	Faith Coping Social identity Empowerment

Composite Textural-Structural Descriptions for Participant K

The face-to-face interview with Participant K, Maire, provided vivid accounts of the phenomenon of protest as well as the meanings that she associated with these protest actions. An extensive review of the transcripts and field notes that captured details of the engagement provided themes and essences created through Maire's protest actions. The primary essences that surfaced through Maire's descriptions, both textural and structural, were identified as social identity, coping, empowerment, faith, and perseverance.

Table 39

Composite Descriptions for Participant K

Composite descriptions	Themes
Derived from textural and structural experiences	Social identity Coping Perseverance Faith Empowerment

Participant L (Brída)**Biographical Information**

Brída was a 92-year old female originally from Derry City. She was the oldest individual who took part in this study and provided details of her participation in marches

against internment and the criminalizing of republican prisoners. Brída described the trauma of what she witnessed during Operation Motorman, the army’s removal of urban barricades in nationalist neighborhoods, and referred to this operation as “the vilest use of force on civilians you could imagine.” As a result of failing health, Brída moved from Northern Ireland to live in Canada with her daughter and to be closer to other friends and relations originally from the Derry vicinity who had also relocated to the same area.

Table 40

Significant Statements/Meaning Units for Participant L

Significant statements	Meaning units
My protests were against the Motorman clearance and internment. It was chaotic.	Confusion; Anxiety
The humiliation of Motorman was a horrible violation of our homes. That made me get involved in the protests.	Anxiety; community
I like to believe that the actions of the street protests played a role in the end of internment.	Conviction; achievement
We were one voice to end the ill-treatment that our men, and women, received at the hands of the authorities.	Community
I would pray every night that it (the 1981 hunger strike) would end.	Faith; hope
The more attention we received from news outlets and television spots, the more cooperation we got from outside sources.	Achievement
An elderly fellow kept saying that our sacrifice is greater than ourselves.	Community
I was an instrument of peace (from St. Francis Prayer).	Faith
We knew we had to get to a better place.	Conviction; achievement
If we look at our struggle in long-terms, contested offices might be the best outcome of all we did.	Achievement
None of this (peace process) would have happened if we didn’t take it to the streets and confront the invading army.	Achievement

Textural Descriptions for Participant L

Brída was married and raising a family of her own by the time the Troubles began in the Northern Ireland. She maintained that she was able to stay away from the civil

rights protests and the protests that occurred at the onset of internment, mostly at the insistence of her husband. She confessed that a nerve had been struck when Operation Motorman plowed through the neighborhoods with armored tanks as well as industrial and military equipment. Brída said, “I couldn’t take it any longer; and I couldn’t watch it all and do nothing.” “I started to join the street protests at that point,” she added.

Brída then described what would occur during a protest. “The organizers directed us where we would start and end the march; what to do; what not to do; where we would meet up afterwards; and the like.” “It was all quite impressive,” Brída noted. She went on to explain, “We’d meet on William Street or by the Guildhall and the march instructions would begin.” She continued, “I didn’t really march until after (Operation) Motorman.” “But internment was still going on so that march was against internment, but we were still erupting (furious) for what they done with Motorman.”

Brída recalled that “the marches began smaller but grew in numbers as time passed.” Brída also remembered, “when internment had slowed down and eventually ended, I thought I was done protesting.” Brída explained how the authorities then made the republican prisoners common criminals which “was not right because the struggles were always a political battle.” Brída described how she did not get back into the marches until the hunger strikes began in 1980 and 1981.

Brída went on to describe how a mood of urgency had prevailed over the hunger strike marches. “The feeling was quite desperate,” she recalled. “The 1980 strike ended around Christmas, and no one had died because the prisoners called it off,” Brída explained, “but the hunger strike they called the next Spring was different. “We marched

praying, pleading, demanding the government reinstate Special Category (Status), otherwise these young men were going to die,” she said. Brída added, “the prisoners were not going to back down.” “We all knew that way back then.”

Table 41

Textural Descriptions for Participant L

Textural descriptions	Themes
I couldn't take it any longer; and I couldn't watch it all and do nothing.	Coping
We were still erupting (furious) for what they done with Motorman. We marched praying, pleading, demanding the government reinstate Special Category (Status), otherwise these young men were going to die.	Anger Social identity

Structural Descriptions for Participant L

Brída had already developed feelings associated with the conflict before she began to protest. She said, “my three children had left the north of Ireland, and I knew they would never return to endure the chaos.” Brída added, “I already developed a resentment for the Troubles and the toll it took on my family.” But Brída pointed to Operation Motorman as the event that triggered her desire to get involved with the protest marches. “The humiliation of (Operation) Motorman was a personal violation,” She said. Brída continued, “We heard soldiers yelling, equipment roaring, gunshots fired.” “It was terrifying,” she recalled.

Brída admitted her “feelings went from resentment and hatred to a political strategy on how to change this mess we lived in.” During the protests, she recalled she “acted a bit more courageous than the younger women and girls.” “I was much older,” she added. Despite her more mature status among many protesters, Brída commented the

protest marches “could strike some fear in a person, because you never knew how the soldiers would react (towards the marchers).” “Bloody Sunday had taken place earlier in the year where people died when the soldiers opened fire,” she explained. As a result, Brída said, “we had no assurances against some violence coming to us.” “At times, I was sick to my stomach with nerves,” she recalled.

Brída also noted the amount of camaraderie she experienced. She explained, “it was exciting and powerful to see everyone coming together from all over the community.” Brída went on to provide details of the march’s diverse makeup saying, “there were old and young, doctors, nurses, veterinarians, nuns, priests, coalmen, lorrymen (truck drivers), men from all the trades, householders (domestic help), factory women, city and farm people.” “It was invigorating and almost spiritual the way we all came together,” Brída remembered. “It was so inspiring,” she mused. “The way we felt, a million soldiers couldn’t stop us,” Brída exclaimed.

As time wore on, Brída explained, “we were all becoming weak with despair, sorrow, and fear, but we helped one another press on (continue).” “It wasn’t so much the excitement any more as it was our moral situation – our obligation,” she revealed. Brída added, “Somehow, we all held it together and kept on marching.” “We depended so much on one another to get through it all,” she stated. “Protesting helped us keep the faith that something could change,” she said. “Our marching and demonstrating was a bit purifying,” she confessed.

As the prison protests led to the hunger strikes, Brída explained the mood of the protests took on a different air. She said, “I tell you my heart was in my throat every

afternoon we marched.” Brída continued by saying, “I was in my fifties; a tough and hardened Derry woman, and I cried almost every night during the hunger strikes.” she admitted, “It was pure heartache.” “It was shameful.” She also exclaimed, “if our good God gave me one wish to use one time in my life, I would have ended the hunger strikes before any of those men died.” “We were in such a desperate hour,” she muttered in a voice hardly audible. “It almost made you lose all faith in mankind.” “But we didn’t; we kept on marching.” she concluded. The degree of conviction that Brída and her colleagues demonstrated was impressive which was not unlike several of the other participants in the study.

Table 42

Structural Descriptions for Participant L

Structural descriptions	Themes
Protest marches could strike some fear in a person, because you never knew how the soldiers would react (towards the marchers).	Fear
It was exciting and powerful to see everyone coming together from all over the community.	Empowerment
It almost made you lose all faith in mankind. But we didn’t; we kept on marching.	Perseverance

Composite Textural-Structural Descriptions for Participant L

The face-to-face interview with Participant L, Brída, provided vivid accounts of the phenomenon of protest as well as the meanings that she associated with these protest actions. An extensive review of the transcripts and field notes that captured details of the engagement provided themes and essences resulting from Brída’s experiences during street protest marches. The primary essences that surfaced through Brída’s descriptions,

both textural and structural, were identified as social identity, coping, fear, faith, perseverance, and empowerment.

Table 43

Composite Descriptions for Participant L

Composite descriptions	Themes
Derived from textural and structural experiences	Empowerment Perseverance Social identity Fear Coping Faith

Participant M (Caitriona)

Biographical Information

Caitriona was a 72-year old female originally from Derry City. Caitriona contacted me on my local telephone and asked if I could perform the interview at her residence due to some physical challenges on her part. As a result of counsel from local individuals and some instruction provided through Walden University IRB, I advised this participant that a meeting in her residence was not possible. I did deliver a Lived Experience Description (LED) form for her completion along with a self-addressed envelope with postage.

I received her completed LED and Consent Form on November 29, 2017 within which she provided information of her marches against criminalization. Caitriona's husband and brother were political prisoners held in HMS Maze prison. She recalled "protest was how we moved out from under the tyranny of the British and Stormont neglect." Caitriona now lives in the Republic of Ireland.

Table 44

Significant Statements/Meaning Units for Participant M

Significant statements	Meaning units
We wanted change. We wanted the government to treat everyone even prisoners with dignity and respect.	Anger
I believe that our complaints were heard and the attention we intended did come our way.	Achievement
Our marches were massive by that time and we were attracting attention.	Community
The nationalist community was under siege by the Unionist regime.	Community; frustration
We lived in an intolerable situation. Danger was a secondary concern.	Fear; frustration
We wanted change for a better life. In the end, how could we all whinge about danger when the hunger strikers were dying. It put matters into a graver framework.	Change-agency
The act of protest gave some of us hope that we might stand up for ourselves and make things different.	Hope
You could feel it. People from all over Europe were starting to side with the marchers and the hunger strikers.	Hope; community
The Northern nationalist cause made huge gains from these marches, and they (the marches) were a toothache for the authorities and security as well.	Achievement
I believe the nonviolent side of the resistance added legitimacy to the entire resistance movement.	Achievement

Textural Descriptions for Participant M

Catriona explained she briefly protested internment, but her parents insisted she stay out of the fray. Catriona added that she remained silent until Operation Motorman removed the barricades in Derry's Bogside. Matters became somewhat more personal when Catriona's husband and brother were republican prisoners on the blanket and no-wash protests against the new British criminalization of prisoners in Northern Ireland. Catriona noted the purpose of the anticriminalization protests were initiated to convince the "government to treat everyone, even prisoners, with respect."

Catriona wrote, "the movement against criminalization took on a larger role during the second hunger strike (1981). "The RAC (Relatives Action Committee)

marches joined with the anti-H-Block contingent which added people, organization, resources, (signs, placards, printed material), and might,” according to Catriona. In response to being concerned for her own safety Catriona replied, “I always feared for my safety, but there was a larger matter of British subjugation and oppression to address making my safety an afterthought.”

Catriona noted that in spite of the larger crowds that started to join the marches, she “was impressed by the orderliness and how well these were organized.” She also wrote it was her belief the high level of organization brought with it some respect from the soldiers. “Security would abuse us verbally and sometimes physically when our protests were smaller and scattered, but when the parties (political parties) got involved and affairs were tighter and sorted out, they (security forces) were less apt to mistreat us marchers,” she explained.

Catriona believed marching with neighbors, friends, and relatives provided a sense of “solidarity and common cause” against what the protesters felt was an “oppressive military state watching guard over its underlings.” She added, the ability to “have this one massive voice of protest gave us strength in numbers and in spirit.” Catriona concluded that progress was slow, but she believed their actions convinced people “to side with the protesters and the hunger strikers.”

Table 45

Textural Descriptions for Participant M

Textural descriptions	Themes
Protest provided a sense of solidarity and common cause	Social identity

One massive voice of protest gave us strength-in numbers and in spirit.

Strength

Structural Descriptions for Participant M

Caitriona related that emotions ran high during the protests. “When I marched against criminalization with the Relatives Action Committee (RAC), there was fierce passion in the marchers because we all had family in the H-Blocks. She wrote further that, “there was always a sense of uneasiness during a march; like something was about to happen.” Caitriona continued by writing, “before the first hunger strike (1980), little attention was given to the prison protests, but matters became quite intense in December until the strike was called off.” “The second hunger strike (1981) was very different, she continued. “We all knew neither side was prepared to back down and we also knew things would go very bad this time.”

“We felt the nationalist community was under siege by the Unionist regime,” she indicated. “The living environment was so lopsided in favor of Protestant politics, the dangers of activism were always worth the risk,” wrote Caitriona. “We lived under martial law and the only opportunity to make a better life was to join the paramilitary organizations or through massive protest.” Caitriona believed the protester’s actions came as a natural reaction of self-defense. “That was how we pushed back,” she noted. “It was a desperate environment,” as she described it. In her words the experience was one where “we wanted to make change for a better life.” “How could we whinge (whine) about the dangers (of protesting) when hunger strikers were dying,” she recounted.

While Caitriona and others were marching in the street, matters seemed to take a graver turn as she wrote, “my brother put his name forward as a volunteer for the hunger strike.” “My husband did not.” She described the pain, fear, and anger saying, “my parents and I were in a rage of emotion during this period.” “We could not just wait for things to happen or for change to occur.” She admitted, “to sit and watch and do nothing would have drove everyone mental.”

Catriona added, “the acts of protest gave us hope so we could stand up for ourselves and make things different.” She later added, “we felt with every march we got a bit more confident which brought some bravado to our activism, and continued, “we always felt like we were making progress, slow as it might have been.” Caitriona also noted, “I never felt like our marches were in vain.”

Caitriona contended “protests were a loud common voice for fair treatment.” She seemed to believe that the attitudes of her generation were different. “Our generation was not like my mother and father’s generation,” she wrote. She went on saying, “we were not going to endure the injustice and abuse of a system tilted in favor of a privileged Protestant merchant class.” Caitriona responded by adding, “It was up to us to get to that point; no matter how we got there.” “We all had to contribute in some way to that end; to make a change,” she wrote.

Table 46

Structural Descriptions for Participant M

Structural descriptions	Themes
It was a desperate environment.	Desperation
We all had to contribute in some way to that end; to make a change.	Empowerment

To sit and watch and do nothing would have drove everyone mental.

Coping

Composite Textural-Structural Descriptions for Participant M

The lived experience description submitted by Participant M, Caitriona, provided a vivid account of the phenomenon of protest as well as the meanings that she associated with these protest actions. An extensive review of the transcripts and other notes that captured details of the learned experience description provided themes and essences derived from Caitriona’s protest activities. The primary essences that surfaced through Caitriona’s descriptions, both textural and structural, were identified as social identity, coping, desperation, empowerment, and fear.

Table 47

Composite Descriptions for Participant M

Composite descriptions	Themes
Derived from textural and structural experiences	Desperation Empowerment Coping Fear Social identity

Participant N (Frances)

Biographical Information

Frances was a 65-year old female from Derry’s Bogside who witnessed Motorman and sabotaged army facilities and equipment in protest of internment. She also worked on Bobby Sands’ election campaign in the Spring of 1981 and noted in her lived experience description (LED) that the army’s “inability to treat people with respect and

dignity had no place in a so-called democratic society.” Frances left Derry City in 1992 to live elsewhere away from the social chaos.

Table 48

Significant Statements/Meaning Units for Participant N

Significant statements	Meaning units
Anything to get the security people out of sorts or anything to disrupt their routine.	Conviction
I thought if we managed to make this as difficult as we could, maybe they would cease operations against our people.	Hope; community
I was frightened mental that I would be caught cutting off water or electric or messing with the lorries.	Fear; frustration
It (protest action) was our only way we knew how to fight back. It was a very long and slow process before our message was even heard, not to mention when the government began to treat nationalist with respect.	Accomplishment
When more republicans took a seat in public office, we thought this change might alter our plight.	Change-agency; hope
I believe every person played a small part to resist the British and their occupation and inhuman treatment of the nationalists.	Community
Honestly, every small bit contributed to the peace things progressed ever so slowly until the cease fires and the peace talks.	Conviction; community
All the resistance contributed to a better society. Our resistance led to the cease fire and the peace.	Accomplishment; community; change-agency

Textural Descriptions for Participant N

Frances claimed she had a strong desire to “get back” at security members for the way they treated individuals from the nationalist community with “disrespect and disregard.” She wrote that a small group engaged in what she referred to as “urban sabotage” disrupting utility service such as water, electricity, and sewer that ran to the troop barracks. Frances also wrote that equipment such as lorries (trucks), carriers (trailers), and cars might also suffer some “unexpected malfunction” from the group’s efforts.

Activism as this could come with a high price to pay if caught (or even accused) of such tactics. Frances wrote “two lads from our group were caught in the act and one was beat senseless.” “We took him to hospital in Glasnevin.” She added “the other lad was sent to Crumlin Road (prison) in Belfast.” “All “missions of mischief” took place at night according to Frances, who wrote their activities were “thrilling and exciting,” but agreed the same actions could be “extremely risky.”

Frances wrote that this sort of “annoyance activism” kept on until the end of internment in 1975 or so where she took a break from antigovernment activities. However; when the criminalization of the republican prisoners led to the 1980 and 1981 hunger strikes, she engaged in electoral rallies to get out the nationalist vote for Bobby Sands. “This was a different sort of activism.” “It was a new way for our community to voice our demands for change,” she wrote.

Frances recalled handing out flyers asking people to vote for Bobby Sands to save his life (see Figure I12). She also wrote, “we did what we could do to convince the Social Democrats (Social Democratic Labour Party or SDLP) not to contest the election.” According to Frances, an SDLP or Socialists (Irish Republican Socialist Party) candidate would “split the nationalist vote and the election would surely go to the Unionist representative.”

Table 49

Textural Descriptions for Participant N

Textural descriptions	Themes
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I had a strong desire to get back at security members for the way they treated individuals from the nationalist community with disrespect and disregard.	Retribution
It was a new way for our community to voice our demands for change.	Social Identity
Our activities were thrilling and exciting, but at the same time very frightening and extremely risky.	Fear

Structural Descriptions for Participant N

Frances noted that she felt “invigorated and energized” when performing acts of sabotage. At the same time, she also stressed that these acts aroused “high levels of fear that we would be caught during these missions.” She went on to write that the group also felt guilty when the “soldiers would take out their frustration on other individuals in the community after an “attack” on the barracks.” This quid pro quo relationship made her and her urban saboteurs “more determined to carry out some actions against the security forces stationed in the area,” she noted.

“We believed any attack on our community warranted some sort of counter action,” Frances wrote. She also noted these activities provided an “outlet” giving her group a “feeling of triumph” against a foe that they viewed in a “David versus Goliath” manner. Frances noted, “it was a fearful but at the same time it was also a feeling of accomplishment.”

Frances described the electoral volunteer phase of her involvement as “fiercely educational.” She wrote she “knew little about politics and districts, and polling turnout” at the time, however, “we were all quick to figure out the numbers and how we could get Bobby elected.” Frances concluded that volunteers her age “believed the political arena would be the most powerful force to make lasting change in the northern society.”

Table 50

Structural Descriptions for Participant N

Structural descriptions	Themes
These actions provided an outlet giving us some sort of self-satisfaction.	Coping
We also got this feeling of triumph against a foe that we viewed in a David versus Goliath way.	Empowerment

Composite Textural-Structural Descriptions for Participant N

The lived experience description submitted by Participant N, Frances, provided a vivid account of the phenomenon of protest as well as the meanings that she associated with these protest actions. An extensive review of the transcripts that captured details of the engagement provided themes and essences drawn from her antigovernment actions. The primary essences that surfaced through Frances' descriptions, both textural and structural, were identified as social identity, coping, empowerment, fear, and retribution.

Table 51

Composite Descriptions for Participant N

Composite descriptions	Themes
Derived from textural and structural experiences	Empowerment
	Coping
	Fear
	Social identity
	Retribution

Synthesis of Composite Textural-Structural Descriptions for all Participants

I used the modified Stevick-Colaizzi-Keen method of analysis that Moustakas (1994) developed. This method was a variation of the original analysis protocol used by Stevick (1971, Colaizzi (1973), and Keen (1975). I applied this method to the

examination of the texts produced from field documents. Interpretations emerged from the experiences of protest on the part of the 14 individuals who participated in this study. The identified meanings resulted from verbatim statements taken from interview transcripts, focus group transcripts, and anecdotal statements the participants provided through lived experience descriptions. Composite themes were synthesized to arrive at essences that depict the meanings of the group as a whole.

Table 52

Emergent themes from each respondent

Respondent	Theme	Sub-theme
Participant A	social identity, coping	anger, confusion, faith
Participant B	social identity, perseverance, empowerment	desperation
Participant C	perseverance, coping, empowerment	hope
Participant D	coping; empowerment	faith, retribution, anger
Participant E	social identity, coping, perseverance	hope, fear
Participants F/G/H	social identity, coping, empowerment, perseverance	faith, anger
Participant I	social identity, coping, perseverance.	anger
Participant J	social identity, coping, empowerment, perseverance	retribution
Participant K	social identity, coping, empowerment, perseverance	faith
Participant L	social identity, coping, perseverance, empowerment	fear, faith
Participant M		desperation, fear

Participant N	social identity, coping, empowerment	fear, retribution
	social identity, coping empowerment	

Those essences were: social identity, coping, empowerment, and perseverance of cause. The identified themes may not have arisen in every participant experience but did surface in the case of most respondents. The protest experiences of the prisoners appeared more directed, more reactive, and more acute or immediate than resistant actions that occurred outside the penal system. The prison situation took place as a result of an environment pitting warder against inmate. A narrative expansion of each theme follows.

Social Identify

Anderson (1983) believed people form images that connect them to larger groups. The Catholic nationalist population in Northern Ireland was no exception to this belief as they felt a political and social allegiance to a country other than the United Kingdom. Moreover, Billig (1976) posited that discernible social subsets tend to grow out of intergroup relations or social categorizations. The most recurrent theme that emerged from individuals who participated in this study was their sense of belonging and kinship to the Catholic nationalist community. The identification to the wider social-scape evoked acts of empathy, aid, encouragement, and defense among members of this minority group. Twelve of 14 engagements made direct inferences to social identity or community.

The women of the focus group admitted they had no connection to the Falls Road residents confined under curfew, but they felt compelled to provide assistance to fellow

nationalists. Each protester cast aside her personal safety for the welfare of complete strangers who, as they felt, were fellow Irish Catholics. Disagreement occurred as to what the connection was within the community. Whether the women made their connection based on religion (Catholic); on nationality (Irish); or on geography (west Belfast), it mattered not because they spoke in terms of “our people,” “our neighbors,” or “our own” when referring to actions that provided support or relief.

In a similar fashion, members of the nationalist community protested the mass incarceration of family and neighbors during the internment raids. People also sheltered potential suspects and even exchanged households to interfere with the arrest process. These actions were perpetuated against what they perceived as an attack on the entire nationalist community. Likewise, Operation Motorman removed barricades from very specific parts of Belfast and Derry, but the condemnation that this incursion was military overkill came from nationalist communities from all corners of Northern Ireland.

A groundswell of antigovernment activity took place during the criminalization of prisoners and the subsequent hunger strikes of 1980 and 1981. Nationalists in the tens of thousands participated in street protests against criminalization policy in support of the prisoners and the nationalist cause for reform. Prisoner protests pitted staff against inmate in a psychological battle of wills. Two prisoners interviewed during this study stressed that their protests were to bring about a better life for their children. The lone hunger striker interviewed for this study viewed himself as an “agent of change.” All protest actions inside and outside the prisons contained an underpinning of community solidarity.

Coping

Almost every participant stated she/he could not stand by and watch the continued injustices applied against their community. As such, many resorted to various forms of protest as a coping mechanism. According to Maricutoiu and Crasovan (2016), coping was an outgrowth of an individual's method of dealing with stress. Installation of the military into the community, curfews, random arrests, neighborhood demolition, and perceived mistreatment of prisoners created a siege environment for nationalist members. Responses to this environment through actions like marches, vigils, prison protests, rent strikes, and other antigovernment activities constituted the expected adaptation processes of the minority group.

Every non-prisoner participant from this study stated that her/his protest activities were a way to manage the stress the civil chaos caused in their social condition. All three of the former prisoners interviewed noted their protests were actions that instilled hope to withstand another day. And one former prisoner who sat with me noted specifically the hunger strikes were a welcome addition to the protests because he believed the new form of noncooperation increased the pressure on authorities to make change. Other respondents stated outright that protesting became "a form of therapy" initiated to reduce the constant duress experienced as a result of perceived over-militarization of their community.

Perseverance

Although few participants specifically used the word "perseverance," I am challenged to articulate in other words the unrelenting drive that sustained their desire to protest the authorities for change. These efforts endured in spite of inferior resources,

belonging to a minority group, and systemic barricades hindering continued participation. The sustained resistance may be attributed to community solidarity which brought the study full circle back to an initial theme of social identity.

Community solidarity provided the means to prolong the resistance activities. These means came in the form of support activities such as aid to families with imprisoned or displaced members. Aid was also derived in the form of shelter, food, cash, child care, or any other means to sustain an individual or group of protesters. Nevertheless, resistant nationalists withstood verbal abuse, physical attacks, and sometimes incarceration for their protest actions and did not waiver from their anti-government strategies. Respondents stated they were actively protesting for years. One women from Derry admitted she participated in marches from the first civil rights marches in 1968 through the antimilitarization marches in the 1990s.

The nationalist/republican activist, however, had to personally withstand the tribulations associated with defiance particularly in the cases of the prison protesters who experienced very concentrated and specific resistance tactics. The single-mindedness required to sustain the blanket protest (refusing to wear prison clothing) and the no-wash protest (where inmates lived with their own feces) for years on end was, at the very least, admirable from the standpoint of determination. Moreover, the conviction of the hunger strikers stands out as the paragon of perseverance when one considers the level of dedication required to volunteer for this mission and the concerted sense of purpose to accept the mortal consequences of such a protest action.

The community-wide fortitude that brought with it sustained participation in various forms of resistance was impossible to ignore. Therefore, I feel this doggedness in pursuit of social change warrants consideration as an emergent theme extracted from the participant transcripts. The most appropriate theme label that I could apply was that of perseverance.

Empowerment

Power imbalances often pit the “lower status group collectively challenging the actions of a higher status groups” (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013, p. 891). This imbalance invariably led to protest actions that demonstrated the grievances of that “lower status group” identified in this study as Catholic nationalists. Various methods or tactics to convey minority grievances became evident throughout this study.

Several respondents remarked on the empowering effect of protest. Some pursued an individual path of resistance while others found comfort in large numbers who marched in mass. In either case, a sense of empowerment was found in the efforts to bring about sociopolitical change. The intent of the antigovernment actions was designed to bring attention to a condition the nationalist community believed was unfair or unjust. That attention garnered from protest activities might gain sympathy from the government or support from external entities who might act as allies for change such as other governments or international human rights organizations.

An outgrowth of the empowerment generated through protest actions was the synergistic effect it espoused. Empowerment nurtured self-confidence, and intensified personal political awareness and focus. Once empowered, one form of resistance led to

another form on both an individual and group level. People who never protested before their first march continued to resist in one form or another, in some cases, for decades. The empowerment that the respondents described enabled an entire sociopolitical minority to partake in actions that were designed to effect societal change.

Summary

This chapter provided an overview of the data collection process as well as the interpretations resulting from the analysis. A description of the research environment, participant demographics, and biographical information for each participant took place in this section. I also described the methods used to promote trustworthiness throughout the study.

I employed a modified Stevick-Colaizzi-Keen method of analysis during data analysis of the information collected from respondents. This process began with some self-examination on my part and proceeded to an exercise that horizontalized key statement and associated meaning units for each participant. Composite textural and structural descriptions were subsequently developed for each respondent which led to a synthesis of these descriptions from the entire group.

The synthesis of experiences allowed me to identify predominant themes that emerged from the experiences of all participants in the study to answer a research question that asked what the perceptions of nonviolent protesters were. Those respondents uncovered four consistent themes as a result of participant responses. Those themes were identified as social identity, coping, perseverance, and empowerment. Although respondent experiences did not necessarily evoke positive recollections, most

agreed that over a longer or more protracted time frame the results of their actions brought about beneficial change to a chaotic personal and social condition.

In Chapter 5, I will address the interpretation of the findings, conclusions, implications for social change, and any recommendations for future studies as seen through the lens of the polarities of democracy model as a theoretical framework. The final section will also examine my thoughts and experiences during this research.

Chapter 5: Discussions, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Introduction

The purpose of this interpretive phenomenological study was to explore the meanings derived from the lived experiences of minority Irish Catholic nationalists from the cities of Derry and Belfast, Northern Ireland, who resisted specific government security policies between 1970 and 1981. The social members within this study identified themselves as part of the nationalist community who engaged in nonviolent forms of protest as a method of political activism with the intent to effect social change. The boundaries of the study were delineated as 1971 from the time of the Falls Road curfew until the conclusion of 1981 hunger strikes.

Based on my review of the literature very little information existed that examined the lived experiences of nonviolent groups or individuals who resisted state authority in Northern Ireland during a period of sociopolitical upheaval referred to as the Troubles. The purpose of this study was to fill that gap in the literature by collecting information from individuals who participated in nonviolent actions against state policy. Participants in the study provided information through face-to-face interviews, a focus group, and written texts that described their own experiences.

In this chapter, I will provide a summary of the findings that emerged from the data collection and analysis phases of the study. I will also provide an interpretation of the results, the limitations of the study, the recommendations for further study along with the any implications for social change. Finally, in this chapter, I will comment on some

thoughts and personal reflection that I experienced during and after the study as well as a conclusion of the research.

Interpretation of the Findings

The analysis phase of the study engendered various themes from the protest experiences of the respondents. Although participants provided information from their experiences that revealed an array of meanings, several principal interpretations became evident. Those specific themes were identified as an allegiance to social identity, a mechanism used to cope with perceived oppression on the part of the security forces, a commitment to the cause of social change manifested through the perseverance of antigovernment actions, and a sense of collective and personal empowerment that protest activities prompted.

Social Identity

Social groups form a bond or affiliation based on a commonality that stems from language, religion, nationality, ethnicity, or any combination of these cultural features. Moreover, these groups coalesce when outside threats occur through oppression, disenfranchisement, or physical danger. All but two of the respondents in this study (86%) reported a group association that underpinned the justification for involvement in protest activities. Participants made references to “our people,” “our neighbors,” “fellow nationalists,” or “other Catholics” during interviews or anecdotal submissions. Participants also offered detailed descriptions of protest activities that provided aid to or support for group members in jeopardy. The actions either created a means of protection or a means of defense against what Grimm, Uitkal, and Valmasoni (2017) referred to as

“out-groups.” Respondent nationalists felt associative qualities that made them a heterogeneous social group. These qualities might have included the same neighborhoods, religion, language/dialect, or national allegiance. Anyone or any entity that did not share like qualities were either looked upon with suspicion, or at the worst, as a threat or enemy.

The occurrence of protest is likely to increase, according to van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2014), if the social group is threatened or in crisis. Acts of solidarity infused the need to take sociopolitical stances in individuals and groups who, in most circumstances, originally preferred to stay out of the social conflict. In the instances where protests occurred, members of the nationalist community interpreted their actions in response to what they perceived as a period of urgency or critical juncture.

Resistance in the form of wider community movements, as opposed to small, localized, or individual activism, normally developed from the network and resources available to the aggrieved/protesting group, in this case northern Irish nationalists. Additionally, relentless repressive state control measures often instigated additional resistance or, as Francisco (2005) noted, “the price of consistent repression is revolutionary action” (p. 66). Respondents in the study referenced the prolonged conflict of what they recounted as one form of injustice followed by another levied against their community which contributed to their decision to join protest actions. Figure I2 depicts the cycle of protest that prevailed throughout the Troubles as a result of security policy that the nationalist community viewed as oppressive.

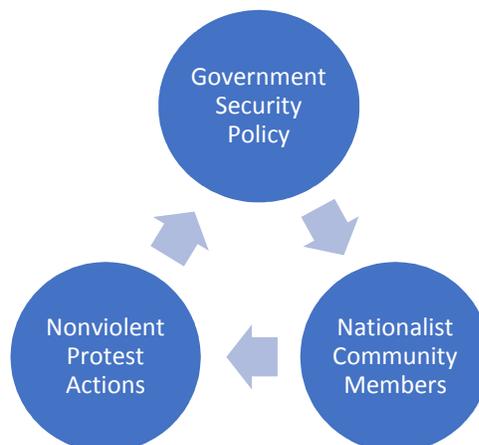


Figure 12. Government-nationalist protest cycle

The need to protect or defend the community formed the foundation of what Thalhammer et al. (2007) referred to as collective resistance. As more individuals or groups agreed to associate with and participate in the protest or resistance movement, the chances of success in an effort to effect change also increased. The nationalist community's ability to sustain antigovernment protests was predicated on a common grievance of mistreatment and endeavors to expose perceived injustices. The remarkable aspect of these protests was the time frame over which these actions persisted. The fact that the community sustained these protests for so long reflected the cohesiveness of its purpose.

Coping

Another consistent theme that respondents in the study revealed was how the activities of army and police in the administration of security policy began to affect their emotional state. The impelling desire to take an active role against the perceived

oppressive measures of security officials was found in responses from 13 of 14 (93%) participants. Moreover, in one form or another these participants expressed that avoidance, as a form of conflict management, was not an option. In several cases, the respondents reported that withdrawal from any form of action would have resulted in emotional trauma. As such, protest actions served as a means to address and process the perceived oppressive sociopolitical condition.

Protest actions for coping reasons may be interpreted as a form of empowerment which was a separate theme identified in the study. However, the consistent responses of the participants indicated that their actions, whether massive street protests or other forms of noncooperation, were carried out in a manner that imbued as much short-term relief as they were intended to act as long-term strategies. It appeared necessary, therefore, to consider this form of protest that allowed community activists a distinct outlet to deal with perceived oppression. This choice of how to deal with social circumstances occurred separate from other sentiments aroused through resistance that emboldened nationalist members to attenuate the sociopolitical divide.

The prolonged military installations and harassment that participants described contributed to an environment laden with high levels of stress and anxiety. Boyraz, Waits, Felix, and Wynes (2017) noted that some forms of coping (referred to as avoidance or disengagement coping) included denial, disengagement, and self-blame. It was evident from discussions and reports from participants of the study that the aforementioned forms of coping were passed up for more active mechanisms. Methods of coping with stress and anxiety in which the individual takes an active role in dealing with

the environmental condition was what Dunkley et al. (2017) referred to as engagement or “active focused planning” (p. 356).

Individuals who participated in the study noted that uncertainty and instability were factors that created fear and concern in everyday activities. This prevailing preoccupation with the vulnerability of family members and the unpredictability of the actions on the part of security forces contributed to what participants considered unhealthy levels of social tension and pressure. As a way to manage or withstand the mounting stress created through this condition, in many ways rooted in over-militarization, citizens banded together to take counter-actions of protest and resistance. Vestergren, Drury, and Chiriac (2015) believed that emotions brought about through protest were beneficial as “participation had a positive effect on coping” (p. 211).

Some respondents in the study made statements that related to feelings of satisfaction and self-worth that were derived from their antigovernment protest actions. Other individuals expressed sentiments of helplessness that were overcome through active involvement in some form of resistance. Additionally, several individuals proclaimed that they were at their “wits end” and considered no other alternative but to take part in the protest activities. In many of these instances, participants referenced in some way that protesting, in its various forms, was a way to deal with the social chaos.

The perceived oppression brought on through the security measures levied towards the nationalist community formed the rudiments of resistance. Those protest actions or forms of resistance initiated as a method of coping were subsequently countered with additional aggressive actions on the part of security which provoked

further protest. This quid pro quo dynamic of protest and repression also portrayed a congruence to the cycle of protest referenced in Figure I2.

Perseverance

The boundaries of this study were delineated as 1971 with the imposition of a curfew on the Falls Road in west Belfast through the hunger strikes which came to an end in October 1981. For the purposes of clarification, the civil strife referred to as the Troubles were bordered by the years 1969 through the Good Friday peace accord of 1998. In addition, the civil rights marches occurred as far back as 1968. Therefore, for one reason or another, resistance in all its forms took place over these four decades.

It was difficult to comprehend the protracted antigovernment activity that persisted over this 30-year period, and it was more difficult to articulate just how individuals and groups sustained these efforts. It became evident through discussions with respondents that the resistance actions were part of a larger collective movement that organized around an underlying resentment that the province of Northern Ireland was a statelet that many believed was an illegal annexation of the United Kingdom as opposed to a historical portion of Ireland. This sentiment gave rise to the term Irish nationalists used throughout the study in reference to the desire for re-unification of the island as one nation, Ireland, rather than two nations sharing the same island.

The basis of resistance, therefore, pre-dated the boundaries of this study as well as the foundation of the devolved government of Northern Ireland. Several participants cited the 800 years of British oppression in reference to the colonization of Ireland by English royals and landed gentry. This sort of acculturation to resistance was not difficult to

understand after interactions with citizens (within and outside of the study) especially since their recall of events from a historiographical perspective clearly contained a nationalist slant. A member of the focus group tried to explain this ubiquitous recalcitrance when she stated, “rebellion has been in our (Irish nationalists) DNA for centuries.” Given such a proclivity to engage in antigovernment activities, some light might be shed on the imbedded sedulity that fueled efforts of resistance.

Tarrow (2011) stated that “without some degree of formal organization, movements frequently fade away or dissipate their energies.” (p. 124). The degree of coordination and structure of protests and actions seemed to be inconsistent among respondents swept up in the movement. Many participants lauded the organization of protest leaders while others simply made due through individual means. Still, another participant in this study told how she had participated in protests as far back as the civil rights marches of the late 1960s until the peace agreement of 1998. Despite not personally knowing who the organizers were, Participant M believed that the nonviolent nature of the marches would have been lost to a mob culture had no structure, organization, and supervision been present throughout the course of the antigovernment actions. In her case, this was a full 30 years. Again, the organizational leadership example of which Tarrow (2011) noted, seemed to apply to the experiences of this participant.

In contrast, other participants chose the path of resistance that suited them to fight against what they perceived as an unbalanced sociopolitical situation. Specifically, the individual who referred to himself as a propogandist posting antigovernment material did so for no other reason than to publicly display opinions that contradicted what the

government was issuing through media outlets. For the most part, this participant chose what was said and where it would be featured for display. A limited amount of organization and coordination went into those actions. This personal form of protest persisted until the end of internment or a period of 5 years.

Likewise, a group of young men and women in their teens and early 20s engaged in structural sabotage of government property as their form of resistance. According to the respondent, these actions were not coordinated or centralized in any way. Therefore, the collective actions of the saboteurs flourished without identified leadership but were sustained through a very tightly defined social network. These acts continued for a period of four years and ceased only because the military barracks was relocated to another outpost in the county. This sort of protest action contradicted the Tarrow (2011) model.

Other situations, however, showed evidence of leadership making critical decisions related to timing and behavior of protesters. The women who participated in the focus group testified that a senior political leader took control of protests against the security curfew imposition on the nationalist citizens of the Falls Road in west Belfast. Although the actions to provide aid to the curfewed residents were the first instance of protest, focus group participants explained that each has continued to engage in protest actions well into the 21st century. According to these women, some events were highly organized and others were reactionary or spontaneous.

In the end, it appeared to be a cohesion of causes that sustained the desire to prolong resistance and protest. This condition could have been brought on through what a portion of the nationalist community perceived as a society lacking balance in social

opportunity. That condition evolved into a culture of resistance that took on innumerable forms and extraordinary practices as a demonstration against state security policy. Ten of the 14 participants (71%) made some reference to the long commitment to resistance required to make change.

Empowerment

Tilly and Wood (2009) noted that the state control over its citizenry depended on the consent of the governed (p. 13). This circumstance begged the question of what alternatives existed if the general population or a portion thereof, did not consent to the form of governance. Every participant in the study questioned the legitimacy of the British government in the Northern Ireland. Furthermore, the perceived maltreatment of social members from their community only exacerbated feelings of discontent and grievance. Therefore, if a portion of the population refused to consent to the authority of the state, the alternatives for airing dissatisfaction that might effect change could only be achieved through protest actions. Historically, such activities in this region have yielded instability and proved physically harmful to protesting participants. Minority populations often received repressive counter-measures on the part of state structure that contained superior resources. Whether their initial involvement in protest actions was by design or circumstance, respondents in this study overwhelmingly expressed a sensation of empowerment once their involvement in protests or other forms of resistance became routine. Eleven of 14 participants (79%) described their protest involvement as an empowering experience.

Resistance to state actions or policy provided opportunities to demonstrate socio-political grievances for minority nationalists. The platform mutated into various forms of protest, each of which imparted power to the protesting individual or groups. The women who rushed the curfew barriers; the truth-spreading propagandist; the saboteurs; the strike volunteer; and the prisoner nonconformists all became empowered through their actions. Moreover, the opportunity to contest elections from a group that deliberately abstained from these democratic mechanisms may have provided the most sustainable form of empowerment and an opportunity for long-term change.

Leeuwen, Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2016) found that participants who became empowered through protest actions tended to sustain their resistant behavior. This condition became evident as several individuals who took part in the study recalled that as the number of protesters increased, the opportunity for harm or harassment from security forces concurrently faded. This feeling of collective self-assurance thereby reinforced the desire to engage in subsequent protests (Becker, 2012). The focus group women who marched against the Falls Road curfew reported that the march which originated in Ballymurphy and Andersonstown gathered more protesters as the march approached the barricades at Springfield Road in west Belfast. Prison guards were confounded at the groundswell of support that emerged as one hunger striker died and other prisoners continued to volunteer for the protest (Ryder, 2000).

Protest actions advanced the personal and group sense of achievement or accomplishment according to Ulug and Acar (2018) which encouraged subsequent actions of resistance. Moreover, Chan, Cattaneo, Mak, and Lin (2017) stressed that

becoming empowered caused actors to become more determined and more resilient in the face of occasional setbacks in their protest endeavors. Most respondents in the study noted that in the process of antigovernment mobilizations, obstacles, or challenges in progress inevitably took place, yet for the most part, their conviction seldom wavered. In addition, many participants correlated their sense of empowerment to an enduring thrust to bring about social change.

Other Notable Themes

Engagements with participants did raise themes of a more general nature. The repetition of these sentiments could not be ignored, but their broad application required further analysis and examination into more finite meanings. Those base essences were fear; an emotion expressed in over half the experiences. Also, hope and faith arose in a significant number of engagements. Hope referred to the desire that sociopolitical situations would improve, and faith (as in religion) that participants would find strength to endure the challenges of their life's condition.

Literature and Data Collection Alignment

The data collected in the field through interviews, focus group, and experience descriptions were consistent with the information and evidence produced as the result of the literature review. These parallels were especially demonstrated in the areas of social injustices such as an abrogation of the rule of law, over-militarization, truncations in the legal processes, and legislative membership. Minority nationalists in Northern Ireland perceived certain application of security policy as oppressive and unjustly imposed on only one portion of society as opposed to equally applied to conflicting factions. Those

themes that organized during the analysis phase supported the literature that addressed reaction or counter-actions to those forms of oppression.

Rule of law

The women (Participants E, F, G) who marched against the Falls Road curfew viewed the corralling of 20,000 nationalists as unacceptable actions on the part of armed troops. Likewise, their actions to break the barricades in an effort to provide provisions were carried out as a way to right the wrong and come to the defense of what they saw as fellow community members. Data collection information and literature agreed from this point in the Troubles forward that Catholic nationalists viewed the army as occupiers as opposed to protectors (McCleery, 2015). These actions were also the beginning of concerted actions against security policy that empowered protesters to engage in subsequent antigovernment activities.

Internment of civilians through what was dubbed Operation Demetrius was also viewed as violation of personal rights in the minority community. This security measure, designed to remove potentially dangerous individuals from the streets was poorly planned and universally condemned as a failure as it related to security operations (Dixon & O’Kane, 2011). The results of this particular policy miscarried as antigovernment actions became more prevalent rather than decreasing in occurrence (Rost, 2011).

The atmosphere of random arrest and harassment raised tensions in the streets to inordinate levels incurring feelings of desperation as well as a need to take action in defense of the nationalist community. Some participants explained how they were on the verge of a mental breakdown as a result of the arrests of family, friends, and neighbors.

In these instances, members of the nationalist community felt that the only alternative was to resist such security policies (Rousseau, 2014).

Over-militarization

The lopsided condition of state resources and the intent to quell antigovernment resistance led to the installation of the British army in August 1969. This condition and the policies that ensued contributed to the protest movement and pockets of resistance on both an individual and group level. Troop patrols, barracks construction, checkpoints, and patrol details contributed to the sense of occupation and siege on the part of nationalists.

Every participant in this study referenced the sense of anger and frustration over the troop movement into Northern Ireland that augmented sociopolitical discord. Interaction between army patrols and civilians disintegrated within a year of the arrival of the first troops. In August, 1971, massive protests which took place immediately after the introduction of internment. The deaths that occurred as a result of British army actions during the early days of Operation Demetrius gave way to further protests. Moreover, heavy-handed interrogation methods and ill-treatment that internees endured (Dickson, 2010) fueled animosity between the army and civilian nationalists.

Operation Motorman removed the barricades from nationalist areas of Belfast and Derry. In doing so, a rise of antigovernment sentiment began an increase in protest actions (Cochrane, 2013; Kerr, 2013). Participant L described Motorman as humiliating and remembered it as a personal violation. Participant N stated Operation Motorman was the event that solidified her commitment to take part in protest actions. “The army destroyed my community,” she recalled. Other participants remembered general

harassment and mocking from army patrols on the streets which galvanized citizen intent to resist security forces.

Abuse of Legal Process

The dynamics as to whether the curfew called by officials was even legal continued to be a source of debate as it related to the Falls Road curfew (Sanders & Wood, 2012; Walsh, 2013). One participant stated that on Saturday and Sunday of the curfew, the soldiers were refusing to allow residents to attend church services. The same participant found it difficult to articulate the magnitude of such an imposition. The thought that practicing religion in a modern society might be prohibited was beyond belief according to the respondent.

The placement of restrictions on movement for a such a large number of urban inhabitants for the sake of a handful of illegal weapons appeared incredulous to another participant. Several interviewees responded that these government actions were sure to incite a nationalist backlash. Rost (2011) contended that state repressive actions only agitated the very sectors of society that they were designed to control. As a consequence, residents outside the curfew zone found it necessary to intervene as a matter of solidarity.

Additional disintegration of the legal process came through the implementation of no-jury trials referred to as Diplock courts in which the judge determined the innocence or guilt and sentence of the defendant. This policy became an offshoot of the internment policy which led to the arrest of thousands of nationalists (and a handful of unionists). The basis of these juryless courts emerged from the need for expediency and to avoid intimidation of jurors, and while the intent was noble and perhaps reasonable, the

opportunity for bias and legal system abuse may have outweighed the appropriateness that came with modifications to the legal processes. Participants in this study who experienced or witnessed these special courts were convinced the special consideration of evidence along with the suspension of the right to a jury made conviction of minority nationalists almost certain.

Electoral engagement

The larger portion of the hard-line nationalist community (republicans) heretofore opted to abstain from contesting free elections based on the belief the very formation of the Northern Ireland statelet was illegitimate. The more moderate nationalists and the socialist republicans were fully engaged in community representation up to this point. The limits of this interpretive phenomenological study extended until the end of the hunger strikes that endured until October of 1981. In March of the same year, hunger striker Bobby Sands ran for the parliamentary seat vacated as a result of Frank Maguire's sudden death.

Sands was elected as a member of parliament (MP) but never took office because of his own death by hunger strike. Following that milestone decision to run for elected office, republican ex-prisoner Owen Carron, prisoner Paddy Agnew, and hunger striker Kieran Doherty were elected to or at least contested representative positions in London or Dublin. Participants B, C, E, F, G, I, K, L, and N (64%) admitted the decision to run for election afforded the greatest opportunity to effect positive social change over the long-term. As a reflection upon this sentiment, the most current elections (2016) in the

devolved Northern Ireland Assembly, resulted in the mainstream republican party, Sinn Fein, winning 28% (2nd highest) of the representative seats in that legislative body.

The move to politics not only provided an opportunity for expanded nationalist representation, but the move eventually drove extreme nationalists away from violence and allowed entry into peace negotiations. Ross (2011) noted the criticality of Irish republican “political organization and mass mobilization” cannot be ignored. In addition, the hard-line nationalist leadership had the forethought to recognize the opportunity for social reform through the formal democratic mechanisms (Cochrane, 2013). Participant C recalled that the decision to enter Sands for office was a reactionary decision to fill the vacancy in the newly vacated position in an effort to save his (Sands’) life, but the campaign evolved into a newer strategy for sociopolitical activism.

All information collected in the field including peer review and member checks was compared to the details produced through an extensive review of the literature. This exercise revealed a consistency of the meanings generated from the various forms of protest actions in which participants engaged. Social identity underpinned the need for collective defense and communal cohesiveness. The means by which the minority sector prolonged the level of solidarity evolved from a need to cope with the adversarial relationship between Irish Catholic nationalists and the government security forces. The requirement to sustain the resistance movement over an extended period of time brought about more sophisticated structures and strategies for change agency. The resulting advancement or furtherance of the protest movements along with their popular support

and originality spawned a general feeling of empowerment throughout the nationalist community.

Theoretical Alignment

Polarities of Democracy Model

During the study, I employed the polarities of democracy model developed by Benet (2013) as a theoretical framework. The theory proposed democracy may be attained by managing five polarity relationships made up of freedom and authority; justice and due process; diversity and equality; human rights and communal obligations; and participation and representation (Benet, 2006, 2012, 2013). The study focused on the justice and due process polarity as well as the participation and representation polarity. I used the theoretical framework as a lens to examine experiences of protest actions that yielded particular meanings and interpretations of the participants.

Benet (2013) stipulated that in an effort to promote democracy, which is a solution to oppression, efficient leveraging of the ten elements arranged in polarities must occur. As it related to the justice and due process polarity, O'Manique (2003) defined justice as a "system that supports a distribution of resources for an equitable exercise of human rights and provides protection for individual rights" (p. 6). Butts (1980) viewed justice as the concept of fairness, and further added, "the idea of justice thus encompasses the processes of civil justice, criminal justice, courts of law, juries, lawyers, punishments, and prisons (p. 133)." In turn, Butts (1980) described due process as "the right of persons who have been accused of wrongs or injustices they have allegedly committed (p. 145). Likewise, Rawls (1999) insisted that due process was a system that provided a process

that was “reasonably designed to ascertain the truth, in ways consistent with the other ends of the legal system” (p. 210).

Justice and due process polarity

A failure to properly leverage the justice and due process polarity surely had a deleterious impact on individual or group social conditions. Through the use of broad and open-ended questioning, ordinary citizens were able to provide recommendations of where the implementation of state policy had gone awry. Individuals from the nationalist community provided rich descriptions of what they perceived as oppressive treatment from police and army personnel. Every individual who acted as a respondent personally experienced verbal or physical abuse (or both) at the hands of security forces within the boundaries of the study. This treatment occurred in the streets and squares; in homes; in prison wards; in public; and in private. Those who endured such treatment were surely experiencing the downsides of the justice (disproportionate treatment of some social groups) and due process (unequal treatment under the law) polarity.

In view of these circumstances, the nationalist community endured what it viewed as oppressive security measures which, in turn, hardened the lines of social identity rendering a “us versus them” mentality. These distinctions gave way to feelings and actions of self (and community) defense in an effort to bring about reform that would combat the perceived oppressive practices on the part of state actors or to eliminate such behavior through social change. The random arrests, beatings, harassment, and, in some cases, death described in various data collection methods led to demands for state accountability.

The disparate government actions incited a movement determined to bring about equal application of the law and fair and equal treatment from security forces. The pleas eventually evolved into actions against the government. Many respondents admitted the living conditions became so desperate that antigovernment activism transformed into a necessary coping mechanism. The more security forces tried to rein in the protest actions, the more the community coalesced and found it necessary to persevere. This unity and conviction eventually empowered the individuals and groups to forge forward for positive social change.

The justice and due process polarity map (Bidjerano, 2017) reflected a positive aspect of justice as a proper and fair punishment for wrongful acts committed while a negative aspect of justice was achieved through a disproportional treatment of specific social groups. Participants in this study engaged in actions that protested random arrests (internment) and restricted movement (curfews). Moreover, protesting citizens persisted with the antigovernment actions in response to barricade removal (Motorman) and the change in prisoner status (criminalization). Curfews were almost exclusively carried out in the nationalist community and the internment figures signified a disproportionate number of arrests in the nationalist communities. Barricade removal occurred in both nationalist and unionist neighborhoods but the military deployment in Derry's Bogside and west Belfast (both nationalist strongholds) was described as overkill. Not every person within the no-go areas was a dangerous paramilitary member. The government actions to move forward with such a vast display of military action contributed to poor leveraging of the downsides of the justice and due process polarity.

In consideration of the justice quadrant that recommended fair treatment of community members (Benet & Kayser, 2018), based on responses from nationalist members, it appeared this social group did not receive fair treatment. In recognition of this unequal application of law and policy, minority groups chose to embark on community-wide forms of protest to bring about change and as a means to cope with a conflict-torn social order. The prolonged maintenance of the protest actions against the government and security forces forged a potency of purpose that emboldened (empowered) the nationalist community.

The due process side of the polarity reflected similar conditions that needed attention in order to achieve a thriving democracy (Bidjerano, 2017) or a state of fairness and responsiveness (Benet & Kayser, 2018). The upside of the due process quadrant developed by Bidjerano called for a protection of rights and liberties, protection against arbitrary use of power as well as opportunities to undo unjust circumstances. Respondents in the study described how they believed random arrests were an abuse of state power and how the institution of trial without jury violated a basic tenet of democracy. The juryless trial policy also diminished confidence in the judiciary system. Furthermore, street protests and any demonstration of antigovernment sentiment were initially met with physical resistance and in some instances death, as was the circumstance with Bloody Sunday.

Physical force control on the part of security only seemed to subside when the frequency of protests and the number of participants therein augmented significantly. These physical conditions leveraged the downside of the due process quadrant (unfair

treatment), an environment that nationalist protest actions were attempting to affect for the better. Therefore, participants felt the need to fuse their efforts to fight against the perceived oppressive policies of the state. This amalgamation around community-wide energies empowered the community in an attempt to implement reformative measures. The positive quadrants exhibited on the justice and due process polarity map from the Institute for Polarities of Democracy asked whether individuals were being treated fairly (Benet & Kayser, 2018), and the positive due process quadrant from the polarity map that Bidjerano (2017) designed asked if society provided safeguards against arbitrary use of power. As evidenced through data collected in this study, citizens from the nationalist community documented that these circumstances were not the case. The movement to bring about change resulted in societal unrest manifested through protracted protest actions. Responses from participants indicated that the clashes between civilians and security increased as a result of protest actions which added to the civil chaos. The same respondents however, believed the long-term effects of the protests brought about change for a better social condition.

The items or aspects reflected in the justice and due process polarity quadrants identified below (see Figure I3) were a result of my analysis of information collected from participants in the field. The nonviolent actions of Northern Ireland nationalists who were represented in the study generated these aspects which were placed in the framework of the polarities of democracy model. Maximizing the positive aspects and minimizing the negative aspects of each element may provide a guide to other movements that promote positive social change.

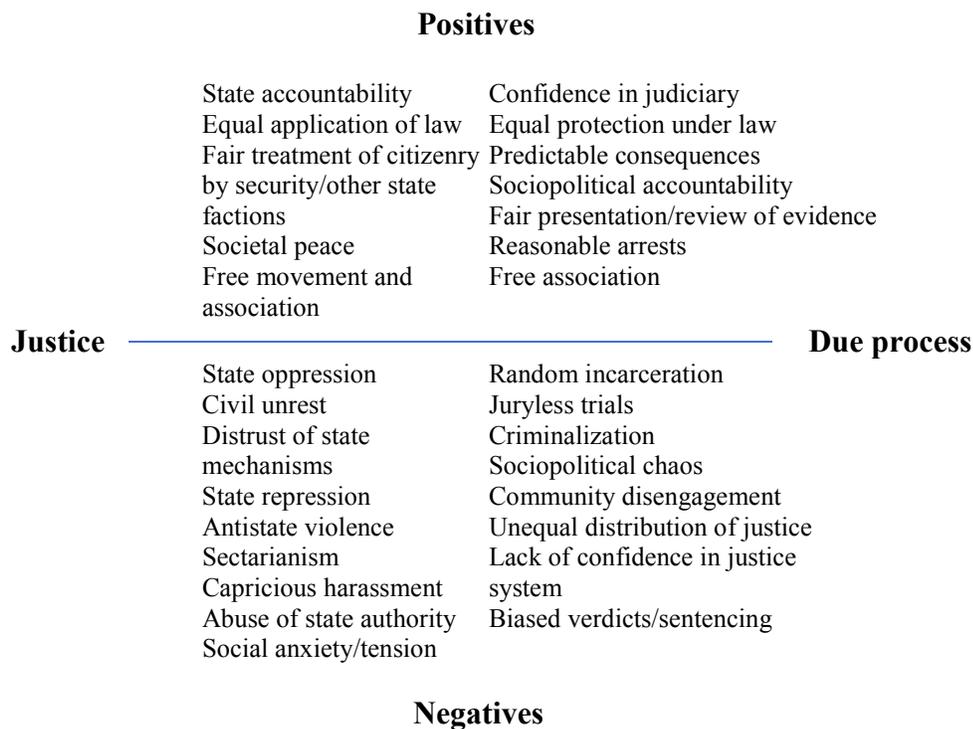


Figure 13. Justice and due process polarity quadrants

Participation and representation

The inability to effectively manage the participation and representation polarity also contributed to a lopsided and somewhat dysfunctional society. Butts (1980) believed the root of the civil rights movement in the United States derived strength from participation in “sit-ins, lie-ins, marches, freedom rides, and civil disobedience” (p. 148). The large-scale resistance models that took place in Northern Ireland already demonstrated an engagement on the part of the nationalist community in participatory strategies.

The discord between the unionist government and nationalist community became so intense that minority members actually refused to recognize the legality (or existence) of the Northern Ireland government. Additionally, irregular voting policies and

gerrymandering of electoral districts created a Sisyphean mindset as it related to involvement or interaction with government infrastructure. As such, hardline members of the nationalist community (republicans) avoided participation in most civic matters and refused to engage in electoral contests.

The community embraced that feeling of separation and isolation which led to the choices of hard-core nationalist groups to refrain from any state structures. Nationalists already started to identify themselves, socially and politically, as a separate, cohesive, and nation-based demographic in opposition to state authority and apparatus. According to participants, this attitude stemmed from a sentiment of disenfranchisement brought on through government disregard and indifference to the needs of the community. It appeared recalcitrance had been embedded in the psyche of many nationalists.

The protest movement in itself was a form of participation that came about through a broad-based communication system and activism. These efforts derived from a desire to publicize grievances against the government designed to effect change. Respondents described how protest actions became a glue that bound the community together, but also provided a sense of achievement and pride generated through a single-mindedness to right a wrong. This transformation allowed for greater sociopolitical engagement or at least an attempt to provide a say in decisions that impacted the community (Benet & Kayser, 2018). Participants revealed they felt less like victims when they took part in protests generating feelings of hope, strength, relevance, and purpose.

The galvanized social identity also sustained a disengaged outlook toward the electoral process. This practice continued up until the election of hunger striker Bobby

Sands as a member of parliament in 1981. However, nationalist sectors that had previously refused to engage in electoral campaigns, began to understand the potential benefits of representation that might include sociopolitical change. Subsequent to Sands' ballot box success the same community members viewed the electoral process as a means to attain a betterment in the social condition. This effort did not mean the street protests or acts of civil disobedience/noncooperation had come to an end. The political processes were simply refocused through another avenue to leverage the positive quadrants of participation (nationalists were included in decisions) and representation (authorities effectively represented community concerns). Information received during data collection showed that the political office holders prior to this point did not represent community concerns which Benet and Kayser (2018) indicated was a negative aspect of the representation quadrant.

Placing community members in public office revived confidence in the system of representation and access to government bureaus and cabinets. Electoral alternatives also eased the frustration of not having a voice in matters of public administration. Activism that pursued representation through the contesting of elections brought about a sense of empowerment associated with participation in the stakeholder processes. This endeavor broke the cycle of a government that appeared to lack interest in the needs of a portion of the overall Northern Ireland community. In spite of the slow and protracted mechanics that accompany change via the democratic election system, the nationalist/republican community successfully achieved electoral successes through its perseverance and conviction well beyond the confines of this study.

Other polarities.

Benet's (2013) polarity of democracy model maintained that the 10 elements arranged in 5 pairs must be optimized to bring about the "positive aspects of each element" (p. 32). Leveraging of this sort must be encouraged in order to "advance democracy or democratization" (Benet, 2013, p. 31). In recognizing these polarities, however, it is essential to understand that optimizing the positive and/or minimizing the negative aspects still overlap as they related to societal application. For example, security policy that contributed to an improper management of the justice and due process polarity may also adversely affect the diversity and equality polarity as well as the human rights and communal obligations polarity.

This study focused on the justice and due process as well as the participation and representation polarities. Nonetheless, other polarities were impacted through what many nationalist participants perceived as oppressive security policy. Orders to prohibit free movement through the Falls Road curfew may have been caused from a failure to properly leverage the freedom and authority as well as the human rights and communal obligation polarities. The army's actions demonstrated mismanagement through the imposition of what was arguably an illegal cordoning off of thousands of residents and the reported physical abuses that were reported during the search of private homes.

The policy of internment without trial also may have indicated an improper leveraging of the diversity and equality polarity as random arrests in a particular minority community instigated widespread social anxiety and protest actions. The subsequent

repressive actions on the part of the state to quell the protests might be viewed as excessive and a mismanagement of the human rights and communal obligations polarity. The data collected from participants and analyzed within my study provided evidence that various nexuses among the polarities existed.

Limitations of the Study

This study examined the experiences of Irish Catholic nationalists who actively protested state security through nonviolent means. An exploration of the meanings that only one group experienced might present a limitation in itself. Other groups such as moderate to extreme Protestant neighborhoods, clubs, or political parties may have different meanings associated with the use of nonviolent protests.

Arguably, another limitation may arise from the geographical constrictions of the study which delved into the experiences of residents (or now former residents) of Derry and Belfast. It may be the case that other protesters from other areas of Northern Ireland attached different meanings to the protest actions. I chose the urban centers because of the dense population of Catholic nationalists and the high frequency of protest actions that occurred within the temporal confines of the study.

I found the selection of specific policies and the resistance thereto very challenging. The British government instituted dozens of security policies to promote social order during the period of civil chaos known as the Troubles; however, this study addressed only four of the many security policies. An examination of people's resistance to other state/military operations such as intelligence gathering on the part of British authorities (Operation Hawk), security facilities construction across the province

(Operation Bracelet), or traffic checkpoints (Operation Mulberry) might have yielded alternative interpretations. An analysis of all the operations that were implemented during the period of the study and their effect on a civilian minority population would have proven a cumbersome, voluminous, and a Herculean project. As such, this study remained within the confines of protest actions directed against four specific policies: curfew, internment, removal of no-go areas, and criminalization.

One final limitation dealt with the number of individuals who participated in the study. It seemed plausible that the more samples contained in a study might engender a deeper examination of a certain phenomenon and the experiences evoked from that phenomenon. However, qualitative studies normally limit additional participant selection once saturation has been achieved (Patton, 2015), or until no new themes emerge (Trotter, 2012). This study extracted data from the experiences of 14 individuals through face-face-interviews, lived experience descriptions, and a focus group. I cannot refute that the inclusion of more participants may have allowed more themes to emerge during the data collection phase. In view of this condition; however, I saw no benefit to adding participants to the study as responses brought about a redundancy in meanings and interpretations using the current sample size.

Recommendations

According to Bretherton (2018), protest actions that evolved from individual involvement to collective actions tended to have greater success. This was certainly the case with nationalist nonviolent protest actions. Minority nationalist counter-actions to state authority and its security arm contributed to a period of civil disorder that endured

for 30 years. This study addressed the meanings and experiences of how only one portion of the community dealt with the sociopolitical chaos. In an effort to achieve balance, an examination of the experiences of participants from the majority community might provide balance through a wider societal exploration. The restoration of communal and government cooperation resulted from cross-community efforts focused on negotiations and concessions.

The province of Northern Ireland did not stand alone as it related to state security measures that were deemed oppressive. Those parties in the conflict all shared some culpability that contributed to a protracted social dysfunction. Such conditions persisted and continue to persist throughout nations across the globe.

The circumstances that gave rise to protest and public demonstrations in Northern Ireland find underpinnings through state mismanagement in other regions as well. These areas where chronic tensions exist between government authorities and citizen groups may benefit from the details and results of this study, especially as they relate to the application of security policies and the ramifications of public discontent. A broader application of the study's results may de-parochialize its original scope, thereby finding relevance in other contested sociopolitical situations.

A closer examination of other political and social environments that give way to conflict and unrest might provide a better understanding of the reasons behind actions of resistance. In the process of such an examination, authors and analysts of state policy may find the programs implemented to encourage social stability might possibly contribute to community-wide protest. Therefore, in an effort to eliminate a negative

situation incurred through protests, public officials at both a local and national level must understand the root of citizen grievances and take measures to address these matters in a balanced and logical manner that produces positive results.

As an alternative model, the autonomous community of Catalonia located in the northeastern sector of the Iberian Peninsula sought independence from Spain. A Catalanian referendum in 2017 produced overwhelming results favoring independence, but both Spain and the European Union declared the vote illegal (Bosque, 2018). The central Spanish government moved in quickly to repress the movement through increased security and the dissolution of the Catalan parliament (Minder & Kingsley, 2017). My study indicated that over-militarization sowed the seeds of civil disorder. State policy personnel could utilize the results of this study as a frame of reference for proactive measures that might avoid large-scale antigovernment activities. Those measures may include policy modification that emphasize arbitration to explore the rudiments of the aggrieved public.

Cases where autonomous regions claim independence might be more effectively addressed through mediation as opposed to police and extreme administrative measures. The avoidance or disregard for negotiation could instigate violent counter-measures. Promoting the positive aspects of freedom and authority may prove a more effective means to address this or other self-governing regions of a nation-state.

Similar measures of central control were exercised in Venezuela where presidential tribunals suspended the national legislative body by a declaration of emergency. The circumvention of a representative republic has deviated from the

foundations of the previously accepted democratic structures. Additionally, state resources to put down collective protest movements have been brutal and considered in violation of human rights (Pareda, 2017). Other demonstrations that demanded actions from the government for the restorations of liberties and the ability to obtain basic provisions have been violently dispersed by way of state resources and authorities.

These events may have been exacerbated through the government's inability or reluctance to properly leverage the upsides of the human rights and communal obligations polarity. Likewise, the inability of the citizenry to access representative bodies as a result of governmental proroguing may have optimized the negative aspects of the participation and representation polarity. The situation in Venezuela appeared to dissolve into a dictatorship as a result of the government's own economic and social policies (Martinez, 2016).

The results of my study may also provide guidance to government officials especially in the case of abuses by army personnel in a civic environment. State leadership at the highest level must be aware that army brutality when dealing with nonviolent protesters will never be acceptable. As such, public policy related to police/army interaction with civilian populations needs to remain within the recognizable international human rights standards.

Social activists, local leadership, and elected representatives in the United States have levied accusations against regional/local law enforcement officials for what they consider inappropriate use of lethal force within minority communities. Representatives from the BlackLivesMatter (BLM) movement declared that the mission of the

organization is to bring attention to and to stem racism. The structure of the movement is loosely connected through social media to form cohesive units of protest (Ture & Gualtieri, 2017).

Instances where lethal force was used against unarmed civilians has been reported and widely criticized leading to protest actions. In response to these accusations and public demand, policy analysts and public administrators may be forced to revisit how police respond to confrontations. The policy changes may require additional training of police officers in the use of weapons against citizens and proposed other non-lethal methods when confronting unarmed citizens as Lee (2016) suggested. Numerous municipalities have also embraced the need for additional training for officers who patrol in minority neighborhoods.

The results of my study might be used to encourage a partnership between civil society and public leadership that provides a vehicle where a dialogue can occur to address social grievances on a local and regional scale. Subjects for discussion may include but would not be limited to housing discriminations, unfair policing practices, inferior education resources, poor healthcare, and barriers to electoral opportunities. Such discourse may identify the rudiments of the grievances and construct a forum to discuss solutions to the same.

Implications for Social Change

The ultimate goal of my study was to attain a better understanding of the experiences of protest participants and the meanings derived from these experiences. In doing so, it was necessary to meet informants to determine the reasons for their

engagement in acts of resistance and noncooperation. The state has the obligation to protect its citizens and, according to Mill (1859), “holders of power are accountable to the community,” but Mill also noted those holders of power must take measures to ensure that minority members are not oppressed by the majority. My study examined government policy that many from the minority sector considered oppressive. Benet (2013) noted that there has been a “failure to fully attain democracy” (p. 31), which was viewed as a means to “overcome oppression” (p. 32). In consideration of the dearth of literature addressing the nonviolent resistance and protest that transpired in nationalist Northern Ireland, an examination of the experiences to move beyond any form of subjugation and to bring about positive social change seemed warranted.

What became evident as a result of this study was that members of the nationalist community persisted with their protest actions for decades, a condition that contributed to an unstable sociopolitical environment. Policies that were perceived as oppressive or inequitably applied widened the gap between the state and the minority sectors. Therefore, in acknowledgement of the civil disorder brought about through sociopolitical grievances within various nation-states, applying the polarities of democracy model in an effort to mitigate oppression might also be warranted.

Leveraging the positive aspect of the polarities may be achieved through changes in public policy that address the treatment of private citizens on the part of security personnel. Leadership must develop new schema to address social diversity and avoidance of exclusion from state mechanisms. The strategies may include policy changes that address educating citizens to the benefits of new and existing programs; the

inclusion of additional training for military, police, and security personnel in dealing with citizen demonstrations and social unrest; embracing processes that allow equal opportunities related to employment, housing, education, information, and other public services; and/or encouraging citizen input in the crafting of public policy. Collaboration between citizens and government representatives encourages a relationship based on trust which is an essential building block in modern democratic society.

Researcher reflection

My interest in the affairs of Northern Ireland arose decades ago from a curiosity in overseas politics as well as a concern for friends and relations who endured the tribulations of longitudinal social unrest. A deconstruction of the politics came to me after significant evaluation, but an understanding of the emotions and mindset of actors who played a part in the conflict came only through the toils of this study. Interacting with respondents who recounted their experiences through a release of feelings and passion presented difficulties preserving Patton's (2015) researcher neutrality. It was a formidable task not to get drawn into their reflective world of domestic, community, state, and mental disorder.

Almost to a person, participants retold stories of the unnerving effects of the military installation and the role it played in a daily attempt to muddle through a frenzied and tumultuous social environment. I was also confounded with the conviction participants displayed in their attempt to balance a political wrong. Descriptions of women with young children marching into armed troop barricades to help their "neighbors" at times became incomprehensible.

Likewise, the narrations of former republican prisoners who took part in the blanket protest were difficult enough to understand; but ramping up the noncooperation actions by way of the no-wash protest meant that some internees were naked and unwashed (other than forced bathing) for years on end. Moreover, one participant in this study took protest to a lethal level when he joined the 1981 hunger strike taking only water for almost ten weeks. I will admit that it was nearly impossible not to be consumed by the demonstration of principle through a steel will and an indifference to suffering as it was told. At the very least, one had to develop some empathy for the aggrieved in these instances.

The purpose of the reflection brings about a broader trepidation for the oppressed and subjugated everywhere; not just nationalists in Northern Ireland. Protests carried out in an effort to effect social change may be the only means available for certain populations, and the availability of resources may hamstring their chances of success. Nevertheless, subjugated social subsets continue to muster the mettle to confront state authority in the face of insurmountable odds, and it is this ideological fortitude alone that may provide hope for better future.

Conclusion

Normal human interaction will assuredly give way to disagreement and/or conflict which is merely a consequence of diversity (Weeks, 1994). More importantly, it is how the parties in a discordant or competing condition address the diversity (diversities) that will determine if the situation is properly managed or peels off into some destructive orbit. Public officials and engineers of public policy must be aware of the fact that

movements arising from sociopolitical grievances are authentic and normally find underpinning in some form of injustice. In an effort to promote order and societal calm, authorities must discuss, examine, and address those grievances. Any actions or attitudes that disenfranchise sectors of the citizenry will almost certainly lead to protest. Whether that protest action becomes legitimate as a nonviolent movement or becomes mortal as a result of violence, hinges on how the state responds to the concerns of the aggrieved.

As it applies to communities, Benet's (2013) unifying model suggests the parties acting upon any of the polarities (the actors in this study consisted of the nationalist community and the British authorities) have the onus to leverage the positive sides of the polarity. This is not to suggest that such leveraging on the part of a nation-state or a wider community is a small task. Nevertheless, the maintenance of a stable and democratic social environment that is free of oppression falls squarely on the shoulders of government.

Therefore, the actors within the system of public administration who manage the gears of the state must be ever-cognizant of the needs of its citizens. As such, state vigilance to protest movements or other demonstrations designed to air public discontent is critical. Those collective voices cannot be underestimated, disregarded, or ignored. The polarities of democracy unifying model provides a template for governance that encourages just communities (Benet, 2013), but state officials may still struggle to find a balance between the rights and needs of individual or groups as weighed against the state's duty to ensure societal control and stability.

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Appendix A: Interview Protocol Sheet

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INTERVIEW PROTOCOL SHEET**Researcher: Thomas Caulfield****Policy Resisted: Falls Rd Curfew; Internment; Operation Motorman;
Criminalization****Date of Interview:****Time of Interview:****Location of Interview:****Participant Code:****Questions:**

IQ1: In what sort of protest actions did you choose to participate. Why did you prefer one style of nonviolent protest over another form?

IQ2: Was there a single event that made you want to participate in protests against the authorities? Can you explain how that event motivated you to protest?

IQ3: What did you expect to achieve through your protests?

IQ4: Did your participation in nonviolent protest activities bring about fairer treatment of nationalist community members by security forces? Could you explain further with specific examples?

IQ5: Would you say that your involvement in nonviolent protests brought about a protection of rights for those nationalists entangled in the legal system? Please explain how this occurred.

- IQ6: Was there behavior on the part of security forces that nationalist members might consider unfair because of your involvement in protest actions?
Please describe this unfair treatment and how it took place.
- IQ7: As a result of your participation in protest actions, did security forces further obstruct the rights of nationalists caught up in the legal processes?
Please explain how these rights were obstructed?
- IQ8: Was your personal safety ever a concern during these actions? If so, what made you proceed with these actions in spite of the dangers?
- IQ9: Was there any point where you believed no progress was taking place (or that matters were worsening) as a result of these protest actions? What caused you to continue protesting?
- IQ10: Would you say that there was a particular point or action where these protests were contributing to a desired change? When would you say that occurred and what made you feel change was about to take place?
- IQ11: Would you consider these nonviolent actions as an integral part of the struggle for a more fair and peaceful society? Can you provide more information as to the contribution that these actions played?
- IQ12: Are there any ways in which your nonviolent actions detracted from a more peaceful and equitable society? Can you elaborate on how this took place?

IQ13 Are there any ways in which your nonviolent actions contributed to a more peaceful and equitable society? Can you explain how this occurred?

Appendix B: Focus Group Sheet

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FOCUS GROUP SHEET**Researcher: Thomas Caulfield****Policy Resisted: Falls Rd Curfew; Internment; Operation Motorman;
Criminalization****Date of Interview:****Time of Interview:****Location of Interview:****Participant Code:****Questions:**

IQ1: In what sort of protest actions did you choose to participate. Why did you prefer one style of nonviolent protest over another form?

IQ2: Was there a single event that made you want to participate in protests against the authorities? Can you explain how that event motivated you to protest?

IQ3: What did you expect to achieve through your protests?

IQ4: Did your participation in nonviolent protest activities bring about fairer treatment of nationalist community members by security forces? Could you explain further with specific examples?

IQ5: Would you say that your involvement in nonviolent protests brought about a protection of rights for those nationalists entangled in the legal system? Please explain how this occurred.

IQ6: Was there behavior on the part of security forces that nationalist members might consider unfair because of your involvement in protest actions? Please describe this unfair treatment and how it took place.

- IQ7: As a result of your participation in protest actions, did security forces further obstruct the rights of nationalists caught up in the legal processes? Please explain how these rights were obstructed?
- IQ8: Was your personal safety ever a concern during these actions? If so, what made you proceed with these actions in spite of the dangers?
- IQ9: Was there any point where you believed no progress was taking place (or that matters were worsening) as a result of these protest actions? What caused you to continue protesting?
- IQ10: Would you say that there was a particular point or action where these protests were contributing to a desired change? When would you say that occurred and what made you feel change was about to take place?
- IQ11: Would you consider these nonviolent actions as an integral part of the struggle for a more fair and peaceful society? Can you provide more information as to the contribution that these actions played?
- IQ12: Are there any ways in which your nonviolent actions detracted from a more peaceful and equitable society? Can you elaborate on how this took place?
- IQ13: Are there any ways in which your nonviolent actions contributed to a more peaceful and equitable society? Can you explain how this occurred?

Appendix C: Lived Experience Description Sheet

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LIVED EXPERIENCE DESCRIPTION (LED) SHEET**Researcher: Thomas E. Caulfield:****Policy Resisted: Falls Rd Curfew; Internment; Operation Motorman;
Criminalization****Date:**

Please respond to the following questions with as much detail as you can recall. Feel free to use additional pages/sheets if more space is required for a full response. If you have any questions, please contact me at the mail/email/social media address below. Thank you.

Questions:

- Q1: In what sort of protest actions did you choose to participate. Why did you prefer one style of nonviolent protest over another form?
- Q2: Was there a single event that made you want to participate in protests against the authorities? Can you explain how that event motivated you to protest?
- Q3: What did you expect to achieve through your protests?
- Q4: Did your participation in nonviolent protest activities bring about fairer treatment of nationalist community members by security forces? Could you explain further with specific examples?
- Q5: Would you say that your involvement in nonviolent protests brought about a protection of rights for those nationalists entangled in the legal system? Please explain how this occurred.

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- Q6: Was there behavior on the part of security forces that nationalist members might consider unfair because of your involvement in protest actions?
Please describe this unfair treatment and how it took place.
- Q7: As a result of your participation in protest actions, did security forces further obstruct the rights of nationalists caught up in the legal processes?
Please explain how these rights were obstructed?
- Q8: Was your personal safety ever a concern during these actions? If so, what made you proceed with these actions in spite of the dangers?
- Q9: Was there any point where you believed no progress was taking place (or that matters were worsening) as a result of these protest actions? What caused you to continue protesting?
- Q10: Would you say that there was a particular point or action where these protests were contributing to a desired change? When would you say that occurred and what made you feel change was about to take place?
- Q11: Would you consider these nonviolent actions as an integral part of the struggle for a more fair and peaceful society? Can you provide more information as to the contribution that these actions played?
- Q12: Are there any ways in which your nonviolent actions detracted from a more peaceful and equitable society? Can you elaborate on how this took place?

Q13 Are there any ways in which your nonviolent actions contributed to a more peaceful and equitable society? Can you explain how this occurred?

Please return to:
Thomas E. Caulfield
[address redacted]

Email: [\[redacted\]](#)
Facebook: [redacted]

Appendix D: Comprehensive Participant Log

Seq #	Participant Code	Current Residence	Type of Data Collection	Date Collected	Time	Contact Info	Chkd	
1	BM630204N-0	Antrim Co	Interview	9/8/17	100 m	email	Y	Fall Road Publ Lib (Darren-A)
2	BM620004P-0	W Belfast	Interview	9/12/17	170 m	Coiste Office	No	Felons Club, W. Belfast (Barry-B)
3	BM610004P-0	Rep of Ire	Interview	9/14/17	70 m	email	Y	Tar Anall training room (Patrick-C)
4	BM660234N-0	Ohio, USA	Interview	10/7/17	95 m	email	Y	Schwartz Libr @ Clev State U (Mervin-D)
5	BM660200N-0	Rep of Ire	LED	12/7/17	LED	telephone	Y	Written Anecdote received 12/17/17 (Miles-E) Hand Written
6	BF711234N-0	W Belfast	Focus Group	9/14/17	140 m	Tar Anall Comm Ctr	Y	Tar Anall training room (Monica-F)
7	BF661234N-0	W Belfast	Focus Group	9/14/17	140 m	Tar Anall Comm Ctr	Y	Tar Anall training room (Roisin-G)
8	BF671234N-0	W Belfast	Focus Group	9/14/17	140 m	Tar Anall Comm Ctr	No	Tar Anall training room (Sara-H)
9	DM650234N-0	Rep of Ireland	Interview	9/9/14	95 m	Facebook	Y	Derry Central Library (Brendan-I)
10	DM670004P-0	Derry	Interview	9/12/17	125 m	telephone	PR	Abbey Tea Room, Bogside (Eugene-J)
11	DF640204N-0	Fermanagh Co	Interview	9/13/17	90 m	email		Derry Central Libr (Maire-K) (on a Saturday)
12	DF920204N-0	Ontario, Canada	Interview	10/16/17	75 m	email		Huq Family Libr, St Catharines Ont (Brida-L)
13	DF720234N-0	Rep of Ire	LED	11/29/17	LED	telephone/email	PR	Written anecdote received on 11/29/17 (Caitriona-M) Hand Written
14	DF650234N-0	Derry Co	LED	11/17/17	LED	email	PR	Written Anecdote received on 11/17/17 (Frances-N)

COMPREHENSIVE PARTICIPANT LOG RESEARCHER: Thomas Caulfield

Participant Code will consist of ten fields which code information about the participant including where the protests took place, the gender and age (exact or estimated) of the participant and the policy that the participant protested.

Appendix E: Interview Notes

INTERVIEW NOTES**RESEARCHER: Thomas Caulfield**

Interv Seq#	Participants Code	Date	Location	Phenomenon	Audio	Trans	Video	Transcriber	Comments/Notations
01	Darren (B)	9/8/17	Falls Rd Library	Intern; Crimin	Yes	Yes	No	Self	Good references
02	Brendan (D)	9/9/17	Derry Library	Intern; Mtrmn; Crimin	Yes	Yes	No	Self	Just wouldn't stop protesting (until troops left)
03	Eugene (D)	9/12/17	Abbey Tea Room	Criminalization	Yes	Yes	No	Self	Uncomfortable meeting
04	Barry (B)	9/12/17	Felons Club	Criminalization	Yes	Yes	No	Self	Neutral/non-govt. location
05	Maire (D)	9/13/17	Derry Libr	Intern; Crimin	Yes	Yes	No	Self	Very emotional interview
06	Monica (B)	9/14/17	Tar Anall	Curfew	Yes	Yes	No	Self	Very long meeting
07	Roisin (B)	9/14/17	Tar Anall	Curfew	Yes	Yes	No	Self	“
08	Sara (B)	9/14/17	Tar Anall	Curfew	Yes	Yes	No	Self	“
09	Patrick (B)	9/14/17	Tar Anall	Crimin	Yes	Yes	No	Service	Fascinating (a bit rushed)
10	Mervin (B)	10/7/17	CSU Libr	Intern; Crimin	Yes	Yes	No	Self	Most unique protest action
11	Brida (D)	10/23/17	Huq Library	Intern; Crimin	Yes	Yes	No	Self	Very Delicate interview (daughter was present)
12	Frances (D)	11/17/17	LED	Intern; Mtrmn; Crimin	No	Yes	No	Part/Self	Via conventional mail
13	Caitriona (D)	11/29/17	LED	Intern; Mtrmn; Crimin	No	Yes	No	Part/Self	Hand Written
14	Miles (B)	12/7/17	LED	Intern; Mtrmn; Crimin	No	Yes	No	Part/Self	Hand Written

Appendix F: Contemporaneous Notes

CONTEMPORANEOUS NOTES RESEARCHER: Thomas Caulfield te	Participant Code	Location of Interview	Comments/Notations

RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS WANTED

Doctoral candidate seeks participants for dissertation project

My name is Thomas Caulfield from Buffalo, New York in the United States. I am a doctoral candidate at Walden University and I am looking for individuals from Derry who would have –

- participated in marches, protests, or any other nonviolent actions against Internment (Operation Demetrius) from 1971 through 1975; or
- witnessed the dismantling of the “no go” areas during Operation Motorman (1972); or.
- participated in marches, protests, or any other nonviolent actions against Criminalization Policy between 1976 through 1981.

All information will be collected through personal interviews or by submitting written responses to a set of interview questions.

If you are interested, please contact me through any of the means indicated below.

Thank you very much.

Thomas Caulfield

[address redacted]

Email: [redacted]

Facebook: [redacted]

RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS WANTED

Doctoral candidate seeks participants for dissertation project

My name is Thomas Caulfield from Buffalo, New York in the United States. I am a doctoral candidate at Walden University and I am looking for individuals from the Belfast area who would have –

- participated in the Bread March against the Falls Road curfew (1970);
- participated in marches, protests, or any other nonviolent actions against Internment (Operation Demetrius) from 1971 through 1975; or
- witnessed the dismantling of “no go” areas during Operation Motorman (1972).
- participated in marches, protests, or any other nonviolent actions against Criminalization Policy between 1976 through 1981.

All information will be collected through personal interviews or by submitting written responses to a set of interview questions.

If you are interested, please contact me through any of the means indicated below.

Thank you very much.

Thomas Caulfield

[address redacted]

Email: [redacted]

Facebook: [redacted]

Appendix I: Figures



Figure I5. Oppression breeds resistance



Figure 16. Free Derry corner

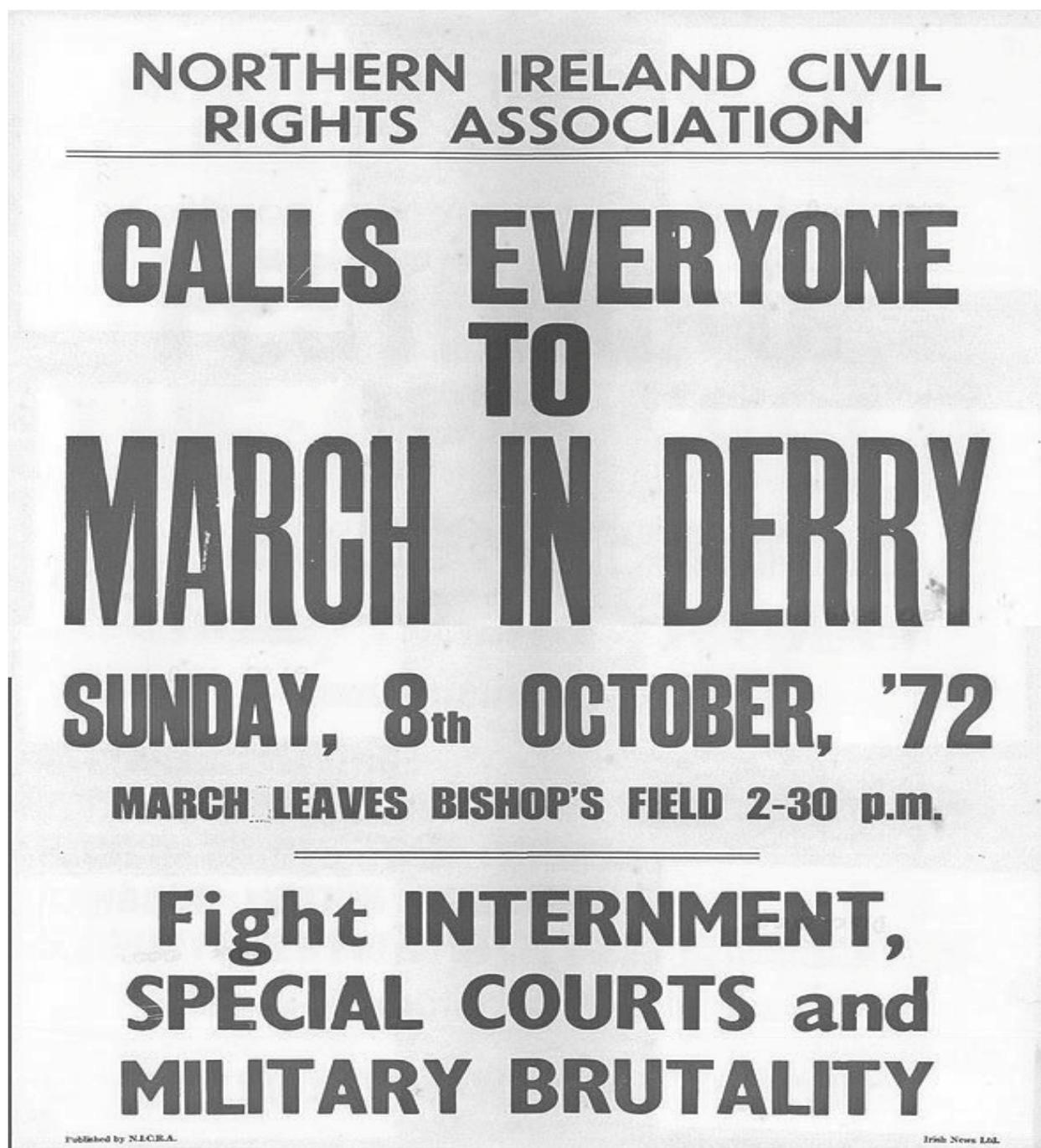


Figure 17. Anti-internment march poster



**NO RENTS
RATES !
ARREARS
until Internment Ends**

Figure 18. Civil resistance poster



Figure 19. Civil disobedience poster

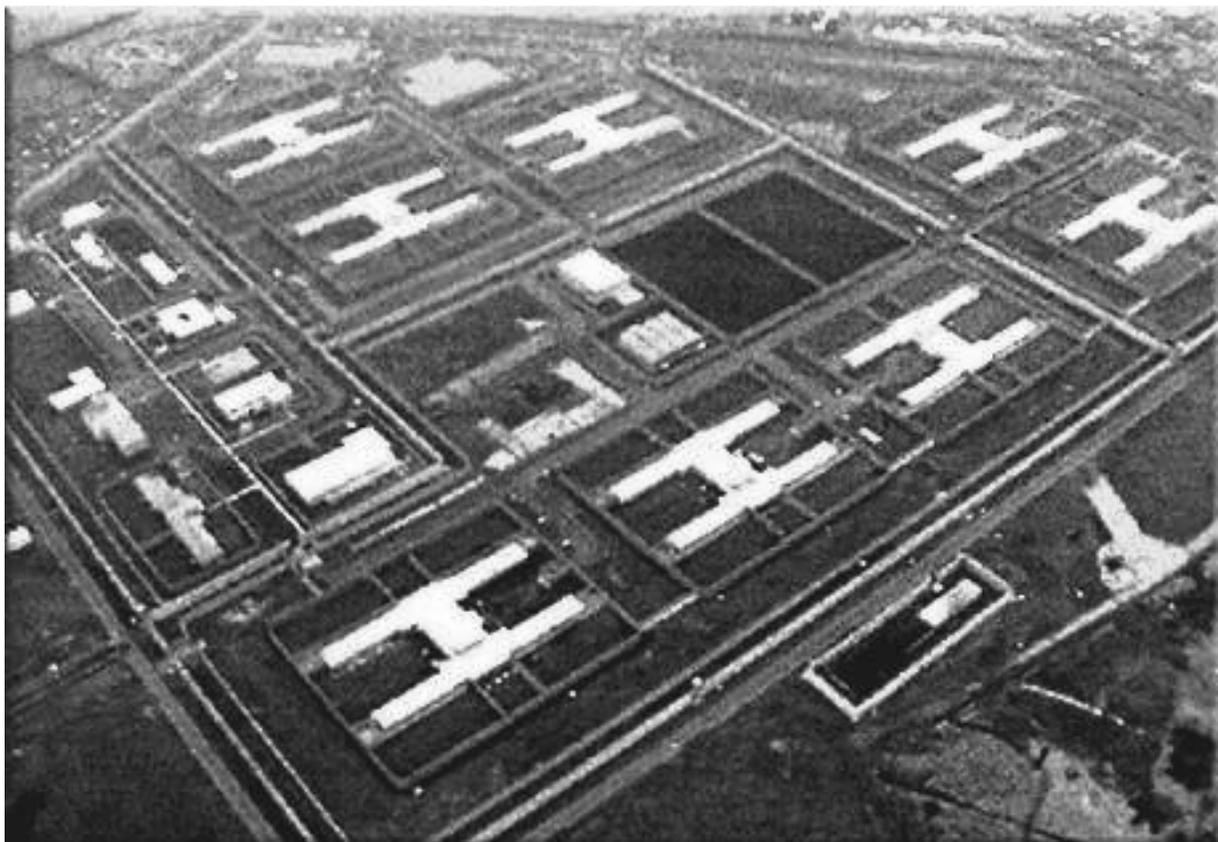
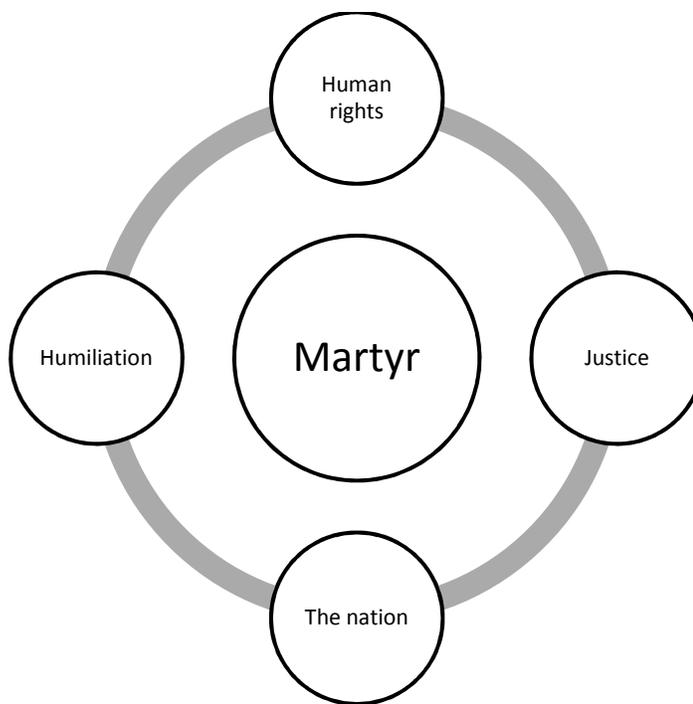


Figure 110. H-Block encampment in Long Kesh

a) The resistance



b) The state

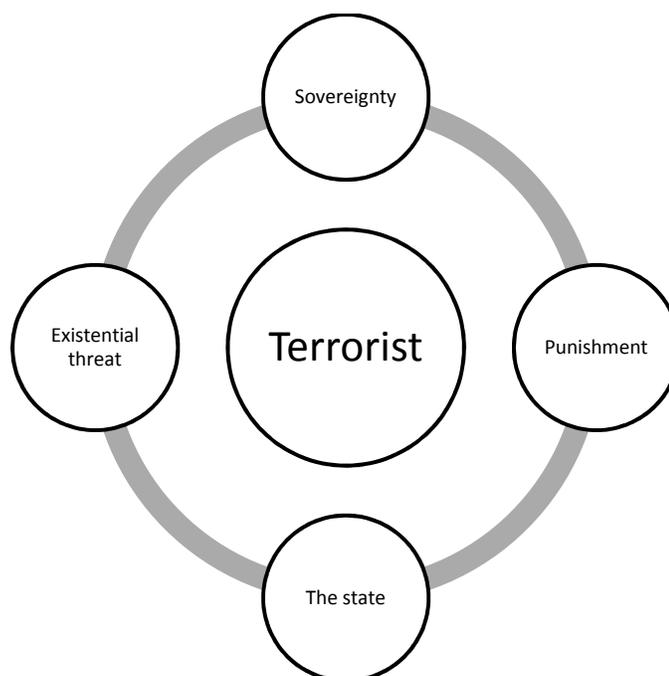


Figure III. State versus Resistance view of 1981 hunger strikers (Fierke, 2013)

HIS LIFE IN YOUR HANDS
VOTE
SANDS



<i>SANDS</i>	<i>X</i>
<i>WEST</i>	

Published by Owen Carron, 7 Market Street, Enniskillen, County Fermanagh. Printed by Anti-H-Block campaign, Fermanagh & South Tyrone By-Election, 9th April 1981.

Figure 112. Bobby Sands 1981 election flyer

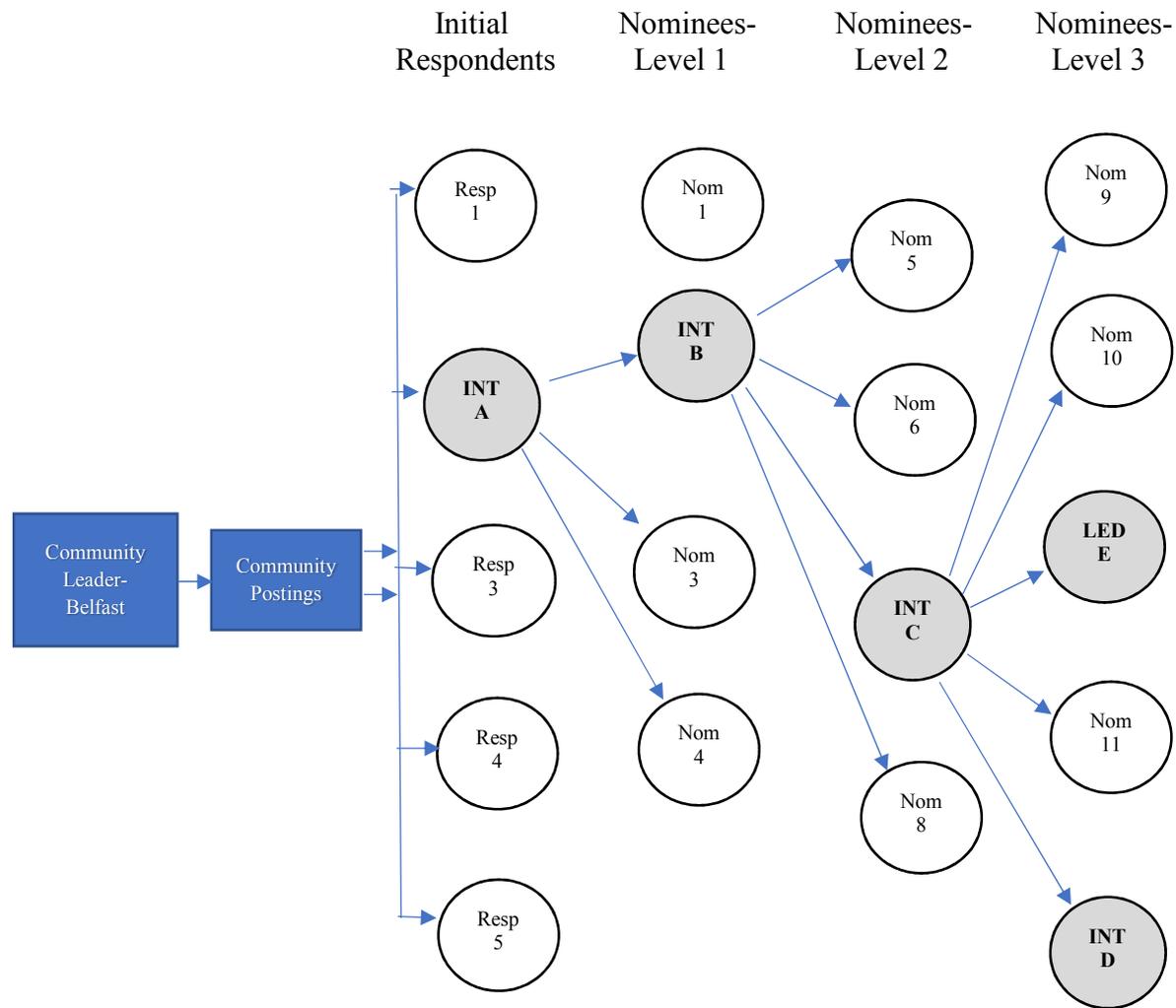


Figure I13. Belfast interview chain sampling

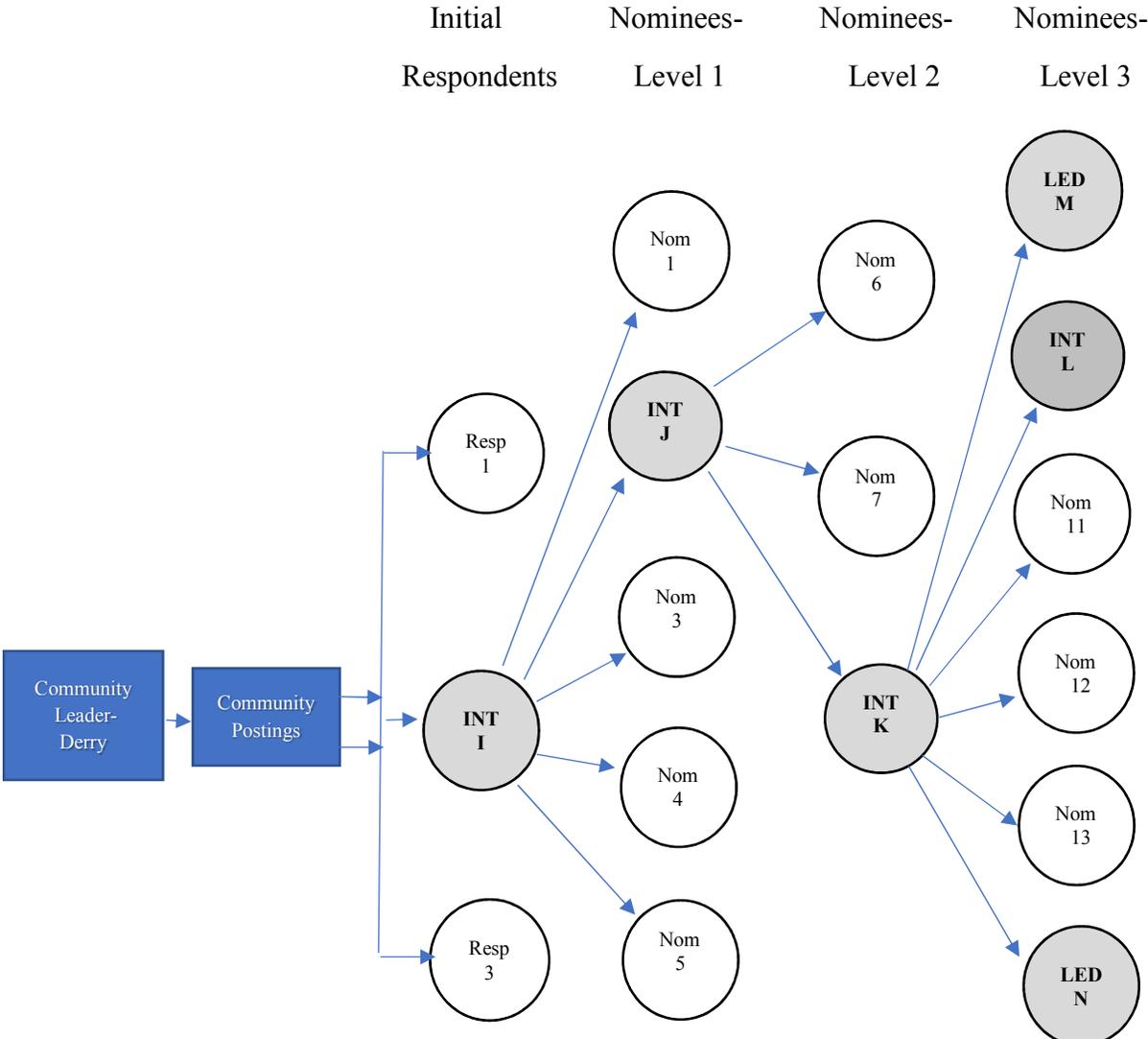


Figure I14. Derry interview chain sampling

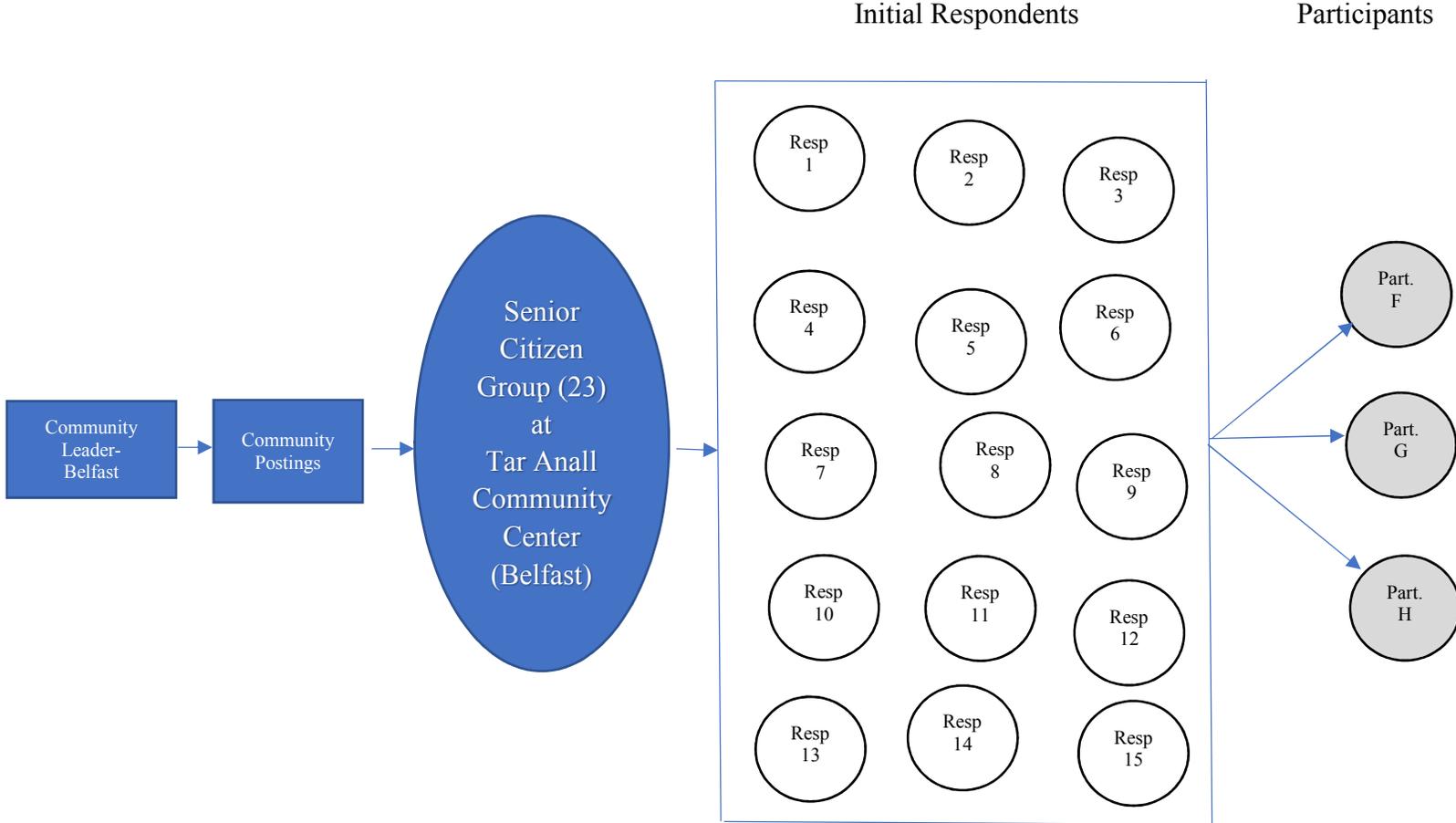


Figure 115. Focus group chain sampling