IRISH JOURNAL OF ANTHROPOLOGY (IJA)

Editors:
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Volume VI.

ISSN 1393-8592

Published by The Anthropological Association of Ireland

Editorial Board:
Elizabeth Tonkin, Hastings Donnan, Simon Harrison, Séamas Ó Síocháin and Gearóid Ó Crualaoich.

The Journal accepts articles in English or Irish.

Subscription Rate (Euro/Sterling): €20/£15

All communication, including subscriptions and papers for publication, should be sent to:

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A. Jamie Saris
**Béascna** is a newly-founded bilingual journal, set up by postgraduate students in the Department of Folklore and Ethnology in University College Cork. Iris úrnua dhátheangach í **Béascna** a bhunaigh mic léinn iar-chéime Roinn an Bhéaloideasa agus na hÉitneolaíochta, Coláiste na hOllscoile Corcaigh.

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Zia Angela walked along the Corso Repubblica, apparently ignoring the stories that cluttered the space around her. Every structure harbored the traces of determined inhabitation. There were half-made walls under construction, neat walls fresh with whitewashing, walls of nude cement blocks framing entries where the waters of daily mopping bathed the street beneath doorsteps. There were unkempt walls filled with colorful advertising posters, black mourning manifestos, spray painted graffiti and more spray-paint used to cancel out obscenities. There were famous walls covered with respectable art, the striking murals of Orgosolo, often juxtaposed with the disreputable scrawlings of youths anticipating a year’s military service. There were old granite walls conserving the crushed sloping spaces of apartments left over from the years of hardship. Those walls were now abandoned and crumbling in testament to changing economic exigencies and possibilities, changing building codes and town planning, changing families. But Zia Angela probably had no time for stray memories that day, she seemed focused on an errand. She took care to greet the acquaintances she passed but spared little attention to her surroundings.

She held her head high, framed severely in a dark kerchief tucked in around the face; her back was impressively straight and her dark pleated skirt swung respectfully below her calves. She looked immune to the modernity sweeping noisily by her on cars and scooters, though I knew her great dark shawl was expensively imported from Tibet and it was a good guess she lived in an old house that paradoxically held some of the freshest fruits of contemporary technology. Winding her way through the center of the oldest part of town, she passed groups of men haunting the streets beside their favorite bars, some seated on railings and doorsteps, some stolidly on foot, to watch the world pass by. The Corso was the heart of public life in Orgosolo. It held the church, the town hall, the main plaza, most of the bars and shops, an elementary school, the library, and the auditorium. Who appropriated use of the area along the Corso possessed the main stage of social life in town and acquired a profound sense of participation in its affairs. Zia Angela negotiated the public world of the Corso with poise, carefully dressed in “sa vestedda”, the standard sober clothing of middle-aged and senior women. In the street she

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1An earlier version of this paper was developed as a section of my doctoral dissertation at Harvard University and presented at the Department of Anthropology, National University of Ireland at Maynooth in December 1999; I gratefully acknowledge the constructive comments of my advisors and peers at Harvard as well as the students and colleagues who listened at Maynooth. Research in Orgosolo 1996-98 was funded by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research and the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies at Harvard University. I am grateful to Fonds FCAR, the Mellon Foundation (through the department of Anthropology at Harvard University), and the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs at Harvard University for additional support.
stopped to exchange news with people she knew.

A gaggle of brightly-colored tourists was coming down the street against the flow of traffic, all trusting in benign fate to guide them through the exotic folds of the Corso Repubblica and back to the cultural safety of an air-conditioned bus. Some looked panicked as cars breezed through their ranks with only finger’s breadth to spare on either side, but most were absorbed entirely by the spectacle of the walls around them. A few indulged in surreptitious voyeurism, gazing eagerly at the velour trousers and thick boots of the old men. One snapped a clandestine picture of Zia Angela as she conversed intensely about local concerns in the town dialect of Sardinian. The dancing cadences of her voice and the intent of her speech would be lost to the still-life camera, but these would not matter to the tourist. The murals, the curving way, the decaying faces of buildings made a spectacular backdrop, and Zia Angela herself made for an evocative image of tradition. Zia Angela most likely knew this and ignored it all; she had surely had cameras pointed at her before. The brash tourist turned back to puzzle over the huge picture across the street.

That mural covers all of the building which houses the town hall, with its heavy metal door pocked with shot marks. Soon the public administration would be transferred into a spacious and ostentatiously modern structure down below the police station, far from the Corso and its untamable society. But tourists like this one will certainly still snap pictures of this door and the mural which surges up around it in rain-washed crimson. The mural shows a crowd of excited people waving placards which say “Sardinia wants Rebirth, not Military Bases”, “Fertilizers, not Projectiles”, “Popular Assemblies”,

“Employment”, “No to Repression”, “Pastures free from Landlords and Canons!” “Speculation, Capitalism, Confini, these are the animals the Park will protect”, and “Before the Mouflons, Save the Men!” In the background there are hills with sheep, and a shepherd held by soldiers with rifles. To one side is a quote from Emilio Lussu, founder of the left-leaning Partito Sardo d’Azione (“PS d’Az,” the Sardinian Action Party), expressing his solidarity with Orgolesi on the occasion of the demonstration being depicted. On the other side, the flag of the Sardinian region is carried by a man on horseback, and the crowd around him is full of mothers, children, widows, as well as men. Some years ago, the spray-painted phrase “sweet dreams on the mattresses of Pratobello”--a sardonic remark about the irony of declining political participation (see Heatherington 2001) in contrast to the increasing romanticization of past political action--could be found in dialogue with the picture and local political life, but since then the hall has been repainted, and the mural itself redone. The tourist gazed rapidly over it all, obviously unable to glimpse the layers of history in the picture before him but apparently impressed and puzzled by what he could see. He consulted a small guide purchased from the local photographer, nodded to himself, and rushed on to keep up with his tribe. He would be gone before evening.

Orgosolo’s murals are famous now. The artistic heritage represented by the murals is locally regarded as a proof of civilization, and Francesco Del Casino, the Sienese artist who married into Orgosolo and lived the local political ferment of the late 60s and early 70s before he began to paint public spaces with vivid reminders of political action was awarded honorary citizenship by the mayor in the spring of 1998. On the road from Nuoro, the rock he painted to represent a shepherd at rest has become a community

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2During the late 1940s, a number of residents of Orgosolo were sent to the “confini” on the continent where they were maintained in camps under surveillance for months or years. This practice was introduced under fascist rule and maintained for some years afterwards as a means to control individuals determined by police tribunals to be dangerous or subversive. It was recognized in Orgosolo as a tactic of police repression, particularly against young Communist Party activists (see for instance Podda 1976). The sign pictured in the mural is interesting because it relates the plan to create a Gennargentu National Park to the general project of capitalism and neocolonialism by the nation-state.

3The mouflon is an endangered species of indigenous wildlife, Ovis musimon, in the sheep family (Casu et al.1984:318). The World Wildlife Fund is locally considered to be a particular advocate of the Gennargentu Park with no regard for the human lives the project will affect.

4 Several guides to the murals of Orgosolo are now available in different languages. See Kikinu (1987, 1996) and Rubanu and Fistrale (1998).

5A study on tourism (Bassu et al. 1998-9) funded by the municipal council counted almost 40,000 visitors to the town during the period June-September; over 34,000 of these were Italian, with the majority of others originating from Germany and France. Over 22,000 had come “to visit the town” while almost 17,000 came for a “lunch with the shepherds”. Only about 600 stayed overnight. Anthropologist Gino Satta completed his research on tourism in Orgosolo (consult Satta 2001) just before my own arrival.
trademark, reproduced on the label for locally-made gnocchi, on the cover of a novel set at Orgosolo, and on the front page of the map of the town. A few local artists\(^6\) have sporadically added murals of their own; few of the early murals were signed, so that the social authorship of the Orgosolo murals is largely concealed to outsiders, and many mistake them for a diffuse popular local tradition. In 1993, the municipal council invited professional artists from outside to contribute their visions of the world to the walls of the town, adding greater diversity of style to the collection of murals, and somewhat altering and diffusing the political scope of the subject matter. Authentic mural paraphernalia sell constantly; the tourists are unfailingly enthusiastic.

One gets the feeling that Francesco Del Casino intended to attract the attention of Orgolesi themselves, of the men who meet in the street, of the women who pass on their various errands. Del Casino’s murals of the 1970s—some executed with the involvement of students from his art classes at the local middle school—reflect his previous engagement with a cultural-political youth group begun in the late 1960s at Orgosolo. They carry a variety of pointed political messages, especially protests against military activities in Italy and abroad, and general critiques of capitalism and the underdevelopment of Sardinia; they are the obvious fruit of a left-leaning social conscience. Reflecting on a brief visit to Orgosolo in the late 1980s, Swedish anthropologist Peter Schweizer wrote,

> The murals bore witness to a political and cultural awareness, and an openness toward the world, which contrasted sharply with the isolated geographical location of the village. They told a story of the solidarity of village people with liberation movements in other parts of the world, of the timeless problems of shepherd life, and of conflicts with old and new masters. They gave evidence of the growing interest in Sard history and culture, and of the political and economic relationship between the island and the mainland. (1988:1-2)

Del Casino’s murals can be understood as a deliberate means of engaging local discourses, a strategy to render world events intelligible to local experience and local events relevant to larger political processes. In a town where the rate of school failures and dropouts was a notable problem,\(^7\) Del Casino wanted his students to understand the relevance of both art and study to real life. In an interview with Bastiana Madau (reprinted in Rubanu and Fistralle 1998), Del Casino noted strong themes of Sardinian identity and left-wing activism in mural painting throughout the island during the 1970s,

\(^6\)These include Pasquale Buesca and especially in the 1990s, a friendship group calling themselves “Le Api”, The Bees, naming themselves after the real producers of a celebrated local product, honey.

\(^7\)For a sociological study of youth, culture, and the school system in Orgosolo, see Ligas (1990).
partly related to the tradition of political pamphlets of the late 1960s. Yet his paintings betray an explicit concern for the local which is indubitably innovative. Del Casino’s work weaves from Orgosolo’s own past and from current affairs in the world outside a tangible backdrop to daily life in the small town, subtly pervading and encompassing individual reminiscences, drawing together a story of the community in the Picasso-like shapes which color the walls. So much have Del Casino’s works become reference points for public memory that they are often cited by people recounting instances in local history.

This is certainly the case for a set of murals along the Corso Via Repubblica detailing scenes from the so-called “War of Pratobello.” It is this memory of the past which covers the face of the old town hall, depicting the popular demonstration held on the territory of Orgosolo at the end of the 1960s. Del Casino himself participated in the left-wing cultural movement, or Circolo Giovanile (Youth Circle), which organised the town’s resistance to a plan to establish a NATO military base on a part of the communal territory devoted to agropastoral activities, and also critically studied other government policies. As the tale is retold in Orgosolo in the late 1990s, the demonstration happened “spontaneously” and lasted a week. At the local library they told me, “It was like Woodstock”, and steered me straight over to the set of photographs of the murals of Francesco del Casino. One of the assistants told me an anecdote about an old man who lay down in front of a tank to stop it from getting to the place they were using for target practice. People commonly boasted to me that “the whole town was there”, including rival political factions of the Christian Democrats and the Communists, priests themselves, and ordinary folk, men and women, “everyone”, from the very old to the very young. The impromptu accounts of my friends and acquaintances emphasized a spirit of tense but peaceful encounter, of collective local courage to protect an essential resource, and ultimate triumph. The event was frequently narrativized for me over my two years at Orgosolo, whether by the authoritative, fond voices of the participants or by the alternately nostalgic and irritable voices of their sons and daughters, who have heard the anecdotes and private chronicles of the “War of Pratobello” *ad nauseam*. Pratobello was an important political moment for Orgosolo, and local memories have been focused and reinforced by the numerous photographs and documents that were left behind.9

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9 Local poet Peppino Marotto (1996) entitled his poem about the 1969 protest “Sa Lotta de Pratobello”; people commonly refer to the event in this way today, or else simply say “Pratobello”, making the place symbolize the event.

The Pratobello demonstration confronted a variety of political issues beyond the immediate threat of military occupation. A key secondary source of protest was the government project to create a Gennargentu National park in the mountains of central Sardinia, reaching eastward to the coast. As with the prospective NATO base, the park threatened to undercut Orgosolo’s pastoral economy. The protest focused on impending prohibitions on “traditional” productive activities on corporately-owned village territories, and particularly, the exclusion of shepherds from communal pastures (Moro 1982; Spiga 1984). The common lands of Orgosolo have been used for integrated agro-pastoral activities going back in history (Angioni 1989, Berger 1986, Meloni 1984). The communal territory of Orgosolo is now a resource for semi-formal primary production strategies available not only to full-time professional herders but also to seasonally unemployed or to under-employed men, particularly those without educational qualifications. Despite economic transformations at Orgosolo (cf. Weingrod and Morin 1971, Clark 1996, Sio 1997), pastoralism on communal lands continues to provide both income and subsistence needs and also a perceived source of economic security for many families in the town.
I was driving home with my friend Martina one evening in spring of 1998, when she told me, “siamo tutti pastori ad Orgosolo (Itl: we are all herders at Orgosolo)”. She went on to explain that although she wasn’t a shepherd, she felt close to their perspective because she had a father and a husband who did keep sheep. Even those people in Orgosolo whose immediate families did not include shepherds, she claimed, usually had a herder in the extended family: an uncle or a cousin who kept pigs, cows, goats or sheep. For this reason, she believed that everyone in the town sympathized with their concerns, at least to some extent. I had heard such comments before, yet they had particular resonance that day because we had just been to a public meeting at which the revived government plans to create a Gennargentu National Park were discussed. For ten years, politicians have been negotiating a new legal framework to centralize the environmental management of the green spaces owned corporately by a number of Sardinian towns. This continues to be a source of contention for the local communities, despite the temptation of new funds potentially available for socio-economic development. Martina said she always went to meetings about the communal territory, because she felt they were important. It was taken for granted by most of the people with whom I talked that the herders were opposed to the project, as they had been thirty years ago. The cultural heritage of pastoralism was considered by many to characterize the town as a whole. The mayor of Orgosolo in 1998, for example, said that the politicians who were trying to push forward the park project had not counted on “the primordial attachment of Orgolesi to the land”.

Orgosolo residents often write and talk about the local past in terms of sos pastores, the herders, and su cumonale, the Commons.\(^\text{10}\) These subjects are key themes in the murals painted by Francesco del Casino, who was personally engaged for many years with the informal discourses of history and memory in Orgosolo, and whose work crystallized these cultural and political narratives in visual images that immediately became part of the social environment of the streets. It is interesting to think about this in light of Bloch’s essay on autobiographical and historical memory in Madagascar (in Borutti and Fabietti 1996), highlighting the process by which the memory of long-past events may be not only retained and socially transmitted to a new generation but also re-personalized, made newly dense with emotion and relevant meaning, through evocative retellings that are inherently engaged with places and objects. The outcome, he says, goes quite beyond a flatly textual, gradually degrading collective memory of the kind imagined by Halbwachs (1950). Like Bloch, Joëlle Bahloul found that her Jewish French informants’ memories of their past in colonial Algeria were narrativized in relation to the experience of physical settings, specifically, their house (1992). The symbolic structures constitutive of identity are, for Bahloul, coded in the images of remembered spaces, so that time itself is objectified and never depleted of its power to organize and authorize the present. In Orgosolo, the communal territory is both a real, utilized space and a landscape of the

\(^{10}\) Cf. Salis (1983, 1994) and Manca (1994).
imagination, now written over with the marks of a collective and yet personalized history. The link between the Commons, the shepherds, and the community is repetitively reinforced in the mural imagery of Francesco del Casino, and I suggest that his murals have been very powerful in affirming the cultural authority of pastoral traditions for the residents of Orgosolo, shaping their political strategies in fundamental ways.

In particular, the images promoted in the murals of Pratobello enhance a very specific model of “politics from the bottom up” to which del Casino and other leftwing youth mobilizers in the 1960s aspired: a model which portrayed political agency as the natural outcome of a cultural identity grounded in the economic and structural margins. The Youth Circle’s account of events at Pratobello estimated that over three thousand people went out to Pratobello on the first day of the demonstration to prevent the scheduled military exercises from taking place.

June 19, 1969, 7am—In plaza “Su Montilhu” there gathers a crowd of a few hundred people. They are men, women and children. They all have their lunches packed and they are aware that things could go on for awhile. The 150 workers of the state forestry service have already left around 6am and they are at their work site in the military zone for a strike.

All along the main street of the town hundreds of people are gathering to wait for means of transportation to get to the polygon. Trucks, motorcarts and private automobiles are crammed incredibly full. Many of the demonstrators make several trips in order to transport all the people. (Circolo Giovanile di Orgosolo in Muggianu 1998:229-30, my translation)

Pictures show lengthy lines of soldiers and dense groups of Orgosolo men, groups of Orgosolo women with their children, out in the countryside. At noon, a public assembly was held in the middle of the highway; speeches were made by members of the Youth Circle, by shepherds and workers, by the ex-mayor who declared his support, and by an agro-pastoral unionist. Although regional representatives of the Communist party and the Socialist party were present, they did not make public speeches that day—attention remained focused on the grassroots leadership. Some of the Orgolesi—particularly women and members of the Youth Circle—sought out personal conversations with the soldiers to persuade them to their cause (Haensch n.d.). These multiply-sited initiatives to change a larger political fact through the power of direct interpersonal relations was joined with a mood of festival; the Youth Circle writes that people picnicked, sang, debated, and danced. Photographs show men sitting on the ground, playing the morra, in which two contestants at a time are involved in a fast-paced number-guessing
game which tends to excite high feeling. Such informal traditions of celebration were symbolic markers of popular agency associated with the demonstration itself.

The picture of Pratobello covering the old town hall was painted and repainted in stages between the late 1970s and 1984. Del Casino painted other murals referring to Pratobello over that period, recapturing placards, quoting local poetry about the event, and dedicating a wall to the shepherds who work on that land. He added four more murals of Pratobello along the Corso in 1989 to resemble old sepia photographs of the demonstration (taken by the famous Franco Pinna), showing the protagonist of ordinary Orgolese--even old shepherds and women with children--as they confront armed soldiers, with captions in the village dialect of Sardinian. The timing of the mural painting is crucial. The nature of political participation was changing by the late 1970s; Orgolesi were “forgetting” the skills of socio-political activism and as the 1980s neared their close the key political parties, the Democrazia Cristiana (DC--the Christian Democrats) and the Partito Comunista Italiano (PCI--the Italian Communist Party), were in decline both nationally and locally. Small acts of political intimidation, such as damage to the cars and houses of town councilors, were becoming more frequent. In contrast to this, the sepia murals were visible reminders of a different way of voicing political concerns, set in the small plaza called “Su Ponte”--sometimes nicknamed “Piazza del Popolo”--where political meetings were once held outdoors. The mural on the town hall could well be read, too, as an instruction book for organised political action. When asked what purpose the murals serve today, Del Casino explained them as a form of political communication deriving force from a time in the sixties when social debate was institutionalized in a positive way:

I believe that the party sections were not only the seats of political imbroglio, but places of debate and cultural growth, where one also challenged everyday habits and problems, and the discussions went out from there and continued in the bar; in the plaza, in the council

11The morra, a competitive game between men which sometimes involves gambling, was noted as a cause of violent confrontations sometimes leading to blood feuds; it has been outlawed for many years but is still played discreetly on festive occasions.

12Personal communication, Gianfranco Fistrale, July 1998.

meetings, even in the houses. This was the power of that period, and it was then that the murals were born. Now, here [at Orgosolo], as elsewhere, it is difficult to find these moments (Interview by B. Madau in Rubanu and Fistrale 1998:159; my translation).

In 1998, Francesco del Casino was presented with honorary citizenship by the town of Orgosolo. His artistic achievement was by then widely recognized. Yet if the principal purpose of Del Casino’s murals was indeed to provide a means of translation, stimulation, communication, and mutual recognition between a conceptual world ostensibly centered and somewhat bounded by Orgosolo, and a conceptual world based in a left-wing political critique which ideally transcends the limits of territory, language, or law, then indications are that the artist has been outmaneuvered by many of his chief admirers. Tourists understand the abundance of murals as a rare and unusual attribute of Orgosolo itself. Residents of the town recognize the murals as a product of and a tribute to a very special, authentic pastoral and communitarian culture. The socio-cultural life of Orgosolo is doubly endowed with a sense of exclusiveness, a perception and self-perception of uniqueness and isolation considered to be the “natural” legacy of geography, language, history, and economics. Boundaries between Orgosolo and the outside world are culturally invented and essentialized by protagonists on both sides of the line. The murals, and the popular social agency they are taken to commemorate, have become a sign of distinction14 attached to the identity of Orgosolo—they are now part of the apparent uniqueness of place, exalting an experience tied to land, tradition and resistance.

 Scholars and writers have often travelled to Orgosolo seeking the “authentic” traditions of Sardinia. With the growth of tourism and the Sardinian autonomy movement, there has been a folklore boom since the 1970s. Orgosolo’s “lunch with the shepherds” (cf. Satta forthcoming) is a popular cultural day-trip inland for many who come to stay at seaside resorts in Sardinia; the town also boasts a number of traditional tenor quartets and dance troupes. As a town which has maintained a strong component of pastoralists working on areas of the Commons, and a place where linguistic practices continue to favour Sardinian over Italian, Orgosolo has often been romanticized as an archetype of Sardinian identity.

 There are also dark visions of the Sardinian interior, however, and these are deeply rooted in historical representations of the so-called “Sardinian Barbagia”. Discussions of banditry and violence in central Sardinia can be traced back through colonial records and church documents.15 Among the more conspicuous contributions were the writings of Alfredo Niceforo (1897) and Paolo Orano (1892) at the end of the nineteenth century. These authors were physical anthropologists intent on explaining the racial origins of

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14 I use “distinction” in the sense of Bourdieu (1984), as a kind of symbolic capital.

criminality in central Sardinia. For Niceforo in particular, Orgosolo was the “criminal nodal point of the criminal zone” (Niceforo 1897:21) that constituted central Sardinia. Following W.W.II, social anthropologist Franco Cagnetta (1954) wrote a more sympathetic monograph about the link between banditry and pastoralism in Orgosolo, and this was visually represented in a famous film by Vittorio de Seta at the end of the 1960s. The film Padre Padrone later captured a famous literary image of central Sardinia, drawn from the novel by Gavino Ledda (1975), centering again on the historic figure of the shepherd, and the harsh circumstances and violence which the author saw as shaping his cultural existence. Institutional and media discourses of criminality in central Sardinia continued to evolve throughout this period, as government bureaucracies recognised new waves of Sardinian “banditry” in the 1960s and 1970s. There were blood feuds at Orgosolo until the 1970s, and the town continues to be linked to violent homicides and kidnappings which feature prominently in national newscasts.

Visual dialogues about Orgosolo have thus become very forceful in the public imagination of cultural identity. Journalists reporting on Orgosolo’s “black chronicles” have favoured clips of black-clad women in the modified traditional costume of the town, older herders clad in heavy leather boots and velvet, or the door of the old town hall covered with shotmarks and surrounded by Francesco del Casino’s mural of local resistance at Pratobello. Local residents are intently engaged in negotiating these visual dialogues, and take great interest in the products of professional photography and local art. They are also strongly interested in performances of folklore, poetry, and in all kinds of literary narratives in which they themselves are portrayed. The prominence of all manner of story-tellers at large in the streets of Orgosolo, from anthropologists and writers to journalists, photographers and even tourists, has often directed the gaze of residents toward themselves.

The centrality of Pratobello in the self-identity of Orgosolo residents has been reinforced not only by the constant presence of mural images in the public sphere, but also by the emerging value of the murals as a cultural good and a positive source of representation. The “War of Pratobello” itself is the exclusive historical property of Orgosolo. In all of Sardinia, NATO bases were scattered liberally by the end of the 1980s, but at Orgosolo military exercises were eventually held only on a temporary basis agreed to by the local administration, and Pratobello remained the property of the community. In a situation where political movements have now declined in favor of “cultural” initiatives, this past success in refuting government policy is understood as rightfully transcendent of party politics, the product of true community solidarity. The idea of Pratobello continues to draw the community together, to endow it with an aspect of seeming coherence as it confronts the chaos of diverging lifestyles and life stories. No matter how much discord marks the economic interests of Orgolesi today, no matter how dismal the outlook for the town council’s efforts to negotiate with the state, one can always look back to the days of Pratobello—look back quite literally, because of del Casino’s murals—and “see” a time when the town was united and forceful. The War of
Pratobello, perceived with proud hindsight, defined Orgosolo as a town to be contended with.

A poem by Antonio Sini describes the first day of the Pratobello demonstration (including activities in the area of Duvilinò) as a day marked by the powerful anger of Orgosolo shepherds and their families:

At Duvilinò, the 15th\textsuperscript{16} of June, 1969,
the herders of Orgosolo, and the women of Orgosolo,
and the children of the herders of Orgosolo
fought the battle of mankind.
At Duvilinò, I saw the herders of Orgosolo
they were mighty, they had a clenched fist.
At Duvilinò, I saw the policemen of the masters [the bourgeoisie]
They were small, they looked at the closed fist of the herders.
(Sini in Haensch n.d.:50, my translation)

The poem was re-written alongside a mural painted by Francesco Del Casino in 1978, showing the bust of a wiry, muscled man with the distinctive Sardinian cap and a shepherd’s knife, the knife held in a tight fist high above his head: a gesture of power and determination. During the days of Pratobello, this narrative tells us, the will of Orgolesi was unified and powerful. In their memorializations of Pratobello, people took themselves back in time to a moment of structural nostalgia (Herzfeld 1991) shared by both people and administrators of Orgosolo, a time when people seemed more united and politically active, when their Sardinian identity seemed purer, when there were more pastoralists, when local resistance to state initiatives was successful, less compromised by diverging economic interests and secret negotiations—a time when politics itself was apparently purer. In Orgosolo, the nostalgia for Pratobello is structural nostalgia for a society where the capacity to shape political decisions was diffuse, and communal agency was paramount, yet easily resolved into tiny, memorable acts of personal defiance, ingenuity, hospitality, communication, and volition. The social memory of Pratobello constructs Orgosolo’s resistance to NATO and the Gennargentu National Park as something that transcends a leftwing political initiative of the late 1960s, to become part of an enduring cultural identity.

In 1999, Orgosolo’s annual August festival was organised by a group of thirty-year-olds who adopted the Pratobello demonstration as a symbol of their identity.\textsuperscript{17} While working to host several days of festivities, they all wore t-shirts printed with Sini’s poem and the image from Francesco del Casino’s mural of shepherd defiance at Duvilinò. The mural was also reproduced in large scale as a stage backdrop (for the folklore and music performances that constituted the main events), where it appeared alongside a representation of

\textsuperscript{16}The correct date of the first day of the demonstration is June 19th, 1969.

\textsuperscript{17} Since 1997, the annual \textit{ferragosto} celebration at Orgosolo has been organised as an age-set initiative. See Heatherington (1998, 1999) for further discussion.
the other major symbolic event of 1969 recognized by the youths of Orgosolo born in that year: the first steps on the moon. Accepting an implicit brand of modernity associated with the space age, then, the young people also sought out the traces of cultural authenticity, since this totemic initiative marked out a set of relationships to a landscape, a community, and a moment in history. As a place, Pratobello is part of the Commons used by shepherds, but it is also the part of the landscape where a generalized local attachment to the pastoral landscape and the history it symbolizes has been articulated and inscribed. Because it suggests not only local residence but also connections to communal traditions, solidarity, and resistance to the colonizing tactics of the state, Pratobello signifies an idealized Orgosolo identity, with respect to local efforts at self-representation. For the age-set born in 1969, the mural image of Duvilìnò summarized all the cultural implications of temporal belonging to a generation that participated in events at Pratobello firsthand.

![Mural image of Duvilìnò](image)

Dependent as it is upon the various “retellings” of the story of Pratobello, the memory of social agency and resistance put into play by these young people draws much of its persuasive power from the images painted by Francesco del Casino. Yet there may be a considerable gap between the intentionality of the artist in memorializing the political action of the 1960s, and the social readings of those images as a cultural asset in the 1990s. While the recent murals of Del Casino in 1997 gently defy the inward-lookingness of Orgosolo by directing attention to the outside, to important writers and artists who have brought political messages to the world, they have nevertheless

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become part of a cultural commodity definitively associated with the town. These murals, too, could be read as a political instruction book: art is a positive means of finding a political voice. Many Orgolesi do use culture as a means of political expression, in ways that Del Casino does not anticipate. Yet the local notion of culture is one which celebrates “possessive individualism” (Handler 1988) at the level of the community, depending on ethnonationalist constructions of cultures as finite entities with bounded territories and bounded histories, entities which can own definitive cultural content that they have an inherent right to preserve. Del Casino’s cultural vision, on the other hand, attempts to transcend the boundaries of immediate social experience and privilege a multi-sited, leftwing political analysis of contemporary life. It is ironic that this vision has only reinforced the perception of the cultural boundedness of Orgosolo to the eyes of many beholders.

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Scagadh ar rannú cainteoirí comhaimseartha Gaeltachta: gnéithe d’antraipeolaíocht teangeolaíocha phobal Ráth Cairn

Conchúr Ó Giollagáin
Roinn na Gaeilge, Coláiste Phádraig, Droim Conrach, Baile Átha Cliath;
Comhalta, An Institiúid Náisiúnta um Anailís Spásúil agus Réigiúnach (NIRSA), Ollscoil na hÉireann, Má Nuad

1.0 Réamhrá

Tabharfaidh an t-alt seo aghaidh ar na torthaí a bhaineann le tionscadal taighde ar ghnéithe éagsúla de nómhnaireachta teanga phobal comhaimseartha Ráth Cairn (RC) a chur i láthair agus a iniúchadh. Déanfar plé go speisialta ar na conclúidí is suntasaí a thagann chun solais sa réimse eolais a bailiúd faoi na cineálacha éagsúla cainteoirí atá i bpobal RC agus faoin dinimic shóisialta agus teaghlaigh a bhfuil an gréasán teanga i Ráth Cairn bunaithe uirthi. Is ar mhaithe le scrúdú a dhéanamh ar ghnéithe éagsúla de choineadh na Gaeltachta comhaimseartha a dhéanamh, seachas mioneolas ar phobal RC a nochtadh agus a léiriú a tugadh faoin taighde áirithe seo.¹ Is é is aidhm leis an tionscadal seo micora-anailís comhchumhachtach agus is praiticiúil, de réir mhúnlaí na hantraipeolaíochta teangeolaí, a dhéanamh ar an bpobal i Ráth Cairn d’fhonn teacht ar léargas agus ar thuiscint níos sásúla ar an mbunús teangeolaíoch a bhfuil ceantar beag comhaimseartha Gaeltachta tógtha air.

Ach an oiread leis an disciplín na hantraipeolaíochta a bheith go mór faoi chomaoín ag léann na socitheangeolaíochta, beidh an taighde seo ag baint tá tail as faisnéis socitheangeolaíochta a bailíodh i Ráth Cairn ar mhaithe le conclúidí áirithe sealadacha faoi antraipeolaíocht theangeolaíoch na Gaeltachta comhaimseartha a áiteamh. Tugann sainiú Duranti (1997) léargas maith ar an bhfráma tagartha a bhí agam. Maíonn sé gurb éard is bunús le disciplín na hantraipeolaíochta teangeolaí:

…the study of language as a cultural resource and as speaking as a cultural practice... (Duranti 1997: 2);

This means that linguistic anthropologists see the subject of their study, that is the speakers, first and above all as social actors, that is, members of particular, interestingly complex, communities, each organized in a variety of social institutions and through a network of intersecting but not necessarily overlapping sets of expectations, beliefs, and moral values about the world (Duranti 1997: 3).

¹ Is ar choineadh na Gaeltachta de réir mar a shamhlaíonn an pobal comhaimseartha Gaeltachta é atá i gceist san aiste seo, seachas ar chonstráid na Gaeltachta nó: “ar choineachpú na Gaeltachta ón iasacht, is é sin, an Ghallacht agus sa Bhéarla,” mar a thráchtann Ó Torna (2000: 51-64) air.
Roghnaíodh Ráth Cairn don taighde ar dhá údar: a) is é an pobal Gaeltachta is mó a bhfuil eolas agam air, rud a chiallaigh nár ghá a dhul i dtuilleamaí an iomarca ar fhaisnéis ó dhaoine eile a dhéanadh an t-eolas a bhí á lorg agam a chur as a ríocht i ngach ar leas a bhaint as slata tomhais éagsúla; b) tá dinimic shochttheangeolaíoch spéisiúil idir cineálacha éagsúla cainteoirí, dinimic a sheicear ar bhonn níos fairsinge amach anseo, is dóigh, de réir mar a théann na hathruithe suntasacha sóisialta agus sochtheangeolaíochta atá ar bun sna Gaeltachtaí tríd chéile i dtreise.

1.1 Stair Ráth Cairn

Aistriú pleanáilte faoi choimirce Choimisiún na Talún ba bhunús le bunú na Gaeltachta i Ráth Cairn i 1935. B'as Conamara, go háirithe Ceantar na nOileán, a tháinig na seacht gcomhluadar is fiche a lonnaigh i Ráth Cairn an bhliain sin, agus lonnaigh tríd chomhluadar déag eile sa mbaile fearainn ó dheas de Ráth Cairn, Cill Bhríde, a dtugann muintir na háite Leaimbé air, i 1937. Déanaim amach go raibh 333 duine san iomlán páirteach sna haistrithe seo. Tugadh teach cóinithe, gabhailte talún scór acraí, muid áirithe stoic, stráice portaigh, trealamh áirithe feirme, agus allúntas airgid don chéad bhliain do gach comhluadar ar an gcioinnióll go sínéidís a raibh acu thiar.

anonn do Choimisiún na Talún le foirsne a ligean ar na comhluadair a d’fhan sna ceantair thiar a bhí ag brath ar ghabhaltas bheaga le haghaidh deis mhaireachtála a thabhairt dóibh féin.

Níor phhraiticiúil an mhaise dúinn a dhul i bhfad scéil le stair Ráth Cairn anseo ceal spáis,3 ach is mithid pointe amhain a bhaineann le héirim an taighde seo a thabhairt chun solais, is é sin an neamhaird stáit agus institiúideach a tugadh do phobal RC tar éis bhunú na Gaeltachta ann i 1935. Thug comhairloiriú o Choimisiún na Talún cúnamh dóibh sna blianta toasaigh go háirithe i réimse na talmháiocha agus bunaíodh bunscóil sa gceantar i 1936, Scoil Eoghan Uí Ghramaigh, ach seachas sin bhiodar fágtaigh ar a gcónánt féin i gceantar nua agus i gcomhthéacs nua soch-chultúrtha lena saol féin a chleachtadh go dtí gur tugadh aitheantas Gaeltachta4 don cheantar i 1967.5

1.2 Modh Oibre

Tugadh faoin bhfaisnéis a chur i dtoll a chéile, chun críche an taighde seo, idir Nollaig 2001 agus Máirta 2002 go príomha, ach bhí cuid shuntasach den eolas ba ghá a bhailiú don tionscadal seo á sealbhú agam nár d’oibras é in imeacht na mblianta a raibh mé ag cur aithne ar mhuintir Ráth Cairn.6 Déanaim amach go raibh 65% den fhaisnéis faoin bpobal atá curtha i glár agus i bhfoirm anseo ar eolas agam sular pléadh an t-ábhar le daoine eile féachaint lena léargas siadsan a tháil d’fhonn mo chuid eolais féin a dheimhníu agus le bearná sa bhfaisnéis a lioadh. Ceathrat ar chuidigh liom sa ngné seo den taighde: fear de bhunadh Chonamara a bhfuil breis is ceithre scór blianta slánaíthe aige a bhaineann leis an gcéad dream a lonnaigh san áit; bean de bhunadh Ráth Cairn thart ar cheathracha bliana d’aois; agus beirt fhéar thart ar an aois chéanna nach de bhunadh Ráth Cairn iad, ach a bhfuil cónaí orthu sa gceantar le blianta fada. Chuidigh ar an cheathar seo liom an bunabhar faisnéise a dheimhníú.7 Iontráladh an t-ábhar ina dhiaidh sin ar dhá bhunachar eolais ríomhairithe, ceann bunaithe ar fhaisnéis an duine aonair agus ceann eile a shonraíonn faisnéis an teaghlhaigh nó an lón tí ina bhfuil na daoine seo.8 Tá iontrálaí a bhaineann le 426 duine curtha san áireamh ar an

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4 Féach Mac Donncha (1986: 120-34) agus Ó Giollagáin (1999: 203-4) maidir le cúlra fheachtas aitheantas na Gaeltachta i RC.
6 Ba i 1984 a chuir mé aithne ar mhuintir RC i dtosach báire agus tá cónaí orm sa gceantar ó 1998 i leith.
7 Gabhaim buíochas ó chroí leis na daoine i RC a thug cúnamh dom an fhaisnéis seo a bhailiú.
8 Is iondúil go n-úsaidtear an téarma teaghlaich as seo sós, ach ní ag tagairt d’aon chineál aonaid teaghligh ar leith atáthar. D’fhéadfadh an chiall teaghlach nó lón tí a bheith ag
gcéad bhunachar eolais agus baineann an dara bhunachar eolais le sonraí faisnéise 128 teaghlach.

1.3 **Bunachar Eolais I (An Duine Aonair)**

Roinneadh an fhaisnéis ar an gcéad bhunachar eolais de réir na gcatagóirí seo a leanas:

- Inscne
- Stádas sa teaghlach: athair, máthair, mac, iníon, srl
- Aois
- Baile Fearainn
- Scoláfocht i gcás na ngasúr
- Cúlra áitiúil/réigiúnach/cultúrtha
- Cineál cainteora/Cúlra Teangeolaíoch

1.4 **Bunachar Eolais II (An Teaghlach)**

Roinneadh an fhaisnéis ar an dara bhunachar eolais de réir na gcatagóirí seo a leanas:

- Cineál teaghlaigh/líon tí
- Cúlra áitiúil/réigiúnach/cultúrtha na dtuismitheoirí
- Glúin aoise an teaghlaigh
- Teanga an teaghlaigh (nó gnás teanga an teaghlaigh)
- Gnás teanga na máthar
- Gnás teanga an athar

1.5 **Pobal Ráth Cairn – ciall**

Bainfear feidhm as téarmaí éagsúla ar mhaithe le hidirdhealú a dhéanamh idir na cineálacha éagsúla cainteoirí atá páirteach i bpobal RC. Ach i dtosach báire caithfear sainiú a dhéanamh ar phobal RC i gcomhthéacs an tionscadail seo. Ní thagraíonn úsáid an téarma anseo do na háitriúchaoirí a bhfuil buanchónaí orthu taobh istigh de limistéar na Gaeilge a dtugtar Ráth Cairn go coitianta air, ach a bhfuil seach mbaile fearainn go hoffigiúil aitheanta ann: Ráth Cairn; Cill Bhríde; Drisegr; Doire Longáin; Tlacht; Tulach Chonóg agus Baile Mhistéil. Is é is brí le pobal RC anseo ná an chuid sin den phobal, a bhfuil cónaí orthu taobh istigh den teorainn Ghaeltachta i Ráth Cairn, a léiríonn go bhfuil siad rannpháirteach in imeachtaí an phobail ag leibhéil éigin sósialta sa gcaoi is go dtugtar le fios go bhfuil aitheantas, dá fhánaí é, á thabhairt do gníithe bhunúsach choch-chultúrtha de choinchep na baint leis an gcaoi a mbainfear leas as an téarma anseo, ach déanfar an téarma a shainiú nuair is gá ciall ar leith a léiríú.

Baintear leas as an téarma ‘pobal RC’ tríd síos le tagairt a dhéanamh don phobal a áirítear sa tionscadal seo seachas do phobal an cheantair.

9 Baintear leas as an téarma ‘pobal RC’ tríd síos le tagairt a dhéanamh don phobal a áirítear sa tionscadal seo seachas do phobal an cheantair.
Gaeltachta; nó len é a lua go lom, tá modh oibre an tionscadail seo píosaíte i dtúsceint shóisialta i dtaobh na Gaeltachta seachas leagan amach limistéarach.  

Cuireadh faisnéis daoine san áireamh má chomhlión siad ceann ar bith de na critéir seo a leanas:

1. Cainteoirí dúchais Gaeilge
2. Cainteoirí eile Gaeilge
3. Foghlaimoírí Gaeilge
4. Áitritheoirí de bhunadh Chonamara
5. Lucht rannpháirtíocha imeachtaí an phobail áitiúil
6. Áitritheoirí a dtéann a gcáin ag scoil sa gceantar

Feicfear sa bhfaísnéis a phléifear thús nach comhaireamh seicteach cloigne bunaithe ar chumas teangeolaíoch atá á scagadh anseo, ach rannpháirtíocht phobail i gcomhthéacs soch-chultúrtha ar leith. Is iomaí duine nár cuireadh a chuid faisnéise san áireamh de thoradh chur i bhfeidhm na gcritéar seo i ngeall nár bhfuil i gcónaí le réimse pobail an tionscadail; nior bailíodh faisnéis ó na daoine seo a leanas:

1. Áitritheoirí de bhunadh áitiúil na Mí a bhfuil cónaí orthu laistigh de theorainn na Gaeltachta a bhfuil a n-aírd shóisialta agus phobail dírithe ina hiomláine beagnach ar phobal Béarla na Mí agus ar shaol an Bhéarla i gcoitinne.
2. Áitritheoirí na gan Ghaeilge nach de bhunadh Chonamara nó cheantar áitiúil na Mí iad a chleachtaíodh beag beann ar aitheantas ar leith na háite.
3. Daltaí Scoil Uí Ghramhnaigh agus Choláiste Pobail Ráth Cairn nach bhfuil cónaí orthu sa gceantar Gaeltachta
4. Daoine de bhunadh Chonamara a bhfuil cónaí orthu sa gceantar máguaird phobail amuigh de limistéar na Gaeltachta

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10 Scagann Duranti (1997: 294) feidhm choineachthu a gac an rannpháirtíocht a gcomhthéacs na hantraipeolaíochta teangeolaí.
11 Áirítear faísnéis daoine a bhaineann le critéir 4, 5 agus 6 beag beann ar chumas teanga.
12 Má léiríodh go raibh páirt ag an duine in obair nó in imeachtaí na n-institiúidí agus na n-eagrafochtai seo a leanas atá ag feidhmiú sa gceantar cuireadh faisnéis an duine sin, agus a léiriú, san áireamh: Naifonna Ráth Cairn; Scoil Uí Ghramhnaigh; Coláiste Pobail Ráth Cairn; Áras Uí Ghramhnaigh; Comharchumann Ráth Cairn; An Bradán Feasa/Club Ráth Cairn; Ecole Chumhneacháin Phádraig (séipéal na háite); Bord na Leabhar Gaeilge; Scun Scann (comhacht teilifise); Stíúideáidí Raideá na Gaeltachta; Turmec Metal Works; Muiriúm Ráth Cairn; Coiste an Chomharchumann; Coiste na Scoile; Coiste an Choláiste; Coiste Áras Uí Ghramhnaigh; Coiste an Naíonna; Coláiste na bhFiann (cúrsaí samhraidh); Coiste Tuistí agus Páistí; An Ghaeltacht – Cumann Lúthchleas Gael; Dámh na Mí; An Cumann Drámaíochta; Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann, Ráth Cairn; Cumann Ráth Cairn, Fianna Fáil; Cumann Ráth Cairn, Sinn Féin.
13 Dar ndóigh, ní breithiúnas ar ghnáifhúlacht an duine mar chomharsa atá á thabhairt anseo, ach íarrachtaí slataí tomhas a leagan síos le rannpháirtíocht an duine sa bpobal a mheas atá i gceist.
5. Cainteoirí eile Gaeilge a bhfuil cónaí orthu sa gceantar máguaird taobh amuigh de limistéar na Gaeltachta

1.6 Téarmaíocht – cainteoirí éagsúla

1.6.1 Cainteoir Dúchais

Táthar ag glacadh anseo leis an ngnáththuiscint Ghaeltachta ar céard is cainteoir dúchais Gaeilge (CD) ann: duine de bhunadh Gaeltachta a thógtar le Gaeilge i gceantar Gaeltachta.

1.6.2 Cainteoir Athdhúchais

Is é an éirim a bhaintear as cainteoir athdhúchais Gaeilge (CAD) clann comhchainteoirí Gaeilge a thógtar le Gaeilge nach cainteoirí dúchais iad a dtuismitheoirí.

1.6.3 Cainteoir Leathdhúchais

Baintear feidhm as an téarma cainteoir leathdhúchais (CLD) le cainteoir a thógtar i gcomhthéacs measctha teanga. Is iomaí gnás teanga is bunús leis seo, ach is iondúil i gcás na Gaeltachta go leantar dhá phatrún: a) cinneann na tuismitheoirí, ar cainteoirí dúchais Gaeilge iad, an mhórtheanga, is é sin an Béarla, a labhairt leis an gcinn, ach cloiseann an chlann an Ghaeilge sáth rialta i gcomhthéacs caidreamh nó teagmhálacha eile sa gcaoi is go mbíonn deis acu an teanga a shealbhú, dá easnamháí le réir a chéile ó dhaoine eile atá muintireach leo, ó bheith ag éisteacht leis an teanga a bheith á labhairt i measc an phobail, nó go deimhin ó bheith ag éisteacht lena dtuismitheoirí ag labhairt eatarthu féin sa teanga a cheileann siad ar an gcinn sa gcáidreamh leó; b) tógta an chlann leis an mBéarla i ngéall nach bhfuil duine de na tuismitheoirí inníúil ar an nGaeilge, agus deánann an cainteoir dúchais a chuid iarracht féin an Ghaeilge a labhairt leis an gcinn mar threisiú ar na comhthéacsanna eile sealbhaithe atá ann ag leibhéal na muintire nó an phobail.

Ach sa dá chás thuas is cainteoirí dúchais Béarla iad na cainteoirí leathdhúchais a shealbháonna an Ghaeilge ar bhealach níos comóideach (agus níos achrannach) nach bhfuil ag brath go hiomlán ar an gcóras scoilfochtóir nó ar mhodh oibre teagainse eile mar is gnách leis na comhchainteoirí. Tá úsáid an téarma CLD le hídirdhealú ón sainiú a dhá doras ón domhain.

14 Dar ndóigh, d’fhéadfadh clann aontuismitheora a bheith i gceist freisin, ach cloifeára anseo le húsáid an iolra mar ghnáth.

15 Ní hionann an mheabhair atá á baint anseo as an téarma ‘CLD’ agus an chiall a bhaineann Fishman (1991: 128) as ‘semi-speaker.’ Bheadh ‘semi-speaker’ Fishman ag teacht leis an gcíl atá á samhlu le comhchainteoir leathchumasach anseo. Tá úsáid an téarma ‘CLD’ bunaite ar ghné an dúchais agus an phobail a bhaineann le próiseas an tsealbhaithe seachas ar an gcumas teanga a bhfuil Fishman ag trácht air.
dhéanann Dorian (1981) ar ‘semi-speakers’ i gcás cainteoirí Gàidhlige in Oirthear Chataibh, Oirthuaisceart na hAlban, sa gcaoi is go bhfuil sealbhú níos cuimsithí déanta ag CLD-anna phobal RC ar an nGaeilge seachas mar a rinneadh i gcás na Gàidhlige. Murab ionann agus ‘semi-speakers’ Dorian, is cainteoirí liofa iad CLD-anna phobal RC.16 Is féidir a áiteamh go bhfuil an inniúlacht Ghaeilge atá ag na CLD-anna is fearr sa sainaimce seo i bpobal RC ag teacht le cumas an chainteora dhúchas. Baintear leas as an téarma ‘comhdhátheangach’ le cur síos a dhéanamh ar an gcinéal seo cainteora a bhfuil dhá theanga dhúchas aige/aici.17

1.6.4 Comhchainteoir

Is é is ciall le comhchainteoir (CC) anseo cainteoir Gaeilge a shealbhaigh an teanga lasmuigh de chomhthéacs bunaidh sealbhaithe an teaghlaign agus atá in ann páirt iomlán gnómhach a ghlacadh in imeachtaí an phobail i ngeall ar an inniúlacht teanga seo. Tá rannú déanta agam ag na comhchainteoirí i dtrí ghrúpa: a) comhchainteoirí ardcumasach, is é sin cainteoirí a bhfuil a gcuid inniúlachta sa teanga ag teacht le cumas cainteora dhúchas a bheag nó a mhóir; b) comhchainteoirí cumasach, is é sin cainteoir inniúil atá in ann é/i féin a chur in iúl go cumasach agus gan stró do chainteoir dúchas a bhaineann le glúin ar bith, agus atá in ann iad a thuisceint freisin;18 agus c) comhchainteoirí leathchumasach, tagraíonn an téarma seo do chainteoirí a bhfuil bunlíofochtach na teanga sealbhaithe acu, ach go n-aíríonn an cainteoir féin, agus an t-éisteoire leis, go bhfuil sé/sí faoi bhru agus faoi strus ag iarraidh é/i féin a chur in iúl sa teanga sealbhaithe. Tugtar faoi deara gur minic go ngéilleartear don chathú intuigthe iontú ar an mBéarla le tútachas a d’fhéadfadh a bheith ag baint le comhráite den chineál seo a sheachaint, go háirithe i gcás comhráite le cainteoirí dúchas.

Ní éiríonn ach le 16% de na comhchainteoirí os cionn scór blianta inniúlacht an chomhchainteora ardcumasach agus cumasach a bhaint amach. Is é 13% an figiúr comparáideach i gcás na ndaoine óga. Is iomann lión na gcumhchainteoirí ar fad agus 25% de phobal RC. Dátheangachas

16 Féach Dorian (1981: 106-7): “Unlike the older Gaelic dominant bilinguals, the semi-speakers are not fully proficient in Gaelic. They speak it with varying degrees of less than full fluency, and their grammar (and usually also their phonology) is markedly aberrant in terms of the fluent speaker norm.”
17 Féach Halliday et al (1977: 142): “Some bilingual speakers, including some who are ambilingual, can be said to have two (occasionally more) native languages.”
18 Tugtar nach idir dhealú préamhaithe san anáilís theangeolaíoch atá á dhéanamh idir na cainteoirí ardcumasach agus cumasacha sa rannú seo. Is iad na dríseacha cosáin is suntasaí a chuireann bac ar fhóirbairt próiseas sealbhaithe an chainteora chumasach i dtreo an ardcumas: lorg an Bhéarla a bheith ar an gcóras foinéimeanna atá ina c(h)uid Gaeilge; gan doimhneacht a bheith ag baint le tuiscint agus feidhmiú gnéithe de chatagóirí moirfeolaíochta na teanga; eileiméid de chomhreach na teanga a bheith faoi anáil struchtúr an Bhéarla; dáileadh na béime agus tuinphatrún na hainbhir gan a bheith sáchar dílis do na gnáis dhúchasacha sna réimsí seo. Ar údair phraiticiúla ní féidir plé níos cuimsithí a dhéanamh ar na hídirdealuithe seo san aiste seo.
cothromaithe atá bainte amach ag an gcomhchainteoir ardhumasach agus fágann sin go bhfuil an inniúlacht sa nGaeilge atá ag CC-anna den chaighdeán seo níos fearr ná cuid mhóir de na CLD-anna.\(^{19}\)

### 1.6.5 Foghlaimoír

Déanaim dhá rannú go príomha ar na foghlaimoírí (F); is iad foghlaimoír cumasach agus foghlaimoír leathchumasach na téarmaí a mbainfear leas astu anseo. Áirítear 20% d’fhoghlaimoírí Ráth Cairn ina bhfoghlaimoírí cumasacha. Foghlaimoír bisiúil atá sa bhfoghlaimoír cumasach a bhaineann céimeanna éagsúla sealbhaithte amach de réir a chéile in achar réasúnta gearn. Murab ionann agus an foghlaimoír leathchumasach, tá gach dealramh ar an scéal go mbainfidh an foghlaimoír cumasach fómhar ó thaobh na teanga de, tar éis dul chun cinn rialta, agus go mbeidh ar a ch(h)umas caiddéis i nGaeilge a chur ar chainteoírí eile. Tá teorainn chumasach idir na foghlaimoírí agus na comhchainteoírí leathchumasacha. Níl an inniúlacht ná an misneach ag na foghlaimoírí le páirt a ghlacadh, dá mhantaí agus thútaí féin i dtosach báire, in eilimintí de chomhthionól teanga den chuid sin de phobal RC ar gnáis leo an Ghaeilge a labhart. De réir mar a théann iarrachtaí na bhfoghlaimoír cumasacha i dtreise, tagann méadú ar na comthréacsanna sóisialta ina mbainneann siad leas as a gcuid Gaeilge, is é sin, tá siad ag drannadh de réir a chéile leis an inniúlacht teanga atá ag na comhchainteoírí leathchumasacha agus á gcur féin sa riocht is go bhfuil siad in ann páirt níos treallúsa a ghlacadh in imeachtá agus i gcomhthionól phobal Gaeilge an cheantair. A mhalaírt de chás atá ag baint leis an bhfoghlaimoír leathchumasach: gniomh dóchaí seachas cur i gcrích is mó atá le sonru ar a (h)iarrachtaí foghlaíonta a fheonn go minic tar éis achar fada blianta cheal toraidh.

### 1.6.6 Béarlóir

Cainteoir Béarla nach bhfuil inníuíl ar an nGaeilge a labhart nó nach bhfuil i mbun iarrachta len í a fhoghlaím is ciall le Béarlóir (B) anseo.

### 2.0 Faisnéis ghinearálta i dtaoibh na gcainteoirí

Tugann na léaráidí seo a leanas léargas ginearálta dúinn ar rannú na faisnéise de réir na gcinéalacha éagsúla cainteoírí agus de réir chúlra aítíuíl agus cultúrtha na gcainteoirí.

**Léaráid 2.1 Rannú na gCainteoirí: Sainaicme Teanga (L. 2.1)**

Le céadadán a dhéanamh d’fhigiiúirí na léaraide 2.1 feictear go bhfuil cumas sa nGaeilge ag 67% de phobal RC mar a shainiúnn an tionscadal seo é,

\(^{19}\) Féach Caldas agus Caron-Caldas (2000: 367) i dtaoibh an dátheangachais chothromaithe.
ach nach CD-anna ach 29% den phobal. Tá na B-anna beagnach chomh líonmhar céanna leo, agus is iad na CC-anna an tríú haicme is líonmhaire ag 25% den phobal.

Rannú na gCainteoirí: Sainaincme Teanga (L. 2.1)

Léiríonn na céatadáin seo go bhfuil cuid shuntasach den phobal (beagnach 54%) gan a bheith inniúil ar an nGaeilge nó ag brath ar chúnamh institiúideach éigin lena sealbhú.

Léäráid 2.2 Cainteoirí de réir baile fearainn (L. 2.2)

Feictear i léaráid 2.2 go bhfuil cónaí ar 57% de phobal RC (de réir mar a shainiónn an tionscadal seo é) sa lá atá inniu ann sa dá bhaile fearainn, Ráth Cairn agus Cill Bhríde. Ba sa dá bhaile fearainn seo a lonnaigh lucht bunaithe Ghaeltacht Ráth Cairn i 1935 agus 1937.

Cainteoirí de réir baile fearainn (L. 2.2)

Ní mór a chur sa meá gur fághadh thart ar 100 teaghlach as an áireamh, comhdhéanta de bheagnach 300 duine, i ngeall nach raibh a gcuid faisnéise
ag teacht leis na critéir a leagadh amach in alt 1.5 thuas sa gcaoi is go mbeifí in ann páirtíocht an duine sa bpobal a thomhais d’fhonn cinneadh a dhéanamh a rabhthas lena a gcuid faisnéise a chur san áireamh sa tionscadal. Baineann cuid shuntasach den ghrúpa seo a fágsadh ar lár leis na bailte fearainn: Tlachta, Baile Mhistéil agus Tulach Chonóg, ar pobal bunaíodh na Mí id a bhformhór mór.

Léaráid 2.3 Cúlra na gCainteoirí (L. 2.3)

Is féidir trí rannú shuntasacha a aithint ar phobal RC i dtorthaí an taighde ó thaobh gnás teanga de (féach léaráid 2.3). Luíonn sé le réasún nach gcleachtann daoine a bhfuil cúlaí éagsúla ag baint leo na gnáis chéanna, agus is amhlaidh atá i gcás Ghaeltacht Ráth Cairn. Nó híontas mar sin nach ionann an leagan amach sochtheangeolaíoch ar na trí ghrúpa éagsúla is suntasaí i gcás chomhdhéanamh phobal RC: is é sin dúchas aigh Ráth Cairn, pobal aithúil na Mí agus na strainséirí. Is é is ciall le dúchas aigh Ráth Cairn san aiste seo ná clann agus sliocht na ndaoine, a d’aistrigh ó Chonamara, a rugadh thoir agus a tógadh i Ráth Cairn.

Tuigtear nach é ‘strainséir’20 an téarma is déise ó thaobh na ceartasaíochta polaitiúil de, ach bheartaigh mé a úsáid anseo ar dhá údar: (a) léiríonn sé ar bhealach gonta na daoine sa gceantar nach bhfuil dúchas Ghaeltacht Chonamara acu ná nach mbaineann le pobal bunaíodh na Mí; (b) is é an téarma is coitianta a chuireann dúchas aigh Ráth Cairn ag obair ar mhaiithe le tagairt a dhéanamh don chuid seo den phobal, léiriú ann féin ar an marcáil.

20 Tá an litriú strainséara/strianséaraí níos dílse don réaladh canúineolaíochta.
Ó Giollagáin: Rannú cainteoirí Gaeltachta

antraipeolaíochta a mbaintear leas as ar mhaithle le daoine le cúlraí éagsúla a idirdhealú.21 Déantar dhá rannú ar shaínaicme na strainséiri; tagraíonn strainséirí (2) do chlann na strainséirí a lonnaigh sa gceantar, agus tar éis go bhfuil a mórchuid siúd á dtógáil i Ráth Cairn fearacht dhúchasaigh óga Ráth Cairn is tússe a luafadh muintir na háite an strainséireacht leo seachas dúchas Ráth Cairn i ngeall nach bhfuil a n-aiteantas siadsan préamaithe i dtuiscintí a bhaineann le dúchas bunaíodh na Gaeltachta mar a shamhlaíonn pobal Chonamara é.

Tagraíonn Conamara sa léaráid do na haosaigh den dúchas sin agus Conamara 1935+ do dhaoinne den dúchas céanna a lonnaigh i Ráth Cairn i ndiaidh aimsir na n-aistrithe tosaigh. Lonnaigh dhá chomhluadar ar de dhúchas Chamuis i gConamara iad i nDoire Longáin i 1954; tá dream beag ó Chonamara a phós isteach sa gceantar freisin ó shin i leith.

Léaráid 2.4 Rannú dhúchasaigh Ráth Cairn (L. 2.4)

Ón rannú atá léirithe i léaráid 2.4 ar fhaisnéis an 185 duine a áirítear mar dhúchasacha de chuid Ráth Cairn, feictear go bhfuil cumas sa nGaeilge ag 82% acu. Is fánach a bheith ag iarraidh figiúiri i dtaobh lión na gcainteoirí i Ráth Cairn a chur i gcomparáid le figiúiri i nGaeltachtaí eile mar a bailióidh do Dhaonáireamh na hÉireann 1996, mar shampla. Máitear sa gcáipéis sin gur cainteoirí Gaeilge 73% de phobal na Gaeltachta oifigiúla,22 ach ní thagann aon chomparáid slán anseo i ngeall ar shlata tomhais an tionscadail seo gan a bheith ag réiteach leis an modh oibre limistearach atá á fheidhmiú i gcás anailisi an daonáirimh. Ina theannta sin, is gá cuimhníú go bhfuil stair ar leith ag baint le Gaeltacht Ráth Cairn agus gur bunaíodh í mar choilíneacht Ghaeilge i gceantar a raibh an t-aistriú teanga curtha i gcrích i bhfad roimh 1935. Áirítear freisin áirítheoirí de dhúchas áitiúil na Mí, nach bhfuil aon bhaint acu leis an bphobal Conamach a (ath)bhunaigh Gaeltacht sa gceantar, mar chuid oifigiúil den phobal Gaeltachta ann. Is sciar suntasach iad dúchasacha na Mí de phobal RC mar a shainióinn an tionscadal seo é (féach léaráid 3.5) agus is sciar níos suntasait fós iad de phobal oifigiúil Ghaeltacht Ráth Cairn go háirithe ó 1982, an uair a leathnaíodh teorainn na Gaeltachta ann; agus fearacht cheantar Chois Fharráige i nGaeilge na Gaillimhe tá brúnna tithíochta á gcur ar an gceantar nach mbíonn i gcomhréir lena stádas oifigiúil teanga go minic i ngéall ar a chóngaraí is atá Ráth Cairn don phriomhchathair.


3.0 Próifíl Teanga na nDaoine

Is ar ghnáis agus ar nósmhaireachtaí teanga seachas cumas a leagann an antraipeolaíocht bheim. Ní mór anailís níos cuimsithí a dhéanamh ar an bpróifíl aoise a bhaineann leis na sainaicmí éagsúla cainteoirí le tuiscint níos fear a aimsiú ar na gnáis teanga sa gceantar. Féachann léaráidí 3.1 – 3.5 le próifíl teanga na ndaoine a bhaineann le cúlraí éagsúla a nochtadh le teacht ar léiriú níos soiléire ar dhinimic teanga na Gaeltachta comhaimseartha seo.

Léaráid 3.1 Próifíl teanga agus aoise (L. 3.1)

Is léir ón bpróifíl ghinearálta a thaispeáintar i léaráid 3.1 go bhfuil an nósmhaireacht thraidisiúnta a bhaineann le seachadadh na Gaeilge ag dul i léig i Ráth Cairn. In ainneoin an Ghaeltacht thraidisiúnta a bheith faoi léigear ann, d’fhardfaí a áiteamh, ábach, go bhfuil Gaeltacht i gcónaí ann i Ráth Cairn, ach ní Ghaeltacht í mar a thuigí í; is é sin comhthionóil daoine ar fáil Ghaeilge an gnáththeanga chumarsáide agus a sheachadáíonn an teanga sin ó ghlúin go glúin de réir an gnáis is bunúaí ag leibhéal chaidreamh an teaghlaigh. Ar cheann de na pointí is suntasaí a thugtar faoi deara sa scagadh ginearálta a nochtann léaráid 3.1 tá na constaice atá leagtha roimh na CD-anna fiú leath a lín a athghiniúint. Má bhraithnaitear ar na maidí faisnéise a bhaineann le daltaí scoile feiceatar gurb iad na CC-anna is líomhaires i measc na n-óg, faisnéis a léiriúnn go soiléir go bhfuiltear ag brath ar instiúídí oideachais le cúramí sealbhaithe a chur i bhfeidhm. Baineann níos mó daltaí bunscoile agus meánscoile de chuid an chaontair leis an tsainaicme teanga seo ná mar a bhaíneann leis na haicmí eile ar fad curtha le chéile.

Tugann léaráid 3.1 le fios freisin nach bhfuil cumas ag cuid shuntasach den phobal, mar a sonraíodh in alt 1.5 thuas, sa nGaeilge, agus cé go n-éirionn leis na hinstiúídí oideachais lión na gCC-anna a ardú le hais na mB-anna, – cuir maidí faisnéise na ngasúr i gcomparáid le maidí na ndaoine sna
tríochaidí, ceathrachaidí agus caogaidí – feictear go bhfuil daoine nasctha agus páirteach sa bpobal nach cás leo an Ghaeilge ar chor ar bith.

Déantar rannú ar na daoine óga anseo de réir ránóga oideachais agus is de réir aoise a shonraitear an fhaisnéis ina dhhaídh sin. Ní áirithear daoine sna fichidí sa rannóg aoise má chuimsítear a gcuid faisnéise sa rannóg tríú leibhéal. Feictear gur catagóirí folmha iad aicmi CC agus F i gcás na naíonán. Cé is moite de na cainteoirí dúchas, leathdhúchais agus athdhúchais, glactar gur le haicme CC gasúir na háite má fhreastalaíonn siad ar scoileanna an cheantair Ghaeltachta, in ainneoin go dtógann sé cúpla bliain orthu i mblianta tosaigh na buncoile an staid sin a bhaint amach. Is iondúil nach mbaineann daltaí scoile den sainaíomh seo leibhéal cumais na comharaithe amach go dtí go mbíonn siad i rang a haon nó rang a dó sa mbunscoil ar a luaithe.
Léaráid 3.2  Próifíl teanga agus aoise: dúchasaigh Ráth Cairn 0-20 (L. 3.2)

Faisnéis ar chlann clainne lucht bunaithe na Gaeltachta i Ráth Cairn atá sonraithe i léaráid 3.2. Déanfar plé níos cuimsithi thíos (L. 4.1 – 4.5) i gcomhthéacs na dteaghlach, plé a thabharfaidh bunús na faisnéise anseo chun solais níos fearr, ach fiú i gcás na faisnéise anseo is féidir a sheiceáil nach é comhthéacs an teaghlaign is bunús le cumas sa nGaeilge a bheith ag 80% d’aos óg Ráth Cairn sa sainaicme seo.

Tá líon na ndaoine a bhaineann leis na sainaicmí, CD, CLD, B, beagnach ar aon dul lena chéile: 19%-20%, ach is íonann líon le gCC-anna agus 41% den aoisghríupa seo a bhaineann le dúchas Chonamara agus a thógtar sa gceantar. Cúinsí ar leith sóisialta agus sochtheangeolaíochta a bhaineann leis an aon CAD sa ngrúpa seo.

Léaráid 3.3  Próifíl teanga agus aoise: dúchasaigh Ráth Cairn 20-60 (L. 3.3)

Má chuirtear an fhaisnéis atá i léaráid 3.3, a bhaineann le dúchasaigh Ráth Cairn sa réimse aoise idir na fichidí agus na seascaídí, i gcomparáid le

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23 Dar ndóigh, tagraíonn lucht bunaithe don dá ghlúin a bhí sa gcomhluadar, agus trí ghlúin i gcásanna áirithe, a d’aistrigh aniar. Baineann formhór na glúine óige de dhúchas Chonamara, a dtugtar léiriú orthu i léaráid 3.2, leis an gceathrú glúin den bhunadh seo i RC. Is íonann iad seo, mar sin, agus an dara glúin de dhúchasaisg RC.
faisnéis léaráid 3.2, aithnítear briseadh suntasach i ngnás seachadta teanga an phobail idir an dá réimse aoise. Is féidir 66% de na daoine sa réimse i léaráid 3.3 a áireamh mar CD-anna leis 19% i gcás na ndaoine óga a shonraítear i léaráid 3.2.

Déanaimis talamh slán de, ar mhaith le theacht aiciúlacht, gurb iad na daoine idir 30 agus 60 a chruthaíonn na daoine a bhaineann leis na réimsí aoiseanna a léirítear i léaráid 3.2, naíonáin go dtí mic léinn tríú leibhéal, téann an chontrárthacht i méid go 72% ar CD-anna iad le hais 19% i measc na ndaoine óga. Déanfar scagadh ar an bpatrún teaghláigh agus ar na gnáis shoch-chultúrtha a ghin an coibhneas seo idir an dá ghlúin thíos (4.0).

Is spéisiúil freisin go léiríonn gach maide faisnéise i léaráid 3.2 agus léaráid 3.3 céadadh áirithe Béarlóirí nach bhfuil inniúil ar an nGaeilge, ach amháin maide faisnéise na bhfíichidí. Is léir go bhfuil doicheall roimh an dátheangacha naíonáin a chur in éirí as an Béarla mar theanga cóillíneach nó mar theanga impireachta i dthíortha ar éirigh leis an mBéarla cois a chur i dtaca iontu é an doicheall seo:

Ní de thaisme, creidim, a tharlaíonn sé gur i gcríocha an Bhéarla is mó a bhfuil díscíú déanta agus á dheanamh ar theangacha aithiúla. Mórán gach áit ina bhfuil an Béarla i réim mar theanga choilíneachta nó mar theanga impireachta, biónn i dteannta léi idé-eolaíochta teanga a bhfuil amhras ar

Léaráid 3.4 Próifil teanga agus aoise: strainséirí (L. 3.4)

Faightear léiríú ar thrí ghné shuntasacha de ghnáis teanga na strainséirí i Ráth Cairn i léaráid 3.4. Ag leibhéal ginearálta, d’fhéadfá a mhaomh go dtugann an fhílanais anseo le fios go bhfuil siad sásta tríd is tríd aitheantas prakticiúil a thabhairt don fhéiniúlacht teanga a bhaineann le Ráth Cairn; ní bhaítheannach ach 16% den ghrúpa seo le leithetheoirí. Ach gné i bhfad níos dearfá is ea lión na gCC-anna i measc na réiméise aoiise a bhaineann leis an tuismitheoireacht, aósghrúpaí na dtríochaidí agus na gceathrachaidí go háirithe. Ina theannta sin, is dóigh go spreagann an fhílanais seo an leiththeoir leis an táit a bhaint aisteí gur CC-anna gníomhacha iad na CC-anna sa gcuid seo de phobal RC. Má scagtar na maidi faisnéise i léaráid 3.4 a bhaineann leis na naionáin go dtí na mic léinn tríd leibhéal, feictear go sealthaíonn 56% de na gasúir sa ngrúpa an Ghaeilge sa mbaile (nó ó ghaolta) gan a dhul i dtuilleamaí instiúidí oideachais, is é sin baineann 56% díobh le ceann amháin de na sainaicmí: CD, CAD nó CLD, a ndéantar idirdhealú eatarthu seo agus na haicmí eile i ngeall ar an gcomhthéacs teaghlach a bhaineann leis na scéaltaí, 39% díobh. Tugann seo le fios go bhfuil sciar suntasach de na CC-anna aithi an gaeilgeoireacht lena gclann na mbaile.

Má scagtar maidi faisnéise na naionán agus na ngasúir bunscoile, feictear freisin go n-éiríonn leis an scoil CC-anna a dhéanamh de na B-anna a theán ag an scoil. Seo é an gnás is coitianta ina dtaispeánann teaghlach Bhéarla an cheantair rannpháirtíocht i ngné na Gaeilteacha de phobal RC. Is spéisiúil go bhfaightear CAD sa ngrúpa seo sna ceathrachaidí; daoine a tóigeadh le Gaeilge i mBÁC iad seo a d’aistriú go Ráth Cairn.

Baineann na CD-anna sa ngrúpa i réimsí na naionán agus na bunsoile le lánúin ar duine Gaelteacha é duine de na tuismitheoirí agus ar CAD é an tuismitheoir eile.

Is le teaghlach a bhfuil comhdhéanamh sochtseangeolaíochta ar leith ag baint leis a bhaineann na CLD-anna i léaráid 3.4. Leis an fhírinne a dhéanamh, is deacair clann na lánúin seo a shiníú ó thaobh na sainaicmí atá pléite thuas, duine de bhunadadh Gaeltachta é duine de na tuismitheoirí agus CC a bheidh ar an teorainn, shamhlóinn, idir a bheith ina chomhchainteoir cumasach agus ina chomhchainteoir leathchumasach, é an tuismitheoir eile. Ní fhileann aicmíú CD an teaghlach seo i ngeall ar an laincis pháirteach atá ar chumas Gaeilge duine de na tuismitheoirí agus nó fhileann aicmíú CLD i ngeall nach gcaitheann gné ar mórtheanga scáil ar ghnáis teanga an
teaghlaigh. Is dóigh go bhfeilfeadh aicme chomhdhéanta CLD/CD ní b‘fhearr.

Baineann an F a shonraítear ar mhaide faisnéise na meánscolaíochta, ar fogleaimeoirí maith é, le teaghlach a bhfuil teanga eile seachas an Ghaeilge ná an Béarla ina teanga teaghlaigh acu. Labhraíonn duine de na tuismitheoirí an Ghaeilge leis an gclann mar theanga thánaíteach. Téann an F seo ag meánscóil taobh amuigh den cheantar.

Léaráid 3.5  Próifíl teanga agus aoise: dúchasáigh na Mí (L. 3.5)

Léiríonn léaráid 3.5 gur beag aitheantas a thugann daoine de dhúchas áitiúil na Mí, ar sonraíodh a gcuid faisnéise sa tionscadal seo, do ghné na Gaeltachta de phobal RC taobh amuigh de ghné an oideachais.

Ó réimse aoise na bhfíchidí ar aghaidh níl ann ach seisear as 79 duine a cuireadh san áireamh a bhain cumas an CC amach, is é sin níos lú ná 8%. Tar éis nach cás leis an gcuid is mó de na tuismitheoirí an Ghaeilge a shealbhú is léir ó na maidi faisnéise a bhaineann le réimsí na scolaíochta go bhfuil tóir ar an scolaíocht Ghaeltachta. Shamhlóinn gur réaladh áitiúil é seo ar an tóir a bhíonn ar an nGaelscolaíocht i measc tuismitheoirí Béarla lasmuigh den
Ghaeltacht. Téann 60% de ghasúir sa ngrúpa seo a bhfuil aois scoile acu ag an mbunscoil nó ag an gcoláiste pobail sa gceantar.

Caithfear cuimhniú nach léiriú iomlán ar ghnás scoláíochta dhúchasáigh na Mí sa gceantar oifigiúil Gaeltachta é an figiúr seo i ngeall go bhfuil thart ar chéad teaghlach fágtha as an áireamh de bharr chur i bhfeidhm chrítéir an tionscadail seo. Níl i ndúchasáigh na Mí a chuirtear san áireamh sa tionscadal seo ach céatadán de na daoine a bhfuil an cúla seo acu agus cónaí orthu taobh istigh de theorainneacha na Gaeltachta.

4.0 An fhaisnéis ag leibhéal an teaghlaign

Leagann an tsochttheangeolaíocht an-bhéim ar sheachadadh teanga ag leibhéal an teaghlaign,²⁴ go háirithe ar anailís shoch-chultúrtha ar an gcomhthéacs ina gcuirtear an próiseas seo as a ríocht. Feictear gur minic a dhéantar cíor thuathail d’aeráid sochttheangeolaíochta pobail i ngeall nach bhfuil an neart sóisialta ag an bpobal, agus stádas cuí dá réir ag a dteanga, le

Léaráid 4.1  Teanga Teaghlaign (L. 4.1)

Bailíodh sonraí 128 teaghlach a chomhlíon critéir an tionscadail seo. Áirítear 68 díobh ina dteaghláigh labhartha Béarla agus 58 lón féin ina dteaghláigh Gaeilge; tá dhá chomhlíon sa gceantar ná an Béarla teanga dhúchais na ngasúr. Labhraíonn ceann díobh an Rúisíos go hiondúil agus ba leis an Spáinní a tógadh an chlann eile i dtosach, ach labhraíonn duine de na tuismitheoirí sa dá chás an Ghaeilge mar theanga thánaisteach freisí. Comhairíodh an dá chomhlíon sear mar theaghláigh Ghaeilge d’fhaisnéis léaraid 4.1 i ngeall air seo; ceadaíodh sonraí na

dteaghlach a bhfuil clann CLD á tógáil iontu ar an dul céanna chun críche choigeartú chéadadhán na léaráide seo.

Tagraíonn an rangú ‘teaghlaign’ i léaráid 4.1 do chomhluadair le tuismitheoir a bhfuil clann in aos in scoilchota/an oideachais. Báineann formhór na líon tí a shonraítear sa rangú ‘glúinte’ le teaghlaign a bhfuil duine/daoine aosta a bhfuil clann fhásta sa teach i gcónaí acu, ach áirítear anseo freisin comhluadair le níos mó dhá ghlúin sa teach agus le comhluadair a bhfuil tuismitheoir amháin i mbun chúram na clainne. Is do líon tí a bhfuil daoine fásta muintireacha ann a thagraíonn an rangú ‘glúin chéanna.’

Feictear i léaráid 4.1 gurb ionann líon na dteaghlach Gaeilge agus 47% de na teaghlach i bpobal RC. Léiriú lom atá sna céadadáin éagsúla seo ar na dúshláin is gá do Ghaeltacht Ráth Cairn a thabhairt má tá an pobal labhartha Gaeilge len é féin a athchruthú sa nglúin atá ag teacht aníos faoi láthair. Tá líon na dteaghlach óg (agus réasúnta óg) Béarla, 34% de na líonta tí ina n-iomláine a chuirtear san áireamh sa tionscadal, i bhfad níos lónmhaire ná a macasamhail Gaeilge, 19% de na líonta tí. Má chuirtear san áireamh go bhfuil seandaoine le sonrú i gcuid mhór de na ranguithe eile a dhéantar ar na líonta tí, is gá téagar coibhneasta na dteaghlach Gaeilge, 47% de na teaghlach, a athmheas i gcomhthéacs a sheasmainí is atá an dá lucht teanga i bhfianaise an phróifíl aoise agus teaghlaign atá orthu.

Breathnófar a thuilleadh ar an gceist seo i léaráid 4.2, ach is léir go dtagann an fhaisnéis anseo i dtaoibh Ráth Cairn lena bhfuil á mhaoimh ag Ó Murchú (2000: 17) ag leibhéal níos leithne: “go bhfuil an Béarla lonnaithe go
láidir faoin am seo sa Ghaeltacht oifigiúil agus ag síordhul i dtreise. Nuair is teanga thréan dhomhandá féin an teanga atá tar éis ionad chomh deimhnitheach seo a fháil i bpobal imeallach lagaithe mionteanga, ní mór a admháil gur staid gháifeach í.”

Léaráid 4.2 Líonta tí Gaeilge (L. 4.2)

Tugtar léiriú anseo i léaráid 4.2 ar na haonaid éagsúla teaghlach Gaeilge (58) atá i bpobal RC. Cé gurb é rangú na dteaghlach óg an ceann is mó i measc na ranguithe éagsúlá, ba dheadhcair a mhaíomh go bhfuil sé bisíuil i gcormhthéacs an limistéara Ghaeltachta i Ráth Cairn trí chéile ná i measc na gcomhluadar Gaeilge fiú atá á bplé anseo. Ar an gcéad dul síos, is le bunús dátheangach nó comhdhátheangach, a bhfuil gasúir ag baint stádas an CLD amach, de réir rátaí éagsúla ama, a bhaineann sé cinn de na teaghlaigh óga. Fágann sin nach fí an Ghaeilge an phríomhtheanga atá á seachadadh ach i sé cinn déag de na teaghlaigh seo a shonraítear sa rangú seo; agus feicfear thíos (L. 4.3) nach seachadadh teanga dúchais atá i gceist i ngach aon chás ach an oiread.

Baintear feidhm go minic i réimse na teangeolaíochta as an gcoibhneas idir lión na gcainteoirí dúchais i measc na n-aosach a chur i gcomparáid lena macasamhail i measc na n-óg ar mhaithe le téagar nó le leochaileacht teanga a thomhais. Cé go n-aithnítear beocht éigin ó thaobh na Gaeilge de sa bhfaisnéis seo, ní mór a admháil go léiríonn an coibhneas seo i gcás Ráth Cairn go bhfuil an ceantar ag teannadh le teorainn na práinne agus go

Líonta tí Gaeilge (L. 4.2)

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<th>duine aonair</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

26 Níl comhluadair na dteangacha iasachta á gcur san áireamh i léaráid 4.2 ná i léaráid 4.3.
27 Féach L. 4.3 agus L. 4.4 freisin.
mbeidh ar an bpobal ann cuimhniú ar mhodh oibre le dhul i ngleic leis an bpráíinseo má táthar leis an Ghaeilge a thabhait slán glúin eile i Ráth Cairn. Faightear amach, má dhéantar scagadh níos géire ar an rangú ‘glúinte,’ gur aosach in aontóis le híníon nó mac abí nár phós atá i gcomhhdhéanamh sé theaghlach den naoi gcíinn sin. Is daoine aosta nó meánaosta den chuid is mó a bhaineann leis na rangúithe: ‘lánúnín,’ ‘glúin chéanna’ agus ‘teaghlach fásta’; agus is daoine aosta ina gcónaí leo féin a shonraítear sa rangú ‘duine aonair,’ cé is moite de chás amhain. Fágann sin gur mó i bhfad na teaghlacht frásta ná na comhluaídóir óga a bhfuil an Ghaeilge á labhairt mar theanga dhúchais nó chomhthéanna iomtu. Níl ach 38% de na líonta tF Gaeilge sonraithe i ranguí na dteaghlach óg agus dá mbeifí leis an rangú a theorannú go dtí na comhluaídóir a bhfuil an teanga á labhairt mar theanga dhúchais leis an gcíin, ní bhheadh sa líon sin ach 28% dóibh. I gcás na dteaghlach Béarla a cuireadh san áireamh sa tionscadal, is ionann líon na dteaghlach óg agus 65% de na cineálacha éagsúla teaghlach Bhéarla a rangúthear.

Iníuchann Ó Murchú (2000: 17) na staitisticiúí daoúrímh do 1996 féachaint na dteaghlach lánghachaelach a leagan amach de réir líon na mball sa teaghacht d’fhonn léiriú a thabhairt ar líon na dteaghlach le seanduine aonair iomtu mar chéatadán de na líonta tF Gaeilge ar fad. Ön scagadh seo atá déanta aige ar an daoáníreamh, déanann sé amach gur teaghlách na seanduine aonair 29% de na teaghlach Ghaeilcha sa nGaeltacht trí chéile. Is 25% an chéadadh comparamóideach atá le an sonrú i bhfasnáisiún learáid 4.2, ach mheadúitear ar an gcéadadh sin go 29% má fhágtar na teaghlach le clann ar CLD-anna iad ar láir. Ach an oiread leis an gconclúid a ghobhann aníos in iniúchadh Úi Mhurchú, ní folláin an coibhneas é do phobal teanga atá ag dul in iomaíocht le naíomhaíochta agus aonadócha chóirleach domhanda.

Léaráid 4.3 Cúla na dTeaghlachÓg Gaeilge (L. 4.3)

Léirítear i léaráid 4.3 comhhdhéanamh na lánuine ó thaobh cúlra de i gcás na 22 teaghlach Gaeilge a aithnítear anseo i bpobal RC. Feictear gur féidir sé rangú a cheapadh le cur síos a dheanann ar an ngráí seo de phobal RC: beirt dúchasach as Ráth Cairn pósta ar a chéile; dúchasach de chuid Ráth Cairn pósta ar chainteoiri dúcrais as Gaeltacht éigin eile; dúchasach baineann de chuid Ráth Cairn pósta ar dhuine de bhunadh na Mí; dúchasach de chuid Ráth Cairn pósta ar strainséir; beirt strainséirí pósta ar a chéile agus strainséir pósta ar dhuine Gaeltachta as Gaeltacht éigin eile. Is mar chainteoirí leadhúchais atá clanna na ndúchasach baineann le páirtí de bhunadh na Mí á dtógáil; agus is mar chainteoirí athdúchais atá clanna na strainséirí á dtógáil. Rannaítear clanna na lánuineacha eile mar chainteoirí dúcrais. Nó hann don rannú: dúchasach fireann de chuid Ráth Cairn pósta ar dhuine de bhunadh na Mí i gcás na dteaghlach óg Gaeilge; pointe a phléifear go gairid.

Murab é an gnáas a bhíonn ag beirt chainteoirí dúcrais i Ráth Cairn a gcíin a thógáil le Gaeilge, cleachtas a
léiríonn nár phréamhaigh an nós neamh-mhuiníneach teanga sa nglúin seo ina gceileann an dá pháirtí a dteanga dhúchais ar a gclann.

![Cúlra na dTeaghlach Óg Gaeilge (L. 4.3)](image)

Tá seacht dteaghlach a bhfuil an dá pháirtí nó páirtí amháin de dhúchas Gaeltachta iomtu as 15 theaghlach Gaeilge, is é sin 68% de na teaghlacha Ghairneacha, agus má fhágtar ar lár na teaglaigh CLD-anna is í onann é sin agus 56% de na teaglaigh seo. Is léir ó na figiúirí seo go bhfuil Ráth Cairn, ó thaobh an Ghaeilge a bheith ina teanga phobail, ag brath ar phósacha na strainséirí, ar comhchainteoirí a bhformhór, agus ar an bpósadh isteach. Níl sna teaglaigh Ghaeilge, a mbaineann a mbeirt páirtí de chúlra i gcúlra na dTeaghlach Óg Gaeilge, ach 9% den chineál teaghlach seo.

Tugann an fhaisnéis anseo le fios go bhfuil gné inscne taobh istigh de phobal coibhneasta teoranta mar atá i Ráth Cairn, tugtar faoi deara nach bhfuil teaghlach ar bith den chomhdhéanamh: dáchasach fireann de chuid Ráth Cairn, ar beann de dhúchas na Mí a pháirtí, sonraithe i léaráid 4.3. Cuireadh léaráid 4.4 thios i dtoll a chéile leis an ngnás seo a iniúchadh a thuilleadh.

Léaráid 4.4  Teanga teaghlacha: Ráth Cairn + páirtí de chúlra eile (L. 4.4)

Dar ndóigh, ní féidir a bheith ag súil le lín móir pósacha taobh istigh de phobal coibhneasta teoranta mar atá i Ráth Cairn an lae inniu nó a bhí sa gceantar glúin siar. Is fior gur phós an chuid is mó de chlann na glúine bunaidh, is é sin clann na glúine bunaidh a bhain leis na comhluadar a d’aistrigh aniar i 1935/1937, duine den chúlra Conamarach céanna, ach feictear anseo gur laghdáidh go mór ar an ngnás faoin am ar tháinig fonn pósta ar chlann na clainne sin, is é sin an chead ghlúin de dhúchasaigh Ráth Cairn. Ba é an gnás ba choitianta a chleacht an ghlúin sin, ina measc siúd a d’fhán sa gceantar, duine de bhunadh na Mí a phósadh nó a bheith i
gcumann le duine de bhunadh na Mí. Mionlach a bhí iontu siúd a phós duine de bhunadh Gaeltachta.

I léaráid 4.4 feiceann muid léiriú ar nósmhairéacht teanga na 32 theaghlaich a bhfuil dúchasach de chuid Ráth Cairn iontu pósta nó i gcumann le páirtí de chúlra eile, nach cúlra Gaeltachta é. Feictear go soiléir anseo an deighilt inscne a bhaineann le nósmhairéacht teanga i gcomhthéacs an teaghlaithe i Ráth Cairn. Is léir nach n-éiríonn ach leis na mná an aeráid chomhchainte a chabhraíonn le Gaeilge. Tiocfaidh CD chun cinn i dteaghlacht a bhfuil CD fireann i gcumann le CD baineann. I gcás na gcumann é, ní bhfaighidh an chlann a gcuid cumas sa nGaeilge ón mbaile mbeidh Gaeilge cheana féin ag an mbean. Nochtann an fhianaise anseo dearadh láidir laissez faire i measc na ndúchasach fireann i leith oidhreacht teanga á chur a dhéanamh i cheantair é. Déanann 75% de na mná i lánúin mheasacht a iarrachtaí éagsúla le cabhrú lena gclann a bheith ina CLD-anna, ach ní chruthaíonn duine ar bith de na fir a mhasamhail. Tagraíonn an teaghlach amháin a léirítear i léaráid 4.4 a bhfuil clann CD-anna á tógáil ann, agus a n-athair iana CD, don teaghlach aonair a shonraítear i léaráid 4.3 sa rangú ‘dúchasach Ráth Cairn pósta le stráineir (rc + stráineir),’ agus CC cumasach a bhí sa mbean seo sular tháinig sí chuí ag an gcéantar.

Léaráid 4.5 Próifíl chainteoirí: scoileanna Ráth Cairn (L. 4.5)

Faightear léiriú lom ar mhéid an dúshláin atá roimh phobal RC maidir lena n-oidhreacht teanga a athchruthú i measc na chéad ghlúine eile i léaráid 4.5. Ní hamháin gurb é an CC an cineál cainteora is coitianta i measc na ndaltaí bunscoile agus meánscoile ar aon, ach is mó rangú na gCC-anna ná na ranguithe eile Gaeilge, CD, CAD agus CLD, ar fad le chéile sa dá chás; agus is gáifí fós na figiúirí seo má chuimhnítear nach dtéann ach 69% de na daltaí atá in aois na scolaíochta agus a shonraítear anseo mar chuid de phobal RC.
chuig scoileanna an cheantair. Tá 60% de na dalta a dtugtar a gcuid sonraí i léaráid 4.5 ag brath ar na hinstitiúidí oideachais amháin leis an nGaeilge a shealbhú.

Tar éis gur mionlach, fiú i measc a bpobail féin, iad na gásúir a bhfuil an Ghaeilge á labhairt de réir gnáis éigin sa mbaile caithfear a choinneáil san áireamh gur mionlach ar mhionlach fós iad i gcás líon iomlán na ndaltaí a fhreastalaíonn ar an dá scoil sa gceantair. Is le ceantair Béarla leis an Ghaeilge a dtugtar a gcuid sonraí i léaráid 4.5 ag brath ar na hínstitiúidí oideachais amháin leis an nGaeilge a shealbhú.

Tar éis gur mionlach, fiú i measc a bpobail féin, iad na gásúir a bhfuil an Ghaeilge á labhairt de réir gnáis éigin sa mbaile caithfear a choinneáil san áireamh gur mionlach ar mhionlach fós iad i gcás líon iomlán na ndaltaí a fhreastalaíonn ar an dá scoil sa gceantair. Is le ceantair Béarla leis an Ghaeilge a dtugtar a gcuid sonraí i léaráid 4.5 ag brath ar na hínstitiúidí oideachais amháin leis an nGaeilge a shealbhú.

Thabharfadh an fhaisnéis anseo go háirithe i léaráid 4.5 agus léaráid 4.2 thuas nach torthaí gan choinne atá sna torthaí is deireanaí do Ghaeltachtaí na Mí a d’eisigh An Roinn Ealaíon, Oidhreachta, Gaeltachta agus Oileán maidir le Scéim Labhairt na Gaeilge (Tábla 4.5.1) a réaduithe le deontas in aghaidh an teaghlaign a roinnt le comhluaí, árb i an Ghaeilge a ngnáththeanga chumarsáide. Déantar é seo a mheas trí scrúdú cáinte a chur ar na gásúir. Is in dtoghroinn Réitihu Mór atá na bailte fearainn: Réitihu Cairn, Drisgear, Doire Longáin agus Tlacht; baineann Leaimbé agus Tullach Chonog le toghroinn Chill Bhríde agus is in dtoghroinn Bhaile Átha Buí a bhaineann Baile Mhisteil. Is le ceantair Bhaile Ghib a bhaineann na togranna Domhnach Phádraig agus Tailteann.29

29 An Roinn Gnóthaí Pobail, Tuaithe agus Gaeltachta atá uirthi ó aimsir an oltoigcháin i mBrealtaine 2002, dar ndóigh.

30 Dála an scéil, is maith an léiriú a fhaghtar sa bhfaisnéis seo ar a fhánaí is a bhí modh oibre Hindley (1990) i dtaca le Gaelteachtaí na Mí. Tá cuínsí éagsúla ag baint le bunú agus
### Tábla 4.5.1 Torthaí Reatha Scéim Labhairt na Gaeilge – Gaeltachtaí na Mí
(An Roinn Ealaíon, Oidhreachta, Gaeltachta agus Oileán)

<table>
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<th>Toghroinn Cheantair</th>
<th>Lión na dTeaghlach a rinne iarratas ar SLG</th>
<th>Lión a thuill an Deontas Iomlán</th>
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<td>Iomlán</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>19</td>
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Is spéisiúil go bhfuil torthaí Scéim Labhairt na Gaeilge agus mo thaghde neamhspleách féin ag teacht le chéile. Maíonn an taighde seo go bhfuil 22 theaghlach óg Gaeilge i Ráth Cairn agus bhronn Scéim Labhairt na Gaeilge deontas (iomlán nó laghdaithe) ar 22 theaghlach sna trí thoghroinn a fhreagraíonn de Ghaeltacht Ráth Cairn. Má chuirtear faisnéis an tionscadail seo agus torthaí reatha Scéim Labhairt na Gaeilge i gcóras le deontas (iomlán nó laghdaithe) ar 22 theaghlach sna trí thoghroinn a fhreagraíonn de Ghaeltacht Ráth Cairn. Má chuirtear faisnéis an tionscadail seo agus torthaí reatha Scéim Labhairt na Gaeilge i gcomparáid le hanailís a rinne Ó Gliasáin (1990) ar Scéim Labhairt na Gaeilge idir 1974 agus 1984, tugtar claischluí suntasach ar nosmhairteachtaí teanga an cheantair faoi déara. Cé nach féidir comparáid ghlan a dhéanamh i ngeall go roinní an deontas (£10) ar an duine aonair seachas ar an teaghlach mar a dhéantar anois, tháinig athrú suntasach ón am sin i leith ar Ráth Cairn. Maíonn Ó Gliasáin (1990: 69) gur chomhlíon 80% de na hiarratasóirí na critéir leis an deontas a shaothrú. Aríst, ní slán an chomparáid i ngeall ar mhodhanna oibre éagsúla, ach má chuirtear an 17 theaghlach a bhaineann le toghranna Ráth Mór agus Cill Bhríde agus a shaothraigh deontas iomlán le hais an 128 teaghlaigh a aithnítear anseo mar phobal RC, feictear nach bhfuil in dteaghlaiigh ar shaothraigh clann dá gcuid deontas iomlán ach 13% de líonta tí phobal RC.

le forás an dá phobal seo, ach thograigh sé faisnéis an dá cheantar a choigeartú ar chaoi chomónta ar an mbonn earráideach gur mhar a cheile an dá áit. Is léir nach bhfuil an taighde seo ag maromh gur tír taingire teangeolaíochta í Ráth Cairn, ach ba shotalach an mhaise do Hindley (1990: 134) a leithéid seo a áiteamh ar lorg na sleamchúise thuas: “... so it is evident that Ráth Cairn and Baile Ghib are reaching the stage when no purpose will be served by pretending there are still habitually Irish-speaking communities here.”
5.0 Conclúidí agus Ipleachtaí

Tugadh faoin taighde seo ar mhaithe le cónas rannaithe a chur ar fáil agus a chur i bhfeidhm ar na hídirdealaith étagsúla a fhaightear i measc cainteoirí comhaimseartha Gaeltachta féachaint leis na faoi leithne as an nGaelacht chomhaimseartha i láthair na huaire leis an tús a pholadh fós mór ón bhfoilsiú bunaithe a bhaint as na mbrú móra fós i dtaobh leasú. Tugadh daoine de a bheith leis an t-ainm ná é mar dtaobh chuánt fómhóire de bhreith agus a leithscéaltaí a thabhairt do limistéirí Gaeltachta. Chomh maith leis sin bhfuil an chomhdhéan Ráth níos dhéanamh sealadacha maith air agus iad ar camchuairt ar fud na tíre, is cosúil. D'fhéadfadh tús a thabhairt do thabhairt d'taobh leasú fós é. Íomháíodh dtábhachtach trí bhfóidh bhrithin chur i bhfeidhm an mhodh oibre seo ar cheantair a bhfuil teaghalacht a bhaint freisin leis an chumhas cainteoirí a bhainean le limistéirí teicneolaíochta agus a théann go forshóilte ar iomáint is ceart seachas an bhothar maithe. D'fhéadfadh é sin a chur i gceist sa bhrithin chur i bhfeidhm an mhodh oibre seo ar cheantair a bhfuil teaghalacht a bhaint freisin leis an chumhas cainteoirí a bhainean le limistéirí teicneolaíochta agus a théann go forshóilte ar iomáint is ceart seachas an bhothar maithe. D'fhéadfadh é sin a chur i gceist sa bhrithin chur i bhfeidhm an mhodh oibre seo ar cheantair a bhfuil teaghalacht a bhaint freisin leis an chumhas cainteoirí a bhainean le limistéirí teicneolaíochta agus a théann go forshóilte ar iomáint is ceart seachas an bhothar maithe.

Is féidir an bhunaíocht leis an t-ainm a d'éagadh i litriú nó in litriú leis an eolas. Féach alt 8.1 lch. 19 sa Tuarascáil.

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deireadh thiar, caithfear a admháil freisin gur scar an-bheag 426 duine nó 128 teaghlach do phobal iomlán na Gaeltachta. Is léir gur taighde comparáideach an chéad chéim eile.

Ach dá theoranta féin é an scar a ndearnadh anailís anseo air, tagann na clónúidí suntasacha, dá shealadaí iad, chun cinn in ionramháil na faisnéise:

(a) tagann gnás seachadadh teanga na Gaeltachta traidisiúnta slán i gcás na dtéachlach óg más beirt chainteoirí dúchais Gaeltachta atá sa lánnún;
(b) tá na stráinséirí gaelacha chomh tábhachtach céanna do chomhdhéanamh an phobail labhartha Gaeilge sa gcéadta is atá na teaghlacha Ghachtalta;
(c) is comhchainteoirí a shealbhaigh a gcuid Gaeilge in institiúidí oideachais an cheantair iad formhór aos óg an cheantair;
(d) is baothríeachta a bhíonn ag pobal labhartha Gaeilge an cheantair ar Bhéarlaírí an cheantair taobh amuigh d’earnáil na scoláíochta;
(e) ní thugann na fír Ghaeltachta Gaeilge dá gclann sa gcás nach bhfuil a bpaírtí inniúil ar an nGaeilge.

Is iomaí contrárthacht teanga atá le sonrú sna claonta seo. Is léiriú dearfach ar fhéiniúlacht Gaeltachta an cheantair go leanann beirt pháirtithe Gaeltachta leis an ngnás traidisiúnta seachadta, ach is nós mionlaigh é seo sa gceantar; cumainn agus pósacha le duine nach de bhunadh na Gaeltachta is coitianta a chleachtann daeine de bhunadh Ráth Cairn.

Tá éifeachta dhearfach ag na stráinséirí ar an gceantar ó thaobh theanga an phobail de, ach tá gné Ghaeltachta an cheantair i dtuilleamaí anois ar bhealach suntasach ar acmhainní teanga daoinse nár eascarr as an mbunphobal. Tá coimhlint sa tsíceaoláíocht phobail sa méid seo is gá a athmhas mótá gné na teanga den phobal le síneadh isteach sa gcéad glhúin eile; ní réitíonn coincheap na stráinséireachta a bhíonn ag eilimintí de bhunphobal an cheantair leis an spleáchas sochtheangeolaíochta seo ar na cainteoirí Gaeilge thar teorainn isteach.

Ach is dóigh gurb í an cheist is práinní a phéacann anús as an bhfaisnéis ar fad anseo ná lín na gcomhmhaíneoirí i measc na n-óg. An bhfuil sé réadúil a bheith ag síol le seachadadh gné teangeolaíochta na Gaeltachta ón tsainaicme seo nach bhfuil ach préamhú dromchlach ar dhúchas soch-chultúrtha na Gaeltachta curtha i gcórch acu le cabhair instituídeach. Tá taitiú sórt fada agaínn in Éirinn, go háirithe ó thaoibh na Gaeilge de, ar na deacrachtaí a bhaineann le brú a chur ar scoileanna le polasaithse a chur i bhfeidhm ar an aos óg nach bhfuil an pobal féin in acmhainn nó sásta a dhéanamh. Caithfear a aithint go bhfuil teorainneacha le cumas innealltóireacht teanga na scoile i leith sochtheangeolaíochta an
phobail.33 Ní mór aghaidh a thabhairt freisin ar éifeacht líon na gCC-anna ar ghnáis labhartha na gCD-anna, gCAD-anna agus gCLD-anna.

Cuireann na nósmhaireachtaí teanga seo uitil an-bhrú ar na teaghlach ghaelacha, ar na scoileanna agus ar chainteoirí dúchais baineanna Ráth Cairn go háirithe. Is truacánta an feic é a bhealach, is geall le daoine a bhionn de shíor ag rith agus nach dtéann chun tosaigh ach an oiread iad na daoine i Ráth Cairn ar cáis leo féiníulacht teanga an dúchais Ghaeltachta; agus is éachtach a miseadh dhá bharh. Ach an oiread le hachainní Uí Mhurchú (2000: 17) ar an bpobal i leith staid reatha na Gaeltachta, ní mór do phobal RC na dúshlán aithint agus a dhul i ngleic leo más maith leo go mbeidh an Ghaeilge ina teanga phobail i Ráth Cairn amach anseo. Ní féidir a shéanadh nach bhfuil sí á tanaíochan ar bhealaí éagsúla faoi láthair ann agus aithnithe freisin go bhfuil na hacomhaíne inmheánacha atá ag an bpobal teoranta i ngeall ar a laghad is atá sé. Is cinnte gur fiú don phobal a theacht suas le modhanna oibre i gcomhar leis an gcomharchumann aíitiúil agus na scoileanna le cuminh nóis éifeachtaí a thabhairt do mhná an cheantair go háirithe ar mhaithte an haeradh chomhchainte na gCLD-anna a hheabhsú, agus do na fír a ghríosadh chun a leithéid chéanna a thrafaíl, ach léiríonn an fhaisnéis go bhfuil cúnamh agus gníomh anuas ar na straitéisí seo de dhíth ar an bpobal má tá Ráth Cairn le teacht slán mar Ghaeltacht. Is dóigh liom go dtugann an fhaisnéis seo le fios nach bhfuil an duine aon dul as ag pobal RC ach níos mó teaghlach gaelach a mhealladh chug a gceantrar, tagaidh ó Ghaeltachtaí eile nó aitheanta eile nach iad. Ba chóir go n-éascódh institiúidí éagsúla stáit an riachtanas forbartha agus pobail seo.

Tar éis gur údar immí torthaí an taighde seo, b’earráid a bheadh ann gèilleadh don chathú ortadacsach nó naimhdeach a mhasfeadh nach ann don Ghaeltacht i Ráth Cairn nóis mó i ngeall nach bhfuil scar séach substainteach den phobal i gcomhréir le tuiscint sheanbhunaithe agus le struchtúr traidisiúnta na Gaeltachta. Déarfaíonn go bhfaighfidh sléachadh ar laincísí teanga agus cultúrtha den chineál céanna dá gcuirfín an modh oibre ar baineadh leas as anseo i bhfeidhm ar cheantair eile Ghaeltachta. Í ndeireadh na dálra, cén mhaith don phobal comhaimseartha Ghaeltachta é a bheidh ag caoineadh ré atá caite – caithfear fuínt i níche a mbeidh dhafrí ar ais i déanadh sóisialta den chineál seo sna seacht mbailte bearraíochta inshomparáidithe atá ar an taobh eile de theorainn gothir Ghaeltacht Ráth Cairn ní thaoiscadh do torthaí i ngiorracht spread asaíl d’fhaisnéis Ráth Cairn agus bheadh cuid mhoir de na sainaimimí teanga fágtha folamh go hiomlán. Tá chuile shórt sa domhan seo coibhneasta, dar ndóigh, ach i gcoibhneas le Dún Doire ar theorainn thoir Ráth Cairn ní mór glacadh leis gur Ghaeltacht í Ráth Cairn i gcónaí.

Ar cheann de na pointí is suntasaí a thagann chun solais sa taighde seo ó thaobh na Gaeltachta i gcoitinne de tá lárnacht choineach an ghréasáin shóisialta seachas bunús limistéarach na Gaeltachta. Ní mór do lucht riacháin agus pleanála stáit a bheidh ag iarraidh meabhair a bhaint as moltaí Thuarascáil Chomisiún na Gaeltachta 2002 téachaint len iad a chur i

bhfeidhm ar bhealaí a chuirfidh leas acmhainní teanga agus cultúrtha mhuintir na Gaeltachta. B’fhánach an modh oibre é pleán tacaíochta, forbartha nó eile a chur i bhfeidhm ar bhonn tíreolaíoch de bharr nach bhféadfaidh sé a bheith sáchar dirithe ar an sprioc i ngeall ar a phhréamhaithe is atá an pobal labhartha Béarla i gcroí agus ar imeall na Gaeltachta oífigiúla. Ní bheadh sé chomh deacair sin na gréasáin phobail Ghaeilge a aithint sna ceantair éagsúla Ghaeltachta, iarracht tosaigh chuige sin atá san alt seo, agus pleannanna spriocaithe teanga a dhíriú ar an nGaeltacht a mbeadh tús áite tugtha iomtu do mhísníú, neartú agus forbairt na ngréasán pobal seo. Is deacair a shéanadh nach teip léamhmar a eascróidh as pleannanna a chuirfear i bhfeidhm sa nGaeltacht ar bhonn limistéarach go príomha, déantar atarraingt ar na ceantair nó ná déantar. Léireoidh modh oibre den chineál siad easpa tuisceana ar an donacht atá le leigheas. Is baolach go bhfuil an Ghaeltacht limistéarach róchróilí agus scáinte, dírímis anois ar na comhartháí beochta – na gréasáin phobail.

**Noda**

B  Béarlóir
CAD  Cainteoir Athdhúchais
CD  Cainteoir Dúchais
CLD  Cainteoir Leathdhúchais
CC  Comhchainteoir
F  Foghlaimoír
L  Léaráid(í)

B-anna  Béarlóirí
CAD-anna  Cainteoirí Athdhúchais
CD-anna  Cainteoirí Dúchais
CLD-anna  Cainteoirí Leathdhúchais
CC-anna  Comhchainteoirí

**Tagairtí**


Tuarascáil Choimisiún na Gaeltachta 2002, Rialtas na hÉireann, BÁC.
Northern Ireland has become the focus of world attention in its struggle for peaceful mutual accommodation after over 30 years of political violence.\(^1\) However, the militarised conflict in Northern Ireland is being replaced by a cultural and symbolic one. Language, long a symbol of Irish nationalist identity, has recently been taken up by a section of the unionist population, using similar methods towards cultural and political ends. Nationalists\(^2\) find a potent unifying force in the Irish language; unionists seek a counterpart in Ulster-Scots. At the same time, some cultural agencies and individuals represent Ulster-Scots as an aspect of a shared cultural heritage for Northern Ireland, and are opposed to the identity politics which proposes the linguistic dichotomization of the region.

**Ulster-Scots: Linguistic Background**

Ulster-Scots is a distinctive speech variety closely related to Scots, which is descended from the Northumbrian dialect of Old English, brought to the north of Britain during the 7th century by the Angles. This speech variety, which differed from that of the Saxons who colonised southern Britain, was influenced by the Old Norse of subsequent Viking invaders. Scots developed separately from its neighbour English. For example, owing to a political alliance between Scotland and France from 1295 and 1560, Scots adopted French words which were not borrowed by English, for example *fash* 'bother', from *fascher*; *caddy* a messenger, later a golfer's attendant, from *cadet* 'a younger son'; and *hogmanay* from *hogueine* 'a gift given on New Year's eve' (Kirk 1998). Through strong trading links with the Low Countries, Scots adopted Dutch words such as *geck* 'mocking gesture' and *redd* 'to tidy up'. Scots also borrowed Gaelic topographic descriptions such as *loch*, *glen*, *bog*, and words related to aspects of Scottish culture, such as *ceilidh*.

In Scots orthography <quh> was used to express English <wh> (quhat 'what', quho 'who', quhy 'why', etc.) and <sch> was used for English <sh> until the 1300s. In syntax, prepositional negation is expressed through the simple adverb *noch*, shortened to a contracted *-nae* or *-na* form (*I doubtna, he

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1 Northern Ireland was created in 1921, following the withdrawal of the British presence from the southern part of the island. The partition of the island created a Protestant majority in the six counties of Northern Ireland, and a Catholic majority in the twenty-six counties of the Irish Free State, which later became the Republic of Ireland.

2 Nationalists seek Ireland’s independence from Britain, and some form of a united Ireland. Constitutional nationalists wish to unite Ireland by peaceful means, while republicans justify the attempt to unify Ireland by armed insurrection. Unionists wish Northern Ireland to remain a part of the United Kingdom, and loyalists are working-class unionists, many of whom justify the use of violence to maintain the union. There is a strong degree of correlation between religious denomination and political belief in Northern Ireland – most nationalists are Catholic, and most unionists are Protestant.
cannae). Vowel phonology progressed differently in quality, resulting in hame from 'home', and stane from 'stone', while other Scots words preserved monophthongs that became diphthongs in English; 'house' remains hoose and 'cow' remained coo north of the border. Scots has also preserved words that have been 'lost' in the English language, such as bonny and ken (Kirk 1998).

The development of the Scottish nation state led to the adoption of Scots as the Scottish national tongue. In the 15th and 16th centuries Scots was the official language of the late-medieval Scottish state. This ended when James VI of Scotland became James I of England, and abandoned using Scots for English in the process. In 1707 Scotland lost its parliament and became part of Great Britain, of which the national tongue was English. The degree of divergence between Scots and English was arrested, and English became the language of the upper classes, literacy, and mass-education. In the absence of a Scots translation of the Bible, an English version was used in churches. This created a severe handicap to the formal written use of Scots in many important domains of society, since many Protestants perceived scriptural study to be the foundation of literacy.

Nevertheless, Scots continued to have a vitality among ordinary people. A literary tradition developed which drew upon folksongs and ballads in Scots. Robert Burns (1759-96) regarded as Scotland's national poet, used folksong material in his poetry, and wrote in Scots as well as English. By the time of Burns written Scots was coming under greater influence from English borrowings and orthography. In the 19th century Scots was used in the dialogue of popular novels by Sir Walter Scott and Robert Louis Stevenson. In the 1920s a literary revival began, led by the dynamic poet, Hugh MacDiarmaid, who drew upon all the modern dialects of Scots as well as archaisms to create a new vehicle of literary expression. MacDiarmaid called this 'synthetic Scots', though his detractors derided it as 'plastic Scots' (Price 1984: 190). This literary Scots, also called 'Lallans' (from the Scots form of 'Lowlands') was used to translate the New Testament into Scots in 1983. Recent novels such as Trainspotting have introduced an urban variety of Scots to a new generation of readers. Scots is well served by a number of dictionaries and grammars, and an English-Scotts dictionary was published in 1993. The Scottish educational Kist project introduced schoolchildren to Scots and Gaelic materials, and Scots is a subject in some of the country's universities.

The linguistic status of Scots is a matter of dispute. For some Scottish people, Scots is a dialect of English, although they look kindly on those who claim it is a language. The Scots movement is concerned that many parents who speak Scots perceive it to be a slang and discourage their children from learning it. For others, Scots is obviously a language, having a distinctive sound system, grammar and vocabulary, literary and orthographic tradition, as well as its own dialects. A third view is that Scots is more than a dialect but less than a language; it is a halbsprache or semi-language. Those who subscribe to this view would agree with A. J. Aitken, who wrote, '...if Scots is
not now a full "language" it is something more than a mere "dialect"" (cited in McArthur 1998: 141).

Many Scots speakers came to Ireland during the Plantation of Ulster (1610-25), and during further migrations for the remainder of the 17th century. Presbyterian settlers came to the northern counties of Antrim, Down, Londonderry, and Donegal in north Ulster. Eventually they came to form the majority of the population in most of Antrim and north Down, and local Catholics adopted Ulster-Scots speech patterns in these districts. Other Protestant settlers came from England or were converted locals. A distinctive form of speech, now called Ulster English, developed at the interface of Scots, Irish, and English. Some Scots words, such as *drouth* (‘thirst’) and *sheugh* (‘ditch’) were adopted by Ulster English, which is spoken by most people in Northern Ireland. The English of the northern part of Ulster came to sound distinctly Scottish in accent. In fact, today many Ulster people are mistaken for Scots when abroad.

Ulster-Scots was never the language of officialdom or learning in Ulster. In the 18th century it was used in poetry composed by linen weavers, later called the 'rhyming weavers' by the poet John Hewitt (1974), who were inspired by Robert Burns and his contemporaries. Later, Ulster-Scots appeared in a number of novels and newspaper articles. For most of the 20th century, however, Ulster-Scots was not a literary medium of expression but the speech of mainly rural farming communities in counties Antrim, Down, and Donegal.

**Culture and Politics in Northern Ireland**

Since the 1980s both nationalists and unionists have come to express their ethnic and political affiliations in cultural terms. Indeed, one could surmise that since the end of the military conflict in Northern Ireland, the cultural conflict has really begun.

**Nationalism and the Irish Language Revival**

Throughout Ireland, the Irish language is a symbol and representation of Irish nationhood. This is regardless of the fact that the great majority of people in the Republic of Ireland have only 'school Irish' and use English as their language of daily communication. Culture is used in nationalist constructions to prove the existence of a distinct group of people entitled to the nationalist ideal of political self-determination. Nationalists in Northern Ireland frequently point to language as the most pertinent aspect of culture in this respect, and the Irish language continues to be a powerful representation of national identity, both in the Republic and in Northern Ireland.

While Irish has undergone a long period of decline, it has also been the focus of revival efforts for the last 100 years. In Northern Ireland a revival began in the early 1980s, which was Catholic in terms of participation and nationalist in political ethos (O'Reilly 1999). Alongside the growth in Irish-medium schools, revival activities also include a growing provision of Irish
classes for adults (there are 70 in Belfast alone). There is an Irish language bookstore and a bilingual cafe, housed in the Cultúrlann, an Irish language cultural centre on the Falls Road in nationalist west Belfast. Irish language activities are popular in nationalist areas of Northern Ireland, encompassing classes, plays, music events, social evenings, lectures and Irish-medium schools; 2, 400 children were enrolled in Irish-medium education at primary and secondary level in Northern Ireland in 2003. The 2001 Northern Ireland census indicated that 167, 460 people had some knowledge of the language (NISRA 2002: 2).

The current upsurge of interest in Irish in the North is related to the political conflict of the last 30 years, although not in terms of simple cause and effect. The 1980s in particular witnessed a tremendous growth of interest in the Irish language among nationalists. Republicans established a high profile presence in the movement during this period, with Sinn Féin creating a cultural department in 1982 to propagate the use of the Irish language as a form of opposition to British rule.

The politics of culture and identity have been key concerns in the political negotiations on the future of the region, and as an important expression of nationalist identity the Irish language has played its part. Following the IRA cease-fire in 1994, nationalist leaders called for ‘parity of esteem’ for the nationalist community in Northern Ireland. The language movement increasingly associated its own demands with those of nationalist leaders, thus identifying the accommodation of the nationalist movement in Northern Ireland with that of Irish language revivalism. In the Belfast Agreement, the British Government promised to promote the Irish language in Northern Ireland, thus moving from its official reactive approach (NIO 1998: 19). Subsequent negotiations resulted in the creation of a cross-border implementation body for the Irish language, one of six North-South institutions answerable to a council of ministers from Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland.

3 The Agreement concluded four years of negotiations between the main political parties in Northern Ireland, and was endorsed by the British and Irish governments. 73% of Northern Ireland’s voters supported the Agreement in a referendum. A minority of republicans oppose the settlement because they believe it will copperfasten the partition of Ireland. A larger number of unionists oppose it, as they believe it will lead to a united Ireland.

4 The nationalist parties advocated at least eight cross-border implementation bodies with wide-ranging responsibilities. The unionist parties attempted to limit the number and scope of the bodies. Of all the political parties in Northern Ireland, Sinn Féin were the most enthusiastic for a cross-border body for the Irish language. The SDLP, the constitutional nationalist party, argued for eight cross-border bodies, and favoured those dealing with economic co-operation. When it appeared that there would only be six bodies, the SDLP favoured a transport body over a language one. However, the Dublin government pressurised the SDLP to accept a language body instead, as it would help to keep Sinn Féin in the peace process. The unionists, who initially opposed a language body, were happy to support the body in order to offset one with more significant economic implications; Irish speakers north and south can talk to each other till
While nationalism and republicanism provided much of the impetus for the language revival in Northern Ireland, the momentum for the revival has come from elsewhere. Catholics are attracted to learn the language for reasons that are not necessarily based on nationalist ideology (Maguire 1991: 100). However, the Irish language revival is taking place in Catholic areas of Northern Ireland that are characterised by homogeneity in terms of religious affiliation and political outlook. In fact, all shades of nationalist opinion tend to support Irish language campaigns. The Irish language has become part of Catholic symbolic ethnicity (Gans 1979). That is, Catholics felt the language is related to their identity even if they do not speak it.\footnote{Protestants and Catholics constitute two distinct groups in Northern Ireland. Each group is characterised by a high degree of endogamy, a separate educational system, and residential segregation. Allegiance to a church is usually something that one is born with – in Northern Ireland one can be a Protestant or a Catholic without attending church services. A Protestant who renounces his Christianity will still be perceived of as a member of the 'Protestant community'. It is literally possible to be a Protestant atheist in Northern Ireland, as individuals are assigned identities based upon religious background. Thus the terms 'Protestant' and 'Catholic' are used to define a type of ethnic affiliation and/or assignation, rather than personal religious belief.}

In spite of its symbolic importance, the revival or survival of the Irish language is a peripheral concern to most nationalists in Northern Ireland. That said, the relationship between nationalism and the Irish language is significant, even if nationalism is more important to the language revival movement than the Irish language is to most nationalists.

\textit{Protestantism and the Politics of Identity}

Unionists subscribe to Ulster and/or British national identities and attendant cultures (Todd 1987). The unionist usage of the term 'Ulster' retains the idea of an inviolable territory, that of Protestant Ulster (MacDonagh 1992: 22, 26). For most working-class Protestants an independent Ulster is preferable to a united Ireland, but not to the maintenance of the union with Great Britain. Protestants who ascribe to an Ulster identity have difficulty in translating this afflication into fully-fledged nationalist aspirations. Partition created a Protestant majority in Northern Ireland, but in recent years there is a growing awareness that the Catholic population is rising, and may even outnumber the Protestant population in years to come. Protestants face the prospect of being hemmed into the north-east by a Catholic majority (Holloway 1994: 11). Thus loyalists have great difficulty in providing a physical referent for their defined imagined community (Bell 1990: 22; Todd 1987: 6). Ulster nationalism is 'a reluctant, matter-of-fact nationalism, perhaps a nationalism of despair' (Miller 1978: 154). Moxon-Browne attributes the Ulster affiliation of unionists to disillusionment with English policy in Northern Ireland (1991: 28).

During the 1920s debate on the partition of Ireland, some unionists posited an Ulster-Scots identity, which drew upon the historic, religious and
cultural bonds with Scotland. This identity was Presbyterian-centred, elided intra-Protestant denominational differences, and omitted Catholics altogether (Walker 1997). This Ulster-Scots identity was largely set aside after the island was partitioned and unionists in the northeast were assured of their ‘British’ future.

In the arena of cultural competition in Northern Ireland, unionists often believe that their own cultural identity seems less exciting than Irish traditional music, language and games which are associated with nationalism. ‘Irish’ culture of this sort appears regularly on British television and generates international interest (Dunn and Morgan 1994: 17). Many unionists believe that nationalists have much more cultural capital than they do. They feel that their culture and ethnic identity is lacking a sense of coherence that ‘no amount of political posturing and flag-waving’ can hide (Bell 1990: 22). Many northern Catholics perceive their Protestant neighbours to be ‘intellectual philistines' that have no culture (Harris 1986: 151). Protestants have internalised these opinions, and are perturbed by assertions that they have no culture and are not creative (CDPA 1991: 17, 24). This is reflected in the applications for grant-aid received by state-sponsored agencies which fund cultural projects, most of which are from Catholic organisations.

Unionists concerned with combating the nationalist political project are faced with four choices. One is to denigrate Irish culture as romantic nonsense – some ridicule Irish as a 'dead' or 'useless' language. Secondly, they can refuse to play the cultural 'game'. Some unionist intellectuals claim that they have no need for nationalism, which involves a totalising way of life (see, for example, Aughey 1989). Unionism is presented as a rational political ideal, within which there is scope for a broad range of cultural and national affiliations, particularly since Britain is a multicultural state. This is a subtle argument, and many unionists have a nagging suspicion that something is still lacking. The ‘culture equals identity’ equation leads many of them to assume that their political arguments are weaker if they lack cultural justification.

Thirdly, a minority of unionists attempt to disengage Irish culture from Irish nationalism, and appropriate it for themselves. Since the late 1990s unionists have re-symbolised Saint Patrick, the patron saint of Ireland, as an Ulster saint with proto-Protestant beliefs; he appears in a wall mural in east Belfast as a British saint. A minority of unionists advocate learning the Irish language and express an Irish nationality that is compatible with British citizenship. (McCoy 1997). However, most unionists are uninterested in Irish culture, and those who are face accusations from their peers of being 'contaminated' by nationalist culture, and are suspected by some nationalists of having an agenda which will undermine cultural nationalism.

The fourth choice is to fight fire with fire – unionists can create or re-discover cultural traditions of their own. The British government funds unionist cultural organisations as part of its attempt to raise the cultural confidence of the unionist community. The state-funded Ulster Society
opposes the Gaelic revival’s attempts ‘to dye Ulster’s cultural tartan a solid emerald green’ (New Ulster Winter 1993: 26). During the 1990s many unionists rallied to support the right of Orangemen to march in Catholic-majority districts, and Orangeism became a focus of Protestant culture.

The Genesis of the Ulster-Scots Movement

The Ulster-Scots Language Society was formed in 1992. A Society flyer states the aims of the organisation:

The Ulster-Scots Language Society has been formed to encourage an interest in traditional Ulster-Scots literature, whether it be prose, poetry or drama; to support the use of the Ulster-Scots tongue in present-day speech and education, and to encourage the Ulster-Scots tradition in music, dance, song, ballads and story telling.

The society publishes a yearly magazine called Ullans, a word which describes the distinctive Ulster variety of Lallans and is an acronym for Ulster-Scots Language in Literature and Native Speech. The society has produced tape-recordings of Ulster-Scots speech and songs, a grammar of Ulster-Scots, children’s books, and novels. The Ulster-Scots Language Society is a member of the Ulster-Scots Heritage Council, a wider umbrella body which promotes Ulster-Scots culture in Northern Ireland.

The Heritage Council received government funding to set up an office and employ full-time staff. The Council organises a number of events which celebrate and promote Ulster-Scots culture, which includes recitations, music, historical research, and Scottish dance. Websites have been established, the BBC made a prime-time television programme about Ulster-Scots in 2000, and an Ulster-Scots educational project for primary schools has been developed in a teacher-training college. A university base for the movement was established in 2001, when the Institute of Ulster-Scots Studies was opened at the University of Ulster with initial funding of £300,000. Given these developments, the profile of Ulster-Scots has been raised in recent years, leading to widespread media interest and a large number of articles and letters on the subject in local newspapers.

History and Glottal Politics

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6 The Orange Order is a Protestant organisation, linked to the Ulster Unionist Party, but dating from the late eighteenth century. The organisation takes its name from William III (William of Orange), whose victory over James II in 1690 ensured Protestant succession to the English throne. The Order organises many demonstrations to celebrate this victory.

7 Recitations involve public performances of poetry or tales, many of which are humorous.

8 Americans interested in Ulster-Scots have been particularly active in these websites; their primary interest appears to be genealogical, not linguistic. For its part, the Ulster-Scots movement has claimed that Davy Crockett, Mark Twain and 16 U.S. presidents were of Ulster-Scots ancestry, and has produced wall murals to advertise this claim.
A publisher told McCoy that many local historians feel a need to trace the history of their area and its people to almost prehistoric times. In a similar fashion, some members of the Ulster-Scots movement are not content to claim their language came to Ireland during the plantations of the seventeenth century.

For some, the antiquity of Ulster-Scots is due to its retention of Old English, German and Gothic lexical items; a leaflet produced by the Ulster-Scots agency (see below) reads

Did you know that many of our words such as ‘greet’ and ‘thole’, etc can be found in the oldest surviving document written in ancient Gothic about 300AD and housed in the Upsalla Museum, Sweden?

Some give Ulster-Scots a local pedigree that precedes the Plantation of Ulster by many centuries. McCoy observed this trend in 1996 while attending an Ulster-Scots class in Newtownards, a town in which Ulster-Scots is spoken, mostly by old people. During the class we were shown examples of runes that were left by Viking invaders near Newtownards during the 8th century. The teacher emphasised that the Vikings did not merely raid the coast of Ulster, but also settled there, and their language has left its influence in the area; we were told, for example that the second element in the town name Ballyholme was cognate with Stockholm. The introduction to the Ulster-Scots Grammar claims that Old Norse has left an extensive body of personal name, place name, archaeological and documentary in Ulster, and states that ‘a tenuous Germanic linguistic presence’ was maintained in east Ulster until the arrival of Middle English (in the 12th century) and Older Scots (in the late 16th century) (Robinson 1997a: 4). In class we were shown 14th-century documents from Ulster which contained words that were shared with Scots e.g. brygge (‘bridge’) and tholled (‘endured’). The Ulster-Scots Grammar also suggests that Frisians (who spoke a language related to Dutch) settled in Ulster in the 4th and 5th centuries, but this interpretation was rejected by ‘Celtic Scholars’ (ibid.: 4)

In class evidence was given of the Germanic credentials of Ulster-Scots, such as the construction of plurals using the form -n, in words such as schoon (‘shoes’) and een (‘eyes’). We were told that the Ulster-Scots word nicht was similar to the German nächt. We also learned that all Germanic languages except English followed an object-subject-verb syntax, which has influenced Ulster-Scots speech e.g., Hae ye yer ekker din (‘Have you finished your homework?’) and black thon cat is (‘that cat is black’). We were told that Ulster-Scots preserved Old English pronunciations such as kirk (‘church’) and breek (breeches). We also learned that there were many Norse words in Ulster-Scots that were not in English. These constructions and lexical items emphasised the distinctiveness of Ulster-Scots vis-à-vis contemporary English.

Some Ulster-Scots enthusiasts are proud of the Norse and German contributions to their speech, but they are wary of Gaelic encroachment. An
article in *Ullans* suggests that a state-sponsored Northern Ireland Place-Names Project ignores Norse, Old English, and Scots origins for placenames, preferring Irish equivalents (Robinson, McEvoy, and Barnes 1994: 25-27). In our Newtownards class we were told that the older name for the town of Larne (which has Irish language roots) is Olderfleet (a Norse appellation) and that the original name for Ballywalter (a mixture of Irish and English) was the more Germanic *Whitkirk*. These comments were addressed when the Institute of Irish Studies provided a fellowship for research on Ulster-Scots place-names, the results of which were later incorporated into publications connected with the Place-Names Project (McKay 1999, Muhr 1999). In recent years the origin of the word 'crack' (meaning 'good entertainment', as in 'We had great crack last night') became a subject of debate. This word is known to everyone in Ireland, and since the late 1980s has appeared in nationalist newspapers as *craic*, and in pub-signs as *craic agus ceol* ('crack and music'), suggesting that it has its origins in the Irish language. Ulster-Scots supporters waged a letters campaign in local newspapers to reclaim the word for the Scots language.

The Gaelic contribution to Ulster-Scots is not a notable feature of the Society’s literature. This is partly because many Ulster-Scots enthusiasts know little Scottish or Irish Gaelic. McCoy attended an Ulster-Scots class that differed in this respect. The class was held in a ‘neutral’ venue in central Belfast and was attended by some Catholics. The teacher was fluent in German and Dutch and was keen to ‘depoliticise’ the Ulster-Scots movement; part of this process involved giving full recognition to the Irish language influence on Ulster-Scots. He was quick to recognise Ulster-Scots words which did not have cognates in German and asked Irish speakers present for their views. The resulting ‘folk’ etymologies significantly increased the Irish language influence on the Ulster-Scots lexicon. The Institute of Ulster-Scots Studies, located in the predominantly nationalist city of Londonderry, is also keen to promote co-operation with Catholics, as well as Irish and Scottish Gaelic speakers, and avoids essentialising an Ulster-Scots identity.

For their part, Irish speakers are keen to maximise the Gaelic penetration of Ulster-Scots9. Irish speakers are also pleased to indicate that many of the Presbyterian Ulster-Scots poets of the late 18th century had Irish nationalist sympathies10. Irish speakers highlight the Gaelic and nationalist

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9 During the launch of the *Ulster-Scots Grammar* a Scottish academic commented on the differences between Ulster-Scots and Scots. Ulster-Scots has a habitual present tense (e.g. *He bees there of a Monday* ‘He is usually there every Monday’), uses the word ‘after’ to indicate the perfect tense (e.g. *Ah’m after gan oot* ‘I have just gone out’), and has a ‘split-perfect’ method of indicating the perfect tense (e.g. *A hae ma dinner et* ‘I have eaten my dinner’). Irish speakers at the launch were pleased, as they believed these features were influenced by the Irish language.

10 In the late 18th century Presbyterians suffered from political and religious discrimination, as they did not adhere to the Established (Anglican) Church. Some of them made common cause with Irish Catholics in a rebellion to overthrow British rule in Ireland in 1798. The rebellion failed, and many Presbyterian grievances were addressed in
aspects of Ulster-Scots speech and culture to suggest the close interaction between speakers of the two speech varieties in former times. The implication is that contemporary Ulster-Scots enthusiasts should follow the example of their forbears, and not build linguistic or social walls around themselves.

While etymological competition has its scholarly aspects, ethno-political factors may also be involved. Linguistic 'patrolling' of Ulster-Scots reveals efforts by the Gaelic and Ulster-Scots lobbies to assert their contemporary influence, as well as their historical one. While co-operation with Irish speakers on some ventures is desirable, it also appears that Ulster-Scots enthusiasts feel the need to maintain a distance from English (for linguistic reasons) and Gaelic (for ethnic reasons).

The Language/Dialect Debate

As with Scots in Scotland, the categorisation of Ulster-Scots as a language other than English is disputed. Ulster-Scots is treated by the Concise Scottish National Dictionary Project (1931-1976) as a dialect of the Scots language. Ulster-Scots differs from Scots in that it has preserved some distinctive features that have been abandoned by Scots and has a number of features which are not shared by the latter. Some Ulster-Scots activists are not content to draw upon Scots resources unless it can be demonstrated that the Scots forms were or are used in Ulster. The Ulster-Scots Grammar notes of the New Testament in Scots that 'Ulster-Scots readers can have some difficulty with the Scottish-Scots of Lorimer’s work' (Robinson 1997a: 201). Chapter II of the Grammar provides some extracts from the bible in Ulster-Scots which differ from the work of Lorimer.

There is no agreed orthography for Ulster-Scots; enthusiasts are reluctant to prescribe spelling systems, and refer to the disputes that have divided Cornish language enthusiasts as an example they would not want to follow. Some writers of Ulster-Scots use a spelling system based upon that of English that reflects the similarities of Ulster-Scots and Standard English. Tom McArthur refers to this as the ‘minimalist approach’ of Scots enthusiasts (1998: 158); this approach is particularly common in Scotland. Others prefer an orthography which differs a great deal from English, for example using the later medieval <quh> spelling to realise English <wh>, as well as diacritics (the ‘maximalist approach’). There are samples of the minimalist and maximalist approaches in the appendices. The latter technique helps validate the assertion that Ulster-Scots is not simply a dialect of English.

There are also minimally- and maximally-differentiated approaches in terms of the Ulster-Scots lexicon. A leaflet produced by the Ulster-Scots

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11 Words which survive in Ulster that have been lost in Scots include clootie 'left-handed' and mitch 'play truant' (Montgomery and Gregg 1997: 606).

12 For a resumé of the orthographical and phonological debates about revived Cornish, see Payton (1997).
Language Society includes an Ulster-Scots word-list, which includes words such as \( \text{whin} \) (‘gorse bush’), \( \text{thrown} \) (awkward), and \( \text{sheugh} \) (‘a ditch’). These words are known to every speaker of Ulster English, and some critics assume that Ulster-Scots is therefore little different to Ulster English, and by extension the English language itself. Some academic critics of the Ulster-Scots movement say the movement is ‘claiming’ dialect words in order to increase the familiarity of Ulster-Scots, and insist that a boundary cannot be drawn between Ulster-Scots and Ulster English. For their part, Ulster-Scots enthusiasts insist these features indicate the number of words shared by both Ulster-Scots and varieties of English, arguing that the borrowing of these words from Ulster-Scots into English in fact proves the vitality of Ulster-Scots.

The maximally-differentiated approach entails coining neologisms, reviving obsolescent vocabulary, omitting Romance words and other lexical items shared with English, re-semanticising Ulster-Scots words to designate contemporary objects and ideas, and importing terms from other Scottish dialects. McCoy encountered this maximally-differentiated approach during the class in Newtownards. On one occasion we were asked to translate ‘Give me a little piece of butter’ into Ulster-Scots. An old man who lived in the district, who could be seen as a native speaker of Ulster-Scots, suggested \textit{Gie me a wee piece o’ butter}. The teacher then wrote \textit{Gie me a wee flachter o’ butter} on the board. The native speaker told us he had never heard of the word \textit{flachter}, and the teacher replied that it appeared in older Ulster-Scots literature. The teacher told us the difference between Ulster-Scots and English was being eroded all the time; many people of Ballycarry could not understand the poetry of James Orr, their own rhyming weaver. In the Belfast class, the teacher concentrated on the poetry of the rhyming weavers, and found himself puzzled by some obscure words and phrases. An Ulster-Scots speaker in the class was able to explain some of them by reference to his rural background.

The revival of archaisms to augment the distinctiveness of Ulster-Scots draws a boundary between English and Ulster-Scots. Enthusiasts have also coined neologisms, such as \textit{simmer-sark} for ‘T-shirt’ and \textit{haunblether} for ‘mobile phone’ which maintain the boundary with English and demonstrate the ability to discuss modern concepts in Ulster-Scots. Sometimes this process has backfired. Neologisms may be known by so few people that they represent idiolects which are unrecognisable by other Ulster-Scots enthusiasts. An advertisement in a local newspaper, which translated

\footnote{Perhaps the most ambitious, and even mischievous, neologisms are provided by Lord Laird, the chairman of the Ulster-Scots agency. He suggested that in keeping with the Good Friday Agreement, the Republic of Ireland should become trilingual, in English, Irish and Ulster-Scots. Thus the Irish police, the Garda Síochána, will become the ‘Hainin Polis’; the prime minister will be known as the ‘heid mannyster’ as well as the taoiseach; Dublin will also be known as Black Lyn; parliament will become the ‘Tolsel’ as well as Dáil Éireann; and one can fly to the Republic using the state airline ‘Lift Gates’ (\textit{Observer} 5 November 2000.)}
‘Equality Schemes manager’ to ‘Eeksi-Peeksie Skame Heid-Yin’ (Belfast Telegraph 23 November 1999) attracted widespread ridicule. The translator, who worked at the new Assembly, was castigated by the Ulster-Scots movement as a sort of linguistic ‘fifth column’, and was denounced as ‘an Anglophile Scotsman’ in Ullans magazine (Ullans Nummer 8 Hairst 2001: 80).

Both maximally- and minimally-differentiated approaches are problematic. The minimalist approach can be used by critics of Ulster-Scots to claim that it is simply a dialect of English, or English re-spelled to make it look different. On the other hand, the maximalist approach makes Ulster-Scots inaccessible to many of its speakers, fuelling accusations that it is a novel fabrication; one letter-writer mocked the use of ‘diacritics to ape Irish... orthographic soup’ (Fortnight December 2002: 2), and a prominent linguist declared the result to be a language without native speakers (Görlach 2000: 22). Ulster-Scots activists retort that other language movements are engaged in the same process; they indicate, for example, that the Irish word iarnród ‘railway’ is derived from ‘iron road’ (The Scotsman 8 January 2001).

While some Ulster-Scots enthusiasts characterise the debates on orthographies and neologisms as ‘healthy’ and ‘democratic’, others warn that Ulster-Scots will make little headway in important domains, such as education, unless a standard Ulster-Scots is devised and implemented. A problem for the Ulster-Scots movement is that the language movement in Scotland has not agreed on standardisation.

The Ulster-Scots Language Society represents Ulster-Scots as either a dialect of the Scots language or as a language in itself. The society is particularly sensitive to accusations that Ulster-Scots is a dialect of English. This is important since some western governments are likely to recognise and improve the status of indigenous languages, but not dialects. Opponents of the movement denigrate Ulster-Scots as a fabrication or a dialect of English, ‘English spoken with a Ballymena accent’ (McCall 2002: 204). The Andersonstown News described Ulster-Scots as a 'DIY language for Orangemen' (cited in Newtownards Chronicle 13 February 1997) and a writer in the Sunday Times called it 'a recently codified backslang of the Planters' (Sunday Times 11 October 1998). Such quotations are often cited by Ulster-Scots supporters to highlight the antipathy to their case and the ignorance of their opponents. An article in the Newtownards Chronicle reprints Ulster-Scots texts from an 1872 edition with the title 'Ulster-Scots: DIY language for orangemen - not in 1872!' (Newtownards Chronicle 13 February 1997).

Some critics of the Language Society claim they have never heard Ulster-Scots, and that therefore it does not exist. The response of enthusiasts is that Ulster-Scots is so stigmatised that native speakers are reluctant to use the language in public. It is very much the speech of the private domain, of friends and neighbours. During our Newtownards class the teacher indicated that the native speaker who provided tape recordings for the organisation

14 Tom Leonard’s humourous poster sums up the dilemma ‘GRAN’ MEETIN’ THE NICHT TAE DECIDE THE SPELLIN’ O’ THIS POSTER’ (Scots Hunbuik: http://www.umist.ac.uk/UMIST_CAL/Scots/spellin.htm)
Spanish and Scots does from Standard English. Ulster-Scots is often stigmatised by sophisticated urban dwellers as an amusing dialect spoken by elderly and ill-educated people in country districts. Recitations in Ulster-Scots are treated as a ‘double-edged’ sword by enthusiasts as they are often humourous, thus inviting an audience to laugh at the language. The speech of Belfast, the urban nexus of Northern Ireland, is not Ulster-Scots, but is a mixed variety reflecting the differing origins of the city's population.

In Northern Ireland, academics are quoted by both sides to demonstrate that Ulster-Scots is a dialect of Scots or simply a dialect of English. Another view is that the former dispute is irrelevant, since Ulster-Scots is perceived by enthusiasts to be a language – it is therefore a 'perceptual language'. The Ulster-Scots movement takes heart from the example of Frisian, which was commonly regarded in the Netherlands as a dialect of Dutch, but is now accepted by most people as a language in its own right. The movement received a boost in 1993 when Ulster-Scots was recognised as a dialect of the Scots language by the European Bureau of Lesser Used Languages. The Bureau does not decide upon the dialect/language debate solely upon linguistic criteria alone, but takes the views of the language communities themselves into account. The decision about which languages to recognise are left to the local committees in each country. Enthusiasts refute the accusation that Ulster-Scots is not a national language by reference to the increasing regionalism in the European Union, leading to a diminution of the nation-state concept in member countries.

Although the UK committee of the Bureau recognises Ulster-Scots as a variant of Scots, some activists hint that Ulster-Scots is a distinct language in its own right. For example, in his Ulster-Scots Grammar, Philip Robinson writes:

Ulster-Scots is a west Germanic language, which is derived from, and has its closest linguistic parallels with, Lowland Scots or Lallans... Ulster-Scots has its own range of dialects, along with its own distinctive literary tradition, vocabulary, and grammar; all of which differ in some respects from Lallans (1997a: 2)

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15 A childhood friend of McCoy used to laugh at his grandmother's pronunciation of 'house' as hoose and 'mouse' as moose. In McCoy's home district in north Down, most young people abandoned Ulster-Scots forms for the speech of Belfast, which they perceived to be more sophisticated and modern.

16 The chief academic critic of the Ulster-Scots Language Society is John Kirk, a lecturer in English at Queen's University, Belfast. At a 1998 language conference Kirk argued that 'perceptions go both ways', and that since most people perceive Ulster-Scots to be a dialect of English it is so.

17 The Spanish national committee has refused membership to representatives of the Asturian-speaking community, although Asturian differs at least as much from Castilian Spanish as Scots does from Standard English.
The movement is reluctant to use the word 'dialect' in relation to Ulster-Scots, because it is considered a derogatory term which usually appears in the context of 'a dialect of English'. Promoters of Ulster-Scots are more likely to use terms such as 'regional variety of Scots' than 'dialect of Scots'. Ulster-Scots is often described as a 'speech variety', 'linguistic heritage', 'tradition', and 'tongue'. Such terms allow the user to appear neutral in the language/dialect debate by avoiding the use of the derogatory term 'dialect' or validating the claims of the Society by referring to it as a 'language'. The Good Friday Agreement of 1998, for example, deliberately avoids the language/dialect debate:

All participants recognise the importance of respect, understanding and tolerance in relation to linguistic diversity, including in Northern Ireland, the Irish language, Ulster-Scots and the languages of the various ethnic communities, all of which are part of the cultural wealth of the island of Ireland (NIO 1998: 19).

When discussing the issue in the Newtownards class, the teacher told us that Norse and Swedish are dialects of Old Danish; therefore, a language can be simultaneously a dialect. He asked the class the rhetorical question, 'Is a daisy a flower or a weed?', and told us that Ulster-Scots could be considered to be a language and a dialect of Scots. Supporters of the view that Ulster-Scots is a language often use the well-known aphorism 'a language is a dialect with an army and a navy'; the decisions on language/dialect debate are political as well as linguistic. In this sense, they have the support of the British Government, which recognised Ulster-Scots as language when it signed the European Charter for Lesser used Languages in March 2000. Welsh, Scottish Gaelic and Irish were included in the provisions of Chapter III of the Charter, which grants a high level of status and protection. The Chapter II provisions, which grant recognition but a lower level of status, were applied to Scots, Ulster-Scots and Cornish. By signing the Charter, the British Government recognised Ulster-Scots as a variety of the Scots language, and not as a dialect of English.

Belfast City Council has also had to make a decision regarding the language/dialect question. At present it is legal to erect street signs in English and a language other than English.\textsuperscript{18} Irish language activists have erected Irish and English street-signs to reflect and encourage the Irish language revival in nationalist areas. In 1998 the Council received an application to erect a street-sign in English and Ulster-Scots – Silverstream Park in the Shankill area would become Sillerburn Pairk. Since it would be illegal to erect street signs in a dialect of English, the Council consulted two experts on the linguistic status of Scots. Having been given no definite answer on the debate, the Council decided to give the sign the go-ahead.

\textsuperscript{18} The law was recently changed after years of campaigning by Irish language activists.

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McCoy and O’Reilly: The Ulster Scots language movement

without making a formal pronouncement on the linguistic status of Ulster-Scots.

Politics and Ideology in the Ulster-Scots Language Movement

So far in this paper we have tended to concentrate on linguistic issues, and avoid ideological or political ones. Clearly, however, the language/dialect debate does not concern linguistic factors alone. The positions on the standing of Ulster-Scots in Northern Ireland provide an insight into nationalist and unionist ideologies, and offer a revealing insight into unionist-nationalist horse-trading in the post-ceasefire period.

The constitution of the Ulster-Scots Language Society states that the movement is avowedly non-sectarian and non-political. Anyone with an interest in Ulster-Scots can join the Language Society. In fact, there is at least one member of Sinn Féin who is a member of the Society. Membership entitles one to receive a copy of the magazine Ullans. When asserting its non-political credentials, the Language Society draws attention to its Catholic and nationalist members and indicates that many native speakers of Ulster-Scots are Catholics. Indeed, many Catholics are interested in Ulster-Scots for a variety of linguistic and literary reasons. Some Catholics with an interest in cross-community work attend Ulster-Scots events and classes, both to learn more about Ulster-Scots and to demonstrate their respect for Protestant culture. A flyer for the Ulster-Scots Heritage Council quotes a lecturer in politics at Queen's University, '...the cultural affinities between Scotland and Ulster [are] a phenomenon which could and should be regarded as eminently non-sectarian.' At one Heritage Council event in a ‘neutral’ venue in south Belfast, the audience were entertained by a drummer who provided a novel interpretation of the Riverdance theme, which is commonly associated with Irish nationalist culture; the drummer told the audience that he wanted to cater for the ‘mixed’ audience.

The overt politicisation of Ulster-Scots phenomenon would have serious funding implications, for the Community Relations Council, which provides core-funding to the Heritage Council, prohibits funding of political groups19. At the above-mentioned event, an employee of the Community Relations Council warned the listeners against the ‘identity politics that leads to cultures becoming competing caricatures’ and warned the Heritage Council to not follow the example of the Irish cultural revival of the 19th century, which selectively ignored some of the population and omitted cultural borrowings. Using the slogan ‘We’re all mongrels now’, he insisted that cultural influences overspill boundaries that politics try to keep apart.

As in Irish language circles, however, there is a difference between the wider appeal of Ulster-Scots on one hand, and the narrower focus of activities ‘on the ground’. Most Ulster-Scots activities take place in unionist areas. The headquarters of the Ulster-Scots Heritage Council are on the Shore

19 The prohibition on funding political projects does not extend to the cross-border language bodies.
Road in North Belfast, which is a solidly Protestant working-class area. Most branches of the Ulster-Scots Heritage Council are in unionist districts. For example, there is one in the staunchly Protestant Shankill area of west Belfast. Some unionist organisations have begun to use Ulster-Scots in a symbolic fashion. Newtownards Council, which is controlled by a unionist majority, has adopted bilingual notepaper with the legend Burgh Cooncil o’ the Airds, Newton, an’ Blathewick. The Council has also erected numerous signs in Ulster-Scots in the Ards Peninsula: Greyabbey becomes Greba; Ballyhalbert becomes Talbotstoun; Victoria Gardens becomes Kye Water; and greeting signs at the boundaries of the Council district read ‘Welcome to the Ards Borough’ and ‘Fair Fa’ Ye Tae the Airds’. South Belfast Historical Society, which promotes Protestant culture in the area, is also known as the Foukates Societie o’ Sooth Bilfawst and a loyalist ex-prisoners’ group calls itself Gae Lairn (‘Go Learn’). Fowlk Richts, an Ulster-Scots humsn rights group, claimed 250,000 Protestants were forced to move homes during the sectarian conflict (Irish Times 23 August 2001).

Some of the learners McCoy encountered at classes made it clear that Ulster-Scots expressed their Ulster unionist identity. Such was the Protestant/unionist make-up of the Newtownards class, that a friend who also attended requested McCoy keep his knowledge of the Irish language secret. To have admitted knowing Gaelic would have suggested his involvement with a rival community (nationalists/ Catholics) and a rival language (Irish).

Perhaps unsurprisingly, there is a degree of overlap in terms of personnel between Ulster-Scots advocates in the media and unionist political activists. Politicians have a great deal of self-confidence when dealing with journalists, and some less politically-involved members of the language movement, particularly native speakers, are reluctant to take part in adversarial debates of which the media are so fond. In addition, some people associate the messenger with the message. In much the same manner as many unionists associate the Irish language with Sinn Féin, because of the way some members of that party champion the cause of the Irish language in the media, many nationalists associate Ulster-Scots with unionism.

Unionists have represented Ulster-Scots as a language which promotes their particular world view. During a debate on the issue at the Northern Ireland Forum for Political Dialogue, Jim Shannon of the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) said the following: 20

We are Ulster-Scots, descended from a fiercely independent ancestry - from Scots Presbyterianism. Because we live in Ulster it does not make us Irish... There are two distinct nations on this island - the Gaelic-Irish and the Ulster-Scots. We belong to the latter, and no matter how

20 The Northern Ireland Forum for Political Dialogue was formed in September 1996, and closed two years later following elections to the Assembly. The DUP is a unionist political party opposed to the Good Friday Agreement, led by the fundamentalist preacher Dr. Ian Paisley.
McCoy and O’Reilly: The Ulster Scots language movement

difficult that may be for some to swallow, it is a fact of life. We have as much right to self-determination as any other nation on earth and nobody should tell us that we have no culture, or rights, or that we are afraid of that culture, and afraid of that tradition. (Northern Ireland Forum debates: http://www.ni-forum.gov.uk/debates/1997/100197.htm)

Ulster-Scots is advanced by some unionist politicians as a response to the promotion of Irish by Sinn Féin. Meetings of the new Assembly at Stormont were disrupted by language debates. Sinn Féin demanded the right to speak in Irish and for simultaneous translation facilities to be made available. An article in the Belfast Telegraph noted:

The DUP sees no problem in that, while other unionists have threatened that if Irish is increasingly heard on the floor they will retaliate with unadulterated Ullans (Belfast Telegraph October 27 1998)

Provisions were made for Ulster-Scots speakers within the new elected Assembly at Stormont, Belfast. Two transcribers were employed by Hansard to translate speeches in Irish and Ulster-Scots into English, as well as edit speeches in English.

In many respects, Ulster-Scots has become somewhat of a bargaining chip in political terms. While the Language Society states that it is not political, its chairman has said that it is political in the sense that it wishes to effect change regarding the attitude of government and statutory bodies to Ulster-Scots (South Belfast Herald and Post July 23 1993) – in other words the Society is political with a small 'p'.

Debates about the differential public funding of Ulster-Scots and Irish language projects have implications in another 'political' sense. In Scotland, the Scots language lobby receives much smaller grants from the Scottish Executive than its Gaelic counterpart. There is little difference in political outlook between Scots and Gaelic enthusiasts. Instead, disagreement between the two language lobbies tends to focus on issues of language survival, effective planning, and the language/dialect debate regarding Scots.

In Northern Ireland, Irish language projects receive far more funding than Ulster-Scots ones. This has ideological implications, as Catholics and nationalists are the main beneficiaries of Irish language funding, while Protestants and unionists form the backbone of the Ulster-Scots movement. Unionist politicians who lobby on behalf of Ulster-Scots hint that the poor funding for Ulster-Scots culture is indicative of the government's attitude to the unionist community; in particular unionist community activists in working-class areas now believe that their counterparts in nationalist

21 The unionist-controlled Stormont Parliament was abolished in 1971, and subsequently Northern Ireland was controlled from Westminster. In 1998 101 local representatives were elected to the new Assembly.
districts receive the lion’s share of funding available. Ulster-Scots lobbyists complain that many government agencies and the media are negative and obstructionist towards them, demonising their language and hindering the natural growth of the revival.

Given the much-vaunted goal to secure ‘parity of esteem’ between the unionist and nationalist communities in Northern Ireland, it should come as no surprise that Irish language activists, and later some advocates of Ulster-Scots, have borrowed the rhetoric of the political process. Irish language activists adopted the concept of 'parity of esteem' soon after the Downing Street Declaration in 1994, suggesting that support for the Irish language would be a positive step towards parity of esteem for nationalists in Northern Ireland. In turn, some Ulster-Scots activists have called for ‘parity of esteem’ for Ulster-Scots with Irish. In their view, parity of funding for Ulster-Scots implies parity of esteem for the unionist community, which in their perception is losing ground to nationalists. Government sources insist on equity rather than equality of treatment for Irish and Ulster-Scots, since they are at different stages of development.

The Ulster-Scots lobby benefited enormously from unionist support during the peace negotiations. The unionist parties agreed that a cross-border implementation body be set up for the Irish language if the organisation included the promotion of Ulster-Scots within its remit.

The provisional budget for the Irish language agency of the body was to be £13 million and £1 million was allocated to the Ulster-Scots agency; this reflected a ten-fold increase in funding for Ulster-Scots activities. The Ulster-Scots agency thus became the single most important funder of Ulster-Scots activities; its colourful bi-monthly newspaper, The Ulster-Scot, is to the fore in promoting these activities. The Scots language movement was bemused to discover that a lesser-known branch had outstripped the parent body to such a degree. The two parts of the implementation bodies were to differ in linguistic emphasis. Whereas the Irish language issue was to deal with language matters alone, the Ulster-Scots agency included cultural matters within its remit, which were defined by the legislation:

“‘Ullans’ is to be understood as the variety of the Scots language traditionally found in parts of Northern Ireland and Donegal. ‘Ulster-Scots cultural issues’ relate to the cultural traditions of the part of the population of Northern Ireland and the border counties which is of Scottish ancestry and the influence of their cultural traditions on others, both within the island of Ireland and in the rest of the world (Dáil Éireann 1999: 47)22.

During the peace talks, unionist negotiators argued for ‘East-West’ links to balance the ‘North-South’ links that were embodied by the cross-border

22 In a private conversation, a negotiator for the Irish government said that Ulster-Scots cultural issues were included in the agency’s remit as the language lobby was relatively weak.
implementation bodies. The Belfast Agreement led to the creation of a British-Irish Council, which includes representatives of the British and Irish Governments, the devolved institutions in Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales, together with representatives of the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands\textsuperscript{23}. The Ulster-Scots lobby is arguing for the realisation of the ‘East-West’ links by greater promotion of cultural and linguistic links between Scotland and Ulster. Language activists welcomed the British Government’s promise in April 2003 to ‘take steps to encourage support to be made available for an Ulster-Scots academy’ as part of an attempt to promote the peace process in Northern Ireland (Joint Declaration by the British and Irish Governments: http://www.nio.gov.uk/pdf/joint2003.pdf, pg.9).

The Irish language movement has also benefited from the peace process in terms of raised funding from the 'confidence building measures', usually in terms of European peace and reconciliation funding for language projects. In the context of the political negotiations, the relative strengths and weaknesses of Ulster-Scots vis-à-vis the Irish language are irrelevant. They become the symbolic languages of the unionist and nationalist communities, and must be catered for in an equal fashion to ensure 'parity of esteem' for both communities.

There is no shortage of irony in the politics of language and culture in Northern Ireland. Opponents of the Irish language have often portrayed the revival movement as little more than a front for republicanism. In their turn, Irish language activists often portray the Ulster-Scots movement as politically motivated and less than genuine. As one columnist put it, 'Ulster-Scots was an anchor forged to stop Orange Ulster from drifting away in a sea of green' (\textit{Irish Times} 6 October 1998). Some Irish enthusiasts interpret the Ulster-Scots lobby as an attempt to undermine public funding for the Irish language. They argue that spurious Ulster-Scots initiatives will draw money away from more deserving Irish language projects. Furthermore, public bodies would become exasperated by a rising tide of applications for Irish and Ulster-Scots initiatives. This serves the unionist aim of weakening nationalist culture in Northern Ireland. Some nationalists claim that prominent enthusiasts of Ulster-Scots cannot speak it, because they are not 'really' interested in it at all. Thus some Irish language speakers interpret the Ulster-Scots lobby as a negative identity grouping, based upon an opposition to their own. They claim the Ulster-Scots enthusiasts have no positive motives and little or no linguistic capital.

Critics further claim that the terms 'Ulster-Scots' and 'Ullans' are novel inventions with political overtones. Native Ulster-Scots speakers, they say, call their speech 'braid Scots', 'Scots', or even 'English'. They suggest the use

\textsuperscript{23} Between 1999 and June 2003 the British-Irish Council had only met four times, and it is perceived as low-key and relatively unimportant in the Northern Irish political context. The active enthusiasm of the Irish prime minister for the newly devolved administrations in Scotland and Wales has led to a cooling in unionist enthusiasm for the Council (McCall 2002: 214).
of the adjectival form 'Ulster' indicates an attempt to associate Scots with a Protestant and unionist identity which invokes Ulster as a Protestant homeland separate from the rest of Ireland.

Enthusiasts highlight the cultural heritage of Ulster-Scots, rather than its political associations; how, for example, can the poetry of Robert Burns be 'political'? The emphasis that some enthusiasts place on the academic study of Ulster-Scots and their love of its literature has convinced some sceptics, including suspicious Irish speakers, that some Ulster-Scots afficionados may have 'genuine' motivations, rather than 'political' ones. Echoing similar claims in defence of the Irish language, the Language Society insists that Ulster-Scots is available to everyone, and it is not the organisation’s fault if unionists support them whereas nationalists do not.

In disavowing accusations of being politically-motivated, the Scottish origins of the movement are highlighted. The Scottish connection of the movement counteracts its image as a partisan offshoot of Northern Irish unionism, for both Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland have a sense of affinity with Scotland. Enthusiasts attribute the origin of the term 'Ulster-Scots' to the Scottish National Dictionary (Grant and Murison 1976), which needed to differentiate between the speech of Ulster and its Scottish counterpart; the term 'Ullans' is used to differentiate purely linguistic issues from 'Ulster-Scots' identity and cultural ones. The Ulster-Scots Language Society insists it developed from the local branch of the Scots Language Society. Furthermore, in articulating the prior existence of the Scots Language Society in Northern Ireland, supporters of Ulster-Scots historicise their movement, denying that their culture and identity is a recent fabrication.

The relationship of Ulster-Scots enthusiasts with Scotland is problematic, and at times ironic. Some members of the Ulster-Scots Language Society have felt that their Scottish counterparts are uncooperative towards them; indeed the society had to separate itself from the Scots Language Society, as the latter demonstrated little interest in its Ulster counterpart, at least in its early years. Ulster-Scots enthusiasts give three reasons for this tension. Firstly, enthusiasts are promoting Scots as the national language of Scotland, and Ulster-Scots speakers feel their existence confuses the issue. Secondly, many Scots do not wish to retain the union with England. As such, they are not sympathetic to the unionist views of their counterparts in Northern Ireland; indeed, some Ulster-Scots enthusiasts find the nationalist zeal of their Scottish counterparts to be discomforting and 'political'. Thirdly, and most importantly, Scots language enthusiasts are reluctant to become involved in Northern Ireland because they fear becoming linked with either unionist or nationalist camps, which may bring sectarian issues to the fore in Scotland itself.

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24 They view the Scottish connection in different terms; whereas Irish nationalists perceive the Scots to be fellow 'Celts' and approve of the growing independence movement in Scotland, Northern Ireland’s Protestants conceive of Scotland as a bulwark of Presbyterianism and an ancestral homeland.
educational and political systems in Scotland and Northern Ireland compound the difficulties.

There are limits to the extent that Ulster-Scots can become the symbolic language of unionism. Unionists such as Ian Paisley Jr. of the DUP have dismissed the concept of Ulster-Scots as a language; Paisley described it as ‘colloquialisms’ (McCall 2002: 210) The areas in which Ulster-Scots is traditionally spoken are limited, and do not include Belfast, the capital city of Northern Ireland; urban dwellers disparage Ulster-Scots as it is perceived as coming from ‘backward’ rural areas as opposed to urban ‘progressive’ ones (McCall 2002: 205). Maximally-differentiated Scots appears alien to some unionists; in east Belfast loyalists ripped down a bilingual sign which read ‘Tullyard Way’ and ‘Heichbrae Airt’ as they mistook the Ulster-Scots on the sign for Irish (Irish News 18 October 1999).

Some unionists who identify strongly with Britain consider the Ulster-Scots project to be too parochial for them; they consider themselves to be part of a modern progressive British state. In addition to this, unionists are noted for their utilitarian and modernist approach to culture, and tend to be dismissive of minority cultures and traditions. A number of articles in unionist newspapers condemned the increased funding for Ulster-Scots and Irish language activities as a pointless exercise that would divert funds from more pressing issues, such as education and health. Ulster-Scots enthusiasts sometimes describe these unionist critics as ‘Anglocentric’.

Ulster-Scots language enthusiasts also grumble that the cultural revival is outstripping language revivalism; there is much more enthusiasm for Scottish dance, pipe music, kilt-wearing and associated tartanry, and the ‘ingested ethnicity’ of haggis, tatties and neeps (McCall 2002: 208), with Scots or Ulster-Scots receiving tokenistic recognition at events such as Burns suppers. McCall has found community activists in deprived loyalist areas of Belfast to be less interested in linguistic issues than building a cultural identity for young people in an attempt to divert them from the temptations of paramilitarism and drug-dealing (McCall 2002: 215). Few of the language measures indicated in the 2001-4 Corporate Plan of the cross-border agency for Ulster-Scots have been realised, and language issues lag behind cultural ones in the agency’s newspaper, The Ulster-Scot. Ulster-Scots classes are few and far between, and there is little evidence of a widespread demand for them. As was the case with Irish cultural revivalism, enthusiasts have found easier ways to express Irish or Ulster-Scots identities than the hard graft of language learning. The Ulster-Scots language movement pales in comparison with its Irish language counterpart.

In spite of the politicisation of Ulster-Scots, it is important not to lose sight of the multiplicity of meanings and identities which can be associated with a language. While attending Ulster-Scots classes, McCoy encountered

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25 John Dean of the South Belfast Cultural Society, which organises an Ulster-Scots festival, said ‘Why would you learn a language if you can’t use it, if there is no popular need for it? There is not a great emphasis on learning it. Language is the last piece of the jigsaw’. (McCall 2002: 206)
conceptualisations of Ulster-Scots that had few overtly political or national interpretations. In particular, nostalgia was a powerful motivation for many enthusiasts. Ulster-Scots expressed a local identity, evoking childhood memories and neighbourhood and family affiliations (see for example the text in Appendix II). Locals warmed to samples in Ulster-Scots taken from century-old editions of the Newtownards Chronicle. Statements such as 'Oh, that's what they used to say in the old days' were common. Indeed, the classes often became collaborative efforts between teachers and native speakers of Ulster-Scots; the latter group suggested rhymes, word-meanings and pronunciations which augmented the knowledge of the teachers and others in the classes. In the Newtownards class the learners could be roughly divided into two groups: older native speakers for whom Ulster-Scots expressed a sense of localised belonging; and younger enthusiasts who had less knowledge of Ulster-Scots when they enrolled, for whom Ulster-Scots expressed an 'Ulster' national identity.

Nevertheless, it would be erroneous to draw a clear dichotomy between native speakers of Ulster Scots and revivalist ideologues. Some revivalists are uneasy with the connection between Ulster-Scots and unionist ideology, and revivalist Ulster-Scots activities include many native speakers of Ulster-Scots. Native speakers attend the AGM of the Language Society and report that they are involved in many activities in Ulster-Scots areas of Counties Down and Antrim. In the Northern Ireland Forum debates many of the speakers who supported Ulster-Scots mentioned words and phrases that are or were used in their home-districts. Therefore, the local affiliations of Ulster-Scots enthusiasts may simply attenuate their political beliefs.

The Ulster-Scots People

The term ‘Ulster-Scot’ applies to a people as well as a language; a leaflet advertising a course on ‘Ulster-Scots Language & Culture’ included within this remit ‘folk traditions, calendar customs, music dance, religious traditions’. The Heritage Council’s policy of inclusivity allows interested groups and individuals to define for themselves what an ‘Ulster-Scot’ is. However, many advocates and critics of the Ulster-Scots movement assume that the ‘Ulster-Scots’ people are mostly Presbyterian, both in historic and contemporary senses. Ulster-Scots language literature sometimes reflects this view; for example, a novel by Phillip Robinson (1998), the author of the Ulster-Scots Grammar, depicts an Ulster-Scots rural community populated almost entirely by Presbyterians, who believe themselves to be descended from a lost tribe of Israel. This reflects British Israelism, which provides the justification for British control of Ireland; the British are God’s chosen people

26 For example, in November 1998 McCoy went to see a performance by a group called A Wheen o Fowk (‘a few people’), which included bagpipe playing and drumming, as well as recitations in Ulster-Scots. The spokesperson of the group, all of whom were native speakers of Ulster-Scots, made it clear that he considered Ulster-Scots to be a language, and that the group were encouraged by the recent revival of interest in Ulster-Scots culture.
on a mission to civilise the Irish (Mac Póilin 1999 119-130, Nic Craith 2001: 30).

Three novels by Robinson (1997b, 1998, 2000) reflect other elements of unionist hagiography. They create a metaphorical connection between the Ulster-Scots speakers and the Picts, who lived in Ireland and Scotland before the arrival of the Gaels. The third novel, Fergus an Tha Stane o Destinie, portrays the Gaels in an unfavourable light as land-grabbing ootlanners (‘foreigners’) from the west, given to drunkenness and having nae dacency (‘no decency’), who take the guid grun (‘good ground’) from the beleaguered Fergus and his people, forcing them to Scotland. The novels hint that the Ulster-Scots, as descendants of the Picts, lived in Ulster before the Gaels and are the most ancient inhabitants of the country. This history inverts the usual Irish nationalist history which presents the Gaels as the natives of Ireland and the Ulster-Scots and English as ‘Planters’ and invaders; implicit in Irish nationalist historiography is the assumption that incoming colonists should abide by the wishes of the genuine natives of Ireland. The Ulster-Scots Heritage Council sponsored a wall mural in east Belfast, which celebrates ‘4000 Years of Ulster-Scots History and Heritage’. This mythological charter, stretching far back into the Bronze Age, endows Ulster-Scots identifiers with a lineage that long predates the arrival of the Gaels and the Scots language.

This approach mirrors the work of unionist historian Ian Adamson (1974), who attacks Irish nationalist history on two fronts: firstly, he challenges the assumption that all ancient Irish culture is Gaelic; and secondly he claims that Ulster Protestants have as much right to live in Ireland as Irish Catholics, since the Plantation of Ulster was not a conquest by an oppressive people, but a reconquest by a people who had formerly been expelled - the Cruithin, whom he identifies with the Picts (Buckley 1989: 193-4). The works of Adamson and Robinson affirm the right of the Ulster-Scots, as an indigenous people of Ulster, to be masters of their own destiny.

Towards a Trilingual Ulster

Since 1997 there has been some formal co-operation between the Irish language and Ulster-Scots lobbies. At the institutional level, the Ulster-Scots and Irish agencies of the cross-body language body work together on joint projects. There are a number of other pragmatic reasons for co-operation. One is related to the problems involving public displays of the Irish language in recent years. From 1982 until 1997 the Students’ Union Building at Queen’s University had a bilingual Irish/English policy which included the display of signs in both Irish and English. Unionist students protested that the signs were evidence of a republican ethos of the Students’ Union body and demanded the signs be removed. In January 1997 the Fair Employment Commission, which combats sectarian employment practices, recommended the removal of the signs as they prevented Protestants from seeking employment within the Union. After a process of consultation within the university the signs were removed. The Irish language lobby protested, to no avail. However, the Irish language and the Ulster-Scots lobbies approached
the Students' Union independently and suggested the erection of signs in English, Irish and Ulster-Scots. Such a policy would imply that Ulster-Scots was the symbolic language of unionism, with Irish fulfilling this role for nationalists. However, many unionists were sceptical that Ulster-Scots would represent their identity; the cultural officer of the Union confirmed to McCoy that 'the unionists were more interested in getting rid of the Irish signs'.

The trilingual approach has been adopted by other bodies in order to appear fair to nationalists and unionists. The Northern Ireland Health and Social Services Agency advertised for an equality schemes manager in local newspapers in English, Ulster-Scots, Irish and Chinese (Belfast Telegraph 23 November 1999). The Linguistic Diversity Branch of the Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure wished its clients 'Merry Christmas', 'Nollaig Shona' and 'a blythe Yuletide' in its Christmas card, and the Minister for Culture issued a trilingual invitation to a reception in his offices in Belfast. The Arts Council for Northern Ireland and Belfast City Council issued policy leaflets in Ulster-Scots, and the council hired a consultant to develop a policy of linguistic and cultural diversity.

The Irish language has rarely appeared on public signs or notices in 'neutral' Belfast city centre, reflecting a political and religious stand-off in the city; in Londonderry the nationalist-dominated council erected many Irish-language street-signs in the city centre. Irish is less contentious if it appears alongside Ulster-Scots in various forms; the special flag produced for the 1999 St. Patrick’s Day parade in Belfast included maxims in English, Irish, Ulster-Scots, and Chinese; the first three being 'St. Patrick's Carnival', 'Carnabhal Naomh Pádraig', and 'Petherick Gaithren' respectively. In June 2003 a banner in the city centre advertised the Lord Mayor’s parade in ‘Belfast, Béal Feirste and Bilfawst’.

Funding bodies are likely to look kindly on collaboration between Gaelic and Ulster-Scots speakers. If the Irish language movement is de facto Catholic, and the Ulster-Scots one Protestant, they can exhibit their cross-community credentials by working together27. Critics claim that this form of co-operation is superficial and cynical, leading to a number of 'shotgun weddings' between mutually suspicious Irish and Ulster-Scots speakers in search of further funding. Others explain this process as one of mutual curiosity and benefit, which can only be welcomed.

Perhaps the most important reason for Irish and Ulster-Scots co-operation is the zeitgeist of the peace process. Discourses of dialogue and diversity are the order of the day, and unionists and nationalists seek to accommodate one another. Republican News carries articles about unionism, and the Belfast Telegraph, a unionist newspaper, carries occasional articles by Gerry Adams. Pluralism and diversity are 'in', and narrow monocultural agendas are 'out', as unionists and nationalists compete to appear more pluralist than each other. The Belfast City Council has a Cultural Diversity

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27 Ulster-Scots cultural groups in south and east Belfast prefer to meet Catholic cultural groups in the Republic of Ireland, particularly in Sligo; the divisions within Belfast make cross-community contact within the city more difficult.
Committee, in which Irish speakers and Ulster-Scots speakers work together in an amicable fashion.

If Irish language speakers were to openly disparage the Ulster-Scots revival as an anti-Irish language plot, they would leave themselves open to accusations of being uncharitable and anti-accommodationist; some unionists hint that nationalist rejection of Ulster-Scots stems from ‘cultural sectarianism’ or a belief that unionists and Protestants have no ‘real’ identity or culture. In any case, the increase in government funding to Irish language projects has led some language activists to grow magnanimous, and some believe that the Ulster-Scots movement is weak and does not pose a serious threat to the Irish language’s future in funding terms. Unionist politicians often disparage Irish language as a 'dead' or 'useless' language, and deny that it is suitable for public funding. Ulster-Scots enthusiasts cannot do this. They are playing the same game as the Irish language lobby, and to suggest Irish is irrelevant may invite suggestions that Ulster-Scots is even more so.

**Conclusion**

Protestants’ conceptions of themselves as superior to Catholics have been severely challenged since the 1960s. Economic decline, changes in government policies, the peace process, and the loss of ethnic certitude have resulted in a unionist sense of physical and psychological retreat. In addition to the fear generated by the resurgence of Northern nationalism, there has been a growing sense of alienation from Westminster. One example of this is the belief among working-class Protestants in particular that the British government has been redistributing resources from Protestant to Catholic areas to appease the IRA and since 1998 to keep Sinn Féin in the peace process.

Up until the late 1980s Northern Protestants tended to ridicule Catholic claims of political and cultural inequality in Northern Ireland. Feldman argues that 'nationalist discourse' was infused with the concept of deprivation (1991: 20). Many Protestants stereotyped Catholics as 'spongers' who exploited government benefits to the full, and considered themselves good workers who would not drain the resources of 'their' government. However, during the 'troubles' many Protestants experienced long-term unemployment for the first time, and witnessed the concomitant decline of their own local communities. During the 1990s Protestants, particularly working-class ones, adopted a culture of complaint of their own, representing themselves as discriminated against in terms of ethnic allegiance, political belief, and public resources. The community that once saw itself as part of the Protestant majority in the British Isles has begun to behave like a beleaguered ethnic minority in a corner of the United Kingdom. In part, the Ulster-Scots revival is a response to this sense of alienation and grievance. For Ulster-Scots aficionados, the primary imagined community is that of Northern Irish Protestants, not the indifferent people of Britain or their treacherous government.
As well as indicating the particular circumstances of Northern Protestants, the Ulster-Scots revival reflects a world-wide ethnic resurgence which transformed minority ethnicity from a social liability to a desirable identity. As elsewhere, a feature of identity politics involves the objectification of a language and culture that informs and articulates political demands. In Northern Ireland the close relationship between politics and indigenous culture that is characteristic of Irish nationalism became a dominant discourse (in the Foucaultian sense) that many unionists felt they had to answer in its own terms.

Many aspects of the Ulster-Scots project resemble a nationalist approach to culture. This process of objectification involves the transformation of aspects of folk culture which are traditional, spontaneous, and uncritical – they become ‘discrete things’ which are self-consciously studied, catalogued, and displayed (Handler 1988: 64, 67). For some, Ulster-Scots language and culture reflect unionist beliefs, attenuating a British identity. For others, the Ulster-Scots revival is a symptom of Northern Irish Protestants affirming their own identity, given the advance of Irish cultural nationalism and the ‘semi-detached’ policy of Westminster towards the North. Ulster-Scots culture appears to be that of a threatened ethnic minority rather than a self-confident national majority.

Many people in Northern Ireland perceive Irish to be a ‘Catholic/nationalist’ language, and Ulster-Scots to be a ‘Protestant/unionist’ one. However, state-sponsored funding bodies tend not fund political organisations which flaunt their ethno-national goals. Funders also prefer projects related to Irish and Ulster-Scots to achieve a level of cross-community co-operation, which has the effect of muting political and religious particularism. Publicly-funded language projects do not have overt ethnic overtones, and cultural rather than political discourses predominate.

Most of the public debate on the language issue tends to take place between the unionist and nationalist blocs in the new Assembly, in which Sinn Féin and some members of the SDLP promote the Irish language and the DUP along with some members of the Ulster Unionist Party promote Ulster-Scots. This is the arena in which the two languages are the most ethnicised. Many unionists interpret the Irish language revival as one based upon a politicised negation of British identity. Similarly, many Irish speakers believe the Ulster-Scots movement to be an attempt to thwart the Gaelic revival. However as we have seen, Ulster-Scots and Irish speakers are occasionally willing to work on joint projects, owing to the similarity of their aims and the pluralist post-conflict ethos in Northern Ireland.

In spite of the obvious benefits of such co-operation, this process may actually serve to further reinforce the bipolar ethnic associations of each language. Some liberals in Northern Ireland suspect that groups which advocate essentialist and exclusivist religious and cultural identities are advancing their ideologies under the guise of ‘pluralism’ and ‘diversity’. The Ulster-Scots movement is caught between the push by some to define an exclusivist Protestant/unionist-centred ideology to garner support and the
pull of popular discourses of pluralism and cultural hybridity which undermine such an ideology. The former may appear old-fashioned and conflictual; the latter may undermine motivations to learn Ulster-Scots at all, leaving a language movement without an ideology.

It is important to avoid the trap of imputing 'real' political motivations to purportedly 'innocent' cultural facades. There are always complex and occasionally contradictory meanings and intentions behind each act or utterance (Frazer and Cameron 1989). As is the case with the Irish language (O'Reilly 1999), different cultural and political discourses of Ulster-Scots may be invoked by the same speakers on differing occasions to different ends. They are used according to the demands of the situation, not necessarily according to the overriding beliefs of the interlocutor. It is true that on occasions Ulster-Scots is the unionist response to the Irish language, which is spoken (sometimes haltingly) by Sinn Féin politicians as a ritualised expression of identity. Yet Ulster-Scots is also a mode of communication that has little ideological significance. It is the language of hearth and home and bygone years. Ulster-Scots is simultaneously a symbolic language in ethno-political terms, an aspect of the shared heritage of Catholics and Protestants, and a repository of nostalgia. As the politics of culture and identity continue to unfold in Northern Ireland, it remains to be seen what place – or places – Ulster-Scots will eventually take.
APPENDIX ONE: Maximally-Differentiated Text in Ulster Scots and English

MUCKLE COLLOQUE ANENT LEID

Growth taaks adae a leids ettle fur Ulstèr wull be gien a muckle heeze quhaniver a colleague anent Oor Heirskip o Leid in Euraip is hauden in Bilfawst Citie Haw on Friday 23 Uptober 19 an 98. Tha colleque is gat thegither wi the Euraip Biroo o Unner-Docht Leids, tha Ultach Trùst, an tha Ulstèr Scotch Leid Societie.

Taakers frae ither kintras haes bin gien invites fur tae pit owre thair ain kennis an daeins til oor fowks ats rowed intae hainin an fonderin Ulstèr's leid heirskip.

Philip Blair, frae tha coontie o Doon is fur giein a discourse o tha Euraip Covénant fur Kintra or Wee Feckie Leids. Mr Blair wud be tha heich Preses o tha Cooncil o Euraip's Sécetrie-Gennèral at bes gart mak tha Covénant wark. The Brättisch Mänistrie yins gien oot in Juin at the ettled on signin up til tha Covénant. Alex Riemersma quha bes tha tither o twa Heich Heidyins o Beria foar it Fryske, tha Friesian Leid Boord, a Heich Heidyin o tha Euraip Biroo o Unner-Docht Leids, an tha Sécetrie o tha Commättie set up wi tha Dutch Mänistrie til owresee tha daein o tha Covénant in thon kintra, is fur takin on tha owreseein o tha Covénant's daeins forbye. Nick Gardner, a deacon o leid larnin wi tha Mänistrie o Schuilis an Larnin o tha Basque Lanesel Residentèrs, is fur taakin anent quhit siccar foonds leid ettlers maun hae.

English Version

MAJOR LANGUAGE CONFERENCE

The discussion on the development of a language policy for Northern Ireland will receive a major fillip when a conference on the theme Our Language Heritage in Europe will be held in Belfast City Hall on Friday, 23 October 1998. The conference is being organised by the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages, the Ultach Trust and the Ulster Scots Language Society.

Speakers have been invited from abroad to share their expertise and experiences with those involved in conserving and promoting Northern Ireland’s language heritage.

Philip Blair, a native of Co. Down, will speak on the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. Mr. Blair is the senior official in the Cabinet of the Council of Europe’s Secretary General responsible for the implementation of the Charter. The UK Government announced in June that it intended to sign and ratify the Charter. Also speaking on monitoring the implementation of the Charter is Alex Riemersma, a Co-Director of Beria foar it Fryske, the Frisian language board, a Director of the European Bureau and the Secretary of the Committee established by the Netherlands’ Government to monitor the implementation of the Charter in that country. Nick Gardner, an expert on language teaching in the Department of Education of the
Basque Autonomous Community, will speak on the essential elements of language planning.

**APPENDIX TWO: Minimally-Differentiated Ulster-Scots Text and English Translation**

'Mem'ries o oul Newtownards' by Hugh Robinson (*Ullans Nummer 5 Simmer* 1997, pgs7-12)

Noo, Ah suppose iverybody haes a hame-toon. A hame-toon or village, or some wee place that in their hairt o hairts they ca hame. The place we were born in, the place o sweet chilehuid mem'ries, the friens we grew up wi, an the schuils we gaed tae.

Fer me, thon place is Newtownards, Newton as we ca'ad it, in the sweet Coonty Doon. Ah was born here. Sae was my parents, an ma ain weans, and their weans. Yin belovit dauchter, Donna, lies in the cemetery at the oul Movilla Abbey. Aye. There's monie things that binds ma hairt tae this place.

Ah was born in Greenwell Street. Ah wunner what history lies in that name. What daes the Greenwell mean? Tae me it paints a picture o a cool clear wal o spring water, a leafy loanen, and a clatter o wee hooses scattered aboot. Noo. maybe it wasny really like that. But it micht hae been.

Hitler's war o mass-murder an extermination was still ragin in Europe whun Ah was born in Greenwell Street. Ma faither, Frank, like mony ither brave men o the toon pit on a uniform an went tae fecht for liberty an peace. Like mony ither, he didny cum bak. His name, an theirs, can be foon on the War Memorial at the oul Bowlin Green in Castle Street.

**English Translation**

'Memories of old Newtownards’

Now, I suppose everybody has a home town. A home town or village, or some little place that in their heart of hearts they call home. The place we were born in, the place of sweet childhood memories, the friends we grew up with, and the schools we attended.

For me, that place is Newtownards, Newton we called it, in the sweet County Down. I was born there. So were my parents, and my own children, and their children. One beloved daughter, Donna, lies in the cemetery at old Moville Abbey. Yes. There are many things that bind my heart to this place.

I was born in Greenwell Street. I wonder what history lies in that name. What does the Greenwell mean? To me it paints a picture of a cool clear well of spring water, a leafy lane, and a group of little houses scattered about. No, maybe it wasn't really like that. But it might have been.

Hitler's war of mass-murder and extermination was still raging in Europe when I was born in Greenwell Street. My father, Frank, like many other brave men of the town, put on a uniform and went to fight for liberty
and peace. Like many others, he didn't come back. His name, and their’s, can be found on the War Memorial at the old Bowling Green in Castle Street.
McCoy and O'Reilly: The Ulster Scots language movement

References


McCoy and O'Reilly: The Ulster Scots language movement


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Ecstasy Culture and Youth Subculture in Cork’s Northside.
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Ecstasy is a small pill that produces a chemical sense of euphoria and general well being, accompanied by an abundance of energy. Yet this drug has taken on a far greater significance in Cork: Ecstasy has become a symbolic and vital part of Cork’s Northside youth culture and social identity. In this article I examine the Ecstasy culture in Cork and its role in Northside youth subculture.

The fieldwork for this article was based mainly in the Northside community of Ballyglass. I interviewed several Ballyglass adolescents about their personal experiences with Ecstasy use, the rave culture, and to place the culture in perspective, about growing up in the Northside. The following paper is based on these transcribed interviews, and I draw examples from these interviews throughout the paper. There are four separate interviews that I quote from: one was conducted with a group of Ballyglass teenage girls, “Cory,” “Shannon,” “Aisling,” and “Sheila,” all of whom have taken Ecstasy. A second interview was held with a group of Ballyglass teenage boys “Michael,” “Martin,” and “Mark,” two of whom take Ecstasy on a regular basis. The third was held with “Steven,” a frequent Ecstasy user and small time dealer who grew up in Ballyglass. The final interview was with “Natasha,” 19 year-old Cork University student and friend of Steven, who was heavily involved in the Rave/Ecstasy scene in both Cork and Dublin. I also conducted several interviews with Northside parents and Cork residents, but I do not have transcribed versions of these interviews.

While writing this paper, I have often referred back to my sources to check the accuracy of my ideas, and I have tried to make my portrayals as accurate and unbiased as possible. Please note that in the following paper, “Ecstasy” and “E” will be used interchangeably. Due to the sensitive nature of the topics, the names of informants and any establishments mentioned have been changed. The clubs mentioned in this paper will be called ‘The Playground’ and ‘The Tree House,’ and the name of the Northside neighbourhood discussed in this paper has been changed to Ballyglass.

Growing up in Ballyglass: Youth Perspectives and Social Identity

The research for this paper focuses on the youth perspective of the Northside neighbourhood of Ballyglass and the rave scene strongly associated with Northside youth culture. The young people growing up in this neighbourhood are always linked with joyriders, ravers, Ecstasy, drug use, and the Cork rave scene that takes place in a well known club, “The Playground.” Although there are several neighbourhoods in the Northside, Ballyglass is the neighbourhood most strongly linked with any Northside image. Michael, one of the Ballyglass informants, explained, “The Northside of Cork is Ballyglass. ...There’s other places in the Northside as well, but
when 'Northside' is mentioned, the 'Northside' is Ballyglass.’’ When I asked the girls I interviewed how they would define a Northsider, Shannon said, “They’re from Ballyglass.”

Most of the images and stereotypes concerning the Northside and Ballyglass in particular are negative. Ballyglass is viewed as a rough and dangerous neighbourhood, associated with low income, high unemployment, vandalism, and drug dealing. The commonly accepted view is that the problems Ballyglass has are limited to the Northside, and do not encompass other parts of the city of Cork.

Ballyglass residents Michael and Mark believe that Ballyglass’s image adds to its problems. They explained that people that are seeking drugs come to Ballyglass because Ballyglass is associated with high drug use. This consequently creates an increase in drug traffic in Ballyglass and results in a greater presence of drugs in the Northside neighbourhoods. This increased drug presence has a direct impact on the youth of Ballyglass, as the girls explain in the following two excerpts:

Q: Do you think that growing up in the Northside, or in Ballyglass, is different from growing up in any other city in Ireland?

Cory: It would be, all right.

Aisling: ...they’re growing into an environment with drugs anyway, like, so they’re growing up different.

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Cory: But even when we were younger there wasn’t as much cars and stuff compared to now, like. [This refers to the burnt out cars left by joyriders.]

Aisling: And drugs. Drugs weren't-

Cory: Drugs weren’t that bad.

(Agreement from others)

Sheila: They were around but we wouldn't have heard of them...

Aisling: Yeah, I mean, there wasn’t so much dealers, like-

Shannon: With ten-year-olds, twelve-year-olds taking drugs now like-

Sheila, Aisling, & Cory: Yeah.

Shannon: Especially, ten-year-olds, they wouldn’t be into their E and hash and all... And ah, all our age then take E's and hash and trips, d’ya know, and speed now is coming out as well...

Increased availability is accompanied by an increase in drug use among the young people exposed to this environment. Mark noted, “In a year, a lot has changed, like, you [young people in Ballyglass] take them [Ecstasy tablets] much quicker now than you would a year ago, and next year they’ll even be younger again, probably like.”

The interviewees from Ballyglass estimated that seventy to eighty percent of the Ballyglass youth take Ecstasy. They said kids start taking Ecstasy between the ages of twelve and thirteen, and many of the youth I
interviewed believe that age to be dropping every year. By the time they are eighteen, Aisling said, “they’re addicted to it.”

Although growing up in Ballyglass is not without its problems, the interviewees also expressed a strong pride in their Northsider identity and a strong sense of unity and community. Michael stated, “all Northsiders stick together.” The girls discussed the sense of unity and camaraderie in their neighbourhood. Shannon explained, “The neighbours are everything... It’s like they’re all one family up here...They’d all back up for each other up here, d’ya know?”

I asked Natasha, who grew up in the Northside of Dublin, to compare Cork Northsiders with Dublin Northsiders. She explained, “There’s more of an identity thing with being from the Northside in Cork than you’d notice in Dublin. ... you know, there really is more of [pause], an identity thing! You know, it’s like, ’I’m from the Northside, I’m tough, I’ll fuckin’ kill you!’ She also described the Cork Northside as a close-knit community, adding “They’re nice, you know, they’re just, they’re the nicest people in the world. Because they all live so close to each other, in estates, they’re all friendly with each other. I was going to say this great community spirit, but that’s such a horrible cliché.”

Northside vs. Southside

The Ballyglass informants saw this interview as an opportunity to express and emphasise the good things about Ballyglass, and to dispel the negative images they believe Southsiders have of their neighbourhood. At the end of the interview with the Ballyglass girls, I asked if there was anything else anyone wanted to add. With the idea in mind that this interview would be read by “the UCC, who’re out in the Southside,” they ended the interview with the statement, “Ballyglass’s not as bad as what it’s made out to be!”

The interviews included a lot of discussion about attitudes towards Northsiders, Southsiders, and their respective opinions of each other. Jansen explains this concept of outside and inside perspectives of a culture as the “esoteric-esoteric factor in folklore.” Folklore in this definition signifies the elements of a group's culture and beliefs that come from outside any formal, institutionalised educational forces (Jansen, 1965:45). The “esoteric” factor applies to what a group thinks about itself and what it believes others to think about it. “Exoteric” concerns how one group thinks of another (Jansen, 1965:46). Natasha explained:

Northside people are generally seen as the normal working class people. It all depends on where you’re from. If someone asks you where you’re from and you say somewhere on the Northside, if they’re from the Southside, they’ll think you’re common, if they’re from the Northside they’ll think you’re cool. Cause you know the way we all think that the people from the Southside are posh. For me, Northside
people are what I think of as normal people, cause that's where I grew up, and they're the people I grew up with.

Mark and Michael believed that if they were to encounter a Southsider on the street, the Southsider would be afraid of them because they were from Ballyglass. Mark added, “And d’you know, there’s nothing to be afraid like. It’s just the name of up here, so. That’s it.”

The Northsiders I spoke to felt that the Southsiders had negative opinions of Northsiders, that some Southsiders were afraid of Northsiders, and that Southsiders were always ‘putting them down.’ Steven remarked, “Say now, if the paper put up a headline. It’d be about something bad if it was a big headline. If something good, then it’s in a small box; something positive, like.” “Yeah,” Michael agreed, “...it’s just a load of exaggeration—them putting us down again.”

A sort of us-versus-them attitude was expressed throughout the interviews. When I asked if there were differences between the Northside and the Southside as regards the amount of drugs used, Aisling remarked, “It’s not really much different from the Southside because they take as much drugs as we do.” Shannon added to this, “We can’t be putting ourselves down just for them, like.” In a more lighthearted comment, Cory pronounced “everyone up here, like, likes a good time. D’ya know, they likes going out and enjoying themselves, whereas everyone in the Southside—they’re too high up, and everything like that, to do that, so we enjoy ourselves more than them. In other words, [she joked] we hate them.” The Northside-versus-Southside attitude is reflected Cork’s in club scene.

The Cork Club Scene

The major rave scene in Cork takes place every Saturday in ‘The Playground,’ a well known club in Cork city. On Saturdays, the club is considered a Northsider club. The girls explained:

Cory: ...when we’re going around The Playground we’d know everyone, d’ya know, they’re all from the Northside-
Sheila: ’Cause they’re all from here, like.
Cory: They’re all from Ballyglass, like, it’s pure Northsider disco, whereas-
Aisling: So we’d go into that disco. We’d go into that disco knowing that everyone’s going to be on drugs, knowing that we know everyone in there.
(laughter)
Aisling: No, seriously! We would though!
Cory: Yeah, I mean like, whereas The Tree House, the exact amount of people, like, take the drugs up there, but we wouldn't go in there at all because they're all Southside. D'ya know, we keep separate, like... Northsiders always stick with the Northsides...

While The Playground is the designated Northsider place, The Tree House, another rave club in Cork, has come to be regarded as the "Southside" place. Aisling remarked that if they were to attend The Tree House, they'd be immediately labeled as Northsiders by the regulars of that club. Aisling explained, "Like, there's a disco that we go to, and half the people, most of the people in the Tree House, they're all Southsiders, they go straight away, oh they're from the Northside, d'you know what I mean?"

A person’s choice in clubs can become a personality assessment. The following anecdote is a personal experience that exemplifies this: Natasha and I had just left The Playground one Saturday night. As we were walking down the main street in Cork, two young men approached us. They began attempting various chat-up lines, and then asked, "So where have you girls been tonight?" When we answered "The Playground," they exchanged glances, said, "Right. Bye!" turned, and walked very quickly away. The name of the club we had attended caused an instant (and rather amusing) reaction.

Recreational habits have become part of youth identity in Cork: the youth who attend The Playground identify themselves with the other ravers and Northsiders that habituate The Playground. They believe others see them as tough and unified, and will consequently leave them be. Playgrounders in general view all other club goers, those that don't go to The Playground, as stuck-up, posh, Southsiders, and in the more negative descriptions, posers. Club goers that don't attend Saturdays at The Playground see Playground ravers as "knackers." They associate The Playground with trouble-makers, drug dealers, high drug use, and fights. UCC students have often described The Playground to me as “a real Northsiders’ place,” a description that is meant to be negative. Non-Northside have told me that it is dangerous for anyone not from the Northside to go to the Playground on Saturdays.

On Saturdays The Playground is a Northsider club, but on this night the club is also qualified as a "rave." Thus the people who attend are "ravers" as well as "Northsiders." It's assumed that the people in The Playground on Saturdays are taking Ecstasy. The girls commented:

Cory: Everyone inside The Playground take drugs, right? Well, nearly everyone now, like.
Aisling: Everyone.

As a designated rave scene, The Playground is legendary among club-goers. Natasha, who grew up in Dublin, remarked, "I've been hearing about The Playground since I was about 15. It's THE place to go, you know?"
reported that ravers would make the journey all the way from Dublin to attend a Saturday night at The Playground.

Although the rave scene in The Playground is not so different from rave scenes found in other major cities, what makes this scene unique is that it is a Northsider scene. The Playground is viewed as the heart and centre of the Cork rave scene, and it is also viewed as a Northsider club. Northsiders and ravers are firmly linked.

The following is an account of a typical Saturday night at The Playground. The Ecstasy terms used will be explained in a later section.

'The Playground on a Saturday Night'

The Playground is a drearily coloured building with boarded up windows. It looks as if it has seen better days, but now has fallen into a state of disrepair. The queue gathers outside the brightly painted door—the one spot of colour on the entire outside face. The club’s music is audible from the street. It is loud and fast, with a monotonous, steady beat. The people queuing outside are mainly between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four. Many are from the Northside. The two or three burly bouncers stand at the door, eyeing each person entering the club, demanding ID from those that look too young or that look suspect. The crowd waits impatiently, girls shivering in short skirts and shiny nylons, stamping their heeled boots to keep warm, as people without valid ID argue with the bouncers. A Playground employee stands just beyond the bouncers. She stops people at random and searches their pockets, checking for drugs. The clubbers purchase their tickets, hand them to the ticket collector, and enter The Playground. There is a dove (a symbol representing the most well known type of Ecstasy tablet) drawn by someone’s finger on one of the entrance door’s grimy window-panes. The inside is painted black—floors, walls, ceiling, and stage—and has a dingy, slightly dilapidated appearance to match the exterior. A few surrealistic designs are painted on the walls. The music inside the club is so loud that people can feel the beat throughout their bodies: conversation is now nearly impossible. The air inside The Playground is humid and warm from the body heat, breath, and perspiration of hundreds of dancing bodies. Coloured lights flash through the smoke-filled room, and ultra-violet lights on the walls give an eerie glow to the people dancing under them. There are the necessary bar, 'chill-out room', and above the dance floor, the DJ. He has on earphones, and is concentrating intently on his task of 'mixing the decks,' providing the music that is the centre and heartbeat of the rave. His skill in combining the rhythms and music from his various simultaneously playing records is essential to the success of the night for the rave-goer. The music is designed to accommodate the Ecstasy user’s ‘trip.’ The music at the start of the night is relatively mellow as the people are ‘coming up’ on their E's. The music builds over the course of a few hours, climaxing towards the last third of the evening, when people are in the height of their ‘buzz.’ The club goers respond to this build-up with whoops and whistles and yells. When the DJ plays the climax songs,
the dancers start cheering and yelling, and begin dancing with renewed vigour. The DJ continues to mix the most intense music of the night for the next quarter of an hour or so, and then he brings it back down to a slower pace, so that people will leave with a calmer buzz and be more prepared to face their come-down. The DJ ends the music around two a.m., and the dancers whistle and yell, applauding him in appreciation of the night’s entertainment and his skill. At this encouragement, the DJ usually adds one last song. Then the ravers leave the club with their friends in search of a hangout that is atmosphere-friendly to someone coming down from an E. This is very important to the Ecstasy user, because Ecstasy-unfriendly environments could induce bad buzzes and paranoia.

**E as Culture**

An entire subculture has been created around Ecstasy use and the rave scene, and the people that take Ecstasy and attend raves on a regular basis are part of this culture. The following sections will look at the culture surrounding Ecstasy use and the role that Cork’s Ecstasy/rave scene plays in Cork’s Northside youth subculture. Some of the cultural aspects that this article will address are rituals and customs, slang, urban legends and story telling, and the rave scene’s function as an adolescent rite of passage.

The lifestyle of a Cork raver follows a ritualized pattern. (Ritual here means an action that is customary and routine among the participants of the Ecstasy culture.) Ecstasy users generally take Ecstasy on the same night every week. They go raving with the same group of friends, usually to the same place. For most of the Ballyglass youth, this means going to The Playground on a Saturday night. Money is saved all week to buy Saturday’s Ecstasy tablets. The rest of the week is spent in debt, saving up for the next weekend. Cory explained, “Every week we nearly used all our money. We get into debt on a Saturday night, we get out of it on a Friday night and we’d get back into it on a Saturday night. It’d be the same thing every single week.” The ritual timing of the ingestion is also important. The raver takes his or her Ecstasy tablet “at the beginning of the night,” usually right before or right after the raver enters the club. This is done so that the Ecstasy user can synchronise his or her high with fellow ravers and with the music. If the E tablet is taken too soon, the taker will already be high while others are still waiting for the full effects of Ecstasy to begin. If the Ecstasy tablet is taken too late, the taker will still be high while others are coming down.

The Ecstasy tablet is perhaps the most symbolic component of this lifestyle. The Ecstasy culture is based on the objective of reaching an altered state of consciousness through chemical means, and being surrounded by others who are also in this same altered state. This state is reached by ingesting a little tablet that theoretically contains MDMA\(^1\). However, there is

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\(^1\) The drug Ecstasy (MDMA: methylene-dioxymethamphetamine) is structurally related to both stimulants and hallucinogens, but its effects are somewhat divergent from either. Ecstasy was originally invented for medicinal purposes, but modified by street chemists to form a new street drug, or ‘designer drug.’ Ecstasy evokes a feeling of
no quality control for illegal street drugs, and therefore many Ecstasy tablets contain none or very little of the actual drug MDMA. Still, a raver need not ingest MDMA to be a part of the rave scene: the raver need only ingest a pill that appears to be an Ecstasy tablet. As Paul Willis explains in *The Cultural Meaning of Drugs*, “drugs could be thought of as cultural placebos—keys to the experience, rather than the experience itself” (1976:107). Even placebo Ecstasy tablets are enough to bring the user into the world of E culture.

Dance music is a vital component of the rave scene. Mark stated, “There's no point in going buzzing without tunes, really.” Steve and Natasha explained how Ecstasy and dance music work together:

**Steve:** Ecstasy is energy, d'ya know, and energy is dance music, and dance music is fast and Ecstasy will make you dance fast, d'ya know... 'cause the music is so fast, and everyone's on drugs...

**Natasha:** And it makes you happy.

**Steve:** It makes you happy.

**Natasha:** The music and the drugs together make you happy.

**Steve:** Perfect mix. It's like a DJ doing the decks, ya know?

Ravers have created terminology to describe various aspects of the Ecstasy culture. There are words for, among other things, types of rave music and E tablets, E trips and drug-induced sensations. Rave music, for example, is categorised by intensity and characteristics: the names given to some varieties include “techno,” “jungle,” “trance,” “hard-core,” and “house.”

Several different kinds of Ecstasy tablets have been designed, each with their own name, symbol, degree of strength, and kind of trip. Mark explained how the different types of E had different affects: “when you come down, well... depends on the E. There’s different E’s: pearls, splashers and champagners...” The “dove” is the most well known type of Ecstasy tablet, and has become symbolic of E tablets in general.

The Ecstasy trip, or the effects felt while on Ecstasy, has three stages. The first stage is described as “coming up,” and pertains to the effects that the user notices as the drug begins to act on the body. The second stage is the Ecstasy high, or trip. The third stage is the “come-down.” This relates to the effects the Ecstasy user experiences when the Ecstasy high begins to subside. The E taker feels despondent and depressed, tired, cold, and sometimes cranky and paranoid.

euphoria and a general sense of well being. It can also produce a range of other effects, from the stimulant-like symptoms of high blood pressure, rapid heartbeat, profuse sweating, and agitation, to the hallucinogenic-like effects of paranoia, visuals, and erratic mood swings (American Red Cross, 1991:324). Frequent Ecstasy use causes weight loss, loss of appetite, bleeding gums, dehydration, mood swings and loss of interest in daily life, such as school or work. The long-term side-effects of Ecstasy are still unknown (Cohen, 1998; Tyler, 1995).
There are different kinds of Ecstasy trips. A “scag,” terminology borrowed from the heroin culture, is the word used by ravers to describe the effects of an Ecstasy tablet that is laced, most likely with heroin. Someone that’s “scagging” or having a “scaggy” trip feels dohey and slow and lacks the abundant energy that usually accompanies an Ecstasy trip. A “bogey” E is one that does not have any MDMA in it, and is sometimes comprised of merely baking soda or sugar. A “bad” E is one that may be fatal.

“Buzzing” means that a person is experiencing the high, or “the bang” induced by Ecstasy. The “bang” applies to the enjoyment of the high in all of its aspects, or sometimes more specifically, the initial enjoyment of the high. A “rush” is an intense, brief tingling sensation that travels throughout the body and is a desired effect of the Ecstasy drug. Rushes are difficult for the Ecstasy user to describe to non-users. The closest thing Natasha could compare it to was “a pleasant electric shock.” Mark said, “A rush then is a feeling of—a wave over you, d’you know, like? Just a brilliant feeling all over, like.” Michael explained; “It’s like a load of sugar running up through your body... Like your blood is pumping through your body, and you feel it tingling.”

“Giving someone a rush” means inducing the physical sensation of a rush by administering a massage to a fellow E-taker. A rush is given in a variety of ways. The rush-giver can perform this ritual by perhaps giving the receiver a back rub; a “rub-down,” which is the term given to a leg massage; or by helping the receiver to stretch. Complete strangers will give each other rushes; it’s all part of the scene inside a rave. Natasha gave her perspective on seeing this scene for the first time:

...if you're not on E, it's really scary. The first time I ever went... there were all these people making all these weird faces, and lifting each other off the ground, and pulling each other’s arms, and rubbing each other’s backs, and jumping around the place like lunatics, and I didn't know what was going on. I'd never been anywhere like that before.

To the experienced rave goer, seeing people giving each other rushes is commonplace. Another common nightly ritual is the raver greeting. Although people in The Playground generally don’t hold conversations, there is a basic greeting, that follows the pattern, “Hi, what’s your name? Where’re you from? You buzzing?” This gives the person questioned a personal identity and determines whether or not they are on Ecstasy. If the person to whom the question was directed responds affirmatively, indicating that they are in fact buzzing, then the two fellow ravers will usually smile and shake hands, hug, give each other a rush, or in some other way display their recognition and drug-induced affection for a fellow raver. Mark explains, “If he was buzzing, I’d come over to him and I’d say, ‘You buzzing?’, he'd say ‘Yeah’. We’d go ‘Yeah!’ and give each other a rush or something, like, d’ya know?” The greeting is more a symbolic act than a genuine inquiry into the person’s background. It doesn’t really matter what
the other person’s name is, as it will soon be forgotten. The conversation is held merely to identify very briefly with a fellow raver.

Other prevalent customs that add a sense of camaraderie to the rave scene are sharing water and whistle calling. Since water is essential to the Ecstasy user (a large portion of cases in which Ecstasy users have been hospitalized are due to dehydration), all Playgrounders share their water with each other, regardless of whether or not they know the person with whom they are sharing the water. The ravers also whistle and yell along with the music. Usually when one raver yells or whistles, another will yell or whistle in response. These customs are familiar to ravers and help bring about a sense of unity in the rave atmosphere.

The last term I’ll define, one of the more important rave culture terms, is “love buzz.” While on Ecstasy, the Ecstasy taker feels affection and love for everyone around them. The following conversation pertains to the presiding love buzz at a rave concert that took place in City Hall in Cork.

Mark: ...half the crowd in there would be from the Southside, and they’d all, well, normally, the people you meet would be on Ecstasy.
Michael: Yeah.
Mark: And you’d get on grand with them, like, cause you're buzzin’.
Michael: Cause you're buzzin’, exactly.
Michael: You could be the worst enemies now, and fighting all the time-
Mark: But there, it's just the love buzz.
Michael: But in there, now, it's just the “love buzz,” we call it, and just ah, “Sorry about that, buddy.” and hugging them...

The love buzz generated by the rave atmosphere produces a sense of harmony among all rave goers. Everyone gets along—Northsiders and Southsiders, even people who were normally “worst enemies.” Steven described how the love buzz can invoke a sense of friendship that exists solely in the rave scene:

...you're going to be loving everyone the whole of that night, but then, the next day, that person is different... People that are in the disco are... your best friends, but the next day they’re not on X-T-C, they will pass you on in the street, d’ya know, as if they didn’t see you the night before. But the feeling is in the scene, ya know. The people you know are all on drugs and everyone is happy because they're on E...

The love buzz echoes the description of a ‘communita’ presented by Turner in The Ritual Process (1969). Turner defines a communita as a relationship among a community of individuals in a common state of transition. This communita is unstructured, and contains no status roles. It is a state of peace, harmony, and brotherhood among all. This bond goes
beyond the camaraderie amid friends and acquaintances to something more profound, an experience that is communal and shared (Turner, 1969).

Turner sites examples of communitas in many different world religions and social scenes, including the Christian, Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist and Jewish communities, Gandhi’s harijans and even the hippie movement of the 60’s. In the following passage Turner discusses how the communitas of the hippie era were created:

Some attempts have been made fairly recently in America and Western Europe to re-create the ritual conditions under which spontaneous communitas may be... invoked. ...By the eclectic and syncratic use of symbols... and of 'mind-expanding' drugs, 'rock' music, and flashing lights, [people] try to establish a 'total' communion with one another. The often made etymological homology between the nouns 'existence' and 'ecstasy' is pertinent here; to exist is to 'stand outside'... To exist is to be in ecstasy (1969:138).

Although Turner published his book nearly fifteen years before the arrival of widespread Ecstasy use and the rave culture, there are strong parallels between the hippie culture and the rave culture. The symbolic act of ingesting an Ecstasy tablet, the mind-expanding drugs, rock music, and flashing lights all help to create the communita environment of a rave. The 'total communion' is established by the 'love buzz' created between Ecstasy users. Ravers 'stand outside' structured society by taking part in recreational activities that are considered inappropriate or unacceptable by adults and non-drug users. Natasha reflected on this during her interview: “You know, it's like it's your own little underground thing. It's totally socially unacceptable, but in a way, it's socially acceptable to the people you're with, you know?” The adolescents that participate in the rave culture and take Ecstasy are part of a unified group that goes against acceptable societal norms and standards of behaviour.

Turner explains that the communita environment is invoked by people in a state of transition, and that this state of transition between one stage of structured society and another is a rite of passage. Rites of passage are most commonly associated with adolescence and the transformation from childhood to adulthood (Turner, 1969). Drug use can sometimes function as an adolescent rite of passage (The All-Party Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology as cited in Craig, 1996:14; Bratter as cited in Cohen, 1998:1). The rave scene therefore serves as a rite of passage in two ways: it creates a liminal communita environment for adolescents in a state of transition, and it incorporates ritualized drug use.

A rite of passage marks a signification change or transition in a person’s life. Natasha explained how taking Ecstasy changed her lifestyle:

When I started taking E first, it had a wonderful effect on my life. My social circle grew extremely huge, 'cause once you start buzzing, then
for some reason you instantly meet all these other people that buzz, and you meet them everywhere you go. You totally move in this one big huge circle of drug people. And it’s really new and exciting and different, you know? And it’s really good! Really exciting! You know? It’s like everyone's living in this mad fantasy world. Nothing bad's ever going to happen to you, ‘CAUSE YOU TAKE E.

Mark and Michael discussed how Ecstasy use affected their schoolwork:

Mark: I have no interest in school. I am like, in the sixth year, doing my leaving cert. Sitting in class, I don't know Maths. I don't know anything. I'm just sitting there. And every, the people around me like, are trying to work as well, like, and I'm just sitting there, I mean, not taking in nothing. My mind is on something else. It affects your life, I tell ya.

Michael: Yeah. Cause, I wasn't taking them at all this time last year... and I was moved up then to the top class, and I worked in that class, and then I came back to the same class this year, and just everything went away... and just people that don't take it [Ecstasy] would laugh and say 'he's stupid, he's going to fail, he's stupid', so. I mean, the way I'm going, I think I am going to fail in my Junior Cert.

One of the life changing aspects of E mentioned by every E user I interviewed was the addictive quality of Ecstasy. The following is Natasha’s account:

Sometimes it makes you feel like it's after taking away your whole personality. That's when all the horrible depression shit starts. It makes you feel really depressed. 'Cause you really do feel like it's after robbing your life on you. There's nothing you can do about it because you know you're going to go out and take more. 'Cause then you have nothing. You don't, E's after taking your life. If you don't take E, then what've you got? You've no life, and you've no E. You've nothing at all.

Every single Ecstasy user stated that if asked, they would strongly advise others against taking Ecstasy. They gave two reasons: the detrimental affects it had on their health, and its addictive quality. Everyone who takes Ecstasy, they all told me, is convinced that they will only try it once, just to see what it’s like, but won’t be able to stop taking Ecstasy once they’ve tried it. The following excerpt is from the girls’ interview:

Q: And what would you say to someone that was going to start taking it?
Shannon: Don't.
Cory: I'd advise you not to.
Sheila, Aisling, Shannon: Don't.
Q: How come?
Aisling: Because they're not good for you, like.
Shannon: They're addictive.
Cory: 'Cause your first one is outstanding and you want to go and go and go and you never want to stop-
Shannon: You want to go again-
Sheila: And you'll say I just want to take them once (Cory: Once.) and see what it's like. But you won't though. You'll just keep taking them.
Cory: Everyone says that.
Shannon: You just can't.

All of the Ecstasy users I spoke with said that they'd love to stop using Ecstasy, but they couldn't. When I asked them why they continued to use Ecstasy, every single Ecstasy user gave the exact same reply, “For the Bang.” Cory's elaboration of this answer best summarizes the answers that all the interviewees gave:

For a good dancing bang the whole night long and you love everyone, the atmosphere is brilliant then, like, when you're on them. D'ya know, especially now if everyone is on them around you, like a rave now, or something like that, you know, the atmosphere is fantastic, like. You'll be dancing for the night. You wouldn't be able to sit down, and you'll be loving everyone, like, and everyone's like that, like. There's never any fights, d'you know, or anything like that like. And you don't care about no one, you don't care what you do...

They explained that once they had taken Ecstasy and been involved in the rave scene, it just wasn't the same without E.

Shannon: ...I went to a rave there now before and I wasn't even on them, and they were all on them, and... I didn't feel different or anything.
Cory: You don't really care, like, but then when-
Shannon: When you start taking them, you know what you're missing out on.
Cory: -then when you take them yourself and you're not taking them and everyone's buzzing, you get freaked out of your head! (The girls all laughed)

Q: And why do you keep on taking them?
Mark: 'Cause... once you start taking it,
Michael: You can't imagine a disco without it.
Mark: You can't imagine, that's exactly it, you can't imagine a disco without it.
Michael: You're dependent on it.
Mark: ...once you start taking it you're going in, it's brilliant and you're on E... so you have to keep on taking them because if you went into the disco without one, like, you won't enjoy yourself as you used to, before you were on any drugs.

Michael: Yeah. Plus, you just can't imagine the disco without Ecstasy inside in it, like, you can't imagine be buzzing-
Mark: Exactly. You're looking around and everyone is buzzing.
Michael: Yeah, and you're walking around, shaking hands-
Mark: And you have to be on the same buzz to get on with them.
Michael: And you're just dependent on them, like. You have to have them.

This last statement echoes Dusek and Girdano’s definition of drug addiction. They concluded their definition with the statement, “The bottom line of addiction is dependency” (1980:20).

Michael: I was just after going on fifteen, when I started, you know, I just said I’d go for my birthday, and I thought it was good, kept on going then, and, they say they're not addictive-
Mark: Once you pop, you can't stop!
Michael: Like they say in the Pringles ad. I don't think they're addictive, like, but you depend on them [emphasis added].

The addictive quality of Ecstasy is one aspect of the Ecstasy culture that functions as a rite of passage. This behavior separates Ecstasy users from the socially acceptable standards of structured society, but at the same time, creates a sense of unity and group identity among the participants of the E culture. Only other members of the E culture will fully accept the behaviors exhibited by fellow users, and only other Ecstasy users can truly understand the experiences and ordeals incurred by Ecstasy use.

Negative side-affects are another aspect of Ecstasy use shared by members of the Ecstasy culture. A raver who forgot to bring something chewable is easily recognised by the self-inflicted bite marks appearing on his or her lips the next day. Aisling pointed out her tell-tale bite marks during the interview, declaring, “Look what happened to my mouth over them.” Chewed lips, bleeding gums, loss of appetite, prominent cheekbones (due to weight loss), mood swings, and bad come downs are some of the ordeals that initiate a person into the Ecstasy culture. Talking about these side-effects is one way they share their experiences from the night before.

Ecstasy use also opens up a whole forum for story telling among peers. Story sharing can be reassuring, as it can provide a coping mechanism for dealing with the fears of the risks involved in taking Ecstasy. Natasha explained, “[if] someone goes, 'Oh yeah, that happened to me too', you think, 'that's OK, I'm not going to die from this,' you know? ‘It happens to everyone, it's OK'.” Cory noted, “I'd say in one way like there's fear all right,
because they’re saying like, please say it happened to one of you as well, that
you were starting imagining things as well like…”

Several urban legends have also arisen out of the Ecstasy culture. Some of
the ones mentioned in the interviews concerned the effects Ecstasy could
have on the user. I was told it sometimes causes blood to boil, brains and
organs to burst, that it causes the spinal fluid to drain and permanently alters
long-term users’ personalities. Nearly every Ecstasy-taker has a friend or a
friend-of-a-friend that collapsed while on Ecstasy, sometimes going into
epileptic fits. There are also stories of people who have taken a phenomenal
number of Ecstasy tablets in one night. Some of these people died and others
lived. Of those that lived, as the story goes, some suffered permanent
psychological damage, while others, the legend teller insists, are fine. (Other
Ecstasy takers will often dispute the tale, saying that nobody can take that
many E tablets and live.)

But mainly, story telling is a way of sharing the experience of Ecstasy
with other users. Shannon explained, “…when you’re tripping, you’d want
everyone to see what you’re seeing…” Sheila added, “and they might even
be seeing it.”

Sharing these drug stories gives them something to have in common
and makes them part of a group. And, Cory explained, they enjoyed telling
stories, “for the laugh.” The following excerpts are some of the stories that
came up during the interviews:

Natasha: ’Course, I was kissing someone’s runners one night when I
was off my head. I was! And then I fell in love with a leaf one night. I
brought it home with me and I brought it to bed with me, ya know?
This fuckin’ leaf. And I brought it to work with me the next day and
someone put it in the bin on me. It was beautiful, it was a-
Steven: -awhhh
Natasha: -a silver leaf, I brought it-
Steven: A funeral, a funeral, did you want a funeral? You were sad?
Natasha: That was horrible, you get a love buzz for something and
someone takes it off you! It’s a bit poxy, isn’t it?
Steven: My buddy was dealing hash to a banister one day, all right. A
coat banister. He was fully convinced that the coat banister was a
person, looking for a deal, ya know? ...

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Shannon: we went up to XYZ one time-
Sheila: And we thought we were in a picture
Shannon: -and we all thought we were in a picture, and there I was,
guys, look at him, he’s flying...

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Shannon: …the lights freaked this fellow, he thought the lights were
choosing him inside Playground’s and he was ducking down
It's like, you feel like you're actually involved in the youth culture of [today]. Cause you know the way in the sixties there was all them hippies and all, and now it's rave and E, and we can look back then, in about twenty years then and say we were in that!

The following is a local example of this sense of group identity and unity. During my research for this paper, I was watching an RTE documentary on Ecstasy and Cork’s rave culture with a large group of young people from Cork, several of whom took Ecstasy. The RTE programme discussed increased Ecstasy use in Cork. It focused on drug dealers in the Northside, and concentrated on one pub in particular, a pub notorious for the abundance and easy availability of drugs associated with its name. This pub had recently been closed down, and the news reporter used the boarded up front of this pub as a backdrop for his broadcast. At one point in the broadcast, the camera focused on the words “RAVERS UNITE” written in spray paint across the boarded-up door. All the people in the room cheered as soon as they saw the spray painted words. This message had a much stronger affect than anything the news reporter said about Ecstasy use and its dire effects on the youth of Cork.
In The Subcultures Reader, Sarah Burton explains the role of youth subcultures: “subcultural ideologies are means by which youth imagine their own and other social groups, assert their distinctive character and affirm that they are not anonymous members of an undifferentiated mass” (1997:201). Ecstasy culture is a key part of youth culture in the UK and Ireland, but in Cork, the rave scene has become a much more localised phenomenon. Ecstasy and ravers are associated with Northsiders, and more particularly, Northside youth from Ballyglass. The major rave scene in Cork City, ‘The Playground on a Saturday Night,’ is a Northsider scene. The young people involved in this scene are differentiated from society by two labels, ‘Northsider’ and ‘raver.’ Although a large majority of young people in Cork take E, there is not the same sense of local shared identity as that found among Northsiders in The Playground. The Northside ravers that attend this club have shaped social activities and drug use into a way to connect with other youth from the same area and economic class.

A youth subculture is a means by which the youth respond to and create meaning out of the circumstances in which they are placed by society. They create solutions, imaginary or otherwise, to the problems they face (Clarke et al., 1981). Northsiders are separated from dominant society by the Northside label and by being part of the rave scene. They have responded to and made meaningful their place in society by being part of a group that has its own culture and sense of identity. As ravers, they are part of the rave culture, and as Northsiders, they are part of the Northside youth culture. These two cultures meet in The Playground. The following discussion looks at how Northside youth are marginalised from dominant society and some of the ways that the Northside youth culture responds to this.

Cork’s Northside is physically marked by the River Lee, which separates the Northside from the rest of Cork City. However, a person is not a Northsider solely because they live on the Northside—there are many social distinctions that separate Northsiders as well. Youth identity in Cork is a mixture of socio-geographical location and recreational habits, self-image and projected stereotypes. When I asked the Ballyglass interviewees to define what the Northsider label meant to them and how Northsiders were different than other Cork City inhabitants, Cory declared matter-of-factly, “You’d know the difference between Northsiders and Southsiders.” When I asked the girls what were some of the distinctions, Aisling and Shannon mentioned high drug use. The girls also included “clothes,” “their appearance,” “and the way they talk.”

One of the most distinctive characteristics of a Northsider is the Northside dialect. I asked Michael, Mark, and Martin, “if there was somebody walking down the street and they were a Northsider, would you know right away?” They replied:

**Mark:** By the accent you might. The slang, like-
**Michael:** Yeah, the slang of the accent. Ballyglass really has its own language.
Martin: You’d salute him first and see what his reaction would be.
Michael: And they’d be there [he puts on a heavy Ballyglass accent] 'Alright Shammer, what's the story fien.'

Regarding style of dress, Cory explained, “...they used to call Ballyglass Olympic City. D'ya know, 'cause everyone up in Ballyglass used to wear runners and track suits, d'ya know... they used to be calling it Olympic city, you know, like where the ravers would go.” Shannon added, “Now it's known as Paradise, d'you know, Gangster's Paradise.”

The youth interviewed all felt that the Northside label bore definite distinctions that separated Northsiders from the rest of Cork. Their response to this labelisation was to find a source of identity and pride in their Northsider label. The following is an excerpt from the Ballyglass boys' interview. (The Ballyglass girls gave similar replies.)

Q: And would you feel like you're a 'Northsider,' like you have this identity attached to you?
Mark: I do. I'm proud!
Michael: Yeah.
Mark: Not proud of what’s going on like, but proud of being a Northside person.
Michael: I'm proud of being a Northsider.
Martin. Yeah.
Mark: Proud of being up from Ballyglass.

One of the interesting things I encountered in the interviews was the dual image the interviewees often presented of the Northside. In one part if the interview, they would say the Northside image of higher drug use, drug dealing and stolen cars was true to life, and later in the interview they would refute this. Shannon, for example, stated a few times that drug presence and drug use were much higher in the Northside, but later declared, “No, it's the exact same as everywhere, as everywhere else, except that Ballyglass has a bad reputation.” The following excerpt is another example of a conflicting account concerning the availability of drugs in the neighbourhood:

Shannon: I mean like, out in the Southside now, if you want to look for drugs you’d have to go far, somewhere else, but up in Ballyglass, now, all we have to do is knock on our next door neighbour's house, or in our own house, and there's drugs there.
Aisling: It's true though, like nearly in every terrace you see, that there's dealers, like my next door neighbour, he's a dealer.
Cory: But I mean there's only a small quantity of people who's like that, like there's loads of people up around here. Don't go away with the impression like that every one, second house like, is dealing or anything like. It's just a small number of people, a small crowd that's giving it a bad name.
Identity became a selection process for these Ballyglass youth. They associated themselves with the Northside identity, and at the same time, distanced themselves from various aspects of this identity. They were constantly re-choosing what aspects of the Northside image were meaningful and redefining which facets of their culture they felt were most representative. Overall, the positives mentioned by the Northside youth outweighed any of the negative things they had to say about their neighbourhood:

Mark: Growing up I love it here. I think growing up here is an experience you have to know.
Michael: Yeah. It teaches you something in life.
Mark: Yeah. You know how to deal with things anyway.

A subculture creates solutions to the problems that the youth of that subculture face in society. So what are some of the problems that the Northside youth face and what are the solutions they’ve come up with? Some of the problems that the youth of Ballyglass face are high unemployment, low paying jobs, social alienation, and the negative images and stereotypes that surround them. Michael observed, “…sometimes it will get you down then, what people say about you. You can be one of the quietest people in Ballyglass and they’d still say you’re taking drugs and robbing cars and stuff like that.” Northside youth are often stereotyped as joy riders and frequent drug users. Michael commented:

...other people [non-Northsiders] ...they’d be saying “Ah, sure you're probably robbing cars, and what kind of car was out last night? Where did you rob it from? Mine’s gone missing, do you know anything about that?” D’ya know? Or “Who’s selling these drugs” and who’s taking drugs and all that. That’s what you get from other people.

The following excerpts contain Michael, Mark, and Martin’s perspectives on the affect that stereotypes and environment have on the Northside youth:

Mark: It affects young children all right I’d say.
Michael: …the younger children now that are growing up now, the past few years, they get used to the bad name, and all the things that are going with it.
Martin: When their moms ask them what they want to be when you grow up, you know, they’re all ‘joy riders' and, you know? ...
Mark: …where I come from now, over the other side of Ballyglass, it was fierce, it was fierce rough, d’you know, growin’ up like, and there used to be robbed cars in my terrace every night. And my brother was robbing cars, you know. My brothers now, you know, the two of them
are in jail, like. And um, it affects my younger brother, like, seeing them in jail...

Drug use and the rave scene provide an ‘imaginary solution’ to these problems. Steven and Natasha both stated that Ecstasy use provides a form of escapism. The books *Substance Misuse in Adolescence* by Adams, Gullotta, and Montemayor, and *Drug Education* by Dusek and Girdano discuss influential factors relating to drug use among adolescents. Dusek and Girdano listed high unemployment and “social alienation”, or the alienation of a group from the dominant society (1980:24). Other factors are boredom and curiosity (Adams et al., 1995; Dusek & Girdano, 1980). Michael remarked of Ballyglass, “You know, nearly everyone you talk to, nearly every teenager you talk to is after trying it and they’re saying it’s the best thing in the world, and you know, so, that tempts other people into taking them, like.” The Northside parents I talked to said that there is ‘nowhere to go and nothing to do’ for the kids in Ballyglass, and that this greatly adds to the amount of drug use. The younger people I spoke with strongly agreed.

The Ecstasy culture also serves as rite of passage by creating a communita environment that provides a niche for youth in a state of transition. The culture of the rave scene breaks away from childhood activities but separates the Northside adolescents from the adult world. Ecstasy use not only provides a means of entertainment and the experience of a new and different kind of altered awareness, it also provides a sense of euphoria and well being, and gives the user a sense of identity as part of contemporary youth culture.

This youth culture has developed symbols and jargon to describe otherwise indescribable sensations and experiences. The participants of this culture share stories of nights out at clubs and raves, of come downs and strange drug experiences. They have created an environment of escapism set outside of the reality of everyday life, and they are part of a social phenomenon created by the mixing of mind altering substances, music, and recreational habits. The youth belonging to this sub-culture belong to a group that stands outside socially accepted norms, but shares a sense of belonging within its own sub-society.

A person from the Northside, and more specifically, Ballyglass, is socio-geographically defined by where she or he is from. A young person that takes Ecstasy and attends raves bears the label “raver” and is defined by society based on recreational habits and choice in lifestyle. Many of the youth from Ballyglass are involved in Cork’s rave scene, and therefore bear the double label of Northsider and raver. The Northside youth have made the major rave scene in Cork City, The Playground on a Saturday night, *their* rave scene. The Northsider ravers have formed their own youth sub-culture that combines Ecstasy culture and group identity.
References


Willis, Paul E.  
Elmdale: a search for an understanding of community through protest and resistance

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Yeah, these people (community developers) say there is no community. They’re all on about, “we’ll make you a community, without realising it actually is there. It might be underneath. It mightn't be like years ago with gangs of women saying, let's have a street party. To me community is like as I’ve said - it's the basics - it's your neighbours, do you know wha’ I mean. Now when I say your neighbours, I’m not necessarily talking about the way it used to be on my mother’s road. To me, it’s not the community centre. It's not the Bungalow (Local resource centre), cause I might not ever set foot in the Bungalow for a year solid, but if something's gone wrong or something is needed whether it is a child’s football club - as much as people give out - people will rally round. At the moment, to me, community is Elmdale. Have you heard what's going on there at the moment? That, to me, is community. That's like saying, 'well we don't agree with it." Now most of them people up there haven't spoke to one another and it's a very small estate and wouldn't have associated with one another but they are all standing now and going, “no we're not having it.” To me that's community - when it's needed it all comes together.

This piece of narrative conveys much of what we now consider to be essential to ideas of community in anthropology today. It illustrates a concept that is contested, complex, altering, and part of a process that has its roots in a known past. The idea of community is, at times, thrown into relief by common needs and resistances to powerful structures. At other times, a sense of community seems to recede, intangible by social difference, ardent fragmentation and anomie. However altering a concept, it has been to a large extent the hallmark of ethnographic work in Ireland.

Much of ‘Irish’ ethnography over the past century has concerned itself with representations of Irish community life as prominently rural, systemic and unwavering from the paths of tradition and family as axes of explanation. This tradition of ethnographic research has emerged either structuralist representations of static, homogeneous communities: a view from ‘abroad’, eager to package the Irish into neat and understandable stereotypes or presentations of declining peasant culture and rural anomie (Arensberg & Kimball 1940; Brody 1973; Messanger 1969; Scheper-Hughes 1979). Irish urban ethnography, on the other hand, has been quite marginal and neglected by outside interests in Irish society (Gmelch 1977; Humphreys 1966). While a
present-day focus still tends toward a view of Ireland that is largely rural, economic growth, the changing structures of urban planning, increased migration to Ireland’s urban centres with its concomitants of social change, crime, housing shortages etc. have begun to manifest more urban interests for ethnography in Ireland. This focus, however, maintains broader, generalised interests, such as, policy, politics, family and community (Gaetz 1997; Komito 1989; Troop 1999). Explorations which centre on micro-social analyses, human experiences, specificities of excluded lives and community life still tend to fall to the margins of contemporary ethnography. For those studies of Ireland, which have chosen to explore issues of community action and resistance, the inclination is still towards rural populations (Devereux, 1992; Varely 1991). Consequently, descriptions of community action in urban areas are rare “despite the existence of large numbers of people attempting to tackle a wide range of problems in Irish cities and towns” (Curtin et al. 1993).

This paper is, in some respects, a response; an attempt to portray, at a local level, the lives of people residing in Elmdale, an under-resourced, local authority housing estate in west Dublin. Fuelled by anger and a embittered attitude toward Dublin Corporation (effectively their landlords), fifty women blockaded the entrance to their estate for three and a half weeks to protest against and prohibit construction workers from gaining entry to build additional local authority housing. It is through this event of protest that an ideology of community is offered as a means to mark social division and mistrust of state intervention. What is most problematic from the perspective of anthropology is how to grasp the notion of community being harnessed to achieve these objectives.

Anthony Cohen in his many challenges to structuralist representations of community offers routes of access through notions of boundary and symbol.

As a symbol, it [community] is held in common by its members, but its meaning varies with its members’ unique orientations to it. In the face of this variability of meanings, the consciousness of community has to be kept alive through manipulation of its symbols. The reality and efficacy of the community boundary and therefore of community itself depends upon its symbolic construction and embellishment” (Cohen 1985:15).

In exploring this issue of community resistance, it is important to stress that what is at stake here is not that of a ‘community’ protesting, but the symbolic construction of community being employed and exercised in the act of protest and resistance. As an event, the Elmdale Blockade exists as a site for exploring a manifold of issues i.e., (a) ‘community’ resistance as a symbolic marker of community boundary; (b) the politicised performances of women as community voice; (c) the mutually reinforcing relationships between the state apparatus and local populations through processes of intervention and change. Further to the difficulty of working with ideas of community is a methodological concern underlying the differences between form and process.
The assertion of community as ‘thing’ (structural entity), and ‘process’ (as engaged in the passage of new becomings) must yield very different results. According to Harvey, “processes take precedence over things” and “we should think of things as products of processes” (Harvey 1997:21). For the people of Elmdale, their act of protest can also be constructed by Peircean theory, as part of a wider process of semeiosis. This enables an understanding of how resistance takes form from shared understandings of habitual structural interventions in the locality. Protest, as a ‘community’ convention is not simply a feature, an arbitrary characteristic of local behaviour, but an act to be informed and explained by its indexical aspect. This is graphically illustrated through the meanings locals regularly attach to the construction of local authority housing. Such building work does not simply portray sets of relationships between ‘community’ and the state apparatus, but shows how such meanings are made, alter and are enacted by different community agents. What is of importance in drawing upon Peirce are the ways in which indexes enable us to particularise the significance of any symbolic phenomena (Peirce 1932).

Spatial Boundary and Location

West of Dublin City, south of the river Liffey and north of the Grand Canal, lies Ballyfermot, a well-established working class suburb. Geographically bounded and tucked behind Ballyfermot is Cherry Orchard, a large area of four local authority housing estates (pop. 5,500). Hemmed in between the local Wheatfield Prison to the west and Cherry Orchard’s old fever hospital and methadone clinic lies the focus for this particular ethnographic event, i.e. Elmdale. With its construction finally completed in 1986, Elmdale is the newest of the four local authority estates. The entire area of Cherry Orchard was developed over a ten-year period. It is an area where local authorities contrived to settle people from inner-city communities already suffering structural socio-economic inequalities. This process is externally ‘context driven’ (see Appardurai 1998) aimed at the production of locality without local participation.

The Cherry Orchard area, once known by Ballyfermot people as the “backers”, was so called because of its featured open wasteland at the margins of mainstream activity. To the south are fields consisting of dumping grounds, the remains of burnt out cars and the long-since deserted Semperit tyre factory and to the east, Le Fanu Park and central Ballyfermot. To the north, is its principle route of access (one of only two), which cuts through a residential section of Ballyfermot bordered by Kylemore Road. The point is that not only is this area spatially defined and physically bounded, it is also hidden from sight. It would be unusual, nearly impossible, to find oneself there by accident. Its distinctive definition creates, to some extent, an illusion of a bounded population and, like many other public authority neighbourhoods, falls prey to the pre-suppositions of ‘community development’ as harbouring a large degree of common interest (Cohen 1985). For people living in the wider Ballyfermot, the relative deprivation and disadvantage associated with Cherry
Orchard and its concomitants of crime, drugs, joy riding and ‘anti-social’ behaviour has also forged social boundaries to this ‘community’ and an unyielding resistance towards accommodating many of its people. Elmdale is a perfect case in point.

The Cherry Orchard area is defined by both those within and outside the area as very much a separate entity from older Ballyfermot. Those living in the area define themselves largely on the basis of need and deficiencies in resources. Similar to many studies carried out on public housing, the area is exemplified by rapid tenant turnover, anomic physical design, high levels of crime and low levels of tenant satisfaction: “rarely seen as environments where ‘community’ and neighbourliness flourish” (Foster 1997:116). The term ‘community’, utilised even at its most nostalgic, does not flourish in Cherry Orchard. Having spent some four years developing relationships with locals here, it becomes increasingly evident that Cherry Orchard ‘community’ life is fragmented and highly complex, collectivised only through the strength of negative identity, its marginality and opposition to external forces of intervention and governance.

Contemporary social exclusion discourses have moved away from simple conservative notions of poor, ‘benefit-dependent’ ‘underclasses’ to accommodate definitions of exclusion as a “…multi-dimensional process, in which various forms of exclusion are combined: participation in decision making and political processes, access to employment and material resources, and integration into common cultural processes. When combined, they create acute forms of exclusion that find spatial manifestation in particular neighbourhoods” (Madanipour et al 1998:22). What remains a complex issue is the extent to which and in what sense these neighbourhoods construct themselves as ‘communities’.

Cherry Orchard is certainly removed from resources of education, commercial enterprise, social outlet, community integration and personal needs. In itself, this excludes people somewhat from the ease of participation in both the wider Ballyfermot area and society in general. With a population of over 5,500, Cherry Orchard does not have a primary school, a post primary school, a post office or post box, a bank, a public telephone, an employment exchange, playgrounds, stables for horses¹, a pub or a social club. It does have one corner shop, an under-used community centre, a church and a women’s resource centre located in Elmdale, limited public transportation and a large number of horses, the point again being, that despite a serious lack of resources, houses continue to be built in the area.

Furthermore, approximately one third of children are not attending school, finding other means of socialisation on the streets or being inculcated into a thriving heroin and cannabis trade. It is no great wonder then that almost 68% of the population are leaving school before the age of 15. Only 3.5% of the population have reached third level education. The unemployment

¹ This area is well-known for its horse ownership and ‘sub-urban cowboys’ (See Saris, Bartley et al., 2000)
figures for the area run at a rate of 53% of the population. 68% of those have been unemployed for more than three years (Ballyfermot Drugs Task Force, Strategic Plan 2000).

The residents are frustrated by the lack of amenity, the containment of anti-social behaviour and the stigma of being labelled ‘scum’. The negative image of Cherry Orchard is popularly blamed by locals on the Irish media who have successfully represented the area from the Gallanstown riots of 1995 to the Canal murders of 2000 as a site of urban disintegration, danger and intimidation. Cherry Orchard owes its collective negative identity, on one hand, to enforced external representations of danger and decay and, on the other, as an area ‘at risk’, in need of ‘development’. Either forms of social stereotyping masks the extent of felt difference and fragmentation lived by its population.

This paper will not attempt to represent a ‘community’ from within, to disclose common interest and purpose or solidarity in the face of exclusion. Life in Cherry Orchard is far too disparate and complex to attempt any such reduction. However, what is portrayed is how the idea of ‘community’ becomes harnessed through the evocative and symbolic act of protest in an attempt to articulate local opposition to state interventions. Such processes have been explored in the work of Appadurai in an attempt to understand the ways in which local populations attempt to produce a ‘feeling’ of locality through the reproduction of social experience, local knowledge and ritual in relation to the forced disciplines of state objectives (Appadurai 1998). Perhaps, what can best be learned from the processes of exclusion are less to do with how such ‘communities’ function than how certain practices of community action are employed “not as a coherent, conscious universe of political oppression but rather, a spontaneous set of rebellious practices that in the long term have emerged as an oppositional style” (Bourgeois 1996:8).

Protest and Resistance

On the second week in February 1999, fifty women, resident in Elmdale, blockaded the entrance to their housing estate from 6.00am to 8.00pm, daily. It was to last for some three and a half weeks. Their protest targeted the construction of 50 new houses to be built on the green area at the mouth of their estate. Up until this period, that same green belt, the greater part of which was taken up as a favourite grazing spot for local horses, had been used as an area of community activity; one of the few places in the area their younger children played. Within days of the start of the protest, my research partner, Philip, and I visited with its participants. We were already on good terms with many of them. For those we didn’t know, their main concern regarding our presence was whether or not we were from the media and willing to help promote their cause. Their stated bone of contention, when asked directly, concerned the resulting impact of the construction on their own homes. All complained of their household carpets being destroyed daily as a result of the muck being dragged into their houses “caked” to the soles of their
children’s shoes. The streets were a mess and their younger children had nowhere to play, but the worst for many were the sleepless nights with the noise levels of diggers and JCBs prevailing well into the early morning. All were careful to point out that it wasn’t ‘the lads’ themselves (working on the site as contractors) that they blamed for this “disgrace” but Dublin Corporation itself. They wanted compensation. At the only point of road access to the estate, they stood in a line; their children’s buggies pushed in front of them. Attempts to cross were denied and all the while the lads simply looked on. Incidentally, Philip tried to take some photos of the lads, but over half of them were from the area doing ‘nixers’; working illegally while claiming social welfare and so deeply suspicious as to why he wanted their picture. The women, on the other hand, entered into the spirit of a photo session with the same sense of joviality that was characterising their daily vigils.

‘Bess’ was the unappointed spokesperson of the group. Wrapped up warm, braving the elements and consuming countless cups of tea, she explained to me how the ‘Corpo’ had recently approached them in an effort to reach a conclusion.

B: Yeah, they came down and tried to make an agreement with us. You know that even if they cleaned the scummy roads, we wouldn’t leave it there. But sure that’s only one part of the problem. They want to block off this road here so we’d have to walk all the way ‘round the back of the estate to get home. To start with, those trucks had already started themselves going around the back way and now the people who live there have an even worse problem than we have. They’re driving up the middle of the road with kids skuttin’ on the backs of the trucks and all. Trying to clean it with them trucks only makes it bleedin’ worse and they are putting more water on the ground making it all slusshy. They think that they are solving the problem and they are only making it worse.

This will go on as long as possible until we get satisfaction. One of the lads rang the Gardaí yesterday and told them that we were peggin’ [throwing] stones at all the workers and the trucks and that. The police came down and asked us what we were doing. We told the guards it was a peaceful protest and they says, “Fair play to you.” The rain was pissing down at this stage but the crack was great. So the Gardaí went in and told the workers to shut up because they were using bad language towards us.

Jesus, it was a long day yesterday, I was here until eight, last night and back at six, this morning. A lot of the lads have been sent home this morning because they couldn’t get any work done with

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2 Dublin Corporation.
us lot. Cheeky fuckers some of them. Sure aren't they getting paid for it anyway! They can go in and do their little bits and pieces, but we're not moving, it's as simple as that. That machinery is not moving.

Turning to the woman next to her, she said, “Go on Linda, tell her”,

L: They were working until two in the morning, the other night, shining lights deliberately into peoples’ windows, lighting up the whole house scaring the kids. It's hard enough to get to sleep as it is.

They are going to put up 50 houses between the two sides here at the front and then they're going to build 70 private houses there in Ginger's field at the back of us, but that's got nothing to do with us. So, anyway, this is going to go on all year. [Pointing over Bessie's shoulder, beyond Ginger’s field, to the open wasteland at the back of Cherry Orchard Hospital] Now that’s private land, so that doesn't bother us but for ‘fucks sake’ you wouldn't get these kinds of conditions out in bleedin' Blackrock now would you? It’s like they think, to hell with this community! They think they can get away it – like we’re not going to say anything – fuck that!

Anyway, [Bessie interrupting], so a girl slipped here the other night. She was four months pregnant and ended up in the Coombe. The muck was all up to there and she missed her step. Stood on the muck. She's out now... you know Stella.

We found out later that this story was fabricated to heighten their case. Philip met Stella a few days later, and asked her how she was. She laughed, “You must be bleedin’ joking. There’s nothing wrong with me, but keep it to yourself.”

C: Did you know beforehand that the houses were going up?

L: Yeah, we did but we were told that we were also gettin' a shop. 'Cos we have to walk ages to get to Tommy’s [the only local shop in the area]. They said that they were going to put it over there near the back of the church. Poor ol' Tommy will be put out of business. [Laughing]. The new houses though, they're going onto private land so we can't say anything about it. But this is ridiculous, right in front of our estate and what we have to put up with. We should have spoke up earlier on.... but ah sure you

3 Blackrock is a predominantly middle class suburb in the south of Dublin.
4 One of Dublin’s maternity hospitals.
wouldn't know. Last week we had four Knackers\textsuperscript{5} buzzin 'round the place in carpet vans -"bit a lino or carpet for anyone" Swear to God! [Laughing] - I'm serious! They fuckin' were. Look missus - when we get our bitta carpet we'll be hittin' Des Kelly\textsuperscript{6}. Fuck the lot of them.

In understanding this event, it would be a grave error of judgement to consider that this narrative is simply about dirty roads, noise and soiled carpet or, even in the spirit of community concern, over more over-crowding in an already under-resourced area. To some extent, this is exemplified by the lack of discussion over the 70 'private' houses being built. These houses were not considered as part of the protest even though their area is already beyond capacity with little additional resources being put in place. Corporation land opens a discussion, private land does not. The issue is one of contiguity between the locality, the idea of public space and its control by the 'Corpo'. More accurately, it opens a history: a relationship with the state that characterises lives lived in public authority housing. The construction of public housing is, therefore, not the sole issue. Rather it signifies the range of complexities between this neighbourhood and Dublin Corporation as an intervening force in their lives. Drawing on Peirce, our cultural concern then is not the fact of public housing and its indiscriminate construction, but the ways in which it brings the symbolic quality of the 'blockade' into material reality.

The blockade is an outcome of a semeiotic process that has instigated meaning-making and community action. The construction of houses exerts a pressure, forcing resistance by indexing the structural contiguities and inequalities within the locale. The very presence of the diggers was sign enough of years of being 'fobbed off' with bureaucratic excuses for inadequate property maintenance and upkeep of peoples' homes to a felt unwillingness to deal with serious crime and drug dealing in the area. On the other hand, there is a perceived overzealousness by the 'Corporation' to deal with more minor street crime, teenagers drinking at corners, joy-riding, neighbour-related quarrels etc. by serving evictions notices.

The construction was an opportunity to deal openly with, what is considered to be, blatant disregard for locals and years of festered grievances with Dublin Corporation. The practice of protest has been legitimised through years of action by vulnerable communities to carve themselves a social voice and a public platform for discussion. Taking conventional routes, by making complaints or participating in local meetings or in local partnership, have only served to convince people of their marginality and of the fruitlessness of the exercise. In an area as fragmented as this one, such manifestations of collective action are, however, rare and often exemplify the desire of the few to make a stand.

\textsuperscript{5} Some of the local 'traveller' population, who regularly sell household items in the area heard that the women were protesting about their 'ruined' carpets and came round to trying to make a few sales.

\textsuperscript{6} Des Kelly, a well known Dublin carpet retailer.
Kierans: Protest and resistance

The construction indexes the complexities of the relationship between the socially marginalised and intervening state structures, by providing a vantage point to the particular and produces a means by which local agency can be exercised effectively over powerful structures of dominance, thereby calling into question more rigid paradigms of structure vs agency. Beyond anomic social housing: blots on an already blotted landscape, beyond urban resettlement plans and policies, the construction of housing indexes a complex and dynamic relationship with the state which recasts the relations between the powerful and the weak, where we begin to understand how local advantage can be taken of more broader structural concerns. The meanings, therefore, attached to public housing are some of the many readily available indices of 'community life' and local boundary.

The end result of the blockade after nearly four weeks of committed resistance to the workers was that the women received a total sum: $6000 to be divided among them.\(^7\) Evidence of their real objectives, which were to make a point and to assert their rights as residents, was the fact that none of this money was spent on household décor or repair. Instead, the total sum was donated to help aid Summer Project efforts in giving the children of the area something to do during the long months of summer vacation. The crux of the story was simply having won, a triumph of opposition and an assertion of community interests.\(^8\)

Embedded in an event such as this, are many issues to be further tackled and explored. And while the following questions are considered in this paper, more detailed consideration is required.

a.) How ought we to construct ‘excluded communities’ in light of their complex social arrangements, comprised of people who do not naturally share a sense of commonality, yet do share similar types of relationship to powerful statutory bodies? To what extent is the idea of ‘community’ symbolically employed to define sets of relationships to these external bodies?

b.) That women have become dominant community figures is well-documented, yet how are we to clarify the essence of ‘community’ that they embody? To what purpose do the worlds of women and worlds of men intersect to emerge vocal women and silent men?

\(^7\) Interestingly, it was only the women who actually stood out in protest who received any compensation. So as to protect the authority from future claims from other residents sure to follow a comprehensive list of their names and addresses was faxed to the central office.

\(^8\) Elmdale’s locally elected residence committee had nothing to do with the staging of this protest and suspicion ran deep as to accusations of betrayal on the part of the committee who, it was believed, knew of the construction well in advance and had received compensatory payment already from the Corporation and mentioned nothing to their neighbours. Such accusations are unsubstantiated but what this does illustrate are the contestations and fragmentation in one housing estate’s struggle for community representation.
c.) How are we to understand the relationships between community agency, on one hand, and the structural determination of the state, on the other, when describing the processes that shape the use and enactments of ‘community’?

**Resistance as Symbolic Community Boundary**

What is most interesting about the Elmdale protest is that it exists as one of the few visible acts of ‘legitimate’ collective action in the Cherry Orchard area. Alternative examples of such action or resistance have generally been constructed along anti-social or criminal lines, such as publicised accounts of joy-riding or the riot of 1995. Perhaps, one avenue towards understanding how community becomes manifest through examples of resistance is as a relational and rhetorical device; a way of establishing boundaries, in particular between the ‘authorities’ and local (authority) populations. Drawing again on Appadurai, the relational aspect of a locality is a deliberate attempt to move beyond the ‘scaler’ or ‘spatial’. It discloses the phenomenological quality of local lives as a “link between the sense of social immediacy, the technologies of interactivity and the relativity of contexts” (Appadurai 1998:178). The relationship with Dublin Corporation is central. It is shared and understood by all in Cherry Orchard and, to a large extent, carries a sense of mutual distrust and negativity. Similar are relationships with the local gardaí, and to a lesser extent, welfare, education and the health board. The ‘Corpo’, however, represent the very foundations of people’s homes, delineating and setting the parameters for residency and tenancy. They embody a divide, less by physical fact than through social opposition. Tenancy issues are heavily contentious as the ‘Corpo’ are popularly felt to ‘play God’ on so many issues pertaining to family and community matters. They represent the boundaries of division that mark a social identity and cast these locals into felt stereotypes of ‘scum’, single mothers, inadequate parents, welfare-dependants, drug-users etc. Boundary, according to Barth, “signifies a syndrome of ideas, ranging from an imagined line drawn on the ground, through various abstract separations and distinctions in realms of political and social organisation, to a schema for conceptualising the very idea of distinction. It thus carries massive cultural entailments” (Barth in Cohen 2000:20). Lives lived as public authority tenants is certainly a schema for constructing the broad social divisions, that people imagine when they talk of ‘excluded communities’. Such schemas are real in that they are lived out by all.

The boundaries of the socially excluded are often set from above or outside the day-to-day banalities that comprise life for people in this area, often reducing people to imagined common denominators. The riots in Gallanstown on Halloween night in 1995 are a case in point. They were depicted by Gardaí as organised and planned, initiated by a criminal element that wanted territorial control of the area. The event created a moral panic through extensive media coverage and established Gallanstown’s reputation as a dangerous and intimidating ‘no-go’ area. The riot is still heavily contested.
To many locals, it was equally an expression of heavy-handed policing aimed at a minority of drug dealers who were living on their girlfriends’ tenancies. It is expressed as an inevitable outcome of growing tensions between police and residents. While, outwardly, the area was stigmatised as a result, for those who lived there, their own experiences of oppressive and knee-jerk policing remains misunderstood and cast aside.

Events such as this seem to crystallise a view of Cherry Orchard’s homogeneous negative identity. Assumptions are made about how peoples’ lives are lived and the complexity and differences of groups within the area are very often missed. Relationships with statutory bodies underlie so much of daily life in areas like Cherry Orchard. These relationships form part of a long history unremembered by the changing personnel of Irish bureaucracies but firmly built into the consciousness of more marginalised populations. This is easily over-looked when attempts are being made to evaluate and understand a ‘community’ or the actions of its members. In “In Search of Respect” Philippe Bourgeois argues how “historical and political economy processes are internalised in the lives of vulnerable individuals” (Bourgeois 1996:242). Such ‘historical and political processes’ are being played out, enacted by the local women of Elmdale when they made the decision to blockade diggers and workmen from entering their estate. The blockade reasserts a sense of locality and community “as a phenomenological property of social life, a structure of feeling that is produced by particular forms of intentional activity and that yields particular sorts of material effects” (Appadurai 1998:182).

**Gendered Protest.**

The organised event of protesting is a relatively rare occurrence but, in general, is associated with the activities of women and their attempts to illustrate that public assertions of community are necessary when dealing with socio-political objectives. Many women have readily admitted that even when incidences occur like joy-riding or ‘anti-social’ behaviour in their estates, it is they who take the reigns and attempt to call a halt. It is they who will open their front doors and shout or walk into the street to sort out the problem... not their husbands. Carmel, a woman in her late fifties, married with grown up kids, told us how she dealt with an argument that was going on outside her garden gate one evening.

C: I knew them. They were all junkies. Most of them don’t even live in our area, bu’ they were driving us mad and we were sick to death having them always hanging around our homes. Anyway, so you could hear these a mile up the road, one of them...[pause] Anyway, I went out to them and told them that if I ever saw them anywhere near my fuckin’ wall again, I was going to call the police, to fuck off outta here and go torment someone else. [Q: Were you not nervous?] Well, no... not really. You see there’s no point in sending Jimmy out [her husband]. He’s not like that, but men have a habit of always turning everything into a fight. He can’t say
anything. They’d just turn on him... d’ya know? And the kids... well, I wouldn’t want them getting picked on. It's easier for me and so I just do it. [Q: Why is it easier?] ’Cos I'm a woman.

To begin with, it would be far too simplistic to say that areas such as Cherry Orchard can be characterised as arenas of reversed gender order. To do so, only masks a wide range of complex relationships between men and women. Some women, indeed, do dominate their households, others are heavily dependent on a male breadwinner, and for all those women who have succeeded in winning custody battles and barring orders, others live in abusive and violent relationships. In addition, many live in equal and balanced partnership. While it is true to say that women have, to a greater extent, taken to controlling activities outside of the home, and also that men have most definitely drifted further from the public domain, we must avoid the danger of re-casting these lives as merely ‘women empowered’ leaving ‘men in crises’ to fend for themselves. Processes of change in shifting gendered lives mean only that we re-examine how people 'do' gender in the everyday, not just swap gender roles in the convenience of maintaining a straighter gender line. Once again, by re-visiting the indexical aspect of the blockade, we can understand its symbolic content, but also the processes that have enabled women to take control as active community agents with increased capacity to alter and shape the meanings attached to their community, and perhaps how too the practices of protest have become transformed into social conventions.

Dealing with similar themes in a completely different cultural context, the work of Diane Mines in southern India explores the symbolic content of Hindu ‘Gods’ in relation to the social ordering of cast relationships. She shows the limitation of a conventional positing of these relationships as simply structural reflections and reconfigures such symbolisation by exploring the indexical aspect. “Gods are not merely symbols that stand for relations among humans, echoing frozen and unitary ideational structures whose origins are mysterious. Gods are real powers contiguous with humans, powers that make humans into powerful agents with the capacity to potentially restructure the system of conventional ranking that may exist at any given moment” (Mines 1997:41). She illustrates how ‘rank’ in cast relations is not statically embedded in an unflinching social order but capable of reversal and re-order in its associations with higher or lower ranking Gods. She argues that the sources of human agency can be understood through their “multiple indexically defined relations to Gods” and argues further for the utility of semeiotic theory in helping to deal with the overlapping discourses that underlie social conflict, relations of domination and control; the multiple meanings that so characterise social change, inequality and uncertainties (Ibid. 1997:41).
By understanding the indexical aspects of the blockade, we come to understand how altering social relationships such as those with Dublin Corporation carve particular roles for local women and how the practices of protest become transformed into social conventions for those generally perceived as weak to assert and succeed in their grievances.

Perhaps in the contested meanings, actions and resistances that come to characterise the lives of the socially marginal, we can begin to understand the processes that shape the gendered experiences of local life, less as a simplistic result or effect of structural oppression, economic uncertainty and so on, and more so as a continual working through the particularities that give rise to the symbolic content of excluded neighbourhoods.

That said, there are many reasons why ‘poor’ or ‘excluded’ communities have evolved through continually altering gendered experiences. Since the early 1990s in Ireland, there has been a dramatic increase in female employment and a huge upsurge in urban community groups e.g. adult education groups, women’s studies, local committees, local employment initiatives, awareness campaigns, and support groups, the majority of which are run by women for women. Women are certainly most visible in an ‘organised’ and public capacity. This, coupled with a more advanced infrastructure, such as ‘shelters’ for women and the confidences that are so created, has meant that women have negotiated for themselves a firmer standing in all matters, public and private. Many are lone parents or the sole name on tenancy agreements. Theirs is the voice more commonly heard at meetings, in the housing offices, schools etc., where they occupy a definite public space. On the other hand, changing economic conditions, such as increasing long-term unemployment for men, has meant that the perceived ‘traditional’ values of man as ‘breadwinner’ and ‘provider’ have since been surrendered for, as one woman put it ... "I wish he'd get just get up and get out from under me feet."

**Community as Relational.**

In looking at this particular event of resistance, what is being described is a relationship of opposition and an assertion of ‘community’ as a means of asserting this relationship. Bourgois describes marginalised inner-city street culture in the Puerto Rican Ghettos of New York as a “complex and conflictual web of beliefs, symbols, modes of interaction, values and ideologies that have emerged in opposition to exclusion from mainstream society” (Bourgois1996:8). In an attempt to avoid overly structuralist argumentation, he moves to assert the complexity of simplistic structure versus agency frameworks, by putting forward a much more dynamic paradigm for oppositional culture. “Through cultural practices of opposition, individuals shape the oppression that larger forces impose upon them” (Bourgois 1996:17). This point cannot be over-stated. Not only must cognisance be taken of individual agency, but also of the complex sets of relationships that operate

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9 Not one male participated in the Elmdale blockade.
within socially defined communities that aim to produce the felt immediacy of community against a structural establishment of locality.

It is essential to grasp the level of complexity and fragmentation that is expressed in how people choose to talk and describe their area. Even discourses of social exclusion aid in masking the disparate nature of vulnerable areas. It is naive to imagine in the growing divisions that lie between rich and poor in Ireland’s booming economy, that the most pertinent differences are between social classes and that this marks the social injustices and inequalities felt by the urban ‘poor’. Perhaps this has import at the level of political economy, but does little by way of explaining how lives are lived at a more local level. The people of Elmdale and wider Cherry Orchard seldom give in to generalised political/economic abstractions and discussion, however much statutory forces impact and shape local possibilities. Social differences and inequalities are often disclosed by a view of within from within, of differences within the locale rather than between broader class structures. An example of this, is the massive wealth incurred and displayed by those families in the Cherry Orchard area who are benefiting from the drugs trade and felt to be relatively untouched by state institutions, either through lack of police intervention or eviction notices. Compared with the lone mother supporting a family, who feels constantly hassled by the authorities because of the behaviour of her teenagers, unlistened to by schools or unnoticed by neighbours, the disparities seem so much wider than the unknowns of Dublin’s middle classes. It is within the area rather than outside it that the greatest social differences and injustices are both felt and lived. The homogeneous descriptions of the so-called ‘socially excluded’ or indeed the strength and endurance of social stigma belies the extent of alienation and fragmentation in areas such as Cherry Orchard.

Conclusion

The search for an understanding of ‘community’, therefore, becomes difficult and frustrating. We cannot afford to rely on spatial division or assumed commonalities. Perhaps, we could define community in terms of its structural relationships, but even they portray a diversity of personal agency or indifference. While community is more elusive than stable, we do see it called into action, enacted when most needed, articulating the very processes that have caused such fragmentation. The Elmdale blockade is a very deliberate act of resisting and defines the rough sketching of boundary, the division that somehow marks the differences between ‘them’ and ‘us’. The act of resisting the construction of more social housing does much more than reflect an environmental awareness. It signifies the depth of historical experience shared. It is a public enactment of history, place and a sense of common purpose. Put simply, where ‘community’, in Cherry Orchard, does not seem to be reflected through visible signs or shared practices, it does exist more as a consciousness that becomes manifest in particular incidences. The decision to continue building in Elmdale is such as incidence. It evokes an
ardent opposition in relation to ‘The Corporation’ and calls into effect the mobilising device of ‘community’ and rhetoric of tradition and commonality.

Not everyone exercises ‘community’ in the same way. We cannot say that the Elmdale blockade inspired reaction for everyone. No men attended, no teenagers, no members of the residence committee. There were even those who protested the protest. The point is that the blockade did not embody or symbolise cohesion or solidarity. What is does show is how the ideology of community is harnessed for particular ends and employed as a central tool by those that are most vocal and active in their neighbourhoods. Women tend towards the discourses of community as media for action and social practice. The blockade is simply one example. Women’s involvement in ‘community’ is visible and vocal. It articulates an understanding of community that is ‘lived’, that has a specific history, that is articulated through the language of need and opposition. Women are the legitimate voice of opposition. What is crucial to understanding ‘community’ through women’s participation is that we slowly become aware of a particularised use of the term that is often at variance to the more normative and generalised assumptions embedded in community development, interventionist discourses or views from the outside. This point is illustrated in the opening narrative. Community is not the community centre. It has little to do with the ideology attached to community development. “At the moment, to me, community is Elmdale……when it’s needed it all comes together.”

Accounting for events such as this in the recent history making of Dublin’s marginalised neighbourhoods is interesting for its sheer lack of fit in the façade of a booming economy. It also marks a necessary departure for an anthropology of Ireland to loosen its grip on a ‘golden age’ of rural pathos and decline and configure how local worlds in rapidly altering national and global arenas are being re-constituted. It beckons to view the particularities of urban life in Ireland, the practices of exclusion, the consequences of marginalisation and the social immediacy of local agency in the face of dominant national and international efforts to delocalise national space.

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Varley, T.
Book Reviews

Gingrich, Andre, Erkundungen. Themen der Ethnologischen Forschung [Explorations: Themes of Ethnological Research]

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From start to finish, this book employs a telescoping examination of issues, moving briskly between the macro-, meso-, and microscopic elucidation, to convert a specific case study into an introductory ethnology text. In this D.Y.I. approach to the discipline, Gingrich focuses on a familiar topic to expound upon some general methodological and theoretical principles of ethnology: The case of South Yemen is self-reflectively refracted through the lenses of the Viennese School (Wiener Schule) of ethnology. Hence, Gingrich’s Explorations are actually intimate and multi-faceted reflections, at once reflecting on the basic tools of the anthropologist, retracing his own steps through earlier field studies and reevaluating his own genealogy as eventual successor to Walter Dostal at Chair I of the venerable Viennese Institute for Ethnology - one of the longest and most influential lineages in German-speaking anthropology. The study itself is broken down into four parts, alternately on ethnographic fieldwork as method, on local case study and the importance of strategic theory, on the history of cultural anthropology and Islamic studies in the German speaking world and finally part four on recent theoretical debates, ending with concluding remarks on future perspectives.

With an upbeat introduction, Gingrich catches our attention through his charmingly intuitive and hip “state of the art” interpretation. He reclaims Marx’s famous specter from the 1848 Manifesto, suggesting that anthropology now haunts Euroamerican university campuses. Unabashed about his pride at its popularity among students and the general public, Gingrich nonetheless warns against complacency in the face of the current “ethno-boom”, pointing out in hindsight how the discipline had fallen into ill-repute during a previous reversal of fortune. However, his cautious explication is also hopeful, dismissing eulogists, prophets of doom and the global MacDonaldization that has failed to materialize. This introductory tone continues into part one, chapter one, “The Culture of Travel”. Here he begins with a trobriander maritime metaphor, comparing academic anthropology departments to catamarans in a sea congested by the “tank ships” of larger and more traditional human sciences. Although he displays some unnecessary unease about the prospect of being accidentally rammed, the analogy is intended to reveal how cumbersome traditional disciplines like sociology, history, et.al., leave oil slicks and destruction in their wakes, while the maneuverable outrigger of the ethnographer is environmentally friendly. Chapter two follows the same contention, identifying the undemocratic
nature of academic conferences, those “annual fairs of vanity” (19). These largely superfluous travels are juxtaposed with the really useful field studies of ethnographers, those unpretentious travelers whose selfless dedication is to the understanding of non-western cultures. Still, for Gingrich they are neither heroes of politically correct multi-culturalism nor pseudo-scientific polemicists of irrational isolationism (here he offers the example of the Austrian Freedom Party – 22), but rather sober practitioners of dry and objective scholarship.

Gingrich goes on to defend ethnological field studies among non-western peoples as a necessary ritual, introducing the example of his own field work during the mid-80s on concepts of time among the Munebbih of Yemen. In the next four chapters of Part II, he summarizes previously published results of these studies. Rather than bemoaning the tristes tropiques of the encounter, he takes pains to detail his appearance on the scene as a guest within the local structures of a strict hierarchical tradition. By not only accepting, but also in fact focussing on his privileged position as a ranking outsider, Gingrich sees certain advantages in the novel perspective opened like a door before him. Instead of trying to “describe” Munebbih cultural, he concentrates on relationships - his own subjective experience of penetrating the culture to identify transnational components in local concepts of time, space and identity formation - within the Munebbih community as a whole, between its own members in different status roles and with their neighbors. As a result, he posits a “soft” theory of cultural relativism, balancing local and regional peculiarities with an overarching comparative framework. For Gingrich, the tension between the tactically specific and the strategically general provides the dynamic force driving his own self-reflective interpretive model.

The discussion of soft relativism leads Gingrich back from the Arabian Peninsula to his home – the Institute of Ethnology in Vienna. After completing his field research, he recognizes the need to locate his perceptions within their own peculiar framework. The subsequent discussion of the genealogy of ethnography in the German speaking lands from late 18th and 19th-century Orientalism to present-day social anthropology is a magnificent analysis of collective consciousness. Rather than a tour d’horizon, this section focuses on the German speaking world and, in particular, the making of the chair in ethnology and anthropology which Gingrich himself came to occupy in 1998, following in the footsteps of his Doktorvater (with whom he has co-authored this section, enhancing the sense of collective memory). Gingrich mentions Pierre Bourdieu’s now famous speech to the American Anthropological Association in 1994 about the division of the world into linguistic sphere’s of influence (whereby, admittedly, German occupies a tangential role at best), but he might well have mentioned Homo Academicus here, since this genealogical self-explication clearly demonstrates how inbred academia can be – not only in the German speaking world! Nonetheless, in the spirit of soul-searching that makes up so much of this book, his scholarly honesty can only to be commended. Gingrich subsequently gives away his
own present theoretical location by concluding part III with two chapters on gender and transnational analysis in ethnographic studies.

In part IV, Gingrich maps out some critical areas in the present theoretical debate, returning to the familiar climate of the Islamic Middle East for requisite examples. However, this part is actually the most empirical and positivistic, making contributions to terminological systematization and theoretical conceptualization by focusing on marriage politics among and between social hierarchies and, thereby, the central role of “tribal” kinship in the Arabic world, especially in the region of the southeast Mediterranean. Admittedly, I was a bit out of my depth here, as the level of the technical debate was too demanding for the non-initiate, particularly chapter thirteen, which is very thorough in its application of his aforementioned methodological assumptions. However, chapter fourteen played to my heartstrings, as Gingrich stresses the absolute necessity for post-colonial ethnologists of an active and meaningful interdisciplinary exchange with historians, noting the works of Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner, Marshall Sahlins and Eric Wolf, among others. Finally, some brief concluding remarks offer Gingrich’s tentative prognosis for the future of ethnographic field research in terms of positive theoretical contributions, highlighting areas of interest such as comparative and cognitive anthropology as philosophical trends.

As an historian, I found Gingrich’s style very reader friendly. If he appears defensive at times or even retrenched in an attitude aimed at setting more discernable boundaries around the discipline, this needs to be understood in the context of cultural anthropology in Austria, stilled viewed with some suspicion by many in the conservative academic establishment. Of course, the feeling that his highly personal and self-analytical account reflected yet another influence from his hometown tempted me. Nonetheless, whether one views his afterthoughts as a form of Freudian self-analysis or even egotistical pride in the progressiveness of academic anthropology in Vienna (not to mention the creation of the University Center for Peace Research there in 1995), this has to be considered against the backdrop of Jörg Haider – or might one even mention Bertie Ahern, Australian detention camps and Flotels in the same breath?
Fletcher, Alan J., *Drama, Performance and Polity in Pre-Cromwellian Ireland.*

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“The Irish contribution to world theatre is famous, but today awareness of Irish theatrical activity is chiefly confined to the modern period. This book corrects that imbalance with an unparalleled study of the early history of drama and performance in Ireland.”

Fletcher’s work is certainly groundbreaking as a source book, not only for students of history, literature and theatre but anyone with an interest in Irish social structure and dynamics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Meticulously detailed and including extracts from previously unpublished manuscript sources in their original and in translation, employing diagrams and illustrations on the actual performance of dramatic works.

Fletcher contrasts over this period the theatre movement in both Dublin and Kilkenny examining the social and political contexts in which certain modes and genres thrived and declined.

*Drama, Performance and Polity* opens with a chapter overviewing the dramatic tradition of Gaelic Ireland and the role and status of the classes of performing artist, taking as its source material the Book of Leinster and its descriptions of the court of King Cormac Mac Airt. Fletcher traces a chronology of Gaelic theatre and performance corresponding with three distinct phases of Irish history: the Old and Middle Irish periods, the establishment of the Old English colony in the twelfth century and from after the Reformation up until the Cromwellian period.

From this broad opening he explores the development of performances in Dublin and Kilkenny over the above historical period. The initial importance of Church drama is common in both cases, Fletcher reconstructs a performance of the Dublin Visitatio Sepulchri from two richly detailed manuscript sources dating between 1350 and 1400 (which he includes in the appendices) providing a fascinating insight into the use of space, the participants and their preparations and the specific costumes for each character. The Corpus Christi and St. George drama or public procession is also highlighted (in both Dublin and Kilkenny). Fletcher makes the point that while this mode went into decline in Dublin by the end of the 16th century it continued to thrive in Kilkenny up until the mid 17th. Dublin had evolved into a ‘centre of English reform and conformity’ Kilkenny’s distance from the centre meant that it’s resident dramatists were not under the same degree of pressure to follow suit, whereas in previous times the cities competed in the forms and scales of their public display.

Kilkenny’s public theatrical displays, especially those of midsummer and Corpus Christi were financed both at home and abroad by prosperous
merchant families and therefore served to indirectly strengthen social and trade relationships in the city.

Fletcher pays particular attention to the life and works of the Reverend John Bale during the late 16th century and his imaginative use of drama and public performance space in his evangelical efforts in Kilkenny, how he staged the scenes of Christ’s temptation upon the most elevated site in the city, at Market Cross. The Jesuits, after Bale also played an important role and left behind an interesting manuscript legacy of their work.

The civil ceremony, such as the investiture of a new Lord Deputy also manifested itself as a form of civic drama by the 16th century, the accompanying texts of which are also included in the appendices, ‘Sir Henry Sidney’s Civic Entry into Waterford, 1567’ for example.

Fletcher moves on to explore the complexities of patronage and contracture, the relationships between actors, companies, households, patrons and institutions from the Gaelic times onwards, when performance artists were retained as members of a household. Their shift and decline in status under New English landowners who reinforced links within their own settler community by patronising and sponsoring New English performers over the Gaelic Irish, something which is greatly lamented and bemoaned in Gaelic poetry and satire from the time. The evolution of companies of players and eventually of corporate and institutional patronage up until the commission of Dublin’s first official playhouse. This was commissioned by Sir Thomas Wentworth, Lord Deputy from 1633 to 1640, motivated by his own passion for the theatre and the belief that for Dublin to take proper place as a capital city to be compared to London, ‘it’s ruling classes must be able to engage in similar pastimes and pursuits’: therefore a playhouse was required. This project culminated in the opening, at great effort and expense of the Werburgh Street Theatre in 1637. However, as Fletcher reveals throughout his study, the fate of the theatre was ever dependent upon history and politics. By 1641 with Wentworth facing execution, the outbreak of civil war in England the Werburgh street theatre and company was dispersed.

Alongside in depth research in social and literary history, Fletcher recreates the settings and spaces of performance from a wide variety of manuscript and other sources building into a fascinating panorama of social history over three hundred turbulent years, seen through the eyes of the spectators, given voice to by the performers and brought to stage by the dramatists of the time, which succeeds in its aim to increase awareness of the wealth and diversity of the history of drama in Ireland and elsewhere.
Tucker, John C., *May God Have Mercy: A True Story of Crime and Punishment*

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This is not a work usually reviewed in an academic journal. The book details a depressing story of a miscarriage of justice in the United States, the execution of a man for the horrific murder of his sister-in-law. Wiona McCoy (a distant relation of the Hatfield and McCoys of feuding dame) was brutally murdered in 1981, and Roger Coleman was executed by the Commonwealth of Virginia for that murder in 1992, after exhausting all his appeals and more importantly after his lawyers had accumulated an impressive amount of evidence that, minimally, made a seemingly overwhelming case for a retrial, and more likely made the prosecution’s original arguments simply incredible.

The book is built on the back of some very credible research into the social dynamics of an obscure Appalachian town (depressingly ands somewhat aptly named “Grundy”) and some keen cultural observations on the political appeal of capital punishment, literally at any price, in the current political culture of the United States. The research is conducted in order to understand some of the procedural errors and institutional arrogance, along with society-wide forms of bad faith, that literally cost a human being his life. This detective work is also there to provide a credible counter-explanation of the murder itself.

The discussion of the social situation of capital punishment, on the other hand, illuminates how the steely-eyed execution of criminals and the regular defeat of their bleeding-heart liberal defenders on court has become nearly ubiquitous political ritual in modern America, probably the most successful domestic project undertaken by the Right in the last 25 years. The year that Roger Coleman was executed in Virginia, for example an up-and-coming governor from Arkansas, who had recently won the democratic nomination for President, returned to his home state to sit in his office and not grant clemency to a mentally-challenged and severely brain-damaged African-American male (Ricky Ray Rector) who some years back had inadvertently shot and killed a white police officer (with whom, he was, in fact, quite friendly). That single non-event very probably sealed victory for William Jefferson Clinton, insofar as it removed one of the most potent weapons that the Republican Party has traditionally launched against their Democratic rivals – that the latter are in the business of releasing (dark and poor) rapists and murderers to prey on white middle class householders. Under their “liberal” president, the American prison population continued to expand at about the same that it had done under the two previous Republican administrations. Meanwhile, state executions grew inexorably and more and more Federal Crimes were also made punishable by death. Only at the end of Clinton’s second term did a couple of Northern states start
to reexamine their death penalty procedures, with some, such as Illinois, declaring moratoriums on executions within the past two years.

The domestic success of the current incumbent in the White House has clear roots in the processes outlined in this work, and it is this fact that makes May God Have Mercy especially relevant. Bush’s home state of Texas, for example, has consistently produced the largest number of state executions in the United States, and his presidential campaign was marked by an eerily similar non-event to Clinton’s, that is, the refusal of clemency to Carla Fay Tucker, the first woman to be executed in Texas for almost a century. Oddly, this refusal caused a ripple of dissent in the Christian Right (which normally bays for righteously shed blood).

While there was absolutely no doubt about her guilt in a couple of horrific homicides, she had publicly found Jesus in prison had had become something of a poster child for the idea of redemption through a distinctly American version of Christ (an experience that she shares with W, by the way). Nonetheless, she, too, met her death, mostly; it seems, for consistency’s sake.

While clearly not ethnography, the work should be valuable for scholars interested in the social production of a murderous morality in the US. The sort of “moral clarity” that these ritualized state murders produce, for example, is currently being played out on a wider canvas. The slipshod use of evidence for WMDs in the recent aggression in Iraq; the early statements from the Bush administrations that the death of Saddam was the best of all possible solutions from their point of view because, basically, he was a bad man; and the constant search for, and performance of, “moral clarity”, at the expense of the truth, relationships with allies, and, ultimately, perhaps, of effective prosecution of policy all have analogues in the functioning of the death penalty in the US domestic arena. In the absence of a rich ethnographic tradition investigating Anglo North America, these sorts of works can provide insight into the social location and the cultural processes that currently very important on the increasingly shared world.
NEGOTIATING THE UNSPEAKABLE
Postgraduate Conference
7th, 8th and 9th of November 2003
NUI Maynooth, Co. Kildare, Ireland

Keynote Speaker: Dr. Emily Martin (Professor of Anthropology, New York University)

"Negotiating the unspeakable" will deal with subject matters, which proved problematic and remained unspoken in negotiating the production and the reproduction of social-scientific knowledge.

The conference is open to all postgraduates (MA, doctorate and post-doctorate) who would like to debate professional and personal experiences as encountered while conducting research.

Research topics might include:
- drug dependency
- violence
- self-harm
- sex
- body and health
- food
- music
- environment, and more…

As researchers, we are faced with the ongoing ethical, methodological, theoretical and empirical dynamics of research, which demand both personal and professional negotiations. This conference will provide a model forum for researchers to debate such dynamics.

Participants in "Negotiating the Unspeakable" will discuss fundamental questions concerning:

- Choice of research topic
- Funding
- Project design
- Data collection/analysis
- Supervision issues
- Impact of study
- Disciplinary issues
- Empathy/Activism
- Cultural and personal barriers
- Motivation

We would like to encourage participants to discuss how and why we do research and ultimately touch on our role in the production and reproduction of knowledge.

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