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**Terrorism in Popular Culture:
A Discourse Analysis of the Portrayal of IRA
Terrorism in Films**

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Abstract

The paper begins by asserting that “terrorism” is a social construct based on discourse from a particular historical context, and that our understanding of terrorism is fashioned by that discourse. It goes on to argue that film, as a powerful medium of popular culture, generates meaning of social events and gives filmgoers a feeling of reality; film functions as a second view on the world, guiding audiences from *reel* to *real*. The study shows how the forty-year long (1968-2008) history of IRA terrorism is portrayed through a selection of eight films, and the “articulation” and “interpellation” are studied empirically through the portrayal of terrorism in these films. The discourse on terrorism is analyzed in terms of discourse productivity, and the study uses Foucault’s genealogy to trace the “history of present-day IRA terrorism.” The findings show that discursive formations are displayed as four different features of IRA terrorism constructed by film language and textual language. These different features reveal the discontinuity of the discourse that is framed by particular time periods. The paper concludes that IRA terrorism (and the acts of IRA terrorists), as portrayed in the eight films, cannot be seen as being representative of a single, unchanging discourse and that the films do not communicate a single meaning. Each of the discourses on IRA terrorism is formed separately in terms of both content and process; each discourse generates different images, or perceivable images, of IRA terrorism.

Keywords

Terrorism, Discourse Analysis, Film Portrayal, Irish Republican Army IRA, The Troubles, Good Friday Agreement

Statement

1. I declare that this paper is all my own work and that I have used only the sources and literature mentioned.
2. I agree that the work should be made public for the purposes of research and study.

In Prague on 17 May 2014

Kan Prateepjinda

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Introduction

No one was born a terrorist, but “terrorist” can certainly become a label. My argument is that “terrorism” is socially constructed,¹ based on discourse from a particular historical context. Therefore who the people are that are branded as “terrorist” also changes in accordance with the discourse that exists at a particular moment. To understand “terrorism” is therefore to understand how such discourse—the product of a system of statements²—comes into being and under what conditions, and how that discourse generates an image for our collective perception. In other words, our understanding of terrorism is fashioned from discourse.

Having a background in the media industry, particularly film documentaries and TV commercials, I understand well the effects of media in shaping our understanding, our beliefs and our perception of reality. After all, it is through various types of media that most of us gain our experience of terrorism and terrorist acts. As a protagonist of Critical Terrorist Studies, I share the view that media is not merely a reflection of “terrorism.” CTS scholars argue that media such as film help to co-construct the discourse on “terrorism” rather than merely reflect it.³ For example, one of my favourite films on terrorism, *The War Within*,⁴ reveals the bitter truth that sometimes states can wrongly treat, in this case torture, individuals and drive them towards terrorist radicalization and finally turn to violence, and become terrorists.⁵ Such a depiction can have affects the viewer’s understanding of “terrorism” and raise criticisms of a state’s counter-terrorism policies and actions.

This thesis is a study of the discourse on terrorism in popular culture, in this case film portrayal, **in order to understand how the concept of IRA terrorism has been constructed in films from different historical contexts, and thus made visible; and**

¹ See for example, Hülse, R., & Spencer, A. (2008). The metaphor of terror: Terrorism studies and the constructivist turn. *Security Dialogue*, 39(6), 571–592.

² Cheek, J. (2004). At the margins? Discourse analysis and qualitative research. *Qualitative Health Research*, 14(8), 1140–1150.

³ Jackson, R., Smyth, M. B., & Gunning, J. (Eds.). (2009). *Critical terrorism studies: a new research agenda*. Routledge.

⁴ IMDb (n.d.) *The War Within*. Retrieved April 25, 2014, from <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0414344/>

⁵ Riegler, T. (2010). Through the Lenses of Hollywood: depictions of Terrorism in American Movies. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 4(2), 35-45

which ‘perceivable substance’ was generated for the discourse on IRA terrorism in order to be understood by the general audience.

In the study of terrorism, mainstream experts seek to objectively study terrorism to gain knowledge of terrorist organizations mainly in order to identify terrorist threats as well as to present options for prevention and/or counter-terrorism policies that mostly serve the benefit of Western superpowers.⁶ Critical Terrorism Studies, however, sees “terrorism” as a strategy rather than an identity. Thus, terrorism is a dynamic term, and terrorist as individuals and organization are better understood in their own specific contexts, and in their own words in order to gain in-depth and profound knowledge of particular terrorist individuals or groups, which might contradict what we feel by intuition.⁷ However, neither state-centric nor actor (terrorist)-centric studies are deemed appropriate for this present study.

CTS sees terrorism as socially constructed in and by discourse; it is a discursive rather than a material fact.⁸ As pointed out by Foucault, discourse is productive,⁹ that is, the discourse on “terrorism” produces a “terrorist” or a “terrorist act.” In other words, discourse categorizes a particular group of people or actions as “terrorists” or as “terrorist acts” based on the complex interaction of social and political practices¹⁰ that contribute to the branding of an action as a terrorist act, both discourse and discursive practice. Thus, the primary focus of research on terrorism should be discourse that labels a particular group or individual as a “terrorist.” As Hülse and Spencer argue, it is only through discourse that terrorism can truly be understood.¹¹ The discourse on terrorism is precisely the focus of this thesis.

⁶ Riegler, T. (2009). "Terrorology": Who analyses and comments on the terrorist threat? Paper presented at 2nd Global Conference, Intellectuals: Knowledge, Power, Ideas, Budapest, May 8-10. URL: <http://www.Inter-Disciplinary.net> [September 20,2010].

⁷ Post, J., Sprinzak, E., & Denny, L. (2003). The terrorists in their own words: Interviews with 35 incarcerated Middle Eastern terrorists. Terrorism and political Violence, 15(1), 171-184.

⁸ Ibid, Hülse & Spencer, 2008

⁹ Kendall, G., & Wickham, G. (1999). Using Foucault's methods. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

¹⁰ Diaz-Bone, R., Bührmann, A. D., Gutiérrez Rodríguez, E., Schneider, W., Kendall, G., & Tirado, F. (2008) The Field of Foucaultian Discourse Analysis: Structures, Developments and Perspectives. Historical Social Research, 33(1), pp. 7-28.

¹¹ Ibid, Hülse and Spencer, 2008.

In the world of politics guided by discourses, media play an undeniably significant role. In the past decade, especially post-September 11, media has gained momentum in the field of international security studies. It is not only because media helps shape the popular understanding of security-related issues but also because it can affect policy changes. In a special issue of “*Security Dialogue*” on “securitization, militarization and visual culture in the worlds of post-9/11,” the volume’s guest editors, David Campbell and Michael Shapiro, lead us to see the power of images in visual media—film, video, photography, art, painting, video games—that goes beyond reflection of the real. The power of images can mediate complex social relations. And in terms of security, images can actually change the practices of securitization and militarization.¹²

This thesis studies the *discourse on “IRA terrorism”* through film portrayals. The study will present how the forty-year long history of IRA terrorism (thirty-years of “The Troubles” [1968-1998] and ten years after the Good Friday Agreement [1998-2008]) is portrayed in popular films. I will engage with the study following the discourse analysis framework laid out by Jennifer Milliken in her article entitled, ‘*The study of discourse in international relations: a critique of research and methods.*’ The discourse on terrorism in this study will be analyzed in terms of discourse productivity, meaning the operationalization of a particular “regime of truth.”¹³ Two possible methods, “articulation” of cultural raw materials and linguistic resources and “interpellation”, will be empirically studied through portrayals of discourse on IRA terrorism in popular films. I will use film language, which entails not only visual and textual language but a holistic representation of reality. Discussion on the study of film in IR will be presented later on in this chapter. For the practice of discourse or in Milliken’s words the “play to practice”,¹⁴ I will use Foucault’s genealogy as a method to trace the “history of present-day IRA terrorism.”¹⁵ This study looks at the ongoing regime of practice, rules and power that affect discourse—discursive formations.

¹² Campbell, D., & Shapiro, M. J. (2007). Guest Editors' Introduction. *Security Dialogue*, 38(2), 131-137.

¹³ Milliken, J. (1999). The study of discourse in international relations: a critique of research and methods. *European journal of international relations*, 5(2), 225-254.

¹⁴ Ibid, Milliken, 1999

¹⁵ Ibid, Kendall & Wickham, 1999

By studying film portrayals of “IRA terrorism”, in terms of discourse productivity, I argue that states, regardless of their legal authority, do not have exclusive power to construct discourse on terrorism, as discourse operates outside the realm of the formal-legal authority of states, but rather operates in society as a whole. This study will demonstrate how film as a cultural artifact contributes to the formation of discourse on terrorism – in this case with respect to the IRA. Nevertheless, filmmakers and state leaders alike operate in a world where different discourses intersect. The discourse on “state sovereignty” and “the state as a guardian of the law” can form the basis for filmmakers’ perceptions and portrayals of terrorism, and therefore, more or less, ground their ideas on the state’s “official discourse”, although they may of course also present some criticism of the role of the state.

“Terrorism” as a social construction can change over time. For tracing practices of discourse, I expect to find discontinuities in the historical context of IRA terrorism as Foucault’s genealogy leads us to believe in such discontinuities; we should therefore look for contingencies that cause such ruptures. I will use the historical development of IRA as a benchmark for referencing changes in discourse on IRA terrorism as portrayed in the films.

Research gap

Studies on terrorism are mostly conducted at the meso- or macro-level such as terrorist typologies,¹⁶ organizational life cycles,¹⁷ organizational evolution, and the terrorist mindset.¹⁸ Most importantly, a close network of think tanks, government officials and organizations, private security firms, as well as intelligence, military, and foreign policy agencies—a “terrorism industry” as Thomas Riegler calls it—has dominated the study of terrorism in the Western world, in both America and Europe.¹⁹ These so-called

¹⁶ Ganor, B. (2004). Terrorism as a Strategy of Psychological Warfare. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma*, 9(1-2), 33–43.

¹⁷ Smith, C. J., and Picarelli, J. (2008). Terrorism: Where Are We Today? *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, 32(1), 1–8.

¹⁸ Hoffman, B. (2006). *Inside Terrorism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, Riegler, 2009

experts have profound influence on the public's perception of terrorism as they consist of respectable researchers as well as high-ranking policy makers. Their works, though biased and state-centric, has been reproduced with little further investigation²⁰ and has resulted in a significant lack of understanding of "terrorism" without the state's hidden agenda. This thesis aims to fill this gap by focusing its study of discourse on terrorism outside the "terrorism industry," and firmly focusing on the micro-level: 'individual-level' terrorism, and terrorists as the human beings that *they are*.

Approach taken by the study

The study of terrorism has grown and changed significantly since the September 11 terrorist attacks. Though the study of terrorism has grown dramatically in the past decade both in terms of depth and breadth of the study,²¹ mainstream terrorism study continues its tradition in the quest for the definition and causation of terrorism as well as effective responses to acts of terrorism, which makes it an exemplar of problem-solving theory.²² The problem of such an approach as noted by Lee Jarvis, is that it takes an "essentialist conception of terrorism as a coherent and bounded object of knowledge," that is the actions of non-state actors against innocent civilians.²³ In this light, mainstream terrorism studies does not leave any room for the process of construction of terrorism.

This thesis, therefore, adopts a Critical Terrorism Studies (CTS) approach in light of its focus on "discourse on terrorism" which entails its historical and social foundations of discourse and its construction.²⁴ What I share with CTS scholars is their ontological standpoint regarding the nature of "terrorism" as it is socially constructed—a social fact produced in and by discourse. There is no rigid, concrete, unchangeable feature of

²⁰ Ibid, Riegler, 2009

²¹ Horgan, J., & Boyle, M. J. (2008). A case against 'critical terrorism studies'. Critical Studies on Terrorism, 1(1), 51-64.

²² Jarvis, L. (2009). The spaces and faces of critical terrorism studies. Security dialogue, 40(1), 5-27; See also Gunning, J. (2007). A Case for Critical Terrorism Studies?. Government and Opposition, 42(3), 363-393.

²³ Ibid, Jarvis, 2009, p. 14-15

²⁴ Ibid, Jackson et. al., 2009; Ibid, Jarvis, 2009

terrorism, so there is no fixed description of a “terrorist” either. The CTS approach to the study of terrorism, therefore, not only allows us to explore the construction of “terrorism”, but also enables us to investigate representations of terrorist identities. CTS, thus, leads us to a more profound understanding of terrorism, which, in turn, *will lead us to more effective problem-solving*.²⁵ In summary, although there has been some skepticism about CTS’s innovation and contribution to the general study of terrorism,²⁶ it does offer a new perspective on the concept “terrorism”²⁷ and an alternative approach to engaging with the study of terrorism at various levels.²⁸

As a subset of Critical Theory, CTS urges scholars to be skeptical towards the existing body of knowledge, which lacks awareness of its own bias and subjectivity. Researchers should, rather, be aware of their own bias and that of the people they study, and be sensitive towards the issue of power-knowledge. CTS seeks to transfer authority to the voice of the terrorists and to reflect their thoughts and concerns as this will liberate us from the confines of univocal state-centred knowledge of terrorism. CTS scholars practice an actor-based approach to the study of terrorism in the hope of gaining an understanding of individual motivations, attitudes, and personal experience, and how these factors influence the journey towards becoming a terrorist.²⁹

As a product of social construction, terrorism is like an amorphous figure that we cannot really pinpoint or explain without facing certain challenges. It feels as though terrorists are all around us, but are they really? Few of us have direct experience of terrorism. What we learn or have communicated to us about terrorism comes through discourse via various means and practices, film included.

This study utilizes the *portrayal of discourse on terrorism in popular films* in order to analyze how “terrorism” is portrayed in popular culture (for a popular audience) in different time frames and socio-political contexts in the real world. It uses linguistic and

²⁵ Ibid, Jarvis, 2009

²⁶ Ibid, Horgan & Boyle, 2008

²⁷ Blakeley, R. (2008). The elephant in the room: a response to John Horgan and Michael J. Boyle. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 1(2), 151-165.

²⁸ Ibid, Jackson et. al. 2009; Ibid, Jarvis, 2009

²⁹ Ibid, Jackson et. al., 2009

visual discourse analysis to uncover how the idea of terrorism has been constructed for popular audiences, and analyzes whether the concept of terrorism and the acts of terrorists portrayed in films have changed over time or, rather, there has been continuity in the perception regarding terrorism in popular media culture - in film in particular.

Film in IR and the study of discourse

For CTS scholars, terrorism is socially constructed, and it can be constructed through various means especially cultural products of the arts and media. According to Edelman, art provides the images we need in order to make sense of the political world, meaning our perception of politics emanates from the stories and images our brains collect from films, books, paintings, and from the events as recreated on TV, rather than from direct observation or participation.³⁰ In other words, the images we collect help to construct our interpretation and understanding of the world in which we live.³¹ Popular cultural media, such as films, are increasingly recognized as an important factor in the production of political discourse, history, and memory³² as they draw upon and reproduce a shared social discourse about terrorism in the social and cultural processes from which 'terrorism' is constructed.³³

Films, or motion pictures, are a wonderful human creation. Not only are they highly entertaining, they can also construct and reflect the world in which we live. Films have, however, been under-utilized in the study of international relations and international security.³⁴ Holden investigates the usefulness of films in the study of IR but with somewhat disappointing results. Although aesthetic IR, including cinematic analysis, falls into the same category as critical IR, its critical capabilities have been constantly questioned. It has also been questioned whether it has anything to do with IR at all;

³⁰ Edelman, M. (1996). From art to politics: How artistic creations shape political conceptions. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

³¹ Swimelar, S. (2013). Visualizing International Relations: Assessing Student Learning Through Film. International Studies Perspectives, 14(1), 14–38.

³² Philpott, S., and Mutimer, D. (2009). The United States of Amnesia: US foreign policy and the recurrence of innocence. Cambridge Review of International Affairs, 22(2), 301–317.

³³ Ibid, Jackson, et. al., 2009.

³⁴ Dodds, K. (2008a). Hollywood and the Popular Geopolitics of the War on Terror. Third World Quarterly, 29(8), 1621–1637.

skeptics see it making no concrete or original contribution to the field.³⁵

Dodds, however, observes that over the past ten years the volume of literature and the number of studies relating to film and international relations has increased, even if the intellectual focus has been diverse, ranging from representational analyses of particular events and processes to studies that explore how filmic contexts might be used to illuminate foundational theories in IR, such as realism, idealism, and social constructivism.³⁶

As for scholarly works, some academics perform the thematic analysis of films as reflections of the real world.³⁷ For some others, such as policy makers, and even filmgoers, films can be used as a vehicle for settling and making sense of otherwise contested foreign and security policies. As Lacy has noted, “The cinema becomes a space where ‘commonsense’ ideas about global politics and history are (re)-produced and where stories about what is acceptable behavior from states and individuals are naturalized and legitimated.”³⁸ The most powerful example would be post-September 11, when films related to patriotism, liberalist values of freedom and liberty, terrorism, and morality in international politics have been widely used to mobilize public support and construct and promote the righteousness of American political values.³⁹

Cynthia Weber argues very strongly that films and ‘imaginaries’ can be used to construct official and popular discourse relating to international relations and international politics, such as in the field of securitization: “Sometimes (as in the official rendition), traditional US moralities are confirmed in this cinematic space; at other times, they are confounded there.” In the case of the September 11 terrorist attacks, she continues; “popular and official discourses of September 11 converge in this space to enable the production, reproduction, and transformation of ever-emerging

³⁵ Holden, G. (2010). World Politics, World Literature, World Cinema. *Global Society*, 24(3), 381-400..

³⁶ Ibid, Dodds, 2008a

³⁷ Ibid, Dodds, 2008a.

³⁸ As cited in Dodds, 2008a, p. 1621; see also Weber, C. (2005). Securitising the unconscious: The Bush doctrine of preemption and Minority Report. *Geopolitics*, 10(3), 482–499.

³⁹ Ibid, Dodds, 2008a; Ibid, Weber, 2005; Weber, C. (2006). *Imagining America at war: Morality, politics and film*. New York, NY: Routledge.

US individual, national, and international subjectivities.”⁴⁰ She feels that American national identity-morality, politics, and US foreign policy, as portrayed in post-9/11 cinema, are founded on the concept of the ‘vigilante’ and the ‘humanitarian’.⁴¹

Weber’s work makes a significant contribution to the field as she offers an illustration not only of the power of films in the study of IR, but also of their “constructive power and its subjectivities” as shown in her textbook, *International Relations Theory: A Critical Introduction*. Weber strongly believes that films, with their trajectory power, successfully demonstrate how “politics, power, and ideology are culturally constructed and how the culture of IR theory might be politically reconstructed.”⁴² As a critical IR theorist, Weber not only sees that the world is made of facts and stories, but also sees how such facts and stories are told. We, then, must be able to interpret not just the facts but the organization of the facts,⁴³ which films do very well.

Another problem with film relates to questions concerning its accuracy. How can the audience know if the story narrated in a particular film is ‘true’ or accurate? Historical narratives can deviate from reality. As Engert and Spencer argue, historical depiction in films does not always adhere to historical events, which leaves the audiences a choice: either to doubt its veracity, or to believe that the history portrayed in the film represents the only accurate account.⁴⁴

Conducting the research

Taking a Critical Terrorist Studies (CTS) approach, this research will investigate a discourse of “IRA terrorism” during the time of “The Troubles” (1968-1998)⁴⁵ and the

⁴⁰ Ibid, Weber, 2006, p. 4.

⁴¹ Ibid, Weber, 2006; Straw, M. (2008). Traumatized masculinity and American national identity in Hollywood's Gulf War. *New Cinemas: Journal of Contemporary Film*, 6(2), 127–143.

⁴² Ibid, Swimelar, 2013.

⁴³ Ibid, Webber, 2013, p. XXV.

⁴⁴ Ibid, Kuzma & Haney, 2001.

⁴⁵ “The Troubles” refers to a violent conflict between British Government and the Republican Nationalist minority in Northern Ireland. The Troubles began with a civil rights march in Londonderry on 5 October 1968 and concluded with the Good Friday Agreement on 10 April 1998. During the thirty-year conflict,

transitional period after the Good Friday Agreement (1998-2008). This research is a critical analysis of IRA terrorism, past and present, although only indirectly as it is a study of discourse in film portrayals.

I will start engaging in the study of discourse by using historical records of IRA terrorism as a chronological reference for discourse portrayed in films as well as to see if there is any record of changes in the evolution of IRA terrorism such as its organizational character. I will then review selected films, in pairs based on the period in which they set. I intentionally use two films in search of a common portrayal of discourse on IRA terrorism at a particular period of time in order to make sure that such a portrayal is not merely the portrayal of a single film. However, with the limit of time and access to materials, I am unable to explore more than two films per time period.

Using Milliken's guidelines, an analysis of discourse in this study is directed at the productivity and practice of discourse on IRA terrorism portrayed in these films. Film language will be used to analyze how the film "speaks" to us an audience, in other words, to create meaning from moving images on film based on what we observe in a film—*mise en scene*, production design, framing, camera movement, lighting, sound and music, and editing. In other words, all of these elements help construct what a film is portraying and what its recognizable objects are.

For the investigation of discourse productivity, film portrayals will be analyzed. Film, as a cultural artefact and a form of entertainment, is an important and effective means of producing discourse and reproducing the common sense held within a society. For discourse analysis, it is to examine how film renders sensible and legitimate actions of a particular state. Discourse analysis challenges common sense that legitimizes discursive authority.⁴⁶ In Foucault's words, "the problem is not changing people's consciousness—what's in their heads—but the political, economic, institutional regime of the production of truth."⁴⁷

more than 3,600 lost their lives and 50,000 injured. For more detail, see <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/troubles>

⁴⁶ Ibid, Milliken, 1999

⁴⁷ Foucault, M. (1980) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*. New York: Pantheon Books as cited in Hansen, 1999, p. 383

For an analysis of the practice of discourse on “IRA terrorism” over time, I will use Foucault’s genealogy method to critically trace back the “history of the present” in order to study how a discourse on “IRA terrorism” has been constituted historically—a system of discursive formations that are discontinuous with one another.⁴⁸ Genealogy is a method that illustrates that things are not as obvious as we believe. It is a method that makes what has been taken for granted the centre of attention.⁴⁹

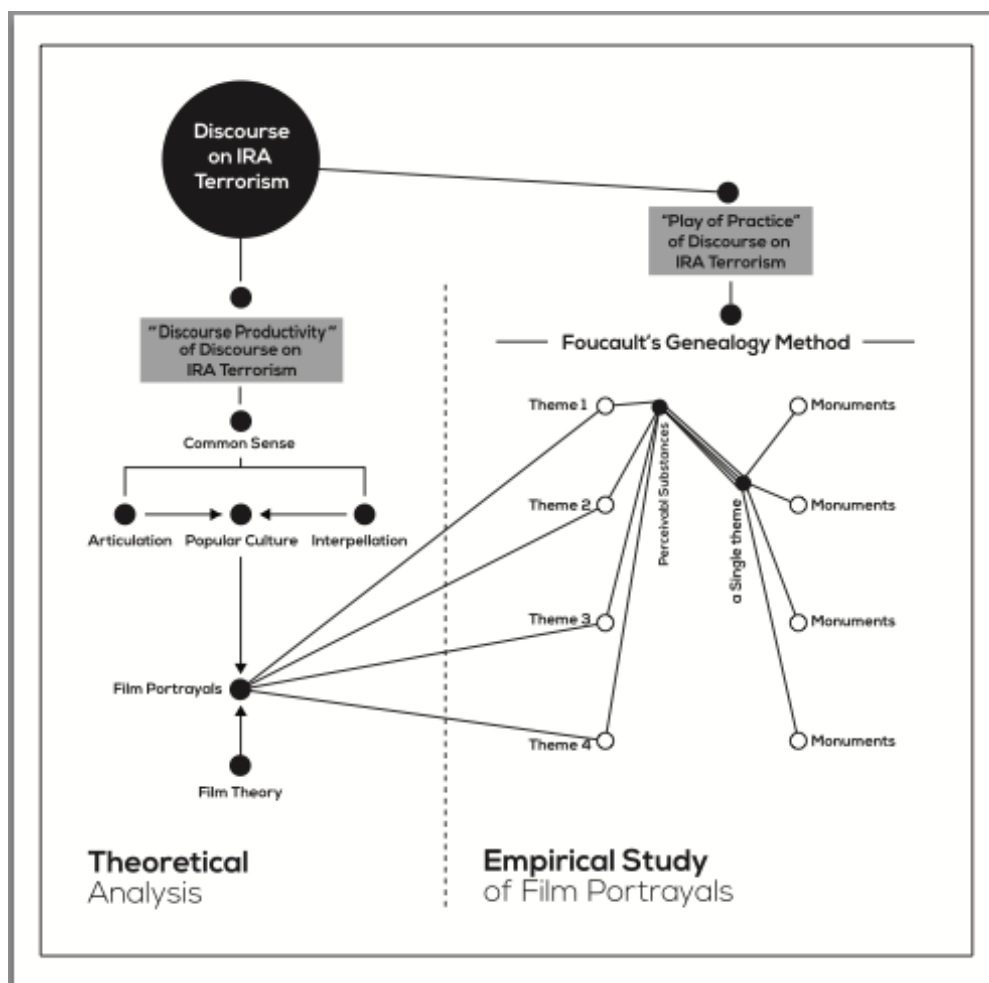
Using Foucauldian discourse analysis, I will investigate how the objects of the discourse “IRA terrorism” become formed, that is, the construction and recognition of IRA terrorists in film portrayals. In other words, who is the IRA terrorist, and how is the organization seen and perceived in each historical context? From a chronological observation that refers to a master narrative of “The Troubles”, the development of IRA terrorism can be categorized into four distinct features or “themes” The next step is to look for recognizable objects⁵⁰—which I call “perceivable substances”—of the discourse on IRA terrorism constructed through statements, in this case, film portrayals. Perceivable substances generated by a particular pair of films represent the perceptions of IRA terrorism in a specific historical context. Perceivable substances relevant to a theme—and which have a single thematic concern—will be called “monuments.” In other words, any perceivable substance outside of a “single theme” will be omitted from the analysis.

Monuments from a single theme reflect discourse on IRA terrorism from each time period like a “snapshot” of discourse. These monuments will be empirically analyzed using film theory/language to reveal how discourse is constructed and generated. Foucault’s genealogy method will be used to examine how such discourse manifests itself in the history of IRA terrorism and what would be the conditions for change or discontinuity would be over time. The analytical framework for this study is summarized in a diagram that follows.

⁴⁸ Ibid, Milliken, 1999

⁴⁹ Salter, M. B. (2013). “Introduction” in Salter, M. B. and Mutlu, C. E. (eds.) Research Methods in Critical Security Studies: An Introduction. New York: Routledge

⁵⁰ Graham, L. J. (2005). Discourse analysis and the critical use of Foucault, Paper presented at Australian Association for Research in Education 2005 Annual Conference, Sydney, November 27-December 1. <http://eprints.qut.edu.au/2689>



But before I proceed, there are certain points I need to make clear with respect to, first, why I will be using popular films and secondly, why I will be focusing on the terrorism carried out by the Irish Republican Army (IRA) during ‘The Troubles’ (1968–1998).

Popular Film

The answer to the first question is threefold: its effectiveness as a means of political communication; its accessibility; and its configuration and structure as an object of study.

Firstly, film, being both art and media, demonstrates the nature of the real world; it is an effective means for political communication⁵¹ and the creation of social meaning. Film creates mechanisms of affection and perceptual participation in the audience that appeal impulsively to a sense of belief; film, as an ‘impression of reality’, is highly ‘believable.’⁵² The main advantage of film is the movement (films are, after all, also called ‘movies’), which offers a very strong impression of reality because movement erases the perception of time-distance, thus providing a feeling of presence and realness.⁵³ The realness of a motion picture, moreover, helps facilitate the communication of a difficult message.⁵⁴

Even surreal or fantasy films, in which the audience recognizes their unreality, gives a very realistic feeling to unreality. Their aesthetic quality also contributes to the convincing power of films, as this is basic human psychology.⁵⁵ All of these attributes of film make it a very powerful mechanism and evidence suggests that viewing films can also influence social attitudes.⁵⁶

Secondly, unlike other art forms, films target and reach large audiences (films are considered to be mass media). They are able to do so for several reasons. Film’s offer of ‘presence’ and ‘proximity’ urges the general public to go to the cinema.⁵⁷ Home movies in other formats such as CD or DVD make them even more accessible and cheap. High-profile award-winning commercial films are among the most visible artefacts of popular culture—millions see them each year.⁵⁸ Some films are more commercially successful than others, but with their accessibility, films provide opportunities for people to watch and reflect upon contemporary international politics.⁵⁹ As discussed above, films help us to understand international phenomena of which we rarely have any direct

⁵¹ Engert, S., and Spencer, A. (2009). International relations at the movies: Teaching and learning about international politics through film. *Perspectives. Review of International Affairs*, (1), 83–103.

⁵² Metz, C. (1974). *Film language: A semiotics of the cinema*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

⁵³ *Ibid*, Metz, 1974.

⁵⁴ Cowen, P. S. (1984). Film and text: Order effects in recall and social inferences. *ECTJ*, 32(3), 131–144.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, Metz, 1974.

⁵⁶ Sapran, S. (1998). Disability portrayal in film: Reflecting the past, directing the future. *Exceptional Children*, 64(2), 227–238.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, Metz, 1974.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, Sapran, 1998.

⁵⁹ A Light, (2001). *Reel Arguments*, Boulder, CO: Westview.

experience, such as wars, terrorism, or foreign policy.⁶⁰

Lastly, as an object of study, film consists of five pre-existing forms of expression including image, speech, music, sound, and written material.⁶¹ All of these components enable film to generate the meaning of social events and give filmgoers the feeling of reality. Thus, film has a certain configuration, certain fixed structures and figures that enable a researcher to produce an empirical and systematic study.

Cinematic stories and characters are part of discursive practices through which the discourse on terrorism has been constructed.⁶² Studying depictions in films, therefore, provides an interesting insight into how the contested conception of ‘terrorism’ has been portrayed. In other words, how “discourse” on “terrorism” has been constructed and generated.

The discourse on IRA terrorism

The second question concerns the justification for choosing ‘IRA terrorism’.

Terrorist organizations have a natural cycle that is no different from other organizations: birth, growth, peak, decline, and death.⁶³ In this cycle, terrorist organizations depend, for their sustainability, on the recruitment of new members in order to maintain growth and development.⁶⁴ Individuals are familiarized with terrorist ideology and socialized through family, peers, community, and schools; those recruited are trained; finally they are prepared for carrying out their assigned tasks.⁶⁵ CTS strongly believes that to fully understand terrorism, we must place it in the historical, political, social and cultural

⁶⁰ Ibid, Light, 2001.

⁶¹ Ibid, Metz, 1974.

⁶² Ibid, Diaz-Bone, et. al., 2008.

⁶³ Phillips, P. J. (2011). The Life Cycle of Terrorist Organizations. *International Advances in Economic Research*, 17(4), 369–385.

⁶⁴ Crenshaw, M. (1981). The Causes of Terrorism. *Comparative Politics*, 13(4), 379–399; Ibid, Hoffman, 2006.

⁶⁵ Ibid, Smith & Picarelli, 2008.

context in which it occurs.⁶⁶

IRA terrorism is a perfect case for this particular study. Not only has it taken place within our own lifetime, it has progressed to the end of the cycle. The Good Friday Agreement signed with the British government on April 12, 1998, marked the official ‘beginning of the end’ for the IRA. De facto, however, ‘IRA terrorism’ has not really ended: the peace process and integration process is still a work in progress; and violent offshoots such as The Real IRA and The Continuity IRA were formed as they oppose the IRA’s participation in the ceasefire and the peace process.⁶⁷

From a theoretical perspective, IRA terrorism gives us an opportunity to study the discourse on terrorism in different periods of its life cycle, including ‘post-peace process’. The feasibility and technicality of the study are affected by the language barrier and the availability of popular films. Discourse analysis deals largely, though not exclusively, with language in its cultural context, so attempting discourse analysis of films in incomprehensible foreign languages would be little short of a suicide mission. Choosing the IRA is therefore a logical decision as the Irish speak English, albeit with a different dialect and vocabulary. Most importantly, there is a sufficient number of films about the IRA covering the period of the ‘The Troubles’ (1968–1998), that is, with the exception of the post-Good Friday Agreement era. This gave me the opportunity to review most of the films and make a careful selection of those films to use in this study.⁶⁸ At the same time, the fact that IRA terrorism is a recent phenomenon means information is readily available, especially the historical context, which is crucial in CTS.

⁶⁶ Ibid, Jackson et. al., 2009

⁶⁷ National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism. (n.d.). Terrorist Organization Profile: Irish Republican Army (IRA). Retrieved April 27, 2014, from http://www.start.umd.edu/tops/terrorist_organization_profile.asp?id=55

⁶⁸ For a complete lists of films featuring the IRA, see Appendix A

Justification for film selection

This study deals with portrayals of *IRA terrorism* in *popular* films. Thus, two main criteria are ‘the main plot either concerning IRA terrorism or featuring IRA volunteers as the main characters’ and the ‘popularity’ of the selected films. Popularity will be measured by the profile of the director, the lead actors/actresses, awards received, and recognition among peers in the film industry. Gross earnings will not be taken into account as a number of IRA-related movies had a limited release in cinemas. High-profile directors, actors, and actresses, however, can act as magnets and help to popularize the film.

The third criterion is access. All films selected must be on general release and available on the market. In fact, a film's availability can also be seen as an indicator of its popularity. Unpopular films are not likely to be released in home entertainment format (CD, DVD). And, since a researcher has limited access to VHS players, films that are not in CD or DVD format will not be included in the selection. The last criterion concerns the time period covered in the study, that is, the time of ‘The Troubles’, from 1968 to 1998. Put together, the films selected should cover this thirty-year period and should not focus on a particular time within that period.

A full list of films about the Troubles is posted on the Northern Ireland Conflict Studies website, CAIN (Conflict Archive on the Internet). Out of the 42 films listed on the CAIN website, 8 that fitted the above criteria were chosen. The result is shown in the Table 1.⁶⁹ Some films, such as ‘The Boxer’ and ‘H3’, were not selected because there are so many films about the same event (Bloody Sunday and the hunger strike) in the history of IRA terrorism; or were films produced by the same director/producer (‘In the Name of the Father’ and ‘The Boxer’; ‘The Crying Game’ and ‘Breakfast on Pluto’).

It is very important to note that two of the selected films, ‘Five Minutes of Heaven’ and ‘Omagh’, are about the peace process in Northern Ireland after the Good Friday Agreement. I chose these two films in order to see how the discourse on IRA terrorism

⁶⁹ See Appendix A for both lists

has been portrayed at the dawn of its organizational life. Therefore, ‘Five Minutes of Heaven’, although it does not feature IRA volunteers but a member of the Ulster Volunteer Forces (UVF), was chosen intentionally. Other films from the same period, ‘IRA King of Nothing’ and ‘Johnny Was’, were not picked as they do not focus on the IRA after the peace process.

Table 1: List of selected films

No.	Title	Director	Notable cast	Summary	Released	Setting
1	Bloody Sunday	Paul Greengrass	James Nesbit	Depiction of the 1972 Bloody Sunday massacre.	2002	Television film 1972
2	In the Name of the Father	Jim Sheridan	Daniel Day-Lewis, Pete Postlethwaite	Based on the real life Guildford Four, father and son are falsely imprisoned as IRA members accused of committing the Guildford pub bombing.	1993	1975
3	Hunger	Steve McQueen	Stuart Graham <u>Laine Megaw</u>	Depiction of the Bobby Sands during the 1981 Irish hunger strike.	2008	1981
4	Fifty Dead Men Walking	Kari Skogland	Ben Kingsley Rose McGowan Jim Sturgess	A loose adaptation of Martin McGartland's 1997 autobiography of the same name.	2008	1988-1991
5	The Crying Game	Neil Jordan	Stephen Rea	A British soldier is kidnapped by IRA terrorists. He befriends one of his captors, who is drawn into the soldier's world.	1992	1992
6	Shadow Dancer	James Marsh	Clive Owen	An IRA member is turned into an informer for the British, to protect her son	2012	1993
7	Omagh	Pete Travis	Gerard McSorley	An examination of the aftermath of the 1998 Real IRA bombing that killed 29 people in Omagh, Northern Ireland.	2004	Television film 1998-2005
8	Five Minutes of Heaven	Oliver Hirschbiegel	Liam Neeson	A reconciliation is attempted after 33 years	2009	2008

These films will be carefully viewed in order to see how the discourse on IRA terrorism is portrayed in each film.

The eight films will be paired based on shared characteristics in terms of their portrayals of the discourse on IRA terrorism through the thirty-year period between 1968 and 1998. The pairs are: 'Bloody Sunday' (1972) and 'In the Name of the Father' (1978), 'Hunger' (1981) and 'Fifty Dead Men Walking' (1990), 'The Crying Game' (1992) and 'Shadow Dancer' (1993), and 'Five Minutes of Heaven' (2008) and 'Omagh' (1998).

Structure of the thesis

The thesis is structured as follows. In the following chapter, I will discuss the theories, approaches, and methodology used to tackle this research in more detail. Frameworks for the analysis of discourse will be presented. In this chapter, I will also provide a brief description of film theory in order to familiarize readers with terminology used in the analysis of film language used in the films. Foucault's genealogy will be reviewed as it will be used as a method for scrutinizing the historical context of the discourse on IRA terrorism, and its continuities and discontinuities. Then will follow a chapter giving a brief description of the historical background to IRA terrorism during "The Troubles" (1968-1998) up to the peace process after the Good Friday Agreement.

The next four chapters offer an analysis of how films have portrayed IRA terrorism: eight films will be presented in four pairs according to the themes they share. Each pair will be analyzed in detail using film theory as the main analytical tool. The next chapter, a summary of findings, will present an analysis of the findings using Foucault's genealogy in order to answer the research question (and some points beyond the scope of the research question but which the researcher found interesting and worth discussing). The final chapter will present the conclusions and the recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER 2
THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL
FRAMEWORK

Theoretical and Methodological Framework

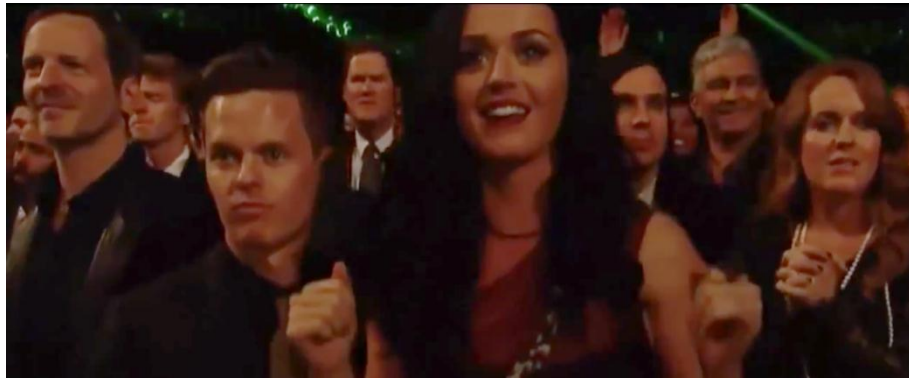
*“---Once you want to free your mind
about a concept of harmony and music being correct,
you can do whatever you want.*

So nobody told me what to do and there was no preconception of what to do---”

*‘Giorgio by Moroder’: Daft Punk, Random Access Memories
4 Grammy Awards Winner 2013*

When the duo 'Daft Punk' performed their award-winning song of the year, “Get Lucky”, the Staple Stadium became a dance floor. It was no surprise to see Katy Perry getting up and dancing. But to see members of the Beatles - Sir Paul McCartney and Ringo Starr and the late John Lennon’s wife Yoko Ono - do the same was indeed a surprise.⁷⁰ Why? It is because we have a ‘preconception’ that rockers or artists do not enjoy dance/electronica music.

⁷⁰ Winter, K. (2014, January 26). Daft Punk and Stevie Wonder Lead Funky Disco Smash-Up at Grammys. Rolling Stone Music. Retrieved from <http://www.rollingstone.com>



In a previous chapter, I introduced my research topic—the study of the discourse on IRA terrorism through its portrayal in popular film. I realize that for theory-based and problem-solving scholars in International Relations, especially International Security Studies, this kind of topic can be seen as disturbing or non-academic; I have already demonstrated how this research topic situates itself among and communicates with other studies, especially in the sub-field of terrorism studies. In this chapter I will elaborate on the theoretical foundations of the research and on how I designed that research.

Before I start, I would like to ask you to *“free your mind of the concept of ‘research’ and ‘theory’ as being correct.”* The goal of this research is to gain more knowledge regarding terrorism, to introduce new perspectives in understanding terrorism, and humbly to hope to emancipate us from our self-imposed boundaries in terms of knowledge and enquiry. For critical scholars, emancipation is not an end in itself but a continuous process of struggle and critique.⁷¹ By the same token, Foucault’s genealogy as “critical ontology of ourselves” urges us to constantly extend the “limit of the necessary,” which leads us to test the “limits we might go beyond, and thus as work carried out by ourselves upon ourselves as free beings.”⁷²

The study of discourse in International Relations

Discourse analysis has been used by scholars in many fields, including sociology, social history, political science, social psychology, and even distant relatives of social science such as accounting;⁷³ it is certainly no longer restricted to linguistics or other language-related sciences. Discourse is a social practice that constitutes the social world—a system of statements or enunciations. In other words, discourse is perceived as social structure, and discursive practice as social practice. It is an embedded connection of

⁷¹ Ibid, Jackson et. al., 2009.

⁷² Foucault, M. (1984). “What is Enlightenment?” in Rabinow, P. (ed.) *The Foucault Reader*. New York: Pantheon, as cited in Kendall and Wickham, 1999, p. 30.

⁷³ Armstrong, P. (1994). The influence of Michel Foucault on accounting research. *Critical Perspectives on Accounting*, 5(1), 25-55.

textual and social processes that influence the way we think and act in a specific context in the contemporary world.⁷⁴

In the field of International Relations, discourse analysis has become more popular and recognizable among non-traditional scholars from post-structuralism to post-modernism and social constructivism, yet not without a certain degree of skepticism. Discourse analysis as a critical reflexive approach is often seen to lack theoretical rigour, and also to lack relevance in the world of real politics. In his review of the development of security studies, Stephen M. Walt expresses his concern that international security is far too serious a matter to rely on “a prolix and self-indulgent discourse that is divorced from the real world.”⁷⁵ Leading critical scholars and discourse analysts in IR and International Security Studies do not share the same perspective. Lene Hansen’s response to Walt illustrates the crucial contribution discourse analysis makes to International Security Studies in the post-Cold War era in terms of both theoretical development and policy recommendations. Fundamentally, discourse analysts disagree with the brand of scientific theory that has dominated the study of IR, critically examine what the scientific perspective takes for granted, and challenge the superiority of scientific law over historically sensitive analysis.⁷⁶

A study of discourse in international relations is heavily influenced by the works of Michel Foucault. According to Foucault, discourse refers to “practices that systematically form the object of which they speak.”⁷⁷ It is very important to emphasize that to Foucault, discourse is not simply made up of words or signs about an object, but is about practices that make statements and decisions about those objects possible. Therefore, Foucauldian discourse analysis searches for practices that make it possible to speak about a common object;⁷⁸ in the case of this study, about IRA terrorism.

⁷⁴ Ibid. Milliken. 1999

⁷⁵ Walt, S. M. (1991). The renaissance of security studies. *International Studies Quarterly*, 211-239.

⁷⁶ Hansen, L. (1997). A case for seduction? Evaluating the poststructuralist conceptualization of security. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 32(4), 369-397.

⁷⁷ Foucault, M. (1972). Archaeology of knowledge and the discourse on language, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith. New York: Vintage. As cited in Mutlu, C. E. and Salter, M. B. (2013). “The discursive turn: Introduction” in Salter, M. B. and Mutlu, C. E. (eds.) *Research Methods in Critical Security Studies: An Introduction*. New York: Routledge, p. 5.

⁷⁸ Ibid, Mutlu & Salter, 2013.

Following the footsteps of leading discourse analysts such as David Campbell,⁷⁹ Roxanne Lynn Doty,⁸⁰ Jennifer Milliken,⁸¹ Ole Wæver,⁸² and Lene Hansen,⁸³ Rainer Hülse and Alexander Spencer,⁸⁴ I find Foucauldian discourse analysis suitable for this particular study for two reasons: its non-elite centred approach and its genealogy method.

Discourse as practice constitutes actors, and structures what they can meaningfully say or do. Actors, therefore, have very limited agency. In other words, actors cannot control discourse for their own use. Rather than being at liberty to use words intentionally and manipulate discourse to further their own purposes, these actors are themselves an integral part of discourses that leave them little room for individuality.⁸⁵ As states (through their leaders), policy makers and officials do not operate in a vacuum, they are also products of discourses and their historical contexts. In this study of the discourse on IRA terrorism as portrayed in popular films I hope to see how discourse is constructed and how it fashions itself in popular culture. Furthermore, Foucault's genealogy allows me to investigate how the discourse on IRA terrorism was formed in a particular time and how it changes over time.

⁷⁹ Campbell, D. (1998). Writing security: United States foreign policy and the politics of identity. University of Minnesota Press.

⁸⁰ Doty, R. L. (1993). Foreign policy as social construction: a post-positivist analysis of US counterinsurgency policy in the Philippines. International Studies Quarterly, 37 (3), 297-320.

⁸¹ Ibid, Milliken, 1999

⁸² Wæver, O. (2004) 'Discursive approaches', in European Integration Theory, eds A. Wiener & T. Diez, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 197-215.

⁸³ Hansen, L. (2013). Security as practice: discourse analysis and the Bosnian war. Routledge.

⁸⁴ Ibid, Hülse & Spencer, 2008; Spencer, A. (2012). The social construction of terrorism: media, metaphors and policy implications. Journal of International Relations and Development, 15(3), 393-419.

⁸⁵ Ibid, Hülse & Spencer, 2008

Discourse analysis as a research method

Like any other discipline utilizing discourse analysis, however, there has been a serious lack of rigorous research in IR discourse analysis. This is no accident but is because of epistemological and methodological differences between mainstream scholars and discourse analysts. Researchers adopt critical theory and discourse analysis in order to rebut the mainstream obsession with scientific modes of inquiry.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, a lack of research methodology causes some disadvantages for protagonists of discourse analysis as they deliberately limit themselves within their own realm of analysis and disregard methods that may be useful for broadening their analysis and, therefore, their knowledge.⁸⁷

Post-modernism and post-structural discourse analysis reject social “scientific” methods of carrying out research as well as positivist methodological and research design criteria as they marginalize alternative experiences and perspectives.⁸⁸ Philosophically, Foucault and post-structuralist and post-modernist scholars do not believe in absolute truth as grounded in the rational thinking of the Enlightenment, rather believing that there are no universal truths or absolute ethical beliefs in social scientific enquiry that can be separated from their social-historical context. Thus, for the post-structuralist tradition, analysis is always interpretative and contingent;⁸⁹ there is no superior, hegemonic scientific research method.

Discourse analysts, therefore, especially those who follow the Foucauldian tradition, attempt to avoid the “positivist trap” and to maintain 'undecidability'. Foucault’s dislike of prescription results in ambiguity as there is no recipe book telling exactly how to do Foucauldian discourse analysis or genealogy. It is difficult to arrive at a coherent description of how to do Foucauldian discourse analysis - either because there is no such thing,⁹⁰ or because there are too many such things.⁹¹

⁸⁶ Ibid, Milliken, 1999.

⁸⁷ Ibid, Milliken, 1999.

⁸⁸ Ibid, Milliken, 1999.

⁸⁹ Ibid, Graham, 2005.

⁹⁰ Ibid. Graham. 2005.

Efforts to avoid the “positivist trap” have nonetheless fallen into a trap of their own making. Ambiguity in research design and the lack of a common methodology have been the major weaknesses of discourse analysis. From a positivist perspective, discourse analysis has no standards by which knowledge claims can be measured and justified. There is also no set of standardized criteria for data collection, case selection or the limits of research. Most importantly for positivists, the lack of shared methodology and research processes restricts researchers in performing theory-testing studies that replicate previous studies. However, as an alternative mode of inquiry, discourse analysis, with its critical nature, has a significant contribution to make as it challenges dominant discourses and provides space for “subjugated knowledge”—a sphere of knowledge that has been largely disregarded and unrecognized.⁹² Optimistically, ambiguity and the lack of strict boundaries make discourse analysis a very flexible tool for critical analysis. With carefully crafted research design and a strong theoretical foundation, discourse analysis can lead us to knowledge beyond present limits.

It should be kept in mind that this thesis views discourse according to Foucault’s definition, that is, as a system of social practice that systematically forms the meaning of common objects. Therefore, discourse helps us make sense of the real world. The study of discourse, as an object of study and as a method, cuts across different epistemological and theoretical assumptions. However, to maintain Foucault’s characteristic of non-prescription does not prevent researchers from having a clear research design, that is, from being explicit about what is to be done without trying to dictate what is to be done.⁹³ In this light, I adopt as a starting point Jennifer Milliken’s⁹⁴ proposed theoretical commitments and guidelines for discourse analysis.

⁹¹ Diaz-Bone, R., Bührmann, A. D., Gutiérrez Rodríguez, E., Schneider, W., Kendall, G., and Tirado, F. (2008) The Field of Foucauldian Discourse Analysis: Structures, Developments and Perspectives. *Historical Social Research*, 33(1), 7-28.

⁹² Ibid, Milliken, 1999.

⁹³ Ibid, Graham, 2005.

⁹⁴ Ibid, Milliken, 1999.

Discourse can be seen primarily in three different theoretical functions upon which researchers can base their research: as systems of signification, of discourse productivity, and of the practice of discourse. These theoretical commitments draw boundaries for the justification of appropriate contexts and methods of discovery and can be used as a basis for the critical evaluation of discursive studies.⁹⁵ Within the scope of its research question, this present study focuses on the latter two theoretical commitments: discourse productivity and the “play of practice.”

Discourse productivity implies that discourses are productive (or reproductive) of things defined by discourse. Discourse is therefore not only about the meaning of words but about practices of a particular ‘regime of truth’ that authorizes certain subjects to speak and to act, while excluding others. Discourses also define “knowledgeable practices” by these subjects towards the objects—place and groups—also defined by discourse such as proper interventions, disciplining techniques and practices, and/or other discursively constructed actions. Lastly, discourses define the subjects who are authorized to speak and act on behalf of a particular group, and their common sense of the existence and qualities of different phenomena and how public officials should act for them and in their name. Discourses legitimize (enable or constrain) the practices of authorized actors and exclude others, and champion a certain kind of common sense while ruling out others.⁹⁶ Discourse productivity, therefore, focuses on a study of “*dominating discourses and their structuring of meaning as connected to implementing practices and ways of making these intelligible and legitimate.*”⁹⁷

As discourses are open, inherently unstable, and can be changed over time, the “play of practice” refers to an examination of how to stabilize and fix dominant meanings of discourses, which involves the ongoing articulation and re-articulation of knowledge and identities (to fix the “regime of truth”). Given the nature of discourses, any fixing can only be partially completed, thus leading to the possibility of discontinuity and variation, in other words, of historical contingency. Moreover, the study of the practice of discourses encompasses the study of “subjugated knowledge” in their

⁹⁵ Ibid, Milliken, 1999.

⁹⁶ Ibid, Milliken, 1999.

⁹⁷ Ibid, Milliken, 1999, p. 230.

knowledge/power relations with the dominant discourses. One of the major contributions made by discourse analysis is its focus on forgotten, neglected and marginalized spheres of knowledge as well as the dominant spheres. Moreover, by means of genealogy, discourse analysis also provides an analysis of alternative narratives of history by focusing on discontinuities and ruptures rather than on continuous transformations of a grand historical narrative.

Constructing the research method

The positivist critique of discourse analysis - that it lacks research rigour and is without relation to the real material world - is fundamentally and epistemologically flawed. Coming from an interpretive approach, discourse analysts' methodological choices and research goals differ vastly from those of the positivists.⁹⁸ Discourse analysts are primarily interested in understanding how and why a particular discourse is constructed and how it becomes dominant, and what practices are made intelligible by this dominance. Therefore, to study discourse as a social construction is more compatible with qualitative research because of its inherently subjective characteristic. But it does not mean that the interpretivist approach has no clear and strong research method, nor that it totally disengages with the material world.

Interpretativists do not see the unbiased and objective world of natural science and its logical/rational rules as adequate for understating the social "reality" we live in. They assert that people create and attach their own meanings to their understanding of the world as well as their actions in the world. Hence, researchers must interpret empirical reality in terms of what it means to the observed people. The inter-subjectivity of created meanings in the world is, therefore, a basic and integral part of the subject matter studied by interpretivist scholars. In other words, researchers must collect facts and data describing not only the purely objective, publicly observable aspects of human

⁹⁸ Ibid, Diaz-Bone, 2008.

behaviour, but also the subjective meaning this behaviour has for those human subjects.⁹⁹

A study of discourse productivity

A study of discourse productivity explains how discourse produces this world—how discourse constitutes narrative authority; how it justifies policies and policy implementation that can affect people’s lives; and how it comes to be dispersed beyond authorized subjects to construct common sense in our everyday life. Past studies of discourse productivity in International Relations, such as foreign policy studies, IR theory studies, and international diplomacy/organization studies, have more scholarly reasoning and reflection than empirical study or theory-building. To improve conceptual development and empirical research in discourse analysis, Milliken proposes working on two aspects of discourse productivity: the production of common sense, and the production of policy practice.¹⁰⁰ Since this thesis emphasizes how discourse manifests itself in popular culture—namely, film—and not on any policy in particular, I will further discuss only the *production of common sense*.

Discourses produce and reproduce common sense in society. “Common” sense reduces potential resistance among the population with respect to a particular course of action. It legitimates the state as a political unit, and creates and justifies the state’s domination. To identify, reflect upon and change such common sense is the target of discourse analysis. Further, discourse analysts should be able to explain and theorize processes of the production of common sense. Two concepts—articulation and interpellation—can be applied.

Articulation refers to the construction of discursive objects and relationships out of “cultural raw materials” and “linguistic resources” that already make sense within a particular society. By combining discourses—contingent and contextually specific

⁹⁹ Lee, A. S. (1991). Integrating positivist and interpretive approaches to organizational research. *Organization science*, 2(4), 342-365.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, Milliken, 1999.

representations of the world—to society’s pre-existing culture or language, these discourses can appear as “inherently and necessarily connected” and the meanings produced by discourses seem to be natural and accurate descriptions of reality. Interpellation refers to how authorized subjects represent individuals and work for them so that they come to accept the representations as natural and accurate.¹⁰¹ It also defines the position of subjects in their power relation to the objects they speak for.

The concept of articulation and interpellation can be used as a foundation for discourse analysis in terms of the production of common sense. As suggested by Milliken, the articulation and interpellation of the production of common sense can be achieved by empirical study that examines cultural materials from specific contexts.¹⁰² This thesis deploys a popular culture approach using film theory and language to empirically examine the portrayal of IRA terrorism in popular films.

A study of the “play of practice”

For an analysis of the “play of practice”, I use Foucault’s genealogy method to excavate a “history of the present” discourse on IRA terrorism outside the popular or dominant narrative, looking particularly for the contingent contemporary discursive practices. In other words, looking for ruptures, silences, breaks, marginal voices and subjugated knowledge.¹⁰³ Foucauldian discourse analysis does not believe in universal truth or uncontested reality as it takes into account the historical context of a particular time. Foucault asserts that the traditional view of uninterrupted historical flow dominates our knowledge and bars us from truly understanding the interrelationship between power and knowledge that creates our reality, and the competition for the dominant interpretation of reality. Foucault’s genealogy is used as a method of seeking discontinuities in the history of the discourse on IRA terrorism as portrayed in popular films in an attempt to explain such changes overtime.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, Milliken, 1999, p. 239.

¹⁰² Ibid, Milliken, 1999.

¹⁰³ Ibid, Mutlu & Salter, 2013.

To recapitulate some of the main points of Foucault's genealogy, three important features should be kept in mind. First, genealogical analysis does not look for continuity in a single narrative of history, but for discontinuities and ruptures. It does not look for origins, which would embody the essence of things, but believes that things do not have an essence. Finally, genealogy does not look at discourse per se, but rather concentrates on both the conditions surrounding discourses and the effects such discourses may cause.¹⁰⁴ Foucault's denial of a single historical record reflects in the characteristic of genealogy as a collection of interpretative histories of interpretation.

This thesis represents a critical study of terrorism. Its focus is the discourse on terrorism—particularly of IRA terrorism during “The Troubles”. A time frame was given in order to situate such discourse in its historical context. The method of study is discourse analysis, using Jennifer Milliken's thesis on the theoretical commitments of discourse analysis as a guideline in order to build a well-constructed systemic interpretativist research design. By using Foucauldian discourse analysis and his tool of genealogy, the thesis is historiographical by nature. It aims to discover the unnoticeable and silenced conditions for discontinuities in the development of the discourse on IRA terrorism.

As I have already described in detail the processes of genealogy in the previous chapter, in order to avoid repetition I will now move on to the theoretical tools for the analysis of film portrayals—film theory and film language.

¹⁰⁴ Huysmans, J. (1997). “James Der Derian: the unbearable lightness of theory”. In Neumann, I. B. and Wæver, O. (eds.) *The future of international relations*, New York: Routledge.

Film theory section

This section illustrates the various approaches to the study of film and discusses film language. The purpose is not to give a long and detailed account of film studies theories but to provide enough background for understanding the effects that motion pictures have on an audience, including why and how such effects are created. Film analysis will be used in this study as a supplement to discourse analysis. It can help explain how a certain discourse is created and generated through filming technique and film language.

Generally, there are three groups of theories concerning film analysis: textual analysis, which focuses on text and the format of a film; context analysis, which emphasizes the context of a particular film; and audience analysis. It is important to note, however, that film analysis is not limited to these three approaches. Scholars may use other perspectives to analyze film, such as hermeneutics, genre studies, historical or cultural approaches, structuralism, feminism, or post-colonial studies. In this present study, textual (system) analysis will be employed as the main approach as this study focuses mainly on the discourse on terrorism in film. For this particular study, film analysis, film language and film discourse will be used in order to demonstrate how the particular discourse on 'IRA Terrorism' was constructed through film portrayals. This section, therefore, will provide some essential principles and highlight certain techniques in film as an introduction for those not familiar with the cinematographic world.

What is film?

Before performing any analysis, the very first thing to be clarified is 'film' itself. Although film is more tangible and concrete than concepts studied in the world of political science, scholars in film studies see film differently depending on their approach to the study of film and their particular area of interest: film as technology, industry, the arts, or socio-cultural practice.

From a technological point of view, film is an innovation of the late nineteenth century. The term 'cinematography' was coined from the joining of two words: 'kinma' (movements) and 'graphy' (record). Thus, cinematography refers to a technique of film photography and pictures with motion requiring new techniques in both the shooting and development of the film. Due to limited technology, films were produced in a realistic fashion telling short stories or relating real events such as trains approaching platforms, people sneezing, and horses running. These films displayed moving pictures without sound. Gradually, coupled with developments in camera technology, filming devices and processing technologies, films have become more sophisticated, such as with the development of film language, storytelling, light and sound, until we arrived at the films we all know today.

A film industry approach sees films in terms of the profit made from films. In the early days, when people migrated to work in the cities, films became a low-cost form of entertainment that helped people escape from the harsh reality of their working lives. The film industry became profitable during World War II, and especially in the USA, the film industry became one of the most profitable industries of all, both domestically and internationally.

As mentioned earlier, motion pictures were initially a product of new filming technology, cinematography, and the aesthetic perspective of moving making was rarely mentioned. Moviemakers, as well as film scholars, however, had been working on the artistic angle of movie making. The most important turning point, the Soviet montage, happened in the 1910s when Lev Kuleshov joined the Soviet State Film School. Kuleshov's experiments and his Montage theory and style showed the importance of editing in filmmaking. Unlike the conventional style of film making that focuses mainly on individual shots, Kuleshov found that the viewer's response in cinema was more to the editing or the 'montage'.¹⁰⁵ His discovery entirely changed the way films were produced. From that point, film makers put more emphasis on the artistic element in

¹⁰⁵ Bordwell, David and Thompson, Kristin (1997) *Film Art. An Introduction*. Fifth Edition. New York: McGraw-Hill; <http://cinetext.philo.at/reports/sv.html>

film making—film language, visual design, mise-en-scene¹⁰⁶ - not purely on technology. Films then became works of art in themselves, and since the 1960s directors have been praised and recognized as ‘artists’.¹⁰⁷

The final approach to film studies is the socio-cultural approach. Instead of targeting film and film production, this approach is interested in the relationship between film and society in two ways: first, seeing film as a reflection of society (reflectionism), and seeing it as a mirror reflecting the reality of all social life; secondly, seeing film from the perspective of constructionism, which is not concerned with knowledge per se but with the mechanisms of knowledge construction through film.¹⁰⁸ From the constructionist perspective, reality can be made, and given a particular meaning, by the ‘author’ of the film. Audiences, on the other hand, are passive knowers, unconsciously guided by filmmakers.

The theory and principles of film

The previous section discussed the nature of film and how different films are perceived according to different groups of scholars. In this section we will turn our attention to film theory and illustrate the importance of the theories that direct the analysis of film.

Theory is a beacon that helps us see clearly the different angles of a film. At the same time, theory also helps us understand that we cannot see the whole truth; and we cannot see everything as truth, but rather as deception.¹⁰⁹ Theory, as a beacon, then, can help us see only one side - the side where the light hits the object, leaving the other side hiding in the dark. Thus, one theory may be able to illuminate just one angle of a film and

¹⁰⁶ Mise-en-scène refers to those elements of a movie scene that are put in position before filming actually begins and employed in certain ways once filming does begin. This includes the scenic elements of a movie, such as actors, lightning, sets and settings, costumes, make-up and other features of the image that exist independent of the camera and the processes of filming and editing. See Corrigan, Timothy, and White, Patricia (2012). 3rd ed. The Film Experience: An Introduction. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's

¹⁰⁷ Turner, G. (2006). Film as social practice. Routledge.

¹⁰⁸ Redfern, Nick (n.d.) Film as Text: Radical Constructivism and Problem of Narrative in Cinema. Amsterdam International Electronic Journal for Cultural Narratology. Retrieved March 2, 2014 from http://cf.hum.uva.nl/narratology/a05_redfern.html

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, Corrigan and White, 2013.

overshadow others. Thus, if we accept a particular theory, we should also recognize the limits of that theory. Likewise, audiences should also remember that the shots and scenes in a motion picture are not all truth but are selections only; audiences are directed by carefully selected pictures.

Nevertheless, film theories, although by no means thorough and comprehensive, are important and valuable tools that help us understand social phenomena and the analysis of film. Theories are also, therefore, a scholar's spectacles, which fine tune the focus of the film. But to effectively apply such tools, scholars must always realize both the contribution theories make and their limitations.

For this particular study, I will use textual analysis theory as the foundation for the analysis of empirical data—film portrayals—which will be used alongside discourse analysis. Textual analysis is not limited to text or verbal language but also encompass all the elements that create meaning in a motion picture - the screenplay, the acting, directing, lighting, cinematography, and mise en scene. In other words, it is the study of the whole 'system.'¹¹⁰

Textual analysis originated in the early twentieth century at about the same time as the birth of motion pictures. The focal point of textual analysis is the 'text', or the film itself. This approach sees films as an art form, like drama, architecture, sculpture, murals, music or literature. Nonetheless, motion pictures, in order to be recognized as an art form, must prove their aesthetic worth by developing storytelling using shots and sounds in order to develop their identity and distinguish themselves from other art forms. In the early stages, film analysis focused only on the 'form' or internal structure of the film. This was 'formalism' - a form of art that disregarded the context in which the films were created.

As Louis Giannetti explains, "formalist film theorists believe that the art of cinema is possible precisely because a movie is unlike everyday life. The real world is merely a repository of raw material that needs to be shaped and heightened to be effective as art.

¹¹⁰Chandler, Daniel (1997). An Introduction to Genre Theory. Retrieved March 2, 2014 from http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/intgenre/chandler_genre_theory.pdf

Film art doesn't consist of a reproduction of reality, but a translation of observed characteristics into the forms of the medium."¹¹¹ Filmmakers have to utilize the medium, that is, the two-dimensional movie screen with its confining frame and its fragmented time–space continuum, in order to produce a world that resembles the real world through ‘film language.’¹¹² Everything that appears on screen, every shot, every sound and every silence, communicates moods and emotions to the audience in the same way the actors do.¹¹³

Another approach is the ‘realism’ approach, according to which the quality of a film is judged by the accuracy of its depiction of external reality. For realist filmmakers, film technique is less important than subject matter. The camera is just a recording device and should not be used to express or distort reality.¹¹⁴ Although the earliest films, such as Lumiere’s film entitled “Worker Leaving the Lumiere Factory” (1895) were based on showing reality on the screen, the realism approach was overshadowed by the formalist approach as the film industry was developing towards film art and film aesthetics rather than reality. However, after World War II the film industry turned back to realism. Films were seen as a superficial art form for the upper classes which did not tell the true stories of ordinary people. Realists on the other hand believe that film should focus on and value ordinary people, shot in real locations, using minimal editing and simple presentation. Realistic film was popular in post-war Italy as a part of the Italian neorealist movement.

Nevertheless, the terms ‘realism’ and ‘formalism’ are used to differentiate the style of presentation of a film and should not be used as definitive descriptions. Instead, they should be employed in a broader sense, indicating the orientation of the film as technically-oriented or ‘formalist’, or as real-life-depiction-oriented or ‘realist.’ In reality, there is virtually no film that can be categorized as one hundred percent formalist or realist.

¹¹¹Giannetti, Louis D. (2013). 13th ed. Understanding Movies. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall. (p. 506, 509).

¹¹² Ibid, Giannetti, 2013.

¹¹³ Block, Bruce. (2007). 2nd ed. The Visual Story: Creating the Visual Structure of Film, TV, and Digital Media. Oxford: Elsevier.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, Giannetti, 2013.

Another point worth mentioning is the confusion between ‘realism’ and ‘reality.’ The former is the orientation of the film’s presentation, whereas the latter refers to the resources for film making for both realist and formalist filmmakers. In other words, filmmakers belonging to either camp use ‘reality’ as material for their film, but present such material in different ways. Realist filmmakers seek to depict ‘reality’ in the least distorted manner using minimal film technique. Yet realist films are still far from ‘reality.’ On the other hand, formalist filmmakers prioritize the importance of form, structure and techniques over ‘reality.’ Nevertheless, for both camps films portray a carefully selected ‘reality’ in which the realist approach is the more subtle. In other words, realist filmmakers present their carefully crafted films as genuine mirrors of the real world with more emphasis on ‘what’ to present rather than ‘how’ to present it. However, it is also important to bear in mind that ‘realist’ films are easier to make than avant-garde films. For formalist filmmakers, reality is expressed through ‘forms’ or ‘techniques’ of presentation according to a filmmaker’s perception of ‘reality’, which can be expressed either in spectacular fashion or in abstract form.

Types of film are not confined only to realism and formalism. Between these two extremes there is another category of film called ‘fiction film’, or ‘classical cinema’. The term ‘classical’ can be described as standard or moderate, meaning this type of film does not lean heavily towards any specific orientation. Nevertheless, understanding films from the two extremes is a useful frame of reference for analysis.

Regardless of the camp each film belongs to, all films communicate with audiences through ‘film language’. Senders, that is, directors, producers and editors, use moving images to create meaning in film. Audiences, as receivers, decode such meaning in the same fashion as we do for spoken or written language but to a greater degree. We base our own interpretation of moving images on our past experience, knowledge and expectations in order to shape the meaning we take from what we see. An important aspect of film language is its compelling nature and its appearance of reality based on its pre-existing forms of expression, namely image, speech, music, sound and written material.¹¹⁵ All of these components enable film to generate meaning from social events

¹¹⁵Ibid, Metz, 1974.

and offer filmgoers an appearance of reality. Watching a film is like watching a “window on the world”—a kind of window we do not want to stop watching.¹¹⁶ Film is composed of many elements—photography, audio, editing, music score, script, actors—that together carry certain meanings for the audience.

Film elements

1. Photography/ Visual art

Photography is certainly not the only element of film but is the most powerful. The phrase “show, don’t tell” has often been used to illustrate the power of the visual. An example of this is Ang Lee’s “Life of Pi”, which is praised as “a miraculous achievement of storytelling and a landmark of visual mastery.”¹¹⁷ Life of Pi tells two versions of the same shipwreck story. The first with the help of visual images to project events during the 227 days that a young man and a Bengal tiger are afloat in the open sea. The second version of the same story is re-told by the same man but this time without any visual aids and using only narrative. The audience can easily recognize that the first version is more interesting and more powerful. The visual makes storytelling more vivid.

1.1 The shot or frame size

In cinema, filmmakers control what we see and how we see it. Different distances between the camera and the subjects create different framings and shot sizes; different sizes communicate different meanings. Moviemakers can use different shot sizes not only to tell a story but also to reflect their thoughts or emotions.

¹¹⁶Campsall, S. (2005). *Analyzing moving image texts: “Film Language”*. Retrieved April 20, 2014 from <http://www.englishbiz.co.uk/downloads/filmanalysis.pdf>

¹¹⁷Ebert, R. (2012). Life of Pi. Retrieved April 2, 2014 from <http://www.rogerebert.com/reviews/life-of-pi-2012>

Shot size is a matter of camera and subject but there is no fixed measurement of shot size and it depends on how each individual sees it. A medium shot for one director might equal a close up shot for another. The generally accepted rule is to use the size of the subject that appears on the screen as a guide. Traditionally, realist directors use the same shot size throughout the film in order to establish the audience as an objective observer. Formalist directors on the other hand do not hesitate to use extreme close up shots or extreme long shots. They tend to use different shot sizes to depict what they want to do to the audience's emotions, either positively or negatively.

Typically, there are six shot sizes:

- **Extreme long shot (ELS):** normally used to emphasize the splendour of the actors and the scene, providing the viewer with the context of the subsequent closer shots; also known as an establishing shot.
- **Long shot (LS):** shows the full body length of the character in order to show context. Realist filmmakers favour this type of shot because it provides information about the surrounding context as well as the character.
- **Full shot (FS):** a type of long shot which includes the full length of the human body. It is long enough for the audience to see the character's full body gestures, and close enough to see their facial expressions.
- **Medium shot (MS):** a relatively close shot, revealing a moderate amount of detail. A medium shot of a figure generally includes the body from the knees or waist up, is normally used in a dialogue scene. However, MS cannot carry more than three people, unless the other characters are acting as background for the lead character.

Another type of MS is called over-the-shoulder shot, depicting two characters in the same frame. One actor is photographed head-on from over the shoulder of another actor to portray a dialogue scene between two actors.

- **Close-up (CU):** shows a detailed view of a person or object, usually with fewer contexts being provided. A close-up shot shows intimacy or emphasizes particular details over others.
- **Extreme close-up (ECU):** gives a spot-detail of a person or object such as an eye or a mouth. Normally, extreme close-ups are used as an emotional trigger or in some cases as a distraction.

1.2 The angles

The angle is another crucial technique that filmmakers can use to give pictures different meanings or to express a director's feelings towards a particular character or event. Metaphorically, camera angle is like an adjective filmmakers give to their subjects. It refers to the angle of the camera relative to the subject/s. Camera angle is determined by the position of the camera, not the position of the subject. Different angles give different meanings or interpretations, though they depict the same subject.

Realist filmmakers normally avoid using high degree angles but rather opt for a normal eye-level angle to represent the audience's normal view. This angle is direct and easy to relate, thus both formalist and realist filmmakers use this kind of angle regularly, especially at the beginning of the film in order to establish some common ground or to provide information. Formalist directors do not see the depiction of reality as all that necessary. Rather, they believe that the distortion of reality leads to greater truth (symbolic truth).

Formalists and realists both realize that audiences position themselves towards characters through the lens of the camera. Realists try to focus the audience's attention towards the event depicted in the scene as if directly observed by the audience. In this case, the role of the camera is minimized. The formalists would do the opposite in order to make an audience realize how the camera works for them.

Five camera angles used in film:

- ***Bird's eye view:*** the most unnatural angle since we rarely see things directly from above. What the audience sees from a bird's eye view is almost abstract. Most of the time, a bird's eye view angle is used to depict events from afar, almost like 'god's eye'. In this type of angle, human beings are small and unimportant. However, when bird's eye view is used with a CU shot, it portrays the character as being in a tight corner, or helpless.
- ***High angle:*** is used to photograph a subject from just a little distance above. It is not as powerful as the bird's eye view, but seeing the subject from a high angle diminishes the importance of the subject and makes them appear less powerful and more submissive. However, the meaning of this camera angle is not definite. In many cases, analysts must bring the context or the storyline of that particular moment into consideration. In some cases, high angle represents an event that is going to happen in the near future.
- ***Eye-level angle:*** an angle in which the camera is placed at the subject's height. From this angle, the actor is looking at the lens - he doesn't have to look up or down, so eye-level angle portrays neutrality. This angle often carries little dramatic power, thus it is ideal for romantic comedies and news casting.
- ***Low angle:*** is captured from a camera placed below the actor's eyes, looking up at them. It has the opposite effect of high angle shots. Low angle makes characters look dominant, aggressive and, to certain extent, heroic. And when used with an action scene, it depicts chaos, excitement, and confusion.
- ***Oblique angle or dutch angle:*** Oblique angle uses a tilted camera to depict uncertainty, disorientation or an unstable state of mind.

1.3 Lighting

The “photo” in photography means light. Light is a very crucial element in filming for both moving and still pictures. Lighting is the control (or sometimes lack of control) of light that bounces off objects and reflects back into the camera lens. The magic of lighting and shadow increases the depth of the object in the picture and decreases the two-dimensionality of film. Lighting can be implemented in many different ways in order to create different film effects. Lighting arrangements do not always aim to make objects easily visible, but sometimes to create shadows in order to conceal something, or to show or hide feelings. In other words, lighting has a large effect on the overall "feeling" of the film. It can create a wide array of feelings from dramatic to comic and everything in between.

Lighting is an important feature of the ‘form’ of representation. It can have a greater influence on the content than the content per se. Lighting and shadow play a more important role in black-and-white films because colour diminishes shadow and thus decreases depth and flattens the image.

Three forms of lighting arrangements

- **High key lighting:** uses light in a way that creates a low level of contrast between the brighter and darker areas of a particular shot. There are usually very few shadows in a scene shot using high key lighting, especially on the principal characters or the main focus of the scene. This type of lighting can be used in many different types of shot and for various purposes, mostly to show positive feelings such as happy scenes in musicals or comedies.
- **Low key lighting:** is normally used to create dramatic effects associated with horror films or film noir (crime drama). Low key lighting creates heavy shadows and lights up only specific areas, highlighted for special effect. Low key lighting

is good for creating suspense, fear, or seclusion, as used in horror films or thrillers as well as film noir.

- **High contrast lighting:** is dominated by harsh lines of light combined with dramatic streaks of blackness. This lighting style tends to amplify the use of shadows to create dark feelings such as 'hauntedness'. High contrast lighting suggests a sense of anxiety or confusion.¹¹⁸

1.4 Colour

Colour works at the sub-conscious level of the human mind, relating to emotions or atmosphere rather than depicting direct meaning or symbolic interpretation. Humans are less consciously responsive to colours; we let colour guide our feelings sub-consciously. The earliest films used colours to portray imaginary scenes, while black and white was used for everyday life. The pioneer filmmakers believed colour could decrease the artistic nature of a film (just like sound).

Colour can convey specific meanings and arouse certain feelings. For example, the colour red means racy, spicy, energetic, or dangerous, while blue can mean cheerful and bright in one culture or grieving in another. Interestingly enough, as Bruce Block discusses, the use of colour can be misunderstood and stereotyped. As we already know, red is normally stereotyped as meaning danger but in fact danger can be portrayed by any colour if it is properly defined. For example, if every murder in a film occurs in blue light, the audience will expect a murder every time they see blue light, or will feel excited or even scared every time blue light is presented. In this case, the meaning of a colour is established and the audience responds accordingly.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ Pacific Cinematheque. The Language of Film: Lighting in Film. *In Point*. Retrieved April 3, 2014 from <http://thecinematheque.ca/education/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/LanguageofFilm08.pdf>

¹¹⁹ Ibid, Block, 2007

1.5 Framing or the frame

Framing refers to the size and position of objects relative to the edge of the screen; the arrangement of objects so that they fit within the actual boundaries of the film. Framing is a process that lets the audience have a certain focus by limiting how and where to look, which are needed to be blurred out. It may include the setting of the foreground to emphasize certain meanings. Filmmakers use frame size to communicate with an audience through a two-dimensional movie screen in order to create the same feeling of the real three-dimensional world. Depth can be created when the right framing is used.¹²⁰

1.6 Camera movement

Camera movement is used to express certain meanings. Some kinds of movement portray direct meaning. Some other kinds depict implications only.

- **Panning:** a horizontal movement (from left to right or vice versa) of a standstill camera reveals a character's 'visual'. Normally, panning is used for following characters as they move in order to keep them within the frame. In the case of extreme long shot, panning is used to show a picturesque landscape.
- **Tilting:** a movement in a vertical direction (up or down) while the camera remains fixed also represents the 'visual' of a character.
- **Dolly shot:** unlike the first two types, a dolly shot is used to depict movement. It can also track movements on the side of objects, such as moving cars, by placing the dolly parallel to objects. For making a dolly shot, a camera will be placed on a dolly and moved from left to right (or vice versa), or from back to front.¹²¹ While a dolly shot gives a steady and smooth moving feeling, a handheld shot,

¹²⁰ Ibid, Block, 2007.

¹²¹Jardillier, Frank, and Languenou, Eric (1998). Screen-space Constraints for Camera Movements: The Virtual Cameraman. Computer Graphic Forum, 17(3). 175-186.

in which a camera is placed on a handheld device, gives a more exciting feeling, as if the audience is moving with the character.

- **Crane shot:** filmmaking today is more of a spectacle than in the past and this is partly due to technological changes which can make a two-dimensional film feel like a real life experience. One of the most important changes is the invention of the crane shot. This is a shot with a camera placed on a mobile support device which can rise high above the ground and move in virtually all directions, hence creating different perspectives and visual fields in the film. This technique makes visual storytelling more interesting by creating an intensified continuity.¹²²
- **Handheld shot:** refers to a shot where the camera is held by the camera operator. Compared to the steady and smooth movement of a dolly, handheld shots give a shaky, uncertain feeling, yet with real human movement. Handhelds are often associated with realism. Bear in mind, however, that no single technique ever has the same meaning in every film (a handheld shot might, in some films, be used to *decrease* the sense of realism).¹²³

2. Editing

Another important feature of film language is editing. Editing is how to tell a story. Looking back to the early days of film making, the film “Worker Leaving the Lumiere Factory” (1895) simply showed workers walking out of a factory. There was no film language or editing. The film was just a record of real life, just like a recording of an academic seminar or a broadcast of a sporting event. Not long after “Worker Leaving the Lumiere Factory” was released, a French filmmaker, George Melies, introduced editing techniques into his film “A Trip to the Moon” (1902).

¹²²Bordwell, David. (2002). Intensified Continuity Visual Style in Contemporary American Film. Film Quarterly, 55(3), 16-28.

¹²³Johnson, D. T. (2004). A short list of film terms for beginning students in film courses. Salisbury University. Retrieved April 18, 2014 from <http://faculty.salisbury.edu/~dtjohnson/filmterms.htm>

Editing can shorten or broaden time and space in a film. We don't have to wait six hours to see a character driving from Konstanz to Prague. With editing, the film can achieve this in a couple of minutes. In short, film editing is essentially about how to utilize raw footage to tell a good story by selecting shots and combing them into sequences. "A Trip to the Moon" is best known for its 'stop trick technique', in which the camera operator would stop filming long enough for something on screen to be altered, added, or taken away. Shots from the stop trick technique were carefully selected and spliced together in order to create special effects on film, such as the disappearance of objects.¹²⁴ Though this cutting edge technique was considered magical for that time, it was just that - a magic show.

The first film really to use film editing as film language was Edwin S. Porter's 1903 film 'The Great Train Robbery', which used swift cutting to tell a story about a robbery and connected the scenes of the robbery on the train with other events. Many followed the art of storytelling using film language, especially the movie 'The Birth of Nation' (1915) by D. W. Griffith, which was commercially successful and well known for its outstanding film technique. From that point onwards, the 'motion picture' was established and referred to as the seventh art.

The development of film storytelling, especially using film editing, has continued to develop in Europe. In the Soviet Union, the government established the State Film School. One of the school's graduates, Sergei Eisenstein, invented a new and unique editing technique known as the Soviet Montage. Eisenstein believed that cuts should stimulate the audience either through repetition of a previous scene (overlapping editing) or a jump cut, in which some shots are disregarded so that the event takes less time than in reality.¹²⁵ These are some outstanding examples of film editing. Since this research study is not about film technique per se, all these examples are used to point out that film, in order to emotionally connect with viewers, utilizes many effects and techniques. This is what film scholars call film language, which engages with audiences in various senses simultaneously.

¹²⁴ Frazer, John. (1979). Artificially Arranged Scenes: The Films of Georges Méliès, Boston: G. K. Hall & Co.

¹²⁵ Ibid, Bordwell and Thompson, 1997.

3. Sound

The *Jazz Singer* was the first 'talky' film (film with sound) and was released in 1927. Soon after that, the film industry in Hollywood turned towards this kind of film and silent film was soon forgotten. We cannot underestimate the power of audio in the film. Sound—everything we hear from the audio track of the film—makes film more real. A meaningful sound track is often as complicated as the image on the screen. The three types of sound in a film are dialogue, sound effects, and music.

3.1 Dialogue

Dialogue validates the character as a real person. As with stage drama, dialogue serves to tell the story and express the feelings and motivations of the characters.

3.2 Sound effects

There are two types of sound effects: synchronous and asynchronous.

- ***Synchronous sounds*** are those which are synchronized or matched with what is seen on screen and which help to create a feeling of 'realness' in film. For example, the clicking sound of a door being opened helps convince the audience that the image they are seeing is real.
- ***Asynchronous*** Unlike synchronous sounds, asynchronous sounds come from sources other than the visible source of the sound on screen. Such sounds are included so as to provide an appropriate emotional nuance, and they may also add to the realism of the film.

3.3 Music

Background music is used to add emotion and rhythm to a film. Background music is usually not meant to be noticeable. It provides a tone or an emotional attitude towards the story or the characters. In addition, background music often indicates a change in mood. In some cases, background music helps the audience understand linking scenes. For example, a particular musical theme associated with an individual character or situation may be repeated at various points in a film.¹²⁶

In conclusion, textual or system film analysis is mainly concerned with patterns - methods of portraying reality in the aesthetics of film design. Patterns can be expressed in various ways. Visual patterns are expressed through the photography and mise en scene, while aural patterns are expressed through dialogue, symbolic sound effects, and musical motifs. Likewise, filming techniques such as camera movement and film editing are often key to film aesthetics and film language. These are the key elements of film language that will be used in this study.

Film language makes motion pictures go far beyond being a mere replica of what is being filmed, but is the way in which film makers, with their aesthetic capabilities, communicate with the audience and emotionally connect with them. In the words of psychologist Hugo Munsterberg, ‘to picture emotions must be the central aim of the photoplay.’¹²⁷

The early motion picture was exactly what its name suggested—pictures in motion. It looked like a record of a stage performance in comparison to modern-day films. Film makers have come a long way in piling up feelings and emotions in order to make films more than just a series of images. As Munsterberg suggests, in a motion pictures audiences do not simply see a few moving pictures; rather, film sets off psychological processes in the viewers. When watching a film, an audience is very active in their

¹²⁶ Marshall, J. K. (n.d.) An Introduction to Film Sound. [Filmsound.org](http://filmsound.org). Retrieved April 18, 2014 from <http://filmsound.org/marshall/>

¹²⁷ Nyysönen, Pasi. (1998). Film Theory at the Turning Point of Modernity. *Film Philosophy*, 2(31). Retrieved March 3, 2014 from www.film-philosophy.com/vol2-1998/n31nyysonen

psychological functions, including in their perception of depth and movement, their attention, memory and imagination, and their emotions. It is the viewers themselves who give meaning to the movement and depth of static and two-dimensional pictures using memory and attention processes that respond to screen images based on their personal experience.¹²⁸ But most importantly, Munsterberg discovered that in terms of the aesthetic attitudes of filmgoers, they do not always use the full potential of the brain. In other words, involuntary or subliminal information, or a clue given by the film director, is more powerful than information intentionally searched for by the viewers.¹²⁹ Creating emotions and feelings is thus the aesthetic task of making a film another art form. Therefore, film language has been developed to create such feelings in the audience by using the different techniques discussed above to subtly direct viewers in the desired direction. This differs from theatre in that audiences have the freedom to perceive as they wish.

¹²⁸ Ibid, Nyysönen, 1998

¹²⁹ Ibid, Nyysönen, 1998

CHAPTER 3

MASTER NARRATIVE “THE TROUBLES”

Master narrative: “The Troubles” (1968-1998)

A dark, unforgettable, history of an outburst of anger, desperation, and long years of oppression triggered by an unfortunate move tragically resulted in more than 3000 deaths, thousands of injuries¹³⁰ and much more irreparable, incalculable damage, written in blood, tears and ruins.

The partition of Ireland into North and South represented the failed attempt of the Marxist IRA to remove the British Army from the whole of the island of Ireland. Southern Ireland, now free of the British Army, became the Republic of Ireland; Northern Ireland, the industrial area, became Northern Ireland and remained part of the United Kingdom.

From 1921, 'colonized' but legally a part of the United Kingdom,¹³¹ Northern Ireland witnessed continuing tensions between the majority- powerful Protestants, mainly Irish and Scottish Loyalists, and the minority- the underprivileged Nationalist Catholics.¹³²

Ironically, there was always a somewhat sectarian and physical division between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland even in terms of geography. This emphasized the contrast between the two 'sides' and further deepened the scars.

Things had never gone well for the Catholics of the north. Out of work and living in poor conditions, being empty-handed had always been part of their daily life, while it seemed as though the sun always shone on 'the others', who had everything and took everything from them.¹³³ Not surprisingly, the Catholics who lower in status did not wish Northern Ireland to remain part of the United Kingdom but to be part of the

¹³⁰ Cairns, E., & Darby, J. (1998). The conflict in Northern Ireland: Causes, consequences, and controls. *American Psychologist*, 53(7), 756

¹³¹ Woodwell, D. (2005). “The “Troubles” of Northern Ireland.” in Collier, P. and Sambanis (eds.) *Understanding Civil War: Europe, Central Asia, and other regions (Vol. 2)*, Washington D.C.: World Bank Publications.

¹³² Ibid, Cairns & Darby, 1998, p. 755

¹³³ Ibid, Cairns & Darby, 1998, p. 755

Republic of Ireland¹³⁴. The Republican movement, including the provisional IRA and Sinn Fein, was the direct result of this situation. Their only desire was to remove the British from Northern Ireland and to unite it with the motherland.¹³⁵

However, the problem was that Northern Ireland was governed by the Unionists.¹³⁶

In 1968, a civil, non-violent movement was conducted by the Nationalists in order to negotiate for the rights of the minorities; it was not successful. In fact, it ended with an act of violence carried out by the Loyalist police¹³⁷. The violence escalated into a full-blown battle in Derry in 1969 between the Nationalist Catholics and the Royal Ulster Constabulary, known as “The Battle of the Bogside”¹³⁸. The battle gave birth to a new generation of the IRA¹³⁹.

The riots spread to Belfast and, out of fear of an IRA resurrection, Protestant mobs invaded the Catholic area and drove the Nationalists out onto the street. The same scenario repeated itself again. This time it was the Loyalists who attacked the Catholics. The street riots escalated into a civil war so violent that people of both sides had to run for their lives. But still the IRA was not in sight.

Finally, the British Army was called in to control the situation. They saved the Catholics and the peace of Belfast was restored¹⁴⁰. After this, the Catholics fully embraced the British Army as their heroes, and political power was back in the hands of the Unionist government. However, the Marxist IRA was humiliated by all of this. This caused a serious conflict between the Marxists and the Traditionalists and the latter decided to use physical force to remove the British from Ireland. A split inevitably

¹³⁴ Ibid, Cairns & Darby, 1998, p. 754

¹³⁵ Ibid, Cairns & Darby, 1998, p. 754

¹³⁶ Collier, P., & Sambanis, N. (Eds.). (2005). Understanding Civil War: Europe, Central Asia, and other regions (Vol. 2). Washington D.C.: World Bank Publications

¹³⁷ Martin Melaugh. (n.d.). "The Derry March: Main events of the day". Conflict Archive on the Internet (CAIN). Retrieved May 1, 2014 from <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/derry/events.htm>

¹³⁸ Ibid, Collier & Sambanis, 2005, p. 163; Ibid, Melaugh, 2008

¹³⁹ Irish Republican Army. (2012). In The Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia, 6th ed. Retrieved May 1, 2014 from <http://www.infoplease.com>

¹⁴⁰ McKernan, M., & McQuade, O. (Eds.). (2004). Northern Ireland Yearbook 2005: A Comprehensive Reference Guide to the Political, Economic and Social Life of Northern Ireland. The Stationery Office.

happened and the Provisionals, the new IRA, led by a new Republican leader, Gerry Adams, was born.

The Provisionals never lacked recruits as many any people wanted to be part of the movement¹⁴¹. Once they had joined, recruits received training in combat techniques and how to use modern weapons - whether homemade, bought or stolen. A large number of weapons were supplied from the USA, alongside other kinds of support, including financial.¹⁴² Arms were for short term defense, protecting the Nationalist communities, and for long term offensive use – attacking the Loyalists and Protestant economic targets and, especially, removing the British from the country.

So, when there was a riot in Belfast in 1970, started by the Loyalists, the Provisionals were ready. They fought back and became known by the Nationalist Catholics as their new defenders. Notably, the British Army did not intervene in this riot, but shortly afterwards, on instructions from the government, the Army made a thorough search for the arms. Houses were ransacked; curfews were called; the Army was marching down the streets. Though different views were shared from different groups of people, one thing was certain: the new IRA was now seen as the community's sole defender.

By the end of 1970, the IRA had planted 153 bombs, largely targeting Protestant businesses.¹⁴³ As the IRA stepped up their campaign, they were nonetheless careful to keep the growing support from Catholics; the Army stepped up their response and the honeymoon between the Catholics and the British Army was over. There were street riots every day. Many people were killed, including newly married 20-year-old Gunner Robert Curtis, who is often said to have been the first British soldier killed on duty in Ireland since 1921¹⁴⁴. This incident provoked further violence on all sides; the IRA now had an appetite for violence.

¹⁴¹ "1974: Compensation for Bloody Sunday victims". (18 December 1974) [BBC News](http://news.bbc.co.uk). Retrieved May 1, 2014. from <http://news.bbc.co.uk>

¹⁴² English, R. (2004). *Armed Struggle: The History of the IRA*. London: Pan Books.

¹⁴³ Thechipmunck414. (2013, June 12). *The War in Northern Ireland (the IRA)*. Retrieved May 1, 2014 from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cxxKa86PTEg>

¹⁴⁴ Shanahan, T. (2009). *The provisional Irish Republican Army and the morality of terrorism*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

In a failed attempt to control the situation, the government used a policy of internment.¹⁴⁵ The violence intensified and escalated to a new level with an increasing number of soldiers and civilians killed by the IRA.

However, in the eyes of Tommy McKearney and Richard McAuley, former members of the IRA, this was not criminal activity, it was war. This was no different from a man joining the army to defend their country in a war.¹⁴⁶

“It’s about the war. We were in a war. And in a war, one does things, that in other circumstances he doesn’t consider doing.”¹⁴⁷ (0.32.40)

Then in Derry in 1972 came 'Bloody Sunday', which happened despite what began as a peaceful street march with the British Army receiving support from the Nationalists. Thirteen unarmed Catholics were shot dead, and in Derry and Belfast the IRA took revenge with more bombs in commercial centers and more shootings of soldiers and police.

In the same year, there was a secret meeting between the Northern Ireland secretary, Lord Rees, and a representative of the Provisional army council, John Kelly, concerning a permanent ceasefire.¹⁴⁸ The talks were unsuccessful. Twenty bombs exploded in the city over the next two weeks. The Unionist government was suspended for the first time in fifty years and William Whitelaw from Westminster took charge of Northern Ireland as secretary of state.¹⁴⁹ For the Provisionals, it was bombing, not talking, that now produced results.

The proof of this is that in a secret meeting between a delegation from the IRA (including Martin McGuinness, David O’Connell, Sean Macstiofain, and Gerry Adams)

¹⁴⁵ Cunningham, M. (2001). British government policy in Northern Ireland, 1969-2000. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, Thechipmunk414, 2013

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, Thechipmunk414, 2013

¹⁴⁸ Casciani, D. (2003, January 1). On this day Adams and IRA's secret Whitehall talks. BBC News. Retrieved May 1, 2014 from <http://news.bbc.co.uk>

¹⁴⁹ Carlton, C. (1981). Judging Without Consensus: The Diplock Courts in Northern Ireland. Law & Policy, 3(2), 225-242

and an MI6 Intelligence Officer, Frank Steele, and the Northern Ireland Secretary of State William.^{150, 151}

Whitelaw at a house by the River Thames in London, there was no negotiation, only a demand from Sean Macstiofain concerning the future of Ireland that was to be carried out by 1975. There was no settlement, only the promise of future negotiations.^{152,153}

Upset by the stalemate, the Provisionals re-opened a war that led to what we now know as Bloody Friday. Many were killed in the bombings but the IRA insisted that it was the fault of the British government for withholding information from the public. Since the bombings in Ireland could not produce the results they wanted, their next move was to plant bombs in London, although the campaign in Belfast continued relentlessly.¹⁵⁴

While the IRA believed that they could win the war with the British Army, the fact is that the latter was more successful, especially in terms of capturing IRA volunteers. In 1973, two of the most senior IRA commanders, Gerry Adams and Brendan Hughes, were arrested and detained at Long Kesh Detention Centre. Prisoners here considered themselves war veterans and could enjoy certain privileges, such as wearing their own clothes.

However, Long Kesh was also known as a school for terrorists where revolution theory, military education and politics were taught to young Provisionals. Perhaps it was during the time they were detained here that the Provisionals started to realize that there was no such thing as an easy victory and that violence alone could not bring about their aims. A new strategy, the Long War, was devised here, especially by Gerry Adams, Brendan Hughes and Bobby Sands. Gerry Adams strongly believed that it was very important for

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, Casciani, 2003

¹⁵¹ Department of the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland. (1972). Note of a Meeting With Representative of the Provisional IRA (PREM 15/1009). Retrieved May 1, 2014 from <http://cain.ulster.ac.uk>

¹⁵² Ibid, Thechipmunck414, 2013

¹⁵³ Ibid, Casciani, 2003

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, Thechipmunck414, 2013

the Republicans to have a strong political base and to step up the campaign of violence.¹⁵⁵

In 1974, the nationalist SDLP and some Unionists came together to form an agreement. This was a vehicle of the British Government, who hoped that in giving the Nationalists a role in government they would be able to undermine the IRA in Dublin; however, the Loyalists disagreed with this plan and called a strike, supported by the Protestants. This was a warning message was sent to the IRA.

Later, there was a meeting between an IRA delegation, the leader of Sinn Fein, and a representative from the British government to discuss the structure of a disengagement plan, during which time there was a brief truce. However, the Loyalists deliberately interrupted the talks by attacking Catholics in order to provoke the IRA. The plan was successful. Although the meetings continued, the truce was over when the IRA became convinced that the British government did not plan to withdraw.

Unlike people on the outside, Gerry Adams and others at Long Kesh believed that the Provisional leadership was naive to believe the British government's proposition. In order to succeed, they needed far more political sophistication and to be militarily much stronger.

A new policy of 'criminalization' was designed to undermine the IRA and destroy the legitimacy of their political claims. The Provisionals were locked up in the H-Blocks of the Maze Prison. Here, there were none of the privileges of Long Kesh. Suspects were tried before special courts, without a jury, convicted on the basis of imaginary statements, locked up in their cells, treated as criminals, and had to wear the same prison clothing as the other inmates. Many Provisionals refused to wear the suits and wore blankets instead; they were severely ill treated by prison officers.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid, Thechipmunck414, 2013

In 1978, there were more than 300 Provisional prisoners at the Maze. All of them refused to wear prison suits and became known as the blanket men.^{156, 157} There were allegations of harassment of prisoners by prison officers while on their way to the washroom and the protests that had already begun escalated. The prisoners refused to do prison jobs and even to leave their cell to use the toilet. Excrement was smeared over the walls and living conditions became very poor. In one interview, a prisoner spoke openly of sleeping on a sponge bed soaked in urine for three years.¹⁵⁸

That the prisoners had to stay in their cells in such appalling conditions went largely unreported. There were further allegations of brutality from prison officers, including having prisoners strip-searched after visiting hours in case someone had smuggled in a letter or other items. In return for such treatment, the IRA killed seventeen off-duty prison officers and a prison governor.

In 1977, Gerry Adams was released and is alleged to have become the IRA chief of staff, thus giving the organization a much-needed boost. In 1978 Adams re-organized the IRA (partly to prevent infiltration) and so increased its effectiveness, leading to still more devastating results. The IRA assassinated the Queen's uncle, Lord Mountbatten, and killed soldiers with two massive car bombs that injured many others. These attacks represented the largest losses the British had suffered since 1969.¹⁵⁹

Inside the Maze Prison, the Provisional prisoners made more demands - political status and exemption from prison work among others - but their demands were rejected by Margaret Thatcher, who was Prime Minister at the time. In 1980, seven Provisional prisoners played the only card they still held and began a hunger strike.¹⁶⁰ The move was supported by thousands of Catholics and this showed that the political base Adams was looking for now existed.

¹⁵⁶ BBC. (n. d.). History 'Blanket' and 'no-wash' protests in the Maze prison. [BBC News](http://news.bbc.co.uk). Retrieved May 1, 2014 from <http://news.bbc.co.uk>

¹⁵⁷ The Day. (1979, April 27). 'Blanket man' freed from Irish prison. [The Day](http://news.google.com). Retrieved May 1, 2014 from <http://news.google.com>

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, Thechipmunk414, 2013.

¹⁵⁹ BBC. (1979, August 27). On this day IRA bomb kills Lord Mountbatten. [BBC News](http://news.bbc.co.uk). Retrieved May 1, 2014 from <http://news.bbc.co.uk>

¹⁶⁰ BBC. (n. d.). The search for peace Hunger Strike. [BBC News](http://news.bbc.co.uk). Retrieved May 1, 2014 from <http://news.bbc.co.uk>

Although the IRA leadership was against the hunger strike, they made contact with an MI6 agent who had been involved with the negotiations in 1975. It appeared that the British government may consider the prisoners' demands, and convinced that their demands would be met, the seven called off their hunger strike on day 53. Realizing, however, that they had been betrayed by the government, they started a second hunger strike. This strike was led by Bobby Sands, a candidate for Sinn Fein, the political arm of the IRA. Sands' election became headlines all over the world; violence and politics now worked hand in hand.¹⁶¹

While Sands' supporters hoped the British government would compromise, the British government believed that the second hunger strike would collapse like the first one. As for Thatcher, the prisoners' efforts could not be considered political as their actions were criminal.

“Crime is crime, is crime, is crime.”¹⁶²

But she and the British government did compromise.¹⁶³

Bobby Sands died on day 66 of the hunger strike. Hundreds of thousands of people went to his funeral. The strike had galvanized huge support for the prisoners' cause.

Nine more prisoners died in 1981 but still Thatcher did not bend.¹⁶⁴ Finally, the hunger strike collapsed. What appeared to represent a great victory for Thatcher actually led to Adams's election in 1983, clearly showing that the hunger strikers had won. In 1984, Thatcher paid the price. The IRA planted a bomb in a hotel in Brighton where numerous delegates of the Conservative Party Conference were staying. Although the PM and her ministers survived, five other people died in the attack and it became clearer than ever

¹⁶¹ Sanders, A. (2011). *Inside the IRA: Dissident Republicans and the War for Legitimacy*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

¹⁶² Irelandinschools. (2011, May 4). *Margaret Thatcher: 'A crime is a crime'*. Retrieved May 1, 2014 from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D7bTsRZh5bk>

¹⁶³ Ibid. BBC. (n. d.).

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. BBC. (n. d.).

that to be successful the IRA needed to couple its political campaign with its campaign of violence.

Since 1981, the IRA had been searching the USA for more powerful weapons, such as missiles that could take down British helicopters. By 1986, the IRA had become more sophisticated and deadly; the British Government fought back, even attempting to penetrate the IRA by setting moles and sending in intelligence operatives such as Raymond Gilmour.

The operation was successful. The names of volunteers and high ranking IRA leaders were discovered. Many were arrested, but although they were later released due to insufficient evidence, the IRA was certainly affected by this operation. The British government stepped up their campaign, inviting the general public to become informants.

The other method used by the British government was to attempt to extract information about key IRA operatives from IRA volunteers, but this was not so successful. From all of this infiltration, the military side of the IRA was to some degree weakened, but the political side, Sinn Fein, was flourishing.

In order to halt the rise of Sinn Fein, in 1985 the British government signed the Anglo-Irish Agreement with the Irish government. This attracted the support of anti-violence Nationalists, but created uproar among the Unionists. The IRA, meanwhile, was brimming with confidence because they had a new source of lethal weapons in Libya and so-armed they were now in a position to launch, for the first time, a full scale offensive operation.

The next strategy was to create a circular liberated zone by terminating all isolated police stations in the village Ballygawly. Deglan Arthurs and five associates (who had all known Martin Hurson who died in the hunger strike in 1981) were actively involved and became part of one of the most fearless and ruthless units within the IRA. Arthurs and three others were shot dead during a gunfight in 1987. The other two, Martin

McCaughey (a Sinn Fein council member and IRA volunteer) and his friend Dessy Grew were shot dead in an SAS ambush. The SAS became a particularly lethal weapon of the British Army, killing more than twenty IRA volunteers.

Controversial though it was, the SAS was highly effective in its campaign against the IRA. In 1990, with chances of winning the war diminishing, Martin McGuinness held secret talks with British intelligence about the possibility of peace.

At this time, John Major was the new Prime Minister, and he and his ministers also became targets of the IRA. Major said that as soon as he was in a position to do so, he would consider Ireland to be top of his priority list and would take steps towards securing peace for that country. However, he was distracted by the Gulf War and it took a series of bombs outside the parliament buildings to draw his attention back to the situation in Ireland.

Nevertheless, the IRA started talking to the British government. In 1990 it was clear to both sides that the conflict had reached its final phase; the IRA knew it had to engage in constitutional politics as well as fight the war.

This idea drew public support for Adams and McGuinness causing a split in Sinn Fein. Adams and McGuinness led the Provisionals in a new direction, joining constitutional politics with violence.

But Father Alec Reed, Adams's priest, called Adams and John Hume, a leader within the SDLP, to put an end to the killing. In 1988 it looked like he had succeeded. Then came the notion that the people of Ireland should be able to decide the future of their country without British involvement, and discussions were accelerated by the killing of three IRA volunteers by the SAS.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵ Ryder, C. (2013, November 24). Father Alec Reid obituary: Priest and peacemaker who acted as a conduit between the IRA and the British government. *The Guardian*. Retrieved May 1, 2014 from <http://www.theguardian.com>

However, at the funeral, a Loyalist, Michael Stone, shot at random and bombed the cemetery. Three IRA volunteers were killed and fifteen mourners were injured. Later, two British soldiers attending a funeral of one of the victims were brutally killed by the IRA. This led to Reed, Adams and Hume making the much-needed settlement.¹⁶⁶

Brutality had its price. Sinn Fein lost sixteen seats from the council election. Adams lost his seat in Westminster. The SDLP now represented a majority among the Nationalists.

In the village of Cuppa, three members of the IRA were killed by a Loyalist. The killing was aimed at encouraging the IRA to stop their campaign and moving the Provisionals towards a settlement. In 1993, John Major received a message, allegedly from Martin McGuinness.

“The conflict is over, but we need your advice on how to bring it to an end.” (2.47.13)

Major claimed that he took it seriously, seeing it as a chance to end the long-term dispute. Martin McGuinness denied that the message was from him, claiming it was the result of an intelligence error, but a meeting was arranged.

Three days before the meeting, a bomb killed two children and injured fifteen others. The meeting in Derry went ahead, however, and included Martin McGuinness and Jerry Kelly for the Provisionals, and the British government represented by an officer of MI5, who made the following statement:

“Any settlement not involving people of North and South won’t work...The solution is union. It’s going to happen anyway...Unionists will have to change. This island will be as one.”¹⁶⁷

The IRA was skeptical of the statement. A month later, they detonated a bomb in the heart of London, killing one person and injuring thirty others.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid. Ryder. 2013

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, Thechipmunck414, 2013

In 1992, the new Irish Prime Minister, Albert Reynolds, was keen to take what Adams and Hume had started to a higher level. In 1993 he had a secret meeting in Dublin with the cabinet secretary, Sir Robin Butler, who was sent there by John Major and who took the documents back to London. The result was nothing new and just repeated the ideas of Adams and Hume.

While the two Prime Ministers were negotiating the re-unification of Ireland, there were killings by the Loyalists, which brought a response from the IRA. But this was a mistake. There were no Loyalists among the victims and many innocent people, and the bomber, were killed in the operation. The Loyalists nonetheless retaliated: a gunman walked into a pub and shot six Catholics and a Protestant.

At this point, Major was no longer willing to speak to any member of the IRA leadership as he believed that those who seek peace would not walk the way of violence. The meeting between the two Prime Ministers continued, however. The talks were heated and there was no settlement, but Reynolds eventually made an agreeable proposition. Although Major was enthusiastic about what he and Reynolds had achieved to this point and about the future of Ireland, the Provisional prisoners were still skeptical as they had been fighting the Unionist veto for so long. But they recognized the Unionists' consent.

Six months later a ceasefire was announced by Adams and McGuinness, although Provisional hardliners were yet to be convinced that a ceasefire was the best idea. With the ceasefire in place, the Irish government was ready to negotiate with the British government. Within a few days, Reynolds was seen in public with Adams and Hume, who had helped to make this happen. Sometime afterwards the Loyalists made the same announcement.

At first, there was concern among the IRA about the permanency of the arrangement, but the government was keen to get on with the next stage, namely decommissioning – the handing over of the arsenal weapons held by the IRA and Loyalist paramilitaries. It

became immediately obvious, however, that the IRA was not willing to hand over a single rifle.

In 1995, with the ceasefire in place for almost a year, there were no negotiations in progress. The IRA were getting restless - dangerously so.

Bill Clinton, US president at the time, made an official visit to Ireland to celebrate the ceasefire, fully aware of how fragile the situation was. He addressed and assured the people of Belfast that the USA would do its best to support peace in Ireland, and Senator George Mitchel was asked to lead talks aimed at breaking the deadlock.

“The parties should consider some decommissioning...If broadly acceptable...an elective process could contribute to the building of confidence.”¹⁶⁸

In 1996, however, the ceasefire was broken by a bombing in London. The peace process was in ruins. The bomb killed two people, injured a hundred, and caused a hundred million pounds worth of damage. McGuinness and Adams claimed no knowledge of this campaign, but the truth was that Adams had learned about the bomb prior to its detonation and made a phone call to President Clinton’s national security advisor, Tony Lake, before the bomb went off.¹⁶⁹ England was clearly still a target of the new IRA campaign.

As time passed, however, the Provisionals lost heart for the continuing war with the Loyalists. With the forthcoming UK election they also did not want to hurt Sinn Fein. Adams won his seat in West Belfast and McGuinness in Middlestep. The future looked bright for Sinn Fein as it was now in a good position to negotiate with the Loyalists and the new British government, led by the new Prime Minister, Tony Blair. There was renewed hope for peace.

But the shootings continued. The IRA killed two policemen, and the decommissioning process was halted.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, Thechipmunck414, 2013

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, Thechipmunck414, 2013

In 1997, there were some tensions when 8000 Nationalists attempted to put a halt to 5000 Loyalists, police and soldiers marching to the Nationalists' residence to call for peace. The resulting standoff was resolved by a public mass conducted for people of all groups.

The IRA responded with a new ceasefire, and Sinn Fein was finally admitted to all-party talks. It was impressive to see people from the different groups now choosing to build on what they held in common, convinced that this was fundamental for the new society.

In 1997, Gerry Adams and a delegation from Sinn Fein met with Tony Blair.

The conflict that had lasted for more than three decades and resulted in more than 3000 deaths came to the end. After having been through so much, with inestimable losses, people had mixed feelings about the ceasefire. To some, this was definitely not what they had fought for; for the Provisionals this was not victory, but compromise. But the war was over.

Date	Summary	Event
1921		
6 December	Irish Free State Treaty	
1922		
	Civil War	
1948		
21 December	Creation of Republic of Ireland	The Irish Free State was fully independent from Britain. The six northern countries remained part of the United Kingdom.
1966		
April	UCDC & UPV founded	Loyalist founded the Ulster Constitution Defense Committee and a paramilitary-style wing called the Ulster Protestant Volunteers. Of three attacks, 3 people were killed and 2 were wounded.
21 May	UVF declaring war on the IRA	
May-June	Attacks of UVF on Irish Catholics	
1967		
January	Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) formed	NICRA was formed to fight for equality for Catholics in Northern Ireland.
1968		
20 June	The protest against discrimination in the allocation of housing	Civil Rights activists protested regarding to the illegally occupying a house in County Tyrone. A house was given to an unmarried Protestant woman ahead of Catholic families with children. The protest was stopped by the RUC.
24 August	The first Civil Rights Marching	Northern Ireland's first Civil Rights march was held from <u>Coalisland</u> to <u>Dungannon</u> . Loyalists organized counter-demonstrations to get the march banned.
5 October	The Londonderry march considered as the beginning of the Troubles	A civil rights march was held in Derry despite it being banned by the Minister of Home Affairs, William Craig. The RUC officers armed with batons were sent to break up the march. This march turned into riot. Over 100 people were injured. Some considered the Londonderry to be the beginning of the Troubles.
1969		
12 August	Battle of the Bogside	The Orange Apprentice Boy marched in Derry. Rioting broke out and the RUC officials backed by loyalists were sent to contain the crowd. Mounting demonstration in Belfast was used to take pressure off Catholics in Bogside. Consequently rioting occurred in Belfast as well in which the RUC were unable to cope.
14 August	British army first deployed onto streets of Northern Ireland	As the RUC were unable to handle the situation, British troops were sent in to put down the riots and to maintain order.

Date	Summary	Event
28 December	IRA split	The IRA split into two wings – the Marxist-oriented Official IRA (Official IRA) and the more hard-line Provisionals (Provisional IRA and referred to this thesis as the IRA)
1971		
9 August	Internment introduced	Meaning a person can be locked up without a trial. 350 people were immediately arrested and interned at Long Kesh. This move by the British government produced violence and political unrest.
September	UDA formed	Ulster Defence Association (UDA) became the largest loyalist group in Northern Ireland.
9 August - December	Protests against Internment	
1972		
30 January	Bloody Sunday (Londonderry)	During a civil rights march in Derry organized by NICRA, a section of the marchers and some observers confronted soldiers manning the barricade. British paratroopers shoot dead 13 Roman Catholics. 14 people were injured. This was the highest death toll from a single shooting incident during the Troubles.
March	Direct Rule	The result of Bloody Sunday was devastated bombings. The Northern Ireland's Government and Parliament were suspended - Northern Ireland was to be directly ruled from Westminster. One of the first actions by Westminster was to order the dismantling of the 'no-go' areas set up in 1969. The IRA responded by using increasing violence.
21 July	Bloody Friday	26 bombs set off in Belfast by the IRA. 9 dead, 130 injured.
1974		
15 May	Ulster Workers' Council Strike	The beginning of Ulster Workers' Council Strike
17 May	Dublin and Monaghan Bombings	UVF set off 4 bombs killing 33 civilians and injuring more than 300.
17 June	Houses of Parliament Bombings	The Provisional IRA bombed the Houses of Parliament in London causing extensive damage. 11 injured.
5 October	Guildford Pub Bombings	Bombed by the Provisional IRA. 4 British soldiers and 1 civilian were killed.
22 December	Christmas Ceasefire	The Provisional IRA announced a Christmas Ceasefire. It was a 3-day ceasefire.
1974 - 1975		
Ceasefire		
1975		
5 December	End of Internment	

Date	Summary	Event
1976		
1 March	Criminalization	The British phasing out Special Category status. After this date, all prisoners convicted of terrorist acts were to be treated as ordinary criminals and locked in H-Block or the Maze.
14 September	Blanket Men or Blanket Protest (Maze Prison)	Provisional IRA member, Kieran Nugent is the first prisoner convicted and not given Special Category status. He refused to wear prison clothes and wore a blanket to differentiate himself from the Ordinary Decent Criminals.
1978		
August	Dirty Protest or No-Wash Protest (Maze Prison)	Protesters wore only blankets, refused to wash themselves and smeared the walls in their cells with excreta.
1979		
27 August	Mountbatten Assassination	Lord Mountbatten, uncle of Queen Elizabeth II, was murdered by an IRA bomb in Sligo.
1980		
27 October	First Hunger Strike	Tommy McKearney and six other IRA members started the hunger strike demanding the right to wear their own clothes instead of prison clothes. The 1 st hunger strike was called off on 2 March 1981 to focus attention on the 2 nd hunger strike.
1981		
1 March	Second Hunger Strike led by Bobby Sands	
9 April	Bobby Sands elected MP	Sands won the seat for Fermanagh-South Tyrone.
5 May	Bobby Sands died	He died on the 66 th of hunger strike. His death caused rioting in Northern Ireland.
1985		
15 November	Anglo-Irish Agreement	Signed by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Taoiseach Garret FitzGerald, the agreement established an Inter-Governmental Conference to deal with political matters and the promotion of cross-border cooperation. However it was never fully implemented.
1988		
January	SDLP and Sinn Fein Talks	SDLP leader John Hume and Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams began discussions for an all-Ireland settlement.
16 March	Milltown cemetery in Belfast	Three mourners were killed by Loyalist gunman, Michael Stone, during the burial of the three IRA members killed in Gibraltar.
19 March	Two British soldiers are killed	These soldiers accidentally drive into the funeral procession of one of the three IRA victims killed by the Milltown gunman. They dragged from their car, beaten by the crowd, and then shot dead by IRA. This kill was recorded by TV cameras; and the footage was shown around the world.

Date	Summary	Event
1991		
7 February	IRA Mortar Bombing	IRA launched 3 mortar shells at 10 Downing Street where Prime Minister John Major is meeting with his cabinet. No injuries.
1992		
17 January	Teebane Bombing	Eight Protestant constructions workers at a security base in Co. Tyrone were killed by an IRA landmine. Six other were wounded.
1993		
24 April	Bishopsgate Bombing	The IRA exploded a bomb at Bishopsgate, London. The bomb contained one ton of fertilizer explosives. One was killed and 30 were injured. Damages amount to £350 million.
23 October	Shankill Bombing	IRA detonated a bomb in a Belfast fish shop on Shankill Road. Ten people died including one of the bombers; 57 were injured.
15 December	Downing Street Declaration	John Major and Albert Reynolds issued a Joint Declaration on Northern Ireland. The declaration stated that the people of Northern Ireland should be able to freely decide their own future.
1997		
September	Multi-Party Peace Talks	For the first time since Ireland was divided in 1922, Irish Free State, Ulster (British Province) and Sinn Fein sat down to formal negotiations.
1998		
10 April	The Belfast Agreement (also known as the Stormont Agreement or Good Friday Agreement)	After months of peace talks, the Good Friday Agreement was signed at Stormont in Belfast.
15 August	Omagh Bombing	The explosion in Omagh killed 29 people and wounded over 200. The Real IRA, a splinter group from the IRA, claimed for responsibility. It is the worst single bombing of the Troubles, in terms of civilian life lost.

CHAPTER 4
RICOCHET

Chapters 4 - 7 form the core part of the narrative on IRA terrorism between 1968 and 1998 [+10], which will be explored using Foucauldian discourse analysis of eight films.

The films will be chronologically assigned to four themes identified in the background narrative of the period 1968 to 1998. According to this narrative of 30 years of conflict, we can see that if the discourse on IRA terrorism from the times of the "troubles" is taken as a single static unit we will see only a limited perspective on IRA terrorism. But if we perceive a number of different perspectives, this will reveal the multifaceted dynamic of the discourse on IRA terrorism.

Chapter 4, entitled "*Ricochet*", presents the first theme from my chronological observations. It is intentionally written as an introduction to how this paper engages with film by using Foucauldian discourse analysis and a flexible approach to the study of film portrayal. The chapter will facilitate an understanding of the approach by taking it step by step in order to show how and why two films represent a theme and what is generated, including when the visible or "perceivable substance" is categorised as a "monument of discourse", and, most importantly for Foucauldian discourse analysis, how such a monument is constructed.

The paper does not explore every aspect of what the films are seeking to portray as the main focus of the study, the main 'layer' it is mining, is "Terrorism in popular culture". This is the "*single thematic concern*". The paper deals only with the issue of terrorism and will use the term "monument of discourse" to describe the "perceivable substance" that is relevant to the theme of the discourse.

From the concepts of the monument and the perceivable substance, we can move on to engage with Foucauldian discourse analysis by answering the key question of "What is generated?" in this regard. The answer is clear from what we have seen in the previous paragraph. Answering the question "How was it constructed?" will require delicate analysis of the two languages: film language and verbal language. Lastly, the study will

use text coupled with a "screen grab" in order to overcome the limitations of a written presentation.

The two films selected to present the first theme in the discourse on IRA terrorism “*Ricochet*” are the *Paul Greengrass* film “**BLOODY SUNDAY**” and *Jim Sheridan*'s **IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER**”. Both films take the subject of real and infamous historical events in which the IRA was involved. These sorts of films need to present historical data as precisely as they can. The film makers may, however, pin a question mark into the film (the reel), even if no such question exists according to the (real) historical data. Indeed, we are going to see how they construct the real (terrorism) in their (cinema) reel. “Bloody Sunday” takes us back to Sunday 30 January 1972, a Sunday that will not be forgotten by either "side" in the conflict. The IRA's voice is heard loud and clear even though IRA members speak only a few sentences in a film that runs for 105 minutes. The second film focuses on an event that took place on a Saturday, namely Saturday 5 October 1974, the day of the infamous pub bombing that took place in Guildford, a few miles southwest of London, England. “In The Name of The Father” takes us into the real life of Gerry Collon from towards the end of 1974 to fifteen years later. This film is held in high regard by many as a film that deals with an action perpetrated by the IRA, as a film that deals with the "troubles", as a twentieth-century British film, and as a remarkable world-renowned film of the 1990s. “In The Name of The Father” stands out strongly in all of these four categories.

The common depiction of the IRA in the two films is that of "gangster" or "mafia" - in other words as "the bad guy". Noticeably, both films portray the IRA as somewhat amorphous - a shadowy organization with no visible structure (the same way the mafia is sometimes perceived). Such a "visible" or perceivable substance is the common ground of the two films, thus providing a "single theme". *The image of the gangster or the mafia as a perceivable substance is thus the first monument of discourse as defined above.*

The second monument relates to the depiction of the fact that not all Catholic Nationalists are members of the IRA. They shared the same goal (ends) but chose completely different means. The end was clear: independence for Northern Ireland from the United Kingdom and an end to Unionist (Protestant) domination. The means were also clear: for Catholic Nationalists who were not part of the IRA it was the way of non-violence; for the IRA it meant violence.

From what is visible in both films, it was very clear what the films generate. Not from what any actor or actress in either film says, not from the verbal language in either screenplay. *It is not said, it is shown, and we are allowed, indeed encouraged, to think.* This visuality implies that if the IRA can be labelled "bad", then so can the other side: the army in "Bloody Sunday"; the police in "In The Name of The Father". If the IRA in "Bloody Sunday" believe in violence and physical force then the army believe in the same. The IRA is portrayed, wordlessly, as a gangster. The army is portrayed in the same way, as irrational liars. The idea of using enthymeme is also found in "In The Name of The Father". If Joe McAndrew - one of the Guildford bombers - can be labelled as "black", then the police are the same colour and follow the same strategy - violence, lies, immorality.

This is the third monument. Let us hunt the next. But no. Don't we need "a single theme!" Yes, because:

every monument is a "perceivable substance", but not every perceivable substance is a "monument", as long as it follows a "single theme".

The third monument is not here. So, we should be careful.

What have we have found up to this point? We have three perceivable substances, but only two monuments.

Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA) in the study of film portrayal is based on the idea of the parallel nature of "reel" and "real" and the blurred edges between the two. Without consciousness, nothing is real except natural substances such as rock, sand, and sea. Answering the two crucial questions of FDA ("What is generated?" and "How is it generated?") will help us see the illusion around us and achieve true knowledge.

The first question is quite straightforward. The perception of the IRA as gangster-mafia is one among many perceptions that are generated. The perception of the IRA's belief in violence and the use of physical force is the second perception generated by the films we are exploring. In answer to the second question, the first monument of discourse is constructed differently by the two films. "Bloody Sunday" constructs this monument through "sub-text". In the scene in which Ivan (the ringleader of the march promoting non-violence) meets a member of the IRA (the "Provos") sitting in a car. The film language is muted but the script tells the story. The frame size switches between long shot (LS) and medium shot (MS), so the film language tells us little; the sub-text of the script does the job of fashioning the IRA character.



The costume design of the shot distinguishes between Ivan and the IRA.

The axis-line is reversed in order to express Ivan's expression, even in LS, and does its job fairly well in terms of portraying an amorphous figure. The costume design coupled with polarization on the car windscreen in LS is excellent film language when the distinction between the two needs to be visualized.



IVAN:

“Just checking..you're keeping the guns away.”

IRA:

“That's no concern of yours, Ivan”



IVAN:

"You gave me your word."

IRA:

"Then take it."

The scene represents a critical stage in the film. A chubby apathetic man steals the scene with his chewing - such a small detail but a remarkable part of the scene.



IVAN:

*“We just want a peaceful march. This is our day.
People are fed up”*

IRA:

*“Ivan, it's all very well for you sitting pretty with your wee Westminster
paycheck every week. Marching's not gonna solve this thing.”*

IVAN:

“Watch us.”

This is the first and only one scene that can project the character of a member of the IRA: a gentleman; a decent man; a good man. He gave his word and never went back on it. The binary opposition gives us a crystal clear view of a certain IRA personality trait. It also represents the means they believe in. A few sentences of brilliant sub-text coupled with very simple language in an important conversation make a perceivable substance appear very clearly. The film director upper cut this scene with “less is more”.

The same monument, the perception of the IRA as gangsters or the mafia, appears in “In The Name Of The Father”. The second scene in which the IRA appear partly reveals the IRA's character (this film takes more scenes than “Bloody Sunday” to reveal this character). The scene is short but stunning: only one frame size with a simple dolly and only two cuts. A fitting MS is crafty selected to express eye and body gesturess. A neat IRA operative with a facade of bravery portrayed through the perfectly timed and very simple conversation makes a huge impact.



DIXON:

“Bombing of pillar box Kensington High Street.

Bombing of pillar box Talbot Lodge. Bombing of naval club.

Bombing of Aldershot Railway Station. Attempted murder of Edward Heath.

Murder of Ross McWhirter. Possession of firearms,

Balcombe Street, December”



JOE:

*“And the Guildford pub bombings.
You have innocent people in jail for that.”*

It takes just five seconds to reveal the truth of who is actually a Guildford bomber. Joe extends the charge list in such a way as to suggest that police authority means nothing. The way he extends the list does not amount to a “confession” and “*You have innocent people in jail for that*” appears to blame the police rather than admit guilt. The most simple elements of film language and verbal language, coming at the right place and right time, help us to see that. The truth, the real terror, is revealed through simplicity.



The visual image of Joe McAndrew positions him on the knife edge between evildoer and hero. As mentioned earlier, his character is partly unfolded from the scene in which he challenges police authority, in which the police are portrayed as little better than petty thieves.



JOE:

"Let's have a talk."

This wide angle shot establishes the first meeting between the two Gerry (falsely convicted) and Joe (the real Guildford bomber).



GERRY:

"We have to eat in our cells."



JOE:

"See ya later."

This scene portrays the characteristics of the mafia: both a command and a denial. In fact, Joe doesn't have any authority over Gerry. Both are prisoners, and indeed, because of Joe, Gerry's life has been changed forever.

In such a way, Joe is portrayed as inhabiting a grey zone between bravery and idiocy. The frame size is kept wide in order to keep the two men together, one on the right, the other on the left. This marking never changes. We should ask ourselves why.



Continuing from the previous scene, the framing is LS but wide angle making the focus rather difficult to identify. The direction and marking for every actor - including extras - are well planned. There are more than ten people dressed in almost identical clothes. The scene could only be shot by a highly experienced film maker. Sheridan tries very hard to keep Joe in the shot, choosing to keep the audience with him by dropping the music score and reducing the amount of ambient sound; the silence does the job. It is very impressive.



Medium close up frame size (MCU) is selected intentionally in order to convey a message from the film maker to the audience. He is still completely surrounded by British prisoners. Timing is the main element. Something was thrown to Joe. The taken

to think before responding makes the audience hold its breath. It distinguishes Joe from ordinary people. Depth of field, the fixed frame size, perspective, and surreal lighting combine to make this scene look very real despite the use of surreal techniques.



But wait. He suddenly strikes back. All of the film language changes dramatically: frame size, movement, and cutting; from almost complete stillness to fast and furious. Joe's experience in fighting is revealed and so is Gerry's mind and his loyalties.

This camera angle usually represents desperation but this scene is an exception. From what we see, Joe is every bit as experienced a fighter as the British prisoners and perhaps more so. Chairs become weapons and shields; the only empty hand is Gerry's. The most secure position is by the wall. Every mark means a lot for everyone in the scene.

How and why is the hero fighting in exactly the same way as the other prisoners?

Unlike with the IRA in “Bloody Sunday”, in which just one scene reveals all about their character, it takes many scenes to unfold the character of the Guildford bomber.

The two movies are a clear example of the different constructions for the same monument, generating the perception of a gangster or the mafia.



JOE:

*“If anything happens to me, or Gerry,
or any other Irish prisoner,
we’ll have Halsey Road blown to smithereens...
with your family in it.”*



RONNIE:

“You threaten my family, I’ll cut your fuckin’ head off.”

JOE:

“I don’t make threats.

I just carry out orders. I don’t want to hurt your family.”

His attempts to halt the conflict between British and Irish prisoners make him look like a mediator. *But what kind of a man will bomb a family from the opposite side, and their house, in order to prevent a conflict?*



This scene portrays the IRA mind but not through any reliance on violence. A place of entertainment is purposely chosen for the burning alive of the prison officer. If the room had been bigger and the light brighter the degree of violence would have been reduced. It is painting with light; the setting, the light, the fire, the background colour, the movement of a burning body combine to make a "reel" terrorist look "real".





GERRY:

“Will you not look me in the eye when I'm speakin' to you?

I know how to look at people without blinkin' as well.

In all my godforsaken life, I've never known...

what it was like to want to kill somebody until now.

Ah, you're a brave man, Joe. A brave man.”

According to the conversation between Joe and Gerry. Does Gerry cherish the violence way?



IVAN:

“Let's not forget, in all this confusion that we face a choice as a society.

Not about what we want. We all know what we want: Radical change.

The dismantling of Stormont and an end to Unionist domination.

The choice is about how we achieve it. Between violence and nonviolence.

*If we are going to give a future to the children of this city
the young lads up there--there they are we all know they're rioting away there.”*



*“They do it every day--if we are gonna give those boys there a future
we have to show them that nonviolence works.*

*If we don't, it won't be just stones they're throwing. Because civil rights isn't the soft
option...not when the bricks fly and the police and the Army batons charge down.*

It's not easy keeping to the nonviolent road”



IVAN:

*“when other people say,
"This isn't working. Let's get the guns out and take revenge."*

*But if you believe in the civil rights movement with all your heart and your soul,
as I do...*

*If you believe in what Gandhi and Martin Luther King believed
in with a passion, as I do, then in the end with one single united march,
we shall overcome.”*



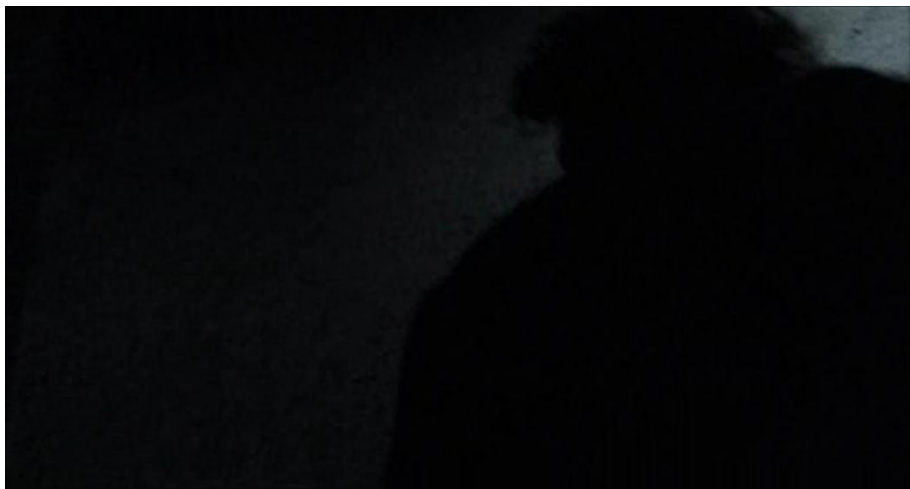


In the movie "Bloody Sunday", there are few scenes directly related to the IRA, to the actions of the IRA, or to acts of terrorism. Nevertheless, the movie portrays several related monuments regarding the discourse on IRA terrorism. As mentioned earlier, the first monument constructed in the film is dishonesty - words are given and taken back with no hint of a guilty conscience.

The second appearance of the IRA in this movie is when civilians are shot dead by British soldiers. The scene shows three IRA men running from the back of a car to a place that is out of shot. A jerky, handheld camera is used with extremely low depth of field and the picture going in and out of focus several times. All of these different uses of film language (camera movement, lack of depth of field, panning) stimulate the audience and prompt it to ask "Where they are running to?" The audience recalls that these three IRA men have previously been cunningly depicted as "bad guys" and linked to guns. Now once more they are carrying guns. *At this stage, the audience is not given an answer to their question, but one thing is clear, wherever they are running, they are up to no good.*

Still using a handheld camera, the frame sizes are continually changed between wide and narrow angle. In conventional film theory, this technique is designed to show extreme confusion. But not here. The unstable handheld camera, the repeated changing of frame size, the low-key lighting - sometimes very low, with the audience barely seeing anything at all, to the point of "noir" lighting levels - yields the other extreme.

At this point everything is crystal clear. But what is clear is the "vagueness" of the IRA, or the film's depiction of the IRA, as it has been with the previous two scenes. The IRA grows in strength at this point in the film, with more 'volunteers'. The sound of a gun being loaded and made ready to fire echoes around the room to emphasize this point. The sound is too real and too loud. I have given much thought to this scene, contemplated it, thought it through over and over again, trying to get into the mind of the director, Paul Greengrass, in the hope of seeing his intention. It may, however, simply be a high artistic form that I cannot explain.









The next monument is not shared by both films. The perception portrayed in the film shows about the victory of the IRA. In other words, it shows the almost overnight emergence of the IRA through the Bloody Sunday incident, which helps facilitate the IRA's recruitment of new 'volunteers', with easier access to more weapons. The IRA's victory was the result of nothing but the failure of the British government. This is what Ivan says in the press conference. The press conference scene puts a lot of tension on the audience as it uses a handheld camera, slowly and continually zooming in from wide angle, showing a lot of people sitting around the table, to close-ups showing only the face of the lead character. Zooming in with a handheld camera creates a feeling of tension because of the instability, the swaying and jerking movements, like dizziness, or the stress of being stalked. This pressure is, however, highly important for the content of the film, as it explicitly shows that the root cause of the ruthlessness of the IRA and the long-lasting nature of the "troubles" was the British government. "In the Name of the Father" does not mention this aspect.







IVAN:

*“And, uh, I just want to say this
to the British government:*

*You know what you've just done,
don't you?*

*You've destroyed
the Civil Rights Movement*

And you've given the IRA the biggest victory it will ever have.

All over this city tonight

*young men, boys...
will be joining the IRA*

and you will reap a whirlwind.”





There is a monument I have found in "In the Name of the Father" that I have not found in "Bloody Sunday", and that is the "unprofessionalism" of the IRA, which is portrayed right from the beginning of the film. The director hides nothing; he is very bold. There is a scene in which two couples walk into the pub in Guildford. As they are entering the pub, shifting axis-line, the camera cuts from behind to the front (as if looking from inside the pub) to show the woman entering, so the scene cuts back and forth to show the simple activity of ordinary people walking into a pub. Then, while the woman is taking off her jacket, the bomb goes off with great ferocity. What is left on screen is a picture of the woman's bag lying on the floor. Is it the director's intention to hide? I do not think so. The director's intention is clear: he has wanted to show that innocent civilians were killed right from the beginning of the movie. This incident is brought back again when Guiseppe- Gerry's dad - met Joe (their first official meeting and conversation).



JOE:

"You're one of its innocent victims. I'm sorry for your trouble."

GIUSEPPE:

"Don't be sorry for us. You should be sorry for the people you killed."

JOE:

"It was a military target. A soldier's pub."

GIUSEPPE:

"They were innocent people. God's children."

This is how the unprofessionalism is presented. It shows that what Joe has said and done does not ring true. In other words, if the IRA intentionally kills civilians, then say it. Therefore, this is how unprofessionalism is portrayed.

In Chapter 4, four different monuments contribute to the construction of the *discourse on "IRA terrorism"* during the period of the "**Ricochet**". The chapter has taken time to set some of the basic groundwork concerning what I am doing and how I am approaching the research. The following chapter will explore two further films: Steve McQueen's "The Hunger", and "Fifty Dead Men Walking" by Canadian director Kari Skogland.

CHAPTER 5
POINT AND SHOOT

Chapter 5: “Point and Shoot” – HUNGER and FIFTY DEAD MEN WALKING

In this chapter, we have two films that demand huge levels of concentration - at many points we should not even blink while watching them. We will tell the stories one film at a time.

First, we must go back to the year 1981. “Hunger” is unique and strongly appealing in its artistic and aesthetic presentation. It is very different from other popular films for not compromising its original film grammar with the more familiar grammar of Hollywood. This probably has much to do with the uncompromising persona and formidable ego of the director, Steve McQueen. Although he was at the time a new face in the world of celluloid, he has such a strong background in the Video-Arts that whenever you watch this film you can’t help but sense a strange combination of the opposite poles of Woody Allen and Wong Ga Wai. "Hunger" is based on the true story of Bobby Sands, one of the prominent architects of the IRA’s organizational blue print in the late 70’s. What we find in this movie, with or without full concentration, in silence or with full blown audio, can be divided into three parts.

The first part may appear sweet to some people, but sick and bitter to others - a product of the film's uncompromising nature. It starts gently, but gets gradually stronger with very clear, formalist film language. At the beginning, the story is told by film language; there is hardly any verbal language. This is the charm of the film. One third of it (43 minutes) is portrayed with very little verbal language; it communicates with the audience through film language. It is strange, it is different, but the audience can’t help but keep watching it. If it were a book it would be called "unreadable".

So, what visible or perceivable substances are generated and how are the monuments constructed in the first part of the film?

HUNGER: a Steve McQueen film. The 1st part:

The movie flashes back to the second hunger strike in the year 1981. It tells how Bobby Sands emerged on and left this planet. It portrays the atmosphere of and conditions in the prison and talks about power. The main subject is an imprisoned IRA terrorist who was victimized and bullied but who is passive. It is certain that the prisoners cannot bully anyone. Certainly, they cannot demand whatever they want from the prison guard like a spoiled five-year-old child. That would be impossible. But still, some prisoners could be described as a real pain in the neck. (We witness such things in Joe's character from the second film in the previous chapter - Joe who can even burn his prisoner guard.) However, what these political prisoners, in this case members of the IRA, demand is not to wear a prison suit but their own clothes in order to distinguish them from other criminals.



GILLEN:

*“I will not wear the uniform of a criminal.
I demand to wear me own clothes.”*



The other thing the film portrays is the question of the difference between political prisoners and criminals. This is portrayed by the technique of repetition such as the insertion of an audio of Margaret Thatcher's voice.

THATCHER:

“There is no such thing as political murder, political bombing or political violence.

There is only criminal murder, criminal bombing and criminal violence.

We will not compromise on this. There will be no political status.”





What we see in the film is Thatcher's attempt to show that the IRA is not a political movement. We often hear characters in the first part of the movie saying "political" - and this is repeated. It is the technique used to construct the monument; it is a fight between two words, "political" and "criminal". We often hear the word "political" but seldom hear the word "criminal". This is done in order to create an imbalance between the two, with more emphasis on "political". The repetition itself is more important than the context.

The voice of Thatcher. The "Iron Lady" says that the IRA is a criminal organization not a political one, but as soon as those words slipped out of her mouth, she unwittingly makes it political, because of who she is - a world leader and a leader of a nuclear power country. The film depicts this part of the story in an "old school" yet powerful but perhaps biased way, in that it makes use of the utility of the film. *The film therefore uses two techniques - simultaneous repetition and a selective sender to construct this monument, that the IRA hunger strike is a political matter.*

Let us focus on the discourse on IRA terrorism. In this case, the IRA are portrayed as terrorists, even though they are not directly, verbally, mentioned as such. Here, the IRA "terrorists" are victims waiting to be victimized by their prison guards, and by the noise outside their cells. Those who have been victimized many times can tell exactly what awaits them - all they can do is to prepare themselves for it. The film portrays all of this by sequences of non-verbal language. Seeing a prison guard pulling something in front

of the cells and seeing the reaction of the old prisoners when they hear noises tells the new prisoners to get ready because something is coming: a brief few words and a close up (CU) frame to the eyes - anxious eyes.





“What?”

“Get ready.”





MS with wide-angle lens does it job perfectly.



The film language helps the audience to get ready with the victim who is now waiting for someone of authority to come in and bully him. The film constructs this perceivable substance - prisoners are victims - with film language and textual language by using short phrases such as “be prepared”, “be ready”. This verbal language is magnified by the film language. The audience is now certain that the prisoners are victims. They are about to be bullied and they are bullied repeatedly, like the repeated audio of Thatcher that still echoes in the audience's ears.



In prisons, and in this film, the prisoners have visiting hours. This shows the human side of the prisoners. While mainstream theories see terrorists as diseased, bad or abnormal

people, this film depicts the human, everyday side - a smile and a cry between husband and wife, mother and son, sister and brother, boyfriend and girlfriend.

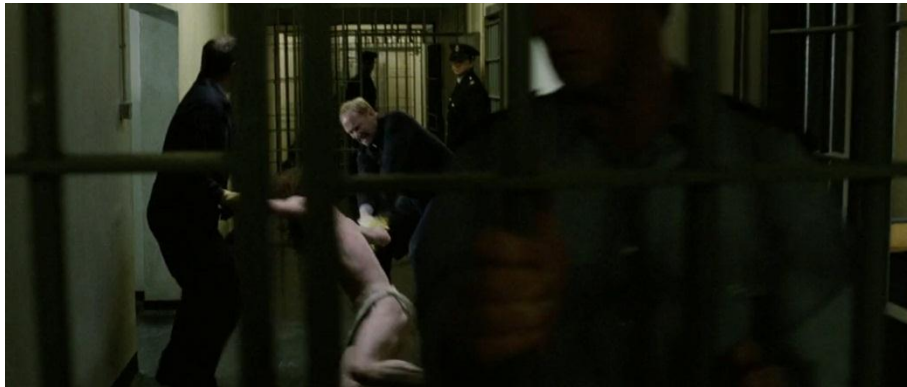


The visiting hours scene shows a girlfriend paying a visit to her prisoner boyfriend, then cuts to a night scene in a prison cell. There is a touch of black comedy in this scene, in which one of the prisoners masturbates under his blanket while looking at a picture of his girlfriend, but stops when he hears his cellmate moving.



Is this funny? Yes, it is funny. But underneath the dark humor, the film is showing that these prisoners are merely human beings. So, if you are trying to discover what the film is trying to say, you can easily do so.

Let us go back to the point about the prisoners being passive. Because they do not submit themselves to getting their hair cut or having their moustache shaved they have to pay the price - and the price is violence.



We see them being dragged naked from their cells as though they were an animals, and repeatedly thrown against the wall and battered simply in order to get them to have their hair cut and their face shaved. Later they are thrown into a tub and scrubbed by a mob until their faces are soaked in their own blood.



CU with wide-angle lens is used wisely. Fasten audience heart rate with unexpected point-of-view (POV) from a prisoner.



“Decrease to Increase” one among many of formalism practicing. McQueen gradually decrease the space and headroom in the frame composition in order to increase tension and pressure of overall shot.



Certainly, the prisoners would not be happy about this, but what exactly is the film portraying? It uses no textual language at all, but shows the maltreatment through rich film language. It shows an extreme asymmetry of power. Therefore, if these members of the IRA are "bad", then it is easy to deduce how we can describe the prison guards - logically, with the same adjective we have just used to describe the IRA: "bad".



We witness all of this in the first part of the film, with its sparse dialogue, and in which Bobby Sands is eventually revealed as the person who is being bullied throughout from all of these scenes of violence

So the film starts slowly, with no complicated editing techniques. But the pace builds, like a person starting to walk and then suddenly sprinting and jumping.





The film maker occasionally uses jump cuts (an editing technique) to speed up the pace of storytelling and to draw out the emotion of the audience. The camera position is the same, but there is a time jump from one point to another or a time stretch. There is a jerky feeling though the camera position and the frame size is still the same.



The excitement is created by the editing technique together with the intensity of the performance by the actor playing this particularly unpredictable character. It is easy for the audience to see how shattered the character is from the jump cut of the scene where his aggression explodes in that small cell.

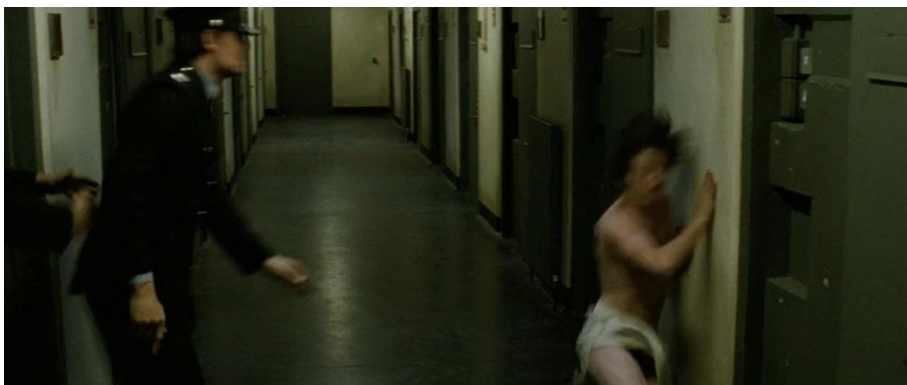


The scene that shows the formalist approach of the film, like that of Danny Boyle's "127 Hours", is the one packed with the most "extra" actors in this low budget film. It is the scene in which the riot officers come into the cell - with the pace of the clubs hitting the shields matching the heartbeat of the audience. It is a good way to build intensity, but there is a trap hidden within a process that can make an audience feel like dust being blown away in the wind.





When the first prisoner is thrown against the wall, the sound of his head hitting the wall and of the punch hitting his face are in the frequency range of 150 to 250 hertz.





When the violence meted out to the prisoners is constructed by a form of sound design which focuses on technique and design choice during an audio recording session, for it is impossible to distinguish frequencies as low as 150 to 250 hertz in a room full of noise - the noise of riot officers hitting their shields, the noise of the shouts and yells of prison guards and prisoners. This particular sound - the hit in the face and the body hitting the wall - was recorded using a pressure zone microphone (PZM), a close mic-ing technique and a short gun microphone to separate the two sounds (the hit in the face and the head against the wall).





There is a hidden message in this ambient sound. It constructs the prisoners as victims and their pain penetrates through all the chaos the audience is seeing. Some members of the audience might not recognize the sound of the prisoners' pain, but they can feel it. As for me, I study film language and sound design so I can tell straight away that the sound is intentionally being emphasized - in this case, in order to construct and magnify the pain of the victimized prisoners. It is speaking not with words, but with the sound of pain.

The film is therefore communicating with the audience through film language in order to show that the prisoners are being victimized. This supports my choice of the term "film language" rather than "visual language", as there are several practices involved.

For example, the scene in which one of the prison guards wears rubber gloves gives us the idea that this person is about to do something. The scene is then cut to the next, where the prisoner is violated by those same rubber gloves.





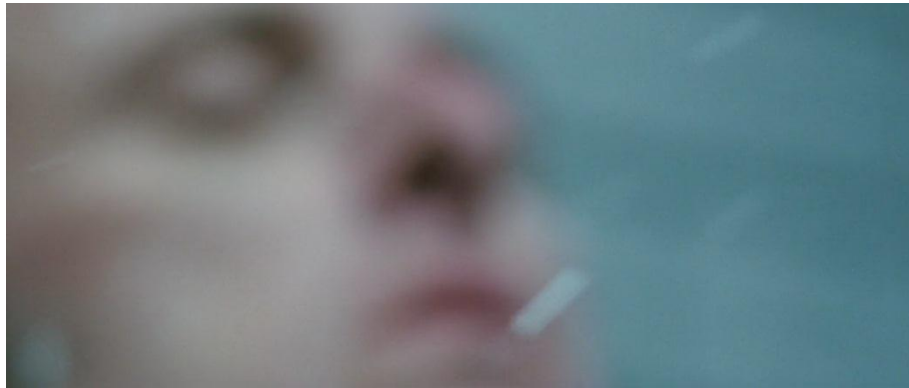
Is this done in order to emphasize the passive position of the prisoners? Or is it raising questions about morality and whether this is the norm for the treatment of prisoners, whether political or criminal?

Where is the neutral position? In an opening scene we see a prison guard's wounded hands in a tub, in the quietness. This quietness is communicating with us. Afterwards, we see the same man smoking while he washes his face with his bloody, wounded hands. Everything is still in the quiet. We still don't know who he is, and we start to question a number of things. Next, we see this prison guard standing outside, in the snow.









This really shows off the art of the director as it starts with a still frame, but becomes tighter as the cameraman slowly closes in on the subject. This is not done on a dolly or horizontal crane, but on a handheld camera. We can tell this from the shaky line of the brick wall. The camera movement tells us that there is some confusion. Though conventional theory might say that a handheld shot expresses a lively walking tempo, it does in fact show confusion, especially when it cuts back several times to the close-up frames of the guard's hands, thus indicating his confusion and pain (although we can't yet tell what is behind that confusion and pain). It is very obvious that the film is attempting to position this man in his confusion.



When a new actor is placed in the story and asks all his staff if everything was alright, the film is showing us that things happened the way they should be and that everyone was following orders.



“Everything in order?”

“Yes, sir. In order, sir.”

“Very good.”



If we step away from the unit of analysis, we will find a demon, a prison guard, victimizing a prisoner. But if we look higher, from a personal level, we will see that the prison guard is only a man and has to follow rules from a higher authority, and that Bobby Sands is another pawn in this dangerous game of chess. It is just that the two men are on opposite sides of the table.

The prisoners and prison guards are, as we have said, just pawns in a game, the rules of which are set by those in power - both the IRA and the British government.

Prisoners and prison guards are human beings who have to do what they are told to do, and this answers the question we raised at the beginning concerning the confusion we see in the prison guards. Through the film language that has been used from the beginning of the film we can now tell what they are confused about. Another character in the film makes this point still clearer. This is a gunman who shoots a prison guard shortly after the latter has paid a visit to his mother. The gunman can just walk away after he has shot the guard, thus indicating that the prison guard is not especially smart - he is a mere man. And so is the gunman - he is just an ordinary man who has killed another man with an ordinary gun according to his ordinary duty.



The film is saying that everyone has his role to play, but that all one can expect is tears, blood, pain and death, as everyone, whichever side they are on, is manipulated by other players in a political game none of them can run away from. *The film shows a gradual politicization of the agenda as the story develops.*

While the first part may seem sweet to some and bitter to others, the second part can be only bitter. It is an uncompromising film.

HUNGER: a Steve McQueen film. The 2nd part:

One cut, 17 minutes and 10 seconds long. Any artistic composition can overshadow a powerful, simple and straight-forward dialogue between characters. Here once more we find bold, uncompromising film grammar. After intensity takes hold, it slowly cools down before rising up and reaching another climax. We are still playing by the same rules - ignoring everything but a single theme of discourse (unless they are particularly irresistible), although nothing else is worth looking for now.



SANDS:

“10,000 people marched for the 7 hunger strikers last October, right

... international pressure on the Brits and all that shite.

Even the Pope’s having his say and getting involved, the whole world having a go at

Maggie Thatcher to back down and give us our demands... but

it all came to nothing, The hunger strike failed. We were and are on the front line.

We created the protest. It was our responsibility.

The Leadership have been very clear to me, 4 and half years of the no-wash protests,

as much as it’s been good for Republicanism, to some extent,

it’s also distracted from the wider development of the organization...

I can feel it! Outside, I’d be thinking exactly the same.

In the ideal world we’d be fighting our battles but we’re tied,

Nothing’s changed in here.

Nothing’s moved on and Command are stuck with us

until there’s a realistic chance of movement towards political status.

That’s the hard truth of it.”



After the long cut, McQueen take us to breathe the fresh for a shot while with a simple cutting, MCU with surreal lighting composition which intentionally reduce Sands's eyes sparking also benefit to a rich shape of smoke.



From this very long dialogue - almost 20 minutes - I have extracted some of Bobby Sands' lines as they help us see the perceivable substances that are generated from this part of the film.

There are three monuments for "Hunger"-from the 1st part and the 2nd part, as follows:

1. Characters in the films are only pieces in a game of chess. The IRA and the British government - are playing a political game. Everything is politicized.
2. The IRA has become highly organized; its leaders are mentioned very often in the second part of the film.
3. Killing is a "Have to" for the IRA; even kill themselves to achieve a political goal and the IRA's goal are political, clearly.

The three monuments constructed by the film language in the 1st part as describe in the particular monument and from the 2nd part from how Sands thinks about the organizations and situations. The construction here, the 2nd part, is straightforward as monuments are the result of how Sands looks closely at the situations at a macro, meso and micro level.



The third and final part of the film focuses on Sands' hunger strike and his reminiscing about his youth before he dies after refusing food for 66 days.

Someone says “die for something, better than, die for nothing”. Something for Sands is clearly a political.

FIFTY DEAD MEN WALKING: a Kari Skogland film

Why is this film placed alongside "Hunger"? The main reason is the terrorism's features the two films have in common in their discourse on IRA terrorism, and the silence. In "Hunger" the silence is literal. The first part of the film is very quiet; there is almost no dialogue, and film language and "mood" are used as the main forms of communication. There are different types of silence, as Daniel Barenboim has said. In "Hunger", the main period of silence is in the first part of the film (about 47minutes), but in "Fifty Dead Men Walking" silence is used throughout the story and is evenly distributed - intentionally so.

"Fifty Dead Men Walking" is moved along by its plot and its dialogue; the film language is quite vague and confusing. I could never say this is a good film, for many reasons, but this point supports the argument of the cultural studies school of thought that film, whether good or bad, always constructs society.

The Sands hunger strike took place in 1981. "Fifty Dead Men Walking" is set in 1988.

In "Hunger", the life of Bobby Sands is driven by a political ideology, which is why Sands became a legend of the IRA. In contrast, Martin McGartland just wants a car so he can please the girl he is falling in love with, but his life becomes more complicated when it is filled with other people and organizations such the police, the MI5 and the IRA.

McGartland has no ideology to motivate or drive his life. The only thing he has is his concept of loyalty, which we see throughout the film from beginning to end - it is a loyalty to family and friends that the film clearly portrays through its focus on dialogue. The car and all the things that Martin was offered by the IRA and the police were just enticements in order to use him.



What "Fifty Dead Men Walking" offers in terms of understanding the IRA terrorist is, in this scene, presented through the eyes of Fergus, with the voiceover reflecting Fergus' perspective.



FERGUS:

"We had real respect for the IRA as a military force.

We sealed the communities. Protestants one side of the wall, Catholics on the other.

*The reality was we couldn't stop what was happening...
because we didn't have the minds of the people.*

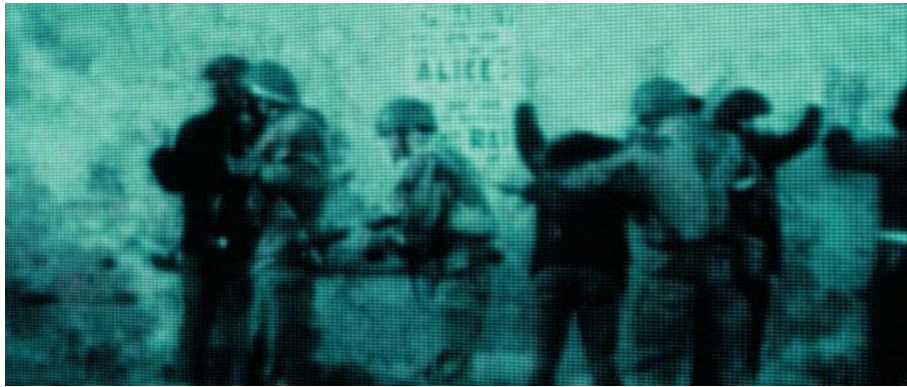
In war, truth is the first casualty, and information is as powerful as bullets."



McGartland is an interesting character, full of contradictions. He is definitely street-wise, but also highly loyal, and in terms of experience he is a somewhat naive man.

The terrorist "layer" of the film and the discourse on IRA terrorism is created through textual language. It is clear and beyond all reasonable doubt that in this film a terrorist is labeled as "bad". In some films, a terrorist may have a good side, but this film speaks loud and clear that this is not the case, which matches the beliefs of mainstream

terrorism studies. The portrayal of illegal business and violence and the perceivable substances of IRA terrorism are projected through the plot and dialogue. The visual and film language only support the narrative of the story and dialogue. This means that just listening to the sound, the audience would know when a terrorist is in a scene. Pictures or visual images are inserted to make a story visible. Actually, this is a technique that can be done another way. But in most cases this technique is used in documentary making rather than in the making of a film. For example, if I want to say that terrorism is not good by talking about weapons, then images of guns are inserted - for example a Russian AK machine gun, which is illegal in the UK.



TV news reporter:

*“Today in Belfast, residents of a middle class...
Detectives said it was highly significant...and certainly it was curious.*

*The weapons ranging from old hunting rifles...
A haul of nearly 100 guns including Kalashnikov rifles...
has been discovered by police in the boots of two cars...*

Three men have been arrested, believed to have connections with the IRA...”



Film language is rarely used. The most prominent and most intrusive use is when the film attempts to communicate by colour. Colour saturation and distorting white balance is often used and it is always used in order to lead the audience. Whenever the film uses such a colour technique, something bad happens. Colour can be a very attractive feature of film language, but in this film it is used badly and too often and becomes boring. For example, an incorrect white balance is often used in night scenes, with a color temperature higher than 7600 Kelvin (yellowish-green). You can easily guess that something bad, such as an act of terrorism, is going to happen. But in terms of art, it is really boring, like revealing the last card in your hand in a poker game.



The blowing up of a van in Larne where McGartland is witnessing marks the point at which Martin decides to work with Fergus.



FERGUS:

“Two soldiers died, two more are critical.”

MARTIN:

“I’ve been driving Mickey around, they asked me to pick up Quinn, so I did.”



FERGUS:

“And they trust you?”

MARTIN:

“Like I said, it's not like that.”

FERGUS:

“Why? Well, you called me.

Why? What's different?”

MARTIN:

“Everything...

...Everything.”

FERGUS:

“You can move on the inside.

Dead men will be walking around and becoming grandfathers because of you.”

The film focuses on political violence: terrorist targets are clearly not random but are military or officers of the state only. This concept the film makes perfectly clear.



MICKEY:

“I hear the Brits took your ma's house apart. No warrant, no cause, picked you up for questioning.

Dogs have more rights.

A kid like you deserves to work at something, build a future.

This war is being fought in our own footpaths, in our gardens...in our living rooms.

Makes for a special kind of man who's defending his home and his community.

I am thinking...maybe you'd want to be part of something that's bigger than your skinny wee arms.

It's bigger than mine.

It's as big as a country.

I dream that one day we'll walk as free men in our own country.

...that an ounce of resistance is worth a pound of votes.

Do you know who said that?

Bobby Sands.”

Another concept that is very clear is the discipline and the systems that define the organization of the IRA, which is shown clearly whenever members of the IRA are on screen - through both text and image. Sometimes it seems as though we are watching a live-action documentary on IRA terrorism but with better-looking actors.









The hierarchy in the organizational structure of the IRA is very prominent in the film. No one can be seen to stand out; the strong organization influences every IRA volunteer; no any individual is bigger than the organization.



In terms of film language, a study of the extreme close-ups (ECU) reveals nothing of any meaning.

The film relies almost wholly on verbal language; there is no place for the artistic. In the scene where Martin is being trained by Fergus and a senior IRA volunteer, the image is cut back and forth between the two. This scene is one among a few scenes that film language is used wisely.



The film portrays the view that terrorists are bad, that in the field of operations their targets are military or state officers only, and that the IRA is well structured during this time period. But as "bad guys" they also make a number of mistakes - they are not the evil geniuses of Hollywood movies. *The complexity is not therefore wrapped up in people but in the organization, which is, at this time, highly organized and has a clear hierarchy - and these are its strengths.*



“Then you know volunteers who engage in loose talk shall be dismissed.

Volunteers found guilty of treason face the death penalty.

This is no picnic. You'll end up dead or in jail.

There's no going back. Once you're in, you're in.

You understand your responsibility in the community?

People look up to you. Behave accordingly.”



MARTIN:

“I, Martin McGartland... promise to promote the objects of the Oglagh na hEireann...

to the best of my knowledge and ability...

to obey all orders and regulations issued to me by the army authority...

and by my superior officer.”

The naivety of McGartland who does not engage with the world of good and bad until Fergus appears and call the IRA as a terrorist, McGartland rapidly strike back that what is about the British soldiers in Northern Ireland.



FERGUS:

“They're terrorists, killers who've found a cause to kill for.”

MARTIN:

“Terrorists?”

Is that what you think, huh?

Terrorists?

*Well, I don't see anyone tearing up your house because you're Irish...
hauling your arse onto the street...getting the shit kicked out of you by soldiers for fun?
The Brits have never been in Ireland by invitation, so who's the terrorist?”*

Interestingly, this is the only question that the film does not answer, while all of the other questions are cleared up later in the film, from the middle onwards. If you are opposed to the definition of terrorism from a mainstream terrorism point of view, this is probably the only thing that still frustrates the mainstream.

It is interesting that the film portrays the terrorist as unquestionably a bad person, but that in terms of processes such as recruitment, training, and rewards both parties - the IRA and the police - do exactly the same thing.

At the end of the film, Fergus says "We uphold the law. We break the law in the name of law." This raises a very interesting point in relation to power relations, and who can say what about whom. If the state has labeled the IRA as 'terrorist', how can Fergus, a terrorist, say what he says?



FERGUS:

*"We uphold the law
and break the law
in the name of the law."*

There is one more discovery I should mention. It is very tiny - as tiny as dust - but if you look carefully, you can see the children of Belfast - six or seven years old - growing up in the midst of the conflict among tanks and ruins. Those children grew up amid controversy and think that that is normal. I don't think the children are included in the scene as extras, because this is not a safe place to take children. The streets are full of soldiers. Children are difficult to direct and it is not a "children" scene. If one boy or girl misses the queue, the whole production crew has to reshoot again and again.

Everyone who works in the industry knows very well that directing animals is easier than directing small children. The children's appearance in the scene is - I believe - deliberate, and is included to suggest a source of IRA recruitment over the 30 years of conflict. This scene attracted my attention the very first time I saw "In the Name of the Father".



What perceivable substances are portrayed in the film? First, an IRA terrorist is a bad person involved in a dirty business (just as defined by mainstream terrorism studies - both popular and scholarly). Secondly, the IRA is a well-structured organization with a strong hierarchy. Thirdly, the targets of IRA terrorists are only military or state officers, not random killings creating fear like present-day terrorism. Finally, intelligence and counter-intelligence are crucial for winning this war.

These perceivable substances stay within the tracks of “a single theme of discourse“, which in this chapter has been called “Point and Shoot”. This all means that from four perceivable substances come four monuments of discourse.

The five monuments from the two films in this chapter are:

1. Characters in the films are only pieces in a game of chess. In “Hunger“, Steve McQueen makes it clear: white is white, black is black. In “Fifty Dead Men Walking” on the other hand, Martin McGartland is somewhat of an unfinished grey colour, able to change at any time when a turning point arrives. Both films use silence; both sides - the IRA and the British government - are playing a political game. Everything is politicized.
2. The IRA has become highly organized; its leaders are mentioned very often in both films; there is a clear hierarchy.
3. Targets are selected, not random as in the time period of the previous chapter. The targets are well calculated for a political game.
3. Killing is a “Have to”. In "Hunger" the men kill themselves; in "Fifty Dead Men Walking" the targets are military or state officers - symbols of the UK state.
4. The IRA's goals are political.
5. Intelligence and counter-intelligence are crucial for winning the war.

In the next chapter, I assure you that you will experience directly something “Stunning”. Both films are from Academy Award-winning directors - Neil Jordan, an Irish film maker, and James Marsh, a British film maker.

CHAPTER 6
RUNNING OUT OF BULLETS

**Chapter 6: “Running out of bullets” –
THE CRYING GAME and SHADOW DANCER**

The theme for this chapter started with events around the period 1990-1991 (John Major just had been elected as Prime Minister)

What *The Crying Game* portrays is outstanding and is something that has never been said before.

It starts with the IRA kidnapping of a British soldier. The first thing that becomes obvious in the film is the terrorists' ineptitude. They are not the super-smart masterminds of Hollywood films; they are ordinary people. The group consists of five men and one woman (whose main job is to act as bait) who are assigned the task of taking a British soldier captive as the basis for negotiation with the British government. But rather than kidnapping a high-ranking officer they kidnap someone of very little strategic importance, whom the British government clearly feel is not worth getting involved over. Such is the terrorists' ineptitude.





Is such a portrayal 'abnormal'? It would be 'abnormal' if we carried a certain image in our minds, such as our probably fairly fixed image of, say, Timothy McVeigh. If we stuck to that type of terrorist, then what we see here would be abnormal. But if some authorities may define terrorism as 'a political strategy', then all the people who against the authority in such political tactics, whether smart or foolish, are terrorists.



What the movie portrays is not abnormal. These IRA volunteers are not clever, and that is by no means abnormal. However, at this point the volunteers start asking their superiors some questions - something they should not really do - questions such as whether they should remove the captive's hood.



JODY:

“Please, man, I'm suffocating in here.”



FERGUS:

“Request permission to take the hood off, Tommy.”

MAGUIRE:

“Why would you do that?”

FERGUS:

“The poor whore's suffocating in the heat.”

MAGUIRE:

*“You're his keeper. If you don't mind him seeing you, I don't mind.
But you're the only one he looks at.”*

FERGUS:

“Thanks.”

MAGUIRE:

“It's your decision.”



Such inappropriate questions would not have been asked in the era when the IRA was still a strict and hierarchical organization. No such questions arose in 'Fifty Dead Men Walking', set in the late 1980s. Then, the IRA was so strong as an organization that no one would dare ask their commanding officer such foolish questions. But in 'The Crying Game' questions are asked and there is some seemingly out-of-place behaviour, such as a guard laughing and being friendly with a hostage.



MAGUIRE:

“What the fuck is this?”

FERGUS:

“It's nothing. He's just got a sense of humor, that's all”.

MAGUIRE:

“You're on duty. Keep your fucking mouth shut. Go in and get some sleep.”

From this we see that rules are no longer so strict. The odd behaviour is portrayed with the intention of helping us to see the decline in the strength of the organization. Consequently, individuals who are normally suppressed and ruled by the organization are now able freely to express themselves in a weakened organization lacking rules and therefore lacking power. The result - strange and foolish behaviour - is clear for all to see.

It would be difficult to imagine five IRA operatives who were members of a highly strict and hierarchical organization kidnapping who they did, given the risk that the British government would not negotiate if they felt the captive was not worth negotiating over.

What is very clear, and unprecedented, is the film's use of the word 'nature' - in this case, Fergus's human nature. For example, when Jody, a hostage, tells Fergus what Fergus's nature actually is:



JODY:

"Two types, Fergus. The scorpion and the frog. Ever heard of them?"

JODY:

"Scorpion wants to cross a river, but he can't swim. Goes to the frog, who can, and asks for a ride. Frog says, "If I give you a ride on my back, you'll go and sting me."

Scorpion replies, "It would not be in my interest to sting you since as I'll be on your back we both would drown." Frog thinks about this logic for a while and accepts the deal. Takes the scorpion on his back. Braves the waters.

Halfway over feels a burning spear in his side and realizes the scorpion has stung him after all.

And as they both sink beneath the waves the frog cries out, "Why did you sting me, Mr. Scorpion, for now we both will drown?"

Scorpion replies,

"I can't help it, it's in my nature."

FERGUS:

“So what's that supposed to mean?”

JODY:

*“Means what it says. The scorpion does
what is in his nature..”*

FERGUS:

“Why?”

JODY:

“Cause you're kind. It's in your nature.”



The Crying Game' emphasizes the human nature of an individual, set in contrast to the nature of the IRA as an organization: "*Cause you're kind. It's in your nature.*" The film language is nothing out of the ordinary, but pleasing enough. What is more hidden, and builds throughout the film, is the rhythm and the pace and how the fable about a frog and a scorpion is used. These subtle details form part of the construction used to construct of the monuments concerning the terrorist nature of the film, including the opinion of a British soldier brave enough to say, "*By nature you are a good man. You are different from other members of the IRA*". 'The Crying Game' is clearly, therefore, saying that there are two identities - the identity of the IRA, and the identity of an IRA operative.

The portrayal of this 'double nature' leads to the first monument, which is of an organization in decline. Three days after kidnapping the soldier, the IRA cell is almost completely wiped out, with only a few surviving the British military operation. What this shows is that the cell is easy to track down and that the IRA operation was very straightforward.



The film is, in fact, a love story; it is not a film about terrorism. It begins with an IRA kidnapping of a British soldier. As the story unfolds, an IRA guard and the captive interact to such an extent that the soldier begs the guard to search for his girlfriend if he doesn't survive.



The guard, Fergus, survives the British military operation and keeps the promise he made to Jody - that he would go and find his girlfriend. The film shows Fergus's dual nature in a very profound way. The first layer of this nature confirms to what Jody said to him.

JODY:

“Cause you're kind. It's in your nature.”

This is the first nature, and this nature never changes. It is the nature that drove Fergus to keep his promise to search for the girl on Jody's behalf.



The other layer of Fergus's nature is biological. Naturally, Fergus has a good nature, but when he meets Jody's girlfriend the other nature is stirred. It is the nature of a man who falls in love with a woman. But there are two matters of significance here. The first is that of Fergus's nature; the second is the natural, male nature that is easily moved by and attracted to a beautiful female.



How are these matters of significance constructed? They are constructed through a brilliant plot, starting with the reasons Fergus becomes an IRA guard and why a military hostage chooses to interact with him. This has to do with the kindness that is part of Fergus's nature - kindness that makes him unable to tolerate other people's suffering, which is why he has to remove the captive's hood that he can breathe more easily. This situation is portrayed by both film language and verbal language. This monument is constructed through the plot, which is sophisticated in its rhythm: a soldier is kidnapped; a man becomes an IRA guard; the soldier is suffocating and the guard steps in and removes the captive's hood. When the puzzle have been completed, became a holistic picture we can see the differences between the identity of the IRA as an organization and the identity of an IRA volunteer, and we see it in the word 'nature'. Everything is rhythmic; the film has a terrifically rhythmic plot.

The verbal language is as important as the film language. Unlike the extreme language in 'Hunger' and 'Fifty Dead Men Walking', the film language of 'The Crying Game' is subtle, yet sophisticated. The film language of 'Hunger' is attractive, however: the character is confessing his love, though without saying anything - looking each other in the eye is enough. In 'Fifty Dead Men Walking', information about name and rank is put up on the screen when a new character appears - there is no need for art.

'The Crying Game' is different. Its rhythmic plot depicts each and every situation as cause and effect. From where the soldier was kidnapped, to why he was kidnapped, to why Fergus becomes a guard - it was because he was different; later the two dots are connected smoothly through a highly sophisticated plotline and smart yet subtle film language.



JUDE:

“You vanished quite effectively. Became Mister Nobody. And you've no idea how useful that could be.”

FERGUS:

“What do you mean?”

JUDE:

“We've got some plans here. And we'll need a Mister Nobody to execute them.”

FERGUS:

“No way, Jude. I'm out.”

JUDE:

“You're never out, Fergus.”

Towards the end of the film, two former IRA volunteers who had survived the British military operation keep searching for Fergus and eventually find him. Jude (the woman who was bait for Jody) tells him he needs to come back and work for an IRA again, but Fergus refuses, saying, *“I'm out”*. Fergus has clearly forgotten, however, that it is impossible for anyone who signed up for the IRA to leave – they would either end up dead or in prison. Fergus is therefore a depiction of someone who wants to leave the IRA, verbally, which would have completely impossible between 1978 and 1990,

during which time the organizational structure was very strong, reaching its peak in the late 1980s. During that period, Fergus's words could never have been uttered as members were strongly loyal to the organization. There was also a system of self-regulation, as we see in 'Fifty Dead Men Walking' in the character Donovan, a torturer and a mole hunter.



FERGUS:

"Who is he?"

MAGUIRE:

"Doesn't matter who he is. He is what we would call a legitimate target."

FERGUS:

"Thank God for that."

FERGUS:

"Jude?"

JUDE:

“Yes?”

FERGUS:

“Who's the old geezer?”

JUDE:

“Some judge...”

But in 'The Crying Game', the two former volunteer friends use their friendship to persuade Fergus not to leave, but to kidnap a judge with them. But is this an IRA mission or a personal mission? We have seen that the rules were not as strict as before, so it may be the latter. The organization has become weakened to the point that the film uses the word 'nature', in 1992, to emphasize this point. Everyone has their own personal nature, not only the organizational nature, in this case of the IRA. When the organizational nature is strong, the personal nature is suppressed; conversely, when the organizational nature weakens, people's personal natures are able to shine through.



In the scene in which the judge is supposed to be killed, the same IRA volunteer once more shows how inept he is by carelessly running out shooting, leading to his being shot dead on the street in a broad daylight.

As for the hero-protagonist, what changes Fergus is love. The words '*...it's your nature*' lead me to ask myself, 'what is my nature?' A clever plot, beautiful verbal language, and meticulously crafted film language combine to construct a powerful piece of communication – this is 'the power of film'.

So, we can now see that the film generates the following an only monuments. The monument is the weakness of the IRA organization, which we deduce from the two different identities portrayed: the identity of the IRA and the identity of an IRA volunteer. The personal (rather than organizational) identity is different for each volunteer. This nature is exemplified by a fable (the frog and the scorpion) and later proved when Fergus goes to search for the British soldier's girlfriend. Nonetheless, this higher nature is defeated by the baser nature of the 'male creature' nature that is overcome by a 'female creature'. (Even Jody is also tempted by Jude.)



In conclusion, 'The Crying Game' is outstandingly clever in generating, in a subtle and sophisticated way, perceivable substances concerning a decline of IRA organization. The film shows that personal identity is able to become stronger as the organizational identity becomes weaker. What the film does not portray, however, is *why* the organization is weakening. It just helps us to understand this point and to see that individual identity exists and always been there but in the past it was overshadowed by the power of the organization.



In the scene above, Dil raises the gun and places it in her mouth. Fergus takes it gently from her mouth and places it on the table. He lifts her up by the shoulders.

FERGUS:

“You've got to go now, Dil”

DIL:

“Do I?”

FERGUS:

“Yes. Now.”

DIL:

“Am I in trouble, Jimmy?”

FERGUS:

“Not if you go.”

DIL:

“Will I see you again?”

FERGUS:

“You will, Dil”

DIL:

“Promise?”

FERGUS:

“I promise.”

Fergus leads Dil outside then goes back into the room, past Jude's body. He looks out of the window to where he can see Dil staggering down the street, through the crowds that have gathered. The wailing of police sirens comes closer. He watches Dil run off, then looks down and sees the police cars pushing through the knot of people around the house. He picks up the gun and wipes it with a rag to remove Dil's fingerprints.





DIL:

“Got you the multivitamins and the iron tablets, hon –”

FERGUS:

“Don't call me that –”



DIL:

“Sorry, love. Now, the white ones are magnesium supplement –”

FERGUS:

“Stop it, Dil”



DIL:

“I’ve got to keep you healthy, Jimmy. I’m counting the days. Two thousand three hundred and thirty-four left.”

FERGUS:

Thirty-five.

DIL:

“I’m sorry, darling. I keep forgetting the leap year. What am I supposed to call you then, Jimmy?”



FERGUS:

Fergus.



DIL:

“Can't help it. You're doing time for me. No greater love, as the man says. Wish you'd tell me why.”

FERGUS:

“As the man said, it's in my nature.”

DIL:

“What's that supposed to mean?”

FERGUS:

“Well, there was this scorpion, you see. And he wants to go across the river. But he can't swim.

So he goes to this frog, who can swim, and he says to him, "Excuse me, Mr. Froggy..."

Neil Jordan, the director, crafts the characters of Fergus and Jimmy. The two characters were projected one by one from one male figure (with the same nature). 'The 'Crying 'Game' hooks the audience repeatedly with references to 'nature', starting with the story of the frog and the scorpion, and knocks the audience out with the lovely Dil, who eventually draws Fergus out of the IRA, out of 'Jimmy' who even stays in prison, but not because of an IRA mission but for love, because of his 'Nature'. From 1992 to the end of 1993 when the Downing Street Declaration were announced. *From Neil Jordan, the Irish film director, to James Marsh, the British film director.* Seeing what is common and what is different.



The first portrayal in '*Shadow Dancer*' is exactly the same as in 'The Crying Game': terrorists are not talented super heroes but ordinary people who can get nervous and make mistakes during a field operation.

The first monument is projected through the scene showing the real historical event of the Downing Street Declaration (or joint declaration). Genuine TV news footage is used in order to depict the exact storyline that the film is portraying. The monument reveals a weakened, disunited IRA organization suffering from internal conflicts. This particular monument could also be the same monument from 'The Crying Game' - film portrays this monument through its focus on the 'individual nature'.



John Major:

*“-----The Taoiseach and I are agreed on a joint declaration on Northern Ireland-----
-----It makes no compromise on strongly held principles-----
----Our Message is clear and simple.-----There is no future in violence-----”*

A chain of command or a hierarchy of power is essential. If the structure of the IRA had been like it was in the 1980s, we would never witness such an aggressive and intentional challenge to a decision from a higher authority.

In this film, one of the key characters is someone who MI5 is interested in, particularly in his reaction to the Joint Declaration. The disagreement in the policy that made him react aggressively towards the IRA leader. This clearly points to the weakening of the IRA hierarchy; no organization with the power it had in the 1980s would allow itself to be challenged in such a way by someone from the lower ranks. The system of self-regulation would take care of that. It can therefore be deduced that the power of the organization has decreased during this period.



HUGHES:

*“What happened today makes us look bad, understand’?
It makes us look divided.”*

GERRY:

“You want a ceasefire now.”



HUGHES:

“We're not there yet, Gerry.”



GERRY:

*"We're not there, but you are.
The Brits are talking about a serious.....
A document of surrender, that's what's on the table."*

HUGHES:

The Brits are talking about a serious response to any gesture we make."



GERRY:

*It's a document of surrender.
You've no fucking right. No fucking right."*

HUGHES:

"The leadership decides, Gerry."

GERRY:

*"You don't represent us.
You never fucking have."*

HUGHES:

“The leadership decides.”

GERRY:

“Never fucking have.”



HUGHES:

*“The leadership decides, Gerry.
Now cop yourself on. Fucking child.”*

'Shadow Dancer' also portrays the system of self-regulation and counter intelligence within the IRA in the same way as 'Fifty Dead Men Walking'. Kelvin, a mole hunter, is continually challenged and disrespected for playing this role, despite it being normal practice at the time.

A relevant scene is that between Kelvin, Collette, and Collette's brother, Connor.



KELVIN:

"Tomorrow, then."

COLLETTE:

"Aye."

CONNOR:

"What the fuck's he doing here'?"



COLLETTE:

*“He's grand, Connor.
He was just leaving.”*

KELVIN:

“Just doing my job, Connor”.

CONNOR:

“Fuck off and do it somewhere else...”

As a military organization, the IRA deems it unacceptable for someone to challenge the higher authority or to show disrespect or a lack of politeness. The price to be paid for such insurrection, as every sworn-in IRA volunteer knows, is high.

So we see the same perceivable substances, albeit portrayed differently, in the two films. 'Shadow Dancer' uses an internal conflict coupled with a threat the character is facing to project this perceivable substance, while 'The Crying Game' depicts an individual's human nature, kindled through a story about a frog and a scorpion in order to construct such a perception.

Looking closely we see this theme ("***Running out of bullets***") represented in two films from directors of different nationalities, produced in different years, yet having exactly the same monuments of discourse, and the monuments are constructed differently but 'Shadow Dancer' generates one more monument. *The first monument is that terrorists the IRA organization is in a period of weakness.*

We already know how the first monument (of shadow dancer) is constructed. The two films generate similar images of IRA terrorism. The perceivable substance is 'the IRA organization in a period of weakness'. 'The Crying Game' tackles 'nature' and reproduced by the different lives operating within one man: Fergus / Jimmy .The same monument is constructed differently in 'Shadow Dancer': the identity of the IRA as an organization is set off against the identity of an individual IRA volunteer.



COLLETTE:

“How the fuck would you know who I am?”

MAC:

*“I know it bugs the hell out of you that your mum
won't get the washing machine fixed.*

I know you're asking yourself why your boy still wets his bed at night.”

COLLETTE:

“Fuck off.”



MAC:

*“And I know you were so lonely the night before you came down here
that you went home with some guy you don't even like.”*

COLLETTE:

“I want a lawyer.”

MAC:

*“You can have all the fucking lawyers you like,
but it's not gonna change a thing.”*





MAC:

“They'll never know. I'll be there, day and night, watching. We do this together.”



KELVIN:

*“Only two men knew the time and the place, right’?
And it's hardly our Gerry squealing to the Brits.
So, is it his shaggy-haired brother? Or did he blab his fat mouth off to his sister?”*

Collette is placed at a crossroads: she has to choose one or the other. The crucial question for Collette is where the threat is actually coming from: from the British side, from the MI5 (or the MI5 handler, Mac)?; or from the IRA side, whether from the IRA organization itself, or from Kelvin as a senior member of the IRA. In this way, 'Shadow dancer' separates the individual from the organization and points out the internal conflict that arises when the Downing Street Declaration is announced, and so constructs this monument.

KELVIN:

*“We lose you in London, but then you're back like nothing ever happened.
Then the peelers bash in your Ma's door, haul you off to Castlereagh.
But you're back by tea time, like nothing ever happened.”*



COLLETTE:

“Sure they knew I'd been away for a while.”

KELVIN:

Who?

COLLETTE:

A man. An English fella...

KELVIN:

What was his name'?

COLLETTE:

Jenkins.

KELVIN:

MI5?



COLLETTE:

Probably, aye.

KELVIN:

What did he want'?

COLLETTE:

Where was I? What had I been doing?

KELVIN:

What did you say?

COLLETTE:

I said I was visiting my auntie in the south.

KELVIN:

Without your son'?

COLLETTE:

I told him I was going with a fella there.



KELVIN:

Which one asked you about it all, now?

COLLETTE:

Mac.

KELVIN:

Who's Mac? You said his name was Jenkins.

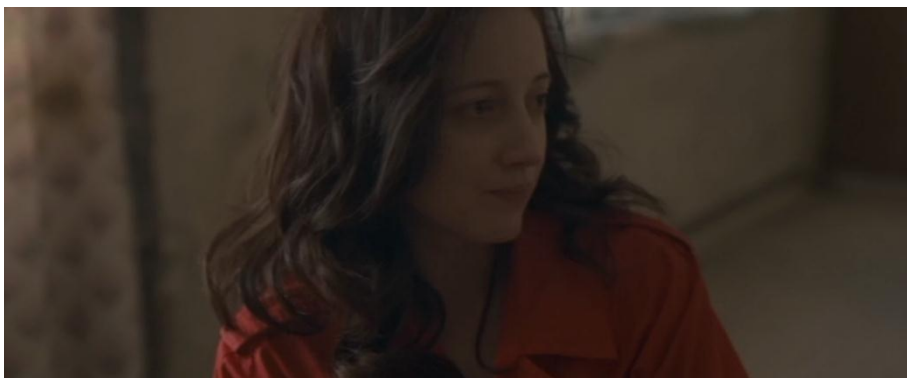
COLLETTE:

Well, Mac Jenkins, that's his name.



KELVIN:

*So you were friendly then, hmm? First name terms and all that.
You're red-lighted, Collette McVeigh. Don't leave Belfast. We're not done yet.*



And the scene with Collette, her brother and Kelvin at Collette's house that we saw earlier is also part of the construction of this monument.

The great treasure discovered in this chapter is the second monument generated and constructed by 'Shadow Dancer'. It is a perceivable substance which reveals that an act of IRA terrorism is not a political act only, but can also be a personal act, including an act of revenge for example, and still come under the umbrella of an act of terror. 'Shadow Dancer' therefore goes deeper and deals with personal, micro-level issues.

This second monument is often difficult to identify, however, because as long as an operation is carried out by a member of a terrorist organization that act will be viewed and categorized as an act of terrorism.









This discovery we have made by digging deeper and more carefully has helped us encounter this perceivable substance, which now reveals clearly that an act of terrorism may be not only political, but may hide a personal motivation. Therefore, whenever, say, a personal vendetta is hidden in the shade of a terrorist organization, such an act will not be categorized as a criminal act as it has been carried out by a 'terrorist' And so many cases will be 'misdiagnosed' due to ignorance of the micro-level reality and the lack of research at this level. This is an important and noteworthy discovery.

So, does this perceivable substance stay within the tracks of 'a single theme of discourse', or not? Yes it does, and that theme is "Running out of bullets". This particular perceivable substance (personal matter such as revenge) is the cause of a number of bullets being wasted and is one of the reasons the IRA became a weaker organization. Hence, it is, indeed, a perceivable substance that is categorized as a 'remarkable' monument of discourse.



COLLETTE:

"That's the choice I've made."

The next chapter will be the last that focuses on particular films. The films, by Pete Travis and Oliver Hirschbiegel, deal with the period after the famous Good Friday Agreement.

CHAPTER 7

LAY DOWN THE WEAPONS

This chapter engages with our final theme- *Lay down the weapons*, movie portrayals of the post-Good Friday Agreement (GFA) “discourse of IRA terrorism”. The two films are set a decade apart: *Omagh* is about a real event that took place in Northern Ireland soon after the GFA (1998); *Five Minutes of Heaven* focuses on the micro-level psychological effects of the conflict and on the theme of reconciliation. So let us see how a British director, Pete Travis, and a German director, Oliver Hirschbiegel, handle the two films on terrorism in the post- GFA era.

OMAGH: a Peter Travis film.

‘Omagh’ is a ‘based-on-a-true-story’ dramatized documentary film directed by Peter Travis and co-written by Guy Hibbert and Paul Greengrass (the director and screenwriter of ‘Bloody Sunday’). The movie tells the story of a group called the Omagh Self-Help and Support Group whose members are those affected by the terrorist bombing that took place in the town of Omagh in August 1998. It was a time when Northern Ireland was preparing for a referendum as part of the peace process in accordance with the Good Friday Agreement (GFA). Omagh is a small quiet town known for its diverse demography and peaceful co-existence—a perfect target for those who want to interrupt the peace process. The movie shows that the peace agreement is not the end of the thirty-year troubles in Northern Ireland, but the beginning of new ones.



August 15, 1998 started like any other day in the small town of Omagh, Northern Ireland. In Market Street in the town centre, shopkeepers are preparing for the day's business. The film depicts the town's peacefulness and friendliness through smiling faces and friendly gestures that people give each other as they walk by.



Male Reporter:

“--- But what would you say has been the highlight of the summer?”

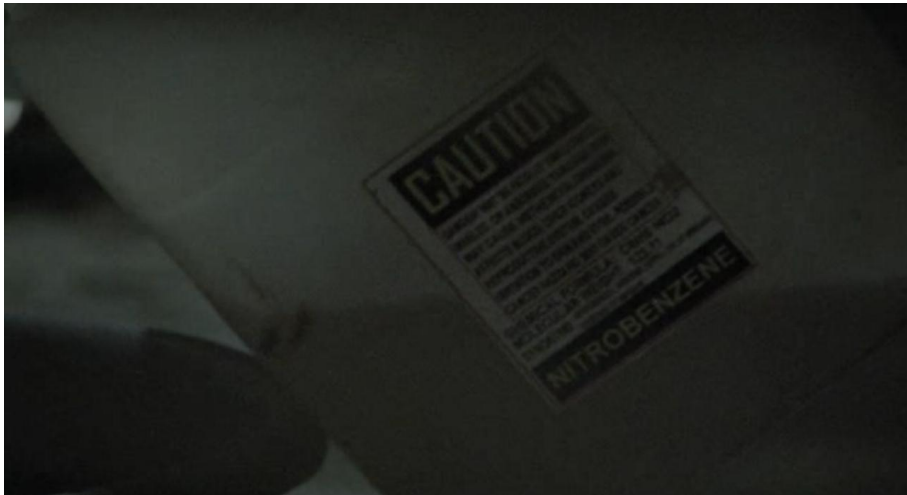
Female Reporter:

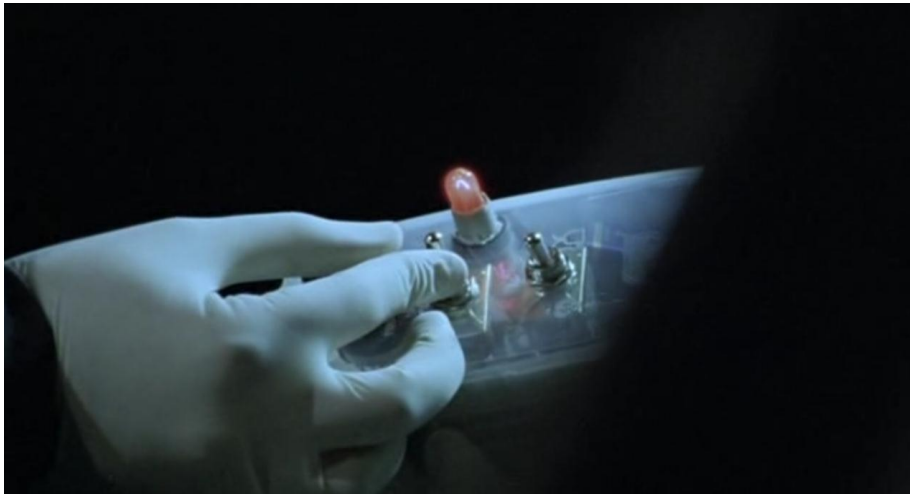
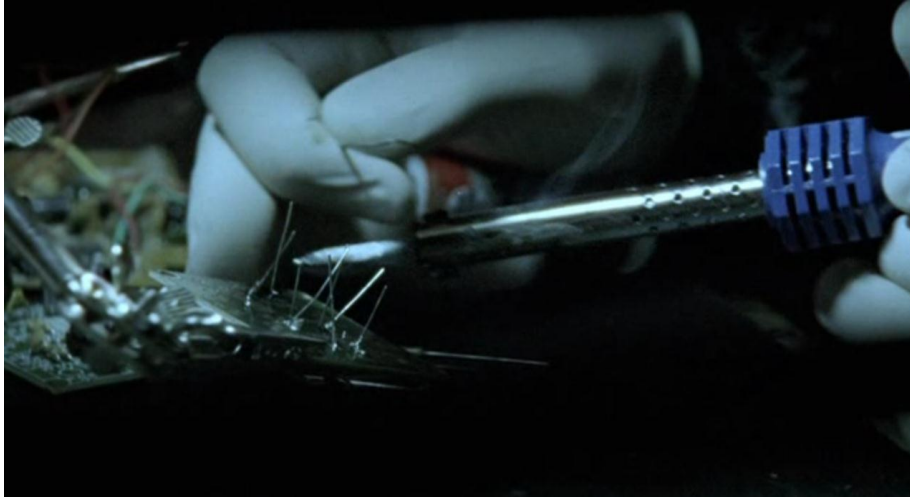
*“Without a doubt, Val, it's been a wonderful year musically,
but the highlight has to be the signing of the Good Friday Agreement.
That has to be the highlight for all of us.---*”





At the Gallagher's house, four members of the household are getting ready for work. There is nothing out of the ordinary at the Gallagher's house either: an argument between brother and sister over the bathroom; mum shouting and urging everybody to get ready. An ordinary family routine depicted in order to show the audience how closely bonded this little family is. In the background is the voice of a news report about the progress of the peace process since the Good Friday Agreement. The film describes a lovely morning.





In contrast with the happy people of Omagh, the film builds excitement and tension in the audience as they watch the first seventeen minutes as they know very well that something horrible is about to happen. The scene shows a group of serious-looking men working in an unidentified secluded location preparing a car packed with a homemade fertilizer bomb.







The film uses cross-cutting - cutting back and forth between shots of the town of Omagh and the bomb makers' hideout. Cross-cutting helps an audience understand the spatial distance between two unrelated places. Some people are smiling and getting on with their ordinary lives; a car packed with a bomb, accompanied by another car, are heading off somewhere. Cutting back to the car, the camera catches a road sign telling us that these men are heading towards Omagh. Increasing the speed of the cutting back and forth between the moving cars and the peaceful city piles more tension on the audience; more 'excitement'.



As the cars draw closer to their destination, more elements are added to give the feeling that the bomb could go off at any time: the car carrying the bomb is cut up by a truck at an intersection; old men hit the boot with the bomb in it as the driver is reverse parking the car.



Although nothing happens, the tension is built through the expression and gestures of the driver and his associates: holding the breath is followed by sighs of relief when nothing happens. By the look on their faces, we quickly realize how deadly the bomb can be. The car is parked on the busy Market Street. The film once again stresses the danger and sensitivity of the bomb by showing the driver and his associate closing the door nice and gently.



The audiences, fully aware of the bomb, are expecting the bomb to explode very soon but once again nothing happens. It has been a long, exciting but tension-filled opening for the audience. After what has just been described, nothing else happens. Instead, the film changes to a scene of an anonymous man reporting a bomb threat to the authorities. He says “Courthouse, Main Street,” followed by “IRA Oglai na hEireann”.



NEWS Agent:

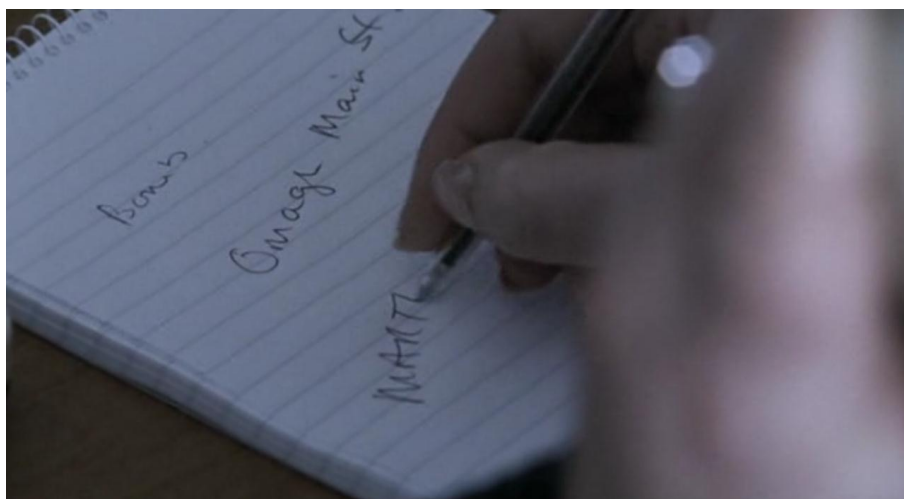
“Hello, Ulster Television newsroom.”





IRA:

*“Bomb, Courthouse.
Omagh, main street. 30 minutes.”*



NEWS Agent:

*“Can you speak more slowly?
Which main street?”*

IRA:

*“Courthouse, main street.
Explosion in 30 minutes. 500-pound bomb.”*

NEWS Agent:

“Do you have a code word?”



IRA:

“Martha Pope.”

NEWS Agent:

“Malta?”

IRA:

“Martha. M-A-R-T-H-A P-O-P-E.

IRA. Oglaiġ na hEireann.”

The excitement continues as the police close down the street, but there is no Main Street in Omagh. The police therefore decide to focus on the Courthouse rather than the street name. “You can still shop on Market Street”, the policeman informs the people who had been asked to evacuate.





Police Officers:

*“There’s a bomb warning up at the courthouse,
but you can still shop at Market Street.
I’m just stopping a car going up there.”*

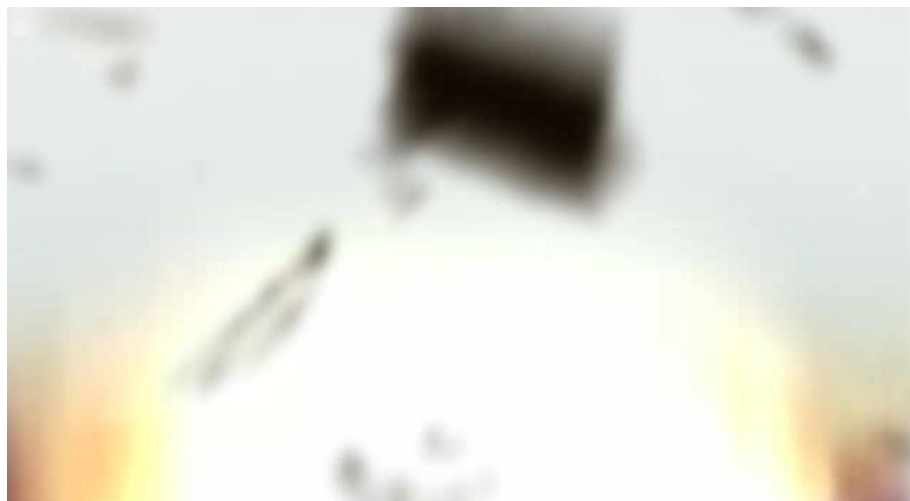
“Ladies and gentlemen, please, there’s an evacuation here.”

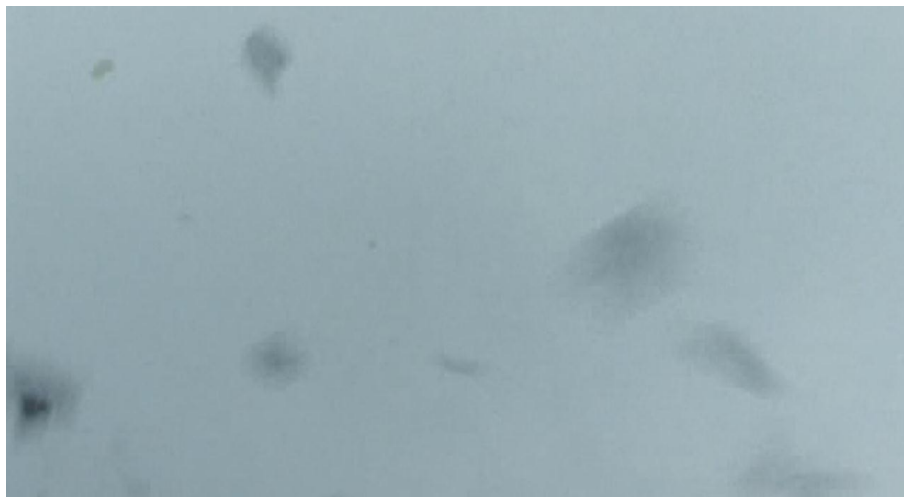


Cross-cutting is used once again, depicting pictures of a ready-to-explode car and the police. The swift cutting speed creates intensity that ends with a loud and violent explosion followed by a brief moment of complete silence as though we have become temporarily deaf from the explosion. The sudden loss of hearing (15 seconds) coupled with a loss of visibility (due to heavy dust and debris from the explosion) (10 seconds) make us feel suddenly lost and frightened. Even though at this particular moment the audience is unable to catch sight of any actual damage they know with complete certainty that the bomb is powerful and the results are devastating.









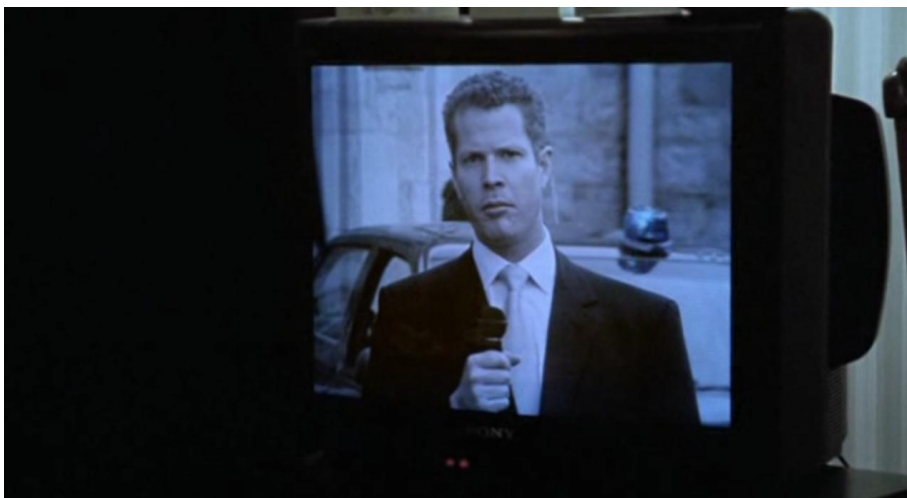
Immediately, the film changes tone from thriller to tragedy. On screen are pictures of dead and injured people. Swinging and a fast-panning handheld camera gives us a dizzy and disoriented feeling. It feels like the audience is trying to regain its balance but is still trembling from shock at what has just happened. The picture becomes clearer as the dust settles and the sound slowly comes back as people start to realize Omagh has just been struck by terrorists.





From the opening scene to the explosion is a long, informative and very detailed passage. The film establishes the nature of a terrorist act in terms of the use of violence against 'innocent civilians'. The difference between this film and the six previous films from earlier years is that the targets are now random, rather than opposing groups or states. The images of young children are used to emphasize the dreadfulness of the atrocity and the innocence of the victims.







As a member of the general audience, I cannot help but wonder why the self-professed ‘peace loving’ British leader, Tony Blair, should use words that reflect nothing but violence. Is this what a peace maker should sound like?



TONY BLAIR:

*“For our parts, we have agreed that the two governments will work together
and will do everything that is possible within their power
to hunt down those that have been responsible for the outrage.”*

Film reveals that there is a new paramilitary group adopting the violent means that had been used by the IRA during The Troubles. They call themselves the Real IRA (RIRA). They are former IRA volunteers who dislike the peace process, are disappointed with Gerry Adams's decisions and leadership, and want to carry on towards the Republicans' ultimate goal. The most important message—the next monument—sent out by the film concerns the relationship between the IRA and the Real IRA. For the audience, it depicts a kind of crossroads as the films send out mixed signals: the IRA and the Real IRA can be seen either as the same group or as different groups.

The first of these interpretations is seen more easily: *“IRA terrorism” is over since the organization has given up its violent tactics and is determined to continue with the peace process. The phrase “...will not let anything jeopardize the peace process” is repeated numerous times throughout the film. The IRA is no longer a “terrorist group” as it has dropped its military wing, leaving only the political unit of the Sinn Fein. The IRA is not, therefore, the same as the Real IRA, which pursues violence.* Two important scenes will be discussed here.

The first scene is hugely significant. It is a scene in which Mr. Gallagher, the chairman of the Omagh Self-Help and Support Group, accompanied by Mr. Rush and Mr. Hugh, meet with Gerry Adams, the leader of Sinn Fein. During the first encounter, Mr. Gallagher, despite his polite and soft-spoken character, does not hide his deep-seated aversion to this IRA veteran, Gerry Adams, by refusing to shake Adams's outstretched hand. The film reveals the reason for Gallagher's bad manners at the end of the conversation.





RUSH:

“Mr. Adams, what we want to know is who is responsible.”

ADAMS:

“I don't know. I don't know who's responsible any more than you.”

HUGH:

“What about the Real IRA? Or the 32 Counties Sovereignty Movement?”

You must know them.

Somebody in Sinn Fein must must know something.:”



ADAMS:

“Look, it's no consolation to you.

What we have to do now...”

GALLAGHER:

“Mr. Adams. Do you know any of these names?”

There's 18 men walking free.

Liam Campbell. Seamus Daly. Murphy?”

ADAMS:

“I don't know them.”



RUSH:

“Would you tell us if you did?”

ADAMS:

“Look, I'm here to help, if it's possible.

These people are as much our enemies as they are yours.”



HUGH:

“But you can ask your people to help the police.”



ADAMS’ ASSISTANT:

“Rank-and-file Republicans are very wary about any cooperation with the RUC.”

HUGH:

“Well, then, ask them to talk to the Garda.”

RUSH:

“Get the information privately. Give it to me. I’ll pass it on.”



ADAMS’ ASSISTANT:

*“That would still involve the RUC at prosecution.
They’ll not accept it.”*

ADAMS:

*“Look, what we have got to do now is make sure that the Peace
Process keeps moving forward.
Put the past behind us. That’s the only way we’re gonna deal with this.”*



GALLAGHER:

*“Mr. Adams. My brother was murdered by an IRA gunman in 1984.
No witnesses came forward for that either, so they got away.*

*So I agree with you. Let's put the past behind us.
That was my brother then. But this is my son now.*

*The war is supposed to be over.
You say you want to build a new Northern Ireland, a peaceful Northern Ireland.*

*But how can we build a peaceful Northern Ireland
unless you help us to bring his killers to justice?”*





ADAMS:

*“I understand what you're saying, Mr. Gallagher
and my sympathies are with you.*

*But assisting the RUC is only going to alienate hard-liners in our community.
The very people we have got to keep on board
if we're to keep this thing moving forward.*

*This is the reality we face.
We cannot jeopardize the Peace Process.”*



During the conversation, Gerry Adams explicitly distinguishes himself and Sinn Fein from the Omagh bombers and the RIRA and denies any connection with them. Instead, the peace process is frequently emphasized in order to send a strong signal that the IRA is now choosing peace via political means (as opposed to the RIRA and its violence).

The second scene is when Mr. Gallagher talks to an informant, Kelvin Fulton, in a car. Fulton goes into detail explaining who the Real IRA are and why they distinguish themselves from the IRA, now called Sinn Fein. No sophisticated film technique is used. Like the first scene, information is transmitted quite simply and in an explanatory way due to the documentary-style nature of the film.

FULTON:

“Smoke?”

GALLAGHER:

“No, I don’t.

Can you tell me who you are?”



FULTON:

“As far as you’re concerned, my name’s Kelvin Fulton.”

GALLAGHER:

“You said you were in the IRA?”

FULTON:

“13 years.”



GALLAGHER:

“So do you know any of these names?”

FULTON:

“You are missing McKevitt. Micky McKevitt.

He’s the one who organized it.

He was the quartermaster.

He looked after the weapons and all the explosives.

*He walked out on the IRA after Adams and McGuinness signed
the Good Friday Agreement.*

*He took Campbell and the others with him and set up the Real IRA.
They are not the 'Ra. They hate the IRA.
For selling out, for Good Friday, for giving up the arm struggle."*

GALLAGHER:

"So, why did you ring me?"



FULTON:

"To tell you you're not asking the right question."

GALLAGHER:

"But what is the right question?"

FULTON:

*"You don't get it, do you?
They knew. They knew about the bomb."*

GALLAGHER:

“How? How did they know?”

FULTON:

“Cause I was working for them all along.

The army, MI5, RUC.

Told them myself. I was a mole.”



GALLAGHER:

“I don't understand.”

FULTON:

“I had a contact in the Real IRA.

He told me there was something big on.

Something spectacular.

*So I met my RUC handler, and I told him.
Two days later, Omagh.”*



GALLAGHER:

*“But surely, they would’ve done something.
Why did they not try to stop it?”*

FULTON:

*“Did you see army checkpoints in Omagh that they?
Were there any soldiers on the street?”*

GALLAGHER:

*“No, please, please. Look, we need help.
It’s very confusing, all this.”*



FULTON:

“Be careful with that list.”

Despite the fact that the Omagh bombing causes the highest number of casualties since the beginning of “The Troubles” in 1968, the age of IRA terrorism is over - the IRA has been replaced by another violent group, the Real IRA. ‘Omagh’ portrays terrorism and terrorist organizations in terms of two significant common features: acts of violence, and organization. The first has already been discussed. Regarding organization, the movie introduces the 32 County Sovereignty Committee (32 CSC) as the organization behind the Real IRA. The 32 CSC raises funds for Irish Republicans and has branches in 32 counties. They have money and people, which means organization. Once there is an organization, there must be someone who takes action and takes responsibility on behalf of the organization.

In short, the IRA is therefore no longer a terrorist group. Adopting this form of interpretation, however, does mean that IRA terrorism is over, as terrorism in Northern Ireland continues through the Real IRA.

A second interpretation is also possible: *the IRA continues but without Gerry Adams as their leader. The Irish Republican Army is a paramilitary group, not a political one. The IRA pursues its violent tactics in order to delegitimize the state authority both of the UK and of Ireland (Gerry Adams).*

In the scene depicting the meeting between the Omagh group and Gerry Adams, although the dialogue appears to tell us that Adams knew nothing about “who” the Omagh bombers are and that he is willing to help, the expression on his face, the fact that he avoids eye contact, and the conversation that follows tell us, and the Omagh group, otherwise.

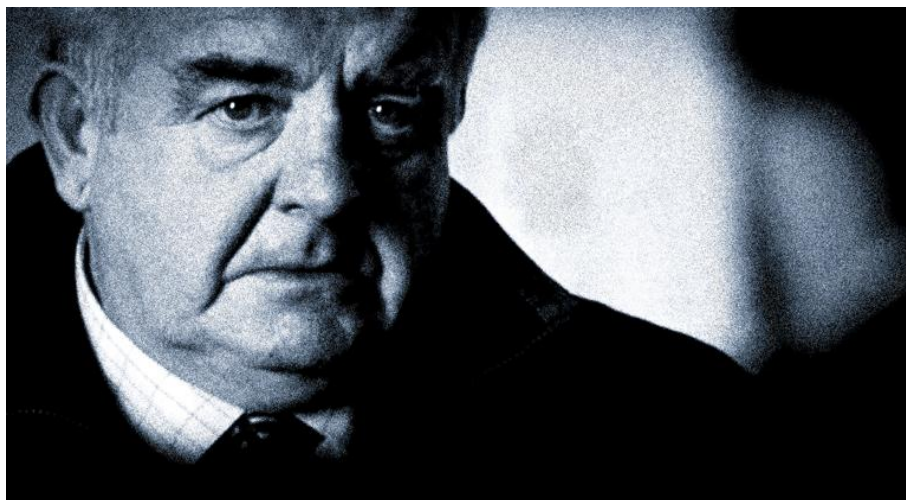


In terms of film language, several techniques are used in order to emphasize Adams’s insincerity. Focusing on the faces of both men, high ratio lighting is used. High contrast lighting means that the more you see on one side, the less you see on the other, where deep, dark secrets are hidden. The darkness of Adams’s face helps to hide the expression in his eyes, showing nothing but insincerity; highlighting is used to cover the darkness. In contrast, the lighting of Gallagher’s face is arranged in order to emphasize the light in his eyes, showing the undying determination of his quest for truth and justice. His eyes also tell us that politicians, and especially those connected with the IRA, are not to be trusted.

The conversation that follows also tells us that the “hard-liners” of the IRA are the “Real IRA”, but that they are all the same.

HUGH:

“But you can ask your people to help the police.”



ADAMS' ASSISTANT:

“Rank-and-file Republicans are very wary about any cooperation with the RUC.”



HUGH:

“Well, then, ask them to talk to the Garda.”

RUSH:

“Get the information privately. Give it to me. I’ll pass it on.”

ADAMS’ ASSISTANT:

*“That would still involve the RUC at prosecution.
They’ll not accept it.”*



ADAMS:

*“Look, what we have got to do now is make sure that the Peace
Process keeps moving forward.
Put the past behind us. That’s the only way we’re gonna deal with this.”*



GALLAGHER:

*“Mr. Adams. My brother was murdered by an IRA gunman in 1984.
No witnesses came forward for that either, so they got away.*

*So I agree with you. Let's put the past behind us.
That was my brother then. But this is my son now.*

*The war is supposed to be over.
You say you want to build a new Northern Ireland, a peaceful Northern Ireland.*

*But how can we build a peaceful Northern Ireland
unless you help us to bring his killers to justice?”*

ADAMS:

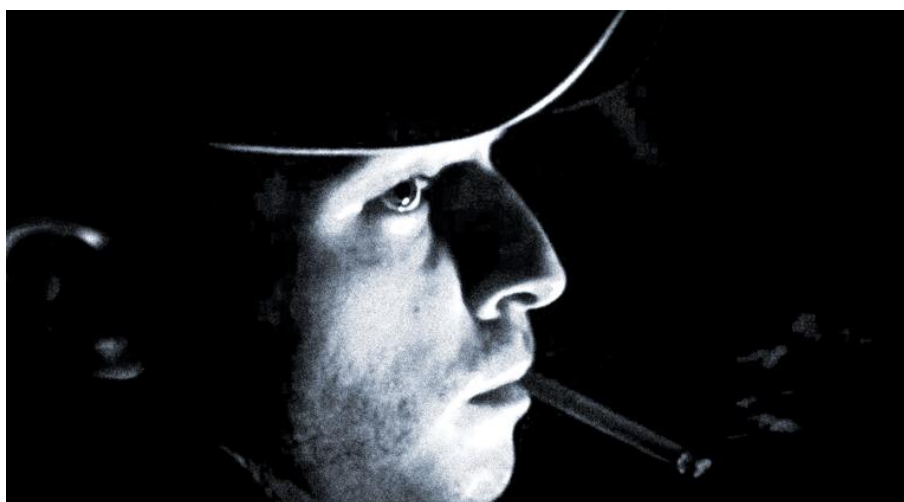
“I understand what you're saying, Mr. Gallagher and my sympathies are with you.

But assisting the RUC is only going to alienate hard-liners in our community.

*The very people we have got to keep on board
if we're to keep this thing moving forward.*

*This is the reality we face.
We cannot jeopardize the Peace Process.”*

Furthermore, the information that Fulton gives Gallagher in the car reflects the strong resentment that members of the IRA have towards the Good Friday Agreement, brokered by the organization's political leaders, Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness. Neither man is any longer considered a real leader of the IRA. From this perspective, the Real IRA is therefore simply a kind of rebranded IRA.



FULTON:

“He (Micky McKevitt) walked out on the IRA after Adams and McGuinness signed the Good Friday Agreement. He took Campbell and the others with him and set up the Real IRA. They're not the 'Ra. They hate the IRA. For selling out, for Good Friday, for giving up the arms struggle.”

I believe that this ambiguity in the portrayal of the discourse on IRA terrorism immediately after the GFA is not accidental. *It is not my purpose to judge which interpretation is correct, but to explore such how ambiguity is portrayed.*

The Omagh bombing reminds us that the victims of violent acts are not only those people who are injured or who lose their lives but also their families, who also need a proper response from the government. *In this case, there has been no real effort on the part of the government to bring them justice. Such grief and devastation can be ‘the cause of terrorism at micro level’. Victims’ families who have been denied justice could set off a tidal wave of revenge if they decided to seek justice, their campaign turning to violence—to acts of terrorism. But terrorism is not human nature. Acts of terrorism are a reaction to state oppression.* In the film, the representatives attempt to meet, both personally and officially, government officials from numerous national security departments, such as the Omagh Bombing Investigation Team, the GARDA National Surveillance Unit, the RUC, and finally the Police Ombudsman. However, what they receive from the government is constant disappointment and sometimes shock, especially when Gallagher learns that the RUC and other government officials knew about the bombing beforehand but decided not to take any action to prevent this act of terror. Fortunately, the people of Omagh decide to seek justice peacefully through the criminal justice process, as Gallagher tells reporters after attending the Ombudsman’s presentation of the investigation:

STANLEY:

“Michael, you have to say something. Please.”

PATSY:

“They’re waiting for you.”

GALLAGHER:

"Okay. Come on."



GALLAGHER:

“Mrs. O’Loan is the first person to tell us the full story of the Omagh investigation and why there have been no prosecutions and we would like to thank her for that.

The day our loved one lost their lives and our families were torn apart we were told that everything will be done to bring their killer to justice.

To learn today that they have failed us before the bomb, after the bomb, and are still failing us now, to have that knowledge, however distressing, however shocking, means that we can at least move forward.

I would like to announce today that we will be pursuing our own legal action against the Real IRA, against those who support and fund it, and those who are responsible for this dreadful atrocity.”



*“But more than that we would like to call into account the security forces,
and the police, and the politician in London, Belfast, and Dublin
who have promised us so much but have, so far, singularly failed to deliver.”*



*“We speak not just for ourselves.
We speak for the victims of the Troubles of whatever tradition
and all those victims for terror wherever it happen.”*

We will not go away.

We will not be quiet.

We will not be forgotten.”



"Omagh" leaves us with a feeling of continued fighting but in a non-violent way. In terms of terrorism, it is clear that the GFA does not and cannot bring violent conflict to a complete halt. Instead, acts of terrorism are possible—either by IRA hardliners or by grieving families seeking justice. But one thing is certain, the peace agreement is de jure a political act by peaceful means. Peace agreements, however, do not always lead to peaceful reactions, and the Omagh bombing is one of the worst bombings in the history of The Troubles.

A Pete Travis film, Omagh 1998. Moving on to the final film selected for this study with *the question as to what the Good Friday Agreement (GFA) does for the “broken relationship”*, a German film director, Oliver Hirschbiegel, will lead us to the answer a decade on from Omagh – an answer that awaits bitter truth of us among the thirty years of conflict with two men’s lives from thirty-three years of suffering and pain.

Unlike other films selected for this research, “**FIVE MINUTES OF HEAVEN**,” a movie by *Oliver Hirschbiegel*, is in fact not a film about IRA terrorism or the conflict in Northern Ireland but is about the “truth and reconciliation” process, which is different from the official “Peace Process” after the Good Friday Agreement. Its focus is at the micro-level, that is, with families and individuals who were severely affected by the violence of “The Troubles” and how they cope with it; how they actually find “peace.” The film is deliberately selected although it does not directly feature the IRA organization or IRA volunteers (in fact it mentions the UVF instead). What it depicts, however, is the perception of terrorism after the peace process.

“For me to talk about the man I have become, you need to know about the man I was.”

Alistair Little

The film flashes back from a scene with a mature Alistair Little to show young Alistair in 1975 and takes us back to where it all began thirty-three years ago. It begins when those two pairs of eyes meet just outside the house of a lower-middle-class Irish Catholic family. One pair belongs to a first-time killer, calling himself a volunteer of the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), desperate to be accepted among his peers and the senior members. The other pair belongs to an innocent twelve-year-old boy who is a member of the Catholic family that lives in that house.



The two pairs of eyes meet and lock onto one another for almost ten seconds. It is an unforgettable ten seconds that buries itself deep within both Little and young Joe Griffin's hearts and souls for thirty-three year.



Today, these two men are schedule to meet again for the first time since the brutal killing to “film a documentary for the reconciliation project” that will be aired on television.

Alistair Little is a former UVF volunteer who serves twelve years in prison for the crimes he committed during his violent years. What he learned from prison changed him forever. He is now a renowned reconciliation counselor and an advocate for nonviolence and reconciliation.

ALISTAIR:

*“No-one was telling me anything other than that killing is right.
It was only in prison when I heard that other voice.”*

Alistair agrees to join this staged encounter in the hope that this reconciliation will liberate him and Joe from their bitter past and bring peace to both lives. The film communicates with the audience through Alistair’s conversation with his driver.

THE DRIVER:

*“So that last one you did, Alistair,
the Kazakhs, sorry, no, the Cossacks...”*



ALISTAIR:

*“Kosovans. Kosovans. Aye, Albanian and Serb they are.
Aye, that's the one! That worked out quite nicely.”*

THE DRIVER:

“So, did they show it in the end then?”

**ALISTAIR:**

*“They did, about six months ago now.
I was looking out for it. Actually, I didn't see it myself.
I was in South Africa at the time.”*

With his calm appearance, Alistair's calm and steady voice tells us the reason behind this journey. Superficially, it may seem like Alistair is now living a normal life, but a CU frame that captures his often vacant gazes while he is talking about his actions reveals that his mind is not as calm as it looks.

THE DRIVER:

“So is this another one of your counseling things, Alistair?”

ALISTAIR:

*“No. Well, kind of. It's a programme about reconciliation.
I'm to meet the brother of the man I killed.”*

THE DRIVER:

“Have you not met him yet? No.”



ALISTAIR:

“No, not since the day.”

THE DRIVER:

“Well, did you ask for this?”

ALISTAIR:

*“That was never going to be my call, Ray.
I don't have the right to ask anything from him.”*

THE DRIVER:

“So did he call you or...?”

**ALISTAIR:**

“No, the programme people, they approached him. Then me.”

Joe Griffin is a man engrossed in the past, haunted by a picture of a gunman in a mask who killed his 19-year-old brother right in front of his eyes.



The film maker intentionally uses a dissonant harmonic sound from an electric guitar and switches between real ambient sound to make the audience as nervous, confused and anxious as Joe. In the confined space of the car to the place where the documentary is being shot, the wide angle lens cleverly shows how Joe is feeling.

Oliver Hirschbiegel spends two minutes with this scene in order to show Joe's confusion and anxiety while on the way to participate in a television show about reconciliation.

JOE:

Never knew why that picture of a cat was there, and the other one.

Don't know what happened to that one.

I mean...?' What the fuck?

DRIVER:

Sorry, what did you say?

JOE:

What?

DRIVER:

Did you not just say something?

JOE:

Was I talking to myself?

It gets me a good seat. I've had no-one sitting next to me for years.

One on one. For fuck's sake.

I mean, for fuck's sake.

Would you turn back?



DRIVER:

Are you wanting me to turn back?

JOE:

I'd love you for it.

DRIVER:

I think I should get you there first, don't you?

I can take you back when I've got



JOE:

I'd rather eat my two fucking feet than you get me there.

Jesus, I mean...

DRIVER:

Do you want me to call them? I can call them.



JOE:

No, you go on. You do your job.

DRIVER:

They said to get you there.



JOE:

*And what? And what? Well, I know you have to
get me there, that's why you're driving me there.*

*I mean did you say
you wouldn't get me there?*

*You mean they mean I wouldn't get you there,
that's why you have to get me there? Is that it?*

DRIVER:

It's something like that.

JOE:

*No, you drive, you do your job.
I don't want you getting in trouble.*

I mean, Jesus, I'm in trouble, I can't have you in trouble, then we'll never get back.

Flash back is used to help us see what is in his thoughts—the image of his dead brother and his mother condemn him: “You killed him, your own brother!!... You could have stopped him! (the killer)”—a nightmare that has haunted him for thirty-three years.



Unlike Alistair, Joe agrees to this programme because it is a chance for his “five minutes of heaven”—revenge.

JOE:

“So, she was sitting in my kitchen, she says, this is an important programme about men who have become the man they have become, that you have become, or some fuck-knows thing.

Then she said it's more about the man you could become.

"That's what excites us all about this project," she said.



She had the light in her eyes, the missionary light.

"It's about healing", she said.

"It's about reconciliation."

"What is that?" I said.

"People coming out of their graves?"

"No", she said, smiling.

"That's resurrection."

We want you to meet the man who killed your brother, face to face.



*I don't know. The thing is, it isn't the way she was looking and talking,
and I wasn't really listening to anything she was telling me.*

It's just that...she showed me a little kindness.

But I don't do kindness.

I fucking hate kindness. I don't let that in. I let it in then, but never again.

The trouble with me is, I've got all the wrong feelings.

He knows they all love to shake hands with a killer.

"Listen to him", they will say, "and there is hope in the world!"

And you know what he's thinking?



*Do this gig well here and I've got another 20 years of pay cheques in front of me.
 I can talk about that day then and this day now for the next 20 years,
 how I came face to face with the brother of my victim,
 and how it was the final act in my journey towards a magnificent redemption,
 and how listening to me is the way forward in life, plus VAT.
 And with their cheques in my pocket, I will talk unto the wretched of the world
 and I will heal them with my words,
 I won't have to work in a fucking egg carton factory ever again.*



*So!
 The man shot my brother three times in the head. The man is having the life of Riley.
 What should I do? Do I shake his hand or do I kill him?"*



VIKA:

*“Well, killing him wouldn't be good for him.
.... it wouldn't be good for you either.”*



JOE:

“Oh, not good for me?

My five minutes of heaven?

How would that be not good for me?”

Michael, the show's producer, walks Joe through each step of the show and concludes his briefing with a list of questions Joe will answer in front of the camera:



MICHAEL:

“...This is the question we are all wanting the answer to.

Truth and reconciliation.

What's at stake? Is it possible? ...”



The film cuts to catch Joe standing in front of the toilet door. MS is selected to show his facial expression. Together with the sound of the toilet door violently opening this is nothing but pure anger. Rage is reaffirmed by the sound of the toilet door. It is rage about the failure of the peace process - like many peace processes it has been all process and no peace. It has certainly not brought Joe any peace at all; just the continuation of the anger he has felt since that day when he was 12 years old.



The camera then changes to over-the-shoulder showing Joe's reflection in the mirror: frowning, lips pressed tightly together, and casting a violent look in the mirror.

The audio technique of a voiceover echoes Joe's thoughts. What is in his mind confirms his anger.

JOE:

*"I can do handshakes, Michael! And I can do victim.
I can do handshake and victim both at the same time.*

*But I've made a decision on this one.
Reconciliation? You have no idea."*



The camera pans downwards to show the result of Joe’s decision—‘revenge’. Joe’s hand is pulling a knife out of his trouser pocket. Joe’s thoughts are clear when he talks to himself.

JOE:

*“A handshake? For killing my brother? For me taking the blame?
33 years of that? What do you think I am, a joke?”*

*If ever a man deserved a knife run through him, that scum of the earth.
Truth and reconciliation?”*

As Joe keeps talking to himself, the camera tilts back up to the mirror showing determination in Joe’s expression, telling us that he will not change his mind. Simultaneously, we hear Joe’s declaration:

JOE:

“I’m going for revenge.”



ALISTAIR:

“In order for me...

*In order for me to talk about the man I have become,
you need to know about the man I was.*

*I was 14 when I joined the Tartan Gangs
and I was 15 when I joined the UVF, the Ulster Volunteer Force.*

The situation at that time, you know...”



TV Producer:

“Cut there!!!!

Sorry, that's very good but we're picking up some noise.

That's really good.

OK? OK, we're good to go again.

Running up. And in your own time, Alistair.”

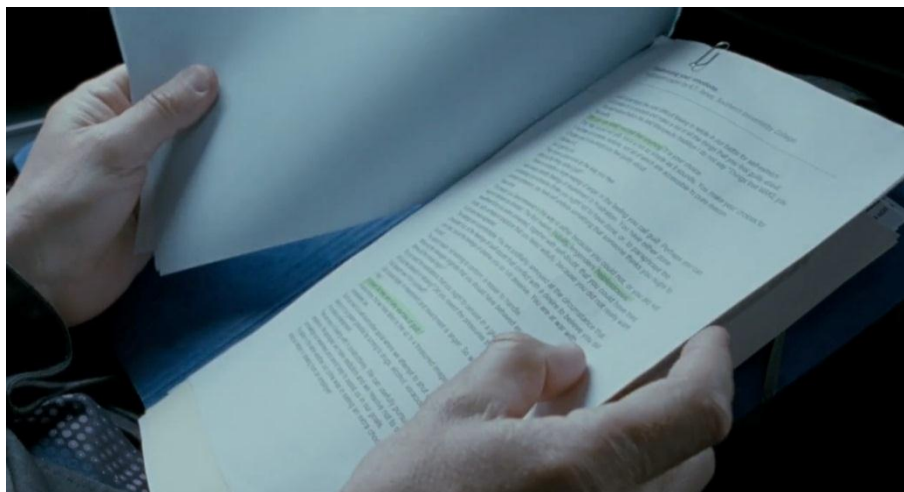


ALISTAIR:

*“For me to talk about the man I have become,
you need to know about the man I was.*

*I was 14 when I joined the Tartan Gangs
and I was 15 when I joined the UVF -----”*

The question is, why Alistair repeats his words almost exactly for both takes in front of the camera. I am reminded of a shot from the scene in which he was in a car. Let's rewind to that particular scene.



Does a real reconciliation process need a script? Does it need precise wording? Should it not come from the conscience or from genuine guilt? Of course, a script can make it sound beautiful but does the victim need beautiful words, or rather truth and sincerity?

Joe agrees to meet privately with Alistair at his old house – the house where his brother was murdered, 37 Hill Street. Still holding a grudge after all these years, Joe comes with a sense of vengeance and opts for violence in order to collect his “five minutes of heaven”. Alistair, on the other hand, comes in order to find closure.

In this film, the psychological trauma caused by violence is amplified through both of the main characters: Joe and Alistair. For Joe, his suffering, his obsession with bitter memories of the past, and his deeply embedded anger are projected in a number of ways using both verbal and non-verbal language, including flash-back and cross-cutting techniques shifting between past and present, monologues, and dialogues. For Alistair, his guilt-ridden trauma is projected through conversation with his driver:

DRIVER:

“And is it just a brother you’re meeting?”

ALISTAIR:

“Aye. Aye...”

It’s... His father died eight months later. A heart attack.

A broken heart, the family said.

His brother, Daniel, it was an overdose with him.

After that, his mother, she died.

It’s what happens. It’s often what happens.

To the family, you know.

It’s the part people don’t understand, don’t realize.

What happens after.”

As an expert in reconciliation as well as the perpetrator of the crime, Alistair’s anxiety echoes in the conversation he has with the production crew the moment he sets foot in the location of the filming:



ALISTAIR:

*“Is there someone with him? That’s important, you know?
Whatever he tells you he’s feeling about this,
he’s going to be very angry. I mean, very angry.*

*That anger could go in any direction.
I realize you have a programme to make
But what’s happening to him has to come first.....”*

“Five Minutes of Heaven” tells us that “peace” can be reached through forgiveness and letting go, but *Oliver Hirschbiegel goes further*, signaling to us through his film that truth and sincerity are crucial mechanisms in the commencement of reconciliation. According to Stefan Engert, reconciliation can be defined as the re-establishment of a broken relationship between a perpetrators and their victim. Reality TV (with a nice script, image of shake-hand and a smile) cannot bring both perpetrator and victim to the stage of being ready to meet each other in order to reconcile. The film also portrays that such a process needs to come from the hearts of those who suffered. The film successfully shows us that an artificial or superficial set-up will not bring real peace of mind-real reconciliation.

JOE:

*“I will meet him! I want to meet him!
But I don’t want the camera there!”*



The film maker is sending a message that making this reconciliation happen unlocked Joe from the painful past and let him live in the present. We see this as the camera focuses on the picture of Joe’s family in Alistair’s hand when Joe storms off the set.





The scene shows Alistair's face as he lowers his gaze a little as though ready to face an unpleasant encounter. A long shot with a wide-angle lens is selected to show the picture of Alistair standing alone in a deserted neighborhood, in front of house number 37. His face turns to the right, his eyes fixed on the point where he stood that night when he pulled the trigger sending three bullets into Joe's brother's head. It is exactly the place he was standing when he saw Joe's frantic eyes for the first time.

Although Alistair now pursues non-violence and reconciliation, he does not want to be ambushed by a waiting and angry Joe before he has had a chance to talk to him. This message is portrayed through Alistair's facial expression of determination and the action of taking off his watch.



As soon as Alistair steps into the house, background music and the regular beat of an electronic bass-drum like the beating of a heart is played and joins our heartbeat with Alistair's. The heart beats a little louder than usual but is steady, telling us that Alistair is ready for whatever is waiting for him in the room. The heartbeat suddenly stops when he steps foot on the first floor, leaving us with a low pulse frequency generated by an old-fashioned synthesizer.

Outside the last room he looks into, we see Alistair from behind, and see him pause briefly before entering the room. This is it. This is where he is going to meet Joe. It is very clear from the film language. First, from frame size – a medium shot is used to show Alistair's movements as he reaches the room. Then focal length – the film uses a wide-angle lens allowing more detail of the scene to be included in the frame to show that out of the lifeless context of a deserted house Alistair is the only living thing, which in turn gives his complete stop more impact. The sound of Alistair taking a deep breath followed by a heavy sigh conveys his melancholic feeling as well as his determination. Ready to face his judgement, he slowly lifts his left hand up to touch the frame of an open door.

Using a handheld camera makes the audience feel as though it is taking those cautious steps along with the character. As the camera slowly zooms in, the frame size gradually changes to CU showing the misery in his eyes. Still using a close up frame, the camera moves to the left of the frame and pans slightly rightward to reveal what is behind Alistair. It is Joe. He has been hiding there. In this over-the-shoulder shot, we can see that in contrast to Alistair, there is pure rage in Joe's eyes. The over-the-shoulder shot frame is commonly used in showing the link between the emotional reactions of two characters.

The film then changes to an eye-level CU shot of Alistair's back representing Joe's point of view, showing what he sees from his standpoint, then reverses the axis-line to show Joe's expression and his unwavering stare at Alistair's back. Cut to Alistair, an ECU frame reveals that although his facial expression may show anxiety, his eyes are calm and settled. This is a picture of a former terrorist, an ex-perpetrator, whose life has been turned around, waiting for the verdict from a victim of his violent past. What we see in those eyes is acceptance, no matter what choice Joe makes, peace or violence.

Joe attacks Alistair from behind with the knife in his hand. Alistair, with his superior skills, fights back hard but just strongly enough to stop Joe as he is now a devout

believer in peaceful means of reconciliation. The film utilizes both visual and textual language to show Alistair's strong belief in peaceful means.



JOE:

Come on, man!

Fuck you!

ALISTAIR:

Enough...

Enough.

For one minute and three seconds of a fighting, two-shot MS and CU are used for the fight, the emotions, and the pain of both characters. Background music is muted to enable the audience to hear the sound of the fight—flesh against flesh, heavy breathing, panting—very vividly. Through his fists, Joe fights lives out his long-held vendetta against Alistair. Alistair, on the other hand, fights defensively, allowing Joe to vent his anger, allowing his physical pain to mend Joe’s psychological scars. Alistair still believes in reconciliation - real reconciliation.



Unexpectedly, both men fall from a first floor window onto the road below.









The extremely sophisticated film language - the camera movement, the surreal steadiness of the camera movement - makes the audience detach from both men. Instead, we are just an audience again. The camera gently follows the direction of the two men and tilts down at the street below - *a God's eye view is used to show exactly the same point where the men first met thirty-three years ago. God gives both of them a chance to start again. The crane shot and the experience of the director provide tremendous meaning and enormous impact.*

The film then shifts to the scene on the street. Both men are still alive, but seriously injured from the fall. Though in pain all over, this is the moment that Alistair has been waiting for. The message of peaceful reconciliation is depicted through the conversation. At the same time MS and CU frames are used interchangeably between Alistair, who is talking, and Joe, who is listening. A powerful message is portrayed through the simplest and most direct technique using just verbal language and great actors.



To answer the series of questions mentioned above, this scene reveals what real reconciliation needs: not the use of force, but this; it is words that make an actual reconciliation; peace comes afterwards.

ALISTAIR:

*“I'm going to Belfast and I won't be coming back...
so I'm going to tell you everything that happened here.”*



*We were told that a Protestant worker had been threatened...
and if he didn't leave the yard, he'd be shot.*

I asked who the Catholics were working there. Somebody said Jim Griffin.

I said, "Tell him if he doesn't leave, I'll shoot him."

I knew he was leaving anyway, but it didn't make a difference.

It was my decision. I was up for anything, to kill anyone.

I wanted...to be someone.

I wanted to...walk into the bar a man.





*Walk in ten foot tall and hear the applause from
the only people that mattered to me then.
And I heard it. And it was good.*

*Get rid of me, Joe...
so that when you wake up in the morning,
it's not me's in your head, it's your daughters.
Don't give them me. Go home and tell them that you've killed me off.*

That I'm gone, forever.

I'm nothing.

Nothing.

Go home and tell them that ..and live your life for them.”



'Five Minutes of Heaven' tells us that all of us can have more than five minutes of heaven if we make a right choice, that is, a peaceful and non-violent way. It is possible, however, to make a wrong one, and it can have tremendous effects, not just on the victims but also on their families, especially psychological effects.

In the film, terrorism tears society apart. Using violent means, causing invisible psychological scars that need to be healed properly and, most importantly, sincerely.

Romanticizing the peace and reconciliation process, the film shows that staged reconciliation does not really lead to anything substantial for either side. If this were the work of an NGO, it would be nothing but a show for a fund-raising campaign. What it represents, however, is the mutual sincerity and pure honesty that bring both sides towards real peace.





The final scene shows Alistair getting down on his knees and looking up to heaven. The film uses *a God's eye view angle to show Alistair's relief and gratitude that heaven has given him via one phone call from Joe, saying "We are finished."*

Can anyone say why Alistair changed the direction he was going in?

It is more than obvious that this film wants to communicate with a general audience about terrorism and conflicts beyond what happened in Northern Ireland and to refer to the terrorism that is linked to Islamic fundamentalism. Through Alistair Little's narrative, the film advocates for the prevention of radicalization:

(Little's Narrative) "And the Muslims now - you know the kids now are like I was then. They need to hear those voices now, stopping them from thinking that killing is good. They need their own people to say "no". That's where they need to hear it, and that's where I would put my money - on making those voices heard in every mosque in the country."

"What I want to tell people; what society must do is to stop people getting to the point where they join the group. Because when you get to that point it's too late. No-one's gonna stop you. No-one's gonna change your mind. And once you're in, you will do anything. You will kill anyone on the other side, because it's right to do it. Once your man has joined the group, society has lost him. And what he needs to hear are voices on his own side, stopping him before he goes in. There were no voices on my side, not on my side of the town, not in my state. No-one was telling me anything other than that killing is right. It was only in prison when I heard that other voice."

What "Five Minutes of Heaven" shares with "Omagh" *is the end of "IRA terrorism" and advocating for peace and reconciliation with an emphasis on the "unseen" results of violent conflicts at a micro-level - mostly psychological effects.*

“Five Minutes of Heaven” is set in 2008, a decade after the Omagh bombing, but both films speak loudly and clearly about *the peace process benefiting only the meso- and macro-level. In other words, the peace process has not affected anything at the micro level.* Victims, as individuals, still suffer pain from the perpetrators. As “Omagh” portrays, *the nature of the peace process - the Good Friday Agreement - is the same as the nature of politicians. It is all about dressing up for political change and politicians trying to protect this appearance of political change.* But we are not so naïve as to expect peace from a politician or from political games which aim only for political benefits, not for peace.

The only thing that “Five Minutes of Heaven” does not portray is the perception of terrorists in 2008 - of any group of terrorists in Northern Ireland. *What it portrays is a man who used to be a terrorist.*



ALISTAIR:

“I don't know where to go.

Where to put yourself after it all.

It's the same for everyone.

Some of us have found an answer.

He's killed a few Catholics in his time and now he's killing his own.

Some protection thing to control the estate.

Released after the Good Friday

*Agreement, he's on top of the world again, still living it, just like he always was,
with his mates watching his back, breathing in the scent of his victories.*

If I had gone with him then, just said yes to him then...

That's all I had to do, just tell him I was in.

I know that isn't my answer"

Although this movie advocates for the peaceful settlement of conflicts, it does not blind the audience with an over-optimistic view. From the conversation, we can see clearly that Alistair is an exceptional case in terms of ex-terrorists. While he has become a reconciliation counselor and promoter of non-violent measures, other ex-colleagues of his have continued to walk the same path of violence, only this time in order to pursue their own business. Members of terrorist groups have become mobster-like business entrepreneurs.

In this last section I will recapitulate what I find in both films regarding the discourse on IRA terrorism. What are the monuments and how are they constructed? I will then illustrate how the film *Five Minutes of Heaven* portrays a “terrorist” individual as a product of social construction via an analysis of the main character, Alistair Little.

The film ***Omagh*** tells the story of the August 1998 bombing in the town of Omagh and the quest for justice by the families affected by this dreadful atrocity. *The first monument of discourse on IRA terrorism found in Omagh is the feature of “terrorism” as an organization (the men and the money)* - an organization seeking to achieve political ends by violent means. This monument is constructed via a lengthy and very detailed description of a terrorist act, in this case, the making of a fertilizer bomb, the detonation of a car-bomb, and the fund-raising activities of the 32 Counties Sovereignty Movement, which is believed to be the political wing of the Real IRA. The car bomb planted on a busy high street is a classic terrorist strategy—aiming at innocent civilians and creating fear among the general public. This monument—this feature of terrorism—is constructed and emphasized by the projection of the extreme brutality of this violent “terrorist” act (the bombing) using images of innocent young children and objects such as a pram (see pictures above). The filming of the bombing is very difficult and dangerous so it is not logical to involve small children in the production without serious thought.

Omagh is a documentary-style film. The most important messages are conveyed to the audience through dialogue. *This is also how the second monument—the relationship between the IRA and the Real IRA—is mainly constructed. However, the film portrayal of this second monument is somewhat equivocal.* **A direct interpretation** of the dialogues between Gerry Adams and Michael Gallagher and the members of the self-help group, and the conversation between Fulton and Gallagher *indicate no relationship between the IRA and the Real IRA. While Gerry Adams denies every connection he might have with the bombers, the Real IRA claims responsibility for the bombing. They are different groups.* When sophisticated film language and presentation techniques are used at certain points in the conversations, the film is alerting us to view it from a more critical perspective. **A second interpretation** of this monument is constructed through

dialogue combined with sophisticated film language, especially lighting, to emphasize two pairs of eyes. High contrast lighting is used to express the eyes of the tormented soul of a lost father, Michael Gallagher. Heavy shadow is used to hide the emotionless, robot-like eyes of Gerry Adams. The conversation Gallagher has with Fulton in the car is also open to re-interpretation: *the IRA remains a terrorist group, but Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness have walked out on it. Both ex-leaders are now Sinn Fein and those who remain within the group are the real, genuine IRA, hence the name Real IRA. For this second interpretation.*

Set a decade later, *Five Minutes of Heaven* does not portray anything of the previous era of terrorism in Northern Ireland, but to conclude that there is no longer any “terrorism” in Northern Ireland would be a dangerous leap. *What the film does depict, however, is the lives of ex-terrorists. Some of them are not doing any better in terms of using violence. From terrorists, these men have now become mafia. This monument is mainly portrayed by Alistair’s narrative.*

Alistair Little, now disgusted by violence, is an interesting and sophisticated character. He has no real “self”. Either as a terrorist or as a peace and reconciliation consultant, he is socially constructed by socialization. Linguistically speaking, Alistair’s dialogues and narratives certainly stand out. As he asks us to look back at the man he was in order to know the man he has become, he is telling us that he joined the UVC out of his own helplessness. It was society, the violence, and socialization and radicalization that turned him to terrorism because no one told him otherwise until he was imprisoned.

ALISTAIR:

*“For me to talk about the man I have become,
you need to know about the man I was.*

*I was 14 when I joined the Tartan Gangs
and I was 15 when I joined the UVF*

*At that time, don't forget,
there were riots on the streets every week, petrol bombs every day.*

*And that was just in our town.
When you got home and switched on the TV, you could see it was happening in every
other town as well, and it was like we were under siege.*

*Fathers and brothers of friends were being killed in the streets
and the feeling was, we all **have to** do something.*

*We're all in this together and we all **have to** do something.*

*The thing you **have to** remember, what you **have to** understand, is the mindset.*

(emphases added)

ALISTAIR:

***No-one's** going to stop you. **No-one's** going to change your mind.*

You will do anything. You will kill anyone on the other side because it's right to do it.

ALISTAIR:

*"**No-one** was telling me anything other than that killing is right.*

*It was **only in prison** when **I heard** that other voice."*

From his narrative, his choice of wording, he clearly sees himself as a passive subject, as a product of the society. The words "have to" suggest that somebody else has imposed the decision, whereas the word "must" signifies the speaker's own decision making.¹⁷⁰ Therefore, his decision to join a paramilitary group and to take up arms rests on external factors. Likewise, he blames others for his misconduct as *no-one* ever told him of another way. It is not his own fault; it is society's. Alistair's suggestion of

¹⁷⁰ Woodham, R. (n.d.) Learn English. BBC World Service Retrieved May 3, 2014 from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/learningenglish/youmeus/learnit/learnitv127.shtml>

preventing young Muslims from being radicalized shows that his thinking has never changed. In other words, to be or not to be a terrorist is due to society and its socialization and radicalization.

ALISTAIR:

“And the Muslims now, you know, the kids now are like I was then.

*They need to hear **those voices** now,
stopping them from thinking that killing is good.*

They need their own people to say no.

*That's **where** they need to hear it.*

*That's where I would put my money, on making those voices heard
in **every mosque** in the country.”*

As mentioned above, Oliver Hirschbiegel shows that his deep level of understanding and interpretation skills in reconciliation go beyond the fake processes of TV reality shows.

His excellent film can be interpreted at a number of different levels, depending on the skill, or experience, of the audience: at the shallowest level, it is a film about a peace-loving ex-terrorist; at the next level it is clear from the scene in which Alistair appears at the TV show, that words alone (a script alone) are not sufficient for making reconciliation happen; next, this same scene, if Alistair's words are examined more closely, reveals meaning at a deeper level – despite the fact that Alistair has been walking the path of non-violence *he nonetheless sees himself as a victim of society, that he not in himself a 'bad guy'*, that he is different from his other 'ex-terrorist' colleagues who have continued their violent lives; finally, at the highest level of my interpretation, we can see that the director understands *that terrorism is a social, or socially*

constructed, phenomenon – in that terrorists are ‘constructed’ by society (by their background and upbringing) and that ‘terrorists’ are constructed by the discourse on terrorism.

Such an understanding of this film helps us, conveniently, to summarize a CTS understanding of both terrorism and the discourse on terrorism – that both are social constructs. As we said at the beginning, no one is born a terrorist – terrorists are either ‘made’ a terrorist by society, or ‘branded’ a terrorist by the socially constructed discourse on terrorism.

CHAPTER 8

**THE DISCONTINUITIES
AND
FOUCALUT'S GENEALOGY**

Discontinuities and Foucault's Genealogy

"Genealogy is gray, meticulous and patiently documentary"

Michael Foucault

Form the study of film portrayals of discourse on IRA terrorism during time of The Troubles (1968-1998) and ten years after Good Friday Agreement (GFA), it is confirmed that discourse on IRA terrorism has never been a single unit but various ones.

In this study, the eight films were grouped in to four pairs based on characteristic or theme that represents IRA terrorism at that particular historical context. When chronologically assigned these theme on the IRA master narrative timeline, these eight movies function as a tool to help us see discursive formation of IRA terrorism.

Study revealed that films portray different features or characteristics of IRA self-images as we can see from observable monuments of each theme that generate totally different self-images of the IRA. In other words, discourse on IRA of a particular time constructs different monuments that generate meanings of IRA terrorism and form our understanding of IRA as varied. In short, discourse on IRA terrorism is not static; but changes over time.

Research design of this study helps us to easily see changes and discontinuities in the discourse of IRA terrorism by chronologically locates films based on the period of movies' settings. Although many of films studied were not made in contemporary with the events they depicted, they can still have some connections with that discourse through the movie portaryals. Movie produces and re-produce self-image of terrorist of the time of its setting, not the time of its making. Foucaludian discourse analysis only concerns with what movie generates in terms of parctice of meaning that is formed or created perception. Since period movie allows us to locate that particular terrorist

discourse in a historical context, historically based drama or period movie is still useful for a study of discourse. However, this does not mean that we cannot engage the study of discourse from film portrayal using other perspective such as production date, genre, or director/producers, etc. I will discuss some of this aspects in the next chapter.

Chapter 4-7 answer the first half of research question, i.e. **how the concept of IRA terrorism has been constructed in films from different historical contexts, and thus made visible; and which ‘perceivable substance’ was generated for the discourse on IRA terrorism in order to be understood by the general audience** that discourse on IRA terrorism has changed over time and it has never been a single unified unit but rather discontinue various units. The rest of the question is ‘how’? How can we explain breaks, changes, and discontinuities? What would be contributing factors to such ruptures other than what have been told in general narrative?

If films are “window on the world,”¹⁷¹ it is the second window; whereas our real world is the first. Now, I shall move from the reel world to the real one, from the second window to the first. I will use Foucault’s genealogy to dive into IRA’s historical context to excavate the silenced sound, marginalized knowledge that have been unrecorded and unnoticed to explain discontinuities in the discourse on IRA terrorism.¹⁷²

Engaging Foucault’s genealogy

As discussed earlier in chapter 1 and 2 that Foucault’s discourse analysis and his genealogy method lacks clear and precise methodology as Foucault avoids prescription.¹⁷³ With its ontology as “history of the present,” genealogy emphasizes the discontinuous and unpleasant becoming of the present. In terms of operationalization of genealogy as method, Gavin Kendall and Garry Wickham suggest to keep archaeology and genealogy together as the two methods are complementary. While archaeology primary concern is the historical slice; genealogy concerns with the historical

¹⁷¹ Gregg, R. W. (1998). International relations on film. Lynne Rienner Publishers.

¹⁷² Ibid, Mutlu & Salter, 2013

¹⁷³ Ibid, Graham, 2005

process.¹⁷⁴ This idea also resonates by Mitchell Dean who asserts that the relations of archaeology and genealogy as a key step that reveals the potential of the genealogy method to act as critical and effective history.¹⁷⁵ Each of the previous four chapters dug deep into its specific historical context to practice archaeology. In this chapter, I, thus, take a step further. I deployed Foucault's genealogy method to connect the dots between each break, each theme of the discourse on IRA terrorism. Foucault's genealogy provides a functional microanalysis of power relations that operates on smallest and most significant details.¹⁷⁶ Foucault's genealogy helps us connect these small dots that form a discourse on IRA terrorism. It is quite a challenge for this study, given the time-constraint on this very detail-oriented quest. However, for the purpose of gaining knowledge, it is worth to bite the bullet.

In the process of conceptualizing theoretical and methodological framework, I reviewed a wide-range of literature on "how to" engage with Foucauldian discourse analysis and his genealogy method. The result was somewhat disappointing at first because of its ambiguous nature,¹⁷⁷ and its lacks of clear methodology; then I realize how liberated I am to design my own "how to" to genealogy. For a start, I take Maria Tamboukou's suggest, "there is no better way to understand what genealogy is about other than by concentrating on genealogy per se, analyzing it in minor details, reaching the most remote points of its network, revealing the hidden micro-mechanism of its operation, grasping the most delicate aspects of the theorization."¹⁷⁸

Embraced Nietzsche's concept of genealogy, the colour gray in Foucault's genealogy refers to inferiority of human being. Genealogy as a method of analysis investigates in a tangled web of dispersed events to trace discontinuities. Researchers are to look anywhere outside the main record of events or history. Foucault advises us to explore the least expected place, and even to search for unrecognized, unrecorded causes.¹⁷⁹ In

¹⁷⁴ Ibid, Kendall & Wickham, 1999

¹⁷⁵ Dean, M. (1994). *Critical and effective histories: Foucault's methods and historical sociology*. (London: Routledge).

¹⁷⁶ Tamboukou, M. (1999). Writing Genealogies: an exploration of Foucault's strategies for doing research. *Discourse: studies in the cultural politics of education*, 20(2), 201-217.

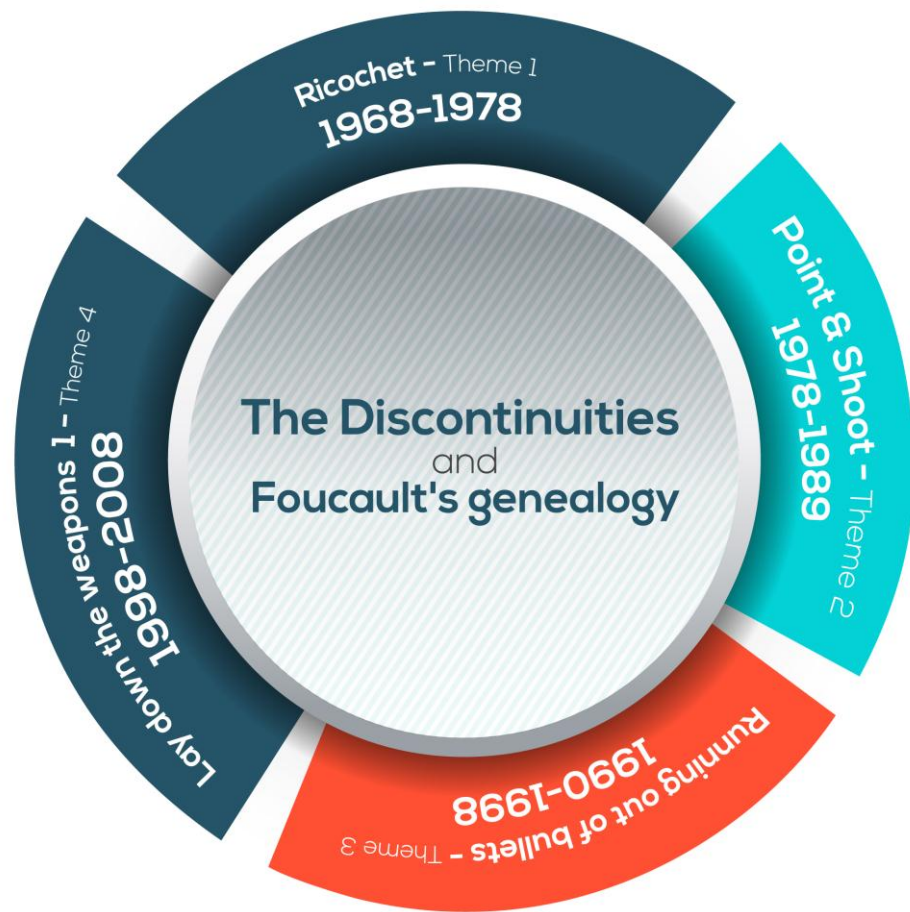
¹⁷⁷ Ibid, Graham, 2005

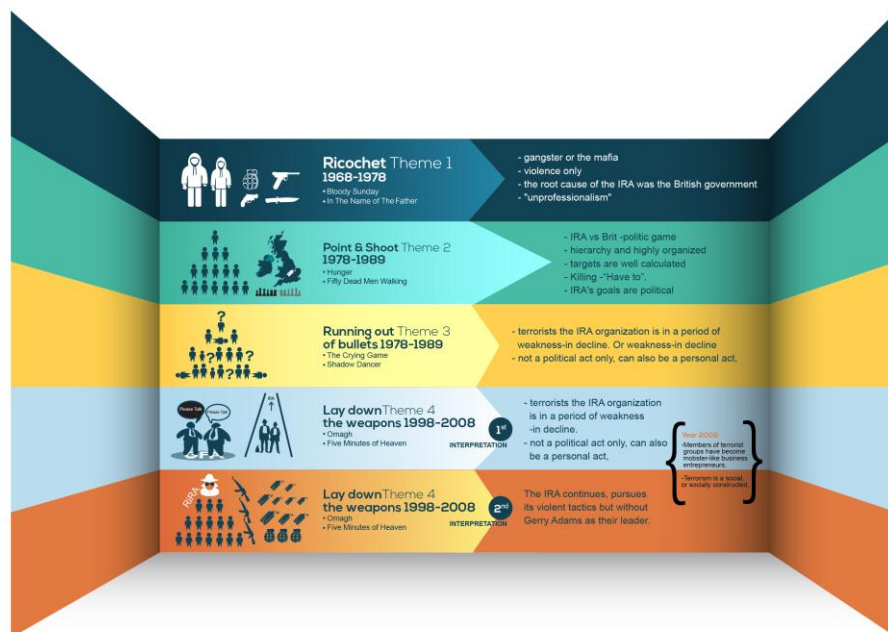
¹⁷⁸ Ibid, Tamboukou, 1999, p.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, Tamboukou, 1999

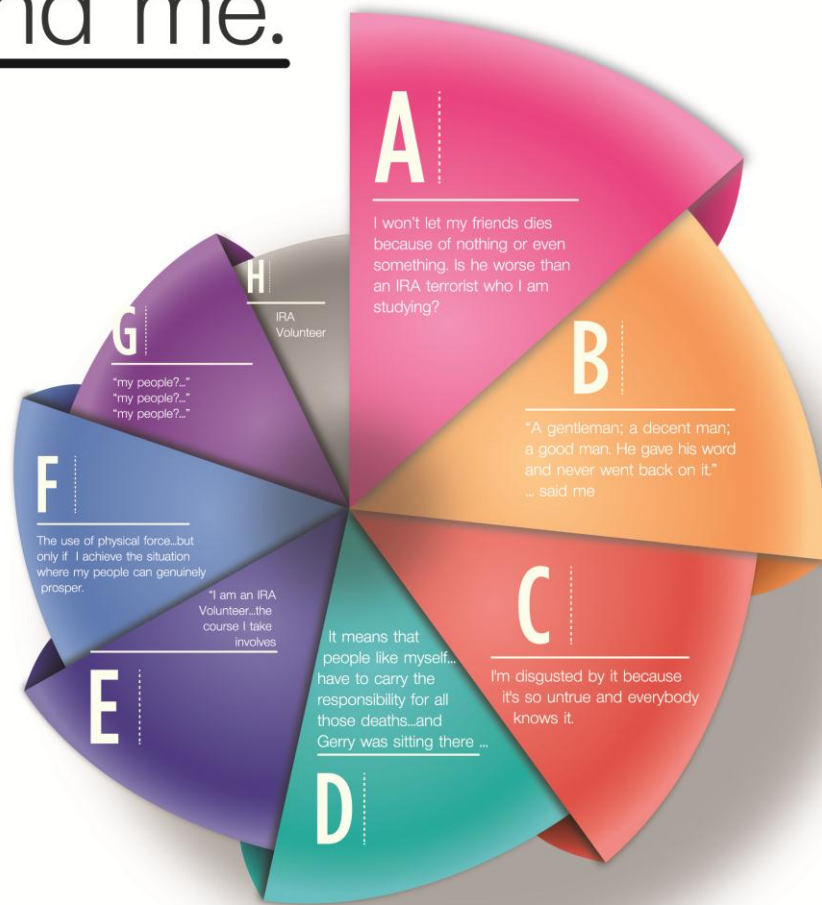
this study, I found that discontinuities of the discourse on IRA parallel with real historical events; thus, I exert myself to explore the real world in order to search for causes of ruptures in the reel world. Having a curious mind, I came across a lot of trivial things that separately have no significant meaning; but when put together portray draw interesting picture about the IRA and discourse on IRA terrorism.

Given an unconventional nature of this thesis, recognizing its emphasis on popular culture, and upholding an appreciation for aesthetic, I will present my genealogical analysis using Infographic instead of plain text. It is your turn to enjoy the power of visual presentation. First, I will present a summary of findings; then most important factors affecting the development of the discourse on IRA terrorism will be displayed; and follows by genealogical analysis.





When I close
my eyes.
Genealogy
 and me.



NARCISSISTIC PERSONALITY DISORDER

A pervasive pattern of grandiosity (in fantasy or behavior), need for admiration, and lack of empathy, beginning by early adulthood and present in a variety of contexts, as indicated by five (or more) of the following:

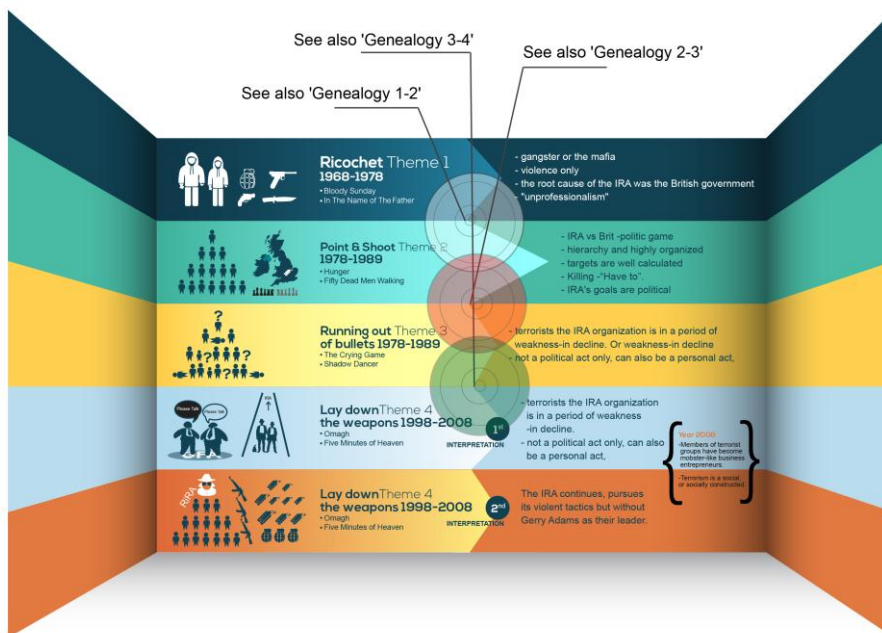


INDICATORS DETAILS

1	FIRST	<p>Demand to be treated as equal partner of the Unionist in peace talk</p> <p>A mastermind, a grand strategist, and a leader</p>	6	SIXTH	<p>Take advantage of Bobby Sands' death</p>
2	SECOND	<p>Ambitious politician</p> <p>Want to be viewed as 'man of peace'</p> <p>Unusual condemnation of Omagh bombing</p>	7	SEVENTH	<p>Betrayal and lie: never a member of IRA, No connection with Jean McConville's murder</p> <p>Sudden change in direction</p>
3	THIRD	<p>See himself as same rank with Clinton and Blair</p>	8	EIGHTH	N/A
4	FOURTH	<p>Portrays himself as likeable politician with the media/public</p>	9	NINTH	<p>Often used statement: I speak on 'behalf' of 'my' people-always a leader</p> <p>Avoid taking obligatory oath of loyalty</p>
5	FIFTH	<p>Went to the US in 1994 as foreign guest</p> <p>Being a politician not a terrorist</p>			

INDICATORS DETAILS





1 RICOCHET



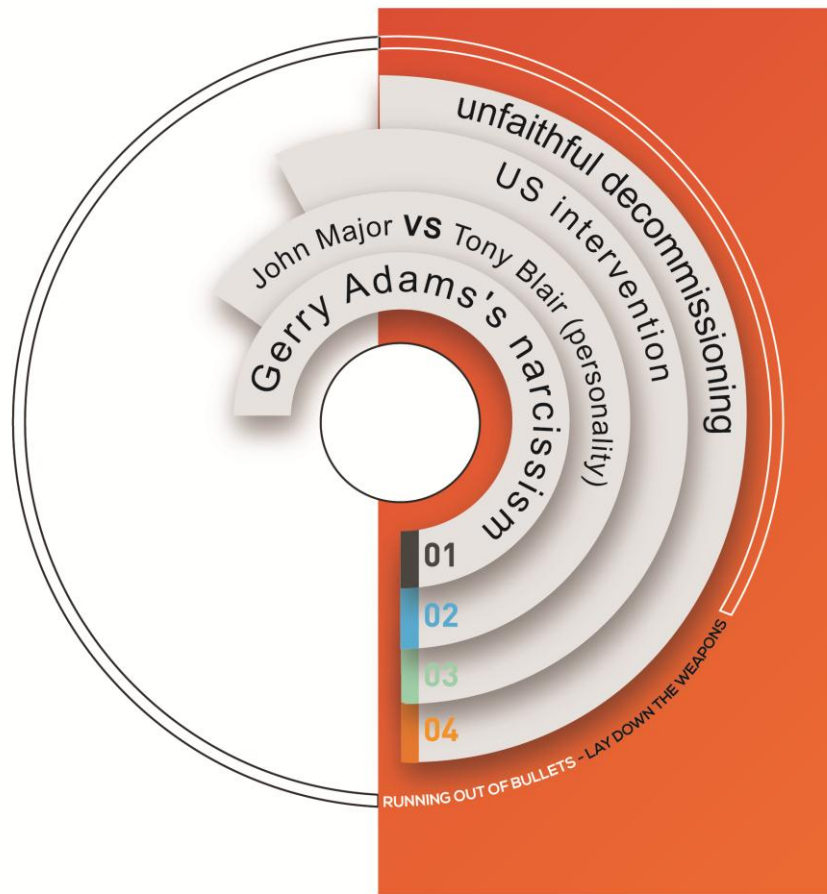
POINT 2 AND SHOOT

2 POINT AND SHOOT



RUNNING OUT OF BULLETS 3

RUNNING OUT OF BULLETS 3



LAY DOWN THE WEAPONS 4

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS & THE DISCONTINUITIES



Cold War

- Northern Ireland is an important strategic interest of Britain and NATO.
- USSR favored IRA's campaign UK, US most 'special ally.'
- IRA built connection with other revolutionary groups.
- Arms and financial supports from outside e.g. US and Libya

US Intervention

- Clinton became very active on the Irish "Troubles"
- Clinton supported for an import and high-level fact-finding delegation to Ireland.
- IRA announced a temporary ceasefire in December 1993. The US became highly active on the diplomatic front, resulted in Downing Street Declaration.
 - Issue a visa for Gerry Adams (1994).
 - Clinton visited Northern Ireland (1995)

Post-Cold War

- In terms of ideology, end of Cold War affects legitimacy of the organization.
- Changing Est-West relations affect organizational leadership's direction toward peace.

CHAPTER 9
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Summary of Findings and Discussion

In this thesis, I explored how the reel world constructs the real world of “terrorism” and vice versa. Realness, however, is quite troublesome. One of the problems that we, as a society, have regarding terrorism and terrorist individual/organization is that we do not really know the “real” terrorism/terrorist if there is any.

I share with Critical Terrorism Studies (CTS) an ontological stand on the nature of terrorism, i.e. terrorism is a social construction. Hence, what is terrorism, or who are terrorists depend on whose realness we are referring too; and in which historical context we are talking about. In other words, the terrorist is a product of a discourse on terrorism. The reel world, thus, is another arena that discourse can exercise its practice. This chapter is to recapitulate what I did and what I found in this study in terms of discourse productivity and its “play of practice.”¹⁸⁰ I used Foucauldian discourse analysis and his genealogy method as theoretical and methodological framework. Detail discussion on discourse analysis and methodology, together with film theory is presented in Chapter 2.

Foucauldian discourse analysis, regardless of its contribution to a scholarly world of critical study, it has its limits. I touch a little bit upon such limitations I encountered during the study. Then, I will present findings that I did not have yet discussed since they were outside a single theme of IRA terrorism in that particular historical context. These are “perceivable substances”—self-image—of IRA terrorism that were constructed and generated in each film.

Eight films featuring IRA terrorism or IRA volunteers were carefully selected for this study based on criteria of popularity, i.e. profile of the director, the lead actors/actresses, awards received, and recognition among peers in the film industry. Most importantly, these films must be available for publicly access. They are *‘Bloody Sunday’*, *‘In The Name of the Father’*, *‘Hunger’*, *‘Fifty Dead Men Walking’*, *‘The Crying Game’*,

¹⁸⁰ Ibid, Milliken, 1999

'Shadow Dancer', *'Five Minute of Heaven'*, and *'Omagh'*. Out of these eight films, two of them present Northern Ireland in the post-Good Friday Agreement (GFA) era.

A master narrative of "The Troubles" (1968-1998) was presented in Chapter 3 to provide the readers with chronological framework and historical context of IRA terrorism. Master narrative is a starting point for data inquiries of this study as a reference for discourse portrayed in eight movies. Under the master narrative, IRA terrorism was portrayed as "a bad guy" because of "use of violent means." The film portrayals, however, indicate changes and discontinuities in the discourse self-image.

From the study, I find four different themes of the discourse on IRA terrorism portrayed in the movies: *Ricochet* [*'Bloody Sunday'* (1972)¹⁸¹ and *'In the Name of the Father'* (1974)]; *Point and Shoot* [*'Hunger'* (1981) and *'Fifty Dead Men Walking'* (1988)]; *Running Out of the Bullets* [*'The Crying Game'* (1992) and *'Shadow Dancer'* (1993)]; and *Lay Down the Weapons* [*'Omagh'* (1998) and *'Five Minutes of Heaven'* (2008)]. Findings show that discourse on IRA terrorism has never been a single unit or portrayed the same meaning. Each of these images on IRA terrorism has its own formation both in terms of content and process, of which generates different images or perceptible images of terrorist.

Although many of films studied were not made in contemporary with the events they depicted, they can still have some connections with that discourse through the movie portrayals. Movie produces and reproduces and re-produces self-image of terrorist of the time of its setting, not the time of its making. Foucauldian discourse analysis only concerns with what movie generates in terms of practice of meaning that is formed or created perceptions. Since period movie allows us to locate that particular terrorist discourses in a historical context, historically based drama or period movie is still useful for a study of discourse.

Foucauldian discourse analysis is suitable for this present study because Foucault's approach to discourse analysis is historiographical in nature, meaning that the present is

¹⁸¹ Year of the setting, i.e. year that events in the film took place.

product of the past. So, to understand what the discourse on IRA terrorism is today, we must understand what it was and what it has been. The challenges, however, is Foucault's history is in fact 'ahistory' as Foucault directs us to search for discontinuities, ruptures, silences, or breaks in the history. The quest is to track for the unnoticeable and/or buried historical facts. The results of this were presented in the previous chapter on Discontinuities and Foucault's Genealogy.

The analysis of each theme concerning IRA terrorism was presented in separate chapters and in, chronological order. In each chapter, I analyzed empirical data collected from both of the films under that theme. Each films portrayed a variety of "perceivable substances" related to the discourse on IRA terrorism; however, only perceivable substances that contribute to a single theme—so-called monuments—were examined, using film theory and film language and in order to answer these questions: How was a certain discourse on terrorism was constructed? How was this discourse on terrorism generated and portrayed? And how does discourse shape our understanding regarding IRA terrorism?

The following section will present a summary of the findings as guided by Foucauldian discourse analysis. Then I will also present some other matters of interest, and although these do not fit under a single theme, they are too interesting too ignore.

Summary of findings: Foucauldian discourse analysis of film portrayals

Discourse on IRA terrorism is discontinuous from each other. In this study, I find four features of that denounce from the discourse of IRA terrorism four different time periods.

Theme 1: ‘Ricochet’ (1968-1978), ‘Bloody Sunday’ and ‘In the Name of the Father’

Four different monuments contribute to the construction of the discourse on "IRA terrorism" during the period of the “**Ricochet**” (1968-1978). The theme refers to unprofessionalism of the IRA organization. During this period, the IRA was like gangster or mafia. There was no hierarchical structure but scattered cells or operatives. Nevertheless, both movies agree that IRA terrorists are bad guys.

The second monument clarifies the difference between the IRA and the Catholic Nationalists. While the IRA champions the use of violence; the Catholic Nationalists pursues a non-violence means. The Catholic Nationalists are not part of the IRA or vice versa.

The third monument is generated by ‘*Bloody Sunday*’ only, as it explicitly shows that the root cause of the ruthlessness of the IRA and the long-lasting nature of “The Troubles” was the British government’s violent reactions to the protesters. ‘*In the Name of the Father*’ does not mention this aspect. The fourth monument I found in ‘*In the Name of the Father*’ that I have not found in ‘*Bloody Sunday*’, and that is the "unprofessionalism" of the IRA,

Theme 2: ‘Point and Shoot’ (1978-1989), ‘Hunger’ and ‘Fifty Dead Men Walking’

Characters in the films are only pieces in a game of chess. In ‘*Hunger*’, Steve McQueen makes it clear: white is white, black is black. In ‘*Fifty Dead Men Walking*’ on the other

hand, Martin McGartland is somewhat of an unfinished grey colour, able to change at any time when a turning point arrives. Both films use silence; both sides - the IRA and the British government - are playing a political game. Everything is politicized.

The theme *'Point and Shoot'* refers to method of shooting handgun swiftly, yet accurately; sometimes called target-focused shooting. The theme reflects that the IRA has become highly organized; its leaders are mentioned very often in both films; there is a clear hierarchy. From *'Ricochet'* that bullets might bounce off and hit random innocent targets, *'Point and Shoot'* IRA select their targets carefully. The targets are well calculated for a political game.

For both movies, killing is a "have to." In *'Hunger'* the men kill themselves; in *'Fifty Dead Men Walking'* the targets are military or state officers - symbols of the UK state.

The next monument emphasizes the IRA's goals as political one. And lastly, for winning the game, intelligence and counter-intelligence are crucial for winning the war.

Theme 3: 'Running out of bullets' (1990-1998), 'The Crying Game' and 'Shadow Dancer'

The portrayal of this 'double nature' from *'The Crying Game'*; and 'disunited IRA organization suffering from internal conflicts' from *'Shadow Dancer'* lead to the first monument, which is that terrorists the IRA organization is in a period of weakness, In other words, it is in decline.

The second monument generated by *'Shadow Dancer'*. It is a perceivable substance, which reveals that an act of IRA terrorism is not a political act only, but can also be a personal act, based on personal incentive, including an act of revenge for example.

Theme 4: ‘Lay Down the Weapons’ (1998-2008), ‘*Omagh*’ and ‘*Five Minutes of Heaven*’

‘*Omagh*’ and ‘*Five Minutes of Heaven*’ differ from other films under scrutiny in this thesis. The films do not feature IRA terrorism or IRA terrorists. Instead they portray post-Good Friday Agreement scenarios and the life of ex-terrorists. ‘*Omagh*’ offers two interpretations in regards of IRA terrorism. The first interpretation leads us to believe that “IRA terrorism” is over since the organization has given up its violent tactics and is determined to continue with the peace process. The IRA is no longer a “terrorist group” as it has dropped its military wing, leaving only the political unit of the Sinn Féin. The IRA is not, therefore, the same as the Real IRA, which pursues violence.

The second interpretation: the IRA continues but without Gerry Adams as their leader. The Irish Republican **Army** is a paramilitary group, not a political one. The IRA pursues its violent tactics in order to delegitimize the state authority both of the UK and of Ireland (Gerry Adams).

‘*Five Minutes of Heaven*’ portrays at the point of a man who used to be a terrorist during ‘The Troubles’. First, they have continued to walk the same path of violence, only this time in order to pursue their own business. Members of terrorist groups have become mobster-like business entrepreneurs. Secondly, terrorism is a social, or socially constructed, phenomenon – in that terrorists are ‘constructed’ by society (by their background and upbringing) and that ‘terrorists’ are constructed by the discourse on terrorism.

Films speak to us. Varied in style and techniques used, these films subtly tell us who are the IRA terrorists; and what is IRA terrorism. Without knowing, we, as audiences, were programmed to register that IRA terrorists are the bad guys, the outlaws as opposed to the state and state apparatus. For committing the act of terrorism, there have always been at least two parties to the conflict, one of which is state. Yet, films under different themes render different understandings of IRA terrorism. It is interesting, however, that all the movies, some are more obvious than others, tell us that only state has authority to label

any person or group as terrorist. At the same time, some of these movies such as *'In the Name of the Father'* juxtapose actions of state with terrorist's acts of violence. Left us with question: why one of these mirror actions is termed 'terrorist act', while the other is considered legitimate action? Movie asks 'can state be a terrorist?'. The answer depends on how we perceived and understood the discourse on terrorism.

Though it is not a main question for this study, I deployed Foucault's genealogy to search for reasons behind discontinuities of discourse on IRA terrorism. While I was looking outside the authorized narrative of IRA terrorism, I found a number of interesting factors affection the formation of discourse. In order to not repeat myself, I will focus on the most important factor—person, actually, Mr. Gerry Adams of the Sinn Fein. Adams's aspiration for power and political status was at the center of every significant turn of the IRA together with his relations with Irish and British leaders, and most importantly, the US. A man of vision, a peace lover, a likeable man is how he portrays himself, although others still label him as an ex-terrorist, a murderer, and a treachery.

Discussion: Step out from Foucauldian Discourse Analysis

1. Make use of enthymeme

Bloody Sunday and In The Name of The Father -From what is visible in both films, it was very clear what the films generate. Not from what any actor or actress in either film says, not from the verbal language in either screenplay. It is not said, it is shown, and we are allowed, indeed encouraged, to think.



*“I’m sick of being shot at, spat on
and all the other shit that goes with this place.”*

*It’s about time we go out there
and show these fuckers what it’s all about.”*

*“The reason is ‘cause they get away with it
and this time they ain’t going to get away with it.*

*You got to get in, you got to hit them hard
and get in there first.”*





*“Everyone on the other side of this wall is enemy,
as far as I’m concerned.*

*When we bang through that wall, they see that wall come down
they’ll shit themselves, they really will.*

*We’ll just get out there and just kick some arse out there.
Show the hats how to do it.”*

This visuality implies that if the IRA can be labeled "bad", then so can the other side: the army in *‘Bloody Sunday’*; the police in *‘In The Name of The Father’*. If the IRA in “Bloody Sunday” believe in violence and physical force then the army believe in the same.

Gen. Ford:

“Let’s get this absolutely clear.

*One Para went in and came under fire.
They did not fire back until they were fired at.*

*I believe we fired three rounds
after receiving something between 10 and 20.”*



The IRA is portrayed, wordlessly, as a gangster. The army is portrayed in the same way, as irrational liars. The idea of using enthymeme is also found in “In The Name of The Father”. If Joe McAndrew - one of the Guildford bombers - can be labeled as "black", then the police are the same colour and follow the same strategy - violence, lies, immorality.

Inspector Robert Dixon:

*“I swear by Almighty God that the evidence I shall give shall be the truth,
the whole truth and nothing but the truth”*



The defendant lawyer:

*“Mr. Conlon says...
that you pulled him by the hair and squeezed his testicles.”*



Inspector Robert Dixon:

I never even spoke to Mr. Conlon.



The image above was captured when Dixon convinced Gerry in the interrogation room. *“I never even spoke to Mr. Conlon.” ... Audiences would, definitely, recall this scene.*

2. Victimizing the terrorists

The film *‘Hunger’* portrays the state (through the lens of the prison guards) as more of a villain than the prisoners. It sounds normal enough for prison guards to exercise power over prisoners, but if we look back at another film reviewed in this study, *‘In The Name of The Father’*, we can easily see how vicious a prisoner can be. In *‘Hunger’* on the other hand, prisoners did not use any violence against state officials. Rather, they were the ones who were abused. Physical location of a person is not always a fair judge of characters. The film *‘Hunger’* does not portray prisoners as good and decent men, but it does portray state officials as more vicious, more brutal.



When the violence meted out to the prisoners is constructed by a form of sound design which focuses on technique and design choice during an audio recording session, for it is impossible to distinguish frequencies as low as 150 to 250 hertz in a room full of noise - the noise of riot officers hitting their shields, the noise of the shouts and yells of prison guards and prisoners. This particular sound - the hit in the face and the body hitting the wall - was recorded using a pressure zone microphone (PZM), a close mic'ing technique and a short gun microphone to separate the two sounds (the hit in the face and the head against the wall).



There is a hidden message in this ambient sound. It constructs the prisoners as victims and their pain penetrates through all the chaos the audience is seeing. Some members of the audience might not recognize the sound of the prisoners' pain, but they can feel it. As for me, I study film language and sound design so I can tell straight away that the sound is intentionally being emphasized - in this case, in order to construct and magnify

the pain of the victimized prisoners. *It is speaking not with words, but with the sound of pain.*

A symmetric power of labeling, *In the Name Of the Father* reveals that the only side of the war can use the particular term-terrorist. Nonetheless, the other side has not give up in this war. The following dialog shows the fight in such a symmetric war.

The defendant lawyer:

Will you repeat that please?

Gerry:

They terrorized me for seven days.

After that, they threatened to kill my father;

I'd have fuckin' signed anything after that.

Excuse my language.



The defendant lawyer:

*“My clients contend that they were forced to confess...
through brutality and intimidation.
Now, they may be foolish...
petty thieves, even drug abusers,
but they are not the ruthless bombers
who have terrorized Britain for months”*



The prosecutor:

*Inspector Dixon, a decorated officer of great expertise,
acting on reliable information...
and good detective work, arrested Paul Hill,
who, guilt-ridden by the shame of his crime, confessed.
That confession led the police to the ringleader,
Conlon... and his terrorist family.*



.....

“they **terrorized** me”

.....

“and his **terrorist** family.”

.....

3. Children actors as exteas in violent scenes

There are small details in the films that can easily missed .But a small detail that I am going to discuss is too important too turn a bilnd eye on .This small detail is presence In two films from different periods, differnt themes—In The Name of The Father and Fifty Dead Men Walking .The movies portray context of Belfast in the late1970 s and late 1980s—rundown buildings, military tanks, and violent conflicts .Amist wreckage of the city and violence in the air, young childern were playing on the street as if there enviornment is nothing unusual .Childern in the conflict areas grow up in an environment that use of violent is not only normal but supported .



Picture of young children playing on the street full of tanks and barricades; picture of them witness acts of violence keep alerting me that this is an important message. A great American comedian, W. C. Fields once said “Never work with animals or children” in showbusiness. Both of them are very difficult to handle. Children often miss cue, forget their lines, impatient and demand a lot of special treatments.¹⁸² Moreover, filming movie can take long hours and sometimes can be dangerous, for example violent scene involving special effects, or exposure to extreme horror. Thus, directors are normally avoid having children and animal in the film unless necessary. For example, the film ‘*Omagh*’ studied in this thesis intentionally put a group of young children, especially girls, in the explosion scene to emphasize cruelty of this “terrorist” act defined employing violent tactics, target civilians, political target.¹⁸³ Omagh bombing was lethal and indiscriminate as than any incidents in the history of Northern Ireland, killed 29 people and unborn twins, and injured hundreds of others.¹⁸⁴

Unlike ‘*Omagh*’, ‘*In The Name of The Father*’ and ‘*Fifty Dead Men Walking*’ unnecessarily feature children in violent scene. In term of production and storyline, children extras are not necessary for those scenes. I strongly believe that directors go through a lot of troubles for no reason. Terrorism expert, Martha Crenshaw, explains that terrorism flourishes in a society that its social habits and historical traditions endorse the use of violence against the government as an established political custom.¹⁸⁵ The movies depict that these children have been socialized with this kind of norms and ideology in their everyday-life. For them terrorist acts against British government is an acceptable social norm. This is a key to an answer regarding recruitment of the IRA. Essentially, these children are the next generation IRA volunteers as Gerry Adams is the third generation IRA.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸² Hamilton, A. (November 10, 2008). “The secret to filming with kids? No script (and no banoffee pie)”. *The Guardian*. Retrieved April 8, 2014 from <http://www.theguardian.com/culture/2008/nov/10/outnumbered-kids-animals-film>

¹⁸³ Richardson, L. (2006). *What terrorists want: Understanding the enemy, containing the threat*. Random House LLC.

¹⁸⁴ Barrett, D. and Sawyer, P. (April 19, 2014). Omagh bombing: Real IRA terrorists appeals to European Court. *The Telegraph*. Retrieved April 19, 2014) from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/northernireland/10776185/Omagh-bombing-Real-IRA-terrorists-appeal-to-European-Court.html>

¹⁸⁵ Ibid, Crenshaw, 1981

¹⁸⁶ Gerard A. (2014). The Biography.com website. Retrieved May 3, 2014, from <http://www.biography.com/people/gerry-adams-9175806>.

4. The director and popular culture

Generally accepting that popular goods in a popular culture always easily digest. But such understanding will be a misunderstanding when the conclusion come to the point that it also easily produced. As discussed in the section on justification for case selection, popularity of selected films is in part determined by the directors' profile as the famous and well-known directors has more potential to draw more viewers.¹⁸⁷ However, it is beyond an umbrella of FDA to analyze the directors separately from discourse. According to Foucault, it does not matter much at all of who is speaking (writing, or directing). To him, writing "invariably goes beyond its own rules and transgresses its limits. In writing the point is not to manifest or exalt the act of writing, nor is it to pin a subject within language; it is, rather, a question of creating a space into which the writing subject constantly disappears." Thus, the work, which once had the duty of providing immortality, now possesses the right to kill, to be its author's murderer.¹⁸⁸

Due to this study uses FDA as a frame, consequently, author-in this study is film makers-directors, were left out off the scope of analysis. I find Foucault's thesis on authorship quite troublesome for this study. From the analysis of eight films, the study have found the difficulties to conclude or explain in many regards of the findings, of which I believe the answers can be found in the study of directors.

How can we explain the cause of different constructions of gangster images between '*Bloody Sunday*' and '*In the Name of the Father*'? How can we explain the 'victimization', which is a main issue in '*Hunger*' by left out to mention Steve McQueen? Both '*Omagh*' (based-true-story film) and '*Shadow Dancer*' (original screen play) have a nature of documentary film, why we can sit in chair in Collete's house, observing their everyday life; but we cannot in Gallagher's house—which one is more documentary in its nature?

¹⁸⁷ Litman, B. R., and Kohl, L. (1989). Predicting financial success of motion pictures: The 80's experience. *Journal of Media Economics* 2 (Fall): 35-49.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, Foucault, 1984, p. 102

In this regards, I disagree with Foucault at this point. Authors, or directors in this study, can never disappear entirely. They do not even fade away. Authors only become more complex entities in our new communicative environment.¹⁸⁹ Without taking the respect of the film maker into account, can we answer or explain the series of questions above. Moreover, audiences can be easily influenced by the directors they admired. Therefore, it does matter, who is speaking.

As mentioned the second monument from *Shadow Dancer* as 'The great treasure discovered' in the third chapter '*Running out of the Bullets*'. It is a perceivable substance, which reveals that an act of IRA terrorism is not a political act only as defined by terrorist experts.¹⁹⁰ But can also be a personal act, including an act of revenge for example, and still come under the umbrella of an act of terror (otherwise would be called criminal act). '*Shadow Dancer*' therefore goes deeper and deals with personal, micro-level issues.

The reason that we found this monument, not because of the sophisticated film language in any part in particular, but more of the realism tradition of presenting information in a direct and natural manner. The film cannot hide its documentary nature, that is, the nature of the director of the movie, James Marsh who is an Academy Awards director from the best documentary, *Man on Wire*, year 2009.¹⁹¹ The fact that makes '*Shadow Dancer*' have a documentary-style in its nature is not because James Marsh is an Academy Awards director; but because James Marsh has a documentary gene ingrained in him. The following interview was excerpted from his interview with Lauren Wissot.

"I was sent a script by the producer, and I have to admit, I picked it up with a heavy heart. It was about the IRA and The Troubles in Northern Ireland, and I think a lot of people in the British Isles, including me, are just glad that we seemed to have left them behind (at least for the time being). But the script intrigued me. It's not really about the sectarian conflict in Ireland but the Peace Process, and it had a great central premise that I could relate to: what would it

¹⁸⁹ Galis-Menendez, J. (2010). *Michel Foucault and the Authorship Question*. Retrieved April 18, 2014 from <http://wwwcriticalvision.blogspot.com/2010/07/michel-foucault-and-authorship-question.html>

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, Richardson, 2006

¹⁹¹ Marsh, J. (n.d.) Award. *IMDb*. Retrieved May 1, 2014 from <http://www.imdb.com>

be like to be a spy on your own family in your own household?

Clive Owen was really my first choice for the role of the MI5 agent in the story – and whilst we danced around a few other actors, his schedule became clear and he really wanted to do it. That really helped the film come together financially. Andrea had intrigued me for a while, and once I met her, it was an easy choice to cast her. She’s so smart, and has a lot of technique plus a genuine empathy for all the characters she plays. Physically, she just disappears into every part she takes on.

We did a lot of work on the script before we actually shot the film – mainly cutting it right down and finding different ways to create suspenseful scenes – and not relying on expensive action sequences, which the original script had recourse to. The ending of the film was actually changed, and rewritten in the final weekend of the shoot. The original ending was a bit frenetic and predictable – with chases and shootouts – and I wanted something simpler and more chilling. I wanted to give Collette the same choice all over again – at the end, she can choose to be with her family or seek the protection of MI5. Whatever choice she makes, someone is going to get destroyed...

*My background, as you know, is in **documentaries** so I guess I do look for dramatic ideas that seemed rooted in reality and believable characters. But I also look for themes and bigger ideas in all the work I do. They are what support you and keep you interested across the years that you work on a film. In “Shadow Dancer,” I was very intrigued by the duality of Collette’s life and the idea of being a traitor in your own family. And I’ve always been fascinated by the idea that a lot of very bad things happen when people have good intentions – you see that in “Project Nim,” with Paddy Considine’s character in “Red Riding,” and again with Mac, Clive Owen’s character in “Shadow Dancer.” In both cases, the more they try and do the right thing, the more exposed and vulnerable they are.”¹⁹²*

Like painting or literature, the authors have their own style; their own signature. This

¹⁹² Writer, F. (2013, May 13). “Shadow Dancer”: An Interview with Director James Marsh. Global Comment. Retrieved May 3, 2014 from <http://globalcomment.com>

interview help us to answer the question of why we are allowed to sit and follow Collette's life in the same level of her point of view and that level of the film provides make we see Collette as a terrorist as human being as she is—a documentary-style presentation. Consequently, helped us encounter this perceivable substance, which now reveals clearly that an act of terrorism may not be only political, but may hide a personal motivation. Therefore, whenever, say, a personal vendetta is hidden in the shade of a terrorist organization, such an act will not be categorized as a criminal act as it has been carried out by a 'terrorist.' And so many cases will be 'misdiagnosed' due to ignorance of the micro-level reality and the lack of research at this level.

We see the movie through the eyes and interpretation of social realities of the directors. In this case, it can say that James Marsh helps us open the window to look 'the terrorist's life' by his experience. The misdiagnosed mentioned above will happen again and again and the understanding of such phenomenon would not happen if we didn't observe from a *reel* window in order to know the *real* life of one we call terrorist. Directors of any disciplines make use of selective realities and present in terms of their own interpretation.

James Marsh is just an only case that we discuss in this topic. Now we know, when we need a window that when we open to see the *reel world* for a real world that we might face many of difficulties or impossible to meet that chance in a *real world*. James Marsh or Steve McQueen or Jim Sheridan, name, makes a difference.

CHAPTER 10
CONCLUSION

Conclusion

*“I was labeled a terrorist,
the organization that I was part of, the IRA, was labeled a terrorist organization.”*

Martin McGuinness

Head to Head - Terrorists or freedom fighters?

Al Jazeera

A short statement given by Martin McGuinness, a former IRA leader, now a Deputy First Minister in North Ireland, and the President of Sinn Fein,¹⁹³ cited above shares with this thesis an ontological foundation of terrorism—terrorism as a discourse is a social construction. This thesis concurs with critical scholars of terrorism studies that in order to understand who are the terrorists, we must, first, understand discourse on terrorism.

Although the study of terrorism, including Critical Terrorism Studies (CTS), has developed very rapidly, especially since September 11 terrorist attacks, we still lacks understanding of how the production of terrorism knowledge affect society in general,¹⁹⁴ i.e. how such knowledge of terrorism shape popular understanding of terrorism, how such knowledge on terrorism as production of discourse become our common sense, and how such discourse function and evolve overtime.¹⁹⁵

Media as cultural artifact plays significant role in our understanding of reality since most of us have limited direct experience of the real/material political world. Thus, how

¹⁹³ AlJazeera (April 3, 2014). “Transcript of Head to Head - Terrorists or freedom” fighters? Retrieved April 30, 2014 from <http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/headtohead/2014/03/transcript-martin-mcguinness-201432611584520903.html>

¹⁹⁴ Ibid, Jackson et. al. 2009

¹⁹⁵ Ibid, Milliken, 1999

we make sense of it is through media.¹⁹⁶ As Jennifer Milliken suggests, one way to study production of discourse as common sense is through a study of a construction of discursive objects and relationships of cultural raw materials and linguistic resources.¹⁹⁷ Cultural materials operate in our everyday life sometimes we barely notice. Thus, discursive practices of discourse come unnoticed as a common sense since they have been integrated in our regular routines. Discourse as social construction is constantly changing. It is open for articulation and re-articulation as operates beyond control of any specific agency.¹⁹⁸

Based on CTS approach, this thesis employed Foucauldian discourse analysis and genealogy method in a study discourse on terrorism in popular culture—film portrayal, in the case of IRA terrorism. It investigated how the concept of IRA terrorism has been constructed in films from different historical contexts of the settings, and thus made visible; and which ‘perceivable substance’ was generated for the discourse on IRA terrorism in order to be understood by the general audience.

I selected eight films featuring IRA terrorism or IRA volunteers were selected based on their popularities—profile of the director, the lead actors/actresses, awards received, and recognition among peers in the film industry—and accessibilities. They are *‘Bloody Sunday’*, *‘In The Name of the Father’*, *‘Hunger’*, *‘Fifty Dead Men Walking’*, *‘The Crying Game’*, *‘Shadow Dancer’*, *‘Five Minute of Heaven’*, and *‘Omagh’*.

Foucauldian discourse analysis is historiographical in its nature, i.e. the present is product of the past, thus he is very attentive to the chronological ordering of the themes under study.¹⁹⁹ Chronological sequences help illustrate the different formation of image of terrorist and changes over time. In this study, I paired films according to the theme and located chronologically on the master narrative timeline in order to put these films in historical contexts of the setting, not the time of production. Historically based movies, regardless of the time of productions, aim to portray ‘reality’ of that particular

¹⁹⁶ Ibid, Edelman, 1996; Ibid, Swimelar, 2013

¹⁹⁷ Ibid, Milliken, 1999

¹⁹⁸ Ibid, Hülsse & Spencer, 2008

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, Tamboukou, 1999

time, thus generate and re-generate self-image in historical context. And by grounding themes emerged from film portrayals with chronological events of IRA master narrative make this study parallels with real historical events.

A historiographical study of IRA terrorism has many advantages. The most important is that it parallels real historical events. The first theme, *'Ricochet'*, is defined in dictionaries as "a shot that rebounds off a surface", and depicts the IRA in its formative years. IRA terrorists are portrayed as "outlaws" or the "bad guys". They are a group of protagonists who use violent actions against the British government. The depiction of an IRA terrorist changes, however, from that of an unprofessional, amorphous gangster figure at the beginning of the timeline to a member of a highly structured well-organized professional terrorist organization at the peak of its powers under the theme *'Point and Shoot'*. Here, the IRA is perceived as a professional paramilitary organization with well-trained personnel and a hierarchical structure. It was so strong that even the "Iron Lady", British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who declared her unyielding stand against the IRA, had to change her strategy after the second hunger strike. The IRA was a thorn in Thatcher's side right up to her final day in office; her tradition was carried on by the new Conservative Prime Minister, John Major.

Under the third theme, *'Running out of Bullets,'* monuments perceived from both film portrayals indicate that the IRA organization was on the wane. It is no accident that *'The Crying Game'*, produced in 1993, and *'Shadow Dancer'* (set in 1993 [at the time of the Downing Street Declaration] but produced in 2012) portray almost identical images of IRA terrorism.

Changes from the second theme to the third as discussed above strengthen the findings that the discourse on IRA terrorism has never formed a single unit. The change from the third theme to the last, *'Lay Down the Weapons'*, echoes this argument. Monuments from this last theme shape our understanding of the IRA in two alternative ways, as discussed in Chapter 7. From a collapsing organization, whose hierarchy is being repeatedly challenged, the IRA changes completely regardless of which interpretation you choose to agree with: it becomes either the peaceful IRA or the extremely violent

“real” IRA.

From the study, I found that state has been challenged in its power to define the meaning of terrorism. Film language was used to highlight state’s brutality and terrorist-like actions. However, none of these eight films deny such power of state as well. Filmmakers and state leaders alike operate in a world that multiple discourses concurrently operate. For example, discourse of sovereignty, of which state has absolute control over they territory, has been dominated modern international community for more than four hundred years. In this study, I found that filmmakers’ perceptions and portrayals of terrorism, more or less, ground their ideas on the state’s “official discourse.” None of film portrayals studied in this thesis do not differ from master narrative of “The Troubles.” Some are more criticism toward the role of state than others.

A study the discourse of terrorism through film portrayal allows researcher to have a fresh look at a discourse on terrorism that has been practiced in our society. However, it is very important for researchers to be equipped with a good analytical skill and media literacy on the one hand, and knowledge on terrorism on the other. Great directors, who always cunningly hide a double meaning behind simplicity of their works as we witnessed in this study, can easily fool audience.

This is the end of this study. It ends where it all begun. No one was born a terrorist, but “terrorist” can certainly become a label.

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APPENDIX

Appendix A

No.	Title	Released	Setting	Director	Nationality of Directors
1	A Further Gesture (The Break)				
2	A Prayer for the Dying				
3	A Sense of Loss				
4	Acceptable Levels				
5	An Everlasting Piece				
6	Angel				
7	Bloody Sunday	2002	1972	Paul Greengrass	Brit
8	Blown Away				
9	Bogwoman				
10	Cal				
11	Fifty Dead Men Walking	2008	1988 - 1991	Kari Skogland	Canadian
12	Five Minutes of Heaven	2009	2008	Oliver Hirschbiegel	German
13	Giro City				
14	H3				
15	Harry's Game				
16	Hennessy				
17	Hidden Agenda				
18	High Boot Benny				
19	Hostage				
20	Hunger	2008	1981	Steve McQueen	Brit
21	In the Name of the Father	1993	1974	Jim Sheridan	Irish
22	Love Lies Bleeding				
23	Maeve				
24	Mickybo and Me				
25	Nothing Personal				
26	Omagh	2004	1998+7 years	Pete Travis	Brit
27	Patriot Games				
28	Patriots				
29	Resurrection Man				
30	Shadow Dancer	2012	1993	James Marsh	Brit

Appendix A (Cont)

No.	Title	Released	Setting	Director	Nationality of Directors
31	Some Mother's Son				
32	Sunday				
33	The Boxer				
34	The Crying Game	1992	1992	Neil Jordan	Irish
35	The Devil's Own				
36	The Eliminator				
37	The Jackal				
38	The Long Good Friday				
39	The Outsider				
40	The Violent Enemy				
41	This is the Sea				
42	Titanic Town				

Source: <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/images/cinema/nimovies.htm#top>

Appendix B

No.	Title	Note
1	A Further Gesture (The Break)	
2	A Prayer for the Dying	
3	A Sense of Loss	
4	Acceptable Levels	
5	An Everlasting Piece	
6	Angel	
7	Bloody Sunday	The film was first shown on ITV (Britain) but also given a limited cinema release and also went straight to video.
8	Blown Away	
9	Bogwoman	
10	Cal	
11	Fifty Dead Men Walking	Based on the book Fifty Dead men Walking by Martin McGartland (2001) the film tells the story of McGartland's recruitment by the RUC Special Branch as a paid informer on the IRA.
12	Five Minutes of Heaven	The film won two awards at the 2009 Sundance Film Festival - Recipient of the World Cinema Directing Award: Dramatic and the World Cinema Screenwriting Award. The film received UK and Irish premieres in Belfast and Dublin during February 2009. The film is due to be broadcast on BBC2 in March 2009.
13	Giro City	
14	H3	
15	Harry's Game	
16	Hennessy	
17	Hidden Agenda	
18	High Boot Benny	
19	Hostage	

Appendix B (Cont)

No.	Title	Note
20	Hunger	<i>Hunger</i> won many awards including : the prestigious Caméra d'Or award for first-time filmmakers, Cannes Film Festival 2008, the Sydney Film Prize at the Sydney Film Festival, the Grand Prix of the Belgian Syndicate of Cinema Critics, best picture from the Evening Standard British Film Awards, received two BAFTA nominations, winning one. The film was also nominated for eight awards at the 2009 IFTAs, winning six at the event.
21	In the Name of the Father	The film won the Camera d'Or prize at the Cannes Film Festival in 2008 for first-time film-makers.
22	Love Lies Bleeding	
23	Maeve	
24	Mickybo and Me	
25	Nothing Personal	
26	Omagh	The film was first shown on Channel 4 (Britain) but it is also had a limited cinema release before going to video.
27	Patriot Games	
28	Patriots	
29	Resurrection Man	
30	Shadow Dancer	Famous director and actor: James Marsh and Clive Owen.
31	Some Mother's Son	
32	Sunday	
33	The Boxer	
34	The Crying Game	Academy Award Best Original Screenplay Neil Jordan
35	The Devil's Own	
36	The Eliminator	
37	The Jackal	
38	The Long Good Friday	
39	The Outsider	
40	The Violent Enemy	
41	This is the Sea	
42	Titanic Town	