Inside: Memory and Recovery

Photo: Welcome to Europe
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Editorial Note

This issue of the Irish Journal of Anthropology draws articles from a rich selection presented at the Anthropological Association of Ireland 2014 Annual conference, the theme of which was Memory and Recovery. Heartfelt thanks to colleagues in Sligo Institute of Technology, and especially Sam Moore (Department of Environmental Science: Archaeology), for so generously hosting our conference in February of this year, and for the wonderful hospitality shown to our members.

We also include in this issue the prize-winning entry from the 2013 AAI Essay Competition, which was written by Sean O’Dubhghaill (pictured below). “It’s fake – I mean it sounds the same, but it’s fake”: Placity, Simulation and Passing Through the Irish Language in Belgium uses vignettes from non-Native Irish speakers in Belgium, to conduct a contextual examination of complex notions of falsehood and authenticity. Sean’s second publication in this issue of the journal is drawn from his contribution to the AAI conference in February.

We were delighted to have Professor Jean Comaroff visit Ireland late last year, and Dr Thomas Strong (NUIM) took the opportunity to interview her for the IJA. Together Thomas Strong and Professor Comaroff take her latest book Ethnicity Inc. (co-authored by John Comaroff) as a starting point from which to explore issues of the commodification and corporatization of ethnicity and identity, the ‘plausible fiction’ of an Andersonian imagined community, and limits to the potential for self-construction.

This issue of the IJA brings my period as editor to an end. I am delighted that James Cuffe (jamescuffe@ucc.ie) will be taking over the role of general editor from autumn this year. James comes to us with a wealth of experience and I know he will bring the journal on to bigger and better things in the coming years. I look forward to seeing the progress and am confident that the journal is in safe hands. I would like to thank the entire editorial team, and in particular our current Editorial Assistant Kathleen Openshaw, for their contributions, freely given, during my incumbency.

2013 Essay prizewinner Sean O’Dubhghaill (right) with AAI Chairperson Terence Wright
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Sean O’Dubhghaill is a Doctoral researcher at the Interculturalism, migration and minorities research unit in KU Leuven, Belgium. His research examines how the Irish community in Belgium undergo processes of Europeanisation as well as well as ‘home’-making in a transnational context. His research interests are the Anthropology of Mobilities, the Irish language and in the areas of the Irish community worldwide.

Dr. Paul Downes is Director of the Educational Disadvantage Centre and Senior Lecturer in Psychology at St. Patrick’s College, Drumcondra, Dublin City University. He is a member of the European Commission Network of Experts on the Social Aspects of Education and Training (2011-2014), was a member of the Irish Joint Oireachtas Committee on Education Expert Group on Early School Leaving (2010) and was a Visiting Research Fellow, University of Cambridge Lauterpacht Centre (2011). Paul has been engaged in expert advisory roles to the OSCE (Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe) in Kosovo, Amnesty International in Estonia and for the University of Malta. His books include *The Primordial Dance: Diametric and Concentric Spaces in the Unconscious World* (2012) and *Access to Education in Europe* (2014).

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Kathleen Openshaw: A South African native, Kathleen completed her undergraduate degree in Psychology at Rand Afrikaans University, and an Honours degree in Anthropology through the same institution (now the University of Johannesburg). She has a Masters degree in Anthropology and Development through NUI Maynooth. Her MA thesis focused on how Pentecostal Nigerian migrants make home in Ireland. Following many years of work in medical administration she also has a strong interest in medical anthropology. Kathleen is Editorial Assistant to the Irish Journal of Anthropology and Social Media co-ordinator for the recently established Irish Medical Anthropology Network.

Jonathan Evershed is an AHRC BGP scholar and doctoral student at the Institute of Irish Studies, Queen’s University Belfast, where his research focuses on the politics of commemoration in contemporary Ulster Loyalism. He holds both a bachelor's degree and an MSc in Violence, Conflict and Development from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

Dymphna Lonergan was born in Dublin. She lectures in English and Linguistics at Flinders University, South Australia. Her book *Sounds Irish: The Irish Language in Australia* was published in 2004 and is available from Lythrum Press, Adelaide. She and is a member of the Irish language community there and teaches in the annual Sydney daonscóil.

Dr Thomas Strong lectures in the Anthropology Department at NUI Maynooth.
Europe is Not a Place: Recovering memory in a non-lieu de memoire

Sean O’Dubhghaill*

Abstract: This work attempts to posit an answer to how it is that we might meaningfully discuss an anthropological notion as vast as that which 'Europe' has come to occupy in discourse, ethnography and daily life. The notion of non-place is the first instrument through which a conceptual metaphor like 'Europeanness' can be embedded into social life; finding the notion of non-place to have been misapplied in some instances I intend to provide further contextual depth by coupling it with Nora’s (1989) notion of 'Lieu de Memoire' in order to arrive at a position from which it might be possible to discuss 'Europe' in a manner which is amenable to anthropological theorisation. What is presented herein, then, is an examination which is largely theoretical in nature, and only tangentially ethnographic, but which is intended to serve as the point of departure for any work which has the examination of subjective attitudes to European integration at its core.1

Keywords: Place; Non-Place; Europe; Memory

Perhaps it is due to an overly citation-happy or to fad-driven practitioners in academic circles but Non-places, when employed as a method through which to analyse various sites which are typified more by mobility than they are by stasis, seems to have fallen out of favour in recent years. I claim that a possible reason for this can be found through a tendency to misappropriate Augé’s introduction to the condition of supermodernity, a misreading that seems to be both too narrow and broad in its scope. At the outset, then, it will be necessary to examine the manner in which non-places have been misapplied or mishandled and, through this, postulated as being something more akin to ‘terra nullius’.2 To begin, it might be necessary to determine what place is, broadly understood, so that its antithesis can be examined3. To this end I employ Casey’s (1996) work:

Generality, albeit empty, belongs to space; particularity, albeit mythic, belongs to place; and the twain meet only by an appeal to a procedure of superimposition that is involved ex post facto... For the anthropologist, space comes first; for the native, Place; and the difference is by no means trivial (Casey, 1996:15)

What is implied in the former section of the quote above concerns the dual notions that any given area is a space but that in order to be imbued with a social meaning of any kind place has to veer off from space and come to possess a meaning and an identity to which the neophyte entrant must become aware over time. The not unimportant difference between the two, to which Casey directly refers, is the immediacy or primacy to the native’s eyes that place has conventionally occupied in anthropological scholarship. However, how is it that we might deal with an entity which does not have clear geographical boundaries or a clearly self-identifying populace and which is imagined? Europe is not a place, this work holds, and because it exists between places and is made manifest by acts of mobility, and parenthetical shifts in affiliation, the context in which the project of Europeanisation is said to occur is that of the Non-Place (see Pic. 1).

Firstly, it is clear that Augé’s intention is to explore the possibility of an anthropological countermeasure to conventional scholarship and which scrutinises peoples who are conceived of as being place-bound and are imbued with an identity which is derived therefrom. Place’s ability to function in this way is opposed to the notion of space, as it has been formulated above, and a non-place’s function appears to be in accounting for zones in which the two actually become super-imposed and which shift imperceptibly between one and the other. Augé writes:

If a place can be defined as relational, historical and concerned with identity, then a space which cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity will be a non-place... Place and non-place are rather like opposed polarities: the first is never completely erased, the second never totally completed; they are like palimpsests on which the scrambled game of identity and relations is ceaselessly rewritten (Augé, 2002, 63-64)

They are “ceaselessly re-written” from which we can infer that the interplay between place and non-place observes a kind of mobile conceptual interplay. Non-places don’t exist as such and in what follows I attempt to define the context in which Augé puts them forward is as being a lens through which to examine social phenomenon at large, namely in the context of the supermodern, as well as to examine those occasions on which the idea is cited, which are critiqued here as resting upon a fundamentally skewed model of non-place.

The closest approximation of what is meant by a non-place exactly is offered early on in Augé’s work. The symbolic environment that constitutes non-places, though, do have a more concrete definition. Augé writes:

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What is new is not that the world lacks meaning, or has little meaning, or less than it used to have; it is that we seem to feel an explicit and intense meaning: to give meaning to the world, not just some village or lineage. This need to give meaning to the present, if not the past, is the price we pay for the overabundance of events corresponding to a situation we could call ‘supermodern’ to express its essential quality: excess (ibid, 24)

Any examination of an entity as vast as ‘Europe’ must concede, needs must even, that there are many elements which will exceed or elude their analysis. The superabundance of signs and meaning should not act as a disincentive to the practice of the social sciences, however, and we must recall that even though the context is supermodern that its individual nodes, non-places, can still be analysed ethnographically.

Show me the money: European Currency and Place

I wish to turn now to the example of the common currency of the European Monetary Union as being indicative of both the affiliation of European public to ‘Europe’ and also as deriving its very meaning from being a non-place. The architecture displayed on the Euro banknotes (Pic. 2) derives from a fusion of historical epochs but do not, themselves, belong to any one location or period of time. Shore (2000) has commented that this lack of identifiability is both curious and perfectly understandable:

The most striking aspects of the euro banknotes... is the conspicuous absence of people, portraits or identifiable places. Instead, the notes present a series of abstract architectural features such as doorways, arches, windows and bridges- none of which are supposed to represent an existing monument⁴ (Shore, 2000:112)

The clear intention behind not expressing any already existing monument in Europe stems from concern of delimiting the possible dimensions of a European identity; what I mean is that the architecture might give the impression of being more Nordic in style than Mediterranean would represent a clear bias in terms of spatial orientation. This lack of distinction-drawing is further muddied by the inclusion of generic structures from different countries as well as historical epochs:

The 5, 10, 20, 50, 100, 200 and 500 euro banknotes depict the architectural styles from seven periods of Europe’s cultural history: Classical, Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque and Rococo, the Age of Iron and Glass, and modern 20th century architecture. (European Central Bank, 2013)

Even though these conceptual-metaphors, through architectural representations of place, are ambiguously put across to the European citizen the transposition of the commonality of place it attempts to posit onto that of the local context in which the note-holder resides is uneasy, nothing suggests that this might not eventually become the case. It is for this reason that Augé contends that when we encounter an alien space or architecture we can, as anthropologists at least, come to familiarise ourselves with the emic understandings that exist within them:

[S]ome places (places of meeting and exchange) can be constituted in what for outsiders remains a non-place. (Augé, 2006, vii)

The constitution of place versus non-place is mediated through mobility, as its condition of possibility, which is to say that no one can re-appropriate spaces, which are non-places to them, without encountering otherness. This is broader than the standard message which is conventionally derived from Augé’s work (namely that airports are sites which are typified more by movement than they are by stasis) and allows for an examination of the ambiguity which is evident in space/place-making claims.

Non-places and non-non-places

Before implementing and exploring what is meant by non-places, it might be helpful to examine various instances in which the notion of non-place has been used as something of a straw-man argument or simply as a jumping-off point from which more, allegedly nuanced, arguments can be posited.

Peter Adey’s work on Airports (2006) seems particularly well-suited, even something of a cookie-cutter analysis, to the ethnographic application of the notion of non-place given that Augé cites airports
chiefly among the archetypes of non-places. Adey, however, resists the propensity to reduce the various processes which occur at an airport to being those of a mobile space exclusively; Adey’s concern is that the partly-fixist character of the airport as a mooring from which the mobile conveyances of airplanes depend (Hannam, Sheller, and Urry, 2006) will be overlooked. Adey writes:

Airports consist of this continual ambivalence between mobilities and relative immobilities, movement and moorings. In relational or topological terms, we might understand airports through shifting combinations of ‘immutable mobiles’ and ‘mutable mobiles’. (Adey, 2006:90)

The point I wish to draw attention to is that nothing outlined by Adey actually directly contradicts that which is outlined in Augé; instead, it might be viewed as a necessary reminder that space and place are in fact elements which appear and disappear from view, even when they appear in one site.

Another commentator, Nowicka (2007), writing on how it is that ‘home’ has conventionally been viewed as a territorially-bounded entity, rather than as an extended network, claims that non-places are limited in scope due to the requirement to analyse them in a postmodern fashion:

[Through t]his pessimistic (or postmodern) perspective, mobility leads to the emergence of non-places, where mobile people spend most of their time and that do not have the power to bind the past and the present, or to provide any emotional relationship or identity (Nowicka, 2007:71)

The concern here seems to be that through the adoption of a (postmodern) lens we allow less attention to be paid to agency, given that people no longer possess the power to anchor themselves in the present. However, I wish once more to stress the ceaselessly rewritten quality of supermodern engagement; instead of having a monadic identity, the conditions for many identities burst forth. The non-place allows for attempts to be made at the ascription of meaning and we should tread carefully in assuming that all people who spend most of their lives in non-places feel powerless with respect to their surroundings.

The notion that non-places serve to alienate the persons dwelling therein is critiqued by Dalakoglou (2010) in his work on the Kakavije-Gjirokaster highway in a manner which shows that mobility can exceed the analysis of non-places:

This road is a complete antithesis to non-places; not only does it encapsulate social significance and is it integrated in the entire ongoing sociocultural transformation but it also emerges as the ideal place where an anthropologists can perceive, study, and even touch the various dynamic transnational and fluid sociocultural formations, literally in the making, from both below and above. (Dalakoglou, 2010:146)

It is possible that the comment that non-places can in fact be analysed anthropologically, in order to arrive at a richer understanding of the various formations which exist there, is a veiled critique of the fact that Augé’s work on non-places seems to stem from an auto-ethnographical position, one which does not require informants to reinforce its validity. That critique notwithstanding, it seems that the trajectory that Dalakoglou has navigated is the one outlined in Augé previously; namely, that moving through non-places allows us to understand that they are not non-places to everyone and that ethnographic work thereupon would be completely valid. The road, then, is not the complete antithesis to non-place, but is instead the antithesis to a formulation of non-place that does not acknowledge that it is possible to arrive at an understanding of the various phenomena which are at play there to a specific group who reside in, or near, what is thought to be a non-place.

Memorialising the non-place
I wish now, in this section to discern between the two kinds of memory which might be thought to exist in either non-places or more traditionally conceived-of places. For this reason I wish to turn to Janoschka (2011) in which it is argued that:

The development of collective memory takes place via two intertwined and mutually enforcing aspects. First, the ‘rule of division’ means that a common history can be duplicated at different specific places. Second, the ‘rule of accumulation’ implies that different meanings
can be ascribed to a specific place or occurrence. (Janoschka, 2011:276)

These two models of memory, one which stems from division and one which is accumulative, can be mapped directly onto what we have outlined here as the division between non-place and place, respectively. What is meant here is that the duplication of place results in its becoming a non-place, whereas place is usually given primacy in anthropological analyses precisely because it is irreproducible. If it were possible to simply reproduce place, without having something become lost in the translation, the anthropological endeavour would be rather pointless given that place could be something which it would be possible to represent directly, and without ethnographic mediation, to an audience.

Coming to dwell in what is gone: Memory and Place:
Non-places like airports, hotels and highways are simply variations on a theme which are duplicated time and time again, whereas places would have to do away with the aura they possess if they were to become non-places, the latter claim of which I aim to critique and disembed. Through the consecration of memory we can come to inhabit that which has gone. This is the manner in which Nora (1989) contends that it is out of the concern for something which is becoming jeopardised that we attempt to memorialise it. He writes:

“There are lieux de mémoire, sites of memory, because there are no longer milleu de mémoire, real environments…the process that is carrying us forward and our representations of that process are of the same kind. If we were able to live within memory, we would not have needed to consecrate lieux de mémoire in its name.” (Nora, 1989:7-8)

The fact that our memory isn’t immediately accessible to us means that in order to commemorate something at all we should have to acknowledge its having occurred by way of a memorial. Collections of national symbols can come to be assembled and concretised in places in a manner reminiscent of the rules of accumulation, described above, and the acts of not-forgetting the sum total of the representations, which have become objectified, becomes central to its preservation and continued acknowledgment.

Just as there are imagined communities, in the sense outlined in Anderson (1983), so too can we contend that sites in which memories have been aggregated and construed are maintained in a manner which is artificial. They are artificially constructed, literally and post facto, and their intention is to withstand as a lasting memory which derives from a community desiring that that be so. Nora contends that it is this operation which allows collective memory to come into existence but which also exposes it to danger:

We buttress our identities upon such bastions, but if what they defended were not threatened, there would be no need to build them. (Ibid, 12)

These bastions become the point of departure for the grand project of nationalism in which the memorialisation of the past provides the grounds for legitimating the present. The past, as imagined collectively and selectively, comes to occupy the role conventionally played by origin myths which are now tasked with the project of imagining a ‘we-consciousness’. As Nora writes:

It is no longer genesis that we seek but instead the decipherment of what we are in the light of what we are no longer (Ibid, 18)

The past becomes a jumping off point rather than the exact point at which origin myths root themselves. The past allows for a place to have an identity is what is put across by Nora, but it is sufficient here only to note that it is precisely because the past is vulnerable, to revisionism or to forgetting, that identity is vulnerable too. This is a lamentation of a similar sort to that alluded to above, namely that were we able to live within memory or live through place we would not need to designate it linguistically or otherwise.

Going places: When does place become connected to other places?
What is, perhaps, under-scrutinised or overlooked in examinations of this kind, though, is that they treat time and space as givens or as a priori in their analysis. Cresswell’s interjection serves as a useful reminder that this is not so and it is impossible to speak of some timeless or spatially remote land or people who are immune to external attempts to call their uniqueness into question. Cresswell warns that:

Time and space, however, cannot be simply taken for granted in the consideration of movement. Time and space are both the context for movement (the environment of possibility for movement to occur) and a product of movement…[T]he new modes of mobility enabled by the railroad reduced the distinctiveness of places- their auras” (Cresswell, 2006: 4-5)

And so because the time of the industrial movement began to bring discrete areas into new relations of proximity to one another this became possible at the expense, or so-conceptualised expense, of the sacred idiosyncratic properties with which place had come to be imbued. We might argue then, contra Casey, that there is a porousness which allows us to acclimatise to a place, although not fully, given that the place has an always-already relation to places beyond itself; arguing otherwise is akin to contending that there is an irreducible uniqueness to every place as it is
conceived by the people who reside therein and which resists outside influences, even the very conveyances which can bring outsiders thereto. Commemoration of a kind of organic community memory works in much the same way given that it is not immanent and it must insist upon its own acknowledgment and re-acknowledgment. Put otherwise, commemoration is always a kind of reproduction.

Given that Benjamin claims that “[T]he presence of the original is the prerequisite to the concept of authenticity” (Benjamin, [1955] 1999; 214) we can analyse the nearness of place- as a lens through which identity is observed for instance- as having been always subject to reproducibility, or at least in jeopardy of being so. That place might be phenomenologically thought of as being an orientation toward the world also rests on certain notions that its aura has replaced place’s own irreproducibility. Benjamin speaks directly to this concern:

The authenticity of a thing is the essence of all that is transmissible from its beginning, ranging from its substantive duration to its testimony to the history which it has experienced. Since the historical testimony rests on the authenticity, the former, too, is jeopardized by reproduction when substantive duration ceases to matter. (Ibid: 215)

Each reproduction of an identity, not derived from the authenticity from which it draws its legitimacy, endangers it in a manner examined in relation to Nora above. Furthermore, the aura of a place is found where it attempts to consolidate diffuse aspects - labelling them, either as authentic or otherwise - and having exclusive domain over them. Whereas the potential of mechanical industry to reproduce a carbon-copy of an original artwork - thereby calling its aura and significance into question - is of concern to Benjamin, the concern outlined here is that of the primacy given to place over what is thought to be its pale imitator, namely non-place. The problem here is, and once again turning to social geographer Tim Cresswell, that this transformation may already be well underway even by the time an anthropologist enters the fray:

More and more of our lives, it has been argued, take place in spaces that could be anywhere - that look, feel, sound and smell the same wherever in the globe we may be. Fast food outlets, shopping malls, airports, high street shops and hotels are all more or less the same wherever we go. These are spaces that seem detached from the local environment and tell us nothing about the particular locality in which they are located. The meaning that provides the sense of attachment to place has been radically thinned out. (Cresswell, 2004:43)

While this is certainly a common sentiment I wish to spend the rest of this work examining the reasons why this pervasive feeling of the thinning out, or dilution, of place is no bad thing and is something that anthropologists need to contextualise with reference to our informants’ conceptions of their surroundings.

The fusion of Lieux de memoire to Non-Lieux is also necessary because of the lack of subjective and intersubjective commentary concerning their composition. It has been necessary to include criticism’ for this very reason. Augé, as mentioned previously, does not include any statements derived from ethnographic fieldwork concerning the validity of the model of non-place in his work, as O’ Beirne (2006) points out:

Yet when it comes to differentiating lieux from non-lieux, as we shall see, the undeniable subjective dimension is only gradually, reluctantly and partially acknowledged. (O’ Beirne, 2006:41. Emphasis in original)

The section which follows aims to redress this imbalance, even though a lot of the theoretical heavy-lifting has prevented an extended examination from taking place.

Europe, or whatever that even is: Ethnographic inroads

That Europe is not a place, from which no clearly established identity can emerge, is a finding which is strongly transmitted when spoken about with informants. This final section attempts to sketch, preliminarily and tentatively, what the inclusion of the subjective dimension of non-place would entail. Emma, when asked about whether she identified with Europe in any way remarked:

I think that they may want us to identify with Europe, whatever that even is, but that they are failing. (Emma, 25, Student)

When speaking to Emma the lack of a particular, clearly discernable identity is capitulated as being a failure rather than an outcome of the superabundance and wide available of different identities. Aideen also perceived of the wide variety of signifiers as being impossible to consolidate. Her exact phrasing speaks directly to this impossibility:

I tell you, there will be a united Ireland before there is anything close to a United Europe. (Aideen, 27, Political advocate)

Traveling from place to place is often framed in terms of a liminal transition, as it is in Nic Craith (2009), but from my informants we see a broader acknowledgment that, rather than being thought of as incurring a change in status nothing definitive occurs.
I mean, you see, I feel like I am an exile here. My college requires that I go abroad for three months only to go back. I don't really know why either. I think they think that they're giving me something that I am actually not getting here... I won't be returning a different man. (Martin, 31, Student).

Traveling through a non-place, here conceived of as 'Europe', does not incur a change in identity or result in a change of status. What remains to be explored, in the work to come, is the extended examination of the exact way in which Europe is experienced as a non-place (as it is written about by Augé). The constraints here allow only for a signpost to be placed which might serve as a mooring for future work on the relationship between nationality, subjectivity and mobility to take place.

Conclusion
What has been proposed here is an understanding of place that lies at the crossroads of 'non-place' and 'Lieu de Memoire' and which serves as a lens through which 'Europe' can be discussed intersubjectively. We have explored the manner in which Non-Places have been (mis)applied and (mis)understood as well as attempted to sketch what the features of Lieux de Memoire's look like. The manner in which the subjectification of the European Union requires mobility and memory to activate its citizens and the contention that European memory is no more artificially (re)produced than any other discourse of memory are key components to this argument. We have examined the complicated manner through which this subjectification, by way of a non-place of memory, occurs in the instance of one European population as they undergo infra-European travel and have suggested why it might better be understood in relation to the fusion of two broader epistemological conceptions of space.

References
Adey, P. 2006. “If mobility is everything then it is nothing: Towards a relational politics of (im)mobilities”, *Mobilities* 1(1) 75-94.
Notes:

1 A previous incarnation of the current work was presented at the AAI annual conference entitled: Memory and Recovery in IT Sligo on the 15th February. I am thankful to the conference convenors for their invitation to present as well as to those present at the presentation; their insights and criticisms have been synthesised into the present draft.

2 Brogden (2011) has addressed an entire doctoral thesis-length work to the exploration of the differences between urban wastelands and non-places in the strictest sense.

3 Space constraints mean that only a sketch of those meanings associated with place can be provided here. For a more place-dedicated examination see: Basso and Feld, 1996, Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga (2003) and for a more cursory overview see Cresswell (2004).

4 Shore (2000) devotes an entire chapter to the exploration of the relationship between European governance and the various endeavours taken to symbolise an ambiguous, not yet fully realised populous (Shore, 2000: 87-123)

5 Memory also does not assist in grounding individuals in the present and it is for this reason that it needs to be commemorated. This is a notion which is explored in Hocking (2011).

6 This is a point about which Adorno also writes: “Home will only come to be when it has freed itself from such particularity, when home has negated itself as universal. The feeling of shelteredness makes itself at home with itself, and offers a holiday resort in place of life.” (Adorno, 2003:20) Home, like place, cannot be universal then as it would come to represent the supermodern excess of signifiers which would cause the occupants of that place to resist the reconstitution of place into non-place.

7 This has been examined in the section entitled: Non-places and non-non-places.

8 Emma, and all of the names employed in this work, are pseudonyms.
Abstract: Change to diametric structured oppositions was a key preoccupation of both Lévi-Strauss’ interrogation of myths and Freud’s understanding of obsessional neurosis. Based on Downes (2012), recovery can be reinterpreted in depth psychological terms as movement from such diametric spaces of exclusion and towards contrasting concentric spaces underpinning experience. Governing myths, organising collective meaning in Irish society, have included nationalism, Catholicism and the ‘Celtic Tiger’. Important features of each of these have arguably been locked within a diametric framing structure of exclusion. Growth in Irish society requires not simply new myths but new structures of myth beyond diametric ones.

Keywords: Myths; Trauma; Lévi-Strauss; Diametric Structures; Structure of Exclusion; Concentric Space; Foucault; Magdalene Laundries; Nationalism; Celtic Tiger

Introduction

A ‘spatial turn’ is increasingly observed as taking place across a range of disciplines such as sociology, psychology, history, geography and education (Gulson & Symes 2007; Ferrare & Apple 2010), going beyond an emphasis on socio-historical relativism. An acceleration of focus on space in the social sciences, including for issues of trauma and healing (Downes 2003, 2012), can gain much from a renewed examination of space concerning an aspect of Lévi-Strauss’ structuralist anthropology. A distinct spatial insight from Lévi-Strauss (1973) cross-cultural interrogation of myths and social structures was his recognition that diametric and concentric structures tend to co-exist in ‘functional relation’ (1973: 73) and not simply in isolation. This echoes the structuralist insight of linguist Saussure (1954) that meaning resides in relational difference rather than in a single isolated term. They are structures of relation as part of a system of relations. This spatial discourse of diametric and concentric structures of differential relation has been reinterpreted and developed for contexts of intrapsychic systems (Downes 2003, 2012), as phenomenological structures (Downes 2012), as part of Derrida’s (1978) poststructuralist quest for a new psychoanalytic graphology (Downes 2013), as well as for educational social systems (Downes 2013a, 2014). Revitalisation of a framework of understanding diametric and concentric spaces can move beyond Lévi-Strauss’ structuralist commitments drawn from a paradigm of linguistics, commitments that have been strongly questioned (Derrida 1974; Caton 1987; Doniger 2009).

The first part of this article summarises the framework of this spatial discourse in relation to myth and trauma, building on a reinterpretation of the work of Lévi-Strauss and Freud in particular, through integrating this framework with an aspect of early Foucault’s work. This framework has been developed in more detail elsewhere (Downes 2003, 2009, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2013a, 2014). The second section employs this spatial discourse to interpret dominant myths governing construction of societal meaning in modern Ireland. Myth is understood for current purposes as a collective organising structure for societal meaning, a construct that is not necessarily ancient in origin. Such mythic dimensions to construction of meaning are dominant narratives not necessarily shared by all in a given society. The central argument of this article is that it is this diametric spatial structure of relation that is perpetuated throughout the dominant myths of modern Ireland and that this pervasive projected structure of relation must be opened for an experiential recovery, individually and collectively; growth in Irish society requires not simply new myths but new structures of myth organising collective experience to go beyond diametric ones. Irish society needs to move beyond the chains of diametric space that is the defensive hallmark of an obsessional neurosis, building on an interpretation of Freud in terms of diametric spaces (Downes 2012).

Reinterpreting the spatial discourse of diametric and concentric structures of relation in Lévi-Strauss’ structural anthropology

Lévi-Strauss (1962) notes that examples of diametric dualism ‘abound’ (1962: 135), citing specific tribes in North and South America. Moreover, the simple ‘subjective’ (Leach 1965[2000]: 111) everyday cross-cultural oppositions between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ are structured in a diametric oppositional way. The diametric good-bad opposition also underlies myths such as those of the Shuswap, which treats the owl as a cannibalistic monster in contrast to the Kutenai, which treats the owl as a benefactor (Lévi-Strauss 1973: 261). A diametric spatial structure is one where a circle is split in half by a line which is its diameter, or where a square or rectangle is similarly divided into two equal halves (see Figure 1).

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Lévi-Strauss (1963) cites a range of contrasting cross-cultural examples of the concentric spatial opposition observed by different anthropologists. These include: the village plan of Omarakana in the Trobriand Islands, published by Malinowski; the Baduj of western Java and the Negri-Sembilan of the Malay peninsula, observed by de Jong; the village of the Winnebago tribe observed by Radin and an archaeological finding in the Lower Mississippi Valley. Concentric structures can be found also in Islamic, Japanese, Russian, Chinese, Jewish, Celtic, African, ancient Greek and Estonian contexts, as well as through the concentric mandala symbol, observed by de Jong; the village of the Winnebago tribe observed by Radin and an archaeological finding in the Lower Mississippi Valley. Concentric structures can be found also in Islamic, Japanese, Russian, Chinese, Jewish, Celtic, African, ancient Greek and Estonian contexts, as well as through the concentric mandala symbol, observed by Jung in Buddhist, Hindu and Christian traditions (see Downes 2003, 2012 for a review). In a concentric spatial structure, one circle is inscribed in another larger circle (or square); in pure form, the circles share a common central point (see Figure 2).

It was in Lévi-Strauss’ (1962, 1963, 1973) cross-cultural accounts of systems, whether social structures or mythological systems, where dynamic relations of contrast between concentric and diametric structures of relation began to be made more explicit. Being mutually interactive, at least potentially, they are observed as structures of relation but also structures in relation. Lévi-Strauss recognizes that they are fundamentally interlinked, so that an increase in one is compensated for by decrease in the other. Meaning is in their contrasting relative differences, rather than in either space considered in isolated, atomistic terms. However, Lévi-Strauss did not realise the full potential of his systemic insights or interrogate the transferability of these dynamic diametric and concentric spaces to other kinds of systems (Downes 2003, 2012, 2014). As structures of relation, they are pre-linguistic and thus less culturally-bound than language reliant concepts (Downes 2012).

Diametric Projection as Mirror Image Inversion and Assumed Separation (Splitting)
Resonant with Freud’s pervasive concerns with mirror image reversals between being active/passive, good/bad, powerful/powerless, life/death, love/hate (Doniger 2009; Downes 2012), Lévi-Strauss (1973) explicitly relates diametric structures to mirror image inversions between both diametric poles. He describes ‘symmetrical inversions’ (247) in Mandan and Hidatsa myths:

[…] these myths are diametrically opposed … In the Mandan version … two earth women who are not sisters go to heaven to become sisters-in-law by marrying celestial brothers. One who belongs to the Mandan tribe, separates from an ogre, Sun, with the help of a string which enables her to come back down to her village. In revenge, Sun places his legitimate son at the head of the enemies of the Mandan, upon whom he declares war. In the Hidatsa version … everything is exactly reversed. Two celestial brothers come down to earth to be conceived by human beings and born as children. Sun's sister, an ogress, is joined with an earthborn character by means of a string. She makes him her adopted son and puts him at the head of the enemies of the Hidatsa (Lévi-Strauss, 1973: 250).

A mirror image is not an identical one but a left-right inversion. Concentric spatial structures of relation are not a symmetry as inversion. Rather they offer a different symmetry as unity, where the line or axis of symmetry brings the same pole rather than a mirror image pole in diametric structures (Downes 2012). Lévi-Strauss overlooked a key aspect of the relative contrasts he observed between diametric and concentric structures of relation that has direct relevance for understanding of trauma and recovery: diametric oppositional realms are both basically detached and can be further smoothly detached from the other. In contrast, the inner and outer poles of concentric structures are more fundamentally attached to each other than diametric structures. Both concentric poles coexist in the same space so that the outer circle overlaps the space of the inner one. The outer circle surrounds and contains the inner circle. The opposite that is within the outer circle or shape cannot detach itself from being within this
of exclusion. A concentric spatial relation is a structure of assumed separation furnishing mirror image inversions in the binary structure of classical unreason (truth and error, world and fantasy, being and non-being, Day and Night) (522). He treats what amounts to a diametric spatial structure as burgeoning at a distinct point in history, in the seventeenth century. Yet, in developing this supposedly central argument, Foucault neither clarified the opposite to such a structure of exclusion, i.e. a structure of inclusion, nor explicitly considered other candidate structures of exclusion from other periods of history, nor cultures beyond Western ones (Downes 2012, 2013).

Having summarised the framework of this spatial discourse of a diametric mirror image structure of exclusion and concentric relation of assumed connection, the question arises as to its relevance for myths of modern Ireland. The myths that are being considered for current purposes are aspects of nationalism, Catholicism and the Celtic Tiger, respectively. It is the diametric structured feature of these myths that needs to be brought to the fore.

**Nationalism: Diametric Projected Mirror Image Inversions between Irish and English**

A diametric spatial projection of mirror image inversions between England and Ireland is highlighted by Kiberd (1996) as a feature of Victorian England of the nineteenth century:

By Arnold’s day, the image of Ireland as not-England had been well and truly formed. Victorian imperialists attributed to the Irish all those emotions and impulses which a harsh mercantile code had led them to suppress in themselves. Thus, if John Bull was industrious and reliable, Paddy was held to be indolent and contrary; if the former was mature and rational, the latter must be unstable and emotional; if the English were adult and manly, the Irish must be childish and feminine. In this fashion, the Irish were to read their fate in that of two other out-groups, women and children; and at the root of many an Englishman’s suspicion of the Irish was an unease with the woman or child who lurked within himself (1996: 30).

It is notable that, according to Kiberd (1996), the Irish reaction to this diametric spatial projection of mirror image reversal was not to challenge this projection but rather to subject it to a further reversal in content, encased within the same structure:

Many embraced the more insulting clichés of Anglo-Saxonist theory on condition that they
could reinterpret each other in a more positive light. The modern English, seeing themselves as secular, progressive and rational, had deemed their neighbouring islanders to be superstitious, backward and irrational (1996: 30).

This juxtaposition between an Irish and English identity is interpreted by Brown (2006) as being part of the ideology of the ‘peculiarly nasty weapon’ of the Censorship of Publications Act of 1929 that ‘reflected a fairly wide Irish consensus that a Catholic and Gaelic nation possessed a distinctive identity that must be protected from contamination by alien and especially English influences’ (19). Irish ethnic distinctiveness required here a diametric space to characterise the other as alien.

Resonant with Said’s (1978) accounts of inversions between ‘us’ and ‘them’ in characterisations of static categories of ‘Orientalism’, Kiberd (1996) expands on this point:

The strategy of the revivalists thus became clear: for bad words substitute good, for superstitious use religious, for backward say traditional, for irrational suggest emotional. The positive aspect of this manoeuvre was that it permitted Irish people to take many images which were rejected by English society, occupy them, reclaim them, and make them their own: but the negative aspect was painfully obvious, in that the process left the English with the power of description and the Irish succumbing to the pictures they had constructed. The danger was that, under the guise of freedom, a racist slur might be sanitized and worn with pride by its very victims (1996: 32)

Thus, the Irish nationalist response to the English diametric spatial projection was to meet it with a diametric projection of its own, to invert the evaluative process so that negative attributions were interpreted in a positive light. In doing so, the dominion of the diametric projection retained and further gathered its force.

Brearton (2000) extends the mirror image projections underpinning Irish nationalism to its relation to Ulster Protestantism:

The Battle of the Somme and the Easter Rising functioned, in their different ways, as part of the origin myths of Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State respectively. They became events which were held to encapsulate the inherent qualities of the true Ulster Protestant (proud, reticent, unimaginative) or true Irish Catholic (spiritual, voluble, imaginative), oppositional stereotypes used and abused on both sides (2000: 37).

Brearton (2000) highlights that both narratives are simplifying and exclusionary of experiences of others who fought in World War One, such as those who ‘fought for no complex political reason at all’ (2000:38) or those who were committed to an independent Ireland, yet fought on England’s side.

This initial review does not contain within its scope a comprehensive review of nationalist projections to investigate the extent to which some nationalist understandings defied this diametric mode of relation1. Nevertheless, it raises the question as to whether Irish nationalist conceptions can defy the spectre of a governing diametric spatial projection, the diametric mirror image typified in the old Irish nationalist cry, ‘England’s difficulty is Ireland’s opportunity’. As Fromm (1977) observes, a key way to unite a group is to define it in relation to a common enemy, in other words, in diametric oppositional terms. The gluing forces of Irish nationalism appear to have rested, at least on Kiberd’s (1996) and Brearton’s (2000) accounts, on a key precondition of diametric space. It may not simply be history but the reactive complex of diametric space that is the nightmare from which Irish society must awake.

Aspects of the Myth of Catholicism: Diametric Projected Structure of Exclusion Splitting Groups from Society as part of Diametric Mirror Image of Good vs. Evil

This is not a global claim that all features of Catholicism in modern Ireland are characterised by a diametric spatial projection. Rather it is to highlight that a distinctive diametric projection was a feature of a dimension of practice accentuated by a Catholic dominated state and fuelled by a diametric spatial cognition that divided people into those that are ‘fallen’ and particularly associated with perceptions of sinfulness rather than virtue2. First opened in Ireland in 1765 (McCarthy 2010) and by no means exclusive to Irish society, the Magdalene institutions became over time long-term residential places. Focus, for current purposes, is on a pervasive diametric splitting structure of exclusion in these institutions, as part of a religious ideology of a mirror image diametric good-bad projection, where the women were treated as ‘fallen’ sinners. Women and so-called ‘bastard’ children were both ‘incarcerated for transgressing the narrow moral code of the time’ (Raftery & O’Sullivan 1999: 18), while the same religious congregations managed the orphanages, reformatory schools and laundries. Thus, these facilities all helped sustain each other – girls from the reformatory and industrial schools often ended up working their entire lives in the Magdalen laundries (Raftery & O’Sullivan 1999).

It is to be recognised that allegations of abuse were not simply confined to the Catholic Magdalene laundries but also to Protestant (Bethany) and State-run Irish Industrial schools. An argument here is for the prevalence of diametric spatial projections underpinning construction of social realities in
a Catholic dominated culture in the Irish State, underpinned by a constitutional preference for the ‘special position’ of Catholic Church, rescinded only in the fifth amendment to the Irish Constitution, January 1973. However, it does not preclude a related argument for this diametric spatial projection as pervasive to Protestant or other cultures of the time.

One hallmark of the Magdalen Laundries was diametric exclusion through silence. Accounts of this in the Ryan report (2009) include the following, ‘A woman who entered a Magdalen Laundry following an earlier time in an industrial school said ... that she was “never allowed talk. If you were caught you’d be moved to other end of laundry”’ (2009: 40). A further silencing diametric exclusion occurred through censorship:

The women who shared their experiences of the Magdalen Laundries with the Committee spoke of very similar experiences in relation to communication by letter with family or friends. They told the Committee that all letters which they sent or received were read by the Sisters.

One woman said that in the Magdalen Laundry ‘Your letters were checked and letters in were definitely checked’ (2009: 75).

Another woman described the practice as follows: ‘They read them and they didn’t get out or in if they didn’t suit’ (2009: 76).

These dividing practices were pervaded by a diametric exclusion from family, often for a lifetime:

A different woman said she didn’t receive any visitors ‘I never saw my mam. My aunt said the nuns told her I was quite happy there’ (2009: 94).

A different woman, who was placed in a Magdalen Laundry as a young girl shortly following her discharge from industrial school, said ‘It was devastating to hear that door locked and I was never ever to walk out. There was a big wall. I knew I was there for life. When that door was locked my life ended. I never moved on from there’ (2009: 103).

This diametric space of assumed separation from family also became an active process of splitting:

Another described how she had been placed in a Magdalen Laundry following severe abuse in the home. On being told she had a visitor, ‘I was sure it was [named Sister from industrial school], but she said it was my mother. I said “I have no mother”. She said “Yes and your auntie is there too”. She said that her mother told her “all is forgiven, we can start afresh but I said “no thanks”’ (2009: 89).

Diametric space as physical exclusion was manifested through examples such as the following:

Entrance gates to the grounds of the convent were locked at night. External doors to all buildings were also locked for security reasons. Dormitory doors were locked to prevent people moving about the buildings. Designated sisters held the keys and were on duty during the night to ensure safety, access to toilets and to prevent someone running away.

The Ryan report (2009) also highlights a diametric splitting in location and from family, as a key feature of Letterfrack residential Industrial School, run by the Christian Brothers when it was open from 1887 to 1974:

The physical location of Letterfrack in remote Connemara created a very real sense of isolation, felt by both the boys and the Brothers in the School. The surrounding region could not supply the number of boys needed for the School, and most of the children sent there came from many miles away. This created obvious difficulties for families wishing to visit their children. The isolated environment in Letterfrack nurtured an institutionalised culture separate from society and other institutions. It also led to another unforeseen problem: those people who chose to abuse boys physically and sexually were able to do so for longer periods of time, because they could escape detection and punishment by reason of the isolated environment in which they operated (2009: 289).

A strategy of a diametric structure of exclusion through silence was also evident for Letterfrack:

Transferring Br. Leveret to Salthill, which was the way in which the problem was dealt with, did nothing to reduce his propensity for violence in his dealings with boys (2009: 296).

This pernicious dominion of diametric space operated not only at an intentional level but also, perhaps more insidiously, as a background taken for granted assumption, a prereflective acceptance, what Heidegger (1927) would term a horizon of understanding. The mythic dimension of such an unquestioned diametric assumption structure is such that it is embedded in the thoughts, feelings and behaviours of not only individuals but systems.

Celtic Tiger: Diametric Projected Structure of Exclusion through Relative Poverty

Again any claim for the pervasiveness of a diametric spatial projection as underpinning a given myth is not an assertion that it is not of relevance to other myths,
Diametric splits between social classes pervade Irish history and are expressed aptly in the well-known words of Jim Larkin, ‘The great appear great because we are on our knees, let us rise’, etched on his statue in O’Connell Street, Dublin. Focus for current purposes is on diametric structures of exclusion socio-economically as a basis for the myth of the Celtic Tiger, dominant in Irish society from the late 1990s until the economic crash in 2008.

An overview of Child Poverty in Ireland from 2005, at the height of the Celtic Tiger myth, revealed the following statistics: Ireland has one of the highest rates of poverty among developed countries, ranking third highest in the United Nations Human Development Index (2005) which measures the extent of ‘human poverty’ in eighteen OECD countries. Within Europe, Ireland performed poorly in comparative child poverty rankings. In 1999, the average EU-15 child poverty rate was 19%, but Ireland’s was 21%. Denmark and Finland had levels of 6% and 7% respectively. For lone parents, the EU-15 average income poverty rate was 38%, but was 44% for Irish lone parents. In relation to families with three or more children the EU-15 average was 25%, Ireland was again above the average with a rating of 27%. The Celtic Tiger model of society wove social structures of exclusion into the heart of its fabric.

Results from a survey of prisoners (n=241) revealed that over half the prison sample (54%) had at least one previous experience of homelessness prior to imprisonment and 25% of all prisoners in the sample were homeless on commital into prison. Women appear to be highly represented in the homeless statistics of individuals in the criminal justice system. Of a sample of women prisoners (n=50) it was found that 33% were homeless on commital to prison. Furthermore, an analysis of Probation and Welfare records suggests that almost half of those homeless (43%) were women despite women making up only just over one-fifth of the community based sample (Seymour & Costello 2005: vii).

Seymour & Costello (2005) continue:

Just over one-third (35%) of those homeless on commital said they had been diagnosed as having mental health illness and of them two-thirds had been hospitalised in a psychiatric institution. Two-thirds of female prisoners, homeless on commital stated that they had previously been diagnosed with a mental health problem (2005: viii).

Youth homelessness emerged as a factor strongly related to homelessness in the prison sample. 64% of all prisoners who had experience of homelessness first became homeless before 19 years of age - of them approximately one-fifth had been homeless as a child. Prisoners homeless on commital to prison were likely to have already spent significant periods of time homeless in their lives. The vast majority (88%) had been homeless for six months or more and 58% had spent three years or more homeless (viii).

It must be remembered that the effects of this diametric structure and process of exclusion took place at a time of unprecedented prosperity in Ireland.

Conclusion
A particular spatial logic of the unconscious, a distinctive spatial discourse of trauma and healing, to overcome a spatial splitting process, arguably has particular resonance in an Irish context with regard to a number of the dominant myths of modern Ireland. Governing myths, organising collective meaning in Irish society, have included nationalism, Catholicism and the ‘Celtic Tiger’. Based on this brief review, a prima facie case has been made that in key aspects, these governing myths have all been locked within a diametric framing structure of exclusion. It is such diametric structures that are the hallmark of a pattern of obsessional neurosis in response to trauma, building on Freud (Downes 2012). Healing and recovery in Irish society requires not merely new myths but new concentric structures of myth organising collective experience as alternative directions to diametric ones. However, change in mythic structure is far from simply being a cognitive process. While it is being claimed that diametric spatial projections are an active process impinging upon human experience in Irish society and are background malleable conditions for causal influences upon people’s thoughts, feelings, behaviour and systemic structures, this level of description is complementary to other causal explanations, as a background condition that is susceptible to change in future.

It is not being sought to treat these dominant myths of modern Ireland as metanarratives that silence other constructions of reality. Rather it is to situate these myths as powerful modes of organising individual and societal thoughts, feelings, behaviours and systemic practices—governing modes that are themselves governed by the silent domination of a diametric spatial projection. It is this pervasive structure that requires change. This is no easy or quick process. However, without a psychological change to this residual diametric spatial
projection, Irish society may be consigned to simply, in Beckett’s words, ‘fail, fail again, fail better’ to constitute a society based on healing of trauma, to recover through entering more concentric spaces of assumed connection with less corrosive hierarchical oppositions framed through a judging mode of a moralism that packages life into dreary cognitive categories and precognitive categorical assumptions of ’good’ and ’bad’.

While the question of how to change from diametric to concentric spaces of relation for governing myths and systems of relation in future Irish societies is largely outside the scope of this article, a few preliminary comments can be made. Growth from repression at an individual identity level is a prelude to more concentric structured myths of healing at a social identity (Tajfel 1978) level. This requires shift from social identity dominance to personal identity influence and resources to support individuals’ existential search for meaning as part of a renewal of importance to the individual identity level of experience. Irish society needs to move beyond imposed collective meaning (social identity) of the tribe or group, beyond a cultural experience of conformity that Garfinkel (1967) describes as being a slavishness as a ‘cultural dope’. A group identity focuses on sameness to be like the group, with a corresponding suspicion of and intolerance of difference.

It is not a matter of a wallowing in history in the process of recovery and healing, as a repetition compulsion process observed by Freud; a renewed emphasis is needed on current day experiences of diametric spatial projections to engage with these experiential and systemic blockages to concentric spaces and systems of relation. An educational system is needed, across levels, to promote a balance with introversion beyond the ‘entire Celtic drill of extraversion’ (Beckett, 1983: 73), to foster emotional expression as individual identity and challenge to the cultural conformity of Vygotskian socio-cultural learning (Downes 2003a; 2009a). This would bring a more active process of constructing social identity dimensions, where dynamic, relational assumed connection with individual voices, identity and difference would contribute more to the development of sustaining collective myths for the future. Such future myths would not be frozen in a diametric experiential space that frames the hypostatisation of collective stereotypes and systems of exclusion. A new experiential and educational calibration is needed in Irish society to balance the fluidity of individual identity depths with a collective assumed connection to actively change diametric structures and systems of social exclusion.

References


Commission to Enquire into Child Abuse 2009. Justice Sean Ryan


Notes

1 For example, it does not interrogate nationalist projections in Irish Protestant traditions.

2 For an account of a related diametric projected assumption structure characterising the damned and the saved, see the analysis of Hans Memling’s premodernist painting, Last Judgment (Downes 2012).
Reversed Memory, Collective Action and the Irish Economic Crisis 2010-2013

Niamh Hourigan*

Abstract: This paper examines how collective memory of colonialism informed the response of Irish citizens to the Irish economic crisis of 2010-2013. This crisis resulted in the Troika bailout of the Irish banks, a related programme of austerity measures and the loss of economic sovereignty. The frequent referencing of colonial experience during this period is examined using Zandberg, Meyers and Neiger’s (2012) concept of reversed memory. This model asserts that collective memory not only shapes how a society may view the past but that events in the present can re-shape how a society understands its past.

Keywords: Reversed Memory; Collective Action; Irish Economic Crash

The Irish Economic crisis of the 2010-2013 was one of the most traumatic events of recent Irish history. Having been through a period of deep recession in the 1980s, the Irish economy recovered during the 1990s to produce a sustained period of extraordinary growth and prosperity (Nolan, O’Connell and Whelan 2000). The economic boom not only produced significant increases in wage and income levels in Ireland but led to reduction in emigration, almost full employment and a new confidence evident in Irish culture (Coulter and Coleman 2003). The long-term unemployment of the 1980s was replaced by a sustained demand for labour which resulted in inward migration and an increasing ethnic diversity emerging in Irish society (Fanning, 2007). However, from 2003 onwards, the manufacturing sector which had driven the early Celtic Tiger growth was replaced by a construction boom as the key driver of economic growth. A property bubble emerged inflated by the availability of cheap credit from banks which was used to purchase properties which were over-valued (Donovan and Murphy 2013).

The global banking crash of 2008 punctured this system and resulted in a profound crisis within an Irish banking sector which had become over-extended servicing this property bubble. The problem was initially ‘solved’ by the Irish government by providing a blanket guarantee to the Irish banks. However, in 2009, it became clear that the crisis in the Irish banks was much deeper than previously thought. By 2010, it was evident that Irish state would not have the funds to meet its obligations under the 2008 bank guarantee. Because the Irish banking sector was integrated into European Monetary Union, European political and financial elites believed that the Irish banks could not be allowed to fail. Therefore, the Irish government was forced to accept an enormous loan in order to bailout the banks. These loans came at a considerable cost to the Irish citizen. The state had to agree to a programme of austerity measures which involved severe cuts to public services and a range of new taxes. The implementation of this austerity programme was to be overseen by the Troika (EU/ ECB/ IMF) resulting in an effective ceding of economic sovereignty from the Irish state to transnational institutions (Allen and O’Boyle 2013).

This paper focuses on two aspects of this financial crisis. Firstly, it traces how the collective memory of colonialism in Ireland was referenced during the economic and political debates of 2010-2013. Using Zandberg, Meyer and Neiger (2012) concept of reversed memory, it is argued that the trauma of the bailout changed the narrative of the past which had emerged during the Celtic Tiger period. This narrative which stressed how Ireland had left the oppression of colonialism behind in its prosperous present was particularly evident at the time of the commemoration of the Irish famine in 1995. The paper also explores whether there is a link between the Irish memory of the colonialism and the Irish response to the bailout programme. In Greece, the other European society which experienced a bailout in 2010, the programme of austerity measures recommended by the Troika was greeted with mass protests and robust opposition (Cox 2012). In Ireland, in contrast, many commentators highlighted the absence of protest as a distinctive feature of the Irish response to austerity (Mercaille 2013; Hearne 2013). This paper concludes by asking whether the collective memory of colonialism in Ireland might have informed this more acquiescent response to the austerity process.

Reversed Memory

The study of memory is enmeshed in the tension between the past and the present. Maurice Halbwachs (1950) noted that while memory is collective, it is individuals who remember. Historical events have a significant role in shaping public opinion and attitudes to contemporary political and economic events (Schuman and Scott 1989). Cunningham, Nugent and Slodden comment ‘accounting for how events are remembered and represented by collectivities requires that we take seriously a bedrock assumption of historical process – the fact that past events shape present actions and outcomes’ (2010: 1).

Michael Dawson (1994) argues that collective memory creates a sense of linked fate which is central to social solidarity within groups, operating as a shared past which underpins their sense of ‘we’. Memory is

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malleable. It is constantly made and re-made as the narratives of the memory are told and re-told across the generations (Schudson 1992). Momentous or traumatic events have a particularly profound impact on how collective groups view contemporary realities (Schudson 1992). In his work on memories of slavery in the African-American community, Ron Eyreman (2002) has noted that while each generation has to engage with traumatic memories, each generation engages with the memory in a slightly different way. They have ‘different perspectives on the past because of both emotional and temporal distance, altered circumstances and needs’ (2002: 3).

While much of the research on collective memory has focused on how the past shapes the present, Bearman et al (1999), Danto (2007) and Griffin (2004) have all focused on the opposite side of this tension. They examine how events in the present have the capacity to reshape how the past is perceived and interpreted. Schudson comments ‘the past is subject to reconstruction and rewriting according to present views’ (1992: 205). Mapping how memories are re-shaped in light of present events is a complex process. One of the most useful models provided in recent empirical research on memory which enables this type of mapping is Zandberg, Meyer and Neiger’s model of reversed memory (2012). Their research examines how Israel’s Memorial Day for the Holocaust and Heroism has been treated in the news media in Israel between 1994 and 2007. It provides a thought-provoking analysis of how the present alters and re-shapes narratives of the past. They note ‘the process of shaping collective memory is ongoing and involves political, cultural and sociological dimensions, as different interpretations compete for their place in history’ (Zandberg, Meyer and Neiger 2012: 66). Within their research, they devote particular attention to how the Israeli belief in their triumphal present has changed their narrative of the past creating what they call reversed memory. They comment ‘reversed memory which commemorates the traumatic past by narrating the triumphal present and thus cultivates the understanding of past events as continuous ones, constantly extending into the present’ (Zandberg, Meyer and Neiger, 2012: 66). They also note that this process ‘not only eases the collective confrontation with painful traumas, but rather avoids this encounter altogether’ (Zandberg, Meyer and Neiger 2012: 66).

In Irish historical memory, the Irish Famine 1845-1848 is the event which is most commonly likened to the Holocaust. During the Famine, almost one million people died and a further million emigrated. The traumatic memories of the Famine were still evident in the recollections of elderly people collected by the Irish Folklore Commission in the 1940s. For instance, they recorded one elderly lady who stated ‘I heard accounts of people who gathered around the Killarney workhouse moaning and groaning with the hunger and the cartloads of corpses wending their way to the pauper’s graveyard in the neighbourhood’ (National Folklore Ireland 1945). Another woman recalled

The Casey’s lived down at the bottom. The ruin is still there. There were seven or eight of them there. The eldest girl went the six days of the week for soup and came empty. On the seventh day, five of them died. Years after, my father was digging near the ruin and he found the bones, an old man and a child, the arm of the old man wound around the child (National Folklore Ireland 1945)

These memories of individuals collected in the 1940s demonstrate a clear and continuing connection with the trauma of the Famine which had been passed through narrative from generation to generation.

As the twentieth century progressed however, some scholars have argued that this direct connection to the trauma of the Famine fragmented particularly as Ireland moved into a new period of prosperity and confidence in the 1990s. In this context, the commemoration of the 150th anniversary of Famine in 1995 which occurred during a period when Ireland was experiencing rapid economic growth was a watershed. With the establishment of a new Famine museum, it was argued by Irish elites that this would be the period when Irish society would finally come to terms with the trauma of the Famine (Dáil Debates 1995). However, David Lloyd argues that the narrative of the Celtic Tiger which stressed success and affluence was used to numb encounters with the more painful aspects of the Famine. Rather than focusing on earlier traumatic narratives evident in the 1940s, public figures tended to focus on how much the Irish Diaspora had achieved in contributing to the Celtic Tiger boom. He says

The commemoration of the Famine becomes unhappily one with a set of current cultural and political tendencies in Ireland that are thrusting the country uncritically into European and transnational capitalist modernity – uncritical not only of the still uncertain effects of our integration on our own social structures and environments, but also of the meaning for ourselves and for others of this alliance with transnational capitalism whose rapacious, brutal and destructive past is continually reproduced in the present (2000: 222).

This approach to commemorating the past which focuses on the narration of the triumphal present conforms to the pattern of reversed memory identified by Zandberg, Meyer and Neiger in Israel. They argue that this process may be viewed as a form of post-memory where ‘the past is not merely narrated in the service of current objectives. Rather the past is commemorated by means of the narration of the present’ (2012: 77).
An analysis of references to the Famine and the colonial period in Irish history during the 2010-2013 bailout and austerity period, demonstrate an entirely different form of engagement with the past. This sharp change suggests that the process of narrating the past through a triumphal present came to an end with the economic crash. The trauma of the bank guarantee, bailout and austerity had forced Irish citizens to engage with their painful memories of colonialism in a manner more directly linked to its harsh realities. During the 2010-2013 period in Ireland, there was a striking increase in popular and scholarly interest in the Famine. The Atlas of the Great Irish Famine was published which provided minute regional detail on the numbers of deaths which had occurred and highlighted horrific local accounts of starvation (Crowley, Smyth and Murphy 2012). This scholarly work was accompanied by the publication of a range of popular history books on the subject and a radio series 'Blighted Nation' on RTÉ (Ó Murchadha 2011; Coogan, 2013(a); Kelly, 2013). While scholarly historians debated whether the Famine was genocide or not, popular commentators focused more on the question of how the legacy of the Irish Famine might be continuing to shape responses to the contemporary trauma of the bailout.

Aside from interest in the Famine during the austerity period, colonialism was increasingly referenced in order to understand the loss of economic sovereignty. For instance, when the EU/IMF/ECB team arrived in Dublin to negotiate the terms of the bailout agreement, the 2FM DJ Hector Ó hEochagáin played the rebel song 'The Foggy Dew' on Friday November 19th especially he implied message to the Troika contained in the lyrics which described Irish resistance to British colonialism was not lost on ÓhEochagáin's audience even if the IMF official didn't say, for team leader, A. J Chopra. The implied message to the Troika contained in the lyrics which described Irish resistance to British colonialism was not lost on ÓhEochagáin's audience even if the IMF official didn't hear the programme (RTE Archive 2010).

This post-colonial perspective on the crisis was also evident in a political spat the following week when Fianna Fáil TD, Mattie McGrath accused his own party leader, Taoiseach Brian Cowen of being “worse than Cromwell” during a Dáil debate on the national recovery plan. One of Cowen’s ministers, Martin Mansergh rushed to his defence. In response, a national newspaper highlighted the fact that Mansergh’s own ancestor, Bryan Mansergh had benefited from the Cromwellian invasion, having been given a castle by Cromwell’s forces (Brennan 2010). After the change of government in 2011, McGrath who left Fianna Fáil continued his comparisons of austerity and colonialism. In a debate on the introduction of septic tank charges, as part of the austerity programme, on RTÉ Radio, he commented ‘God, we got rid of the Black and Tans and Cromwell, not a bother. I don’t want to wake up some morning and see two or three gentlemen in my backyard, peeping into my septic tank like the peep o’day boys out doing searches’ (McGrath 2011).

As the scope of new taxes inflicted under austerity deepened in 2012, politicians on the left wing of the Irish political spectrum also invoked Ireland’s colonial past in order to justify protests. In January of that year, Clare Daly TD described the importance of protests against the introduction of a new household charge. She commented that ‘this issue may be the one that changes the view of the Irish from one of passive compliance with any amount of austerity thrown our way, to a reawakening of the traditions of a nation that coined the term “boycott” in the first place.’ (Daly 2012)

In launching a campaign against the austerity treaty, socialist republican Dublin councillor Louise Minihan not surprisingly characterised the bailout process as a form of neo-colonialism. She said ‘the goal of those who are pushing this treaty is to force the further erosion of our national and economic sovereignty. Their aim is to remove our hard fought economic rights. Ireland is now in a position of total colonial occupation. We are a colony’ (Minihan 2013). Although this perspective might be considered extreme, popular historian Tim Pat Coogan was also quick to view the response to austerity in neo-colonial terms. In his blog, he commented ‘In the case of the Famine and in today’s Ireland, people are either accepting whatever burdens have been placed upon them with varying degrees of despair or they are getting out’ (Coogan 2013(b).

Publicly at least, Irish government officials seemed to resist these neo-colonial parallels, though behind the scenes, the legacy of colonialism also seemed to influence their perspective. Journalist Pat Leahy of the Sunday Business Post described his banter with a senior government official who mused in early 2013 about his ideal bailout exit scenario. He said ‘my plan is to get the jeep that Michael Collins arrived in to Dublin Castle to accept the handover from the British in 1922. We’ll put Enda and Eamonn in the back!’ (2013: 7).

As the mortgage arrears crisis worsened, the fear of bank repossessions of homes raised the spectre of evictions, a common feature of the colonial period. In describing legislation passed to facilitate bank repossession, Liam MacNally writing in the Mayo News said

For those of us, outside the well-paid loop and mindset of politicians and bankers, the legislation reminds us of colonialism. It transports us back on the plains of the pale ghost of history where eviction was the order of the day, Irish families ousted by the foreigner, aided and abetted by Irishmen (2013: 10).

The Land League also cast a long shadow in Co. Meath where brother of deceased Fine Gael politician, Jimmy McEntee launched a movement which he described as a new ‘Land League’ to resist bank repossessions in 2013 (Reilly 2013: 23). The parallels between the austerity process and colonialism were also evident to international commentators on the Irish crisis. In the Huffington Post for instance, Ellen Brown commented
The Irish have a long history of being tyrannized, exploited and oppressed – from the forced conversion to Christianity in the Dark Ages, to slave trading of the native in the 15th and 16th centuries, to the mid-nineteenth century “potato famine” that was really a holocaust. The British got Ireland’s food exports, while at least one million Irish died from starvation and related diseases, and another million or more emigrated. Today, Ireland is under a different form of tyranny, one imposed by the banks and the Troika – the EU, ECB and IMF. The oppressors have demanded austerity and more austerity, forcing the public to pick up the tab for bills incurred by profligate private bankers (2013).

Therefore, the trauma of the economic crash, bank bailout and austerity process had transformed the process of reversed memory which had emerged during the Celtic Tiger period. Rather than the trauma of the past being narrated through a triumphal present, the trauma of the present was re-awakening the trauma of the past.

The frequency with which Irish political, media and scholarly figures reached for post-colonial memory in order to understand the difficulties of the present demonstrates that the traumatic memory of colonialism continued to remain central to a sense of linked fate and shared solidarity in the Irish collective consciousness. Indeed, it is possible to argue that some of the distress evident in public debate about the bailout and austerity during the 2010-2013 period may be related to the fact that it put the process of triumphal reversed memory of colonialism to an end. The trauma of poverty, financial hardship, remote power and imposed top-down decision-making were not relegated to the past but features of a very difficult present. On the website Ireland After Nama, Cian O’Callaghan confronts this reality in response to the visit of Queen Elisabeth II to Ireland in May 2011. He states:

The legacy of colonialism plays a key role in Celtic Tiger Ireland and its catastrophic aftermath. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the IMF/ECB bailout. Here Ireland draws closer to its spiritual neighbours on the post-colony than perhaps even before...So as the Queen visits these shores, rather than drawing divisions between those who have ‘moved on’ and those ‘living in the past’, perhaps we should be asking what this past really means for our present (O’Callaghan 2011).

Aside from the frequent referencing of colonialism, one of the most prevalent issues in public debates about the bailout and austerity process were questions regarding the lack of protest in Ireland to these events. Greece, the other nation which experienced a bailout process in late 2010 was torn apart by street protests and political instability (Cox 2012). In contrast, the Irish response to the top-down imposition of an austerity programme in order to bail out profligate banks was relatively muted. In a piece entitled ‘The Non-Fighting Irish’, Derek Scally commented ‘Every week in Greece or Portugal, people are on the streets, ventilating their anger. Even non-bailout recipients like Spain and Italy are at it. Ireland, meanwhile, seems to have adopted the wartime maxim of its British neighbours: keep calm and carry on (Scally 2012). Julian Mercaille notes ‘sometimes, we get the impression that the Irish have lost any hope of getting out of economic crisis and life under austerity. Where is the dissent and protest?’ (2012). Rory Hearne also asks ‘People are debating why the Irish have not been more like the Greeks and Spanish protesting against unemployment, the bank bailout, austerity budgets and cuts to public services?’ (2013). In these debates, the role of colonialism in shaping this response is frequently referenced. Tim Pat Coogan comments:

I’ve been pondering the implication of a discovery I made while researching my book on the Famine, namely that one of its principal legacies to Ireland was what the psychiatrists called ‘learned helplessness’. The beliefs that no matter how one tried there was nothing to do in the face of catastrophe save succumb to it or emigrate. There was no possibility of getting back at those who brought about the disaster...if one looks at the plight of modern Ireland and comments in astonishment ‘and nobody is going to jail’, one can be certain that the automatic knee jerk reaction will be; “No. And nobody will go” (2013).

A review of the literature on collective action and memory suggests that there may be some basis for this theorizing. In his research on memories of slavery and African-American protest, Frederick Harris argues ‘The shared memories of past injustices may actually deter resistance among marginal groups, even as opportunities for collective action expand....for many blacks, memories of racial domination may have undermined their activism during the movement’ (2006: 24). He concludes ‘not only do communities of memory keep alive past events through narratives that symbolize triumph over adversity, they also pass on narratives that are painful stories of shared suffering that sometimes create deeper identities than narratives that illustrate success’ (2006: 27). Irish post-colonial memory provides many examples of successful protest which are celebrated in Irish popular culture. However, it also provides many examples of tragedy due to remote decision-making such as the Famine and high cost protest. Though these memories may fade or become blunted by success and prosperity, they can be powerfully re-awakened by contemporary traumatic events.
During the last major period of recession in Ireland in the mid 1980s, psychologist Vincent Kenny asked a similar question: why ordinary people acquiesced to a process of austerity? In his analysis of the Irish Post-Colonial Personality, he concluded that memories of colonialism informed this response. He states ‘In order to survive ... one must appear to be at least superficially compliant. Open rebelliousness tends to meet with immediately harsh measures. It is important to create an external image which reassures the oppressor that the status quo is being maintained’ (1985: 73). Therefore, it is the powerful memory of the sharp and painful costs of protest which prevents a more rebellious response to top-down imposed programmes of austerity.

**Conclusion**

This paper has examined the role of post-colonial memory in shaping the Irish response to the bank bailout and austerity programme of 2010-2013. It argues that during the Celtic Tiger period, the legacy of colonialism came to be viewed through the prism of reversed memory. Zandberg, Meyers and Neiger (2012) describe this process as the narration of a traumatic past from the position of a triumphant present in a form which avoided confronting the more painful aspects of these memories. The Irish economic crash brought this process to an abrupt end. It is clear that economic hardship, remote power and top-down decision-making which characterized austerity re-awakened memories of colonialism which were referenced frequently in public debates during this period. It is also possible that post-colonial memory influenced the relatively acquiescent response of the Irish public to the austerity process. ‘Learned helplessness’ or perhaps the memory of high cost protests in colonial history may have informed the public’s sense of its own efficacy in the bailout context. Therefore, this research suggests that memories of the past are profoundly re-shaped by events in the present which make it a vitally important reference point for understanding contemporary Irish society.

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How and Why Economists Forget: A Note on Development, Manufacturing and Outsourcing

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Abstract: Economic theory clearly shows how to develop and to create social wealth, but nowadays these fundamental insights are forgotten and repressed in Connerton’s sense. The theory of increasing and diminishing returns is cited as an example. It is argued that a manufacturing base is a necessary condition for development, but for the last three decades the economies of Western countries have been characterised by de-industrialisation and outsourcing. Increased openness to trade and 'competitiveness' also led to lower wages. The benign social effects of manufacturing disappeared. The result of these pernicious conservative policies is that we are effectively undeveloping our societies. The danger of a complete societal collapse can no longer be dismissed as unrealistic.

Keywords: Social wealth; De-industrialisation in the West; Outsourcing; Loss of industrial commons; Globalization; Undevelopment; Societal collapse.

Introduction

This paper deals with insights that economic science forgets in Paul Connerton's sense. Connerton's focus on the recovery of social memories and his analysis on how memory is both dis-interred and re-interred, how recovered memories are challenged and how processes of forgetting and recovery relate to particular historical moments in time is doubtlessly relevant for discussing science. It has also been noted before that his theory on forgetting comes close to Derrida's deconstruction. To Derrida, any structure that organises experience is constituted and maintained through acts of exclusion. In the process of creating something – be it social, political or personal - something else is left out. These exclusive structures are per definition inherently repressive. For Derrida, in an inherently Freudian way, a price is paid for this repression. For what is repressed does not simply disappear - it constantly returns to unsettle. However, much more is going on than just this seemingly elusive dialectic between repression and subversion or forgetting and remembering. Those who repres/ make us forgot do not only create a void which is subsequently filled with whatever should be accepted as official truth: in the process of doing so, language games originate. And not only that either. Not only are the rules of games changed while playing it and not only is a demarcation line erected between legitimate discourse (the 'truth') and illegitimate discourse (which should be forgotten), it is also the case, as Lyotard argues, that discourses become incommensurable to one another.

In contradistinction to Connerton and Derrida, Lyotard concentrates upon the production of scientific knowledge. When knowledge is treated, as is the case in the 'postmodern condition,' as something which stands or falls depending on its relationship to meta-narratives – progress, development, democracy – science is commodified and alienated from those that it is supposed to serve. To Lyotard and Connerton, the ‘knowledge-society’ is exploitative for many reasons. One is that the dominant classes usurpate science to serve their agendas. Lyotard describes the existence of a multitude of discourses, which are to certain degrees all repressed, except the one which is propagated as the unquestionable truth, the way to follow, the path to progress, freedom, prosperity, world peace, etc. We will give examples of this in a moment. The idea of Progress or Democracy (with capitals P and D) conveys the sense that the narratives of separate value-spheres (or ‘life-worlds’) are ultimately moving in the same direction. But to Lyotard and Connerton, this is of course the ultimate repression. What happens, instead, is that the reproduction of society has dissolved – has literally splintered – into a series of localised networks of incommensurable language games. This, then, is the situation that we face. To summarise:

- structures that organise society work through acts of exclusion;
- that what is repressed never completely disappears; it remains active as an under-current of modernity;
- society dissolves into a series of discourses: there is official ‘truth’ and all others;
- discourses in society become incommensurable to one another;
- science as a language game becomes a tool that the dominant class uses to foster its own interests;
- as a consequence of the above, democracy is a charade.

In what follows, some insights from economics are presented. Economic science possesses the conceptual tools to create wealth, to generate and to stimulate development. It is not the lack of knowledge that is the problem, but the implementation of wrong policies. Those who criticise policy are not listened to, they are not even heard. This is not only true for the public sphere, as much as there is one, but for economic science itself. Nothing, or almost nothing, of what will be discussed below is currently being taught at departments of economics, although it is the fertile fruit

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of many centuries of thinking and practical evidence. It is in this way that Connerton has to be understood: we supposedly live in democracies, but there is no single institution in society which has the power to legitimately address any of the critical determinants which mould our lives, let alone of implementing decisions which favour the ‘common good.’ Macroeconomic policy is stamped by the Washington consensus and made in the meeting rooms of Goldman-Sachs and other bankers and corporate headquarters. During the last three decades, profits for stockholders and salaries of CEOs skyrocketed (see Roberts, 2010: 44 ff). It is easy to see where the high salaries for the CEOs come from: by replacing $30 an hour US labour with $0.80 an hour Chinese labour, the profits of off-shoring corporations will keep (or make) it poor. According to neoclassical theory, this is nonsensical: trade is always beneficial. The Stolper-Samuelson theorem shows that trade and competition increase productivity for all concerned. Ricardian theory states that trade between countries is beneficial for everyone on the condition that countries specialise in comparative advantages. Ricardian theory does not predict the outcomes why barbers’ wages have risen over time, although it was there all along. Ford was not a socialist when he doubled the wages of his workers. The welfare states in Europe were not socialist; they were highly functional to the interests of capital. Now, the ‘golden age of welfare capitalism’ is far behind us. Whole armies of economists are telling the world that it is beneficial for all concerned to compete with countries where labour cost is lower by factor forty. This is the road that we have followed. It is the wrong road.

The Creation of Social Wealth: Increasing Returns from Manufacturing, Emulation, the ‘Wrong’ Prices and Protective Barriers

In The Creation of Wealth (2007), Reinhocker calls the creation of wealth – wealth for a society as a whole – the most complex problem that humanity ever faced. It is an issue which has been on the minds of many scholars for many centuries. In How Rich Countries Became Rich and ... Why Poor Countries Stay Poor, Reinert (2007) provides an overview of what he calls the Other Canon. The canon consists of a series of often extremely valuable and sometimes fundamental insights from thinkers on economic development that are being ignored, marginalised and repressed.

Ricardian theory states that trade between countries is beneficial for everyone on the condition that countries specialise in comparative advantages. Ricardian theory has often been refuted. Gomory and Baumol proved that Ricardian theory does not predict the outcomes that Ricardo expected, not even for the economy that he had in mind in 1817: it has always been wrong. However, the theory of comparative advantage is being taught to undergraduates all over the world. Idiots savants are being created everywhere. Reinert refers to a report of an Ivy-league American university which points out that their graduates could not figure out why barbers’ wages have risen over time, although they could, without problems, solve ‘(...) a two-sector general equilibrium model with disembodied technical progress in one sector’ (see Reinert, 2007: 123).

To come back to the difference between diminishing and increasing returns, diminishing returns refer to an intrinsic inability to extend production beyond a certain critical point at falling cost, combined with the difficulty of product differentiation. These two factors create perfect competition in the production of raw material commodities. Increasing returns, on the other hand, go with imperfect markets. According to Reinert, the distinction can be found since at least 1613, when Antonio Serra analysed the differences of returns (see Reinert, 2007: 137 ff). Serra asked himself how it was possible that Naples, which is located in the lush bay of Naples with plenty of fertile hinterland was poor, while Venice, which was built on a swamp, had become the powerhouse of Europe (see Reinert, 2007: 45). Since Serra, many economists investigated this. Even the ‘father’ of neoclassical theory, Alfred Marshall,
referred to it in the 1920s (he explained migration on the basis of diminishing returns).

In a situation of diminishing returns, when there is perfect competition, the producer cannot influence the price of what s/he produces (see Reinert, 2007: 46 ff). This situation is typical for both agriculture and mining. As production expands, the situation will be reached when more units of the same input, be it capital or labour or both, will produce smaller and smaller amounts of new output. The reverse is true for manufacturing. When production expands in manufacturing, costs typically go down, not up. Once production has been mechanised, the larger the volume of output, the lower the cost per unit produced. Manufacturing experiences falling costs as volumes of production increases. Most often, this condition goes together with a large share of the market and with the creation of big markets: larger volumes lead to greater market power and, to a large extent, producers are able to set prices. This is imperfect competition. As Reinert explains

(...) rich countries got rich because for decades and sometimes for centuries their states and ruling elites set up, subsidised and protected dynamic industries. They all – without a single exception – emulated the most prosperous countries at the time, bringing their productive structures into those areas where technological change was being focused. It is in this way that they created increasing returns and ‘rents’ – a return above ‘normal’ income that spread to capitalists in the form of higher profits, to labour in the form of higher wages and to governments in the form of higher taxes (Reinert, 2007: xxii).

This is how general welfare is created. Under a regime of increasing returns, wages in manufacturing rise in accordance with rises of productivity in manufacturing. As a result, all other wages rise – this is why barbers’ wages rise over time. This never happens under the conditions of diminishing returns. Diminishing returns do not produce local wealth, because the rents that are created do not benefit the local economies where production is localised. No ‘returns’ ever return, as they are passed on to customers in the form of low prices. The theory of increasing versus diminishing returns tells us that manufacturing is a _conditio sine qua non_ for social development. It is a necessary condition. It emphasizes the role of emulation and it explains that there may come a right time to engage in trade – when manufacturing is fully set up, not when it is being built up. It also explains that trade will be beneficial, on the _absolutely crucial_ condition that it takes place between countries in which the cost of labour is similar (see Allais, 2009; Reinert, 2007; Chang, 2008). Manufacturing creates unique societal effects for which there are no substitutes. According to Reinert (2007: 168 ff), manufacturing creates and/or is characterised by:

- increasing returns and economies of scale, producing falling costs, higher profits and higher wages;
- full or near full employment;
- systemic and synergistic effects and scope for product innovation between several types industries leading to linkages, clusters and productive explosions;
- huge multiplier effects which do not occur anywhere else;
- it leads to the construction of urban centers which brings industries in close contact with one another, opening windows for opportunities and innovations;
- synergies in manufacturing that prove essential in raising the productivity in agriculture;
- a virtuous circle in which activities which high growth (high profits) lead to high demand as income grows which in turn lead to increases in productivity;
- stable prices which rise accordance with rises of productivity;
- creation of middle classes, education, social medicine, welfare states and conditions for democracy;
- creation of bargaining power for labour, near irreversible wages and stickiness of wages;
- technological change leads to higher wages, profits and taxes in producing countries (the golden age of welfare capitalism);
- terms of trade tend to improve over time compared to agriculture.

These are extremely impressive effects. It explains how manufacturing creates wealth, not only individually or for the capitalist class only, but socially. Let us compare this to agriculture: there have been very little systemic effects in agriculture; there are few windows of opportunity for innovation (until very recently); diversity is small and there are no or very little synergies (producing potatoes will not teach you anything about cultivating tomatoes); there is very little division of labour; specialisation meets the wall of diminishing returns and increasing costs fast (as John Stuart Mill explained); increased population becomes a problem because of diminishing returns and lack of new land (Malthus); there are no opportunities to set prices, so farmers engage in commodity competition (i.e. perfect competition); agricultural products have low-income elasticity (when people get richer, they do not consume more of the same products); it is characterised by large price fluctuations; it generally creates a feudal class structure and technological changes and product innovations mainly lead to lower prices for consumers or to profits for seed manufacturers (see Reinert, 2007: 175 ff).
There are other effects still, but the case is obvious: agriculture nor mining makes countries rich, indeed it tends to keep them poor; manufacturing, on the other hand, made many countries rich: with the exception of some oil producing countries, not one single city, no region and no country ever became wealthy without profiting from the effects that manufacturing creates. Nor was this ever a secret. In the nineteenth Century, it was common knowledge: Hamilton (who started the industrialisation of the USA), Abraham Lincoln, Karl Marx, John Stuart Mill, Friedrich List all agreed on it. Reinert makes the case that during the nineteenth Century, Ricardian theory was for export only – if others are so dumb to believe any of it, so much the better for us: ‘This is why the Americans said “Let’s not do what the English say, let’s do what the English do.”’ (Reinert: 2007: 136). And so they did. American industry was built up behind a wall of protective barriers for almost 150 years. The English protected their industries for more than a hundred years. The rich countries got rich by putting in place policies that have since then been outlawed by the Washington consensus (Reinert: 2007: 156; Chang, 2008: 46).

‘Getting the prices wrong’ and ‘governing the market’

So far, we have dealt with the theory of increasing versus diminishing returns, emulation, manufacturing and protective barriers. There is one more factor that needs to be mentioned, because it too is a necessary prerequisite for development. Galbraith calls it ‘getting the prices wrong’ (Galbraith, 1967: 4). Suppose, for the sake of argument, that there would be no global competition for product X, what difference would it make if, say, Irish productivity in manufacturing X would be lower than Chinese productivity? It would not make a difference, if Ireland would only trade with countries with similar labour cost conditions. With, say, Germany, we should compete, with China, we should not. This point was made a long time ago by the French Nobel prize winner for economics, Maurice Allais. To mainstream economics this is, of course, utterly false. It is considered sheer stupidity. It is so basic that students learn it in secondary school. This is exactly the sort of thinking that mainstream economics tries to eradicate. Economics - in theory - is all about optimisation, it is about the most efficient allocation of resources, including labour. But why is this so? It turns out that there is no good reason for it. History is full of success stories of economies - city states, regions and countries - which were never ‘competitive’. Australia has never been competitive in anything, least of all in manufacturing, but no one can say that Australia has not been doing rather well and its industry, inefficient as it was, played a major role in creating widespread prosperity. Instead of remaining a country of wool exporters, the Australians set up a manufacturing base and its benign effects permeated through Australian society (see Reinert, 2007: 203). In Latin America, between 1945 and 1980, import-substituting industrialization produced rates of GDP growth which have not been registered ever since, although import-substituting industrialization was never optimally efficient in allocating resources anywhere. The lessons of the past are being eradicated. As Reinert writes, ‘(…) historically, the countries that adhered the least to global free trade during the crucial moments of their development became the world’s most successful economies’ (Reinert, 2006: 81). The standard argument these days is to show that the creation of wealth is strongly correlated with the ‘openness’ of economies (Reinert, 2007: 211). As Reinert explains, this is akin to measuring the income of people still attending university with those having a career and concluding that education does not pay because university students have lower incomes (Reinert, 2007: 71). Galbraith explained the logic about ‘getting the prices wrong’ succinctly: it is much better to have an inefficient manufacturing sector than not to have a manufacturing sector at all. This logic has been eradicated and the result has been falling wages everywhere in the world where manufacturing, inefficient or not, disappeared. Needless to say, manufacturing in the OECD became ‘inefficient’ when China became a productive powerhouse. The pace at which this happened is truly staggering. Forty years ago, the Chinese economy was merely a fifth of the Spanish economy. Today, the Chinese economy is the second biggest of the world.

Conclusion

‘All the terrorists in the world cannot do America the damage it has already suffered from offshore outsourcing’ (Roberts, 2008: 54).

The OECD is in the process of losing its manufacturing base. In 1950, there was more manufacturing in the US than in 2012, although the population has since then doubled (Roberts, 2008: 11). In 1979, 7.8 million Britons worked in manufacturing, today less than 2.3 million are left (Jones, 2012: 34). Belgium, which has one of the most open economies in the world, lost 61% of its employment in manufacturing between 1970 and 2005 (Coucke, 2007: 12). Employment in manufacturing in France fell with 32% since 1975 (Allais, 2009: 44). Pisano and Shih (2013) speak about outsourcing which leads to the erosion of the ‘industrial commons’. The loss of manufacturing results in decreasing competitiveness as a consequence of a concomitant decline in innovative strength. For decades, many mainstream economists celebrated the loss of manufacturing in the OECD. There is no doubt that this was also a strategy to break the power of the working class (Jones, 2012: 33). The mantra of the economists was that globalization is a ‘win-win situation’. Both the US and Europe would lose market shares in tradeable manufactured goods and make up the job and economic loss with highly-educated workers. The win for the US and the EU would be
lower-priced manufactured goods and a white-collar, high income work force. The win for China and India would be manufacturing jobs that would bring economic development (Roberts, 2010: 89). According to neoclassical economics, everyone would win and more trade would push GDP’s up everywhere. In the meantime, things evolved to a point in which the gross domestic product of the poorest 48 nations is less than the wealth of the world’s three richest people. According to Oxfam, the 85 richest people are richer than the bottom 3.5 billion. The five richest Britons own more than the bottom 20% percent of the British population. The situation is the same in the Netherlands. Fifty percent of the world population lives on $2 a day and eighty percent lives on less than $5 a day – these are impressive results for a system of which the proponents say that it works for the benefit of ‘everyone’. In developed countries, trade reshuffles income to an extent that no one ever expected. Outsourcing destroyed millions of jobs in Europe and in the USA. ‘Market fundamentalism’ – the relentless push towards trade liberalisation culminating in the erection of the WTO (1995) - did not increase global growth, instead it stifled it. ‘In the 21st century the U.S. economy has only been able to create jobs in nontradable domestic services – “the hallmark of a Third World labor force,”’ writes Roberts (2008: 12) and he asks a crucial question: ‘How does an economy in which employment growth is concentrated in non-tradable domestic services pay for its imports?’ (Roberts, 2008: 66). Ron and Aril Hira (2002: 131) estimate that more than 14 million white-collar jobs are vulnerable to being outsourced offshore – not only call-centre operators, customers service and back-office jobs, but also information technology, accounting, architecture, advanced engineering design, news reporting, stock analysis and medical and legal services, in one word, the jobs of the American dream, the ladders of upward mobility (to use Obama’s metaphor), the jobs that generate the bulk of the tax revenues, everything which keeps the country going and, in the last instance, civilised, the revenues which fund education, research, health, infrastructure, pensions, welfare and social security. Corporations justify their offshore operations as essential to gain a foothold in emerging Asian markets, but as Ron and Akira Hira write, this too is delusional (Hira, 2002: 45). Chinese and Indian companies very rapidly assimilate technology and know-how and Indian IT companies consistently out-compete U.S. firms, even in U.S. markets. NAFTA and other so-called trade agreements enabled American companies to dump American workers, avoid social security taxes, health care and pensions, to break up unions and move their factories offshore to locations where labour is cheap. American and European capital and technology are not seeking comparative advantages at home in order to compete abroad. They are seeking absolute advantages in the form of cheap labour. Employment in their own countries be damned. Enormous middle classes are slowly originating in the Far East – not a couple of hundreds of millions of people, but something close to two billion. This is the new consumer market. In 2007, Alan Blinder from Princeton and former vice-president of the Federal Reserve wrote that ‘(…) we have so far barely seen the tip of the offshoring iceberg, the eventual dimensions of which may be staggering’ (Blinder in Roberts, 2011: 178). Blinder estimated that as many of 50 million jobs in tradable services are at risk of being off-shored. Considering global wage differentials, employment will be in services that are not deliverable electronically, such as janitors and crane operators. The problem is that, as Roberts says ‘A country whose workforce is employed in domestic non-tradable services is a Third World country with nothing to export’ (Roberts, 2008: 67).

The problem is not austerity. Austerity is only a small part of a much bigger and much more serious problem. We need economies that create social wealth. We need economies which function within ecological limits. We need economies that create employment or else we need a generalised guaranteed income scheme. There is no technical reason in the world why this cannot be accomplished. It is time now to stop forgetting.

References


One major concern is income redistribution. When trade causes activities to contract, some groups take a hit. Their losses are not transitory: for those with specific skills which are able to find employment somewhere else, in the US income losses are estimated to lie between 8 and 25 percent of pre-displacement earnings. Free trade advocates admit that some people will be hurt, but that in the long run everyone will be better off. In fact, there is nothing in economics that guarantees this and much which suggests otherwise. Stopler and Samuelson proved that unskilled and low skilled workers, high school dropouts and a disproportionate percentage of immigrants necessarily suffer long-term losses in income from trade liberalization. Rodrik (2011) quantified the ratio of redistribution-to-efficiency: in the US, where average tariffs are below 5 percent, a move towards complete free trade would reshuffle $50 of income for each dollar of efficiency. For each dollar, someone gains $51, leaving someone else $50 worse off. The problem is exacerbated by the fact that trade is different from technology. While one can argue that most, if not all, are better off over the long run by the introduction of new technology, the same does not hold for trade. For people with low skills and little education, international trade is bad news throughout their entire lives. See Rodrik, D., 2011, The Globalization Paradox, New York, Norton.

The case for free trade has been incorrect since the day that Ricardo made it. There are two conditions on which the comparative advantage rests that do no longer apply in the present-day world. One condition is that capital must be immobile internationally and that it must seek its comparative advantage in the domestic economy, not move across international borders in search of lower factor cost, i.e. labour. The other condition is that countries have different relative cost ratios of producing tradable goods. But today capital is as mobile internationally as tradeable goods and knowledge-based production functions operate identically, regardless of location. Therefore, the case for free trade no longer exists (see Reinert, 2007: 89).

This is the reason why the rate of profit falls.

This is a sad story which is well documented in Irish history. In the beginning of the Twentieth Century, many cities in Europe were industrialising. Some were not. There was only one city which was effectively de-industrialising. This city was Dublin. The English did not want any of the benign effects of manufacturing to transform society for the better in Ireland. They took the industry home.

See Maurice Allais, 1999, La Mondialisation, la Destruction des Emplois et de la Croissance, L’Evidence Empirique, Paris. This book is a masterwork. Allais shows, empirically, sector by sector, how EU policies were detrimental to growth and to the realisation of social wealth. The reason is very simple: much more profits can be made somewhere else.

Or, as Reinert writes: ‘Standard textbook economics which seeks to understand economic development in terms of frictionless ‘perfect markets’ totally misses the point. Perfect markets are for the poor. It is equally futile to try to understand (...) development in terms of (...) ‘market failure.’ Compared to textbook economics, economic development is a giant failure of perfect markets’ (Reinert, 2007: 18).

The insanity shows up in the figures. Recent estimates put the overall gains to the US from a global move to free trade at approx. 0.3 percent of GDP. Certain export interests would benefit considerably more, but the losses to others would be commensurably large. The fact that the social-cost benefit ratios of trade liberalization get worse the more trade becomes free renders the notion of gains from trade suspect, since it is not clear how we can decide whether as a country we are better off when some people gain and others often become life-long losers (see Rodrik, 2011: 45). The situation would be different if economic gains from free trade should remain small compared to redistribution costs. If this were the case, globalization could become an instrument for achieving desirable goals: prosperity, quality of life, sustainability.

Between 1948 and 1990, the volume of world trade grew at an average annual rate of almost 7 percent, considerably faster than anything experienced to date.
Output expanded at a higher rate than ever before in both rich and poor nations - both a cause and effect of the rapid rise in trade. In terms of breadth and depth, the Bretton Woods regime eclipsed all other periods (see Rodrik, 2011: 44). In a multilateral world of global oriented, market-based economies, countries were able to pursue their own specific goals. Remarkably, even import-substituting industrialization, this bygone of development, performed better than hyper-globalization. Latin America grew at an annual average rate exceeding 2.5 percent per capita between 1945 and the early 1980s, a pace that exceeds what the region has registered since 1990 (1.9 percent). The era of globalization gave way to hyper-globalization with the establishment of the WTO regime. Any discretionary use of domestic regulations is seen as an impediment to international trade. Social policy becomes a transaction cost to international commerce. As a result, debt grew, bubbles originated, social inequalities grew, but the rate of profit did not restore. Since 1960, productivity in the Western world grew with almost 300%, but today, in the productive economy, the rate of profit per unit of output is not higher than in 1950 (see Kliman, 2011).
“Being on Fire for Jesus”: Faith Memory and How Reborn Members of the Redeemed Christian Church of God Make Home in Ireland

Kathleen Openshaw*

Abstract: Literature indicates that the diasporic journey undertaken by African Pentecostal migrants can often be remembered through the lens of their faith. This article is based on an ethnographic study conducted with Pentecostal members of three Redeemed Christian Church of God parishes (the vast majority were Nigerian migrants) in North Co. Dublin commuter towns. The aim was to explore their experiences as homemakers in Ireland. This work provided insight into how “being on fire for Jesus”, directly affected the living memory of the research participants in this fieldwork. Pentecostalism provides a lens through which to remember the migrant journey, and is intrinsic to their home-making processes in Ireland. The migrants’ making of home actively engages with a faith memory, within wider temporal, socio-cultural, economic and political spheres at international, national and community level. It is of anthropological value to explore Pentecostal memory production, so often characteristic in reborn African migrants, as a means to better comprehend the relationship between faith and the migrant experiences of making home in a post Celtic Tiger Ireland.

Keywords: Memory; Home; Pentecostalism

It felt like pulsed electricity rushing up my spine. The hairs on my arms and face tingled, my scalp felt like it was crawling, my body was cold but my cheeks flushed. My head was dizzied by the cacophony of prayers, singing and crying. The surges of energy was heightened by the heavy darkness, because my eyes were shut so tight they burned. The truth is, even though I was missing fantastic “anthropological data”, and should have been writing notes furiously, and snapping away merrily on my camera, I was scared. I have never experienced anything like this before.

(Edited Fieldnotes)

This excerpt from my field diary was dated one Sunday in March 2012, rather early in my MA fieldwork. I wrote this piece whilst reflecting on my first encounter with the Holy Spirit. From the beginning of the service I sensed that this particular Sunday church service in the Redeemed Christian Church of God (more commonly referred to as RCCG or merely Redeemed) parish in which I was conducting research, was to be unlike the couple of Sundays that had gone before it. I was told by many congregation members that the Holy Spirit could descend upon services at any moment. Always colourful and contagiously lively, the Holy Spirit was accepted as being ever present within the reborn parishioners. The Holy Spirit however, could become more active, descending either on the collective but more commonly on a number of individuals within the parish. The visible manifestation of the Holy Spirit’s possession of these RCCG parishioners usually took the form of glossolalia (speaking in tongues) and elated, somewhat hysterical behaviour including wailing and unpredictable physical exertions. Parishioners appear to be consumed by the Holy Spirit. The memory of my first experience of the Holy Spirit’s descent has the ability to induce a physical reaction of uncomfortableness in me when I recall it even today.

This work draws on experiences and observations from my MA ethnographic study, where I explored how members of a particular “brand” of Nigerian Pentecostalism experience making home in Ireland. I used the AAI’s annual conference themed ‘Memory and Recovery’ as an opportunity to explore the powerful nature of memory, particularly in a highly charged environment such as the intensity of Pentecostal visitations. This paper explores thoughts and reflections on an avenue I did not have scope to fully consider in my thesis. That is, namely the link between what I consider to be a faith memory and the Pentecostal migrant experience in Ireland. I feel it of anthropological value to explore Pentecostal memory production, characteristic in reborn African migrants, as a means to better comprehend the relationship between faith and the migrant experiences of making home in a post Celtic Tiger Ireland.

Initially, I offer an, albeit brief, acquaintance with the Redeemed Christian Church of God, in order to ground this article, providing a solid base from which to grow my discussion. I shall then explore how I understand the powerful link between the migrant, mission and memory. This is a sort of ‘thinking aloud’, an attempt to better understand an element ever present in my MA ethnographic interactions, but one I did not actively explore at the time. The significance of the living faith memory however, acted to influence my understanding of the complex weave of the social tapestry I was attempting to illuminate.

I have drawn on various works that have in a layered fashion, informed my thinking concerning these ethnographic endeavours, and my investigation into the living faith memory in particular. Initially,

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when confronted with the global proliferation of diasporic Pentecostal communities I referred to key theoretical works such as Adogame 2003; Anderson 2005; Marshall-Frati 1998; Meyer 2004; Robbins 2004; Robbins 2010; Ugba 2008, for guidance in navigating my ethnographic understanding of the global African Pentecostal explosion. Given my intimate focus on the lived experience of the making of home within a Pentecostal immigrant framework, I felt a phenomenological theoretical framework fit this project best. As Throop & Murphy (2002: 200) note, phenomenology is of particular benefit to anthropologists dealing with cultural patterning of subjective experiences. This theoretical framework allowed me to investigate the sensuously subjective experience of African Pentecostal migrants making home in Ireland, as well as how these experiences are actively remembered. This framework suited the embodied experience of Pentecostalism, and assisted this novice anthropologist in attempting to fathom out how these experiences are to be made sense of. As a researcher within a highly charged religious realm, my own embodied encounters informed my understanding. I referred to much of Csordas’ work, as he used cultural phenomenology to consider his anthropological work with Catholic Charismatic and Pentecostal movements (Csordas 1990; 1994a; 1994b; 1997) and more recently the globalisation of religions (Csordas 2007; 2009). Like Csordas (1994b), I used the embodied experience as a methodological standpoint for analysis. Phenomenology also provides a detailed and descriptive understanding of the patterns of subjective experiences. Merleau-Ponty’s (1996 [1945]) work in developing a phenomenological discussion of the body image, of the experienced body as being neither wholly mental nor in a mechanical / physical, was a useful consideration in my participation in Pentecostal worship. This allowed for the temporally informed, multifaceted and complex nature of the homemaking to be explored, that is, the ways the making of home is experienced, whilst providing for a consideration of “… predetermined structures and individual intentionality” (Throop & Murphy 2002: 200). I considered the likes of Meyer 2004 and Robbins 2004, amongst others, when contemplating what Pentecostal memory production is, how it manifests and what it means for those who remember through this lens. This I shall refer to in more detail during my discussion of the living faith memory, after I have contextualised the research landscape.

Revealing the Redeemed

I conducted fieldwork with Pentecostal members of the Redeemed Christian Church of God in three North Co. Dublin commuter towns. These towns are in close geographical proximity and share many social links. The overwhelming majority of my research participants were Nigerian born migrants. They included those who moved to Ireland from other European countries, that is Ireland was a second or third stop, and those who had immigrated directly from Nigeria. As Ugba explains in Shades of Belonging (2009) these dynamic Pentecostal communities have been the foremost signifiers of the presence of Africans in 21st century Ireland. My fieldsites reflected the rather homogenous demographics of RCCG parishes across Ireland, and the gender demographics of the wider African-led Pentecostal groups (Ugba 2006: 167) that have coloured the Irish religious canvas in recent years. That is, mostly Nigerian and female, accompanied by children. The majority of active church members (elders, ushers, choir members etc.) were Nigerian women. Congregation sizes varied from service to service, but were always greater in numbers on the first Sunday of the Month, Thanksgiving Sunday. The pastors who kindly allowed me to conduct research in their parishes, were Nigerian born, pristinely presented, articulate and educated to third level.

The RCCG ministry was founded in 1952, in Nigeria, by Josiah Olufemi Akindayomi. It is generally accepted by Redeemed members, that the RCCG had humble beginnings as a nine member local prayer group, a home fellowship. As the story goes, during one of the meetings Pastor Akindayomi had a vision and God made a covenant with him. It was agreed that the church would dramatically expand if he and the church members remained obedient and faithful. There are now about 10 000 congregations in over 50 nations, with roughly 100 RCCG parishes across Ireland. The RCCG emphasises the link between faith and prosperity, and its doctrine enthusiastically preaches the process of rebirth in the Holy Spirit. The RCCG encourages the literal reading of the Bible and adherence to strict personal morals. Redeemed is highly responsive to the context within which it finds itself, however continues to maintain a steadfast spiritual ethos, that changes very little from parish to parish, country to country.

The Redeemed mission, is essentially, to affect citizens of Europe, with regard for national, regional and cultural considerations.

Redeemed Christian Church of God Mission Statement

- To make heaven.
- To take as many people with us.
- To have a member of RCCG in every family of all nations.
- To accomplish No. 1 above, holiness will be our lifestyle.
- To accomplish No. 2 and 3 above, we will plant churches within five minutes walking distance in every city and town of developing countries and within five minutes driving distance in every city and town of developed countries.
- We will pursue these objectives until every Nation in the world is reached for the Lord Jesus Christ.
The RCCG’s mission statement is adamantly focused on spreading the “Word”, both in the developing and developed nations, to save lost souls and take them to heaven. This mission statement expresses the vigour with which this task should be conducted. My research participants believed they were missionaries, and part of the actualisation of the Redeemed mission in Europe.

RCCG is generally acknowledged as the largest Pentecostal group in Ireland (Ugba 2006: 166; HSE Intercultural Guide Pentecostal Churches 2009: 155). Redeemed is an organisation that is well structured at local, national and global level. These structures feed into each other, and are part of a well-oiled network leading back to the General Overseer, Pastor Enoch Adeboye (often affectionately referred to as Daddy GO). This point was also mentioned by Burgess (2009) and Hunt (2002), both of whom conducted research in RCCG parishes in Britain. This is of relevance when considered in relation to the results of Census 2011. Census 2011: This is Ireland, indicates that the number of Nigerian nationals resident in Ireland has increased by 8.2% since 2006 (2012: 89), and represent the largest African community in Ireland (2012: 84), comprising 0.4% of the non-Irish population (2012: 33). With a 73% increase in members of Apostolic / Pentecostal churches since 2006 (Census 2011 2012: 42), this is consistently one of the fastest growing religious groups in Ireland. Census 2006 saw this religious cohort grow by a mammoth 157% from 2002 (HSE Intercultural Guide Pentecostal Churches 2009: 155). According to Census 2011 the second most common religious affiliation, after Catholicism, in Nigerian born residents, is Apostolic / Pentecostalism at 22.8% (Census 2011 2012: 105). This is a significant proportion of Ireland’s 12% resident non-national population and worth paying attention to.

Mission, Migrants and Memory
What I soon realised, was that my project was to be not as much about the Pentecostal African’s experience as an “immigrant” in Ireland, but rather her experience as her God’s servant and humble “missionary” in an Irish context. Home, for the participants in my study, is where the Spirit is, although the matriarch of my home parish candidly stated, reflecting a clear consensus amongst my research participants, “African women must go back to Africa”. I proposed in my thesis, that making processes in Ireland. The Pentecostal’s making of home is experienced by many (if not all) of my research participants. In an in-depth discussion concerning Pentecostalism and cultural memory, van Dijk (1998) refers to the inferior past / superior future dichotomy. This relates directly to the pre and post reborn status of the Pentecostal. This dichotomy prompts a sever from former social relations, a rejection of personal, communal or cultural nostalgia, towards an overwhelming focus on the future. van Dijk (1998) talks of the urban born again anti-nostalgic critique. I however, agree with Ugba’s more moderate assessment that “...the rebirth experience and the Pentecostal identity do not necessarily replace or obliterate other identities, memories and relationships but rather it makes additional relationships and identities or new ways of thinking about oneself and the ‘other’ possible” (2009: 92).

Leaning on Literature
Much of the literature I consulted during my research verified that the diasporic journey undertaken by many African Pentecostal migrants seems to often be remembered through the lens of their faith. Certainly, I argue that more research is needed to understand how Pentecostal memory production (Meyer 2004; Robbins 2004; Ugba 2008; van Dijk 1998) characteristic of reborn African Pentecostal migrants is articulated through their making of home, and this article is my initial attempt to do so. Rapport and Dawson in their work, Migrants of Identity: Perceptions of Home in a World of Movement notes how “Home brings together memory and longing, the idealatic, the affective and the physical, the spatial and the temporal, the local and the global, the positively evaluated and the negatively” (1998: 8). I found that this encapsulates how the making of home is experienced by many (if not all) of my research participants. In an in-depth discussion concerning Pentecostalism and cultural memory, van Dijk (1998) refers to the inferior past / superior future dichotomy. This relates directly to the pre and post reborn status of the Pentecostal. This dichotomy prompts a sever from former social relations, a rejection of personal, communal or cultural nostalgia, towards an overwhelming focus on the future. van Dijk (1998) talks of the urban born again anti-nostalgic critique. I however, agree with Ugba’s more moderate assessment that “...the rebirth experience and the Pentecostal identity do not necessarily replace or obliterate other identities, memories and relationships but rather it makes additional relationships and identities or new ways of thinking about oneself and the ‘other’ possible” (2009: 92).

Figuring it Out in the Field
My fieldwork allowed me to steal a little glimpse of exactly how “being on fire for Jesus”, that is, living in what is considered to be the blessed flames of the Holy Spirit, directly affected the memory of the research participants within my fieldwork. This memory seems to be a very active, living, faith memory. Pentecostalism appears to provide a filter through which to remember the migrant journey, and is intrinsic to their home-making processes in Ireland. The Pentecostal’s making of home actively engages with a faith memory. I noticed how those I interviewed, observed or merely chatted to, would remember events and scenarios in ways that would highlight the presence of their God within the narrative, and place these memories within the context of their spiritual journey.

Yet, faith is arguably the most prominent lens through which the Redeemed member views her life experiences and retrospectively remembers these. Whilst many of my research participants might have originally come to Ireland for a myriad of reasons (including education, economic or asylum reasons) this journey is ultimately viewed through the lens of a Redeemed saved child of God. Of particular importance, is the
momentous moment of spiritual rebirth and “the acceptance of Jesus” into the life of a Pentecostal Redeemed. Members recall their life experiences in relation to this seminal faith juncture. The period of the member’s life prior to this “finding of Jesus” is understood as an old life, a wayward existence, without holy direction, one that is unproductive and bland. The participants in my research tend to convey to me that being saved has instigated not only a spiritual but a material rebirth. They express a dramatic advancement in quality of life and financial circumstances. This is often paralleled with the journey to Ireland that was made for practical reasons, but conceived by the divine in fulfillment of a spiritual mission.

In the lead up to their spiritual rebirth, they are led by the Holy Spirit, they are set a light, ignited and prepared to live a life that is “on fire for Jesus”. Being born again offers a new script for the saved’s life (Austin 1981; Meyer 2004, Robbins 2004, Ugba 2008), a new way to think of the future and remember the past. Members tend to remember with great gusto, when they “found God”, and when they became reborn. Listening to recollections of spiritual journeys, and notable experiences, along the way was a common occurrence during my fieldwork. This information was willingly offered up without prompting. These faith memory narratives incorporate the individual and congregational collective memory. Pivotal life experiences, perceived spiritual encounters, life circumstances and indeed the migrant journey, are all re-imagined through a Pentecostal construct, and nurtures the traditions of the church culture.

These faith filtered memories are often recalled during evangelism, formal and informal testimonies, in the plethora of grey literature and electronic materials generated by Redeemed, and in relaxed conversation. Individuals recall memories, coloured with their interpretation of their God’s presence and plan for them, in that very remembered moment. The congregational collective, in much the same way recalls experiences, and seeks verification from other parishioners, of the recalled memory’s truth. These can include the likes of public miracle healings, or testimonies of drastic positive changes in parishioner’s circumstances after “accepting Jesus”. This memory verification was first evident to me, as my ‘home’ Pastor, during one of our first interactions, explained with great zeal and pride how he had foreseen that his children would not be born in Nigeria. All the while he spoke to me, he was frantically beckoning his wife (who seemed to be enjoying her chat with a well dressed female parishioner) over to where we were standing at the entrance of the parish, in order that she verify the truth of his vision to me. In particular, recalling the trials of immigration overcome through God’s divine help, and the blessings received since coming to Ireland, are commonly used to both evangelise to prospective new converts and at service testimonials.

My observation during fieldwork was that memories are mechanisms through which cultural-faith is maintained in a culturally and religiously different environment. In particular recollection of memories instills religious and cultural values in the first generation of Irish born children, of these Pentecostal migrant parents. These memory narratives also offer reminders of the importance of their spiritual journey and conversion mission. Memory narratives also offer encouragement in trying times. Parishioners are continually advised that outside of their own country they should not forget their God nor their culture. As one of the pastor’s wife warned the women of her husband’s congregation, “We should remember who we are outside of our native country”. One pastor during a particularly enthusiastic sermons highlighted, according to him the difference between European and African culture. He appeared to insinuate that African (Nigerian) culture seems to follow more closely the way God wishes us to live. Pastor used examples such as the prominence of breast feeding in Africa and how it is now documented as being better for the baby than formula milk, or the strict discipline involved in Nigerian parenting, a parenting style that does not spare the rod. By being mindful and remembering their cultural roots, translocated Redeemed members also remember what their God expects of them as these divine values are thought to be similar to their own cultural values. Recalling memories that reinforce their God’s presence and support in their lives, offers inspiration and comfort. Hearing similar memory narratives from others, in comparable circumstances, also proffers motivation in both their spiritual and grounded life paths. Memories of overcoming the tough times through their God’s grace, provides a sense of stability during changing/ unfamiliar circumstances and divine purpose.

Testimonies act to reinforce faith in the testifier, and audience. This is whilst simultaneously attempting to convert those who have yet to “find” the Lord, by recalling, what sometimes seem to be mundane events, as laced with divine intervention. Testimonies are an important element of church services. In particular, the celebratory Thanksgiving Sunday, which is the first calendar Sunday of every month, increases parish congregation sizes quite substantially. Western dress is often replaced by more Nigerian traditional dress on Thanksgiving Sundays (as it is too on special occasions). Nigerian food is often served at the end, and many testimonial examples are from a Nigerian context, often relating to blessings received since coming from Nigeria, or in some way relate to family issues or interests in Nigeria. The main focus of these services is to testify and give thanks to their God, through memory recollection of their God’s glory and action, within the believers’ life. As a guest preacher from Accra, who was sweating profusely and clothed in dazzling gold and lilac Nigerian traditional dress, one August Sunday morning, confidently projected “Our testimony of
success will convert others to God, and thus away from Satan”. Thanksgiving Sunday, provides an opportunity to testify to God’s greatness and celebrate blessings. This takes place across all parishes across the globe. These are usually events within the Pentecostal’s life that took place in the past month or found resolution in the last month, and that for the believer indicates that their God is present and mindful of them. It is not uncommon that testimonies include being granted asylum, work promotions, and the healing of ailments. One testimonial that remains clear in my mind, took place the last Sunday service I shared with a couple I had grown fond of, before they left for a new start in Canada. Referring to his rebirth in God, Godwin, a well traveled and pensive man, with power and conviction during his goodbye, testified to the parish that he came to Ireland blind and now he can see. The parish responded in excitement and affirmation in their collective recollection of Godwin’s unguided path before becoming an active member of the parish.

Memory verses are scriptural verses that are usually within a Sunday School or Digging Deep Bible Study lesson and are thematically applicable to the lesson being taught. These are expected to be memorised and recited upon request. Children are often drilled and made to deliver these verses without fault weeks even months afterwards. One well dressed young woman of leaving school age, daughter of a respected usher, was made to stand during most of the weekly Sunday School lesson, as she has not done her homework and thus was unable to recall the memory verse, an exercise in the Sunday School lesson book. I believe the use of memory verses as a mechanism, is linked to the focus on a close reading of the Bible (King James Pure Cambridge Authorise Version) in order to know their God. This means that members often quote situationally applicable scriptural verses. Verbatim quoting from the Bible takes place across a range of social interactions from chats over tea, to counseling sessions to preaching in services. For the Redeemed reborn children of God, comfort is found in the consistency and guidance they believe is provided in “God’s Holy Book”. I have many a time heard pastors remind their congregation of Hebrew 13:8 “Jesus Christ the same yesterday, and today, and for ever”. Memory verses are also used by the Redeemed reborn, to easily sow the Word in Irish soil and reap the fruits of their missionary efforts in due season.

Concluding Thoughts
I echo Maskens (2012) and consider those engaged in this reborn Christian duty in Ireland, in any capacity, as migrant missionaries. As suggested by one of my research participants, I found it helpful to consider reborn Nigerian missionary migrants to be much like the Israelites, who traveled from one global territory to another in search of a “promised land”, all the time actively engaging a faith memory which provides comfort, direction and encouragement. “Being on Fire for Jesus” means that all aspects of the life journey including the diasporic move from, in this instance Nigeria, to Ireland is held as an engaging living faith memory. These memories are drawn upon and considered to be the visible manifestations of their God’s work in their lives. Spiritual cogs (part of a grander plan that their Lord has for them) were set in motion, leading these Redeemed members to Irish shores. As is characteristic of Pentecostalism, these Redeemed members are called to evangelise and bring the Holy Spirit back to an Ireland they believe has lost its Christian way. No matter how they came to make home in Ireland (for example via the asylum system or with a working visa) the journey to get here is remembered through the eyes of Pentecostal missionaries, who were proffered these sanctified avenues to spread the “living word”. Thus, how my research participants made home in Ireland is driven by their spirit mission. This spirit mission is boosted and sustained through the mechanism of a living faith memory. Memories that live and grow and breathe spiritual life into the Pentecostal individual and community. These memories become points of references and narratives of encouragement, whilst making home and spreading “the word”. Memory here is not about the past, but about creating a mindful, Godly present and looking towards a prosperous and blessed future whilst making home in Ireland.

References
**Beyond What Actually Happened: Loyalist Spectral Politics and the Problematic Privileging of ‘History’ During Northern Ireland’s Decade of Centenaries**

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**Abstract:** This essay seeks to challenge the prevailing argument about a need for historical ‘clarification’ through ‘starting from the historical facts’ during the Decade of Centenaries in Northern Ireland. Given that historical truth cannot exist independently of social organisation and politics, the dichotomy between history and memory is problematized. Finally, drawing on the work of Jacques Derrida and Avery Gordon, a hauntological lens is used to examine Loyalist commemoration of the First World War. To do so reveals that a reductionist and historicist emphasis risks our missing a conversation which concerns the future as much as it does the past.

**Keywords:** Loyalism; Commemoration; Memory; First World War; Somme; Centenary; Hauntology

‘The future can only be for ghosts. And the past.’

(Derrida 1994 [2006]: 45)

2014 marks the beginning of a four-year programme of commemorative events, including TV programmes from the BBC and a revamp of the Imperial War Museum in London, to mark the centenary of the First World War. Announcing this programme in 2012, David Cameron called for a ‘truly national commemoration’ which ‘captures our national spirit in every corner of the country’ (The Guardian 2012). In one corner of the country – in which two different national spirits operate – the 2014-2018 centenary of the First World War is located within a broader and contested ‘Decade of Centenaries’ which includes centennial commemorations of the Home Rule Crisis and the signing of the Ulster Covenant by Ulster Unionists, the formation of both the Ulster Volunteer Force and Irish National Volunteers, Ireland’s role in First World War itself, the Easter Rising and, ultimately, partition and Civil War. In 2016 the centenaries of two foundational episodes, each representing the zenith of what are essential that any programmes dealing with 1912-1922 needs in the present (Hobsbawm and Ranger eds. 1983). Drawing on the work of Jacques Derrida (1986, 2006) and Avery Gordon (2008, 2011), hauntological analysis of the memories as pertain to the Battle of the Somme in the Loyalist social imaginary reveals that they are actually more about a future-to-come which is always yet to arrive, a political project which is always and only ever on its way to being completed. Further, this is intrinsically mis-understood by an (albeit well-intentioned) peace-building industry which views historical ‘clarification’ and the ‘recovery’ of truth first as an exercise chiefly for historians and second as holding a (if not the) key to reconciliation.

‘Start from the historical facts’

In their ‘Decade of Anniversaries Toolkit’, the Northern Ireland Community Relations Council (CRC) and the Heritage Lottery Fund have defined a series of ‘principles for commemoration’ during the decade, the foremost of which is ‘Start from the historical facts’ (CRC and HLF 2013). In a political environment which is defined by an on-going and contested process of peace building – in which divergent, at times mutually exclusive, and implicitly ‘inaccurate’ historical accounts are both the cause and outgrowth of conflict – historical precision is understandably seen as a potential remedy for the ongoing pain of the past. ‘If people only knew their history’ has become a common refrain and the history lecture, a dominant motif, of the decade.

‘The facts’ are seen inherently to hold reconciliatory potential. Certain of these facts – the names and numbers of Irish nationalists who fought in the British Army during the First World War, for instance – are tacitly privileged while calls are made simultaneously for historical objectivity. In his introductory speech at a one day conference organised by the CRC in March 2011, Eamon Phoenix (2011: 15) affirmed that ‘it is essential that any programmes dealing with 1912-1922 should reflect the historical facts, seek to explode myths and propagandistic distortions and place events in their broadest historical perspective’.

However, and as McNeill (1986: 2) asserts, ‘Facts that [can] be established beyond all reasonable doubt [remain] trivial in the sense that they [do] not, in and of themselves, give meaning or intelligibility to the record of the past’. ‘History’, wrote Walter Benjamin (1968: 261), ‘is the object of a construction whose place is not formed in homogeneous and empty time, but in that which is fulfilled by the here and now’. Any process of

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determining what actually happened is intrinsically tied to particular social, cultural and political interests. Even where such interests are laudable, intent on fostering an 'inclusive and accepting society' (CRC and HLF 2013: 4) this process nonetheless requires the active negation of alternate and competing narratives. History, in essence, and in any society, is about the power to (de)legitimise particular narratives, excluding particular ideas about the past from Ignatieff’s (1996) 'range of permissible lies'. The imperative to exclude or to 'clarify' (See Arkiv 2013) becomes all the more pressing in contexts where 'history' is potentially, or actually, divisive.

**History against memory**

An insistence on the 'historicism' of which Benjamin (1968) warns privileges not only certain accounts of the past over others, but also a particular method by which these events are or can be known or understood. Archival research becomes the place where 'history' is excavated through disciplined empiricism, and the library or lecture theatre the proper arena for its dissemination. Other forms of social practice, including commemorative parades and rituals of remembrance, reveal only 'memory'. Through this process of delegitimization, memory is conflated with myth and even falsehood, and forms of engaging with the past which shape human experience in the present are consigned increasingly to what Nora (1989) has termed lieux de memoires (places of memory). Historicism not only rules on what can or cannot be included as 'history', but also serves both to isolate the past from the present and restrict access to it. As Barthes (1981: 65) indicates, history 'is constituted only if we consider it, only if we look at it – and in order to look at it, we must be excluded from it'. From this follows Nora’s (1989: 7) assertion that there are only lieux de memoires because what were once milieux de memoire (environments of memory) have been epistemologically sanitised. What McBride (2001: 11) has termed 'the relentless packaging of history in facts', combined with the professionalization of access to historical knowledge, 'serves as an index of our memory loss'.

This is indicative, of course, of a long running debate both within and between 'History' and 'Anthropology' as disciplines. In 1990, Clifford Geertz wrote that 'it has been quite some time now since the stereotypes of the historian as mankind’s memorialist and the anthropologist as the explorer of the elementary forms of the elemental have had very much purchase' (Geertz 1990: 322). However, the historicist emphasis evident in the CRC and Heritage Lottery Fund's principles demonstrates that this debate remains relevant, and serves as an invitation to reinvigorate it. For these principles are demonstrative of the ascendance of a particular desire to create a unitary account of 'how things [were] brought about' over the anthropological desire to 'see how things fit together’ (ibid.: 332). This means important questions remain as to who has the power to define, and who risks being excluded from, David Cameron’s 'truly national commemoration'. Some of the most important questions which arise during this 'Decade of Centenaries' are not about what is fact and what fiction; rather, they are about the social processes by which truth narratives are constructed over time and space, and how those narratives themselves condition social action. Because, 'whether factually erroneous or not, myths [mould] popular outlooks, which [influence] the course of...history' (Beiner 2007: 369).

**Commemoration: a contested history of its own**

Remembrance is not simply, or even chiefly, a facet of individual cognition: 'Every recollection, however personal it may be...exist[s] in relationship with a whole ensemble of notions which many others possess: with persons, places, dates, words, forms of language, that is to say with the whole material and moral life of the societies of which we are a part or of which we have been part’ (Connerton 1989: 36). Thus, as Zerubavel (2003: 5) indicates, ‘far from being a strictly spontaneous act, remembering is...governed by unmistakably social norms of remembrance’. These norms of remembrance are complex social constructions which themselves have a history. Their history within Ulster Unionist commemoration of the Great War is defined by contestation and negotiation, which operates both at the level of discourse and of ritual practice. In the first instance, the narratives within Ulster Loyalism surrounding the Ulster Volunteer Force, the 36th (Ulster) Division and the Battle of the Somme draw on a ‘dominant’ Unionist memorial tradition, in which the ‘sacrifice’ of the Somme has been mobilised both discursively and in commemorative rituals to legitimise the Northern Irish state.

Jay Winter (1995: 93) has suggested that, across Europe, commemoration in the years immediately following the First World War ‘provided first and foremost a framework for the legitimation of individual and family grief’, becoming politically symbolic only ‘now that the moment of mourning has long past’. Indeed, the process of memorialisation of the 36th...
some of the most dangerous phases of the Anglo-Irish struggle for Ulster unionism coincided with war commemorations, allowing unionists the opportunity to counterpoint any tendency of Westminster to ‘betray’ Ulster with a powerful reminder of the province’s sacrifice in the British national interest, and, accordingly a debt owed by Britain...it allowed them simultaneously to share authentically in a profound British experience, and to address their own political concerns. (ibid.: 137-141)

The ultimate expression of the synergy between commemoration of the 36th (Ulster) Division and the establishment of political legitimacy for a Northern Irish state maintained within the Union was in the construction of the Ulster Tower at Thiepval. Opened in 1921, it was the first such official, permanent battlefield monument (Jeffrey 2000; Switzer 2013).

Contemporary Loyalist commemoration of the First World War in general, and the Battle of the Somme in particular, continues to correspond to a narrative of ‘blood sacrifice’ for, and an enduring loyalty to, the British state (Brown 2007). But, mirroring the fragmentation of Unionism along class lines – a process which has accelerated since the Good Friday Agreement4 (See McAuley 2010) – Loyalist commemorative discourse and practice also corresponds to what Nora (1989) terms ‘dominated’ memory. As Graham and Shirlow (2002: 882) indicate, ‘unofficial mythologies of belonging are being created to challenge the former hegemonic Britishness of official unionism’. These unofficial mythologies, couched in ‘proletarian claims to the ownership of a symbolic mythology that has long formed part of mainstream unionist identity’ (ibid.) both reflect and build on class-political ideas about ‘Lions led by Donkeys’ in broader British discourses about the First World War. And they belong to much longer memorial dialectics of victory and tragedy; triumph and vulnerability which include the ‘massacres’ of 1641 and 1798, the Siege of Derry, the Battle of the Boyne, and more recent events including, poignantly, the Enniskillen ‘Poppy Day’ bombing in 1987 (McBride 2001; Cohen 2007; Robinson 2010). At times and by certain groups these narratives have been ritually mobilised to buttress state authority, and by others to challenge it.

Reading Remembrance Sunday
In Belfast, Remembrance Sunday and Armistice Day are marked by ‘official’ acts of Remembrance at the Cenotaph. Central to the Remembrance Sunday Service are solemnity, Christian religiosity and military ritual. In 2013, at a ceremony attended by more than 1,000 people, a guard of honour was performed by the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Irish Regiment, while the Union flag was lowered to the playing of the Last Post by a lone bugler. Following a two-minute silence, and to the accompaniment of a regimental band, poppy wreaths were laid by, among others, Peter Robinson, the First Minister for Northern Ireland; Dame Mary Peters, Lord Lieutenant of Belfast2 and Matt Baggot, Chief Constable of the Police Service for Northern Ireland (PSNI). For the second year running, a laurel wreath was also laid at the Belfast Cenotaph on behalf of the Irish government by the Tánaiste, Eamon Gilmore.

Meanwhile, at what has become, since 1987, a Remembrance Sunday service of profound significance to Unionists, two wreaths – one poppy and the other laurel – were laid at the Enniskillen War Memorial by Theresa Villiers, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, and the Taoiseach, Enda Kenny. In an interview with RTÉ after the ceremony, Kenny spoke of a need to ‘continue that kind of engagement in dealing with the consequences of the past and the need for reconciliation, and a demonstration of that right across the board’ (RTÉ News 2013). While he did not attend on Remembrance Sunday, the Lord Mayor of Belfast, Máirtín Ó Muilleoir, did accept the British Legion’s invitation to attend the Armistice Day service at the Cenotaph on 11th November, becoming the first Sinn Féin Lord Mayor ever to do so. In a video interview with An Phoblacht, Ó Muilleoir said, ‘what I did today was really reaching out to the Unionist, Protestant community of Belfast, for whom Remembrance is a major, major event each year, and in doing so I hope to build the peace’ (An Phoblacht 2013). Thus, in a context defined by an on-going process of peace-building, state rituals of remembrance are used as part of attempts to reinforce and legitimate new political arrangements.

But these arrangements are also challenged through acts of remembrance. For the Armistice is also marked on Remembrance Sunday by paramilitary commemorations in which ‘official’ ritual practices are both co-opted and subverted; and ‘dominant’ state narratives of political conflicts past and present are challenged by Loyalists. Local commemorative parades and orations are held across Belfast by the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), Red Hand Commando (RHC) and the Ulster Defence Association (UDA). The military style marching, colour parties, lowering of flags and accompaniment by bands playing military marches, all mirror the ritual forms employed at the Cenotaph. Most significantly, poppy wreaths, the ubiquitous symbol of First World War Remembrance, are laid at memorials to volunteers killed during the more recent conflict. A symbolic equivalence is drawn
between their sacrifice and that of their forebears, and this is reinforced with orations in which service in the British military – including most recently in Iraq and Afghanistan – and the Loyalist paramilitaries are presented as moral equivalents (personal observation, 10 November 2013).

In the years following the Good Friday Agreement, these parallel acts of commemoration have both reflected and contributed to on-going re-structuring of the post-Agreement political environment. For instance, the speaker at a UDA commemoration in South Belfast on Remembrance Sunday last year condemned ‘mainstream’ Unionism for failing to connect with its working class constituents following the ‘flag protests’, and criticised the PSNI and the Parades Commission, which he called an ‘insipid little quango whose sole purpose appears to be the emasculation of the cultural rights of Orangemen and bandsmen alike’. Sinn Féin’s ‘willingness to talk, their open and transparent desire to reach a compromise’, was denounced as ‘smoke and mirrors’ (The Loyalist 2013: 6-7).

Conflicts within the Loyalist ‘community’ itself are also embodied through commemorative practice. Speaking with someone who participated in the parade to mark the centenary of the Ulster Covenant in 2012, he suggested that although the parade had had the appearance of a unified whole, it was actually constituted of several smaller parades organised independently and at times antagonistically. The Orange Order, for instance, had been reluctant to be seen to be entering into joint organisation with representatives of the UVF and UDA. Speaking candidly, he said ‘it’s lucky there weren’t fist fights over it’. Parades to mark the centenary of the formation of the Ulster Volunteer Force in 2013 were viewed as the exclusive purview of the UVF. One UDA ex-prisoner I asked about this lamented that ‘the present UVF think they were at the bloody Somme’. At stake in contests over this historic legacy are issues of legitimacy and moral authority. As Brown (2007: 709) instance, had been reluctant to be seen to be entering into joint organisation with representatives of the UVF and UDA. Speaking candidly, he said ‘it’s lucky there weren’t fist fights over it’. Parades to mark the centenary of the formation of the Ulster Volunteer Force in 2013 were viewed as the exclusive purview of the UVF. One UDA ex-prisoner I asked about this lamented that ‘the present UVF think they were at the bloody Somme’. At stake in contests over this historic legacy are issues of legitimacy and moral authority. As Brown (2007: 709) asserts, ‘the ghosts of the fallen are not insubstantial will o’ the wisps, clinging to recent tombstones or dog-eared history books; they can be effectively conscripted into the shapping of communal identity’.

At a UVF commemoration in Belfast on Remembrance Sunday in 2013, a wreath was laid by a volunteer wearing the khaki uniform of the 36th (Ulster) Division (personal observation, 10 November 2013). Through an embodied inversion of time linearity, a correspondence was invoked between the sacrifice of the 36th and their ‘heirs’ in the contemporary UVF, the chief aim being to validate the actions of the latter. This process of coalescence, derived from the collapsing of time through commemorative ritual (See Tonkin and Bryan 1996: 33) is also mirrored materially in memorials and murals. In this mural (see Pic. 1) on Glenwood Street, off the Shankill Road, for instance, an evolutionary narrative which traces the formation of the original Ulster Volunteers through to the UVF of the recent conflict is collapsed in to two dimensions, giving the appearance of contemporaneousness and making the claim of equivalence.

The Ghost Dance
In that is intrinsically political, commemoration is not only subject to opposing interests, it is a manifestation of opposition as such. As Graff-McRae (2010: 15) suggests, it ‘functions as a fulcrum point, a hinge, in the discursive construct of conflict and the political – in ways which serve to reproduce, re-write and deconstruct its accepted and acceptable boundaries’. Through its suspension, and even inversion of ordinary time, Loyalist commemorative ritual functions as what Spivak (1995: 78), has called a ‘ghost dance’, ‘a prayer to be haunted, a learning to live at the seam of the past and the present’. As Avery Gordon (2008: xvi) suggests, ‘Haunting raises spectres, and it alters the experience of being in time, the way we separate the past, the present and the future. These spectres or ghosts appear when the Trouble they represent and symptomize is no longer being contained or repressed or blocked from view.’ Haunting produces a ‘something-to-be-done’, which feels as if it has already been needed or wanted before, perhaps forever, certainly for a long time, and we cannot wait for it anymore’ (ibid.: 4).

As Derrida (2006: 45) asserts, ‘the future to come can announce itself only as such, and in its purity only on the basis of a past end’. Greenlaw (2004: 3) has demonstrated how, for the Republican tradition, ‘commemorative rhetoric used as a means of containment finally resists its own aim: rather than marking the borders of identity by incorporating the past, it sends the presence of ‘Irishness’ into the future as something on the way to being formed.’ Within Loyalism, the past end, the presence sent into the future, is defined by an enduring right to membership of the United Kingdom, and even more fundamentally, by Sir James Craig’s promise of a Protestant parliament for a Protestant people: a political project which has always only ever been on its way to completion, and which has constantly been beset by the perceived mimetic challenge of a hostile Other (cf. Girard 1996). The current political settlement in Northern Ireland represents a crisis for this political project. And as Derrida (2006: 136) warns, ‘the more the period is in crisis, the more it is ‘out of joint’, then the more one has to convoke the old, borrow from it’.

As Marx (quoted in ibid.: 135) identified, the ‘tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living.’ Heritage is experienced by Loyalists as a grave responsibility. It makes particular demands of them. This is reflected in the language which surrounds commemorative rituals, which demonstrates an inter-play between pride, uncertainty and resolve. After a commemorative parade for the Ulster Volunteer Force in West Belfast, I asked one participant what he had been thinking about while he had been marching, stony-faced and clearly in a contemplative frame of mind. He said that he marched
out of pride and for the memory his grand-father, to pay tribute to the stand that he had taken in joining the Ulster Volunteers in 1913. But his primary concern was the future. He was fed-up with how his people were being treated by a state he viewed as having reneged on its duties to its loyal citizens. But he was also determined that he was here to stay. An inherited but constantly re-affirmed duty to do so was clearly invoked.

This emotional engagement with the past and its spectral message for the future takes us far beyond a concern with what actually happened. ‘The memory we are considering here is not essentially oriented towards the past...memory stays with traces, in order to preserve them, but traces of a past that has never been present, traces which always remain, as it were, to come’ (Derrida 1986: 58). Focusing so extensively on reclaiming or preserving some form of historical truth about the First World War in Northern Ireland risks our missing a conversation which more fundamentally concerns the future of Loyalists in Northern Ireland. An obsessively historicist approach, though highly commendable in the context of peace-building, risks our failure to engage with forms of experiencing or understanding the past that hinge on ritual practice, embodiment and an affective historical tryst. The imperative should, as Fentress and Wickham (1992: 26) indicate, be to ‘situate groups in relation to their own traditions, asking how they interpret their own ‘ghosts’ and how they use them as a source of knowledge’. In trying instead to conjure away the spectres which are raised through commemoration, ‘starting from the historical facts’ could ultimately serve only to make them more conspicuous in their absence.

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Notes

1 Taken here in its colloquial and problematic use in mainstream British discourses as an undifferentiated or catch-all term for both ‘communities’ or ‘traditions’ in Northern Ireland.

2 A series of such lectures was organised by the CRC and the Heritage Lottery Fund in 2012. Entitled ‘Remembering the Future’, the videos of this series are available to view on the CRC website at http://www.community-relations.org.uk/programmes/marking-anniversaries/decade-lecture-videos.

3 Over 5,000 men from the 36th (Ulster) Division were killed or wounded on the first day of the Battle alone. The 36th, emblematic of Kitchener’s Army, were volunteers drawn principally from the ranks of the Ulster Volunteer Force, which had been formed in 1913 to oppose Home Rule for Ireland.

4 While the gulf between ‘middle’ Unionism and working-class Loyalism has widened during the Troubles and – since the 1990s – the peace process (See Hall 1994) it is important to note that class-political tensions were prevalent within, and in many ways a defining feature of, Unionism throughout the twentieth century (Bryan 2000).

5 The Lord Lieutenant is the official representative of the Queen for the County Borough of Belfast.

6 In December 2012, a vote was taken at Belfast City Council to restrict the flying of the Union flag above City Hall to no more than eighteen designated days. Protests outside City Hall on the night of the vote itself were followed by further protests which continued for several weeks in to 2013, which included violent clashes between protesters and police.
“It’s fake - I mean it sounds the same, but it’s fake": Plasticity, Simulation and Passing Through the Irish Language in Belgium.

Sean O’Dubhghaill*

Abstract: This work aims at understanding the position of the simulacra, here thought of as a copy or approximation of another object, by locating it within the contextual examination of non-Native Irish-speakers in Belgium. We can, through an examination of how Irish is used by the non-Native speaker, call into question and challenge some of the dominant presuppositions concerning authenticity, how it is deployed and the postmodern manner in which it is explored. Ethnographic vignettes are provided from among a small sample of the non-Native Irish-speaking population in Belgium in order to draw out the complexities of notions of falsehood and authenticity.

Keywords: Authenticity; Irishness; Postmodernism; Simulacra; Irish language in Belgium; Ethnography.

Introduction

To begin I seek to transmit the exact manner in which postmodern thought has constituted the simulacra by examining the philosophy of Jean Baudrillard and Gilles Deleuze in order to set the stage for the manner in which anthropologists have (or might) employ these terms to better understand their field. Defining postmodernism (a necessity to determine the method through which simulacra, as objects of study, has come about) is quite a difficult matter however. First, I will turn to an analysis of Lyotard’s work, which concerns defining the ‘Postmodern Condition’ (Browning 2000). He writes:

Lyotard’s the postmodern condition declared the end of grand narratives that purport to provide general explanations of the past and present... [He also, ed.] repudiates the universalising aspiration of theories that subordinate difference to characteristically modern projects of general explanation and prescription. (Browning 2000:63)

Browning, paying homage to the writer he is reviewing, also eludes a standardised definition of Postmodernism. Instead, postmodernism is somewhat broken down into symptoms. Postmodern thought can be said, then, to be that which permits the play of difference and does not subordinate it to those grand or even meta-narratives which attempt to undo its alterity or to categorise difference as a subset of a broader homogeneity.

Postmodernism, typified here by Baudrillard’s work, needs to be contextualised rather than being thought of as something sui generis, and it is for this reason that we must return to a brief analysis of classical anthropological Structuralism, postmodernism’s older brother. Put concisely, Structuralism is here postulated as the study of the existence of culturally meaningful binary opposites in order to elicit their underlying meaning2. The sensation of hot water makes us aware of cold water, certain prohibitions around food or other types of social convention are indicative of grander patterns of social thought etc. (Douglas 1980, 1996). We know the discrepancies between colours by liberty of what they are not - Blue is not pink, not black, not yellow etc. Within Baudrillard’s argumentation, however, contentions often run in a pattern more indicative of structuralist thought rather than Post structuralist thought. For instance, he writes when discussing the binary of the real and imaginary:

It is always a question of proving the real by the imaginary; proving truth by scandal; proving the law by transgression; proving work by the strike; proving the system by crisis and capitalism by revolution... Without counting: proving theatre by anti-theatre; proving art by anti-art, proving pedagogy by anti-pedagogy etc. (Baudrillard 1999:177)

This, I contend, is a Structuralist’s understanding rephrased; one is expressly not the other. The movement from one category to its opposite makes us aware that it’s opposite, in fact, exists. We come in from the cold outside and we truly know the warmth of the inside. This operation of proof by way of negation has its limits however and these are explained by Baudrillard:

Go and organise a fake hold up... The simulation of an offense, if it is patent, will either be punished more lightly (because it has no “consequences”) or be punished as an offence to public office (for example if one triggered off a police operation “for nothing”) but never as simulation, since it is precisely as such that no equivalence of the real is possible... (ibid 1999:178: Emphasis added)

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We can take simulation as that which cannot be reduced and which defies a characterisation which is conceived as something in its own right. So contingent is simulation upon the representation that it conveys, or emulates, that the temptation towards reduction is always there; simulation, therefore, cannot be understood to exist in the social field per se. It cannot be likened to anything, and therefore intensifies difference and eludes standardization. In order to determine whether simulation and difference, in whatever form they are expressed in the social field, can be related to one another we must turn to empirically-borne out anthropological study.

**Anthropology and SimulacrA**

This brand of postmodernity ought not only be thought of as postmodern proper, based on Lyotard's prescription, but as critiques of their being irrepresentative of everyday encounters with the phenomenon of simulacra that have been levelled against him by anthropologists. This section examines the anthropological fascination with representations as simulations and their increasing interdependence. Bruner's exploratory work into the conditions of possibility of an 'authentic reproduction', a credible, historically sound model of an historical site in New Salem which claims to be 'Lincoln's Salem' (Bruner 1994). The question of the hermeneutic possibility of a historical site, unchanged since Lincoln's time and available to the public as though via a time machine, is patently impossible in strict terms but these strict terms do not apply to a simulation of that same context.

Bruner's critique is instructive here and is one which pushes to one side Baudrillard's notion of the superabundance and parenthetical passive consumption of inauthentic experiences in favour of a more multidimensional and layered interpretation. Tourists, history-buffs and consumers alike cannot all be thought of in one monolithic manner, as passive conduits for the soaking-up of meaning, but rather as active agents who imbue the site with their own meanings; while Bruner does not deny that tourists can passively soak up nostalgia he also reveals that others come to question various historically-informed notions of progress, to recreate their foundational mythos and to commemorate traditional America's ethos of struggle, upward mobility and hard work (ibid 1994:410-412).

The simulation, we might postulate, can invite and cater for different interpretations rather than relying solely on a comparison to the original by being castigated as an imposter. Plasquy (2012) has written about the fact that if one were to see a ritual being enacted by Spanish immigrants in Belgium it is likely that the onlooker would consign the phenomenon to an approximation of the original, to an authentic display which occurs in their homeland. This interpretation homogenises difference and eschews that which is really enacted in the following way:

\[ T \]he moment of the romería, it has come to imbue the Spanish community with a very profound, authentic sense of pride and belonging. As such, the romería in Vilvoorde was never and never will be an exact copy of an existing Spanish example; instead, it needs to be approached as the outcome of a creative process that has its primary locus within the specific context of this Spanish migrant community. (Plasquy 2012:91)

Here both the authentic-by-way-of-negation and the reduction to pure simulation fail fully to account for the ritual being enacted in a manner similar to that of reducing 'Lincoln's Salem' to an inauthentic reproduction. Craciun (2012) has also stated the need for anthropologists to elide understandings which reduce, or worse actively castigate and otherize, these complexities; instead, we might think of the inauthentic thing as an equally true representation of any given phenomenon:

The fake is seen as a copy that does not hide its true nature... The common notion of a fake implies an intention to deceive: the fake is produced with the intention of making someone believe that it is indiscernibly identical with another object (Craciun 2012:847)

Here we have arrived at the heart of the matter and have approximated that which anthropologists can better come to understand in order to resolve the constant prefacing of an event as fake, inauthentic, akin to, like or resembling another thing. If any given phenomenon does not have an intention to deceive or conceals itself somehow, are the differences simply being applied onto it by the onlooker? Deleuze takes Baudrillard’s notion as his point of departure, namely that differences between simulacra and things can be discerned at all:

\[ T \]he motive of the theory of Ideas must be sought in a will to select and to choose. It is a question of “making a difference”, of distinguishing the “thing” itself from its images, the original from the copy, the model from the simulacrum. (Deleuze 1990: 253)

Immediately, however, Deleuze turns his attentions to the tenability of this kind of claim and proceeds in a manner to problematize Baudrillardian differentiation between likeness and reality. Deleuze replaces the notion of ever having any undifferentiated impartial reality, against which the simulacra can be derived, as being something akin to philosophical false-friends, and contends instead that we, being ourselves simulacra, are destined only to select from among them as to which is foundational and which is not. Deleuze attempts to fortify this point by making reference to man, in his post-lapsarian capacity as being simulacra. He writes:
The copy is an image endowed with resemblance, the simulacrum is an image without resemblance. The catechism, so much inspired by Platonism, has familiarized us with this notion. God made man in his image and resemblance. Through sin, however, man lost the resemblance while maintaining the image. We have become simulacra (ibid 257)

Deleuze's self-styled Neo-Platonism, allows us to think not of the interstices between difference (discerning the pretender from the heir proper), but instead calls into question the monadic structure of something akin to the undifferentiated same in the first place. In order to illustrate this point it may be necessary to return to ethnography before providing in-field observations to demonstrate this hypothesis.

**Plasticity and Differentiation**

I wish to turn now to second generation Irish immigrant families in the UK. As members of their diaspora these immigrants are confronted with the label, unironic in its application, of 'plastic paddy'\(^4\). Here the label of plasticity is something which can be reappropriated and about which second generation Irish immigrants can become proud, as in Scully (2009):

While acknowledging the potency of the label, appropriating it allows the original pejorative associations of the term to be subverted. 'Plastic'-ness now becomes constructed as a badge of pride, and something that can be proclaimed publicly (2009:132)

Similar problematical elements of discerning an undifferentiated cultural identity, vis-à-vis plasticity, among the Irish diaspora in the UK is also examined in Mac an Ghaill and Haywood (2003) and Hickman, Morgan et al. (2005) and can serve both to suppress difference and to disavow the possibility of an authenticity which is also related to mobility, as demonstrated in Plasquy (2012), above. This is troublesome to anthropologists not least because it is a tactic employed to ostracise, by ignoring the imagined nature of these communities (Anderson, 1983), but also that it ignores that mobile communities rather than being a splinter of Irish society, play a more constitutive role in its active construction. Wulff (2007) reminds us of this in the following way:

Travel has long been at the heart of Irish culture, which means that Ireland is a case in point for how mobility, and different types of longing for the land, shape society. (2007:540)

I turn now to my own work, to provide a vignette which it is hoped summarises the above-argued claims of how we might situate and accommodate those claims in anthropology which stretch credulity or demand overlooking the "authentic" things upon whose meaning they often depend.

**As Irish as the Irish themselves: Simulation in passing**

Catalin Milev\(^5\) is an Irish-speaking Bulgarian man in his 40's who lives in Leuven, Belgium. He is an active member of the Irish language community and is involved in two separate Ciorcal Comhrá (Irish language conversation circles). It was at one such meeting, held monthly in Brussels, which was quite poorly attended, that I was invited back to Catalin's house to drink Lagavulin and to listen to traditional Irish music. Perusing the floor-to-ceiling bookcases filled end to end with Celtic-inspired CDs, DVDs and books I was once again struck by Catalin's affinity for everything Irish. As I turned around to relay this I observed him busyng himself at his VCR. 'One moment' he said. All of a sudden I could see a high-budget, magazine-style television show on which everyone was speaking Bulgarian. Catalin could be seen in the distance and upon being prompted he began speaking to the interviewer in Bulgarian. One quick lapse dissolve later the scene opened on his three piece band. Catalin began playing his Bazouki and the band’s female vocalist burst into song in the Irish language. I wondered aloud whether she was as fluent a speaker as Catalin. He looked at me and quickly responded: 'No - It is fake. I mean it sounds the same but it is fake.'

Catalin let the music play and sat down. He explained the painstaking rehearsals during which he would write out the lyrics of every song for an entire hour-long repertoire. Each lyric borrowed from one of his favourite bands, written out in Irish and Bulgarian (so that the lyricist could capture the emotion being transmitted) and finally in a phonetic approximation (so that the lyricist could capture the emotion being transmitted) and finally in a phonetic approximation so that it could be sung live. The falsehood in the lyrics however could not be discerned by the naked ear and I could even hear Catalin’s north Donegal inflection\(^6\) in the songstress’s interpretation of the phoneticised lyrics. I had often pried into Catalin’s past to discern what it was that had sparked his interest in the language and each time he would respond in terms of a tautology. Tonight was no exception: 'No one ever asks: “Why do you love your wife?” ‘You just do. There's not anything more to it than that.’

Catalin’s proficiency in the Irish language was also treated as a curiosity among the other Brussels and Leuven-based Irish speakers he encountered in the field. Anthropologically-themed questions were often asked of him in relation to the conditions which gave rise to his learning the language or whether he had learned Irish because he wanted to be Irish. He would, on every occasion, defer the questions and offer some form of rhetorical response in exchange. After one evening of persistent questioning by a small crowd at an Irish language event held at the Irish College in Leuven he expressed his frustration, ‘It is no weird thing to speak a language. I speak seven of them. I prefer
Irish. I think it sounds like the singing of the angels. It is no weird thing.' Catalin's candour did remind me that early in the evening he had also been treated as something of a museum curiosity and his frustration may have stemmed from the fact that on that occasion the questions put to him had largely been in English and were asked by people who could themselves not speak the language.

Despite the strong connections Catalin felt with Ireland he never claimed to be Irish. The authenticity of his claim to the Irish identity could not scrutinised, it simply did not exist; both in conversation and in the semi-structured interviews, which were conducted with him, he would maintain the same thing. It was not his intention to deceive anyone into thinking differently either. This presented something of a problematic in theorising informants such as Catalin. Was it excessive to impose the qualifier of inauthenticity on the simulation of the Irish language which does not refer to that exact identity? Was it equitable to insinuate the proposition of a falsehood upon an informant who had no intention to deceive? There was one occasion, however, upon which I observed the exact manner in which Catalin would appreciate his being represented and it is to this occasion that I wish to turn.

Jackson (2008), in describing the difficulties faced by undocumented Sierra Leonian migrants in London describes a process of ‘passing’. What is meant by passing is the seamlessness between self and other which allows for ‘passing’ to occur. Jackson’s ethnography concerns migrants who affect a North-London cockney approximation of the retort: ‘wot?’ to their being accosted by locals who prey on West African migrants. The key to ‘passing’ in this manner was to mimic the accent of the locals such that your presence was tacitly accepted. As observed previously, even where successfully enacted ‘passing’ in the instance of the second generation Irish people in the United Kingdom would still incur being labelled as plastic. This phenomenon is ascribed, in Slattery (2011) as a judgment which is somehow innate to Irish people and which begins at the local level and emanates outward:

The practical approach if you find yourself in this position [i.e. if you should move to Ireland] is not to become Irish but to pretend to be Irish. We Irish will always be able to tell the difference even if you can’t… [i.e. Plastic Paddies] think they are really Irish but it is practically impossible to fake it. (Slatter 2010:38)

Slattery's account here is an attempt at a wry transmission of the state of affairs concerning the seamlessness of Irish culture and its receptivity to Others. I have never seen Catalin as happy, then, on the occasion on which he was mistaken for a ‘native’. A stranger, having arrived late to conversation who was, herself, completely fluent in Irish joined the table at which myself and Catalin were sat. She introduced herself and where she was from to both of us and asked the same of us and we patiently heard from everyone present. Finally, she reached Catalin but having heard his accent her interrogative approach changed slightly. ‘Is ea. Agus cabh as I nDun na Gall thu?’ ['I see, and whereabouts in Donegal are you from?'] Catalin glanced over at me almost immediately and a massive smile came over his face. The woman who had asked the question was immediately concerned that she had insulted him, but as she was trying to apologise Catalin interjected asking everyone what they would like to drink. He was ecstatic, not to have been mistaken, but rather to have broken down lines of semblance which are often correlated to difference and hence to the drawing of distinctions which he had often found himself on the other side of.

Concluding Remarks
Catalin had become excitable only when he overcame the reduction to plasticity, when he came to occupy a broader, seamless Irishness to which everyone was welcome. It can be claimed that what had occurred was that Catalin came to occupy the same discursive space, or more accurately the same linguistic habitus (Bourdieu, 1993:78-90), that the Irish diaspora in Belgium also occupy. Catalin’s narrative can also be enlightening to the Anthropology of Ireland, or Anthropology Ireland (Wilson and Donnan, 2006) exactly because, not in spite of, the fact he himself is not Irish. It might be instructive to recall Taylor’s (1996) pronunciation:

In short, we need to ask not what [anthropology] theory can do for Ireland, but what Ireland can do for theory. (Taylor 1996:225)

The risk which is run in separating the inauthentic from the authentic, in demystifying difference and making it accountable to the same is one which is remote to anthropology. In critiquing Baudrillard it is possible to observe that only a postmodernism that does not rely on the argumentative formulae of its forebears (Structuralist critiques) can account for phenomenon which occur in that age (i.e. the postmodern present). Many anthropologists (discussed in the second section) have managed to nuance anthropology such that a space becomes available in which questions about simulacra, simulation and authenticity can be posited anew. For my part I have submitted Catalin’s narrative which takes place upon the backdrop of a diaspora which, in the United Kingdom at least, is preoccupied with questions of belonging by way of the perceived authenticity of their claim to a solitary Irishness. Catalin, and others like him, can invite us to ruminate on the topic of the limits of Irishness such that we can encounter strains of it elsewhere which are simulated in our presence and which defy our reductive gaze.
References


Taylor, L. J. 1996. “There are two things that people don’t like to hear about themselves: The Anthropology of Ireland and the Irish view of Anthropology”, *South Atlantic Quarterly* 95(1): 213-226.


Notes
1 This, and all translations, are the author’s own and are based on fieldnotes which were written-up promptly after the sentences were uttered.

2 A further exploration of the notion of ‘meaningful difference’ is espoused in De Saussure’s “Course in General Linguistics” (1959) pp. 81-88, and is foundational with respect to the Structuralist movement which Derrida’s work (1967) is said to have brought an end to. ‘Meaningful difference’ remains a useful criterion for analysis in studies of value however (see Graeber, 2001 and Carrier, 2004:439-454).

3 Foucault reminds us in the Order of Things that the temptation to employ analogies is both a finite affair (it will never be tied to anything beyond the realm in which the analogies are drawn) and is indicative of classical thought (Foucault, 1966. Pp 19-49). For an excellent critique of the use of analogy in anthropology see Jackson (1989).

4 I am aware here that ‘Paddy’, where used to connote a person of Irish provenance generally has a male connotation, as discussed in Hickman and Bronwen (1995). I employ it here to connote both sexes; the connotation of plasticity as fraudulence is here what is meant to be emphasised.

5 A pseudonym has been employed here to protect the anonymity of the informant it represents.

6 Catalin had been taught how to speak Irish in a Gaeltacht (Irish-speaking region) in Glen Colmcille, Donegal in the North of Ireland.

7 Catalin is not alone; during my period of fieldwork I have met 8 Non-native Irish-speakers whose testimony I intend to outline in forthcoming works.

8 Problematising and disembedding the privileged testimony of a ‘native’ anthropologists is also a priority in the wake of the excellent critique in Narayan (1993) in which she asks how ‘native’ is native enough to allow for the elimination of difference in place of a solitary author who serves to represent a given culture.
Irish Ways in the 1911 Census

Dymphna Lonergan*

Abstract: The concept of Irish identity preoccupied political and cultural figures in Ireland from the end of the nineteenth century. For Douglas Hyde, Irish identity could best be found through a process of de-anglicization where Irish ways would become more visible and valued. In the Census of Ireland 1901, around 300 entries were returned in the Irish language. Ten years later returns for the Census of Ireland show Irish language entries of around 25,000. This study of Irish language entries in the 1911 Census of Ireland provides rich yields for researchers in anthropology, language, politics, and sociology.

Keywords: Census; Identity; Irish language

We only succeeded after we had begun to get back our Irish ways; after we had made a serious effort to speak our own language; after we had striven again to govern ourselves (Michael Collins, quoted in Ó Cuív 1969: 111)

This comment by Michael Collins underscores the importance that language played in defining Irish distinction at the turn of the twentieth century, a linguistic distinction that gave legitimacy to the assertion for political independence. The concept of Irish identity had preoccupied political and cultural figures in Ireland from the end of the nineteenth century. For Douglas Hyde, Irish identity could best be found through a process of de-anglicization where Irish ways would become more visible and valued: ‘... we must strive to cultivate everything that is most racial, most smacking of the soil, most Gaelic, most Irish...’ (Hyde 1892). Hyde wished to see a future Ireland developed along ‘Irish lines’. The promotion of the Irish language by The Gaelic League, the emergence of an Irish Literary Revival, and the push for Home Rule deepened and strengthened those aspirational lines. Irish lines also made inroads into government and legal spaces as Irish citizens asserted their rights to be known by their Irish names, not always successfully. One of the more celebrated failures was the legal case defended by Patrick Pearse in 1887 when a Neil MacBride was fined because the Irish form of his name was displayed on his cart (Niall Mac Giolla Bhrighde) and was considered ‘illegible’ and therefore in breach of the law (Augusteijn 2010:66). The League was more successful in its promotion of other public displays of Irish identity: bilingual street names were introduced by Dublin City Corporation, and other public institutions were lobbied to accept addresses for parcels and letters written in Irish (Augusteijn 2010:79). All of this has been recorded in general Irish historical accounts of the assertion of Irish identity under British rule. Thanks to the availability of the 1901 and 1911 Census forms on the internet we can see how this legal space has been used in the assertion of Irishness through the Irish language and how dialect varieties appear in this snapshot of Irish use at the turn of the twentieth century. This article includes such a study.

The official figures for the 1911 Census show 16,872 individuals returned as Irish speaking only, and 565,573 as having Irish and English out of a population of 4,390, 219 (Census of Ireland 1911- General Report). In the Census of Ireland 1901, around 300 entries were returned in the Irish language. Some were written entirely in Irish, others merely provided an Irish language name and surname. Ten years later returns for the Census of Ireland show Irish language entries of around 25,000 (Mac Congail 2010:9). Not only was there an increase in the number of returns in Irish, the level of detail supplied in the Irish language also increased. Many more returns in 1911 were filled in entirely in Irish. MacCongail attributes this increase in the use of the Irish language to Conradh na Gaeilge (The Gaelic League), the Irish language revival organisation that was founded in 1893. The Gaelic League sent organizers known as timiri around the country to encourage the revival of the language by setting up language classes for adults and supporting local and travelling Irish language teachers, the muinteoire tuisli (McMahon 2008:119). Other support was available in the bilingual newspapers that had been in circulation since 1882. That year saw the launch of Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge/Gaelic Journal by the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language. This newspaper was later subsumed into Fámh na Lae which in turn merged with An Claidheamh Soluis. An Claidheamh Soluis continued to operate until 1919 when it was suppressed by the British government.

Despite these attempts to revive interest in the Irish language, census figures show a steady decline in Irish speakers during the early years of the twentieth century. Between 1901 and 1911 the number of returned Irish speakers dropped from 14.4 per cent to 13.3 per cent (Hindley 1990:23). At the same time, we see an 80 per cent increase in the use of Irish in the 1911 Census returns. This extraordinary increase in Irish language use in the 1911 Census is representative not only of the work of The Gaelic League but also of the rise in nationalism, and social, cultural, and educational changes in Ireland.

While there was a decline in returned Irish speakers between the 1901 and 1011 censuses, the language was becoming more prominent in the education system. By 1904 The Gaelic League had attained two of its aims: bilingual education was

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introduced into Gaeltacht areas, and outside of the Gaeltacht Irish could be taught inside school hours as an optional language (Augusteijn 2010:88-91). Thus a generation was coming through with an increased sense of Irish identity. As will be seen later, parents could build on this identity by entering their children’s names in Irish or even encouraging a child to fill in the census form in Irish. These acts might be seen as solely educationally and socially aspirational, but as long as Ireland was under British rule, the assertion of Irish identity in an official form through the use of Irish language was also a political act.

Although Conradh na Gaeilge claimed to beapolitical, its founder’s manifesto to de-anglicize Ireland could only lead to a focus on Irish politics. Douglas Hyde’s 1892 lecture delivered in Dublin (The necessity for de-anglicising the Irish nation), aimed to focus on what it meant to be Irish outside of having a hatred of England. Hyde proposed that speaking English, reading English literature, imitating English dress meant the Irish were in an untenable situation of not wanting to be English but continuing to imitate the English. Hyde’s collection of folk songs produced in book form as The Love Songs of Connacht (1893) had a profound effect on the poet W.B.Yeats who was looking for a way to distinguish his art. Yeats did not have an interest in learning Irish, but he encouraged others. He sent the emerging playwright John Millington Synge to the west of Ireland so that he could become immersed in the language and produce Irish drama that would express a life that has never found expression (Yeats 1972:105).

In his poem ‘The Fisherman’, Yeats expressed a wish to engage with the idealised simplicity of an Irish fisherman in order to ‘write for my own race and the reality’ (Yeats 1958:166). Engaging with Irish Ireland in developing his art brought W. B. Yeats into politics. With the execution of fellow poets following the 1916 Rising in Dublin, he speculated in ‘The Man and the echo’ whether his play Caitlin Ni Houlihan had played a part in their fate: ‘Did that play of mine/Send out certain men the English shot?’ (Yeats 1988:345). One of those executed was Patrick Pearse who had taken over the editorship of the Conradh’s An Claidheamh Soluis in 1903.

De-anglicizing Ireland spread beyond the language and literary revival to include the revival of traditional Irish games and the formalising of Irish football and hurling in the Gaelic Athletic Association founded in 1884 by Michael Cusack. Members of the GAA were not allowed to participate in any ‘foreign’ sport, even as spectators. The founder, Michael Cusack, was a native Irish speaker. His influence in promoting the Irish language along with Irish sport remains to this day in the stated aims of objectives of the GAA. From the late nineteenth century Irish football and hurling matches were occasions where the Irish language could be heard. From 1893 Irish classes in cities and villages were attended by both sexes. This liberation to mix freely and equally with males for the purpose of learning Irish attracted many females from the middle and professional classes. Parties often travelled to rural Irish-speaking districts to improve their language learning. In 1902 one such party comprised nine women and five men including Patrick Pearse (Padbury 2009:35).

Another aspect of Irish language promotion was the Annual Language Procession in Dublin in September as part of the League’s Language Week. The procession included industrial exhibitions and tableaux of Irish mythological and historic figures and events. During the lead up to and during this language week, money collections were taken in churches and on the streets. Members of the Gaelic League were urged to play their part in this fundraising in strikingly militaristic terms:

In the coming few weeks every Gaelic Leaguer in Dublin will be called upon to stand to his post: and his response to that call will demand a courage as high on the moral plane as that of the soldier’s, who lays down his life at the altar of his country in the physical (An Claidheamh Soluis, 1910:7).

Language, literary, and sporting associations between 1901 and 1911 grew in influence and stature and developed in many Irish people a pride in being able to speak Irish. It is this pride in the language that is most evident in the 80% increase in Irish language census returns. This result was predicted by the Gaelic League in 1901 when organisers both lamented that ‘the League has not been long enough at work to materially affect the present Census’ but looked to the next census ‘ten years hence’ that would ‘show the results of our work’ (An Claidheamh Soluis agus Fáinne an Lae, March 30, 1901). The newspaper editorials leading up to the 1911 Census assured the public of the legality in filling out census forms in Irish: ‘The Registrar-General is, we understand, making arrangements for dealing with returns filled in Irish’ (February 11, 1911). Promotion of the use of Irish in the upcoming census began in An Claidheamh Soluis at least six weeks before the event. Through ‘local papers, the churches, and schools the people would be urged to give their returns in Irish as ‘a sense of duty’ (February 11, 1911).

The March 11 edition of the paper included an example of a Census form in Irish and an assurance that those wishing to use Irish in the Census ‘need have no fear that filling them in Irish will cause any error in the Census, or any inconvenience to the Office of the Registrar-General’. The March 25 edition included a list of Irish language terminology relevant to the Census, including the names of professions and trades. This prompted some debate about the correct name in Irish for the term ‘single’ for the question on marital status: the proposed term aonta was challenged as meaning a ‘union’ and the term gan posadh (‘not married’) was proposed as an alternative. As will be seen, the terms for the marital status ‘single’ are geographically specific and are all correct according to each dialect. The published
list of Irish names for a variety of trades and professions included ‘farmer’ which is given as feirmeoir or feilmeora and a ‘farm labourer’ as sclábhaithe. The actual Census returns show more variation in the word of choice for ‘farm labourer’.

This study of around 400 Irish language entries from counties Cork, Donegal, Galway, Kerry, Limerick, Meath, Mayo, and Monaghan in the 1911 census provides historical, social, and linguistic insights in the use of the Irish language in a formal English setting. Finding Irish language entries in the 1911 online Census returns is not easy. It requires trawling through names in each townland for those that were entered in Irish. A full study of all Irish language entries was outside the scope of this research, but the focus, in any case, was not numerical other than a desire to find enough entries for study to allow for meaningful results. We can speculate on the political impetus that caused many to assert their Irishness in this way. We can also consider the role that language can play in identity. Also recorded here in 1911 is Irish language terminology that represents the different dialects of the time and before the caighdeán oifigiúil (‘official standard’) was established. The many and varied occupations named in these Irish entries reveal a world view that valued and named all contributions to the work of a house or farm (although the form states that no information is required about the work of daughters or other female relatives working primarily inside the house). The only ‘retired’ person was the iar-mhúinteoir, the retired schoolteacher. In 1911, the Pension Act was in an embryonic state, and the elderly still living on the family farm were not entitled to a pension even if they had handed over the farm to a son.

Figure 1

The Census form for 1911 hasten columns covering names, relationship to head of the family, education (the responses suggested were ‘read and write’, ‘read only’, ‘cannot read’: English is the assumed language), age and sex, occupation, marital details, place of birth, Irish language (the responses suggested were ‘Irish’ and ‘Irish and English’. It was supposed that no entry should be made for other cases meaning other languages. The census results for 1911 show some confusion in this column. More people entered ‘English’ or ‘Beurla’ than left it blank, and some entered ‘Irish’, apparently mistaking the subject as one about nationality.

In the entry for Joseph Mc Courtney and family from 23 Bridge St. Lisburn, County Antrim (Figure 1), column nine shows five members of the family have Irish and English. This includes the post-school children, Patrick (a confectioner aged 24) and William (a carpenter aged 22). Four members’ first and family names are written in Irish and in Gaelic script: William, Margaret, Sarah, and Edward who were recorded as such in the 1901 Census, and in the 1911 Census are Uilliam Mac Curnáin, Mairéad Ní Curnáin, Sorcha Ní Curnáin, and Eadhmonn Mac Curnáin. Pauline, aged 9 retains the English spelling of her name even though she has Irish and English, and Leo aged 8 has not learned the language or not learned it well enough to be recorded as an Irish speaker. In 1901, William was the only member of the family with Irish, and his name appears in English.

Another example of a switch from English to Irish from one census to another is with the entries for Louth farmers and brothers Joseph, John, and Peter Sharkey. In 1901 the language column is blank (Figure 2). In 1911 Joseph is recorded as having Irish and all the entries are written in Irish and in the Irish script and Joseph signs in Irish (Figure 3).

Figure 2
In 1911 the Hanratty family from Ballycartlin, Enagh, County Monaghan are clearly proud of the penmanship and Irish language proficiency of 13-year old Máire Áine (Figure 4).

It is clear by this family's entry that Máire Áine has been allowed to fill in the bulk of the form. She records her father, mother, and the servant boy as having 'English' (beurla) (Figure 5) while she is recorded as having Irish and English (Gaedhilge & Beurla). All entries are filled in using the Irish script. Her father, Peter Hanratty, signs the form in Roman script using his English name.

While Irish language entries in the Census are found sporadically in the main, one or two household entry in a district, this study has found two clusters where significant numbers of household members switched from English to Irish in the 1901 and 1911 censuses. The first is Ballynagaul, Ringville, County Waterford that produced all returns in the Irish language in 1911. This may be expected in an officially designated Gaeltacht area at that time as Ringville was (An Rinn today). However, there is a striking similarity between the signature of the head of household in each case and in the writing in the body of the form that suggests the forms were filled in and signed by the same hand (Figure 6). It is quite common for a census form to be filled in by other than the head of household (often the enumerator) where the head cannot write, but in such a case the head of household would make a mark X to indicate consent and the words 'his mark' or 'her mark' would be inserted nearby. In the Ballynagaul 1911 entries the same hand filled in the form regardless of whether the Head could write. This appears to indicate a concern not only to reflect the Irish-speaking nature of the area, but to ensure that Ballynagaul would receive government support for being a Gaeltacht area.

Another cluster of Irish speakers in 1911 is found in Mullyash, County Monaghan where most of the residents switched from using English in the 1901 Census to Irish in 1911. In this case, however, it is clear that the forms are being filled in by individuals. In some instances the head of household has signed the form in English. In the group below, the third example is Charles McConville who is the only one to have signed in Irish (Figure 7).

This study has examined almost four hundred Irish language entries across eight counties for terminology used in response to census questions about head of the house, marital status, and occupation. It reveals patterns of word use across the Munster, Connacht and Donegal dialects, and provides an insight into the variety of occupations cited for these Irish speakers. The findings are set out in comparative tables below.
This response range for the Census question how ‘related to head of household’ shows the phrase *fear an tí* as being the most popular term across the dialects. Donegal shows a second preference: *ceann an teaghlach* ‘head of household’. Of the other terms, *uachtarán* is of interest. The word stem is *uachtar* ‘cream’ and the word *uachtarán* is usually used for an office e.g. *Uachtarán na hÉireann* ‘President of Ireland’. Patrick Dinneen’s Irish language dictionary (Dinneen 1904) records ‘largest in a brood’ for this *uachtarán* and this may be the origin of the term used in the Census to indicate head of household.
As mentioned earlier, The Gaelic League was concerned to promote correctness in the Census form-filling and on March 25, 1911 its advice to readers to use the term aonta for 'single' was challenged as being incorrect. In the Census, however, a majority of Irish language respondents in this survey favoured that troublesome term, except for Galway where the related term aonraic was more popular. Of the twenty ways to indicate a single marital state, five are from the stem aon ‘one’, eleven use negatives with the word pós ‘marry’, and there are three variations of the loan word singil. Also notable is the high use of the word diomhaoin used only in Donegal. Its primary meaning is ‘idle’. Its secondary meaning is ‘worthless’. In this county, it appears, someone not married is not considered to be busy enough. Dinneen mentions the term as being used especially of females, but in the 1911 Census returns for Donegal it is used for male and female.
### Occupations

Irish language entries in the 1911 Census of Ireland show a range of occupations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Home</th>
<th>Farm and outdoors</th>
<th>Making and doing</th>
<th>Buying and selling</th>
<th>Professional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bean cabhartha/cúnamh ‘helping woman’</td>
<td>clochadóir ‘stone-worker’</td>
<td>bean cardáil ‘carding woman’</td>
<td>bean siopa ‘female shop assistant’</td>
<td>atturnae ‘attorney’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bean coimhdeachta ‘chaperone’</td>
<td>fear aímsire ‘serving boy’</td>
<td>bean cleiteáile/ bean cniotála, ‘knitting woman’</td>
<td>bean cleiteáile ‘female shop assistant’</td>
<td>cleireach atturnae ‘attorney’s clerk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buachaill aímsire ‘serving boy’</td>
<td>oibrí feilméarachta ‘farm worker’</td>
<td>bean deánta brat urlair ‘woman who makes floor rugs’</td>
<td>bean siopa ‘shop assistant’</td>
<td>coimeádaí leabhar ‘bookkeeper’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cailín aímsire ‘boy’</td>
<td>oibrí feilméarachta ‘farm worker’</td>
<td>bean cailín fuála ‘seamstress’</td>
<td>bean tabhainne ‘female shop assistant’</td>
<td>coimhdeachta ‘lawyer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cailín tí ‘mother’s helper’</td>
<td>saothraithe ‘laborer’</td>
<td>bean cailín fuála ‘seamstress’</td>
<td>bean tabhainne ‘shop girl’</td>
<td>coimhdeachta ‘lawyer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coineáltaí ‘housekeeper’</td>
<td>scoilge ‘small farmer’</td>
<td>ceard troscain ‘furniture trade’</td>
<td>bean tabhainne ‘shop assistant’</td>
<td>coimeádaí leabhar ‘bookkeeper’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fear aímsire ‘serving boy’</td>
<td>scoilge ‘small farmer’</td>
<td>cniotálaí/critéadóir ‘knitter’</td>
<td>bean tabhainne ‘female shop assistant’</td>
<td>coimeádaí leabhar ‘bookkeeper’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fear aímsire ‘serving boy’</td>
<td>scoilge ‘small farmer’</td>
<td>cócaire ‘cook’</td>
<td>bean tabhainne ‘shop girl’</td>
<td>coimeádaí leabhar ‘bookkeeper’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fear aímsire ‘serving boy’</td>
<td>scoilge ‘small farmer’</td>
<td>coinneal foiirgneamh ‘building maintenance’</td>
<td>bean tabhainne ‘female shop assistant’</td>
<td>coimeádaí leabhar ‘bookkeeper’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fear aímsire ‘serving boy’</td>
<td>scoilge ‘small farmer’</td>
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Farmers, schoolteachers, labourers, and servant girls are the occupations most frequently cited in the 1911 Census Irish language returns for ‘occupation’. There were 231 farmers (feirmoír/feirmoír/feirmoír beag/scolóig; most (89) were in Kerry, followed by 71 in Donegal and 58 in Monaghan. The term scolóig is confined to Donegal and Monaghan while Kerry also has small farmers but the term used is feirmoír beag. Galway had the most number of teachers, and iscaicre ‘fisherman’ was returned only in Galway and Kerry. There were 18 servant girls (cailín aímsire) and just 8 servant boys (buachaill aímsire). Donegal shows a degree of difference once again, this time in the prevalence of occupations related to textiles. This bears out the history of cottage industries in Donegal that cumulated in the reputation that county continues to maintain for fine tweed. The 1911 Census shows Donegal as returning occupations such as bean cardáil ‘carding woman’, bean cniotáil ‘female knitter’, bean deánta brat urlair ‘female floor rug maker’, bean fuála ‘female sewer’, bean lása ‘female lace maker, cniotáil ‘knitter’, figheidheir ‘weaver’, gúnadóir ‘dressmaker’, saíomhdeadhóir ‘knitter’, and saíomhdeadhóir ‘knitter’, and saíomhdeadhóir ‘knitter’, and saíomhdeadhóir ‘knitter’. The 1911 Census deserves special attention because it was the last census before Irish independence. This study of Irish language entries in the 1911 Census of Ireland provides rich anthropological yields for researchers. These Irish language entries demonstrate a wish to assert Irish ways in an official English language document. These assertions may be culturally,
linguistically, or politically based or, as is often the case, a combination of all three. What is certain is that a choice was made in entering details in the Irish language in the 1911 Census of Ireland to reflect an Irish identity: Irish ways rather than English ways.

References


ETHNICITY, ID-OLOGY, AND THEIR DISCONTENTS

Thomas Strong interviews Jean Comaroff

Thomas Strong: Your writing is well known for certain iconic, often witty, phrases or neologisms for certain types of phenomenon that anthropologists are discussing. A good example would be 'Occult Economies' (Comaroff & Comaroff 1999) and in fact in this book, ‘Ethnicity Inc.,’ there are several really resonant phrases, such as ‘ID-ology’. One of them of course is the title itself, ‘Ethnicity Inc.’ What does that refer to?

Jean Comaroff: I think it refers to the fact that we began to notice, increasingly, not only that ethnic identity was becoming commodified, which was in fact something that probably had existed for a very long time, but that this fact was suddenly thrust into one’s awareness like never before. Many people were actually living on the proceeds of ‘incorporating’ their culture, claiming their heritage -- not only as an aspect of their identity, but as a kind of property which was theirs to control and even to sell or alienate. And we became interested in what this meant, given that the legacy of so much thinking about culture has always been that it stands in tension with the market, that culture is about forms of irreducible difference, and the particularities of living, in certain places, and certain times; that once culture confronts the market it either has to resist it, or to subject itself to a form of homogenization, banalization.

Our set of questions in the book was this: Is that view a caricature of the complex relation between culture and the market? Were we, as anthropologists, invested in a form of difference that was held in some way to exist beyond the market, outside it, as a form that was not simply reducible to the common melting pot, to the logic of the commodity form? And was that a viable way of thinking, and why were we so invested in it? So that was one issue. 'Ethnicity Inc.' is also about what happens, ever more noticeably, in places like South Africa for instance, where there has been a high rise in unemployment; where the kind of world rooted in wage work, that gave definition and value to persons in terms of identity and citizenship, was increasingly disappearing and precarious. These are places where, in the absence of regular work, people were actually making a living out of selling aspects of their culture, in what one might term the 'identity business'. Whether it was by means of tourism, the selling of ethnic music, dance or ritual performance; or whether it was through claiming certain sorts of royalties for knowledge or artifacts that they now treat as a kind of property. This is one dimension of 'Ethnicity, Inc.'

Another dimension of the phenomenon is that it involves the simultaneous corporatization of social organization. One finds increasing evidence of ethnic groups that are organising themselves, and conceiving of themselves, as corporations – as social bodies that have autonomous legal identity and enduring common rights in culture and property; and that are also commercial companies - with assets, liabilities, shareholders and so on. There is a certain irony to all this because, long ago, in the 'classical period' of Africanist anthropology, writers like Meyer Fortes talked about units like lineages as 'corporate' groups, as autonomous, unitary entities, whose perpetual existence was vested in shared property, rights, duties, etc. That he stressed less at the time was another feature of ethnic corporations in the present, which is the sense of shared bio-physical substance (what these days is often expressed in genomics and DNA) that goes along with the idea of shared cultural heritage.

The corporatization of identity also serves as the basis of positive claims in the world. In contexts like Native North America, or post-apartheid South Africa, one finds that ethnic groups, that a history of being marginalised on the basis of being 'tribal peoples,' are increasingly able, in our 'multicultural' age, to claim rights of recognition and inclusion through cultural identity – through a patrimony that often also offers a means of survival, even profit. As part of this process, one frequently finds that their mode of organization takes on the features of a corporate group. Thus one has the case of the Seminole of Florida, now owners of the global Hard Rock chain, who also organized themselves as a company made up of ethnic shareholders, with a board directors, executive officers, etc. Tribal membership, in other words, also confers membership of an ethnic corporation, and ownership of cultural stock. And where ethnic identity might well have lapsed in the past, the process of incorporation can serve to revitalize it, to strengthen a sense of viability, kinship, and cultural density. This process was very evident in the case of the Bafokeng in South Africa, one of the peoples we analyse at some length in Ethnicity Inc., who are often said to be the 'richest tribe in the Africa.' They prefer to be called the 'Royal Bafokeng nation,' and their incorporation has a long and complex history, which began with the efforts of their leaders in the colonial-era, who used migrant earnings of young men to gain title to their land in the teeth of the settler onslaught. That land turned out to contain a significant proportion of the world's deposits of platinum. And while the Bafokeng lost control over the proceeds of these assets for much of the twentieth century, they emerged, after the end of apartheid, as a fully-fledged ethnic corporation, who deployed their new democratic entitlements (and some astute litigation) to regain
rights to their ‘traditional’ territory and its mineral wealth. Today they run a large and complex network of companies – from lucrative mining operations to profitable partnerships with Exxon and Mobil, a huge construction company, South Africa’s second largest packaging plant, and a growing portfolio of equity in global multinationals. No wonder that the South African business press increasingly refers to them as ‘Bafokeng Inc.,’ and uses their traditional leader (their ‘chief’ or ‘king’) as their ‘CEO.’

And as they organized themselves as a ‘corporation’, both in the sense of a commercial company and an ethnic group, the Bafokeng also strengthened their cultural identity, devising vernacular terms for modes of governance that combined share-holder meetings with tribal assemblies, drawing members back from the urban areas, reorganizing collective rituals – even hiring a professional, Yale-trained anthropologist as full-time advisor on socio-cultural affairs. In fact, the Bafokeng represent one vector of the Ethnicity, Inc. phenomenon: they moved from the corporatization of identity and patrimony, to the revaluation of shared culture. The reverse process is represented by groups – like the southern African San, or others like the Native Americans of Sandoval County (home of the widely marketed dark corn called Hopi Blue) who begin seriously to market cultural products, from ethnic food and medications to shamanic rituals. Here the making of culture into patent or intellectual property tends to bring with it a move toward the consolidation and incorporation of social arrangements. So you tend to have an interplay between the commodification of culture, on the one hand, and the corporatisation of identity of the other; the two things play into each other as overall process. And that is really what Ethnicity Inc. is about.

Q: Would you describe this kind of particular cultural ‘awareness’ as a form of reflexivity that is peculiar to the historical moment you are describing in Ethnicity Inc.?

A: It’s certainly not peculiar. What is significant is the degree to which it has become intensified in the present, and the complex relationship that it bares to nationalism. In some sense, I think the phenomenon that we are talking about has always been there, at least since the rise of the modern world, and the advent of modern colonialism and its forms of knowledge and discourse. Nationalism, the imagined community of the modern liberal state, had ethnicity as its primitive counterpart. And anthropologists played a key role here: we were instrumental in identifying and naming the ethnic groups of the ‘non-Western’ world — who often had not been explicitly named in that way before, prior to the discovery by a modernizing empire, in which Anthropologists were active participants, at least in the 20th century. In Europe, the nation-state triumphed by suppressing local ethnic groups and their cultures and languages, seeking to rule in the name of homogeneous cultural-linguistic communities: ethnonationalism had been supplanted by the ‘imagined communities’ of civic nationalism. In Europe, with the triumph of the nation-state form, peoples who retained the markers of ethnic difference (the Celts in Britain, for instance) tended to be treated as parochial, marginal, even disruptive. It was this kind of identity that was associated with peoples of the non-western world - in Africa for instance, where strenuous efforts were made to classify groups of people as distinct, premodern ‘tribes’ by European explorers and colonizers. Local peoples in fact frequently had much more fluid, complex social and cultural structures at the time when colonial missionaries, administrators, and then anthropologists named them, and sought to stabilize their ethnic identities, territories, and languages according to the European evolutionary model. In the colonial states that developed with the formalization of modern empire, European settler populations were regarded as national citizens (of British India, South Africa, Kenya, Australia) and indigenous populations were typed as ethnically-marked subjects or ‘natives,’ their particularities emphasized in what was a system of ‘divide and rule.’

By the late twentieth century global era, much of this had changed. Not only was this a postcolonial, post-Cold War era, in which Euro-America had been decentralized in many significant ways, both in terms of political-economy and cultural hegemony. The capacity of nation-states to monopolise the imagined identity of the majority of citizens had been reduced in many places, often accompanied by a rise of ethnic affiliations of various kinds. This has been true even in contexts where memories of the colonial use of ethnic divisiveness remain strong: for instance in South Africa, during the struggle against Apartheid, the likes of Nelson Mandela were very suspicious of what they saw to be cultural chauvinism. People like Desmond Tutu always claimed to ‘excrete ethnicity.’ What black people struggled for was to be national citizens in a democratic state. But no sooner had that reality been achieved, than we saw the emergence of what were ethnically-qualified nationalisms, the appeal of Zulu identity, Xhosa identity, and so on. For many, this was the pride taken in culture, viewed as asset, not a form of denigration; ethnicity freely chosen, not imposed. In post-apartheid South African, the new progressive constitution recognises peoples’ right to be culturally different, although this has increasingly run up against the dictates of other inclusive civic rights. And, as ever bolder claims are made in the name of tradition and difference, there has been a push-back from many quarters – by those who champion women’s rights in the face of a resurgent domain of patriarchal customary authority, for instance, or those who argue that claims made in the name of culture mask a return of colonial racial essentialism, and mask more enduring, even widening social inequalities. Yet affective attachment to ethnic identity – often in contrast with cooling national
or class-based affiliations – cannot simply be written off as a mode of ideological manipulation. Its appeal seems very real, and we are seeing the phenomenon in many other places, not only in the post-colonies. Modernist nation-states everywhere are being challenged, to a greater or lesser extent, by the claims of difference – look at the emergence of ethnic identifications within nation states in Europe, in America. The question is why?

Q: Why?! Yes, why?! Thank you!

A: There are many theories, as to why this would be. The most simple is that the increasing scale of globalisation, the weakening of national borders with the advent of larger-scale units - regional, continental, hemispheric - has shattered received identities by fracturing the containers/generators of national belonging, thus giving way to an alienating homogenization. Which has led, in turn, to assertions of what seem more ‘real,’ intimate forms of connectedness. Tangible belonging is asserted as a kind of reaction, even rebellion; a revaluation of the local, as it were.

Q: A kind of ‘counterdiscourse’?

A: A kind of counterdiscourse. But I think we are arguing something somewhat different in Ethnicity, Inc., where we are concerned with precisely how translocal processes are implicated in the incremental importance of ethnic identification in many places. The process of globalization, at least as we define it, centers on the way in which the division of labour has become ever more world-wide in scale, and how capital has become less contained by the regulation of the nation-state, making multinational capital ever more salient. Also, what role is played by finance capital, which operates in a highly abstract, deterritorialized domain. Not only does a lot of economic activity operate beyond the space and jurisdiction of nation-states, but business within nation states involve increasing proportions of foreign capital and labor, just as nation corporations hire workforces to produce things elsewhere, in countries where costs are lower. Commodities, capital and people have always been on the move, of course; but recent economic conditions (abetted by the explosion of electronic media) have enhanced the velocity of this traffic. And in all this, there is an uncoupling, if you like, of the tangible domain of the nation-state and its economy. This is not a total disconnect: I think those who predicted that the age of global capital was going to render the nation-state passé, were wrong. Economic transactions still need tangible grounding, security, and a degree of regulation. But the kind of accommodation that exists between state and economy is rather different now than in the high modern era, when an Andersonian ‘imagined community’ was a more ‘plausible fiction,’ – if I can put it that way. What once served to connect people to their nation-states, and gave thickness to civic belonging has become increasingly tenuous in many places. People in countries, both north and south, especially where welfare states or old forms of patronage have been eroded, have become increasingly suspicious of the will of national governments to protect them, to deliver on their promises, to ensure the security of life and limb. There is a widespread cynicism about participatory politics, even in ‘new democracies,’ like South Africa. Instead, populations express stronger attachment to social ties that seem more sustaining, more tangible, more ‘real’ – kinship, connections among those held to share primordial ties of blood, culture, religious belief - i.e. identities below the level of the nation-state, and also above it (such as membership of translocal diasporas and or movements). So increasingly, global integration has quite seriously unraveled the ‘sacred bundle’ of territory, economy, language, and commonweal that modern nationalism rested on.

Q: Can I just add another term, ‘solidarity’ in there, perhaps? Is it the sense that in a context in which the state is pulling back, people look for other forms of solidarity, that are going to provide care or to which they feel obligated, and that is when you get this kind of re-emphasis on culture?

A: I think solidarity describes well one of the issue at work. There are several other things…

—community—

A: Yes, yes. It’s crucially about where you belong. There is also an affective charge, a feeling of connectedness, right? The ontology of social ties, what David Schneider termed ‘diffuse, enduring solidarity,’ a ‘fraternity’ that is experienced as genuinely a matter of common interest. Schneider used the phrase to refer to kinship, and related forms of attachment, which he controversially extended to the level of the nation. But the kind of community that was presumed by hegemonic, high modern political culture does not unproblematically capture the hearts and minds of peoples any more, not even in its European heartlands. And the term ‘community’ is used (both by ordinary folks and by policy-makers) as an ever more wistful ideal, an aspiration, a condition of connectedness and solidarity that is desired, but that never quite seems attainable.

At the same time, because of the loss of older kinds of solidarities (shop-floor sociality, class consciousness, a sense of a social contract and national commonweal) there is an increasing popular investment in more immediate kinds of connectedness. Kinship and ethnic associations, for instance – which are especially marked among mobile populations, migrants, and so on. Or engagement with religious congregations/movements. In many parts of the world, where the state is unwilling or unable to provide services it once did, care and education are being offered by religious organisations that themselves are becoming ever more corporatised.
Such pastoral care has historically been the role of religious organizations, of course. But there has been a notable late modern growth of transnational religious movements, particularly of born-again, foundationalist movements (whether within Christianity, Islam, or Judaism) that are themselves holistic in structure, catering to the lives of their members in both their spiritual and material dimensions. Thus the various strains of Pentecostalism, or movements like Hamas, are faith-based movements that are also welfare organizations, organizations that, in addition, support various kinds of political activity and economic enterprise. They offer an encompassing kind of citizenship that is more cogent for their members than that provided by the state.

And at the same time, states themselves are becoming more explicitly like corporations: it’s not just that they outsource many of what were formerly state functions to corporations (from military operations and security to the running of prisons or the production of national statistics). It is not even that the purpose of government seems ever more overtly to optimize – even subsidize -- the conditions of private enterprise, and to enable citizen-consumers to realize ‘the good life’. It is that governments themselves behave like corporations, ostensibly in the national interest, attracting foreign investments, protecting their brands, hiring ad-men to sell their political campaigns, and, in their more extreme, ‘etatist’ forms (as in Russia or China), co-owning companies that operate both to make profit and effect foreign policy. The Russian company Gazprom, for instance. This moves us in the direction of Nationality, Inc.

Q: And this returns us to the question of nationalism and ethnicity. Interestingly, one of the things that revitalized ethnic groups may actually want is their own state. So sometimes, you get state fragmentation. For example, you actually refer to Catalonia in the book. So just in terms of thinking of this question, of ‘above’ and ‘below’ the nation-state, there are contexts in which some of this reflexive reification of culture also becomes the grounds for people to mobilise so that they can get their own state.

A: I don’t think it’s that the nation state has disappeared, as I have said before - either as the context in which capitalism actually does its business, or as an idealized model for imagining collective futures. We seem incapable of conceptualizing viable alternatives. But the irony is that the nation-states are themselves becoming more ethno-national, as I have suggested. Yet, given the structural interdependence of the global economy today, nation-states very often are simply not controlling their economies as they once did, though some (especially post-totalitarian) governments are more successful at establishing regulatory buffers between themselves and global markets. But a country like Britain has lost control of many of its signature corporations, even those still manufactured in the UK (like Jaguar/Land Rover, that is now owned by Tata Motor Company of India). Increasingly, Britishness is vested less in an integral civic polity or economy than in a sense of cultural identity, heritage, essence, peoplehood – i.e. ethno-nationalism.

So the irony is that while in the ‘West,’ we often thought that tribal nations, ethno-nations, were not fully ‘evolved’ into liberal democracies, in Europe right now, nation-states are becoming ever more ethnically defined, a process often expressed in the effort to brand their cultural artifacts. So it’s not only that you are invested in a certain cultural conception of Britishness – of fair play, stiff upper lips, and so on. It’s that this is rather thin gruel, in terms of cultural content; it lacks the tangible stuff that moves hearts and stirs the blood. There is often a vesting of identity in core, underspecified signs, in products, like British cheese, French Champagne, things that increasingly involve protective patents as forms of cultural or intellectual property. Here we see the ‘ethni-cisation’ of the nation. But, given the thinness of such cultural substance, and the fact that it is less and less reinforced by national social institutions (a national economy, or the public institutions of state provision) there is a tendency for identity – as I noted earlier – to vest itself on more thicker, more tangible, intimate communities, often imagined in terms of substantive blood-and-culture, - even in biophysical terms. Note how Britishness (even the flag) has increasingly given way to fuller, more affective identities - English...

Now to some degree, these identities are also increasingly imagined, as is the nation, in corporate terms, as I noted. In Ethnicity, Inc. we give some concrete examples, like the official existence of a body entitled ‘Scotland the Brand,’ for example, charged with marketing Scottish goods and services, even Scottish genetic material. But to the extent that this rising ethnic affiliation takes the form of political identity or would-be autonomy – the ‘nation’ remains the unit of imagining – at least, an idealized nation that is more truly homogeneous, inclusive, united in interest than the nation that reigns in the present. So as nation states are becoming more ethnic in the way they define themselves, ethnic groups with political ambition still think of themselves as more authentic, united, revitalised nations, right? But as this suggests, the concept of the nation is itself a polyvalent term, that has varied in emphasis in time and space. In much early nineteenth century writing, ‘nation’ was used synonymously with ‘race.’ And today, the term is often used ironically, to indicate claims for recognition or political equality that do not imply claims to self-governing political sovereignty of any formal kind. So we talk about ‘Queer Nation,’ ‘Hip Hop Nation,’ okay? In like vein, the use on the part of ethnic groups is often metaphorical, to make claims for a particular form of recognition, self-determination, and ownership of culture, of the right to practice it and alienate it as the group collectively sees fit. But there are also circumstances in which ethnic differences mark out
long-standing political divisions, violently suppressed, perhaps, as they were in the era of civic nation-state hegemony. And such differences now fuel movements for political and economic independence as older hegemonies weaken, and new regional umbrellas open up. We see more aggressive separatist movements in Quebec, for instance, or among the Basques, or in East Ukraine. And, more tentatively perhaps, in Scotland.

Q: One way that the global indigenism is analysed is precisely that indigenous peoples are not — one way global indigenism is characterised is that indigeneity is not about seeking a state, right, and that this actually distinguishes it from that kind of ethno-nationalism. In the ‘Ethnicity Inc.’ volume, only some of what you are trying to talk about pertains to the ‘indigenous’, or what goes under this label of ‘Indigeneity’, for example Maori, and some of what you are analyzing is actually very much in this frame of the ‘ethnic’ or the quasi-national or whatever. Is that an important difference?

A: This goes to the question of how claims made about ethnicity – identity-and-culture – take particular social and historical form. Our concern in the book is not merely with the growing role of ethnicity in the ways that human subjects and groups understand and organize themselves, but the tendency to see this as epitomized in cultural heritage that is collective property, the basis for making claims, making livelihoods, and so on. Typically, such identities are experienced as primordial, as existing, relatively unchanged, from time immemorial – though critics and outsiders may insist that this flies in the face of history. Sometimes, there is an effort to use such identity as the basis for making sovereign claims toward self-determination, even a semi-autonomous political existence (as in the case of Native American groups who claim varying degrees of tribal sovereignty within the United States of America — in this respect, sovereignty is never absolute).

Sometimes, there are strong movements for ethno-national separatism, as was the case with Biafra or Chechnya. ‘Indigeneity,’ as it is commonly understood today, may or may not be one dimension of this: but many forms of ethnic identity and mobilization are not linked to indigeneity, in the literal sense of claiming ‘firstness’ (or prior existence) in a territory as a basis for recognition, respect, self-determination, whatever. To go back to your question: indigeneity may indeed give rise to ‘quasi-national’ mobilization (think, again, of the Native American example, or the First Peoples of Canada). Some very forceful nationalist movements have been based on arguments for indigeneity – Zionism, for instance. But as often, as in the case of the San (‘Bushmen’) of southern Africa, whom we discuss in *Ethnicity, Inc.*, the claim to indigeneity is about recognition, about the ‘right to rights.’ It pushes for minimal inclusion, the reversal of cultural and material dispossession, not political sovereignty. We must note, also, that many strong ethnic mobilizations occur among peoples whose localized cultural identities, though deep-rooted, are the consequence of histories of exile and migration.

Think of the contrasting styles of cultural identity that have developed among African Americans and Native Americans in the US: while Native Americans might claim the status of first peoples, Black Americans trace a legacy that emerges from their violent passage to the New World by way of the Atlantic Slave trade. These are different kinds of original dispossession, giving rise to distinct kinds of claim to recognition, inclusion, restitution in relation to the federal US government: in one case, the claim has centered on tribal sovereignty; in the other, on civil rights. But both claims link identity to cultural heritage; and increasingly, both have given rise to bio-physical idioms of corporate substance (vide the quest for the genomic basis for shared origins; blood here is being understood less as a metaphor than as a biological fact). Often such scientific evidence is mobilized to make precise legal claims to rights of membership, to shares in intellectual property, and so on; i.e. to forms of empowerment and inclusion expressed in economic terms.

Q: It seems that one of the arguments one could get from ‘Ethnicity Inc’ would be that the market has not necessarily been all bad for various sorts of marginalized groups or various kinds of identities. That actually they’re making good use of it. Would that be a misreading?

A: Let me put it this way. I don’t think that it is very helpful to see the market as ‘all bad’ in the sense that we are living within a global capitalist order now, and this is the reality within which we need to think and act. But the market is hardly an ‘all or none’ phenomenon. The global capitalist order is not the same everywhere in its social and historical configuration, or in its implications for the nature of local life worlds, the shape of the nation state, and so on. But, as I think we say at the end of the book, we come not to praise ethnicity, or the marketing of culture, but to try to understand why these phenomena seem so prominent now, and what their implications are. In that sense, we aim to assess the pros and cons of the ever tighter relations among identity, culture, and the market. Few of us these days, whatever our particular misgivings, would be ready to offer definitive advice to the advocates of local groups who have been exploited by racialized market relations and who now seek to use their ethnic identity to their advantage. In any case, the option of ‘opting out’ completely doesn’t exist. As actors and analysts, we all strive to find ways of mediating the most destructive elements of the economic conditions that marginalize such peoples, to find strategies to optimize the possibilities that might be on offer. So how does one think of a politics in terms of which people can negotiate the most viable existence within markets, in terms of their ability to control the benefits and the fruits of their own natural creativity,
their own labour, their own material assets? How can the logic of the market – the internal contradictions of much liberal economic ideology – be used to benefit its classic victims? Given that marginalized peoples (both at the center and the peripheries of the modern world system) have been exploited on the basis of their ethnic or tribal identities – ‘native’ labour was discounted and cheap right? – it is a fitting vindication of that history to use that very ‘otherness’ as a market advantage. Capitalism has always thrived by creating difference of one kind and another, and we as anthropologists have profited by recycling the distinctive culture of other peoples right? But capitalism is always burdened by its own contradictions, among them the need to invent new desires and needs. The late modern revaluation of ethnic difference as desirable, as exotic, as a source of the lost authenticity within the developed world, is one of the ways that some ethnicized peoples have been able to benefit from the global market and turn it to their advantage.

So, many people who identify as bearers of distinct cultural heritage have opted to enter into the market in their own right – often being people who formerly sold their labor to others, like African migrant labourers in South Africa. With the down-sizing of Fordist industries and the rise of unemployment, these people have been cast off, and they are now entering the business of marketing their skills and cultural capital. Many observers might see them as banalizing that cultural heritage; but these entrepreneurs often feel they have something of value that is in demand in the wider world. Whether they produce artifacts, or sell cultural knowledge or artistic or performative skill, they are often reaffirmed in their sense of self, and their collective worth. There is a good deal of evidence that participation in the tourist industry can produce cultural revaluation rather than depletion. And tourism is today a leading global business. It’s not simply a matter of mass holiday-making and the consumption of exotic kitsch; when it involves ‘cultural safaris’ of some sort, it is often driven by a quest to recover a repressed or alienated dimension of present existence – here the evolutionary ideology of modernization comes back to haunt its offspring, who project onto the evolutionary ideology of modernization comes back to haunt its offspring, who project onto the evolutionary ideology of modernization comes back to haunt its offspring, who project onto the evolutionary ideology of modernization comes back to haunt its offspring, who project onto the evolutionary ideolo
words, the existence of marriage – and its recognition by the nation-state, community, and the legal order – is one of the ways, for good or ill, that basic rights of personhood and kinship are recognized in most parts of the world today. And the formal recognition of marriage conveys certain rights that cannot otherwise be claimed. Once this is the case, to be denied the full rights of marriage is a profound form of the exclusion. Yet there are still grounds for saying that the institution itself is profoundly flawed (as is the social and cultural order of which it is a key constituent). And this has prompted many critics, gay and straight, to critique or even avoid it. The institution leads to naturalized ideologies that mask all sorts of licensed exploitation and violence.

A similar paradox exists with respect to ethnicity – which some hard-nosed critics might say is the product of a fetishism of culture and primordial difference; it is a euphemism for racism, and together they both mark, and mask inequalities of class. Yet it would seem churlish to oppose the rights of peoples to make positive claims in terms of their ethnic identifications, especially peoples who have been excluded, precisely on that basis, from full recognition as citizens, persons, moral beings. It is hard (especially under neoliberal conditions, when inclusion is more a matter recognizing ‘identity’ than providing social assistance) to be too dismissive of the embrace of such identities, or the effort to profit from them. The forms of ethnic community that emerge out of these identifications, the thickening of the sense of mutuality and interdependence among people connected through blood and culture, cannot be too cynically dismissed in an age when the state, and other kinds of work-based attachments, are wearing very thin indeed.

I wouldn’t be the one to say that ethnic identity is simply a mystification of real structures of inequality; many ethnically-based communities oppose very tangible forms of inequality and devaluation that have been made real to them in their everyday lives. But the difficulty then is what is being obscured by those configurations of the world. Just as is the case with debates about marriage in the gay community, the issue with ethnicity and the communities that emerge out of it is that it often obscures the fact that, that very process of ethnic group formation, if you like, is still built on relationships of inequality. For instance, ethnic groups often presume homogeneity; but the fact that members are presumed to share culture and substance (whether literal or figurative) doesn’t mean that there are not profound differences of gender, status, or class in the mix. Ethnic groups that center on ‘traditional’ authority, for example, often presume royal elites, patrilineal inheritance of office and property, gerontocratic governance, customary law and so on – tenets that in places like South Africa have brought them into conflict with constitutional rights. Many ethnic groups and corporate enterprises are in the hands of established elites, and – as we show in the book – many ethnic conglomerations are internally divided along lines of gender and socio-economic standing, and are wracked with tension over efforts to privatize cultural capital or incoming resources. In addition, once ethnic membership begins to yield value, disputes develop about who actually counts as a member, and who has the right to decide. Much has been written about the disconsolate groups of Native Americans who have been denied recognition by particular corporatized tribal groups, especially where there are interests in limiting the pool of share-holders. Then there is the problem, again much publicized in the US, of ethnic enterprise (in casinos for instance) that is being leveraged and managed by sharp outside financiers, who reap usurious rates of interest. In such cases, dreams of overnight fortune are short-lived. This is all, literally, a gamble; a risky business that is a poor basis for a sustainable exit from poverty. If one lives by the market, one lives dangerously: the structural logic of class-race-gender inequalities is occluded by the magic of niche-market enterprise – enterprise that often succumbs to larger monopoly forces that continue to feed off smaller operations with limited capital, ethnic or otherwise.

Q: Are there not also accidents of history? I do research in Papua New Guinea, where you have rich clans, and then you’ve got the people just on the other side of the valley who don’t actually have the good fortune to have been born on top of the pile of gold. And I mean, that’s just a profound kind of inequality that putatively just ‘happens’ suddenly right? Yet in a context where the state actually is pulling back, you don’t have for example tax, the various forms of tax that could actually ‘spread the wealth around,’ as it were. So...

A: Where ethnic identity overtakes citizenship and class, the ‘rainbow nation’ eclipses the commonweal. As the state retracts, there is no safety net, no larger state-based mechanism to redistribute resources; here the poor remain very vulnerable to the accidents of history, as you put it. These are the downsides of Ethnicity, Inc. as principle of social organization!

Q: Let’s just switch gears very quickly. I wanted to move back to some of the language you use in analysis. In Ethnicity Inc. and in Theory from the South, you refer to ‘ID-ology.’

A: That came up first as a construct in the South African press. I mean it was a popular cultural term. What commentators meant by it was that people were increasingly using identity – literally the plastic ID cards, and the shallow status they betoken – in place of a more complex definition of social personhood. That facile ideas of identity had replaced an earlier tendency to understand personal status in terms of larger-scale social forces of race, class and colonial history.
A: This is a good point...

Q: And it’s putatively absolutely open: you can be anything these days, and what is the relationship between these two? So just on the issue of personhood...

A: Yes, that is a very important point! First of all, two things: I don’t think that the potential for self-construction is absolutely open for everybody. I think there are huge differences between the rhetoric and the facts in all this. In South Africa now, for instance, the end of apartheid has opened up a field of unprecedented possibility for black people. This was a population whose possibilities had been starkly limited by racial exclusion – what they could learn, what jobs they could do, what they could be paid, where they could live, whom they could love. Above all, what they might realistically aspire to. Suddenly, all that falls away – just at the point in world history when many other old divisions seemed to disappear with the end of the Cold War. Now, ostensibly, a South African of colour can be anything she or he wants to be: the state, civic organizations, NGOs, churches all encouraged individuals to ‘think big, aim high.’ It is an exhilarating moment, but it has also been a time of liberalization, downsizing, unprecedented unemployment, a widening of gaps between rich and poor. Poor blacks are in fact poorer than ever, poorer even than under apartheid. So while the newly enfranchised middle classes have been in the position to take advantage of heady new opportunities, and efforts at ‘black empowerment,’ for a large proportion of the former working class, wage contracts all but disappeared, and the proletarian world they inhabited has disintegrated.

For this population, there is a total disconnect between the new prospects being dangled before them, and the possibilities of achieving them. The project for them is survival. Which is why so many of the films that come out of South Africa now (the academy-award winning *Tsotsi*, for example) are about people who turn to crime and other ‘desperate measures’ to close the gap between promise and possibility. John Comaroff and I are writing a book right now about the seemingly unprecedented number of impostors in current South African life – how the figure of the impostor, one who claims a competence, often a professional qualification, he or she does not have – how this is another effort to close the gap between desire and achievability. And this situation, while extreme, is not unique. So it seems to me that at present, while our world often seems to open up infinite possibilities for self-creation, this is in part because no one, especially no states or communal organizations, are actually responsible for providing the means to actually achieve this. You are on your own, for good or ill. All are equally free to sleep under bridges, as it were. And for large numbers of people, getting from day to tomorrow is the major problem. For instance, in South Africa we say that the idea of ‘youth culture’ is a luxury that only some young people have, because many poor children in families where they must become premature adults – especially girls. When a young mother dies of AIDS, the kids have to become mothers and breadwinners, and the luxury of such things as youthful experimentation with self-making, is severely limited.

So that’s the one thing. There’s another dimension to your question that is a cultural, or experiential, or ontological one. It seems to me that the kind of openness and insecurity you speak of is not unprecedented, but it has been exacerbated by the global shifts we have been discussing: the deregulation of capital, the weakening of national borders and local attachments that once were fostered in working- communities, by the absence of secure labor contracts. It has also been intensified by the effects of ever more rapid cycles of take-over and merger, of boom and bust; by start-up/innovation economies that constantly refigure local economies and technologies, that move capital and people all over the map, and render livelihood insecure. This flux and movement can be exhilarating: it can certainly play fast and loose with traditions and conventions, with restrictive associations and meanings. It can seem to replace older structures with new rhizomatic connections, with the unfettered ‘nomadic’ movement championed by Deleuze. But there is also an extraordinary degree of insecurity in our world, and a heightened awareness of it. The age of Derrida, of deconstruction, of shifting signs, and floating signifiers also fosters an intensified search for security; it is a time that is increasingly hospitable to absolutisms, to born-again, foundational Christianity, Islam, Judaism, with a tolerance for dogmatism. So you have the growth of movements like the Tea Party in the US, that celebrates the idea of true conservatism, that is desperately trying to get back to what it imagines were old time certainties that pin down shiftly ‘liberal’ assertions. They even propose halting inflation by returning American economy to the gold standard. So what we have here are dialectical processes, it seems to me, and interplay between deregulation, uncertainty; risk, and efforts to secure what Edmund Leach once called the ‘Runaway World ’ (1967 Reith Lectures). And this takes us back to the question of ethnicity too, and to the seemingly unprecedented possibilities of self-construction, on the one hand, and the radical undermining of received bases of belonging, on the
other. Recall what we discussed earlier about the fact that in many places national attachments have weakened, and that they coexist with other forms of political subjectivity, ties that exist above and below the level of the nation-state. In fact, while most human beings continue to live as citizens in nation-states, they tend only to be conditionally citizens of nation-states: their composite personae may include elements that disregard political borders and/or mandate claims against the commonweal within them. Many of us today juggle different, competing, situationally validated identities – what might be termed ‘multiple passports.’ And many people these days can – and must – live and work elsewhere for varying periods of time. We pride ourselves on our cosmopolitanism (though in truth for many migrants it is a necessity, not a choice). And we enjoy ever more graphically realistic media that transport us all over the world, so that our imaginations can situate us in many different time and places, and our local attachments are often highly relative, ironic.

But all these options, possibilities, can also induce insecurity, vertigo. Here again, the dialectic of uncertainty can induce its opposite – the desire to reduce choice, reflexivity, and in favor of the clarity of unquestioned certainties. There is a fascinating film, A Life Apart: Hasidism in America (1977), which deals with this issue quite explicitly. In one section, the filmmakers explore the motivations of those who, in this day and age, choose to join this ultra-conservative, puritanical, inward looking Jewish community, one that rejects many features of modern life. A couple of highly-educated young men interviewed who were raised in quite liberal Jewish backgrounds. They spoke of the burden of choice in a world in which matters of faith, ethnics, and values were all open-ended; how in opting for a life ruled by piety and its disciplines, they found a kind of liberation. The pious life imposed certainty, a framework within which one could pursue one’s life, ask one’s questions, etc. In Ethnicity, Inc., we note the irony that many contemporary forms of ethnic attachment are seen at once as primordial, and as a matter of choice. The many who elect to identify with the often essentialized tenets of ethnic affiliation inhabit in a wider world where the fetishism of choice carries its own tyrannies. So there certainly is relationship – a dialectical interplay, if you will – between the radical openness of the quest for selfhood in much of our current world, and its seeming opposite: the quest for forms of certainly, closure, even biophysical rootedness that comes with many forms of ethnic identification.
In the anthropology of pilgrimage, Victor Turner’s work on communitas continues to loom large. His 1978 volume with Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* notes particularly movement at a shrine, pilgrimages as ‘kinetic rituals’ (xiv) as being worthy of scholarly attention, and this collection, varied in approach and place, time and tradition, takes up that line of enquiry with some enthusiasm, incorporating Eade and Sallnow’s (1991) caution to focus on ‘person, place and text’ in the study of pilgrimages.

The contributors explore some philosophical underpinnings for this project in the introduction with, it must be said, some joy. The agenda is set to explore some of the possibilities for understanding what the moment of arrival accomplishes in the experience of pilgrims, attempting to think through topodynamics, arrival, self and pilgrimage through ethnographic and literary examples. The contributors to the volume come largely from a literary studies background (Zoric excepted) and several chapters struggle maintain focus on core ideas; the words ‘arrival’ and ‘topodynamics’ for instance are too rarely mentioned, pilgrimage as an important conceptual frame of analysis is only occasionally referenced in others. Thematically, though, the move between pilgrimages and readings of sacred movement in literary works opens the possibility for reading literature ethnographically.

Zoric’s chapter deals most directly with the implications for Turner’s theory of pilgrimage in the moment of arrival as she unpacks the inner pilgrimage initiated and sustained through the architectural symbolism of the Buddhist shrine of Borobudur. Critically, the moment of ceasing to travel to a shrine, and to travel through it, is highlighted. Zoric convincingly argues that arriving through the layers of the temple acts upon pilgrims, sanctifying them. While the author’s emphasis on the body as axis mundi may go too far at the expense of reading the political possibilities of the shrine, her chapter works well with the introduction to set the scene for a compelling refocus on arrival, self and pilgrimage. Shield’s article explores the transformative potential of pilgrimage to take people away from their fears into a ritual space, representing Christ’s arrival in Jerusalem as a means of coping and curing. Kis’ provides a tenuous link with arrival, focusing on topodynamics instead by charting the toponymy of the fourth century pope St Clement of Rome as a cult in Croatia, using the hagiography program from the Institute of Art Form. Hardback. ISBN: 978-90-420-3538-6


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Top of the book reviews, *Top of the Book Reviews*
represents an intriguing contribution to the study of place and sacred travel and deserves to be read.

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References


Despite stepping down as Member of Parliament for North Antrim in 2010, Ian Paisley, ‘the Big Man’, continues to cast a long shadow over the political landscape of Northern Ireland. The reactions to his two-part interview with journalist Eamonn Mallie, broadcast by the BBC in January 2014, show that Paisley still has the ability to divide opinion. In his old age, Paisley’s acrimony is directed less towards his former nationalist and republican opponents, and focused more on his former friends within the organisations he used to lead: the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) and the Free Presbyterian Church.

Over the last decade, Paisley and ‘Paisleyism’, the loosely defined politico-religious platform associated with him, have increasingly attracted scholarly attention. Existing works of research on Paisley include a lengthy monograph by Ed Moloney (2008) charting the cleric’s political journey, and Steve Bruce’s (2007) more sociological engagement with Paisley and his religious support base across Northern Ireland. A forthcoming study of the DUP, (Tonge et al., 2014) will also shed considerable light on Paisley’s political career, particularly his term as First Minister of Northern Ireland and its aftermath, as well as insights into the attitudes of the DUP membership.

Robert Jordan’s recent study, however, attempts to situate Paisley (or perhaps, more accurately, ‘Paisleyism’) in a much wider context. In particular, Jordan chronicles the influence of American-style fundamentalism on Paisley’s personal life and political career. The book bases its findings entirely on archival sources, augmented by a trawl of both Christian and secular pamphlets, newspapers and periodicals. The bibliography also demonstrates an extensive engagement with Paisley’s own published writings. In so doing, Jordan draws attention to the book’s use of the relatively under-researched material on Paisley in US archives, including material held in the controversial Bob Jones University, and documents in the Carl McIntire collection at Princeton Theological Seminary (p. 16).

The opening chapters, in part one of the book, provide an overview of historical developments in both Irish and American Protestantism, and the links between Irish and American ‘revivalism’. Detailed context is also provided on the development of political Protestantism in the British Isles since the Reformation. Paisley’s career, Jordan argues, ‘exemplified this confluence of religiosity and political activity’ (p. 90). Whilst Jordan’s exploration of these under-used sources and his attempt to situate Paisleyism in a much wider context is welcome, Paisley himself seems something of a peripheral figure in the early part of the book.

The remainder of the book is split into a further two parts. Part two discusses the ‘premillennial Paisley’, the protest figure who opposed the reforms of Terence O’Neill, ecumenism, and what he regarded as the creeping influence of the Vatican. Part three of Jordan’s study explores Paisley’s journey from premillennial fundamentalist ‘into an amillenial politician’, particularly following the establishment of the DUP in 1971 (p. 219).

In the course of the analysis, Jordan recounts some of Paisley’s more bizarre protest activity during the 1960s. Some of these events appear almost humorous with hindsight, but no doubt reflected Paisley’s sincerely held beliefs at the time. Such activity included his letter to the United Nations protesting that a flight with the then Pope on board had diverted into Northern Irish airspace due to bad weather (p. 150). Jordan is not uncritical of Paisley, not least when considering his association with Bob Jones University, an institution whose controversial racial policy was widely known (p. 198).

These later sections of the book are undoubtedly interesting, but not unproblematic. Jordan contends, not unreasonably, that, from June 1966, there was little that Terence O’Neill’s government could do to halt ‘the rise of Paisleyism, the onset of a Catholic civil rights movement, and the collision between both movements.’ However, his assertion that, because of this, ‘it can be argued that the Northern Ireland Troubles began that month’ is unlikely to gain widespread acceptance (p. 154).

The book’s final chapter contains numerous points of contention. These points centre on the chapter’s structure, the nature of Jordan’s arguments, and the historical accuracy of the material he presents. The chapter appears somewhat out of place in the wider context of the book. It reads more like a conflated, and somewhat confused, account of the recent history of Northern Ireland than a close engagement with Paisley’s political journey. Consequently, much of the material tends to oversimplify the political developments in Northern Ireland since the 1970s, which could cause problems for those readers less familiar with the region’s history.

His discussion of the positions of the DUP and the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) towards devolved government is a case in point. His contention that the UUP ‘advocated integration with Great Britain as the best way to protect Ulster Unionist control of Northern
Ireland’ does not capture the overall support among UUP members for a return to majority rule (Stormont-style) devolution (p. 235). As Graham Walker’s work on the UUP illustrates, integration was supported by some, but not all, of the UUP elite, and encountered much resistance among the rank-and-file. And the integrationist lobby was arguably dealt a fatal blow following the signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement in 1985.

However, Jordan rightly notes that, over the course of three decades, the British government ‘consistently pushed’ for a political settlement in Northern Ireland based on power-sharing, and some form of Irish dimension, which the DUP ‘constantly rejected’, until the relatively recent decision to share power with Sinn Féin. But only after the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA) had decommissioned its weapons and agreed to support the Police Service of Northern Ireland (p. 237).

There are also some factual inaccuracies in the final chapter. These include the mistaking of the Ulster Workers’ Council strike, which occurred in May rather than June 1974 (p. 238), and mixing-up the Catholic Archbishop of Westminster and the Anglican Archbishop of Canterbury (p. 248).

In the conclusion, Jordan reflects on Paisley’s decision to enter a power-sharing arrangement with Sinn Féin. He argues that if we accept that Paisley was driven by militant fundamentalist, but sincere, religiosity, (and he argues there is no reason not to), we must also accept that he believed he was doing God’s will (p. 262). Cynics, however, might conclude that it was a happy coincidence for both Paisley and the DUP that he did not feel compelled to share power with Sinn Féin until after the Provisional IRA decommissioning and the decimation of the Ulster Unionist Party, his main political adversaries.

In conclusion, *The Second Coming of Paisley* is an interesting, but challenging book. It will, perhaps, be of most interest to political studies scholars and sociologists of religion, since anthropologists may lament the absence of participant observation or interview data with either Paisley or his followers. However, as a work of history, or an analysis of political Paisleyism, the book is not unproblematic. Nevertheless, by attempting to situate religious Paisleyism in a wider transatlantic context, the book will undoubtedly contribute to scholarly debates about the politics of Christian fundamentalism in Ireland and further afield.

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References


**Performing Gender, Place, and Emotion in Music: Global Perspectives, Fiona Magowan and Louise Wrazen (eds), NY: University of Rochester Press. 2013. 208pp. £55.00 Hardback. ISBN: 9781580464642**

In 1994, Timothy Rice focused on spirituality in Bulgarian music, while three years later Jane C. Sugarman (1997) engendered such experiences with the example of Albanian weddings. In 1996, Steven Feld with Keith Basso talked about the *Senses of Place*, framing the emotions of music performance within its geographical and spatial attachments. After this late 20th-century peak in research on music and emotion, there followed a downturn in ethno-musicological research interest on the topic. This downturn, however, did not last long; ethnomusicology is experiencing a second wave, one that engages with earlier perspectives and brings new advancement in the field, showing how music creates a world of emotions, which, if removed by scholars, leaves very little behind. This book is a prime example of this second wave, looking at emotions, gender and space synchronously through cross-cultural ethnography.

The transparency with which this book is edited and structured is the first merit one might perhaps notice. All the essays are well-written, and the book as a whole is laid out in an instructive manner, avoiding the specialised jargon and the ‘dry’ neutrality often found in the classic academic style of argumentation. Nonetheless, the book’s symmetrical lucidity makes it a perfect student companion, especially at undergraduate level, and avoids flooding the reader with references, which makes it a welcome contribution for specialists. The plurality and richness of visual aids and illustrations illuminate the narrative, enhance the aesthetic quality of the ethnography.

The fact that this book was inspired during the 2007 ICTM Conference in Vienna on “Gender and Music” may explain its interdisciplinary structure and diversity (see editors’ Acknowledgements), with scholarly approaches ranging from anthropology, musicology, and philosophy, to cultural geography, gender studies, and music psychology. It is a notable contribution to debates on the nature and presence of the musics and dances of Australasia, Southeast Asia, and Europe, and, as the editors claim, the book is the first performance-
related work to examine cross-culturally the interlinking of three key themes: gender, emotion and place.

Structure and context are built around these three modes. The essays are arrayed geo-culturally, aligned by theme and space. Each of the three sections places one of the modes in the foreground, while looking at discourses of the other two “as interrelated facets of music making” (Magowan & Wrazen 2013:1). The first two sections contain three essays and the last includes two followed by an afterword. The editors do remarkably well in six introductory pages, offering a delightful narrative along with a rich literature review. The profound appreciation for the layered context-dependency illustrated in this text will be inspiring for every reader, especially for undergraduates who can find here paradigms for creating good academic work.

Part 1 brings gender to the foreground in the ethnographies of Vietnam (Barley Norton), Bali (Jonathan McIntosh) and Aboriginal Australia (Fiona Magowan). Each essay offers both a theoretically and empirically balanced grounded analysis of the relationship between engendering performance and the discourses of landscape and emotion. All three essays share spiritual and ritual practices as a common ground. In essay one, Norton looks at how gender affects ritual practices causing tin h cam (emotional attachments). Journeying geo-culturally to the south, in essay two McIntosh looks at how in Bali, Barong performances embody complex attachments to physical surroundings. Commencing with a monograph from Galiwin’ku (North East Arnhem Land in Australia), Magowan’s third essay is reminiscent of classic ethnographic encounters, reminding the reader of the benefits deriving from good anthropological work. Magowan looks at the bi-gender symbiotic relationship of the Yolngu performance with emotional resonances of selves (with ancestors) along with cosmological discourses of ecology, identity, ownership, and custodianship in an example of academic rigour that can be approachable and ease to read.

Part 2 is concerned with emotional attachments to place, examining how these are engendered, compete and become manifested through singing, and connected to notions of memory and the imagination. The geo-cultural journey continues from Australia, in the first essay by Muriel S. Reigersberg, to Western and Central Europe, with cultural explorations in Germany and Poland by Sara R. Walmsley-Pledl and Louise Wrazen. Reigersberg focuses on the Lutheran community of Hopevale, Queensland, examining how the relative absence of young men from the Hopevale Lutheran choir, and from the community more generally, can affect emotional responses to choral hymn singing in singers and their audiences. East Bavaria is Walmsley-Pledl’s setting for examining how concepts of gender and location are mediated through song imagery. This ethnography, like the one previous, focuses on choral music, but delves deeper into socio-musical productions. Comparative analysis of male and female singers frames a dialectic of narratives and memory in relation to music-making. Part 2 concludes with Wrazen’s ethnography of Górale in Poland’s southern Podhale region. This essay looks at how local women’s singing is conditioned by the landscape experience of valleys and hills, their interpersonal and musical relations, and the 21st century social realities of this ethnos.

Divided into two essays which address how the performance of emotions within and across regions and borders is an essential part of the construction of nationalism and indigenous personhood, Part 3 features a number of multi-sited ethnographies. The reader is brought to fieldsites in Japan and Korea for essay one (by Christine R. Yano) and Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia for essay two (by Tina K. Rammarine). Yano’s ethnography offers a focused analysis of a female singer, Kim Yonja, and her enka genre performance of naki-bushi (crying song) in Japan and Korea. Performing emotions are examined in relation to private encounters and public disclosure, and as a commercialised process of imagining. Rammarine’s essay brings back the concept of spirituality (echoing the three initial essays of the book) by looking into the goddesses of ancient Sámi cosmology within her multi-sited ethnography of Scandinavia and Russia. The revival of the joik and the dereliction of the leu’dd traditional vocal genres are examined among the Sámi of four countries, and their sensibilities are explored in relation to gender (feminism) and the ‘politics of emotion’, as the author refers to such discourses.

Throughout this book, the authors allow the multi-relational construction of fieldwork to manifest through their narrative, offering lateral, interdisciplinary and interactive argumentation on its three modes (gender, emotion and place) as axes in relation to music making. Well written, diverse, entertaining and theoretically important, Performing Gender, Place, and Emotion in Music is a recommended read for students and scholars interested in the advancement of geo-cultural and ethnographic writing. It is also a contribution for readers and listeners outside the music faculty, as its authors are not interested in surface diversity, but emphasise instead the underlying human resourcefulness.

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References
Calls for Papers

Anthropological Association of Ireland
Annual Conference 2015
Call For Papers

Permanence and transition/transitoriness: anthropological perspectives

The AAI 2015 call on the theme of permanence and transition looks to examine the confrontation between the study of memory and traditions and the concepts of liminality and schismogenesis. This call seeks to build on the work already accomplished by the successful 2014 AAI conference. The themes of memory and tradition are central to the work of many anthropologists, especially those working within or on national frameworks. While such research is primarily concerned with the past and its recollection, legitimation, re-enactment and/or perseverance there is also a need to address the future, to encounter change as an integral, viable feature of tradition. The anthropological concepts of liminality and schismogenesis are important features of the anthropological tool kit in understanding both the manner in which social change is brought around and in how we might identify or explain when change appears to go askew or depart from the expected. We invite submissions that address this connection between memory, tradition and societal change. Submissions from cognate disciplines including but not limited to Area Studies, History and Sociology are also welcome.

Deadlines for Submission – October 10th 2014

The 2015 AAI conference will be held on the 6th and 7th of March at University College Cork, Ireland.

An extended text version of this call is available on the AAI website with submission guidelines, details for venue including logistics and accommodation. Proposals for thematic panels are welcome. Sub-themes and topics are available online and any queries can be address to: events@anthropologyireland.org

The Social Pathologies of Contemporary Civilization

Fifth International Conference
Erasmus University, Rotterdam.
30 & 31 October 2014
www.socialpathologies.com

The fifth international conference on The Social Pathologies of Contemporary Civilization explores the nature of contemporary malaises, diseases, illnesses and psychosomatic syndromes in their relation to cultural pathologies of the social body. Usually these conditions are interpreted clinically in terms of individualized symptoms and framed in demographic and epidemiological profiles. They are represented and responded to discreetly, as though for the most part unrelated to each other; each having its own professional discourse of etiology, diagnostics, therapeutics, as well as a task force developing health strategy and policy recommendations and interventions. However, these diseases also have a social and cultural profile, one that transcends the particularity of their symptomology and their discrete etiologies. These social pathologies are diseases related to cultural pathologies of the social body and disorders of the collective esprit de corps of contemporary society. They arise from individual and collective experiences of profound and drastic social changes and cultural shifts.

Multi-disciplinary in approach the conference addresses questions of how these conditions are manifest at the level of individual bodies and minds, as well as how the ‘bodies politic’ are related to the hegemony of reductive biomedical and individualpsychologistic perspectives. Rejecting such a reductive diagnosis of contemporary problems of health and well-being, the central research hypothesis guiding the conference is that contemporary epidemics are to be analysed in the light of radical changes in our civilization and of the social hegemonization of the biomedical and psychiatric perspective.

A particular focus of the conference is the role of humanities and social sciences in helping to understand the connection between social transformations and psychiatric perceptions of health and well-being. The conference invites papers offering analyses of social malaises and the health of civilization from faculty, students and researchers in fields of philosophy, sociology, social theory, psychology, and anthropology.
Special subthemes are the following:

- **The invented self** – What is the status of the late modern subject? We live in so-called ‘neo-liberal’ times in which we experience an intense, marketed pressure to ‘be oneself’, as well as an extreme difficulty to ‘be a self’. Is our alleged individual freedom a strongly directed one? If so, how can we invent ourselves differently? And how should we understand the connection between this newly invented and that socially directed self?

- **The sympathetic self** – Is a re-ethicization and moral regeneration of political, moral and libidinal economies possible? The domestic economics of the soul need to be scrutinized, ‘miraculous’ and healing social powers – such as the redemptive and transfiguring powers of beauty and love, and the power of gift relations – need to be explored in terms of their capacity to reverse pathogenic vicious circles of individuated egotism into saludogenic virtuous spirals of care, care of the self and care for others.

- **The diagnosed self** – In most late modern societies in the West, we find a high prevalence of many psychiatric disorders. Such statistics have been known for years, but there is much uncertainty about how to interpret them. How do adults experience the process of receiving these diagnoses, and what does it mean for them to have their experience of suffering filtered through a diagnostic and psychiatric vocabulary?

- **The measured self** – Research evidence is widely held as a key influence on mental health policy and practice. Whilst hypothesis testing in randomised controlled trials is held as the ‘gold standard’, qualitative research exploring people’s experiences continues to occupy a more marginal position, even though these experiences inform important inter-subjective phenomena. What is and what could be the specific role of qualitative research in contemporary mental health care?

- **The amnesiac self** – The fading of individual and collective memory due to ongoing processes of individuation and acceleration and to experiences of shock, trauma, repression and aphasia in the psychic life of individuals and societies is amplified in contemporary contexts. Lacking memory, persons and societies live in a liminal extended present and become prone to solipsism and to manipulation. What is forgotten – and what can be remembered – is one of the most urgent ethical-political problems of our age.
IRISH JOURNAL OF ANTHROPOLOGY  
NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

Submission of Material
Authors are encouraged to submit items for the IJA. Articles, which may be in English or Irish, should be original and should not be under consideration elsewhere. IJA is a refereed journal and articles submitted will be assessed by readers for their suitability.

Articles for consideration should be sent to the Editor or Associate Editor as follows:
Fiona Larkan, Editor, Centre for Global Health, Trinity College Dublin, 7-9 Leinster Street South, Dublin 2  
larkanf@tcd.ie

Fiona Magowan, Associate Editor, School of History and Anthropology, The Queen’s University Belfast, Belfast BT7 1NN, N. Ireland.  
f.magowan@qub.ac.uk

Books for review and completed reviews should be sent to the Reviews Editors:
Fiona Murphy, Department of Anthropology, NUI Maynooth.
Ioannis Tsioukalis, Department of History and Anthropology, The Queen’s University, Belfast.

Presentation
Articles should be in the region of 4000 words and should include a title, a short abstract of no more than 100 words, and a list of key words. Included also should be the author’s name, academic affiliation, and a short biographical note. Contributions should be submitted in electronic form, in PC format readable in Word. Receipt of a submission will be acknowledged.

The following points should be observed:
Notes should be endnotes and should be kept to a minimum.  
Bibliographical references in the body of the text should be given in parentheses in standard author-date form: (Lee and Devore 1968: 236). A complete list of references cited, arranged alphabetically by author’s surname, should be typed at the end of the article and adhere to the following style:


Subheadings should be typed flush left.
Quotations. Single inverted commas should be used except for quotations within quotations, which should have double inverted commas. Quotations of more than about 60 words should be indented and typed without inverted commas.
Spellings. British English (not American English) spelling should be used in English articles except in quoted material, which should follow the original. Use -ize not -ise word endings.

Full style guidelines can be found on the Anthropological Association of Ireland’s website – www.anthropologyireland.org