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PREFACE

The hallmark of a university is the generations of a stimulating teaching and learning environment and the establishment of a firm research basis. Universities have a unique responsibility for extending and disseminating knowledge and for more than eight centuries they have pursued this task for the betterment of the academic community and society at large. Central to the fulfillment of their mission is the training and education of new generations of researchers through the process of doctoral studies.

It was in order that the University community might be made better aware of the range and quality of doctoral studies currently underway that the Dean of Research and Graduate Studies organized a Colloquium in March 2003. The output of that event is now being published. In their diversity of topics and range of disciplines the presentations reflect a vitality and sense of enquiry that was truly inspiring. I wish to congratulate all the researchers involved, their supervisors, and the Dean and his staff for the successful outcome of a most stimulating and enjoyable showcasing of the research talent of this University.

Dr W.J. Smyth
President.

December 2003.

INTRODUCTION

The National Development Plan 2000-2006 commits the government to "strengthening the supports available to research students and to researchers in third-level and state institutes in order to encourage students into careers as researchers" (NDP 2000-2006 page 129). This policy stance marks the culmination of a process which began with broadening access to second-level education in the 1960s. It is a policy which, if fully realized, has the capacity both to enhance our social and cultural life and to provide the basis for the future competitive advantage of the economy.

Third-level institutions must rise to the challenge of attracting students to research by providing the necessary institutional support. In recent years NUI Maynooth has made significant progress in enhancing the environment for research students. This began with the President's initiative in establishing and securing the funding for the Daniel O'Connell Fellowships, a number of one-year scholarships and studentships (student stipends), and bursarys or fee-waivers.

The establishment of the Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences (IRCHSS) and the Irish Research Council for Science, Engineering and Technology (IRCSET), has further brought research student funding to levels more in-line with countries with well-established research funding systems. Research students at the university have won a significant share of the scholarship funding awarded by these councils. In fact, during 2003, NUI Maynooth ranks third in the absolute number of scholarship awards received from the IRCHSS, while it ranks second in the proportionate success in securing IRCSET awards (with the dedicate research facility, the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, ranking first).

The ultimate test of success in research comes from published work. On 28 March 2003, of this year we held a Postgraduate and Research Open Day to celebrate the success and showcase the talent of emerging researchers. The central feature of the day was the Postgraduate Student Colloquium. Over 70 students presented papers representing the Faculties of Arts, Celtic Studies, Engineering, Philosophy, Science and the Faculty of Theology, St Patrick's College, Maynooth. The level of participation was phenomenal. What was even more gratifying was the size of audience attracted. Even with six parallel sessions some rooms were full to capacity.

The quality of papers justifies the publication of many. We have decided to publish proceedings that consist of fully reviewed papers. This records the research and presentation achievements of the postgraduates who rose to the individual challenge of communicating their concepts and ideas to their colleagues and peers. The development of such communication skills and the capability of logically rebutting criticism from their colleages is central to the postgraduate's educational development. The Postgraduate Student Colloquium gives a University-wide platform for such skills to be honed.

I am delighted to introduce the second issue of the NUI Maynooth Research Record. In doing so I would like to congratulate our students and thank their supervisors for encouraging and facilitating the development of the talent so clearly evident in these pages.

The success of the Research Day and the publication of the NUI Maynooth Research Record has been greatly assisted through the cooperation of numerous academics and University Departments. The organisation of both of the Research Day and Record has been assisted by the Graduate Studies Officer, Ms Marie Murphy. None of this could have occurred without her enterprise and commitment. Dr. Thomas Kelly of the Philosophy Department acted as the academic editorial adviser, while Louise McHugh, PhD student with the Psychology Department again acted as Assistance Editor. I would like to thank them most sincerely.

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December 1st 2003.

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THE DIFFERENCE THAT MAKES THE DIFFERENCE : IDENTITY FORMATION IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY IRELAND

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Research for this paper was funded by the Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences, through a Government of Ireland Scholarship.

This paper deals with the idea of mass identity-construction and representation of an homogenous identity for the heterodox catholic majority population of Ireland in the nineteenth century by various waves of an Irish cultural nationalist movement. The project that Irish cultural nationalists were engaged in was, in a very real sense, one of construction, of building a wall of difference or, to use D. P. Moran's term, 'misunderstanding', in order to bolster their claim for some form of recognition as a distinct nation. At the heart of this project was the raising of a national consciousness to confront the two main problems as perceived by Irish cultural nationalists in the second half of the nineteenth century i.e. the loss of the Irish language as the rallying point for Irish identity; and as a consequence the gradual morphing of an Irish identity into a British one. It has been the propagation of the idea of the nation's discreteness, as the natural order rather than a historical construct that has been the achievement of romantic cultural nationalists. This paper will examine the historical development of the idea of the nation from Herder's discovery of the nexus between language, national genius and the Volk ; the problems that this template posed for Irish nationalists ; and how cultural nationalists from the Young Ireland movement to the founders of the Feis Ceoil and An tOireachtas used music and song to achieve the degree of cultural separation which went some way to legitimise the moral claim for independence in the eyes of the international community, while the process of Anglicisation continued.

INTRODUCTION

When...two nations understand one another there is from that moment only one nation. International misunderstanding is one of the marks of nationhood.
D. P. Moran¹

Identity construction is justifiably considered as a process, but recent studies in the social sciences have begun to theorise identities as performances, and it is towards this understanding rather than any essentialist interpretation of inherent characteristics that this paper leans. In any performance the player moves through a series of moods or attitudes responding to external social, and environmental stimuli, initiating action, resting, experiencing themes and motifs, monotony, repetition, moments of crescendo and denouement predisposed by an internalised historically informed habitus.² The performer of identity is not only the actor, but also to varying degrees the author and the muse. The cultural geographer Kevin Hetherington, in his study of identity-formation within new social movements, attaches great value to the idea of performance within utopian spaces. It is within these spaces, Hetherington suggests, that marginal identities become expressive identities through the creation or appropriation of a symbolic discourse of authenticity, acted out in physical sites, within a field of social drama, enabling what he terms, 'the romantic structure of feeling.'³ to emerge. This paper deals with the idea of mass identity construction and the representation of an homogenous identity for the heterodox catholic majority population of Ireland in the nineteenth century through the medium of popular song, and, to a lesser extent, of stage performance. If, as Hetherington suggests, 'Identities...are forms of ordering...[of] ways of making sense of who one sees oneself to be and how one relates to others, both within a shared identification and with those outside...'⁴ then the period and the media provide the means for an examination of a historical contest for the affections and loyalties of the population in question outside of the usual understanding of the normal confines that is the political arena. Analysis of popular music in Ireland in the nineteenth century is currently on the crest of a wave, and interest over the last number of years has spawned several publications. One of the most important works on the subject is G. D. Zimmerman's *Songs of Irish Rebellion*. More recently

this has been joined by H. White's *The Keeper's Recital* a work that owes much to J. J. Ryan's PhD dissertation for the NUI Maynooth '*Nationalism and Music in Ireland*'. Other works dedicated to an appreciation of the traditions surrounding Irish music and the conditions for its survival and, indeed, growth include Maria McCarthy's *Passing it on*, M. Moloney's *Far from the Shamrock Shore*, and the reference work *The Companion to Irish Traditional Music* edited by the musician and ethnomusicologist Fintan Vallely. All of these works however, assume that music in Ireland in the nineteenth century fell into two distinct categories. One is that popular songs in Ireland at this time, even love songs, are in some way engaged in the anti-colonial struggle⁵ (whether consciously or unconsciously). The second category uses a class analysis and posits parlour or art music against a rural, 'pigs in the parlour' folk music. To a great extent what is lacking is any investigation of the songs of the music-hall which accompanied the greatest sociological and demographic movement of the age i.e. urbanisation. In an Irish context, urbanisation was taking place in the island of Ireland as well as the industrial centres of Britain and North America through emigration.⁶ In these places the performance of identity was being played out and here also it provided contested interpretations of representation, formulated from within and without, appropriated, accepted, or rejected, but sharing many themes and symbols vilified, or idealised in relative terms. Folk song, art song, street ballad and music-hall singalong competed for supremacy in the popular imagination in the second half of the nineteenth century. All of these modes of musical expression in isolation or combined went some way to inform the collective conscious for generations of Irish Catholics, as well as Anglicans and Dissenters.

THE NECESSITY FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN IRISH IDENTITY

For the Roman Catholic population in Ireland in the nineteenth century there was an officially sanctioned sense of Irish identity on offer, that of being British. The gradual drift towards Anglicisation may, from our current position perhaps, not be perceived as posing much of a threat due to the passage of time and its ultimate victory evinced by the global dominance of Anglo-American culture in the twentieth and now twenty-first centuries. But the tidal activities of cultural nationalist movements indicated how immediate this threat to the 'Irish' way of life was perceived at various times throughout the century. The concerns of the cultural and political elite were geared not only towards the revival of the Irish language, or achieving some measure of autonomy but of defying the forces of modernisation. Urbanisation, as well as being instrumental in the process of modernisation, symbolised its progress: therefore, the music that was its soundtrack was detrimental to the life that cultural bulwarks such as Douglas Hyde and D. P. Moran among others tried to protect.

As the opening quote from D. P. Moran makes clear, the project that Irish nationalists and in particular, Irish cultural nationalists were engaged in was, in a very real sense, one of construction, of building a wall of difference or, to use his term, misunderstanding, in order to bolster their claim for some form of recognition as a distinct nation. What was at stake was the legitimisation of that claim in the eyes of the international community, and therefore a coherent, palpable sense of national uniqueness was the prerequisite for its fulfilment. Hence the process of identity-construction became the focus of attention. Central to this process is the fundamental awareness of being i.e. 'self consciousness'. This seems so obvious that it is simply taken for granted, but as we shall see, its is the imperative condition that lies at the base of nationalist demands through the principle of dual recognition. In Hegel's essay *Independence and Dependence of Self-Consciousness*, the binary relationship of self and other become the motif for the understanding of the concept of identity. Hegel states:

Self-consciousness is primarily simple being-by-itself, self-identity by exclusion of every other from itself. It takes its essential nature and absolute object to be Ego; and in this immediacy, in this bare fact of its self-existence, it is individual. That which for it is the other stands as unessential object, as object with the impress and character of negation. But the other is also a self-consciousness; *an individual makes its appearance in antithesis to an individual.*⁷

Even more emphatically in an essay on the self by the social behaviorist George Herbert Mead the synthetic quality of identity is reiterated. For Mead the self is fully realised by assuming the roles that the individual has thrust upon it from the outside world of experience. These are constantly renegotiated to a greater or lesser degree by interpreting the actions, reactions, and responses to these

dynamics, and organising them into social attitudes by and for the self. The ability of the individual to objectify itself originates through language or what Mead calls ‘universally significant symbols’ which provide a means for the communication of meaning.⁸ This notion of the self may be conflated with the idea of the nation as designating a single unitary whole, one being separated from all other beings, while keeping in mind that this self-nation has relevance only for those who think in these terms. It has been the propagation of this idea i.e. the nation’s discreteness, as the natural order rather than a historical construct that has been the achievement of romantic cultural nationalists. Such a reading of the concept of the self as Mead’s, which corresponds with that of Herder towards that of the nation through the centrality of language as the instigator of definition, allows us to confront the two main problems as perceived by Irish cultural nationalists in the second half of the nineteenth century. These are in the first instance, the loss of the Irish language as the rallying point for Irish identity; and secondly and as a consequence of the first the gradual morphing of an Irish identity into a British one. In order to tackle the first of these problems, groups of intellectuals and educators formed organisations such as the Society for the Preservation of the Irish language and the Gaelic League to try to reverse the decline of the Irish language. To combat the second, individuals such as D.P. Moran realised that the raising of a national consciousness was the most important (I would suggest ‘political’) act that needed to be carried out. This fact was so pressing that it must take precedence over the overtly political constant of Irish nationalism, the winning of legislative independence. This is a position which he outlined in *The Philosophy of Irish Ireland*, ‘...Politics is not Nationality... the nineteenth century has been for Ireland mostly a century of humbug’.⁹ Moran believed that the remedy was at hand in the shape of the Gaelic League and the general Gaelic Revival which broke with the discredited false promises of political nationalism in favour of a less tangible but ultimately more real national consciousness.

Awakening the national consciousness was essential in Hegelian terms for the self-recognition of the Irish catholic people in antithesis *to* the ‘Other’; but just as importantly, and borne out by historical reality, for recognition *by* the ‘Other’. In light of President Wilson’s Fourteen Point peace plan to help bring the Great War to an end, a war fought by the British, rhetorically at least, to ensure the protection of the right for ‘self-determination’ for small nations, the work of the Gaelic League, the Gaelic Athletic Association, and of the Anglo-Irish literary movement, Ireland as a separate entity seemed a given proposition. However, this was not always the case. The necessity to be seen as a separate self-contained nation had become obvious to Irish nationalists since Mazzini’s snub to the Young Irelanders, their exclusion from the People’s International League which he established in 1847. His argument was that ‘the Irish did not plead for any distinct principle of life or system of legislation, derived from native peculiarities, and contrasting radically with English wants and wishes.’¹⁰ This rebuff had a resounding effect on Irish nationalism, as J. J. Ryan observes:

This [rebuff] represented a damning criticism coming, as it did, from a father-figure of nationalism, and it was one that pro-separatist Irish commentators had difficulty in refuting. Mazzini’s comment implied that Ireland was too much at one with English civilisation, an observation which served to emphasize the urgency of establishing a distinct culture.¹¹

This project then, which Davis had begun but was unable to complete before his death in 1845, was what later generations of cultural nationalists from Hyde and MacNeill, to Yeats and Lady Gregory and to the Irish Ireland movement and Moran himself, were, self-consciously engaged in, i.e. an act of separation, of defining cultural borders and tracing outlines of acceptable and unacceptable behaviour. Where difference did not exist, it had to be invented. Where native peculiarities, as Mazzini called them, were lacking, they had to be fashioned from a fabric of tradition, usually woven with threads of rural authenticity, and patterned against templates brought to the fore by Johann Gottfried Herder.

THE IMPORTANCE OF HERDER

Herder (1744-1803) has left his most important contribution on the subject of ‘identity’ in his seminal work (*Treatise on the Origin of Language*, 1772). Here Herder argues that what most explicitly makes humans unique among all living creatures is our capacity for language. Herder argued for the social origin of language and thought. ‘Each nation’, he said, ‘speaks in the manner it thinks and thinks in the manner it speaks. We cannot think without words.’¹² Herder determined that the soul of the community or the national genius was to be found within the monoglot community. Hence, language and as the carrier of culture, culture too, developed as the environment taught, or perhaps

rather, forced people to learn how to survive and succeed in, at the very least, an efficient manner. As Herder stated, 'Climate, water and air, food and drink, they all affect language....'¹³ From this position the objective real world experienced through the senses was internalised, reflected upon, and ordered in the minds of the individual, and when given expression entered into the social realm, where it contested to order the reality of the group. Language or words were loaded with emotional meaning and were not mere signifiers of an object or idea. A nation's genius was rooted in the land; it was passed on through myth and history; naturalised as tradition; and thereby it perpetually recreated an ontology conceived and expressed in a specific language. Herder's critique of the relationship between the German language and the German people is illustrative of this point:

Germany has only one interest: the life and wellbeing of the whole; not the sectional interests of the princes or the Estates, not the interest of this or that class. All these divisions only give rise to oppressive restrictions. We Germans still do not understand the importance of a national language. The bulk of our people still think of it as something that only concerns the grammarian. To consider it as the *organ of social activity and co-operation*, as the bond of social classes and a means for their integration: this is something of which most of us have only the remotest notion.¹⁴

Herder's use of the name 'Germany' is significant in that he affords a cultural or linguistic nation a reality which did not have a political counter-part. Germany at this time was a nation without a state, or rather with too many statelets and, as such, it lacked coherence. In essence Herder sought what Benedict Anderson has termed the 'imagined community'. The above passage indicates a paradigm-shift in thinking regarding the subject of collective identification and national consciousness. For although an individual might speak some form of a language, German for instance, there were many other pegs upon which he or she could hang this peculiar cloak of identity, family, kin, village, town or burgh. Each of these points represented simultaneous possibilities for self identity. The individual can be imagined as the focal point of an expanding spiral, at this point idiolect, dialect, and regional variations, governed unsuspectingly by context (in socio-linguistic terms domains and registers) would seem to conspire against Herder's use of language as the determining factor for national identification. However, as we have seen, Herder realised the real significance of language was its instrumental role in conducting social relations. Herder's philosophy encouraged a new form of association, a vertical association, beginning with the Almighty and continuing down through the prince, and on through the ranks, right down to the most lowly but highly prized peasant, all connected by the German language, which is rooted in the soil. The relationship was organic and therefore natural. This linguistic based identification would replace the horizontal association across the classes, which was particularly prevalent among the aristocracy where the practice of foreign customs and the speaking of foreign languages (almost overwhelmingly French) created an unnatural barrier between the rulers and the ruled. This argument became the cornerstone of the European nationalist movements who became convinced that the most natural form for corporate association was among those with whom one shared a common mother tongue. In Herder's terms this association was spiritual in essence, and language was the embodiment of a *Volk's* soul.¹⁵

The timing of Herder's essay, highlighting as it did the organic roots of culture and society, his so called 'discovery of the people', played a significant part in its success, and went some way towards undermining the Enlightenment drive for universal rationalism. The romantic essence of Herder's ideas i.e. the equality, perhaps even the priority, given to feeling over intellect gave credibility to low culture and brought the local to centre stage through the new study of folklore. The example of the French nation, and paradoxically, reaction to the revolution and the Napoleonic wars, gave Herder's ideas impetus as the educated classes in Germany, Italy, Greece and Hungary, etc., sought to assemble, from the hodge-podge of local cultural traditions, national cultures based upon the identity marker of a mother tongue. This criterion inevitably posed a great difficulty for nationalists in Ireland in the post-famine period. Herder had noted in the German case that time, or rather the lack of it was a crucial ingredient in the continued existence of a German cultural nation when he said, 'we are now at the furthest edge of the slope, another half a century and it will be too late!'¹⁶ This observation had resonances for the Irish cultural nationalist movements about which they became, understandably, fixated.

DECLINE OF THE IRISH LANGUAGE

According to Whitely Stokes the population of Irish speakers in Ireland c1799 (twenty seven years after the publication of Herder's essay) was approximately 60 percent of the overall population. Using the most generous estimates, those of K. H. Connell, who states that the Irish population stood at roughly 4,753,000 in the year 1791,¹⁷ and the *Census of Ireland.*, for the year 1821 which estimates a figure of 5,400,000 in 1804, we can cautiously assume that the figure for the year 1799 stood in or around the 5,000,000 mark. The figure of 3,000,000 people then, conceding to Stokes, spoke Irish at the turn of the eighteenth century. By 1851 this figure had dropped dramatically to around 1,500,000 or roughly 23 per cent of a total population of 6,600,000.¹⁸ However, one and a half million Irish speakers must be considered a healthy enough base for a language to survive. This being the case why then was it deemed necessary that the language needed 'preserving' only twenty-five years after this figure was produced¹⁹; and how can this headlong rush towards the adoption of English be explained? Behind the obvious answer - this being the effects of the famine, death and emigration - there lay other, more oblique, reasons behind the decline of the language in the population that survived and remained in Ireland. Sean de Freine offers the sociologist Neil Smelser's 'Theory of Collective Behaviour' as a possible explanation. This theory offers an explanation for social behaviour which is engaged in collectively and which appears to be at variance with their traditional way of doing things. 'It is', de Freine states:

Characterised by panic, hysteria, or utopianism, or by a mixture of these emotions. This behaviour is likely to occur at times of severe cultural strain. It represents an irrational hope of relieving the strain by trying to escape from the limitations of an intolerable reality. Essentially collective behaviour seeks to short-circuit the constraints imposed by the nature of things.²⁰

The application of this theory however, fails by its assumption that the behaviour is 'irrational'; for those engaged in carrying out this type of behaviour it is unquestionably rational. For pragmatic reasons it made sense, in an increasingly commercial and industrialized world, to speak the language which dictated the Irish economy, or the economies in which the majority of the Irish diaspora found themselves working and living. Hyde had said as much himself.²¹ This can be considered a wholly rational or utilitarian explanation for the acquisition of English, and it can be understood as the major pull factor. The push factor associated the Irish language with the twin ogres of dereliction and poverty. The appeal of the English language was aspirational, and anecdotal evidence suggests that the Irish Catholic gentry had perceived it so for at least three hundred years.²² The general Victorian urge for respectability merely accelerated the process of abandonment.²³ Both factors were adequately catered for by an assimilating national school educational system,²⁴ where up until the year 1878 the Irish language was given no formal recognition.²⁵ For economic and social reasons the language shift from Irish to English was of central importance to an individual's life, and therefore his/her identity formation, and, as a consequence, to national identity. As the socio-linguist Susan Gal has shown, a contextual appreciation of the power-relations that govern all social interaction gives evidence of the limited choice of linguistic register, and by extension, of a language used in any given situation. Adopting the English language was not, therefore, a matter of choice but of necessity. The pressure of the modernizing forces of industrialization and emigration to the urban centres of the English-speaking world required a degree of literacy in the dominant language.²⁶ As dependency upon the Anglo-centric economies increased, Ireland's position on the periphery, both temporally and materially, of a historic shift in the mode of production meant that the failure of the Irish language to keep pace with this change and reinvent itself as a literate instead of a predominantly oral means of communication, called its functionality in the economic sphere into question.²⁷ Another hurdle that the Irish language had to face was the willingness of the Roman Catholic church and hierarchy to carry out the business of the devotional revolution and the new drive for orthodoxy in English. This occurred ostensibly for two reasons. First, because of the links between Protestant proselytisers and the vernacular to spread the word of God in the early part of the century; secondly because of the uncomfortable links between Gaelic culture and folk-religion and superstition. Both of these elements meant that there was no mandate and little desire on the part of officialdom within the Roman Catholic church to preach the gospel in Irish. Unfortunately then, it can be seen that materially the bread and butter realities of everyday life, and psychologically the irreversible draw of social mobility, gnawed at the very foundation of national identity. In Herder's terms the game was already up. 'By forsaking it [language]', he says, '*Volk* destroys its 'self', for language and the national consciousness to which it

gives rise are inseparably joined.²⁸ While the battle to maintain a separate Irish identity was not conceded, much of the struggle was carried out in an alien tongue. When Hyde said :

When we speak of 'the necessity for de-Anglicising the Irish nation', we mean it, not as a protest against imitating what is best in the English people, for that would be absurd, but rather to show the folly of neglecting what is Irish, and hastening to adopt, pell-mell, and indiscriminately, everything that is English, simply because it is English....I wish to show you that in Anglicising ourselves wholesale we have thrown away with a light heart the best claim which we have upon the world's recognition of us as a separate nationality.²⁹

He was responding to the accusation of Mazzini of some forty years before. There is no doubt that the icy fingers of assimilation into Britishness were felt by Hyde and his fellow cultural nationalists. The promise of the Gaelic League was to reassert the 'native peculiarities', in order to halt the absorbing process. Simultaneous with the programme for revitalising the Irish language, other markers of authenticity were to be used in demarcating Irish identity, and chief among them was a characteristic of which all nineteenth century cultural nationalists were equally and undeniably proud. The Irish musical tradition.

DAVIS, HYDE AND MORAN

For early cultural nationalists from Moore to Davis the fact is that the mode of expression of Irish national identity, was not particularly Irish. What Davis sought to create was a tradition of Irish music and song which would emulate and rival the library of ballad-poetry of Scotland and France. As Burns had done for the Scots and Beranger for the French, so Davis attempted to fabricate, from the remnants of Gaelic culture, a *repertoire* of Irish expression. Moore had begun the work, and received the praise of Young Ireland for it, although in Davis's opinion Moore was 'too delicate and subtle' for the middle and lower classes. Moore and his co-arranger Sir John Stevenson had borrowed from many sources including Sir Edward Bunting's collection of harp music, and they were the first to popularise Irish sentiment in the English language. The international success of the *Melodies* shows that it was possible, by a process of gentrification to extract from traditional Gaelic folk-music a native quality, and give it universal appeal. Paradoxically, it can be argued that this success contributed to the greater Anglicisation of Irish culture by exploiting the market of romantic sentimentality. A linguistic anomaly may be considered Davis's blind-spot in his attempt to construct a separate Irish identity. In calling for a ballad history of Ireland, which it was hoped would be carried out in both the English and Irish languages, the songs and poems that appeared in the pages of the *Nation* were in the main conducted through the medium of English. Publication of these English language Irish nationalist ballads (and Davis was a regular contributor) meant that Davis conceded the language point *de facto* while continuing the rhetorical argument. This acquiescence to the dominant culture merely reflected the state of Irish society as the process of Anglicisation in its many guises gained momentum. However, morally and musically, he saw a clear division between the Irish and the English. The following passage is worth quoting at length as it shows Davis's affection for Irish music:

No enemy speaks slightly of Irish music, and no friend need fear to boast of it. It is without rival. Its antique war-tunes, such as those of O'Byrne, O'Donnell, Alestom, and Brian Boru, stream and crash upon the ear like the warriors of a hundred glens meeting : and you are borne with them to battle, and they and you charge and struggle amid cries, and battle axes and stinging arrows. Did ever a wail make a man's marrow quiver, and fill his nostrils with the breath of the grave, like the ululu of the north or the wirrasthru of Munster. Stately are their slow, and recklessly splendid their quick marches, their 'Boyne Water' and 'Sios agus Sios liom,' their 'Michael Hay,' and 'Gallant Tipperary'. The Irish jigs and planxties are not only the best dancing tunes, but the finest quick, marches in the world. Some of them would cure a paralytic and make the marble legged prince in the *Arabian Nights* charge like a Fag-an-Bealach boy. The hunter joins in every leap and yelp of the 'Fox Chase' ; the historian hears the moan of the Penal Days in 'Drimindhu,' and sees the embarkation of the Wild Geese in 'Limerick Lamentation' ; and ask the lover if his breath does not come and go with 'Savourneen Deelish' and 'Lough Sheelin.'³⁰

Compare this to the disdain that Davis shows towards the songs of the Saxon:

England's songs are among the worst in the world. Haynes Bayley's ornate melodies are among the best things she has; these are adequate to tell the sick sentiment of the West end; but what songs has she to tell her deeds: and her passions? . Humour the English have not, so they naturally borrow the gay songs of Ireland and Scotland: where these fail they versify the slang of London thieves and rural poachers, and think they have humorous songs.³¹

Davis encouraged Charles Gavan Duffy to compile and publish the *Spirit of the Nation*, a collection of songs and ballad poetry, over a quarter of which were composed by Davis himself, the rest contributed by the management and readers of the *Nation*. In this collection Davis saw the perfect antidote to the cheap symbolism which littered the 'national' balladry which he described as the 'cabbage and artificial flowers called Harps and Shamrocks and Minstrels, now unhappily current...'.³² However the project, which was an undeniable success could not stem the tide of vulgarity among the peasantry which was usually associated with English, if Douglas Hyde is to be believed. On the subject of folk-songs in the English language Hyde has this to say, 'the folk-songs in English which have spontaneously sprang up and taken root amongst the peasantry— [are] poor and scanty successors of the noble army of those which they are displacing or have displaced...'.³³ Unfortunately Hyde was not comparing like with like: the noble army of which he spoke was the bardic poetry of the Gaelic Bards who were part of the elite retinue of a chieftain's household. What rankled with his sensibilities was the jarring of his bourgeois ideal of the Irish peasantry with the day-to-day coarseness, or the rough and tumble, of actual peasant life. He cites this example of an autobiographical piece which was composed, 'by a man who, when he was young, never spoke English but who in his old age, attempted to tell in English verse how he was robbed of the price of a little black pig he had sold at the fair:

I went to the fair like a sporting young buck,
And I met with a dame,
Who belonged to the game,
And up to me came,
To be sure of her luck.
She tipped me a wink,
And we went into drink,
We danced a few reels,
And wan double jig.
But in the phweel round
She slipped her hand down,
And robbed me quite bare of
The price of me pig.³⁴

Why would the essence of this piece be any more worthy in Irish rather than English, save for the fact that it was in Irish? Hyde longed for a romantic image of Ireland similar in tone and language to 'the beautiful and pure lyrics of such masters as Moore, Mangan, Davis, and Griffin, as well as the songs from that golden repertoire the *Spirit of the Nation*. Instead what he got was more of the 'semi-barbarous productions which are as yet only too prevalent in the homes and round the hearths of the Irish nation...'.³⁵ The fact that this was a popular style, that verses like the 'Little black pig' stressed what was important and spoke of the concerns of, the *menu peuple*, and was indeed race of the soil and eluded many nationalist visionaries. What Hyde lamented is the degenerative aspect that he sees in the popular. Gaelic Ireland is idealised, the popular is vulgar and materialistic; the popular is English.

To a certain extent this was a similar attitude to that of David Patrick Moran. Moran's foremost attack was aimed at what he saw as the colonisation of the Irish mind by all aspects of English culture. He undertook to perform a lobotomy on what he termed 'the English mind in Ireland'. The Irish mind itself had become infected by the images that the Irish people were exposed to in the British 'gutter press' and 'music halls'. And among the most debilitating images were those reflections of themselves, which therefore led to misplaced feelings of inferiority. Like Davis before him, Moran considered an Irish literature to be essential to the creation of an Irish identity and to safeguard the morals of the nation. Unlike Davis, his vision was of a Gaelic Irish literature and literature written in English about Ireland was, at best, a tolerable evil. Due to the influence of the Gaelic League an

exclusivist understanding of what the Irish nation was developed. Exclusive on the grounds of aspiration rather than ethnicity, which Moran considered a political ploy and therefore not in reality a stumbling-block to the formation of an all-Ireland Irish identity. Ethnicity or 'race' for nationalists was to be consigned to the mists of history and sunk, as Davis had devoutly wished in a sea of common interests for a greater Ireland. The criteria necessary for inclusion in Moran's Irish Ireland were fluid, not all the *Gael* were *Gael*, for instance the *shoneens* and many nationalist politicians; and not all the *Gall* were *Gall*, for instance Douglas Hyde. One could choose to be Irish as long as one conformed to Moran's ideal of Irishness; this included speaking the Irish language, and more importantly the rejection of all things English in order to create an environment which would encourage the healthy growth of international misunderstanding. On the subject of international relations Moran outlined his position in the aptly titled chapter 'The Battle of Two Civilisations,' in *The Philosophy of Irish Ireland*:

The cry of the friendly Englishman fully responded to by the 'reasonable' Irish man is, 'Let us know more about Irishmen and let Irishmen know more about us ; we will learn to understand one another?' As against this view it is absolutely clear to me, though the expression may appear to have some of the form of a 'bull' that when the two nations understand one another there is from that moment on only one nation. International misunderstanding is one of the marks of nationhood.³⁶

It was in the consumption of popular literature, the gutter press, and the music hall that Moran perceived the slide into assimilation. In the last, the Dublin Jackeens imitated the Cockney Johnnies, and the phenomenon of the West Briton was at its most potently ignorant. Songs such as *Out At The Same Game as You or Up to Dick*, which contained lyrics that required the audience to conspire with the singer portraying a con-man in the first instance, and a rakish Romeo in the second, Moran believed fuelled imitation of English mores, values, and behaviour. This, Moran was convinced, was the root of Ireland's problems, its identity crisis.³⁷ Diatribes aimed at the *shoneens*, *Jackeens*, *Johnnies*, *cads*, and *adventuresses*, accompanied by a stock of 'modern' linguistic formulas such as 'up to date,' knowing 'a thing or two,' and 'women with a past,' who invariably were delighted to drink 'sham by the quart and swallow oysters by the dozen' were all meant to highlight alien, derogatory, and immoral characteristics. In Herder's terms, the 'culture of the Other' was represented in such a way as to deliberately raise feelings of 'contempt and disgust' in the individual...³⁸ Representations of Irish characters on stage, whether these be by English actors and actresses or native Irish, Moran recognised as reinforcing the negative stereotype of the drunken stupid Irishman and the witless Irishwoman.³⁹ It was this form of representation, in Moran's view, which further prompted Anglicisation. The audience could applaud the caricatures on stage because they did not recognise themselves or relate them to their own personalities. Moran politicised popular entertainment in order to force this recognition, on the grounds that it was conveying the wrong sort of message, particularly in undermining confidence in the Irish mind. As for drama, the most popular plays contained adultery, lewd behaviour, sexual innuendo and promoted improper roles for women as is seen in the series of 'Girl' comedies which were performed at the Gaiety in the closing decade of the century.⁴⁰ In Moran's opinion exposure to this immoral theatre encouraged English behaviour among the Irish.

MUSICAL CO-HABITATION

The dichotomy of material Britain versus spiritual Ireland was tailor-made to suit the political agenda of a 'national' literature that the literary Celtic revivalists pursued. To exploit this dichotomy and promote a similar vision to Douglas Hyde's, Dr. Annie Patterson, supported by A. P. Graves (both members of the National Literary Society) proposed in 1894 the founding of a musical and literary festival along the lines of the Welsh Eisteddfod. Although the proposal gained broad support from the various wings of the cultural nationalist movement, a rift occurred between those who envisioned an exclusively native celebration dominated by a concern for the Irish language revival and led by elements from the Gaelic League; and a less dogmatic view which concentrated on an aesthetic basis where excellence, and proficiency in the broader categories of music and literature would apply.⁴¹ As a consequence of this split not one, but two festivals were inaugurated in May 1897. An tOireachtas which had the backing of the Gaelic League, was revivalist in nature. This festival promoted traditional culture and music, and innovation was subordinate to purity. The second festival was the Feis Ceoil. The Feis, supported as it was by a wide array of Anglo-Irish literary figures and musicians, held out the possibility, in the words of Harry White, 'of [a] reconciliation between the ethnic repertory

and the European aesthetic'.⁴² Its remit was according to Dr. Patterson 'to promote the general cultivation of music in Ireland, with particular reference to Irish music.' The first Feis was held in Dublin from 18 to 21 May 1897 and was attended by 'an ambassador' from the Gorsedd and the National Eisteddfod and was considered an overwhelming success.⁴³ It was divided into competitions and concerts. Reports in the *Musical Herald* suggest that art music composed by Irish composers was set high on the agenda, however, traditional or folk music was not neglected and this made up a large part of the competition. The success of the Dublin Feis ensured its continuation up to the present, but its second year is instructive as to its perception and the perception of Irish culture at this time by a section of Irish/British society within a geographic space which has become known for its antipathy towards the Gaelic tradition. In 1898 the Feis was held in Belfast for the first time and succumbing to the competitive spirit of the period the city, by the account of the *Musical Herald*, outdid Dublin's efforts of the year before:

Belfast did exceedingly well last month, ...The Ulster Hall was crowded when a concert by the prize winners was given, and the performance of Sullivan's *Golden Legend* was another leading event. The reception given by the Lord Mayor was also a great success. A couple of Irish pipers played during the arrival of guests.... When the Feis was inaugurated in Dublin, nearly a thousand performers, including choirs and bands took part, but Belfast has improved upon this standard by the enlisting of 1,500 competitors, and the permanency of the institution seems assured.

The value of the early Feiseanna for Irish traditional music has been questioned particularly regarding the competitive aspect and the inappropriate settings for performance. Although traditional music did indeed play second fiddle to the high-blown Irish compositions which conformed to the more prestigious European art music conventions, this is only to be expected of a project which was so heavily influenced and sponsored by the Royal Irish Academy of Music.⁴⁴ That said however, as a series of events the Feiseanna, and especially those held in Belfast, provide quite a useful barometer for gauging the mood of tolerance that existed between the various traditions on the island. The fact that Irish pipers had accompanied the arrival of the guests to a function held by the Lord Mayor of Belfast suggests that, musically at least, there was still a shared space wherein the 'romantic structure of feeling' that 'authentic' Irish peasant culture generated had not yet become the sole preserve of advanced cultural nationalism. The political environment in the *fin-de-siècle* period diminished the likelihood of such a symbolic accommodation between the two traditions taking place as a more militant form of both unionism and nationalism piled the cultural sandbags higher and dug in for a long winter of mutual 'misunderstanding'.

CONCLUSION

The dialogue necessary for identity formation, between national consciousness and international recognition was a conversation that grew in volume as the nineteenth century progressed. To become conscious of difference as the prime characteristic of differentiation as the language dwindled, (the element above all others according to Herder's doctrine that encapsulated the genius of a *Volk*) was the contradiction that had to be overcome by actively engaged cultural nationalists. Throughout the century the accent on national identity was continually shifting as is reflected in the discourse surrounding Irishness. From Davis's all Ireland Irishness to Moran's exclusive Irish Ireland; from the realisation of identity, the rousing into consciousness summed up in the tropes of slumber that appear in the ballads such as 'The West's Asleep' and 'Awake and Lie Dreaming No More'; to the urgency of preservation, revitalisation, indeed resuscitation that was the *raison d'être* for the founding of the Gaelic League the stress on the question of the opposing 'Other' for Irish identity was relocated towards a reflexive self, from the Saxon to the Shoneen.

ENDNOTES

- 1 D. P. Moran, *The Philosophy of Irish Ireland* (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, 1906)
- 2 P. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press 1977 [1972]) pp. 86-7. Bourdieu describes the habitus as the dynamic process in both the individual and the group by which these external stimuli that are experienced at different times and in different sequences by members of a particular class or group, allow for strategies and agency which enable the actors interests, as they are perceived by them, to be achieved. It must be remembered that this identity forming process is according to Bourdieu, ‘dominated by the earliest experiences’.
- 3 K. Hetherington, *Expressions of Identity: Space, Performance, Politics* (London: Sage Publications, 1998).
- 4 Ibid., p. 138.
- 5 P. Galvin, *Irish Songs of Resistance* (New York: Oak Publications, 1962) pp. 1-8.
- 6 S. Stark, *Men in Blackface* (USA: Xlibris Corporation, 2000) pp 37-42. By 1870 New York city held over 200,000 Irish-born residents. Philadelphia had over 96, 000, Brooklyn had 74,000 while Boston had almost 60, 000 and Chicago had 40,000. The population of Irish born living in Britain was approximately three quarters of a million in 1851.
- 7 C. J. Friedrich (ed.), *The Philosophy of Hegel*. (New York: Modern Library, 1953) pp. 399-411. Emphasis added.
- 8 G. H. Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society: From the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934) pp. 144-64.
- 9 Moran, p. 98.
- 10 B. King, *Mazzini*, (London, 1902) pp. 106-7.
- 11 J. J. Ryan ‘Nationalism and Music in Ireland.’ (PhD. diss., National University of Ireland, 1991) pp. 112-3.
- 12 F. M. Barnard, *Herder’s Social and Political Thought, from Enlightenment to Nationalism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965) p. 56.
- 13 Ibid., p. 57.
- 14 Ibid., p. 58.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 K. G. Gerold, *Johann Gottfried Herder 1803-1978* trans., K. Hamnett (Bonn, 1978) p. 26
- 17 K. H. Connell, *The population of Ireland, 1750-1845.*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950) pp. 24-5.
- 18 Sean de Freine, The Dominance of the English Language in the 19th Century, in D O’Muirithe, *The English Language in Ireland, Thomas Davis Lecture series* (Dublin: Mercier Press, 1977) pp. 74-8.
- 19 The Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language was founded in 1876.
- 20 de Freine, pp. 82-6.
- 21 D. Hyde, A Plea for the Irish Language in *The Dublin University Review* August 1886.
- 22 In Hugh MacCurtain’s *The Elements of the Irish Language* (Louvain 1728) ‘Preface to the Itngenious and Generous Reader’ he sets out, ‘. . .to use all my Endeavours and Industry, to publish a more full and correct Grammar of the said language, now in its decay and almost in Darkness, even to the Natives themselves...It is certain, most of our Nobility and Gentry have abandoned it, and disdained to learn or Speake the same these 200 years past. . .’ in D. Daly, *The Young Douglas Hyde. The Dawn of the Irish Revolution and Renaissance 1874-1893* (Totowa, N. J.: Rowman and Letterfield, 1974) p. 41.
- 23 R. V. Comerford, Nation, Nationalism, and the Irish Language in T. E. Hachey, *Perspectives on Irish Nationalism* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1989) pp. 20-42.
- 24 M. McCarthy, *Passing it on, the Transmission of Music in Irish Culture* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1999) pp. 56-71.
- 25 The first official recognition of the Irish language by a department of government took place in 1878 when The Commissioners of National Schools decided to ‘grant Result Fees for proficiency in the Irish language on the same basis as applicable to Greek, Latin and French’ This was and was

- the result of a Memorial forwarded to the commission by the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language in June 1878. (Daly. 43).
- 26 This point is amply illustrated in the *Report of W. Scott Coward for the Royal Commission of Inquiry, Primary Education, Ireland 1869* p. 97. ‘The Rev. Mr. Lucy, the administrator of one of the mensal parishes in the Roman Catholic diocese of Ross, told me that emigration to America was setting in steadily from his part of the country, and that it was giving a stimulus to education, for the people were getting to know more and more fully the advantages the educated emigrant possesses. They derived this information from correspondence with their friends in that country, and from reading (frequently American) newspapers.
- 27 On the effects of industrialization on nationalism and culture see E. Gellner *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1983) pp. 19-38.
- 28 Barnard, p. 58.
- 29 D. Hyde, *The Review of Irish Literature* (London, 1901).
- 30 T. W. Rolleston (ed.) *Thomas Davis Prose Writings* (Dublin: Talbot Press, 1914) pp. 188-9.
- 31 *Nation*, 21 Dec. 1844.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Daly., p 112.
- 34 Ibid., p. 113.
- 35 Ibid., p. 114.
- 36 Moran, p. 94.
- 37 ‘The music hall as we know it is, we submit, absolutely and entirely British ; and the music halls as they are, are tolerated in Dublin not because Dublin is ‘hopelessly British,’ but because Dublin is like a bit of soft putty, that will hold anything that is fired at it. Ireland being now an imitating nation, originates nothing, and hasn’t the stamina to object to much.’ *Leader*, 20 Oct. 1900.
- 38 T. Meyer, *Identity Mania, Fundamentalism and the Politicization of Cultural Differences*, trans., Ms. Madhulika Reddy and Prof. L. Hinchman (London: Zed Books, 2001)p. 103.
- 39 On the historical literary representation of the Irish see J. Leerssen, *Mere Irish and Fíor-Ghael* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1996) and , *Remembrance and Imagination* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1996)
- 40 *Leader*, 22 Sept. 1900.
- 41 White, pp. 110-3.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 *Musical Herald* 1 June, 1897.
- 44 McCarthy, pp. 75-6.

ALL THAT FALL: HOW SAMUEL BECKETT ENHANCED RADIO DRAMA THROUGH MUSICAL STRUCTURE

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Radio drama offered Beckett an ideal genre in which to present such themes as perpetual solitary existence, overwhelming memories and the act of artistic creation. He used music to present his 'fundamental sounds' within this sonic dimension. All That Fall, Beckett's first radio play, possesses a richly musical texture and develops a new phase of radio drama in which music is no longer subordinate to plot but imbues the form and narrative with a new sophistication.

INTRODUCTION

Samuel Beckett's first radio drama, *All That Fall*, opens in a very bizarre manner. We hear 'rural sounds', four animal calls, first separately, then together. This is followed by silence, which in turn is followed by the faint sounds of a gramophone playing Schubert's *Lied, Death and the Maiden*.

In the first production of the play, produced by Donald McWhinnie for the BBC, the listener in these few seconds also becomes aware that the animal sounds are non-realist. They are the product of mimicry of actors and manipulation of these voices by the BBC Sound Department. McWhinnie appears to have been alert to the playfulness of the author's intentions, as reflected in Beckett's embryonic ideas for the play:

Never thought of radio play technique but in the dead of t'other night
got a nice gruesome idea full of cartwheels and dragging feet and
puffing and panting which may or may not come to something.¹

This sense of fun, of playing with the expectations of the listener, the author's appreciation of the sonic nature of the medium of radio and his wish to use a musical framework in order to guide the listener, result in a richly resonant work. In his first foray into radio Beckett recognised the unique possibilities of this genre which in turn would enhance the direction of his subsequent writing. In this paper, I wish to consider the manner in which Beckett and McWhinnie utilised music in order to develop radio drama.

PLOT

In *All That Fall*, we listen into the world of a corpulent old Irishwoman named Maddy Rooney. It is a bright Saturday morning as she makes her way with great difficulty along a country road to Boghill railway station. Here she will collect her blind husband Dan. It is his birthday. Along the road Maddy meets with various gentlemen, each travelling in her direction at differing speeds. Upon arrival at the station Maddy is helped up the steps to the platform by Miss Fitt, a pious spinster. Suspense builds for those awaiting the train as it has been delayed for an unexplained reason. When at last the train arrives Dan is enigmatic about the reasons for the delay. As the couple walk slowly home, Dan's stick tapping, Maddy's feet falling heavily, the once fine day clouds over. Rain is beginning to fall when Jerry, a station boy, catches up with them with an object which he says Dan left behind. He informs Maddy that the train was delayed by an accident involving a child who fell from a carriage and was killed. With only this much information, Dan and Maddy disappear into a tempest of wind and rain.

RADIOPHONIC CHALLENGES

In terms of radio production the scope of the play throws up many challenges to a director, not least, how to convey to a radio audience Maddy's movement (and the movement or stationary nature of people and objects relative to her) while using a fixed microphone. A director would also have to consider the *timbre* of Maddy's voice; for example, how is the actress to convey the private and the public voices of Maddy? Often Maddy is speaking inwardly or thinking aloud. However she also can jump from this private murmur to a more public voice, as we hear in the opening scene:

Mrs Rooney: Poor woman. All alone in that ruinous old house [*Music louder. Silence but for music playing. The steps resume. Music dies. Mrs Rooney murmurs, melody. Her murmur dies. Sound of approaching cartwheels. The cart stops. The steps slow down, stop.*] Is that you, Christy?²

The action of the play is also conveyed to us through the filter of Maddy Rooney. By this I mean that any world represented in this drama is a personalised, subjective one which belies the surface realism of the play. For example, if Maddy has difficulty decoding a ringing sound as a bicycle ('Your bell is one thing, Mr. Tyler, and you are another.'³), then this sound should also be initially made strange to the blind listener, whose sole guide through the play is Maddy. Her lyrical passages which evoke the surrounding pasture land are another clue to the director that the play is not intended as a mirror held up to nature. Note here that Maddy's words magically invoke the sounds which they signify:

Mrs Rooney: All is still. Not living soul in sight. There is no one to ask. The world is feeding. The wind – [*Brief wind.*] – scarcely stirs the leaves and the birds – [*Brief chirp.*] – are tired singing. The cows – [*Brief moo.*] – and sheep – [*Brief baa.*] – ruminant in silence. The dogs – [*Brief bark.*] – are hushed and the hens [*Brief cackle.*] – sprawl torpid in the dust. We are alone.⁴

The question the listener should be asking and which the director needs to explore is whether Maddy is guiding us through a rural landscape or whether we are eavesdropping on the internal *skullscape* of an individual isolated from humanity.⁵

With the above considerations in mind, Donald McWhinnie seized upon the necessity to strike a balance between avant-garde sound techniques from the BBC Sound Department under Desmond Briscoe (which would remind the listener the ephemeral quality of existence in this play) and using musical structure as a means of signposting for the listener as Maddy makes her round trip journey.

Briscoe at the Sound Department chose to create sounds which were not simply recordings of sounds from nature – a bird, a cartwheel or a train, but created synthesised sounds. These combine human mimicry and what was at that point new recording technology which could slow down, speed up or manipulate voices and sounds. This was the pioneering stage of sound effects which we take very much for granted in the twenty-first century.

Beckett was actually unimpressed by the use of human voices for the rural sounds when he listened into the 1957 broadcast. In 1989, Everitt C. Frost, who produced *All That Fall* for the American Beckett Festival of Radio Plays, sought to incorporate nature recordings of these animals. He points to the fact that, within the play, there is much discussion by Maddy of the unchanging nature of animal communication since 'Arcady'.⁶ In his opinion, therefore, to substitute animal sounds with human mimicry would undermine this fixity which contrasts with the shifting meaning of human communication.

McWhinnie, in his 1957 broadcast, chose mimicry for both pragmatic and creative reasons. If the play were to be broadcast live the incorporation of animal recordings would have been more difficult to execute than manipulation of actors' voices. He was also adamant that the play would be enhanced by highlighting its musicality and he believed that human voices slowed down by Desmond Briscoe would fit in more effectively with the tempo of the play. I believe that such synthesis suits this play well when even the simplest of words do not always signify anything in this sonic universe. Consider such lines as 'Mind your feather, Ma'am'⁷; 'It looks like a kind of ball. And yet it is not a ball.'⁸. In the absence of a visual context, the referential meaning of a feather or a ball is lost. Briscoe and McWhinnie were attuned to the musical formalism of the play as well as realising that radio drama is an ideal medium in which to focus upon the personal crisis rather than the public conflict:

It is possible to achieve the subtlest variation, the finest nuance, when one is working microscopically – that is to say focusing one's effects rather than projecting them.⁹

A useful parallel to this is the adaptation of the unamplified concert voice of singers since earliest sound recordings to the radiogenic crooning voice of such singers as Bing Crosby in the 1930s. The new sound technology of the medium influenced the creative process.

It is interesting to observe McWhinnie's conductor-like character while producing the play. He managed to balance a concern for the instructions of the playwright with an independence of mind in his interpretation of the script:

The author specifies four animals; this corresponds exactly to the four in the bar metre of Mrs Rooney's walk [...] which is the percussive accompaniment to the play and which, in its larger stages, becomes charged with emotional significance in itself. But in this case it is impossible to use real animal sounds. The way to deal with the problem seems to be by complete stylisation of each sound.¹⁰

He brings this same enthusiasm for Beckett material in subsequent radio plays, particularly in his equally successful interpretation of *Embers*, Beckett's second BBC play.

AN DIE MUSIK

Of course, when considering the musicality of this play it is important to question what we mean by a play being musical and what Beckett's own musical intentions were. Many critics have noted musical reference and musical form in both his novels and plays. This should come as no great surprise, as the author had a deep love of music and always sought to imbue his writing with techniques taken from the visual arts and music. Likewise, in performance, actors such as Billie Whitelaw were directed by Beckett not to interpret his text but simply to allow the words resonate through them. Whitelaw recalls often feeling more like a musical instrument than an actor. The author seeks in music a freedom from explicit interpretation. In music he finds an expressive freedom which the American conductor Philip Glass articulates in an interview with Mary Bryden, 'music has fluidity. It exists in a world without objects and colloquial complications and so we have a certain freedom in music which we don't have with words.'¹¹

Another contribution in *Samuel Beckett and Music* by Clarence Barlow¹² considers the 'text-music' of *Ping*. This essay makes specific reference to the repetitive nature of the short prose piece which uses 962 words but draws only on a vocabulary of 123. This notion of repetition as being intrinsically musical in *Ping* is compared to the cumulative effect of Ravel's *Bolero* which similarly uses the musical form of the *passacaglia*, a limited number of notes within a fixed rhythm, which creates a mesmeric effect and culminates in an explosive climax.

Indian classical music, such as sitar ragas, involves a virtuoso musician making music with a strict number of notes within a scale. This 'improvisation' is made within a recognisable musical framework. The success or failure of adapting this type of repetition in literature rests on the obvious difference between the basic units of music being pitch notes and those of literature being words:

The differences between a form which uses semantically definitive units and one which orders non-referential units.¹³

Listeners to a play, poem or song will be receptive to such repetition only if it is effected with a certain subtlety – a verbal patterning, internal rhyme, and recurring motifs. If not used prudently, the intended musical dynamism could simply be dull monotony.

In the *nouveau roman* movement in France during the 1950s, writers like Alain Robbe-Grillet sought a dense patterning within short stories and novels such as *La Plage* and *Le Labyrinthe*. The ambition to create this effect within prose is doubly challenging, as a reader is unlikely to read such works aloud. Robbe-Grillet shows less concern for conventions of fiction such as plot, and character description and more for experiments with form. Words, lines and paragraphs are repeated again and again with new detail being inserted very gradually, which in turn will be repeated in subsequent passages. This device is utilised to great effect by Beckett as discussed by Edith Fournier:¹⁴

These constant echoes take on a variety of aspects. Sometimes it is the endless repetition of the same sentence, an identical chord struck from time to time. For example 'who(m) else' (*in That Time and in Rockaby*), the most searing, simple, and poignant expression of solitude possible. Sometimes, it is the return to the beginning of the work which must be wholly and endlessly repeated – the dantesque spiral of *Play*. At other times, it is the reiteration of the same sentence, either minutely modified, or augmented by a term which amplifies it:

another like herself
another creature like herself¹⁵

If such patterning is difficult to appreciate in prose form, Beckett finds in radio an ideal genre in which to create subtle musical form which may give a suitable framework to his content of his play. While in later radio plays such as *Cascando* and *Words and Music*, he chooses a more avant-garde musical form; in his first radio play, Beckett borrows musical devices from Schubert. This has a double advantage: it eases the potential first-time listener into his work and also presents the writer with a form and a composer with which he is entirely familiar. He spoke once to John Beckett of Schubert's *String Quartet in A minor* as being 'more nearly pure spirit than any other music'.¹⁶

Schubert's *Lied, Death and the Maiden* was composed in 1817 and such was its success that he incorporated its melody into the second movement of the 1824 *Quartet in D minor*. If, as I suggest, we take this music, which we hear at the outset of the play as a rough model for the Beckett's play, the first thing to note is the theme and variation form of the second movement. Set at a dirge-like pace, the four instruments play a theme, namely a verse from Claudius's poem, five times and conclude with a brief coda. Each development presents the theme differently, the main melody being swapped between violin and cello. An antiphonal (call and answer) dialogue occurs between these instruments in the second section.

Can this act as a neat model for Beckett's play? Well, no, it acts merely as a guide to the listener, but if one seeks a rigid adherence to the theme and variation form the author inserts many pitfalls along the way. Let us consider the following: the play opens with a brief prelude or exposition involving two brief quartets divided by a caesura:

Rural sounds. Sheep, bird, cow, cock, severally, then together.

Silence.

*Mrs Rooney advances along country road towards railway station. Sound of her dragging feet. Music faint from house by way. 'Death and the Maiden' The steps slow down, stop.*¹⁷

This is followed by a journey which is divided into three movements. The exposition, Maddy's slow outward journey, is the 'feminine' (i.e., dominance of a female voice and female themes). The development, the wait at the railway station, becomes more 'masculine' (Maddy's voice risks being crowded out by male characters who talk among themselves and are often oblivious to Maddy's presence). It is scherzo-like in pace, due to the hustle and bustle on the platform. The final movement or recapitulation is the couple's return journey which slows again and sees the submission of the feminine voice to the more brutish male tones of Dan Rooney. This suggested structure of the plot owes more to basic sonata form than to theme and variation. This is the form of the first movement of the *Quartet in D minor*. Within this framework, as mentioned above, the themes and motifs are developed and interwoven.

Within the play the theme of seduction is developed five times. This is the theme of the original Claudius poem. As Maddy Rooney walks (in four-in-the-bar rhythm according to the McWhinnie production) along the road, she encounters five adult men – there are five developments of the theme in the *andante con moto* second movement of Schubert's quartet. Each man, we could say is a potential suitor to Maddy, the 'maiden'. Christy, Mr. Tyler and Mr. Slocum are propelled by an individual form of locomotion, a jinny, a bike and a car. Each is accorded feminine gender by their owners and by Maddy. Each is having difficulty advancing. With these three gentlemen, Maddy speaks of the weather, of their modes of transport and of a female relative, a mother or a daughter. All of these women appear in a state of inexorable, painless decline and sterility, as is Maddy, as is the jinnet and the chicken Mr. Slocum runs over. Thus, we note the recurring motifs of childlessness, sterility and maidenhood.

A turning point in the structure of the play occurs at the train station, Maddy meets the stationmaster, Mr. Barrell, who possesses neither a troublesome vehicle nor an ailing wife, daughter or mother. He does seem, however, in perpetual motion and violently impatient with both his employees and Maddy as he prepares for the arrival of the delayed train.

It is with the arrival, first of the 'up-mail' (a teaser in anticipation of the true punctuation which is about to arrive) which thunders through the station and the masculine twelve-thirty train delivering Dan to Maddy, that the once-bright morning begins to darken. As with the seduction of the maiden by Death in Claudius's poem, Dan's dark brooding character begins to dominate more and more during the couple's return. Is this our personification of Death? A man who speaks of 'cancelling the boy', Jerry, who works at the station, who wishes to murder a child, 'to nip a young doom in the bud.'¹⁸ As the couple reaches the first and final marker along the route (recapitulation), the house from

which emanates *Death and the Maiden*, we note that it is Dan who identifies this music for the first time in the play. Here Jerry arrives with an object which Dan left behind and, as Dan protests and groans, the little boy informs Maddy that a child had fallen from the train and had been killed under the wheels, hence the train's delay.

This marks the end of the play, except for a brief *coda* in which we hear the old couple's dragging feet resume awhile and then stop as the storm increases in ferocity. A promising dry morning has turned into a dark sodden afternoon. A woman's lustfulness has been overpowered by a dour unloving male figure. The climactic excitement of Maddy's lover's return to Boghill has diminished into a cane tapping in a fog of confusion.

The framework of Schubert's sonata is certainly not foolproof. Within this scenario, the tempo established by Maddy's footsteps is riddled with moments of stasis, of pauses, silences and lyrical reveries. In the polyphonic ambience of the train station Maddy's presence is momentarily lost. But the greatest upset which Beckett throws into the careful patterning is the aptly named Miss Fitt. This is the only other significant female companion of Maddy's in the play. Miss Fitt helps Maddy up the steep steps to the platform. She appears to some degree to complement the character of Maddy Rooney. If Maddy has a fuzzy, subjective perception of her aural world, the myopic Miss Fitt is also cocooned within her private world, oblivious to the sufferings of her fellow Christian. Like Maddy's idiosyncratic hearing, however, her blurred vision can at times lead to piercing insight:

Miss Fitt: So if you think I cut you just now, Mrs Rooney, you do me an injustice. All I say was a big pale blur, just another big pale blur. [*Pause.*] Is anything amiss, Mrs Rooney, you do not look normal somehow. So bowed and bent.¹⁹

In this hilarious scene, Miss Fitt and Maddy sing together while ascending the steps. The choice of hymn is ironic perhaps for the two Protestant ladies. *Lead Kindly Light* was composed by John Henry Cardinal Newman, a Protestant convert to the Roman Church and champion of Catholic education in Ireland. Maddy greatly irritates Miss Fitt. She is more interested in placing comic emphasis on certain key words, and in the rhythm and sound of the words rather than the words' salutary meaning:

[*Miss Fitt hums her hymn. After a moment Mrs Rooney joins in with the words.*] ... tum tum me on. [*Forte.*] The night is dark and I am far from ho-ome, tum tum – Miss Fitt: [*Hysterically.*] Stop it, Mrs Rooney, stop it, or I'll drop you!²⁰

Perhaps Maddy and Miss Fitt's dialogue is intended as a final feminine flourish at the conclusion of the first movement of the play before ceding to the brutish dominance of Dan Rooney. Their voices certainly contrast with the subsequent scene on the platform when, having been abandoned by Miss Fitt, Maddy is in danger of being engulfed in the sea of mostly male voices. The only other women, a mother and daughter, offer scant solidarity as they *cackle* with laughter at the odd couple of the bony Miss Fitt and the corpulent Maddy reaching the top of the steps.

This is a significant moment in the play. If we compare Maddy's linear journey to a musical composition, then she only exists if she continues to emit sounds. Her air of reality and that of the play become suddenly very flimsy indeed, For remember, we are hearing only through Maddy. In a somewhat desperate attempt to prove her existence and that of her surroundings, she turns from the other voices to make a little word painting:

Mrs Rooney: Do not flatter yourselves for one moment, because I hold aloof, that my sufferings have ceased. No. The entire scene, the hills, the plain, the racecourse with its miles and miles of white rails and three red stands, the pretty little wayside station, even you yourselves, yes, I mean it, and over all the clouding blue, I see it all, I stand here and see it all with eyes ... [*The voice breaks.*]²¹

One wonders initially how else such a scene might be viewed, if not with eyes. But Maddy is addressing us directly, the radio listener who is temporarily in the dark and who can picture the above scene with the use of their imagination. In her attempt to prove the realism of the situation Maddy succeeds in pointing out its artifice. For she is speaking directly to the audience here, like a character's aside on-stage. This reinforces the incorporeality of the play and of Maddy in particular as hinted by her on page 19 as Tommy and Mr. Rooney speak across her:

Mrs Rooney: Don't mind me. Don't take any notice of me. I do not exist. The fact is well known.

Thus, instead of sticking rigidly to one musical form, Beckett loosely combines elements of sonata and theme and variation which give shape to Maddy's journey. And just as Maddy's existence is called into question throughout the play, so too our notions of music are questioned. The patterns of footsteps and cane, of grunts, silence and laughter, and of animal sounds attain value on a par with the garbled recording of a classical standard.

DER TOD

One of the principal themes of the play is premature death. This is placed in counterpoint with the theme of slow painless demise which leads inevitably to the same terminal point. Schubert's *Quartet in D minor* is an apt prelude to the development of such a theme. *Death and the Maiden* was written by the German poet Matthias Claudius and involves the seduction of the young maiden by the personification of Death. The portrayal of Death as a pleasant though resolute suitor runs counter to its traditional presentation in literature:

The Girl: Go past, oh, go past, go cruel man of bones!
 I am still young, please go, and do not touch me!

Death: Give me your hand, you fair and tender creature;
 I am a friend and do not come to punish.
 Do not be afraid, I am not cruel.
 You shall sleep softly in my arms.²²

Schubert, who displayed mastery in the song form of the German *Lied*, first utilised this poem as a song and subsequently used the same melody as the theme of the second movement of the doom-laden quartet in 1824. Beckett utilises this piece as one of the key texts which resonate through the play. I will briefly outline how this music echoes throughout the play in terms of thematic development, stylistic Schubertian devices which may enlighten us to the non-realist, subjective nature of the play. Finally, I will consider the autobiographical nature of this choice of music.

THEMATICS

'It's suicide to be abroad today', says Maddy²³, 'but what is it to be at home, Mr. Tyler, what is it to be at home? A lingering dissolution'. In stark terms, Maddy presents the two alternatives open to her and to mankind. There is the option of remaining, foetus-like in the dubious security of bed or at home, or to choose to journey out into the world, which is her path (Billie Whitelaw speaks of Beckett referring to her 'abortive explosiveness' in the American Beckett Festival broadcast), confidently assured of the murderous pitfalls awaiting her and others along the road. Ironically the terminal point in either choice is identical. And so, with ferocious black wit, Beckett's heroine presents two variants of womankind: one which chooses slow demise and the other which battles valiantly against the inevitable.

As the gramophone music emanates faintly from a house, Maddy pauses a moment to reflect: 'Poor woman. All alone in that ruinous old house.'²⁴ With the arrival of her first male companion along the road, Christy, the pattern of call and answer is initiated as they discuss various female relatives. Maddy also expresses a female sympathy for Christy's mule that stops and only advances with a few well-placed welts upon her rump. 'How she gazes at me to be sure, with her great moist cleg-tormented eyes!'²⁵ Shortly afterwards she evokes for the first time the memory of her own daughter, who died, it appears, as a child. Briefly after this, with the arrival of Mr. Tyler on his bike, she again asks after his 'poor daughter' who has just been operated upon for a hysterectomy.²⁶ We now have a collection of women – and one mare – who fit within the category of sterility or, as quoted earlier, 'lingering

dissolution'. Even as she imagines how her daughter would be if she had survived, she does not think of Minnie in the prime of her life, but at the age of fifty, 'girding up her lovely little loins, getting ready for the change...' ²⁷

Mr. Slocum, the final suitor along the road, continues the motif of suffering women:

Mrs. Rooney: How is your mother?

Mr. Slocum: Thank you, she is fairly comfortable. We manage to keep her out of pain. That is the great thing, Mrs. Rooney, is it not?²⁸

When Mr. Slocum soon after kills a hen by accident, Maddy may initially sound mournful at the loss of another female creature. However, she can soberly reflect straight after:

Mrs. Rooney: Just one squawk and then ... Peace [Pause.] They would have slit her weasand in any case.²⁹

Now the sudden nature of her death appears a boon rather than a tragedy. The hen's death is also foreshadowing the the climax of the play, as does station master Barrell's warning 'Won't the twelve thirty be on top of us before we can turn around?'³⁰

Maddy's arrival at the station sees an inversion of the call and answer format up to this point. Mr. Barrell inquires after Maddy's recent illness and Maddy asks after his deceased *father*. Maddy describes her illness in a similar manner to how Dan will later describe an indolent, painless retirement from active engagement with the world.

However, Maddy, for all her difficulties and praise of convalescing painlessly in bed, also espouses a libidinous quality. In lustful passages she seeks release – quite literal release – from what constricts her:

Mrs. Rooney: Oh cursed corset! If I could let it out, without indecent exposure. Mr Tyler! Mr Tyler! Come back and unlace me behind the hedge! [*She laughs wildly, ceases.*]³¹

She envies the loving dove-cotes, the wife of the amorous horse butcher and she bucks the pattern of decline in the hilarious sexual parody when ascending the heights of Mr. Slocum's motorcar. In spite of the intimations we receive about her lack of true physical substance, she seeks, through simple union with her significant male companion, an assurance of her physicality, her existence:

Mrs. Rooney: Kiss me!

Mr. Rooney: Kiss you? In public? On the platform? Before the boy? Have you taken leave of your senses?³²

With the arrival of Dan and the fading away of the other Boghill inhabitants, the tone of the play becomes darker. From its promising start, the sky begins to cloud over, and by the time the boy Jerry drops the bombshell at the end of the play, the rain is now driving down in torrents. This unresolved ending leaves many listeners bewildered. The child's death has been well anticipated and Dan, blind and amoral, is our prime suspect.

One of Schubert's *Lieder* presents a musical precedent for conveying the subjective world of a heroine, namely *Gretchen am Spinnrade*. Charles Rosen³³ demonstrates the mimetic effects of the piano accompaniment of Gretchen's song from Goethe's *Faust*.

This bittersweet reminiscence by Gretchen of her lover is sung at her spinning wheel and the piano plays, on the right hand an imitation of the turning wheel, while the left hand's *sempre staccato* imitates the continuous clicking sound of the machine as well as the 'occasional impulse that the spinner's foot must give to the pedal.'³⁴ However, at measure 51, the texture is altered significantly; the spinning of the wheel is still heard but the clicking sound recedes, as Gretchen becomes more and more immersed in her amorous reverie, leading to the climax of the *Lied* where she recalls Faust's kiss. At this point the wheel stops spinning momentarily.

Rosen pinpoints Schubert's mastery of conveying Gretchen's subjective double time frame – the piano imitates her present spinning action as well as her immersion in times past:

Gretchen's sense both of the present reality of the spinning and the memories of the past, the gradual disappearance of her awareness of the present action. We must emphasise that it is not the spinning that is objectively imitated by Schubert but Gretchen's consciousness of it.³⁵

In a similar fashion Beckett builds up a similar quantity of mimetic signposts for the listener - the footfall tempo, the tapping cane, the timbres of fellow travellers, but this word-painting is undercut by Maddy herself in her direct address to the listener, her acknowledgement of her own

ephemeral quality. Human language, which she uses in order to speak herself into existence, in fact has the effect of estranging her from humanity due to its ambiguous quality:

Mr. Rooney: Do you know, Maddy, sometimes one would think you were struggling with a dead language.

Mrs Rooney: Yes indeed, Dan, I know full well what you mean, I often have that feeling, it is unspeakably excruciating.³⁶

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

My final point regarding the musicality of *All That Fall* is also linked to Schubert. Biographer Brigitte Masson³⁷ describes Schubert as the first composer to choose texts in a consciously autobiographical fashion. This is in the broadest meaning of the term. Schubert, in other words, chose from a wide variety of poetry for his *Lieder* and we see an affinity, sometimes explicitly stated, with some of the characters he has chosen. As his life altered radically with the onset of syphilis, such characters as the maiden in Claudius's poem offer Schubert what seemed like a radical alternative to constant suffering:

Ce n'est pas tant la conscience d'approcher d'un peu près la mort, cette amie redoutée et désirée de toujours, c'est beaucoup plus la conscience d'un amoindrissement et d'une condamnation à la solitude grandissante.
[It is not the knowledge of death's slow approach, that feared and desired eternal friend, it's much more the awareness of a decline, and of a condemnation to a growing solitude.]³⁸

In a letter to his friend, Kupelwieser dated March 31st, 1824, Schubert specifically aligns his own suffering with that of Gretchen, quoting the key line of her poem:

Imagine un homme dont la santé ne pourra plus jamais être bonne et qui, par désespoir, fait les choses plutôt pires que meilleure. Imagine un homme, te dis-je, dont les plus grandes espérances sont réduites à rien, auquel le bonheur de l'amour et de l'amitié n'offre plus rien que la plus grande douleur, auquel l'enthousiasme (celui qui stimule) pour le Beau menace de disparaître, et demande-toi si ce n'est pas là le plus misérable et le plus malheureux: 'Meine Ruh is hin, mein Herz ist schwer, ich finde sie nimmer und nimmer mehr.' [Imagine a man whose health will never be good and who, in desperation, makes things worse rather than better. Imagine a man, I say, whose greatest hopes have been reduced to nothing, to whom happiness and love and friendship no longer offer anything except the greatest suffering, to whom enthusiasm (the stimulating kind) for Beauty threatens to disappear, and I ask you if this is not the most miserable and the most unhappy: 'My peace is gone, my heart is heavy. Never again will I find it'.]³⁹

Gretchen's poem, which he had adapted ten years previous to the quoted letter, now bore poignancy to the increasingly isolated composer for whom death seemed the only alternative to suffering.

In turn Beckett, in *All That Fall* chooses a number of key 'texts' from which to refer, namely *Death and the Maiden*, Dante's *Purgatory* Canto III, Diderot's *Lettre sur les aveugles*, *Psalm 145* and a Jung lecture which he attended in London in 1935. In the case of Schubert and Jung's lecture, Beckett is showing an identification he felt with the sensation of never having been truly born:

J'ai toujours eu la sensation qu'il y avait en moi un être assassiné. Assassiné avant ma naissance. Il me fallait retrouver cet être assassiné. Tenter de lui redonner vie [...] Une fois, j'étais allé écouter une conférence de Jung. Il parla d'une de ses patientes, une toute jeune fille ... A la fin, alors que les gens parlaient, Jung resta silencieux. Et comme se parlant à lui même, étonné par la découverte qu'il faisait, il ajouta – 'Au fond elle n'était jamais née'. [I have always had the sensation that there is within me an assassinated being – assassinated before my birth. I needed to find that assassinated being. To attempt to bring him to life again. [...] Once, I went to hear a conference by Jung. He spoke of one of his patients, a young girl ... At the end, as people were leaving, Jung

remained silent. And as if speaking to himself, surprised by the discovery he was making, he added 'The truth is she had never been born.']⁴⁰

This 1935 lecture is parodied in Maddy's account of attending a talk by 'one of those new mind doctors.'⁴¹ She tells of the doctor describing a female patient who was dying but who had nothing physically wrong with her. In a flash of inspiration, the doctor suggests that her problem was that she had never been born in the first place. The notion that the girl had never been born stuck with Beckett for his lifetime and links in with Claudius, Schubert, the character of Minnie (was she ever born in the first place?) and Beckett's personal sense of preuterine memory.⁴²

I would suggest that this sensation which he felt can be linked to the Jungian theory of the *animus/anima* which makes up the human psyche.⁴³ Jung considers that in order for man to be whole he must develop the feminine voice within him (The opposite would be the case for a woman). The mistake made by most of mankind, according to Jungian analysis, is that we seek to project these, our potentially finest qualities, onto a lover instead of developing them from within. If the play traces this disastrous projection of her masculine side (*animus*) onto her husband Dan, it is a success for Beckett himself as he attempts to release his feminine voice for the first time, allowing it to *sing*. This female voice is heard with increasing frequency after *All That Fall* in startling forms in later stage plays such as *Happy Days*, *Footfalls* and *Not I*. Schubert too was remarkable for presenting what in the nineteenth Century was considered a more feminine form in composition (typified by the miniature *Lied*) in contrast with the musically expansive, masculine model of his towering contemporary, Beethoven:

Compared with Beethoven, Schubert is a feminine character, much more voluble, softer and broader; or a guileless child romping among giants. Such is the relationship of these symphonic movements to those of Beethoven. Their intimacy is purely Schubertian. They have their robust moments, to be sure, and marshal formidable forces. But Schubert conducts himself as wife to husband, the one giving orders, the other relying upon pleas and persuasion.⁴⁴

It is curious to read such a stereotypical reading of Schubert by one of his most ardent admirers, Schumann. Nonetheless this type of gender labelling of both Schubert and Beethoven has continued up to the present day.⁴⁵

CONCLUSION

All That Fall manages to develop a highly dynamic genre in radio drama through a multi-layered script which can be read as tragi-comedy, a murder mystery, a cryptic literary riddle or a quasi-musical score. Characters are not fixed in one location but move forward falteringly. Listeners, like an audience at a concert, are forced to pay careful attention to this linear progression while our notions of sound, noise and music are called into question from the prelude onwards. At first we may balk at the notion that the author could suggest an equivalence between the quartet of animal sounds and Schubert's sublime quartet. However, as the play progresses only the animal sounds retain their initial power and meaning while psalms, hymns, language and art music fall victim to forgetfulness, to a multitude of interpretations, and to mechanisation and distortion. The challenges for radio producers such as McWhinnie and Frost are manifold, while the listener is also obliged, when listening to this and Beckett's subsequent radio plays, to give more and more effort and commitment. Bryden expresses Beckett's wish to allow music a critical freedom which is not accorded to words. Her reflections upon the temporal quality of music are equally relevant to radio drama:

By refusing thus to domesticate it, Beckett allows music to retain for the listener its full force of ambiguity. Part of that ambiguity resides within the temporal domain. For the listener, sound and music are perceived in the intensity of the present moment. As Stravinsky asserts: 'Music is the sole domain in which man realises the present.'⁴⁶

A remark made by Professor Harry White about Beckett's later dramatic work gives an idea of the demands made upon the listener in this and his subsequent radio work:

'Like listening to difficult music for the first time.'⁴⁷

By comparing Beckett's work to that of serial composers such as Schoenberg and Webern, White highlights the difficulties for listeners who are obliged to actively engage with challenging new form and content. Any meaning or deep structure will only become clear with repeated listening.

ENDNOTES

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- 2 Samuel Beckett, *All That Fall*, *Collected Shorter Plays of Samuel Beckett*. (London, Faber & Faber, 1984), p.12
- 3 Ibid, p.14
- 4 Ibid, p.32
- 5 James Knowlson and John Pilling, *Frescoes of the Skull: The Recent Prose and Drama of Samuel Beckett*. (Edited by John Calder, Calder Publications, London, 1979)
- 6 *All That Fall*, p.34
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- 8 Ibid, p.38
- 9 Donald McWhinnie, *The Art of Radio*. (Faber & Faber, London, 1959), p.65
- 10 Ibid, p.113
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- 12 Clarence Barlow, *Song Within Words: the Programme TXMS and the Performance of Ping on the Piano*, Ibid
- 13 Catherine Laws, *Music and Language in the work of Samuel Beckett*. (PhD Thesis, University of York, 1996), p.15
- 14 Edith Fournier, *Samuel Beckett and Marcel Mihalivici: Musicians of Return, Samuel Beckett and Music*, p. 135
- 15 *Rockaby*, *Collected Shorter Plays of Samuel Beckett*, p.275
- 16 Cited in *Beckett and the Sound of Silence*, by Mary Bryden, *Samuel Beckett and Music*, p.42
- 17 *All That Fall*, p.12
- 18 Ibid, p.31
- 19 Ibid, p.23
- 20 Ibid, p.24
- 21 Ibid, p.25
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- 40 Charles Juliet, *Rencontres avec Samuel Beckett*, (Paris, P.O.L., 1999), p.15
- 41 *All That Fall*, p.35
- 42 Knowlson, p.177
- 43 Frieda Fordham, *Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious, An Introduction to Jung's Psychology*. (London, Penguin Books, 1991)
- 44 *Schumann on Music: A Selection from his Writings*. (edited and trans. Henry Pleasants, New York, 1998, 142, quoted in Gibbs, p.51
- 45 *Music and Gender, Music, A Very Short Introduction*. (Oxford University Press, 1988)
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- 47 Cited in *Something is Taking its Course*, Harry White, Ibid, p.171

LEOPOLD VON RANKE AND IRELAND: THE CREATION OF MODERN IRISH HISTORIOGRAPHY

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The research project will examine the relationship between the historian Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886) and Ireland. In particular it will concentrate on Ranke's Irish wife, Clarissa Graves, and her family, and explore the manner in which these relationships influenced Ranke's writing of English and Irish history. Clarissa's brothers Charles, John and Robert Graves were scholars of various universities in England and Ireland. All of them had access to Irish manuscripts and they helped Ranke to write his work English History (1859-1868). On several occasions Ranke asked for materials in Dublin and might have influenced Gilbert to create the Public Records Office in 1870. Within this work he created modern Irish history as he used manuscripts other historians such as Macaulay had previously neglected. Within his work Ranke stresses the importance of Ireland as an independent nation. With the help of his wife and her brothers Ranke was able to profit from a network of historical information and as his work does not follow the traditional polemical works from England, Ranke can be regarded as the father of Modern Irish Historiography.

Leopold von Ranke was the most influential historian of the 19th century. He made important contributions to the emergence of modern history as a discipline and he has been called the father of 'scientific' history. Due to him, methodical principles of archival research and source criticism became commonplace in academic institutions and he is generally credited with the professionalisation of the historian's craft.

Ranke was born in Germany in 1795 and taught for seven years in a grammar school (*Gymnasium*) at Frankfurt an der Oder. His first major work, *History of the Latin and Teutonic nations, 1494-1535*, was published late in 1824. This was based on archival research, viewed by Ranke as the foundation of all historical work, and it established his reputation as an historian. Because of the success of his book, Ranke was appointed Professor of History at the University of Berlin. Ranke went abroad late in 1827 and remained away for over three years, searching out documents in Vienna, Florence, Rome and Venice. He had many well-placed connections, which he put to good use, securing access to archives that had not been opened before. The following years were marked with publications mainly on the history of Mediterranean countries and Germany. Particularly noteworthy are *The conspiracy against Venice* (1831), *History of the Popes* (1836-36) and *History of the reformation in Germany* (1839-47).

Ranke endeavoured to understand political order within its own historical context. In this view, in order to understand the nature of any historical phenomenon like an institution or an idea, one had to consider its historical development, i.e. the changes it underwent over a period of time. Historical epochs, Ranke argued, should not be judged according to predetermined contemporary values or ideas. Rather, they had to be understood on their own terms by empirically establishing history 'as it had really been' ('*wie es eigentlich gewesen*'). Ranke emphasised both 'individuality' and 'development' in history. Each historical phenomenon, each epoch and event had its own individuality, and it was the task of the historian to establish its essence. To do this, historians had to immerse themselves in the epoch and judge it in a manner appropriate for the time. They had, in Ranke's words, 'to extinguish' their own personalities. Up to his death in Berlin in 1886 Ranke published histories of almost every European power, including smaller states like Serbia. His connections with historians, kings and courts all over Europe, especially his role as the personal historical lecturer to the kings of Bavaria and Prussia, gave him and history a prominence in public life that it would otherwise not have had.

Ranke's marriage to an Irish woman in 1843 changed his whole life. Clarissa Helena Graves, born in Dublin in 1808, came from the well-known Graves family. The Graves family was highly educated and was, in effect, an intellectual dynasty. The roots of the Graves family go back to 1647, when Colonel Graves of Mickleton in Gloucestershire commanded a regiment of horse in the army of the Parliament volunteering for service in Ireland the same year. As a result of the Cromwellian Settlement, the Graves family acquired lands and later public office in Limerick.¹ Clarissa's father was

John Crosbie Graves (1776-1835) who was Chief Police Magistrate in Dublin. In 1806 he married Helena Perceval from the equally well-known Perceval family who had lived in Ireland for centuries. From 1814 John Crosbie Graves lived at 12 FitzWilliam Square, Dublin. Helena Perceval assisted her husband in his career and shortly after their marriage Lord Redesdale, who was a patron of Helena Perceval, appointed John Crosbie Graves a Commissioner of Bankruptcy in 1806. Because of her claimed 'Royal descent' from several medieval kings of England, Ireland and France, the Perceval name was widely adopted by the children.

Ranke and Clarissa Graves encountered each other first in Paris around July/August 1843 and they met several times subsequently. The earliest document showing that the two had met is a letter of Clarissa's sister Caroline to her brother James Graves on August 15th, 1843:

Mamma has met indeed with a serious accident, how sad to think, that the power of walking is taken away for the time being from one so active, but I bett she will soon be better. Clara and she are much delighted with the society of the famous Professor Ranke, 'whom kings and queens delight to honour'. He reads English with and to them sometimes, and is montrocely [monstrously] agreeable.²

The earliest letter, in which Ranke wrote about Clarissa, was written two months later to his brother Ferdinand. A few notes in Ranke's diary indicate that they made a few day-trips as well. In September Ranke went to London, followed by Clarissa and her mother. October 1st they got engaged and on October 26th Clarissa's brother Robert Perceval officiated at the marriage in Bowness, Windermere, Westmoreland. On the same day as their marriage Ranke left England with his wife and headed back to Berlin. Arriving back in Berlin everybody was surprised to learn that Ranke was married. Clarissa was welcomed in Berlin and it was easy for her to make her life in her new home. Soon she became a well-known figure within Berlin society and she built up a kind of socialising circle, better known as 'Salon Ranke', where people of all professions and nationalities met to exchange their ideas and knowledge. High-ranking people like the brothers Grimm and the philosopher scholar Schelling, the Shakespeare-translator Wilhelm von Schlegel, persons from the ministry like Friedrich Karl von Savigny and Eichhorn, English diplomats Sir Andrew Buchanan and Lord Francis Napier, and especially the Prussian Prince George met at Luisenstrasse, the home of the Rankes, for musical parties, classes in poetry and literature (especially Shakespeare), discussions of policies and history. Clarissa also gave classes in various languages especially French, Italian and English. Even her disease, which afflicted her spinal cord making her unable to move in later years, did not affected the popularity of her salon, and Clarissa remained until her death in 1871 the head of a friendship circle of about 400 persons, some of them being close friends of Leopold as well.³

Clarissa played a central role in Ranke's private and academic life. She was responsible for finding an suitable translator for his books into English; she asked her brothers Charles, Robert Perceval and John Thomas for help in getting manuscripts for her husband.

John Thomas Graves (1806-70) was a jurist and mathematician and the eldest brother of Clarissa. As he was educated at Trinity College Dublin, and at Oxford he was called to the English and Irish bars. Later on, he was appointed Professor of Jurisprudence in London's University College, and lectured in Roman, canon, and international law. Together with Sir William Rowan Hamilton, a very close friend of the Graves's, he made discoveries in the area of logarithms. In 1839 Graves was elected a member of the Royal Society and became Poor Law inspector of England and Wales in 1847.⁴

Rev. Robert Perceval Graves (1810-93) was educated at Trinity College Dublin and served at Bowness, Windermere, England. He actually officiated at the marriage ceremony of Leopold von Ranke and Clarissa in 1843. He was also very friendly with Hamilton, and after some years in England he wished to come back to Dublin. When his brother Charles was appointed Bishop of Limerick, he was appointed Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal. He founded Alexandra College in 1866, and was a permanent supporter of the college until his death.⁵

Charles Graves (1812-99) was, perhaps, the most famous son of John Crosbie Graves and was the youngest brother of Clarissa. On his appointment as Professor of Mathematics at Trinity College Dublin in 1843, he became Dean of the Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle in 1860, and was appointed Bishop of Limerick in 1866. He had been elected a member of the Royal Irish Academy in 1837 and became its President from 1861 to 1866. Charles was a colleague of Hamilton and both of them worked on various mathematical problems. Graves was very interested in Irish antiquarian subjects. He was one of the first to publish on the ancient Irish Ogham script. He also prompted the government to

publish the Old Irish Brehon Laws. His suggestion was adopted and he was appointed a member of the Commission to do this.⁶

All three brothers were not only able to obtain the contacts with other historians to obtain access, conferences or archives especially in Ireland, they also sent Ranke copies of manuscripts for his work *English History*. Research in archives has shown that Charles Graves especially played an important role in Ranke's academic career. For example it is through his auspices that Ranke became one of the first honorary members of the Royal Irish Academy in 1849⁷, and was awarded an honorary degree at Trinity College Dublin in 1865⁸, which in some way marked the start of dozens more honorary awards to Ranke in the following years throughout Europe. Charles's admiration of Ranke is noted in a letter to his sister Clarissa in June 1852, in which he mentions his own historical work, but also the hope of an 'Irish Ranke':

While my health was very delicate I took up the study of the Irish language & Ancient History of Ireland as a recreator & alternative ... Besides this, my position as Secretary of Council to the Royal Irish Academy obliges me to give attention to matters of Irish Archaeology; & I have felt it to be a duty to use what influence I [have?] for the accomplishment of objects which any Irish literacy men believe to be of the greatest importance. Some day or other, an Irish Ranke will arise to use the materials of history which I am endeavouring to make accessible & then I shall be recognised as a useful though an humble labourer.⁹

With the start of Ranke's work *English History* he repeatedly asked Charles and Robert about the content of Dublin archives. But it seemed to be difficult to figure out the content of all manuscripts as following note of Clarissa to Robert in 1862 shows:

As to the Dublin Archives, Charles introduced to me a clever young Irishman, who told me that Dr. Todd, who only knew the contents of the Dublin University Library, and had the keeping of it, was absent in London or Paris at present.¹⁰

As this has been very unsatisfactory for Ranke, Clarissa wrote to her brother Robert the same year asking for help in figuring out what materials the Dublin archives held. She writes that Leopold

[...] bids me ask you if you know to what subject the documents that exist in the Archives in Dublin refer to the times of the restoration and the Revolution – he thinks Charles may be too busy to afford him time to answer to these questions – and that you are still in Dublin. Can you [try?] to get him any information?¹¹

Robert answered his sister promptly a few days later:

I did not forget to put to Charles the question you desired as to whether there existed in Dublin documents relating to the era of history in which Ranke is at work. He says there certainly are such documents, but he cannot say whether they are of value. Lord Macaulay was told of them, but did not take the trouble to examine them.¹²

Other letters during this time show that Charles asked historians in Ireland for different details and initial research shows that some sentences seem to recur in Ranke's work. George Petrie, whom Ranke met in 1865, maintained possible contacts with him. One original letter in French was found in his archive, but it does not seem to deal directly with Petrie.¹³ Petrie's work about the *Round Towers* and places like Clonmacnoise are given special mention in Ranke's work, which shows that he used the latest knowledge to compose a work about Irish/English history. Detailed research of the manuscripts of *English History* is necessary to trace back what the Graves family exactly researched, and to judge the extent to which Ranke's relatives helped him to write the composition and how they influenced it. The manuscripts are held in the *Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz* in Berlin and include about 3000 documents.

Nevertheless the year 1865, when Ranke went on a research trip to England and Ireland, might give the best insight on the amount of materials Ranke used, and who was involved in his research network. In February 1865 Clarissa mentioned to Robert that

Ranke wishes if you could tell him, how many families of the old Irish nobility still exist and what the titles are.¹⁴

In the following months Clarissa thanked her brother Charles for the details about Irish noble families, their history, position and estates. It seems that Charles translated Gaelic manuscripts into English and send them to Ranke in Berlin. During the summer of 1865 Ranke went on a trip to England and he was invited to Dublin for an honorary degree from Trinity College. He wrote to his wife about the conferring of the degree:

Here in the far west I became truly a doctor of both rights. I wear the hat of the university and the robe of a doctor. I was the only one who did not have to swear the usual oath because Queen Victoria is recognised as one's Queen.¹⁵

In the *Dublin University Calendar for the Year 1866* it is noted as a footnote that

At these Commencements, the private grace of the House was read, for conferring the Honory Degree of Doctor in Laws on Professor Leopold von Ranke, of Berlin, who, being the subject of a foreign state, could not take the oath of allegiance, which is required by Act of Parliament for the full Degree.¹⁶

Ranke was not only in Dublin to receive his honorary doctorate. During his stay he visited the sights, met historians and important politicians and searched in Dublin's archives for sources. In his letters he particularly mentions three names: the historian and archaeologist George Petrie, whom Ranke described with much respect. Sir Thomas Larcom was mentioned as under-secretary for Ireland, and John Wodehouse, Earl of Kimberley was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from 1864 to 1866. He was described as an intelligent man with an extensive knowledge of Europe and with whom Ranke had a political discussion.¹⁷ As an historian Ranke's main interests were the archives of Dublin:

In Dublin I visited the archives. One of them, which has documents of finance and property, is located in the Custom House with lots of vaulted rooms, which are free of all haze and of the smell of dust which normally makes a stay in such rooms quite uncomfortable. During his last 30 years of duty the archivist with the name of Harding was able to sort out his documents, so he is able to find each one at any time. I realised several times how many archivists love their job. Mr. Harding is very happy with his work. He showed us the more exceptional documents as if they were his own. He said: 'We have this, and I have the original of that and that as well, would you like to see it?' [...] The more political and genealogical records are kept in the tower of Dublin-Castle. The castle once had four towers of which only this one is left, but it has been attractively furnished and there the papers are kept. The vaults, in which they are kept, are clean and are aired. He lived the archivist with the name of Burke¹⁸ who also was the [Ulster] king of arms. [...] But now enough: I have seen several old books, but I was not able to read everything, because they were written in the Old-Irish language, knowledge of which is fast disappearing; because only a few study it.¹⁹

It is probably due to Ranke's research and his continuing questions about the content of Dublin archives since 1859 that the idea of a central archive was mooted. Inspired by the difficulty Ranke faced on his visit in Dublin in 1865, it very likely that Gilbert finally created the Public Records Office in 1870, possibly supported by the advise of Charles and Robert Graves. Returning to Berlin Ranke brought several copies of manuscripts with him. In a letter to Charles in November 1865 Ranke conveys his thanks for one of the copies:

My thanks to the Commission's for the Copy of the Brehon Laws I read in this moment.²⁰

The note is very interesting as the Brehon Laws were published later that year, and Ranke never even mentioned the Brehon Laws in his work. This gives only a slight idea of the number of manuscripts Ranke tried to collect, before he started writing.

In his preface to the *History of England* Ranke wrote that he used 'native' presentations of English history for his work as they had the best insight. He stressed that for the first time he used more sources and documents than ever before. Ranke states that documents recording some historical events, particularly of important parliamentary affairs were missing. In the Public Records Office London and in the British Museum Ranke found unpublished material excluding pamphlets but he gives no details regarding the kind of sources that he found there. Ranke stressed the importance of the documents by foreign ambassadors. Particularly important were the documents of Venice, Rome and Spain. Later on he also used documents from the Netherlands and Germany for his work. As foreign politics influenced English history Ranke tried to use known documents and books as well as unpublished material from London, Dublin and the continent.²¹ It is evident that he used several original documents and some of them are reprinted in his fourth volume under the title 'History of the war in Ireland'. There are reports of the French general Lauzun and extracts from the diary of a Jacobite for the years 1689 and 1690.²² Under the chapter 'Criticism of the historians' Ranke discusses historical works of Clarendon, King James II and Burnet dealing mainly with history in Ireland.²³

During his work Ranke stresses the importance of characterising Ireland as a nation. It is surprising how he used the word 'nation' in his work. In previous works it was suggested that the word does not refer to the unity of the state but to that of the population itself, it is used to denote for national feeling as well. In the case of Ireland Ranke makes it clear, that 'nation' covers not only its population but the unity of the state and the Catholic Church. Church and state/people are always one. In the wars against England, the Irish nation fought against English units. For Ranke it was always the Irish nation that fought, whereas with England or Scotland it is troops that fight. In these cases England is not seen as a nation or another unity.²⁴

The word 'motherland' is not often found in Ranke's works. Previous authors mentioned that in the case of England he translated the English word 'kingdom' as 'motherland'. On one occasion, this word is used for the 'motherland property' which the Irish wished to have returned. It is supposed that it was used in the sense of 'ancestral land'.²⁵

When Ranke wrote his *English History*, there was no contemporary history of Ireland available to him. Ranke wrote his work before the Public Records Office of Ireland was established in 1870, and he had to make do with a short visit to the archives in the Custom House and at Dublin Castle. He tried to involve many people in copying manuscripts for him and he probably influenced the decision for the creation of a central archive in Dublin. The contents of the English and Irish Public Records Offices only became fully available to scholars after 1870 with the publication of their contents. Basic narratives such as Bagwell's *Ireland under the Tudors* (3 vols, 1885-90) and Bagwell's *Ireland under the Stuarts* (3 vols, 1909-16) were unavailable to Ranke. He possessed a copy of Thomas Leland's *History of Ireland from the invasion of Henry II* (Dublin, 1773) noted as being more balanced than earlier Protestant histories, but its treatment of 1641 remained very polemical.²⁶ Ranke's only current framework for Irish history, was that provided by Macaulay.²⁷ Ranke was effectively forced to create his own narrative for Irish history not merely following the traditional polemical works from England, but trying to explain events in Irish history. The two sources published in his appendix relating to Irish history 1688-90 were printed for the first time in that work. His assessment of Clarendon was also important for the light it sheds on the years between 1641 and 1650.

Due to this fact Ranke can be regarded as the father of modern Irish historiography: he is the fore-runner of Lecky and the ancestor of that spirit of 'scientific' history which is usually thought to have commenced in Ireland with the publication of *Irish Historical Studies* by Moody and Edwards in 1938.

ENDNOTES

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- ²³ Ranke, *Englische Geschichte IV*, pp 181-260.
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REBELS AND REDCOATS: POLITICAL MELODRAMA IN THE KALEM COMPANY'S IRISH FILMS

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*This essay outlines the relationship between the theatrical genre of Irish political melodrama and three films dealing with the 1798-1803 insurrections made by the U.S. Kalem company in Ireland between 1911 and 1914. It focuses on the Kalem 'rebel-and-redcoat' dramas *Rory O'More* (1911), *For Ireland's Sake* (1913), and *Bold Emmett, Ireland's Martyr* (1914), drawing examples mainly from Rory O'More. It offers a brief discussion of the importance of Victorian melodrama in general to silent film before elucidating how the kind of popular Irish melodrama epitomized by the works of Dion Boucicault that played in Dublin and other cities affected the production and reception of the Kalem films. It argues that like the Irish political melodrama, the films espouse a popular militant nationalism that focuses, in particular, on the events of the 1798 and 1803 rebellions. Investigating the intertextual significance of Samuel Lover's novel and drama *Rory O'More*, it suggests that at least the early Kalem films absorbed the Catholic Church's late-19th-century representation of the heroic priest of the 1798 Rebellion. It concludes that if silent film was eventually to replace the stage melodrama it liberally adapted and adopted, it was at the cost of losing stage melodrama's interactive performance traditions.*

'What do you do with your old films when they are unfit for further use in picture theatres?' asked an anonymous reporter for the British film industry journal *The Bioscope* of 'a leading member of the Trade' in February 1911. 'Oh!' was the reply, 'we sell them to a firm of leather dressers on the Continent. The celluloid is reduced by a chemical process and then used for coating the leather that is used for patent leather boots and shoes.'¹ At the beginning of the 20th century, film was viewed as an ephemeral popular cultural product. Like greengrocers, film renters discarded stale produce to make way for the more marketable fresh batch that was being supplied, by the early 1910s, on a reliable basis a number of times a week by film 'manufacturing' companies.

The Irish film historian Robert Monks has identified about 66 fiction films made in Ireland between 1896, when the cinematograph first showed projected moving pictures in Dublin, and the Censorship of Films Act 1923, one of the earliest pieces of legislation passed by the first Free State Dáil.² Of these, only 12 survive, six of which were directed by Sidney Olcott for Kalem and other U.S. film companies between 1910 and 1914. In 1910, a production unit of the Kalem Company consisting of Canadian Irish director Olcott, actress and scriptwriter Gene Gauntier, and cameraman George Hollister arrived in Ireland. A larger crew led by Olcott returned in the summers of 1911 to 1914, even after he and Gauntier left Kalem at the end of 1912. The films of the O'Kalems, as the Kalem unit in Ireland came to be called,³ are remarkable for a number of reasons. Their 1910 emigration drama *The Lad from Old Ireland* was said to be the first film made by a U.S. film company outside America, and it was advertised as the first film to be shot on two continents and on the high seas. Their Irish output as a whole represents the largest body of films produced by a foreign film company in the country.⁴

This essay outlines the relationship between the theatrical genre of Irish political melodrama and the surviving O'Kalem rebel-and-redcoat dramas *Rory O'More*, *For Ireland's Sake*, and *Bold Emmett, Ireland's Martyr*. There are many similarities between the one-reel 1911 *Rory O'More* and the three-reelers made in 1913 and 1914 respectively, so much so that the later films might be considered versions of the earlier one.⁵ Because of pressures of space, it will be necessary to draw examples mainly from *Rory O'More*, a short film that permits a view in miniature of much of what the O'Kalems achieved in their Irish history films. Politically, the O'Kalem films occupy similar ideological territory to Irish political melodrama. Like the stage melodramas, the films espouse a popular militant nationalism that focuses, in particular, on the events of the 1798 and 1803 rebellions. This is in marked contrast to the 'constructive unionism' promoted, as Lionel Pilkington has recently shown, by the national theatre movement that was to find a home at the Abbey Theatre.⁶ That they delivered their political message while respecting the conventions of a popular form also clearly distinguishes the melodramas from their literary counterparts at the Abbey. In what follows, a brief discussion of the importance of Victorian melodrama in general to silent film precedes an elucidation

of how the kind of popular Irish melodrama epitomized by Boucicault that played in Dublin and other cities affected the production and reception of the O'Kalem films.

For much of the twentieth century, literary studies employed the term melodrama in a largely negative sense as the antithesis of high literary culture. It reemerged as an object of renewed analytical interest, first, in the late 1960s in theatrical histories that focused on it as a generic system and, second and seminally, in film studies in the 1970s, where it was employed primarily to discuss the post-World War II woman's film. The slipperiness of the term has prompted a number of critics to suggest that it is not a genre at all but a mode that is fundamental to popular culture in the West. What is relevant here, however, is how film adopted the defined conventions of a variant of Victorian melodrama, and a short description of how this theatrical form emerged gives an idea of why it was so readily adopted by early film.⁷

Melodrama first appeared in France and England of the eighteenth century, where royal edicts gave the monopoly on the production of spoken drama to two or three theatres. It is from this development that the terms legitimate and illegitimate theatre come. The 'illegitimate' theatres or minor houses relied on a range of nondialogue entertainments that drew on such forms as dumb show, pantomime, harlequinade, ballets, spectacles, acrobatics, clowning, busking, the exhibition of animals and freaks, and, particularly, musical accompaniment and song, from which the French term *melodrame* (music drama) derives.

Prohibited from employing spoken dialogue, the minor houses concentrated on spectacle elaborated through intricate and varied costuming, exotic sets, spectacular enactments, and special effects; on performance traditions derived from dumb show, pantomime, harlequinade, tumbling, acrobatics, and balladry, and on music, including song with its verbal aspect. Words also formed a part of illegitimate theatre's heterogeneous entertainments through the employment of placards and banners, and, as Peter Brooks has pointed out,⁸ pantomime developed a large repertoire of non-verbal signs or 'visible emblems' such as meteors, rainbows, lightning, spectres, crosses in flames, rising tombs, that immediately told spectators how to read the scene. By developing these traditional techniques, the minor houses had by the end of the eighteenth century evolved a complex theatrical *mise en scène*. When the economic potential of such forms brought them into the legitimate theatres, they melded with 18th-century sentimental drama's relocation of dramatic action from 'feudal and aristocratic hierarchies to the 'democratic' bourgeois family'⁹ and the associated emergence of the types of hero, heroine, and villain.

By the early nineteenth century, a kind of theatre was already in existence that would later be particularly suited not only to adaptation by early and silent film but also to film's wholesale adoption of its conventions. There was, of course, direct adaptation, represented famously in the case of the Kalem Company by the location shooting of Dion Boucicault's Irish plays. A number of melodramatic conventions, however, lent themselves to wholesale adoption by silent film. Of the repertoire of nondialogue features deployed by Victorian melodrama, the most important to silent film were its immediately identifiable stock characters, its gestural acting style, its expressive use of costume, setting, and music, and its incorporation of written words in the form of banners and placards.

The opening scene of *Rory O'More* offers a good example of how the film negotiates the conventions of Victorian melodrama. It is a clear instance of the establishment of melodramatic types in dumb show before the emergence of any real specificities of the historical situation in which the story is set. On the extant copy of the film, no opening titles or intertitles give a clue to who the characters are in the first one-shot scene, but their costumes, actions, and gestural acting establish them as stock melodramatic characters of hero, heroine, and villain. Before a picturesque waterfall, Rory kisses Kathleen before she exits right. Rory looks up joyfully then exits left. From behind a rock, the villain, who will soon be identified as the informer Black William, emerges laughing evilly, points first left then right, and exits left. While their costumes give some sense of the time frame, there is as yet no indication of the wider context of the action.

If this is the establishment of melodramatic character, the engagement with Irish politics is not long in coming in this single reel film that runs to about nine minutes. It consists of four sequences. The first begins by establishing the characters of Rory, Kathleen, and Black William, as discussed above, and goes on to reveal, through the use of a printed proclamation, that Rory is an Irish rebel leader for whose capture the British authorities have offered a substantial reward. The second concerns Rory's attempt to elude the authorities, helped by Kathleen, and his eventual capture by the redcoats, led to him by Black William. The third shows Rory's defiant court appearance and his receipt of the death sentence. The fourth concerns the local priest's sacrifice of his life in order to ensure Rory's escape from the gallows to America.

The film certainly includes a generic mix, with strong elements of the chase, a popular form of early film narrative, playing a major part. The dominant genre, however, is melodrama constructed around Ireland's historical resistance to British colonialism during the rebellions of 1798 and 1803. While there is no explanation here of the reasons for resistance (the later films do feature evictions – *Bold Emmett, Ireland's Martyr* – and crop burnings – *For Ireland's Sake* – by soldiers), the very fact that Rory is a melodramatic hero means that he must pursue his righteous struggle and win out against the forces of evil. By producing such films between 1911 and 1914, the Kalem filmmakers were aligning themselves with the contemporary armed resistance to British rule in Ireland. The only dialogue intertitle in the film is Rory's speech from the dock: 'IF TO FIGHT FOR IRELAND BE A CRIME, THEN I AM GUILTY.'

Because of its brevity, the film not only presents a basic narrative plot but also must be flexible in relation to melodramatic stock character. Michael Booth writes that the 'stock character types of melodrama – hero, villain, heroine, old man, old woman, comic man, comic woman – are almost unvarying present in every play.'¹⁰ A subaltern figure, the comic man was often a friend or loyal retainer of the hero and is frequently responsible for saving the hero and/or thwarting the villain. As Booth puts it, '[t]he comedian – servant, artisan, or tradesman, usually a member of the working class and thus closely identified with this audience – is a friend or man-servant of the hero, and sometimes carries on the battle against villainy (though by comic means) in the absence or incapacity of his superior.'¹¹ Rory represents the peasant as hero, conflating heroic and comedic roles. Marty, his equivalent in *For Ireland's Sake*, more clearly manifests the dual role of hero and comedian by engaging in battle with the villain but also providing the film's main moment of comedy, when he hides from the pursuing soldiers under Eileen's cloak.

The distinctions between hero and comedian had, in any case, long come under a degree of erasure in the most famous Irish melodramas. The comedian's capacity for heroic acts and the fact that the comic man in Victorian melodrama was frequently Irish created space for Boucicault to blur the line between comedian and hero in his full-length Irish stage melodramas. In *The Colleen Bawn* (1860), *Arrah-na-Pogue* (1864), and *The Shaughraun* (1874), Boucicault played peasants, who, while nominally comic characters, overshadow the supposedly central heroes. By the time of *The Shaughraun*, indeed, the role of the 'pleasant peasant' had expanded to such an extent that he steals the eponymous role from the heroine.¹²

In the last twenty-five years or so, serious critical attention has been devoted to the reconstruction of a subgenre of Irish political melodrama, a body of plays set at times of conflict between Britain and Ireland.¹³ This scholarship has focused on works from the period from the 1860s into the early years of the Irish state by dramatists such as Boucicault, J. W. Whitbread, Hubert O'Grady, P. J. Bourke, and Ira Allen, plays particularly associated, in Ireland, with Dublin's Queen's Royal Theatre, the justifiably self-proclaimed 'home of Irish drama' after Whitbread took over in 1884.¹⁴ It has tended to identify Boucicault's Irish dramas, particularly the historically located *Arrah-na-Pogue* and *Shaughraun*, as the most significant early texts in this form. Comparing Boucicault's and Whitbread's approach to British-Irish conflict, for example, Stephen Watt contends that

Boucicault's comic plays advance an optimistic, inherently conservative myth of reconciliation, while Whitbread's for the most part form a tragic, at times potentially emancipatory chronicle in which this opposition will inevitably continue. Equally important, both playwrights create dramas in which the status of native Irishness is elevated, offering effective counterrepresentations to especially loathesome [sic] Victorian caricatures of Irishmen.¹⁵

An earlier text that deals with the 1798 rebellion, and of obvious relevance here, is Samuel Lover's *Rory O'More: A Comic Drama* (1837). Lover's play is an adaptation of his novel *Rory O'More: A National Romance* (1836), which in turn, derives from his popular ballad.¹⁶ First performed at the Theatre Royal, Adelphi, on September 29, 1837,

[i]ts representation was a complete triumph. It was played for one hundred and eight nights in the first season, in London, and afterwards universally through the kingdom. The *Athenæum* remarked that Rory O'More,—a triple glory in song, story and drama,—was the greatest success of the day ...¹⁷

The play lacks many of the more critical scenes of the novel, such as the lynching of an alleged rebel sympathizer by a yeomanry captain and magistrate, the pronouncing of Rory guilty of murder even when the man who he is charged with having killed is produced in court, and the fact that Rory must leave Ireland because his identification as a United Irishman leaves him open to official harassment and possible extra-judicial execution. In common with the novel, however, it offers sympathetic central portrayals of its melodramatic hero de Lacy, a United Irishman reconnoitering in Ireland for a French landing, and its comedian and real focus, Rory, a peasant and rank-and-file member of the United Irishmen.

Many of the narrative functions of the O’Kalem film, however, do not derive from Lover’s work. There is no court scene, for example, in Lover’s play, and the court sequence that recurs in all of the O’Kalem rebel-and-redcoat films is not a distillation of the long and eventful court scene in his novel. Each film’s court sequence serves to show that the judicial system is unsuited to weighing the subtleties of the interactions between Irish people and the British authorities and inexorably resorts instead to meting out summary justice. With the limited possibilities of the legal system exhausted, the way is clear for a climax involving a spectacular escape and/or a last minute reprieve. In both form and function, the court sequences more closely resemble the court scene in Boucicault’s *Arrah-na-Pogue*.

This is just one instance of discursive similarity between the O’Kalem films and Boucicault’s Irish plays. Another important case is their correspondence in allowing that at least some British soldiers can act honourably and, once again distinguishing it from Lover’s work, in making the informer the real villain. Boucicault takes this to the point in the 1874 *Shaughraun* where the defeat of the land-grabbing Corry Kinchela and police informer Harvey Duff leaves the way clear for the British Captain Molineaux to marry the sister of the Fenian Robert Ffolliott. By 1911, such a symbolic reconciliation between Britain and Ireland was not imaginable. While it is possible in *Rory O’More* for a local commander to attempt to give Rory his freedom as a quid pro quo for Rory’s rescue of one of his men from drowning and subsequently, to speak in his defence in court, the film ends with the rebel having to flee Ireland.

In its inability to represent *rapprochement* between Ireland and Britain, the film is closer to the work of Whitbread, written at a later historical juncture. Manager of the Queen’s from 1884 to 1907, the English-born Whitbread wrote 15 plays on Irish themes, including *The Nationalist*, *Lord Edward Fitzgerald or ’98*, *Sarsfield*, *The Insurgent Chief* (on Michael Dwyer), and *The Ulster Hero* (on Henry Joy McCracken).¹⁸ A surviving daybill from a September 1901 production of his 1898 *Wolfe Tone*, one of the numerous cultural events marking the centenary of the 1798 Rebellion, at the Queen’s by Kennedy Miller’s Celebrated Irish Company describes the play as ‘illustrating the early adventures, romantic marriage, and stirring episodes in the life of this immortal figure in Ireland’s history.’¹⁹ This play begins by setting up the rivalry between Tone and Samuel Turner, a ‘Barrister, United Irishman and informer,’ for the affections of Susan Witherington, before moving to France, where Turner continues to pursue Susan, now Tone’s wife, while seeking to undermine Tone with Napoleon.²⁰

The centrality of the informer as villain is a peculiarity of Irish political melodrama from the mid-19th century. It is not the subaltern British soldier in Ireland but the traitor within that represents the most pernicious threat to Irish rebel hopes of emulating American rebels in throwing off the yoke of imperialism that the redcoats represent. Kevin Whelan has shown that it was the Catholic Church, in its attempt to wrest ideological control of the memory of 1798 from the Fenians, that focused attention on the weakness of the United Irishmen in the face of spies and informers. Part of the Church’s wider battle with oath-bound societies, this struggle resulted in the emergence of the pairing of informing and clerical heroism. Franciscan friar Patrick Kavanagh’s *A Popular History of the Insurrection of 1798*, first published in 1870 and going through nine further editions up to 1928, dominated discourse on ’98 at the time of the centenary and through the foundation of the Irish Free State. Stressing the heroic role of Father John Murphy, Kavanagh argues that the spy-riddled United Irishmen deceived and abandoned the Irish people when fighting broke out.²¹

The O’Kalem’s *Rory* follows this pattern, contrasting the heroic priest selflessly giving his life to save the rebel, while greed drives Black William to betrayal. Kevin Rockett contends that the priests in the later O’Kalem rebel-and-redcoat films show a decreasing pro-rebel stance because of difficulties that the O’Kalem filmmakers experienced from the local priest in Killarney. Rockett argues that Father Flannigan’s motives for helping the rebel Marty to escape in *For Ireland’s Sake* may be to leave an unchallenged clerical leadership in the community.²² By the time of the 1914 *Bold Emmett, Ireland’s Martyr*, the priest’s role has diminished to the extent that he merely accompanies the condemned Con to the gallows, and it is left to Robert Emmett (as he is called throughout the film) and a British officer grateful for Con’s assistance when he was wounded to save the rebel from execution.

The guile of the pleasant peasant, expressed most famously in the artful brogue of Boucicault's Myles-na-Coppaleen, Shaun the Post, and Conn the Shaughraun, was crucial to the international success of this form of Irish drama.²³ Because silent film was unable to reproduce the linguistic acrobatics of the peasant trickster, he drops out of sight in film, as is clearly shown by the relative unimportance of Myles to the O'Kalem *Colleen Bawn*. Reduced to the slapstick of the chase and signalled by costume and by inferred social relationships, both the pleasantness and peasantness, respectively, of Rory are features that rely on the audience's ability to read the intertextual signs. The trickster character also falls out of sight in filmic melodrama to some extent because he functions best in the theatre, where he develops in the interaction between the actor and the stage audience. If the villain worked the audience to a hissing frenzy by his dastardly acts, the trickster relied on comic timing to produce laughter and cheers. Indeed, it could be argued that film, by occupying the same space as melodrama and eventually supplanting it, played as large a role in killing off its performance tradition and participative audience as the decorous strictures of bourgeois literary theatre.

In sum, an examination of the O'Kalem *Rory O'More* reveals, in general, early film's debt to Victorian melodrama and, in particular, the O'Kalem debt to Irish political melodrama. While all these texts espouse a decidedly nationalist ideology, the specific manifestation of the melodramatic dichotomy between hero and villain, good and evil, in the Irish context is played out on both stage and screen between the pleasant peasant, a development of the comic man of Victorian melodrama, and the informer, an Irish variant on the villain. While critics have, in the main, traced this genre from an originary point in Boucicault's internationally successful Irish plays, an investigation of the intertextual significance of Samuel Lover's earlier novel and drama *Rory O'More* suggests that at least the early O'Kalem films absorbed the Catholic Church's late-19th-century representation of the heroic priest of the 1798 Rebellion. If silent film was eventually to replace the stage melodrama it liberally adapted and adopted, it was at the cost of losing stage melodrama's interactive performance traditions.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ 'Film Footwear,' *The Bioscope* February 9, 1911, p. 17.
- ² Robert Monks, *Cinema Ireland: A Database of Irish Films and Filmmakers 1896-1986* (CD-ROM. Dublin: National Library of Ireland, 1996), *passim*. Because of the ephemerality of films as cultural products at the time and the associated lack of reviewing, this figure represents an approximation, and its revision is contingent on ongoing research.
- ³ The whimsical term 'O'Kalem' can only accurately designate the films made by Olcott, Gauntier, and their colleagues in the years 1910-12. Olcott and Gauntier left Kalem at the end of 1912 to found the Gene Gauntier Feature Players (the GGs) and returned to Ireland under that banner in 1913. When Olcott made his last films in Ireland in 1914, however, it was without Gauntier and for his own production company, the Sid Olcott International Feature Players. Once this is borne in mind, however, the term does provide a useful shorthand for referring to these films and filmmakers.
- ⁴ Kevin Rockett, *The Irish Filmography* (Dublin: Red Mountain, 1996), p. 257. For a more detailed discussion of the O'Kalem films in relation to Irish tourism, see my essays 'The Colleen Bawn Rock and Daniel O'Connell's Bed: Sights on the Kalem Company's Virtual Tour of Killarney,' *NUI Maynooth Postgraduate Research Record: Proceedings of the Colloquium 2002*, pp. 89-93, and 'Touristic Work and Pleasure: The Kalem Company in Killarney,' *Film and Film Culture 2* (2003), pp. 7-16.
- ⁵ Rockett calls *For Ireland's Sake* a 'version' of *Rory O'More* in his essay 'Representations of Irish History in Fiction Films Made Prior to the 1916 Rising,' in Laurence M. Geary, ed., *Rebellion and Remembrance in Modern Ireland*, (Dublin: Four Courts, 2001) p. 219. While *Bold Emmett, Ireland's Martyr* has some interesting variations, it shares many of its narrative functions with the earlier films (for example, the rebel hero and his sweetheart, chase and capture by the redcoats, condemnation to death in court, and a climax involving a daring escape/rescue/reprieve).
- ⁶ Lionel Pilkington, *Theatre and the State in Twentieth-Century Ireland: Cultivating the People*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), *passim*.
- ⁷ The literature on melodrama is vast. The account here is particularly indebted to the overview provided in Christine Gledhill, ed., *Home is Where the Heart Is: Studies in Melodrama and the Woman's Film* (London: BFI, 1987); to Ben Singer's recent book on sensational melodrama's translation from stage to screen, *Melodrama and Modernity: Early Sensational Cinema and Its Contexts* (New York: Columbia UP, 2001); to the works on Victorian melodrama in Britain and

- Ireland by Michael R. Booth, *English Melodrama* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1965), 'Irish Landscape in the Victorian Theatre,' in Andrew Carpenter, ed., *Place, Personality and the Irish Writer* (Gerrard's Cross, Bucks.: Colin Smyth, 1977), *Victorian Spectacular Theatre 1850-1910* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), and *Theatre in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge, etc.: Cambridge UP, 1991); and to Richard Pine, ed., *Dion Boucicault and the Irish Melodrama Tradition* (Dublin: Irish Theatre Archive, 1985).
- ⁸ Peter Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James, Melodrama and the Modes of Excess* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1976), pp. 63-4. Quoted Gledhill, p. 18.
- ⁹ Gledhill, p. 17.
- ¹⁰ Booth, *English Melodrama*, p. 15-16.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.
- ¹² The term 'pleasant peasant' is Joep Leerssen's, in *Remembrance and Imagination: Patterns in the Historical and Literary Representation of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century* (Cork: Cork UP, 1996), pp. 170-73. Under this heading, he explores the rhetorical strategies masked by the term 'Stage Irishman.'
- ¹³ On Irish political melodrama, see Cheryl Herr, *For the Land They Loved: Irish Political Melodramas, 1890-1925* (Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 1991); Stephen Watt, *Joyce, O'Casey, and the Irish Popular Theater* (Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 1991); and Pine, *Dion Boucicault and the Irish Melodrama Tradition*. See also Booth, 'Irish Landscape in the Victorian Theatre,' and Luke Gibbons, 'Romanticism, Realism and Irish Cinema,' in Kevin Rockett, Luke Gibbons, and John Hill, *Cinema and Ireland* (London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1987), pp. 194-257.
- ¹⁴ On the Queen's, see Séamus de Búrca, *The Queen's Royal Theatre Dublin: 1829-1969* (Dublin: De Búrca, 1983).
- ¹⁵ Watt, pp. 63-4.
- ¹⁶ Boucicault was well acquainted with *Rory O'More*: it was the second leading role that he played in his acting career, in Cheltenham in 1838; see Richard Fawkes, *Dion Boucicault: A Biography* (London, Melbourne, New York: Quartet, 1979), p. 19. A number of critics have pointed out the intertextuality between texts such as Lover's *Rory*, Charles Lever's *Jack Hinton: Guardsman*, Boucicault's Irish plays, and George Bernard Shaw's *The Devil's Disciple*; see Fawkes, p. 155; Andrew Parkin's introduction to the *Selected Plays of Dion Boucicault* (Gerrards Cross, Bucks.: Colin Smyth; Washington, D.C.: The Catholic U of America P, 1987), p. 20; and David Krause's introduction to *The Dolmen Boucicault* (Dublin: Dolmen, 1964), pp. 39-42.
- ¹⁷ Andrew James Symington, *Samuel Lover: A Biographical Sketch* (New York: Harper, 1880), pp. 47-8.
- ¹⁸ He also produced a version, now apparently lost, of Lover's *Rory O'More*.
- ¹⁹ Reprinted in Herr, p. 172.
- ²⁰ From the dramatis personae of *Wolfe Tone*, Herr, p. 171. Like the loss of many early films because they were considered ephemeral popular culture, the texts of many of the Irish melodramas of the late 19th and early 20th century are also believed to be lost. Those that toured in Britain, however, had first to be submitted to the Lord Chamberlain for approval, and these survive in the British Library. Herr reprints four Irish political melodramas from the Lord Chamberlain's Plays, Manuscript Collection, British Library: Whitbread's *Lord Edward, Or '98* (1894) and *Wolfe Tone* (1898) and Bourke's *When Wexford Rose* (1910) and *For the Land She Loved* (1915). Stephen Watt introduces the reprinting of the texts of O'Grady's *Emigration* and *Famine* in the *Journal of Irish Literature* 14:1 (Jan. 1985): pp. 3-49.
- ²¹ Kevin Whelan, *The Tree of Liberty: Radicalism, Catholicism and the Construction of Irish Identity 1760-1830* (Cork: Cork UP, 1996), pp. 170-73.
- ²² Rockett, Gibbons, and Hill, pp. 10-11. Rockett has extended this argument to a larger group of U.S.-produced films in his more recent essay, quoted above, 'Representations of Irish History in Fiction Films Made Prior to the 1916 Rising,' pp. 219-222. This contextualization serves to highlight the wider discourse from which the O'Kalem representations of priests and other stock characters emerge and to downplay the role that the negative experiences of the O'Kalem crew with the local priest played in influencing those representations.
- ²³ Shane McMahon, the plain-speaking Trinity College porter turned French Army corporal who foils the informers' plot in *Wolfe Tone*, is a manifestation of this character in an urban setting. For an account of how class and nationalism intersect in a play performed in the centenary of the 1798 Rebellion in front of a predominantly proletarian audience in a theatre sited beside the entrance to Trinity, that bastion of the Ascendancy, see Christopher Morash, *A History of Irish Theatre 1601-2000* (Cambridge, etc.: Cambridge UP, 2002), pp. 113-14

THE PARTITION IN YOUR HEARTS: THE TROUBLES AND RELIGIOUS PARTITION

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In this paper for the Maynooth Research Record, I will be discussing the concept of 'religious partition' in Richard Harris' sole contribution to the Troubles, the song-poem: There are Too Many Saviours On My Cross (Ulster 1972)¹. I contend that Harris' concept of 'religious partition' arose from an oversimplification of the Troubles as a primarily religious, realistic, and atavistic situation of two communities at loggerheads with one another, effacing any outside interference in internal affairs from the then British or Irish administrations. Popular in academic parlance at the present moment is the notion of 'fuzziness', a concept lifted from mathematics and game theory, which is the very complexity that these Troubles interpretations deny, predicting largely unpredictable outcomes. Also I use Shelton's concept of the 'Morality of the Heart' to illuminate the concept of 'religious partition', both alluding to a morality based on feeling rather than logic, the heart rather than the mind.

However, if we deny, when we talk of the Troubles in any shape or form, how the Northern Irish state was formed through political partition, we deny the logical and political side of what it is to be human, and we also deny a balance between the heart and the mind and eventually will suffer the effects of a Cartesian dualism. Perhaps not a dualism based on the conflict between religion and science, but between people and politics. As one southern Irish political party put it: people before politics. But as Aristotle states: man is a political animal.

Among the many 'truths', which exist in life, surely the religious transcendent life can only be one of those truths as propounded by Harris and Shelton. Those lyricists mentioned in this article, other than Richard Harris, have also believed it is possible to be objective in writing, but in a naïve and political rather than religious manner. We should note then also, that Jacques Derrida has challenged our ability to differentiate between the subjective and the objective. I say, we cannot afford to be either/or, for we are never entirely one or the other, we are in-between. One could go as far to state that the very nature of dualism itself implies a kind of fuzzy logic (an oxymoron in itself).

As it is unclear (no small irony) as to what 'fuzziness' actually means in academic application, needless to say, I will not employ it here, except in the sense of a lack of clarity, a denial of other variables, which produce different outcomes. The very notion of the concepts 'Troubles' and 'partition', themselves imply a set of variables or problems which indicate more than one problem and more than one outcome. For instance, a working definition of what the 'Troubles' actually was would have to be mentioned, whether the Troubles was (and still is?) a war or conflict, room for which is not possible in such a short article. If the 'Troubles' or 'partition' are just handy glosses for an indefinable situation, they do however provide handy political labels or 'boundary objects' for us to argue about, or talk around their political application in the Northern Irish state.

INTRODUCTION

Released in 1972 as a 7-inch single A-side and on Richard Harris album entitled *Slides, Too Many Saviours* represents the Troubles of 1972 as a simple case of sectarian division rather than directly pointing to any wider political implications or complications associated with the province of the period. Another accusation which could be levelled at Richard Harris's interpretation of the period is that Harris's piece reinforces what the British Media had already misled its own public to believe: that the Troubles were merely a conflict/war without a history linking it to the British 'mainland'. We must also remember that Harris, having been born in Limerick in the South of the island of Ireland, perhaps was in no position to comment on the Troubles from a subjective point of view.

Included alongside this brief sketch of the concept of 'religious partition' will be two other music tracks from the same period, namely Paul McCartney's *Give Ireland Back to the Irish*² and John Lennon's *The Luck of the Irish (Live)*³, both similar in content and aspiration, and also both naïve about, yet direct in, their political intention. Also, an important point can be made as to the presence of Loyalism included in its religious, political and paramilitary forms in Harris's song-poem, while the absence of Loyalist reference-points, in any shape form is quite obvious in either McCartney's or Lennon's songs, unless by the term *British*, we automatically imply *Loyalist*. Brief reference will also be made to David Bowie's album *The Rise and Fall of Ziggy Stardust and The Spiders from Mars*⁴

from 1972, and the song *Star* which denies either a political or religious interpretation of the Troubles, and settles ultimately for a form of transcendence of political and religious life through the individual escapist life of the celebrity 'Star'.

TOO MANY SAVIOURS

Perhaps after hearing *Too Many Saviours* for the first time, you may be forgiven for thinking that this song-poem could have wider universal application for the period concerned, which of course it does. However listening once again, we can hear direct references to the Troubles such as:

Your earth is partitioned
but in contrition
it is the partition
in your hearts
that you must abolish

Precisely whose 'earth is partitioned' is not quite clear until later in the song-poem. We are obviously meant to assume that it is the island of Ireland, which is partitioned at that particular moment in time. However, 'the partition in your hearts' alludes respectively without a doubt to both Protestant and Catholic communities in Northern Ireland. A mixture of religion and simplistic politics is therefore brought to bear on the situation by conflating a division of territory with a division within the sacred heart of Jesus.

However, the emphasis on partition as concept here does not primarily equate with the division between the north and south of Ireland, but internal partition, within Northern Ireland, between exclusively 'religious' communities of such Northern Irish cities as London/Derry and Belfast ('shattering my bone in the dust of the Bogside and the Shankill Road'), the name of the former city suggesting an internal partition of sorts in itself. Any other interpretation of partition except a religious one would perhaps not bear scrutiny here, except as a secondary consideration.

Arguably, in the above sequence, 'partition' is the key word and concept once largely ill-defined and possibly ignored by academics, but now gradually being redefined by such works as Dr Joe Cleary's recent publication: *Literature, Partition and the Nation-State*⁵. Cleary argues firstly that state borders have been regularly occluded in contemporary fictional representations of the Troubles (such as Joan Lingard's children's books written in and about the period itself), and secondly that even though the border is present in various ways in narratives of the Troubles, it is usually only in displaced or sublimated modalities, as we could say that the very term 'Troubles' is a displaced or sublimated modality. In fact using 'partition' as a displaced modality distracts attention from using 'Troubles' as term as displaced modality (are the Troubles a war or conflict for example, and according to whom and how is this commodified and objectified object?)

With this in mind, we can interpret Harris' representation of the early period of the Troubles as yet another displaced modality, replacing the wider political implications of the concept of partition and the 'Troubles' themselves with the more localized nature of *religious* partition or sectarian division (as if all violence was merely perpetrated solely in God's name, without any political aspirations whatsoever).

Sectarian division/religious partition and its transcendence is emphasised in the lines:

I am not orange,
I am not green,
I am a half-ripe fruit,
needing both colours
to grow into ripeness,
and shame on you
to have withered my orchard!

But this is a transcendence which can only take place where there is mutual tolerance of, and respect for, another community's religious beliefs. Here, Harris speaking with the authority of a God-like and great political arbitrator, admonishes both communities, defining what both Catholics and Protestants have divorced themselves from: paradise, the Garden of Eden, Heaven. Essentially, the blame (and a religious one at that) is laid at the feet of both communities to the exclusion of any British or Southern Irish influence.

Politics in *Too Many Saviours* is portrayed as simply an element of life like religion, which is used and abused by those who carry God secretly naked in their hearts, clothe themselves publicly in their armour and say that God is on their side. Yet Jesus/God is not present in people's lives if they insist on partitioning their hearts, the very image the Sacred Heart represents. Capitalist politics and material wealth (the root of all evil), not love, according to Harris/God fills:

Your purse, rich in hate,
bleeds my veins of love,
shattering my bone
in the dust of the Bogside
and the Shankill Road

For Harris, this partition in our hearts, whether interpreted as individual, communal or both must be replaced with what Charles Shelton describes as its opposite: a morality of the heart. Shelton, in his book *Morality of the Heart*⁶ argues that to be truly Christian, one must be truly human first: feeling not logic, sustains the superego. Not denying that morality is a complex issue, difficult to define, and requiring an interdisciplinary approach, Shelton puts human experience at the heart of morality. As in the case of the Troubles, a moral quest does not necessarily end in loving care, but this is the ideal. As Harris uses the heart as his basic metaphor, so too does Shelton. A religious partition of the heart is in direct contrast to a heart morality or a morality of the heart.

Harris' version of a morality of the heart is quite clear in the following lines:

I am not in heaven,
I am here, hear Me.
I am in you, feel Me,
I am of you, be Me,
I am with you, see Me,
I am for you, need Me.
I am all mankind, only through kindness will you reach Me.

Shelton further argues that morality has principles which are universally binding regardless of culture and that an individual understanding of moral experience determines moral behaviour. The basis for morality then is an individual's understanding of justice. Shelton's key-word here is empathy, and it is empathy, which is the heart of morality. Partitioning the heart therefore does not lead us towards a morality of the heart. As Harris states in *Too Many Saviours*: 'There is no issue stronger than the tissue of love'. Transcendence is achieved through love, loving thy neighbour, and loving your enemy.

GIVE IRELAND BACK TO THE IRISH & THE LUCK OF THE IRISH

On the other hand, McCartney's *Give Ireland Back to The Irish* and Lennon's *The Luck of the Irish* are lacking in a morality of the heart, steeping themselves instead in the revolutionary and political rhetoric of the period. McCartney's track can be categorised as revolutionary rock, whereas Lennon's attempt is revolutionary folk, and in keeping with the anti-war folk tradition of songs such as those of Woody Guthrie and Bob Dylan.

Both *Give Ireland Back* and *Luck of The Irish* deliver a message which unlike Harris' complex response, are quite simplistic in comparison, perceiving the Troubles as simply a war, as McCartney puts it, between Great Britain and Ireland (rather than the Catholic minority of Northern Ireland), a typical Irish Republican perception of the period. Even if, for instance, McCartney describes Great Britain as 'tremendous' and that all its people 'say that people must be free', he further states:

Tell me, how would you like it,
if on your way to work,
you were stopped by Irish soldiers,
would you lie down,
do nothing,
would you give in...

'Great Britain' in this context here, I presume, includes the Ulster province as defined by the Northern Irish State and the term 'Ireland' certainly does not include Loyalists.

Lennon's *The Luck of The Irish*, is quite similar, and indicative of both former Beatles' competitiveness in song-writing. McCartney's track was written in response to Lennon's, going one step further by releasing the track as a single, becoming a top ten hit in the UK, and subsequently being banned. Kudos to McCartney. Lennon took a different approach, releasing this quietly, rather than making some grand statement. Kudos to Lennon of a different kind.

However, Lennon's lyrics are quite odd, in that he interprets Ireland as:

A land full of beauty and wonder...
raped by the British Brigand,
Goddamn, Goddamn, Goddamn

A somewhat nostalgic take on events continues as Lennon sings of a story he was told of how, 'The English divided the land' and yet follows this with the nationalist rhetoric of 'the pain and the death and the glory and the poets of *Old* [my emphasis] Ireland'. The land (an innocuous term at best) has been raped by first occupation and then partition and, although Lennon seems a bit confused as to the difference between the terms British and English, a pertinent political question is asked:

Why the hell are the English there anyway?
As they kill with gun on their side.
Blame it all on the kids and the IRA
as the bastards commit genocide, aye, aye, genocide

STAR

A final mention must be made of the song 'Star' by David Bowie on the album *The Rise and Fall of Ziggy Stardust and The Spiders from Mars*. Bowie's indirect reference to the Troubles and its violence is an attempt to transcend both the political and religious elements of life using the Troubles as backdrop, as displaced modality, for instance in the lines:

Tony went to fight in Belfast
Rudi stayed at home to starve
I could make it all worthwhile as a rock & roll star

By presenting us with a hopeless situation of either fighting in a 'conflict' which supposedly makes no sense, or remaining at home to die from hunger as a direct result of poverty, Bowie's transcendent rock & roll star celebrity becomes the only way out and up, beyond the stars, the only way to make sense out of chaos. Of course, this is a common motif throughout the album with songs such as *Starman* and the 'leper messiah' character of Ziggy himself.

Also, practitioners of the Christian religion in the track *Soul Love* cannot offer the transcendent salvation of the morality of the heart, which Bowie/Ziggy craves:

Soul love - the priest that tastes the word and
Told of love - and how my God on high is
All love - though reaching up my loneliness evolves
By the blindness that surrounds him

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, our alternatives, musically speaking, for this period in the Troubles are varied; Harris offers a religious solution, based on the problem-concept of 'religious partition' while speaking on behalf of and through God. McCartney and Lennon choose to see the Troubles as a one-sided political affair and Bowie insists on transcending the whole situation by becoming a God-like superstar. However, to insist on a blinkered view of the Troubles in this period denies its very complexity and in effect, by citing these examples, in this particular order, we have come full circle. Our omnipotent narrators speak for themselves and themselves alone. These are only God-like mediated ways of knowing after all.

Song lyrics/poetry then, depending on the genre they arise from (whether sanctimonious sermon, revolutionary rock/folk, transcendental rock, etc.) can be a (although an incredibly reductive) way of expressing and of trying to quantify how it is that we are capable of being in a place at a given period and how we give voice to this. One hears a singer speak or sing through song lyrics/poetry. We

access the reality of the languages out of history each time we speak; language simultaneously being about hiding and revealing meaning. Song lyrics/poetry are reflective of language formation, its practice and expression, revealing just as much by what they hide, as by what is 'revealed'.

Of essential importance then is the quantifying of history, culture, jurisprudence, expression and the existence of people in this island of Ireland. Having used the above examples, as mediated ways of knowing the early period of the second phase of 'Troubles', we can perceive that this has been done in an understandably 'objective' manner, whether by reinforcing stereotypes, reducing the situation to an atavistic affair, and confirming the 'unfuzzy' prejudices of the media in general.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Harris, Richard, *There are Too Many Saviours On My Cross (Ulster 1972)*. (GT BRITAIN, PROBE, 1972)
- ² Wings, *Give Ireland Back to The Irish*, (UK, Apple, 1972)
- ³ Lennon, John, *Anthology* (EU, Capitol, 1998)
- ⁴ Bowie, David, *The Rise and fall of Ziggy Stardust and The Spiders from Mars*. (England, RCA VICTOR, 1972)
- ⁵ Cleary, Joe, *Literature, Partition and The Nation State: Culture and Conflict in Ireland, Israel and Palestine*. (Cambridge UP, 2002)
- ⁶ Shelton, Charles, *Morality of the Heart: A Psychology of the Christian Moral Life*. (New York, Crossroad, 1990)

GROWING UP GREEN: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT OF THE GREEN-SCHOOLS PROGRAMME AT ST. THOMAS'S NATIONAL SCHOOL, LUCAN

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Environmental debate has undergone a reconstruction in recent times due to an intensified interest in environmentalism within many disciplines. Yet anthropology has only recently jumped on the environmental bandwagon, following the lead of such disciplines as sociology and political science that have pursued these enquiries for years¹. Anthropology can contribute to environmentalism because it treats it as a cultural phenomenon, considering human activity to be the major contributor to changes in the environment, both negative and positive. As J. Peter Brosius explains:

Anthropology has a critical role to play not only in contributing to our understanding of the human impact on the physical and biotic environment but also in showing how that environment is constructed, represented, claimed, and contested².

Apart from looking at the influence of humans on the natural world, anthropology can also show how cultural approaches to the environment are 'constructed, represented, claimed and contested'³. How do humans relate to their environment, both physically and socially? Anthropology can add to this debate as well.

Much anthropological work focused on the environment has attempted to study how humans locate themselves within their natural environment. This interest is specialised within anthropology in the discipline of ecological anthropology, or the study of environmentalism as a cultural phenomenon. In keeping with current ecological anthropological thought, to be discussed in greater detail in this essay, I maintain that notions of environmentalism are culturally constructed⁴. Our relationship with the environment is what separates us from all other living things because it is a culturally defined interaction. Yet how do we form our environmental perceptions? My research on environmental education in Ireland seeks to answer this question by looking at the role of education as a means of developing environmental attitudes.

In examining this relationship between human actors and the environment from an Irish perspective, I argue that the recent trend in environmental education has made a significant contribution to the formulation of environmental attitudes in Irish children. Specifically, I wish to examine the role of the Green-Schools Programme as one such model for environmental instruction, focusing on the various educational methods involved in such an endeavour. My research project involves detailed monitoring and observation of three primary schools engaged in various stages of the Programme. This project is currently ongoing, and is in the process of further development throughout the coming months; therefore it is important to note that this paper is a work in progress.

In her recent book, *Environmentalism and Cultural Theory: Exploring the Role of Anthropology in Environmental Discourse*, anthropologist Kay Milton had this to say:

Environmentalism...is part of the way in which people understand the world and their place within it. It belongs to the sphere that includes people's thoughts, interpretations, knowledge, ideology, values, and so on. It is a type of 'cultural perspective'⁵.

Milton argues that environmental issues are 'cultural in character'⁶. In the case of children, I argue that constructing a particular attitude towards the environment through educational programmes like Green-Schools contributes to their overall relationship with the natural world, while also recognising the cultural influences of social background and parental contributions. Yet the formal education system can and should play a key role in communicating environmental awareness among children and in promoting responsible environmental behaviour both inside and outside the classroom.

My ten months of research will include a detailed study conducted within three different schools involved in various stages of the Programme, and an analysis of the Programme's evolution throughout the year. All three of the chosen schools represent the small minority of primary schools to

be involved with the Green-Schools Programme. For the benefit of this paper, I will focus on only one of these schools, St. Thomas's National School in Lucan. As I mentioned above, this research is currently ongoing and is not a finished product, therefore the focus of this paper will be more on the research itself and less on the results, as the fieldwork is not yet completed.

In order to examine the day-to-day progress of these schools, detailed documentation and testimonies from teachers, students, and parents involved in the Programme was taken. Initially, I made direct contact with both the principal of St Thomas's in Lucan and one of the teachers on the Green-Schools committee who has introduced me to the co-ordinator. Through these informants I was able to establish myself within the day-to-day management of these schools and observe the ins and outs of the Green-Schools project at different stages.

In examining the role of the formal educational system in transmitting ideas on the environment through the model of the Green-Schools Programme I must consider these issues:

Why is the classroom an effective atmosphere for learning about the environment? By looking at the role of the educational system in Ireland as represented by the three schools I have chosen to research, I intend to examine the general processes involved in learning about the environment and if structured programmes like Green-Schools can better facilitate this learning process.

I intend to examine what kinds of styles or techniques are effective in teaching children about the environment. Also, from a teacher's perspective, what methods work best when teaching about the environment, given that the intended audience is made up of children? In recognising the need for teaching environmental awareness to children, is it the sole responsibility of the schools to implement these lessons and values? Are the lessons learned in the classroom being carried out at home and in the greater community?

Various ideas on learning will be addressed, however when talking about environmental education from an anthropological point of view, one must take into consideration any cultural influences that educational institutions for children can cultivate. Although the scope of my study does not extend beyond the school, it is important to address the wider social landscape that these cultural influences can emerge from. Again, from an anthropological perspective we must consider the broader cultural ideas that shape the educational system. Why, for instance, is environmentalist thought at the forefront of current political and social agendas? The attitudes and viewpoints of the general Irish public towards the environment are important to consider if such education in schools is going to make a difference in the near future.

THE GREEN-SCHOOLS PROGRAMME

The Green-Schools Programme is a project that seeks to educate children on environmental awareness. It is a programme that began in Europe under the name 'Eco-Schools,' and was first implemented in Ireland three years ago through An Taisce. The Green-Schools Programme was an initiative started by FEEE, the Foundation for Environmental Education in Europe. To date there are over 5,000 participating schools in 19 countries throughout Europe. Here in Ireland over 550 primary and secondary schools are registered with the Green-Schools Programme, with 45 schools achieving the Green-Flag, the ultimate reward and status symbol for implementing the programme's Seven Steps.

Because the Green-Schools Programme is a long-term project, it is an ideal subject for study. It is also an ideal model for observing environmental education in practice. Schools that have already achieved a Green Flag must demonstrate their continued commitment to the Programme, as the flag must be renewed every two years. What is unique about Green-Schools is its focus on placing the children in active roles within the structure of the Programme. The Programme, with its Seven Steps, is thus far the only initiative of its kind to provide the sort of structure and development for environmental education in Ireland. These Seven Steps are:

1) *Establishing a green-school committee*

Ideally, the committee would be made up of teachers, parents, students and staff, yet the programme recognises that not all schools will be able to have such a formalised committee. Therefore this part of the Programme is left up to the school as to how large the committee is and who belongs to it. What the Programme does stress is that the students share responsibility in order to ensure that their ideas are valued and recognised.

2) ***Environmental Review***

This step again involves the students and encourages them to identify what specific steps the school needs to take in order to become more environmentally friendly. The Green-Schools start-up kit, offered to all schools involved in the Programme, contains an Environmental Review booklet with a checklist that teachers and students can go through together.

3) ***Action plan***

After it is decided what needs to be worked on within the school, the next step is to decide how to go about implementing these improvements and when, in order to measure rates of success. The Green-Schools booklet suggests implementing a timetable with specific targets and realistic goals to work towards. The handbook warns schools not to be too ambitious with the timetable in order for the school to stay on task and not be frustrated by lack of improvement.

4) ***Monitoring and Evaluation***

This step involves formal or informal record keeping in order to measure the school's progress and to ensure that the action plan is being achieved. Once again the handbook suggests that the students be the ones to do the monitoring and keep the school on task.

5) ***Curriculum Work***

This step encourages schools to combine the environmental topics dealt with in the Programme with lessons learned in the classroom. Teaching these themes within the classroom facilitates the involvement of the entire school in the Programme while also making these issues more relevant within the students' daily lives. Ideally, what the students learn in the classroom will carry through to what they actively do at home and elsewhere, thereby promoting the values of the Green-Schools programme.

6) ***Informing and Involving***

The Green-Schools Programme endorses the involvement of both the whole school and the greater community. This requires the Green-Schools committee to publicise what they are doing – both inside and outside the school, while also actively campaigning within the school and reaching out to the local community. In doing so the school acquires support from outside, financial or otherwise, and implementation of the environmental lessons within the whole school – for it is the entire student body that the programme seeks to involve.

The Green-Schools handbook suggests creating a Green-School notice board placed in a prominent position for all to view, as well as sending out a newsletter to parents and local businesses, advertising the various projects that the school is to expect to be involved in. A Green-Schools 'day of action' is also suggested by the handbook in order to involve the entire school, raise funds, and to generate publicity for the programme.

Curriculum materials on particular environmental issues are sent to the schools, from the Green-Schools programme itself and also from other environmental organisations like ENFO, WWF, and Lá na gCrann, the Tree Council of Ireland, to name but a few. These lessons provide specific methods on how to teach certain environmental topics and are targeted towards specific age groups.

7) ***Green-code***

The Green-Schools committee should establish a green-code that includes specific guidelines for the school to follow and a statement of commitment that the school pledges to adhere to. Again the handbook emphasises how important it is for the students to create this code in order to give them a sense of responsibility and achievement and also to ensure that they will follow such a code. The green-code should be situated in a noticeable place for students and visitors to see.

With these Seven Steps in mind the Green-Schools Programme 'provides the impetus for schools to give structure to environmental education within the curriculum'⁷. According to An Taisce, the Programme endeavours to bring to an end the 'environmental indifference' that many people continue to harbour⁸.

My assessment of the Green-Schools Programme seeks to understand how Irish children learn about the environment within the realm of formal education. I do not assume that schools are the only place that this kind of learning occurs, yet I argue from an ecological anthropological standpoint that this apathy that the above studies refer to is related to the way in which we are taught as children to understand and relate to the environment. If knowledge of the environment is a learned perception, as Milton suggests⁹, then perhaps examining various methods of teaching through the Green-Schools Programme can uncover how this learning process works.

ST. THOMAS'S NATIONAL SCHOOL, LUCAN

St. Thomas's National School has about 450 students ranging in age from age four to eight. There are sixteen classrooms with approximately 30 students. My initial interest in St. Thomas's came through a friend, Doireann Ni Mhir who is a teacher at the school and a member of the Green-Schools team. She introduced me to both the principal, Michael Maher, and the Green-School's coordinator, Kathleen Carey.

The St. Thomas's Green-School team includes two representatives from 1st and 2nd class (the junior and senior infants are too young) – one elected and one substitute to fill in when the other is not present – Kathleen, Doireann, principal Michael Maher and another teacher, as well as 3 or 4 interested parents.

Kathleen admitted that ideally the children should be coming up with a lot of the suggestions for the Green-School Programme, yet they are quite little. In a recent energy lesson the students were told to come up with energy saving techniques to share with the school. According to Kathleen it was obvious that some students had involved their parents in the assignment; yet a few of the ideas were quite clever and original, like one student's suggestion to 'walk, don't take the bus'!

Although they are young, they are quite observant, as Kathleen points out. She organises a litter pick ever week with supplies donated from local businesses. In the litter pick there are certain places around the school where it is impossible for a small child to reach. But they notice these places and want to clean them anyway and they are always quick to point out when a piece of litter is missed. Modest as she is when it comes to her own position on the environment, the passion Kathleen exhibits through the Green-School Programme is obvious. Her face lights up when she recalls a student's response to one of her activities:

I had to laugh at one of them this morning during the litter pick-up. He was thoroughly disgusted at the amount of wrappers left around. 'People don't seem to care', he told me. 'Why do people need all these bags?'

Kathleen felt the need to apologise several times throughout that first visit. She often pointed out the negatives – the weeds overtaking the garden, the vandalism that destroyed the pond, bulbs that never took to cultivation. And through all of this she frequently went back to her own self-professed lack of motivation – the things she hadn't accomplished, the people she hadn't called. She seemed embarrassed by all this despite my attempts to reassure her.

Kathleen is indeed passionate about the environment, yet she admits that in her childhood she often took the environment for granted. She recounts how her father was always interested in the environment and nature and how they had a garden at home but she never really took much of an interest in it. Although she lived on a farm in the west of Ireland and was surrounded by peat land, it wasn't until much later in life that she took an interest in learning about the environment. Part of this, she believes, is due to her own one-dimensional education:

The environment is a relatively recent issue and we're the educator educating people to be aware of the environment, [yet] we didn't have it ourselves. We have to acquire the education now and if we're transmitting or we're facilitating the younger generation in learning...it's very hard to do...if you haven't got it yourself.

As with the teacher friend of mine that had been teaching for forty years whom I interviewed informally, older teachers do not feel as qualified to teach about the environment as younger teachers because of the lack of environmental education in their own schooling. Kathleen agrees:

I don't remember any [environmental education] at all. I never did science as a subject, as such, so science being compulsory now as science being part of my post or responsibility as Green-School coordinator it would be nice if I had done science because then I would know...all about lots of things, whereas now I have to learn it. You know a certain amount from general knowledge as an adult, but it's not enough. It would have been better, I'm sure, if I had studied it all along.

Kathleen then recalls being in her teachers' training college and feeling overwhelmed and even embarrassed by her lack of knowledge about nature. She realised then that as a teacher she would and should know these things and set forth on a personal quest for environmental edification:

Early on in my teaching career I would have made it my business to know the names of trees at least, and I would have made it my business to bring the kids to see the trees and such.

So Kathleen's interest was ignited out of a passion for teaching and for sharing her knowledge with her students. Her appreciation of nature came later in life and it came out of her own desire to learn more about the environment. This self-motivated approach to nature is an important aspect of the Green-Schools Programme and indeed of most references to environmental education. Environmental educator, Joy Palmer, did a recent study of 232 environmental educators on what influenced their own values and commitments to the environment. The majority of the respondents said that direct exposure to nature during childhood greatly influenced their connection to the environment. Another common memory was that of an authority figure in their life, perhaps a parent or a teacher, who was passionate about nature and who inspired a similar emotional commitment in them.

This study was further carried out in other parts of the world with similar results. Palmer concluded that 'analysis of these data suggests a reinforcement of the crucial importance of early childhood experiences in the natural world'¹⁰. Equally important are the profound emotional effects of other people's thoughts and feelings towards the environment on the easily influenced minds of children. Taking this idea further, teachers who are passionately committed to environmental concerns would be more likely to pass along this same enthusiasm to their students.

Indeed Kathleen's own initial interest into nature differs somewhat from the findings of the Palmer study where the majority of the environmental educators interviewed said that childhood experiences with nature influenced their own interest in nature as adults. In her own words, she admits that as a child she took for granted the environment she lived in. As an adult, Kathleen's interest was a more personal discovery initiated by a desire to know more about a subject she felt she knew little about. She then took it upon herself to seek out this knowledge by attending seminars and classes on various subjects, including environmental education and holistic studies. When I asked her how she became interested in the environment, she referred to the 'Caring for the Earth' seminar she attended three years ago, although I maintain that the mere fact that she voluntarily attended this course is evidence of a prior environmental interest on her part.

The Palmer study also concluded that these same educators professed a feeling of transcendence and wonderment towards nature that encouraged their attraction to teaching about the environment. 91% of those interviewed described their relationship with the environment in spiritual terms. Although only 6% mentioned God and/or religion directly, the majority of the responses included references towards the natural world like 'awe and wonder', 'mystery', and 'transcendence'¹¹. Central to these responses is the idea that being outdoors awakened the senses and created an awareness nature is something that was beyond one's body.

Certainly there is an element of the natural world that can be felt directly if we maintain the idea that there is a symbiotic relationship between humans and the environment. As Milton phrases it, 'Nature is something that can be experienced, very directly, and this experience is the spark from which wider concerns about nature can grow'¹². This sort of awareness can occur at any age and is definitely felt by Kathleen. When she showed me the garden and pond at the back of the school both she and the principal, Mr. Maher, remarked on the sense of peace and tranquillity that they often experience there. At the time I visited we could hear the noise of the traffic from the street behind us but they both assured me that this was not normal. Usually everything would be very quiet and relaxing. Kathleen admits to feeling a connection to the environment and describes her own escape into nature in the wooded pathway near the school:

There's a beautiful walk near here, between Lucan and Leixlip.... I heard about the walk but I only started doing it recently. I call it the oxygen walk because you have the river and there's a very dense forest on one side, it's lovely. So, yeah, I remind myself this is good being down there. When you're in the concrete jungle up here it's closing in and it takes your energy, but you do get energised by the environment. And I find young children, in particular the younger they are, they're very in tune and open to that.

From these remarks we can see that Kathleen knows what gets children excited about learning about the environment, an important attribute for a Green-Schools co-ordinator. This is a similar

premise for Kay Milton's latest book, *Loving Nature: Towards an Ecology of Emotion*. In it Milton strives to understand how some people develop an affinity to nature and some do not. Why, for instance, will some people chain themselves to a bulldozer or set up camp inside a tree while others refuse even to recycle? In trying to answer this question Milton ponders the role of conditioning and how people learn things. She argues that emotion is an important part to the learning process. Emotion is fundamental to learning and creating an emotional attachment to nature will help children to view it as an intrinsic part of their life. Discovering what gets kids excited about nature and about learning about nature is fundamental to this kind of teaching.

This is exactly the kind of teaching that Kathleen promotes at St Thomas's – the kind of the interactive learning that is ideal for both teachers and students. As she herself clearly demonstrates, teachers who are passionately committed to environmental concerns would be more likely to pass along this same enthusiasm to their students.

Taken together, these findings fall under the idea of a 'constructionist model' of learning¹³. This theory asserts that humans construct their world out of knowledge and experiences from others. In relation to nature, then, one can *only* learn about the environment through cultural constructs, through the information that is communicated to them from outside sources. It is a repetitive cycle then, for people only communicate what they have compiled out of the information that they have been given. 'Constructs are only ever derived from other constructs,...culture comes from culture'¹⁴.

In his book, *Educating for a Sustainable Culture*, Professor of Education, C.A. Bowers uses the constructionist model as a foundation for effective educational methods in schools. He argues that when used in the classroom this model is a child-centred technique that promotes the student's natural tendencies to learn and to express their own creativity. Like Milton and Palmer, Bowers believes students expand their own ideas and attitudes from the lessons learned within the classroom:

Individuals grow in their ability to think and behave autonomously by constructing their own ideas out of the raw data and information they encounter through *direct experience or from experiences organised by teachers* (emphasis added).¹⁵

Once again, Bowers reiterates the importance of social learning, yet does not discount one's own personal experiences with nature as an impetus for environmental education.

These are the teaching methods that the Green-Schools Programme encourages - putting children first, giving them an active role in learning. Like the constructionist model, the Green-Schools Programme promotes a child's natural desire to learn and expands on their inherent curiosity towards nature. It is a technique that requires a commitment from both teacher and student and develops out of an overall social concern for the environment.

Bowers criticises many of the present teaching methods about the environment as well as the degree to which students use these lessons – both in school and out of school. How much of this knowledge do we 'take for granted', as he phrases it, and gets lost amongst the other studies that are more applicable to everyday life?

One criticism for the constructionist model is its implication that social interaction is the only way for learning about the environment¹⁶. It neglects the fact that like any other animal, human beings can also learn directly from the environment – through personal experience. The Palmer study, talked about above, confirms this. Although the constructionist model offers valuable ideas for environmental education, it is important to recognise that it is not the only way.

As both Bowers and Palmer suggest, there must be an effective relationship between the teacher and the student. But wanting to teach about the environment and knowing how go about doing so is a very different thing, as Kathleen expressed above. This is where a standardised programme like Green-Schools can be most useful. Yet as I discovered further into my interview with Kathleen, much can be lost in the translation.

In talking about An Taisce's role in the programme, Kathleen was not too impressed. Instead she painted an unflattering picture of the agency. The packets that An Taisce sends each school when they enrol in the programme seemed to Kathleen to be 'too technical', and 'not practical' or 'user-friendly'. These packets and kits contain ideas and suggestions for the teachers and co-ordinators on how to best utilise the programme, but are created by government officials and not teachers. In talking with the co-ordinator of a Green-School in Tallaght Kathleen was relieved to discover that this particular teacher felt that same way. 'She put all those things away and said 'look, what can I do here in this school, as a teacher?' When I asked if An Taisce supplied any money for the Programme, she scoffed and said, no, that all they cared about was that we were doing the 'dirty work', it didn't matter how.

Kathleen's frustration with the formality of An Taisce's position within the Programme presents an interesting analysis of the bureaucracy of these governmental organisations. Yet Kathleen did not pigeonhole all governmental agencies. Lá na gCrann, The National Tree Service, sent out informational packets and sponsored field trips to national parks that were highly useful in Kathleen's opinion¹⁷. And she was grateful to the parks section of Dublin County Council who agreed to donate 25 trees to the school. No matter that the trees were a year overdue because of the foot and mouth outbreak.

In a later interview Kathleen stated that she didn't want to come across as too critical of An Taisce in regard to the Green-Schools Programme. What she did find fault with was the impersonal way in which the Programme's handbooks came across:

The handbook I found very technical....Reading the description of how a thing is done is not the ideal way for an adult to [communicate] to a child. I did not find it very nice learning from An Taisce's books. I learned a lot more from mixing with teachers and by looking at practical displays, explanations, hands-on stuff...It's just so much more interesting than a book. I think that is what I found most difficult, is that [the handbook] comes as a book....That can just tend to go on a shelf.

What Kathleen emphasises is how to make learning interesting – for both the teacher and the student. The role of the teacher is to transmit ideas in such a way that the student will enjoy learning and remember what is being taught. In Kathleen's opinion, the practicality of the information and suggestions offered by An Taisce, or the *lack of* information and suggestions, points to a problem within the design and structure of the Programme itself.

This kind of formal relationship seemed to be a recurring theme when talking about the inconsistencies within environmental education. It is a problem of translation. The teachers did not easily interpret the government's paperwork. Similarly, the students did not always understand the teacher's environmental information. To this last point Kathleen could relate. She said that when author and environmental educator Pat Madden came to the school to help plant a garden he had a rapport with the children that enabled him to get through to them. He had been a teacher once and therefore knew how to relate to the students. He sang songs with them and told rhymes and stories as they planted. The children loved it. And they were learning the whole time. In contrast, Kathleen told me of another situation with one of the field trips to a national park last year. The forest rangers talked to the children like they were 'interested adults,' as Kathleen phrased it. They had no control over the students and most of them were running around the place and not paying attention. The rangers were not teachers and did not know how to get their point across.

What Kathleen considers most important in environmental education is the practical element – the emphasis on active learning that involves direct contact with nature and allowing the children to establish their own connection with what they are learning about:

I think again it's more [about] the whole person rather than focusing on an aspect of learning that comes out of a book. I think that's much more relevant. And [the students] are interested!

She goes on to say that it is more interesting and more relevant for the children to take them to, what Patrick Madden refers to as, 'the classroom outside the window'¹⁸.

I have a horror of textbooks, of workbooks. I just prefer to take the children out to look at the tree, out again next week, look at it again, and maybe the third or fourth week we might start to look at a bit of it and focus on the trunk, maybe, and the next time something else, rather than opening a book and [saying] 'this is the branches of the tree.' I just prefer to do it actively. And talking with [other] teachers, we all said the same thing. It would have to be active learning and we feel that's the emphasis and providing curriculum on active learning and on investigating and finding out.

In Kathleen's opinion, the environmental problems today are caused by ignorance and this is why it is so important to educate children who are the future generation. She adds,

I think it's very important that kids be aware of their environment because I've seen all the problems today, so much pollution, and I think it all arises from ignorance. One of the famous philosophers said, Aristotle or one of those, 'if people knew better they'd do better.' And I think that just sums it all up, you know? They don't know better and we are bombarded with advertising telling us to buy this, buy that, buy the other, and we fall into the trap, succumbing to advertising rather than succumbing to reality, as in nature. I think Mother Nature is what we've forgotten about.

The emphasis here is how to make learning interesting, and according to Kathleen, that's ideally what a teacher should be most concerned with. She describes the kind of learning that involves direct contact with nature and lets the children establish their own kind of connection or attachment – exactly what is stressed by Palmer, Milton and Bowers, and what is emphasized within the Seven Steps of the Green-Schools Programme. The children learn to understand their symbiotic relationship with nature as they actively respond to the lessons learned in the classroom and carried out at home.

Yet how do you incorporate these ideas into the classroom – especially if you don't have co-operation from other teachers? Kathleen also expressed her frustration with this, but sees it not as a lack of motivation on the part of teachers, but as a problem with the training teachers receive. She explained that in her school only a few of the teachers have had training on environmental education. She concedes that it is hard to know what to do if you haven't been trained. In order to establish what Kathleen calls a 'whole-school' approach you must have all the teachers going through the same sort of training – not just for environmental education, but for training in other fields as well. She explains,

It's a question of time. That there isn't time for ideas to feed through...[although] many teachers in the school have that training, the others haven't, they've got training in something else. So it isn't a great way to train, to pick and choose. It would be much better if the whole school had training in P.E. this year, and in Nature the next year, and in English the following year, whereas...you might have people getting expertise in three different courses in the same year and they come back and...sometimes it doesn't feed back into and it's not anybody's fault in particular and it doesn't mean that people are disinterested. It just means it's not the ideal set-up.

According to Kathleen, integrating a whole-school approach and finding a more 'ideal set-up' would make the Programme run more smoothly. And, perhaps, would make her job as Green-Schools co-ordinator a little easier. She points out that if all teachers had the same basic groundwork for teaching about the environment it would be much more beneficial for the students and would give them a more well-rounded education in the process, which is one of the goals of the Green-Schools Programme.

Remembering, again, that many teachers, particularly ones that were educated in the 1950s and 1960s, do not always feel enthusiastic about teaching in an area that they are not trained in. This is why the in-service model that Kathleen discusses can be problematic in regards to having a 'whole-school' approach to environmental education. And this is made even more difficult at a primary level because of the pressure put on the teacher to include other subjects as well:

People forget you can be subject specialists if you're teaching at second level, but in primary level the environment is a huge area, Science is a huge area, Maths is a huge area, English is a huge area, Art is a huge area, P.E. is a huge area...Now what one person could be expected to have a natural ability [to teach] in all of these subjects? You might have a natural ability in two or three, but you have to learn the others. And our own general education wasn't that [great]. It's better now. I find the younger teachers have probably had a better basic education than the older teachers have.... There'd be a lot of teachers like me.

Yet I wonder if it is more than just a problem of teacher training. Could it also be an indication of a general reluctance to actively promote environmental education within the school curriculum? Indeed as I mentioned earlier, environmental education is still very much a new thing in Irish schools. And because it is so new, it might not always be considered as important as other disciplines. This is most obvious at second level when students have more pressure placed upon them to learn more practical studies like science or maths. The learning process becomes more competitive. This is an issue that I would like to study further as my research develops, although one of my interviews with Kathleen did touch on this topic as well:

Education is a business and an industry instead of a process that everyone is entitled to. You get points for how well you do academically. And they go into second level and they start thinking in terms of points and their parents start thinking of jobs. I have a lot of nieces and nephews who are that age and some of them think I'll teach and then think, well I won't. There's not much money in that.... Education ought to be a lifelong enjoyable practice and it isn't. It's a competition...and it shouldn't be because everybody has strengths and I think only certain ones are measured and acknowledged in the system as it is and the others aren't, largely artistic ones.

Kathleen's point is a valid one because it speaks to the overall importance of environmental education. Generally speaking it is not perceived as important as other subjects, especially at a secondary level. Having only done my research in primary schools I cannot speak to the competitive learning environment within secondary education, which Kathleen refers to. What I can speak of is the kind of interactive learning that is promoted through educational programmes like Green-Schools and the skills that environmental education does promote in children. Skills that perhaps go unnoticed by parents but can be as beneficial to the child's overall development, if not more so.

Kathleen mentions 'artistic strengths' going unacknowledged in many schools, and it is to these strengths that many lessons on the environment appeal. Perhaps it has to do with the hands-on approach, advocated by environmental educators like Madden, Bowers and Palmer, practical ideas that allow children to get interested in nature. Ideas like building birdhouses or having a wormery, or activities that involve the outside community like the students planting trees and flowers with volunteers from Intel, all of which are done at St. Thomas's in Lucan.

These are the sort of activities that promote the type of active learning and whole-school approach suggested by Kathleen, and described by Bowers in his insistence on a type of environmental education that challenges more than just the mind, but makes learning about the environment both fun and intellectually stimulating. It is just as Pat Madden refers to with his *Go Wild At School* idea for creating a garden. According to Madden, the key is to make it fun, to allow the children to decide where the lesson will go and how it will play out. Madden's book shows teachers how to utilise a garden in the classroom. The students plant the garden and take care of it, all the while learning about the various forms of plant-life. In talking with teachers who have received his training they said they were amazed by his insistence that any activity could be turned into a lesson about nature. One teacher described his suggestion to lay a hula-hoop on the ground outside and have the kids count how many different kinds of organisms were inside the hoop. These are ideas that are designed especially for young children, but allow them to get an early instruction into the type of well-rounded education that environmental instruction can and should be a part of.

What is interesting to consider is the chain of events that this sort of learning can set forth. Perhaps environmental education was not always considered a pivotal part of learning in Irish schools in the past, but we are seeing how programmes like Green-Schools can be the way forward in creating an atmosphere for a co-operative pursuit of environmental education. Kathleen reiterates:

I always find that parents want to do the best for their children. And when they don't there's usually not enough communication or they don't know how to help. But again, a lot of them might not had an education where there was an emphasis on environmental issues...But there's a lot to be said for the students...going home with all these ideas they learned in school and parents were picking up on that. It was a brilliant...the students, the kids, teaching their parents...I think everybody would be doing it if we only knew the benefits of it to ourselves and to the planet. I think we would all do it.

Kathleen believes whole-heartedly that if people 'knew better they would do better'. Of course this is only her opinion and it might very well be an idealistic one, but it comes out of an attitude of hope, hope that things will change in this society, that people will start to become more environmentally aware.

DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

This paper strives to uncover an interesting element to the relationship between humans and nature. The environment is a part of us, just as we are a part of it. The connection between humans and the environment is based upon something innate and universal to all of us, and this connection to nature is something ubiquitous that we feel inexplicably connected to¹⁹. Current debate within ecological anthropology focuses on the relationship between humans and the environment from a cultural perspective. Education is but one means of transmitting this cultural perspective and is the focus of my research on environmental education in Ireland.

Recognising a need for a more structured plan for environmental education in Irish schools, An Taisce introduced the Green-Schools Programme as a way to jump-start the apathetic attitudes of the young and uninformed. Children involved in this Programme are taught to care for the environment, to value it, and respect it. This is predicated on the idea that humans are social beings; we are the product of our social experiences. It follows that one's relationship with the environment is a conditioned response that is leaned through both direct experience and cultural constructions²⁰.

While not making any conclusions at this early stage of my fieldwork, my research at St. Thomas's begins to show how environmental education helps students construct their own way of thinking and relating to nature. This develops out of the child's innate interest and curiosity towards learning about the natural world; the sort of learning that is advocated by the constructionist model²¹. In the words of Green-School coordinator, Kathleen Carey, 'if people knew better, they'd do better.'

These ideas come together when you consider how a programme like Green-Schools operates. The theory behind Green-Schools is that the power to learn will be put into the hands of the children. Nature becomes something tangible, something entertaining, and something enlightening. By including environmental education in the curriculum it becomes part of the students' day to day classroom activity and teaches them how to respond to the environment in the real world. Practical application is the goal. Ideas like Patrick Madden's, *Go Wild At School*, make learning about the environment enjoyable²². This hands-on experience is fundamental to the overall learning experience.

Children, in particular, respond to this sort of conditioning because mentally and intellectually they are still growing. Once again, it is this idea that environmental attitudes are culturally constructed. 'How children experience meaning and choices, interpret the nature of relationships, and make moral judgments reflect the deep and generally unconscious influence of culture'²³.

In relation to Bowers's constructionist model and Milton's assertion of the importance of emotion in regards to learning, environmental education then, in particular, is most effective when the teacher is passionate and interested in what they are teaching. While the hands-on, child-centred ethos of the Green-Schools Programme represents an ideal way of learning about the environment, its success is very much dependent upon the role of the Green-Schools coordinator as organiser and motivator for the rest of the school. Kathleen Carey epitomises this role at St. Thomas'.

Discovering what gets kids interested in nature is an important point in considering the methods of environmental education. The role of the teachers is most important in getting these ideas across. Looking back at Milton and Palmer's argument we can see how critical it is for students to emulate an authority figure in their lives that practices what they preach, so to speak, especially in regards to facilitating interest in the environment. This was evident in the results from Joy Palmer's study on the importance of early childhood experiences with nature or at the very least, the promotion of environmental ideology through impassioned role models.

It is vital to examine this issue from an anthropological perspective because it is a question of understanding the interaction between humans and the environment and how we conceptualise this relationship through culturally specific attitudes and values. Indeed it is the younger generation that are the future caretakers of the environment yet how effective are programs like An Taisce's Green-Schools in fostering a whole new generation of environmentalists?

The overall goal of the Green-School project is to educate children on becoming environmentally responsible, or as the president of FEEE remarks, to 'build on the natural enthusiasm of children for environmental issues, developing a mature and responsible attitude to the environment and a commitment to practical action.'²⁴ The whole point of projects like An Taisce's Green-Schools Programme is for children to learn how they as individuals can take action when it comes to the

environment and that their actions, good or bad, do make a difference. I end with a quote from Pat Madden:

When the jigsaw puzzle of nature is broken it will disturb this ordered consciousness: [children] will be prodded to take action: they will not be fatalists when they see ecological carelessness. Instead they will become genuine activists when they put the cause first, themselves second. In short, they will feel committed and responsible for the world in which they have been placed as caretakers for a brief amount of time²⁵.

ENDNOTES

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- ² Brosius 1999, p. 277.
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- ⁶ Milton 1996, p.13.
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- ⁸ Brosius 1999, p. 287.
- ⁹ Kay Milton, *Loving Nature: Towards an Ecology of Emotion*. (New York: Routledge 2002), p.42).
- ¹⁰ Joy Palmer 1998, p. 151, as quoted in Milton 2002.
- ¹¹ Palmer 1998, p. 441, as quoted in Milton 1999.
- ¹² Milton 1999, p. 442.
- ¹³ Milton 2002, Bowers 1995.
- ¹⁴ Milton 2002, p. 41.
- ¹⁵ C.A. Bowers, *Educating for an Ecologically Sustainable Culture*. (Albany: State University of New York Press 1995), p.132.
- ¹⁶ Milton 2002.
- ¹⁷ Interestingly, these packets were not part of the Green-Schools programme but were sent to all National schools throughout the country.
- ¹⁸ Patrick Madden, *Go Wild At School*. (Dublin: School Wildlife Association, 1995).
- ¹⁹ Milton 2002; 1999; 1996; Palmer 1998; Bateson 1973.
- ²⁰ Milton 2002; Bowers 1995.
- ²¹ Milton 2002; Bowers 1995.
- ²² Madden 1995.
- ²³ Bowers 1995, p.75.
- ²⁴ Taken from the Green-Schools brochure circulated by An Taisce
- ²⁵ Madden 1995, p. 7.

THE EFFECTS OF ENVIRONMENTAL AND VISUAL CUE MANIPULATION ON SPATIAL MEMORY, FOLLOWING HABITUATION IN AN OBJECT EXPLORATION TASK

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The object displacement task is a popular tool used to investigate spatial learning and memory. Little attention has previously been given to the retention of spatial information following a long resting period after habituation and whether spatial cues are important in this type of passive retention of spatial information. We examined habituation in the object displacement task across four days with four trials per day and also examined reactivity to spatial change 7 days post-acquisition. We found that rats habituated rapidly to the environment within the four days of trials. We also found that this environment was retained 7 days post-habituation. Furthermore, this experiment shows that visual spatial cues are important in the encoding of the environment during this type of passive learning task.

INTRODUCTION

Exploration is displayed by rats in the presence of novelty and enables them to acquire information about their environment, in particular spatial information. Although it can take many forms, exploration is most commonly seen as episodes of excited activity during which bouts of movement alternate with bouts of focused investigation.^{1, 2, 3} When rodents are placed in an unfamiliar arena they display exploratory activity directed towards most aspects of this new environment, in particular towards the objects that are present.⁴ It is believed that an animals spatial knowledge of its surroundings depends on such exploratory activity. Removal of an animals opportunity to explore generally leads to poor spatial performance.^{5, 6, 7}

When the animal is placed in the same environment a second time there is a decrease in locomotor and exploratory activity.^{4, 8, 9, 10} This decrease in exploration (habituation) will continue to occur as long as the environment remains constant. A renewal of exploration is observed when there is some change in the environment (i.e. when items or places that haven't been experienced before are encountered)^{9, 11, 12}.

There are many variations to the training schedule for this object-exploration task. Many experimenters concentrate all the training sessions on the same day.⁴ This reduces the duration of the testing procedure but does not examine long-term memory of the animals. Other teams test their rats with long inter-trial intervals,¹⁰ which can reduce stress due to fatigue and thus improve the animal's performance. A recent experiment compared these massed and spaced training procedures using the object-exploration task and found that the massed-trained rats (animals received 4 trials on one day) habituated to their environment rapidly but the spaced-trained group (animals received 1 trial for 4 consecutive days) did not habituate but renewed their exploratory activity each day.¹³ As the spaced-trained group only received one trial per day we cannot determine if they would have habituated within the days. In this experiment we will examine both working and long-term spatial memory by using a training procedure of four trials per day for four days and then test retention after seven days of rest. It has been shown that extended training procedures lead to greater retention.¹⁴

There is considerable conflicting evidence on the importance of distal visual cues for spatial learning in rats. In active learning tasks (e.g. locating a hidden platform in the Morris water maze) it has previously been shown that rodents preferentially use visual cues.^{15, 16, 17} However, another group demonstrated that removal of visual cues did not disrupt spatial memory of hamsters after passive learning using the object-displacement task.¹⁸ Support for this also comes from work on the T-maze where it has been shown that memory performance does not rely exclusively on extramaze visual cues.¹⁹

This experiment will make use of the object-exploration task⁸ to test spatial memory in rats. We will divide the rats into four groups seven days post-habituation. The first group will be allowed to explore the unchanged arena and hence will act as the control group. For the second group we will change the arrangement of one of the objects in the testing arena, and hypothesise that rats will renew exploration around that object. To test the importance of distal visual cues to spatial memory we will

rotate the visual cues by 180 degrees for the final two groups and further hypothesise that renewal of exploration of the entire environment will occur.

METHODS

ANIMALS:

30 Male Wistar rats (200-300g; Bioresources Unit, University of Dublin, Trinity College) aged approximately 3 months were used as subjects. Rats were housed 3 per cage and kept in a temperature-controlled room, which was maintained on a fixed light-dark cycle. The rats were given free access to food and drink. All testing was carried out during the light phase and all rats were well-handled before experimentation.

APPARATUS:

The apparatus consisted of a black circular fibreglass arena (diameter = 130 cm; height = 38 cm) resting on a table 70 cm above the ground. Curtains surrounded the entire arena at a distance of 50 cm from apparatus. Distal visual cues surrounded the arena and included a black poster (55 cm X 81 cm) on the eastern wall, a lamp with a red bulb (60W) on the northeast corner and a lamp with a blue bulb (60W) on the northwest corner. The experimenter, wearing a white laboratory coat stood at the southern side of the arena during testing. Four objects were placed in a square formation at the centre of the arena approximately 40 cm apart (see Figure 1a). The four objects included a rectangular plastic box (height = 13.5 cm; length = 27 cm; width = 11 cm), a concrete pillar (height = 18.5 cm; diameter = 12.5 cm), a wooden tree stump (height = 12 cm; diameter = 8 cm) and a plant in a glass vase (height = 33 cm; diameter = 10.5 cm).

PROCEDURE:

All rats were placed in the centre of the arena and were given 4 trials per day for 4 consecutive days to explore the arena. Each trial lasted one minute and the inter-trial interval was approximately 15 seconds.

To assess exploratory behaviour the experimenter recorded the number of nose contacts each rat made with the individual objects.

Retention was assessed 7 days after the end of habituation and the rats were randomly assigned to 4 groups.

Group 1 (control group; n=7) were allowed to explore the arena for 1 minute where no changes had been made to the arena or to the distal visual cues.

Group 2 (object displacement group; n=8) were placed in the centre of the arena for 1 minute where the wooden object was moved toward the side of the arena (Figure 1b) but none of the distal visual cues were changed

Group 3 (cue rotation group; n=7) were placed in the centre of the arena and once again allowed to explore for one minute. However the distal cues on the walls were rotated 180 degrees clockwise so that the black poster was now affixed to the west wall, the lamp with the red bulb was affixed to the southwest corner and the lamp with the blue bulb to the southeast corner and the experimenter stood at the northern end of the arena.

Group 4 (cue rotation and object displacement group; n=8) were also placed for one minute in the arena where the cues were rotated 180 degrees clockwise. In addition the wooden block was also moved toward the side of the arena (Figure 1b).

To eliminate the possible biasing of any olfactory cues, the experimenter handled every object.

STATISTICS:

A series of repeated ANOVAs were carried out using SPSS (Version 10)

RESULTS

HABITUATION:

Figure 1 shows that the animals habituated rapidly to their environment over the four days. The mean number of nose contacts made with the four objects decreased from 25.033 +/- 0.932 on day 1 to 12.433 +/- 0.777 on day 4. The habituation was confirmed by a one-way ANOVA. An overall significant difference ($F = 15.956$, $df = 3, 476$, $p < 0.001$) was found across the four days. A series of *post-hoc* tests (Tukey, $p < 0.05$) confirmed that the number of nose contacts on day 1 were significantly higher than on the other three days. No other significant differences were noted.

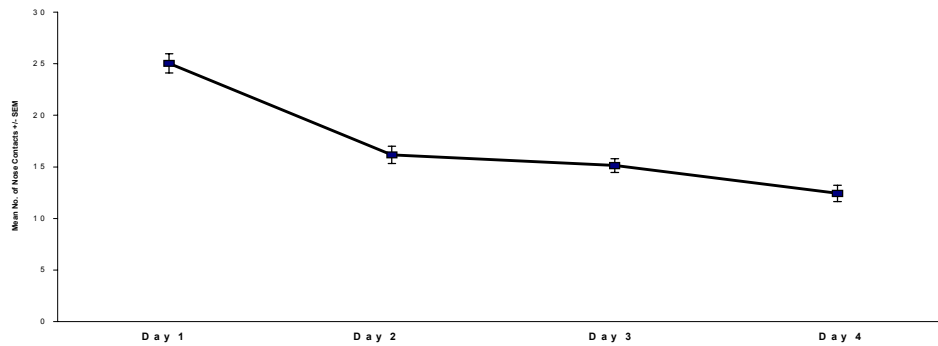


Figure 1. Mean number of nose contacts made with the objects across the 4 days of habituation

RETENTION:

Reaction to spatial novelty and/or environmental manipulation was assessed 7 days post-habituation. A repeated measures ANOVA was carried out and a significant effect for trial was observed (see figure 2; $F = 8.936$, $df = 4, 59$, $p < 0.001$). A series of *post-hoc* tests (Tukey, $p < 0.05$) revealed a significantly higher number of nose contacts on the retention trial with the object displacement group, the cue rotation group and the cue rotation and object displacement group. There was no significant change in the number of nose contacts the control group made on the retention trial compared with the final trial of habituation.

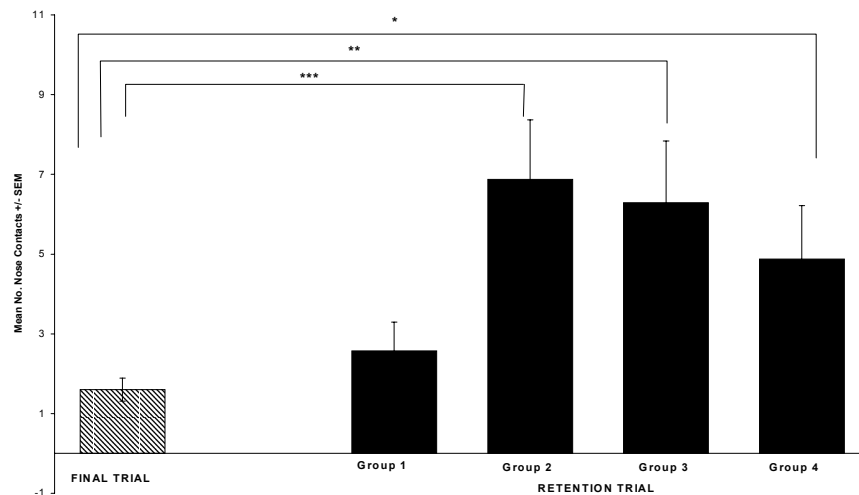


Figure 2. Mean number of nose contacts made with the objects on the retention trial compared with the final trial of habituation

DISCUSSION

The aim of this experiment was to examine the effects of environmental manipulations on spatial memory following habituation to an environment. Results from this experiment showed that habituation to the environment did occur across four days. Seven days post-acquisition long-term spatial memory was tested by environmental manipulation. The results presented here indicate that distal visual cues play a significant role in rat spatial memory following habituation or passive learning.

When rats are placed in a novel environment they display exploratory activity, which is believed to enable them to encode the necessary information about their surroundings.³ This exploration is usually manifested as increased locomotor activity and increased nose contact with the objects in the environment.⁸ Exploration decreases with each subsequent visit to the location due to familiarisation (habituation) to the environment.⁹ In the present experiment the highest level of exploratory behaviour was observed on Day 1. Habituation was then observed across the subsequent three days, in particular between the first two days. This is consistent with other experiments using the object exploration task.¹⁰ Rats trained in the Morris water maze and the elevated T-maze also display habituation to their environment.²⁰

In the second part of the experiment the rats were divided into four groups seven days post-habituation. The first group were allowed to explore the arena for one minute where no changes had been made to the test environment. We found that there was no significant difference in exploratory behaviour compared with the last trial on the last day of habituation. This implies that some internal representation of the test environment had persisted over the seven-day break. These results are consistent with other studies that showed long-term retention of spatial information.^{14,22} This long-term memory of the environment may be due to the training procedure, as others²⁰ found that a spaced-trained group of rats showed an unimpaired retention of an escape location in the Morris water maze after a two-week interruption but a massed-trained group did not.

The second group of rats in this experiment were tested seven days post-habituation in an environment where one of the objects was displaced. We found a significant increase in exploration during the retention trial compared with the final trial of habituation and many previous experiments have also observed a similar increase in exploration directed toward the displaced object.^{12,23,24} This increase indicates that the change in the environment has been detected and thus implies that the second arrangement is compared with some internal representation of the previous one that remains in memory for at least 7 days.

The final two groups were allowed to re-explore the arena where the distal visual cues had been rotated 180 degrees. It has previously been shown that rodents preferentially use visual cues to locate the platform in the Morris water maze.^{15,16} The results from the present experiment indicate that distal visual cues are important in this type of passive learning. When the cues were rotated and the objects remained in the same position as during habituation, the rats increased exploration compared with the final trial of habituation. This implies that the new environment did differ from the environment they remembered during habituation. Further support for this comes from the final group where the cues were rotated 180 degrees and one object was displaced. The rats also showed an increase in exploration.

In conclusion this study demonstrates that habituation occurs quickly both within and across days and knowledge about this environment is committed to memory, where it remains for at least seven days. Distal visual cues are important in this type of passive learning, although further experiments are needed to ascertain how important they are.

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WRITING THE EXILE: ALTERITY AND THE NEED FOR SELF-DEFINITION IN *YESTERDAY* BY AGOTA KRISTOF

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The purpose of this paper is to examine how, in Agota Kristof's Yesterday the narrator's relationship with writing mirrors his own quest for identity in exile. Although he has left his homeland many years before, he is not able to integrate into his adoptive society, feeling like a prisoner in an unfamiliar space. His attempts to write show his need to talk about his alienation as a way of dealing with his confused self.

In the world of literary studies the word *exile* tends to be overused and sometimes it loses its first meaning or its political connotation, as in the cases of internal exile or of self-imposed exile. I agree with Amy Kaminsky who, in her study about the Latin-American diaspora, says that the narrow definition of exile has as main elements 'forced separation and a politically construed place of origin whose governing institutions have the ability to impose that separation.'¹

In *Yesterday* by Agota Kristof, the protagonist is not the typical exile; his exile is a self-imposed one. Tobias Horvath's case is not one of forced displacement caused by a political shift in society. Using Edward W. Said's classification where a distinction is being made between refugees, exiles, émigrés and expatriates, Horvath can be most appropriately classified as an expatriate² because his exile is voluntary and it does not have a political motivation, being caused by the fear of punishment after the attempted murder of his parents. As a child, Tobias was always ashamed of his mother who was the whore of the village and who resorted to stealing and begging to survive. He owed his six years of school and the old clothes that he was wearing to the schoolmaster who was a regular client of his mother and who was the only person who offered him any affection. His mother did not even talk to him, making him feel like an unwanted child. In the last year of compulsory school, at the age of 12, the child overheard a conversation between his mother and the teacher from which he understood that the teacher was his own father, that he did not love the child's mother and that he wanted to get rid of both of them by sending the child to a boarding school and the mother to the city. In his distress, Tobias took a kitchen knife and stabbed the man, hoping that he had killed his mother as well. Then he decided to go west, to escape, to forget. He crossed the frontier and after much wandering, stealing food and sleeping in goods trains or on the streets, was taken care of in a state home for war orphans. Trying to avoid identification, he adopted a new identity based on falsehood, he changed his name to Sandor Lester, by taking the first names of his father (Sandor) and his mother (Esther), and invented a new official past for himself. At the age of 16, he left the state home and started to work. Although voluntary and not linked to the historical events of the period in his country of origin, (the Second World War and the Communist dictatorship that followed in Hungary) his journey follows the pattern of what is called exilic behaviour, based on a sense of separation, loss, isolation and confusion. So, although Horvath is not a banished victim of a political regime, he is deracinated and tortured by the past, and therefore I consider him an exile.

Yesterday is a web of interlinked elements. The form reflects the content, in as much as the fragmentation of the narrative, where narrative passages alternate with surreal, dreamlike intermissions denotes the inability of the protagonist to deal with reality, his need to evade the present and to take refuge in an imaginary world. In other words, the poetic dimension of the text refers to the emotional turmoil caused by the character's isolation in exile. The narrator talks about writing and the difficulties related to literary creation. His relationship with writing changes as the story progresses and it parallels his search for a new identity.

My discussion of this parallel is divided into three parts. First I will examine the narrative tissue of the novel, and then I will concentrate on the double isolation of the protagonist, from his birthplace and from those that surround him, isolation that is directly linked to his attempts to write and implicitly to communicate. The last part addresses the issue of identity, interpreting the ending from this point of view.

NARRATIVE STRUCTURE

The reader does not know if the book that he is reading is the result of the creative work of the narrator who, according to his own words, is writing on a regular basis, or if it is a fictional immersion into his consciousness, an exploration of his existential questioning. The action in the novel takes place in exile in an undefined space and time, where Tobias Horvath, now Sandor Lester, can still be found, after 10 years of monotonous repetitive and alienating work, in the same clock factory where he started. The reader finds out the narrator's name only when he talks about his childhood, on page 17. The novel is written in the first person and it is composed of 14 short fragments of which the majority are in the present tense, a tense that gives a sense of immediacy. Half of these fragments are shorter than others, have a title and a poetic quality, they hover between reality and dreams and they serve to translate the isolation and the sadness of a young man still unable to find a place in this new world. In some of the cases, the last sentence of the previous fragment referred to the action of writing; therefore they could be what he actually wrote.

In the second fragment, the narrator remembers a conversation he had with the psychiatrist when he had to stay in hospital after attempting suicide. This passage is very important because it confirms the reader's own misgivings. There is no order in the protagonist's thoughts, and as in the first part of the novel, daydreams intermingle with recent memories, fragments from a diary or with the re-enacting of scenes from his life.

The trouble is, I don't write what I ought to write, I write just anything, things that no one can understand and that I don't understand myself. In the evening, when I copy out what I have written in my head all day long, I wonder why I wrote all that.³

An example of this mixture can be found in the first pages, which confuse the reader's understanding, making him feel lost as well. The novel starts with what looks like a memory and then becomes a dream in which a tiger talks to the narrator asking him to play the piano. The imaginary takes over from everyday reality indiscernibly, without even seeming out of place.

I was walking in the wind with a brisk, determined step, as every morning. Yet I wanted to go back to my bed and lie there, motionless, without thoughts, without desires, lie there until the moment when I felt the presence of that thing which is not voice, taste or smell, simply a very vague memory, something from beyond the borders of memory. Slowly, the door opened and in a moment of terror my dangling hands felt the soft, silky fur of the tiger.
[...] It went out with a supple stride and I double locked the door behind it. 'See you again', it called out as it left. (pp. 1-2)

Immediately after this scene, Tobias arrives at the factory where Line is waiting for him. It might seem that we have returned to the real level, but the reader does not know who she is, and in fact she disappears after a while in the same way as she appeared, without any explanation. She is like the tiger, the product of his imagination. Later, when Tobias talks to the psychiatrist, he says that the tiger was a nightmare and that Line does not exist. Although she does not exist, he is waiting for her, convinced she will be his wife. Line appears again later in the novel, this time as a real character, having been mentioned as a childhood memory, the girl that was sitting near Tobias in his first day in school, and who was in fact the teacher's daughter. When he sees the real Line in the factory, the young man feels that she is the woman he was waiting for. Unconsciously, the imaginary has its origin in memories and ends up by melting into the real.

Another aspect that adds to the poetic dimension is the treatment of the four natural elements, wind, earth, water and fire, which has been discussed in detail by Marie Bornand in her article.⁴ Wind, present from the beginning as a sign of change, water as rain, earth as mud, often mentioned and fire, as the sun and stars, create a space of exchange between nature and man, between dreams and reality. The last poetic fragment of the novel, entitled 'The Boat Travellers', includes all the symbols that appeared earlier in the novel, it contains a dialogue with the bird that died in the beginning and appeared later in one of the dreams, and can be interpreted as an allegory for hope in the future.

Both these elements, the discontinuous narrative and the poetic dimension of the text, refer to the relationship that exists between the imaginary world and reality, communication that allows

creative writing to exist. Writing appears from the search for the ideal Other, to which I will return later, a search that is vital in the isolation caused by exile.

DOUBLE ISOLATION

For Tobias, isolation is double fold, it is spatial and personal. Firstly and more obviously exile means uprootedness, distance in space from the well known. In her work, Amy Kaminsky underlines the importance of details in the way the subject remembers his place of origin:

All the familiar landmarks of home – food, smells, the flora and fauna even of the city, [...] the fixed points on the internal map of your neighbourhood, the knowledge of the time it takes to travel certain distances over certain routes, the kinetic knowledge of the place that is your home, [...] - all these vanish in the condition of foreignness, to be regained slowly, perhaps incompletely.⁵

In the same way, Tobias talks with nostalgia about the village of his childhood, which he considers as being happy, a paradise lost:

I never went to the village. We lived next to the cemetery, in the last street in the village, in the last house. I was happy playing in the yard, in the mud. Sometimes the sky was clear, but I loved the wind, the rain, the clouds. The rain stuck my hair to my forehead, to my neck, in my eyes. The wind dried my hair, stroked my face. The monsters hiding in the clouds told me about far-away lands. (p. 15)

Adding to this idea of exile as the loss of one's personal environment made up of a landscape one was accustomed to, there is the fear of going back mentioned by Ian Wallace.⁶ In our case, Tobias is afraid to be confronted with the police and is ashamed of his own origins; he does not want to return.

Exile still means for him, after 14 years, a sense of inadequacy in a foreign, unfamiliar and cold place, a feeling of outsiderhood and a lack of affinity with the people that he meets. He feels alienated from himself and from others. ('After ten years I am still a stranger to them', he says on page 30.)

His isolation and loneliness seem to be as much self-inflicted as a consequence of exile. He avoids all human contact. In his analysis, Said talks about the behavioural characteristics of exile and I think they suit the description of our protagonist. Among others he mentions a 'passionate hostility to outsiders, even those who may in fact be in the same predicament', the 'obsession with his own fate and with his hopeless attempts to make satisfying contact with new surroundings' and a 'narcissistic masochism that resists all efforts at amelioration, acculturation, and community.'⁷ Tobias is looking forward to being alone. Often, he retires to his flat to write. Gradually, as refugees arrive from his country and he is asked to translate for them, relationships become possible but he maintains his distance. He does not want them to be a part of his life and is waiting for somebody special, destined to fill his life with love and understanding. He maintains a superficial relationship with Yolande, a young woman who works in a shop, but their relationship is based only on his own comfort. It seems that he does not care about her feelings and does not love her. As he gets in contact with his compatriots, he begins to know more people but for him even Jean, whom he considers as a friend, is annoying and disturbing. From a child living at the margin of society he has become an adult who prefers the same social position, somebody with no ambitions and no plans for the future, living in a horrible and alienating present, haunted by a past that he wants to forget.

WRITING AND IDENTITY

While he is trying to escape from reality he becomes the prisoner of the world of fiction he is creating. Writing has an ambiguous effect on him, it calms him but it seems that it takes control of him. 'Phrases were spinning round in my head. I think that writing will destroy me'. (p. 51)

He has an imperious and vital need to express his feelings, and by doing so to try to understand himself, but at first he cannot explain why he needs to write, why he writes what he does and for whom (p. 6). It is, in fact, a subconscious need for an interlocutor, for somebody with whom he would feel at ease to share all his thoughts, a soul mate. In the third fragment he is talking to this imaginary you:

Your eyelids fluttered, you were moved, and you cleared your throat as you sought the words to comfort me and show me you understood. (p. 11)

He invests all his energy in believing in the illusion that this soul mate exists. He is certain that a woman whom he names Line, who was made for him, will come and save him. She will bring meaning to his life, hope and fulfilment. She will be the desired Other, the long awaited one, in contrast with the others that he has rejected until then. Once she becomes real and he declares his love for her, he is changed. She becomes his inspiration and his audience.

I think only of getting home as quickly as possible to start writing.
I no longer write my strange stories in the language of here, I write poems in my native language. These poems are written for Line, of course. (p. 66)

Choosing not to write in the language of the country of adoption, which would mean that unconsciously he was looking for an audience among those that surround him, he rediscovers his own language as the only way to express his deepest feelings, but he is not sure about spelling, and he ends up by feeling that he does not master either of them anymore. He tells Line that he keeps a journal and that he is writing a book, but he may be saying this because he feels inferior, as she has become a language teacher. Trying to defend himself, he says he does not care if his 'strange stories' work or not in the other language (p. 66), that he burns almost everything he writes, not being happy with its quality (p. 74) but that he will become, in the end, a writer.

As well as being a search for the Other, writing can be a discovery of the self, a permanent creation of the self. More than others, the exiled person is preoccupied with questions regarding identity, self and place. According to Andrew Gurr, 'the basic response to deracination, exile and alienation is a search for identity, the quest for a home, through self-discovery or self-realisation'.⁹ For Tobias, this search takes the form of writing about himself as the subject that he knows best. Identity has to do with self-awareness, subjectivity and memory, with a sense of belonging. In other words, it is about making sense of who one sees oneself to be and also, about how one relates to others. As Kevin Hetherington has rightly suggested, it consists of the totality of the subject's reactions to external stimuli.¹⁰

I think that to begin with, the subject has to define and delineate his past, as the source of the self, made up of memories that he accepts as his and can deal with. I agree with Gurr, who says that the moment of exile is the point where the present becomes past: 'Distance in space reinforces the effect of distance in time. Physical departure from the scene of one's personal history provides a break in time and separates the present from the past. History then becomes what preceded departure'.¹¹ Tobias has problems in dealing with the past; he says he can live only in the present. ('There is only the present.' - p. 80) He struggles with a mixture of nostalgia and a total denial of his past. Sometimes he has difficulties remembering the truth about the past ('Where are the waste grounds of childhood?' - p. 80) because he has tried so hard to forget it. ('But that's a part of my life I prefer to forget.' - p. 72) Pleasant memories fill him with longing and unpleasant ones with horror and shame. Afraid that he might lose Line, he does not tell her the truth about their father. He hopes to write one day a book about their story, a cathartic account of his traumatic experience that he would sign with his real name, a name that only she will know. The trauma caused by the discovery of his father's identity and intentions caused a wound that cannot heal even after 14 years of exile and which makes return impossible. The male narrator's maturing process started very early with the separation from mother/homeland. The homeland is mainly presented as related to the negative image of his mother, and thus it has to be avoided. 'If I too were to return to our country, I wouldn't be able to prevent myself looking for my mother among all the whores in all the towns.' (p. 82)

In all, there is no nostalgia for the real past, the memories he has are in fact fiction, old internalised lies, idealised visions of inexistent harmony and happiness. The harsh reality of exile hastens the need for material independence, although it does not facilitate the acceptance of his changing identity. We can see that he is trapped in the present, disoriented.

The contact with a new, unfamiliar environment, with alterity, facilitated his self-definition as being in resistance and opposition to everybody else. Hell is in other people, as Sartre says in *No Exit*, but hell is in his head as well. This stubborn resistance could have its origin in his lonely childhood. The lack of affection has caused an internal exile, a retreat into his own shell and also a longing for the affection he could not have, embodied in an imaginary feminine figure. Geographic exile compounded

his existential exile and alienation and caused confusion and the total loss of his personal points of reference. For him, at this stage, it is less a question of national identity, based on language, or of a clash of cultures, but more a quest for personal fulfilment, for a home, associated with a feminine presence that symbolises the possibility of access to wholeness. It is true that meeting his fellow countrymen reminds him of his national roots, but he is not very attached to them, he does not identify with them. He has become a non-hybrid, neither being what he was, nor trying to integrate. In the next lines he describes in a detached way the different types of refugees that he has encountered.

I don't go to the bar very often either. There are fewer and fewer of us there. Those that aren't dead have gone back to our country. The young and single have gone further away, they have crossed the Ocean. Others have adapted, have married partners from here and they stay at home in the evening. At the bar I see mainly Jean, who is still living at the refugee centre, [...]. (p. 43)

For years, Tobias remains on the border between his past and his present, between the country he knew with its language, landscape and people and the one he has ended up settling in.

I would argue that Line's arrival, which brought to life again painful childhood memories, and her departure after the failure of their relationship manages to be the catalyst for a coming to terms with his life. The fact that he has had to talk with her about his own past helps him overcome his shame and go beyond the phase of denial.

The cryptic ending shows that the narrator begins to move towards an accommodation with his new situation. It might seem pessimistic because it shows that the narrator chooses social integration against literary creation, reality against dreams, which might mean a spiritual death. He says that two years after Line's departure he does not write any more. In my view, it represents the beginning of a new more peaceful stage in his life of exile, in which he tries to reconcile the new with the old, shifting from exile to diaspora. I will use Amy Kaminsky's expression and say that it is still a life in the hyphen¹², the quest for identity has not ended, it is a state of in-between, of more or less, of becoming, in a sense a parallel of the human condition.

Amy Kaminsky, playing with the word *place*, summarises this process: 'The exile's sense of identity and sense that exile is a u-topia (a no-place) with promise – the promise that one will survive, at least – transform into the diasporan subject's sense of being elsewhere, some place, if not *the place*'.¹³

In this analysis, I have viewed exile as a process without an end rather than a state, which has helped me to draw the parallel with identity in its permanent change. Exile has its first moment, which is the physical and psychological rupture, a trauma in the person's life and then its continuation, life in exile, which brings with it loss, alienation and, with time, a possible acculturation.

In the novel, there is an almost imperceptible gradual change that concerns the way the protagonist reacts to his environment, change that regards both his writing and his self-awareness. Gradually the overwhelming sense of estrangement and displacement from the beginning, reflected in the abrupt juxtaposition of short different scenes from the first pages of the novel, decreases. On the other hand, his creative writing improves, references to it become clearer, it progresses from writing for the sake of relieving the pain to the intention of writing a book, and in the end disappears, not being needed anymore. The attempt to write is a natural reaction to his isolation, but it loses its urgency as soon as a form of internal balance has almost unwillingly been achieved.

We saw how in the beginning, the protagonist was not able to make a real step towards integration and preferred to drift in the present, situating himself in between the real and the fictional world that he created to avoid moving on. As a remedy for his isolation, partly self-induced, partly a consequence of an alienating environment, he needed to write. Writing and especially the failure of the relationship in which he has invested everything he had helped him to face his demons and instead of succumbing to total mental breakdown he finds the strength to make the necessary choice. By accepting his life as it is and by not chasing a dream anymore, he comes out of stasis, ready to face the future, and thus he chooses an identity path, which is to be a hybrid, to integrate.

In our era of homogenisation, assimilation, and tendency towards the disappearance of geographical particularities, Kristof gives an account of exile concentrated on the psychological side, which is far from being sentimental. It touches on the romanticised stereotype vision of exile described as consisting of suffering and deprivation, but the poignancy of the introspection and the combination of lyricism and dry, detached narrative reminds us of a stream of consciousness, making it credible and real, demonstrating the need for such representation.

ENDNOTES

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- ⁴ Bornand, Marie, « Agota Kristof, une écriture de l'exil », in *Littérature féminine en Suisse Romande*, ed. by D. Deltel and C. Verdonnet, Centre de Recherche Interdisciplinaires sur des textes modernes, RITM 12, Littératures francophones, 2, Université Paris X, 1996, pp. 133-165, p.158.
- ⁵ Kaminsky, p. 11
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- ¹⁰ Said, pp. 178, 179, 183.
- ¹¹ Gurr, p. 10.
- ¹² Kaminsky, p. 134.
- ¹³ Kaminsky, pp. 17-18.

THE ROLE OF NATURAL GESTURE IN THE COMMUNICATION OF A CONGENITALLY DEAF-BLIND ADULT: A CASE STUDY

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Deaf-blindness is described, not as a single-disease entity, but as a state of multisensory visual and hearing impairment that has diverse pathological aetiologies¹. It falls into two categories, acquired deaf-blindness and congenital deaf-blindness. People with acquired deaf-blindness become hearing and visually impaired as a result of accident or illness, and may have already reached a level of symbolic communication². For such individuals, the acquisition of language becomes an attainable task, via a variety of specific methods of communication. By contrast, for the congenitally deaf-blind, deprived from both normal sensory input and social experience from birth, opportunities for acquiring communication skills are minimised. Nevertheless, with intervention using specific educational strategies, motivation and communication can be fostered. Many such strategies rely on the introduction of gestures and signs.

Studies have shown that deaf children not exposed to conventional sign language will spontaneously use gestures, called 'homesigns', to communicate³. In the normal development of language, gestures are used in conjunction with spoken words in order to make demands. For example, Bates *et al.*⁴ suggested that a child might say 'cookie' while simultaneously reaching for the cookie and opening and closing the fingers. Gestures might play a similar scaffolding role in deaf-blind communication.

This paper presents some preliminary observations from a case study of communication in a congenitally deaf-blind female adult, with specific attention to formal signs, adaptive signs and natural gesture. A natural gesture is an individually-created, motivated sign, and involves re-enactment of an experience with the body.⁵ Adaptive signs are those that are closely connected to an object or activity, rather than specifically coming from the individual experience. Formal sign language, in this case, refers to Irish Sign Language⁶. Observations in a variety of contexts and situations by the individual's care team suggest that natural gesture is currently the most beneficial method for conveying information in this case. The nature of these gestures will be considered and implications for further developmental progress discussed.

DEFINITION OF DEAF-BLINDNESS

When most people first hear of the condition of deaf-blindness, they tend to think of a person having no vision or hearing at all, someone who is totally deaf and totally blind. In reality, the term deaf-blindness covers a spectrum of combinations of varying degrees of vision and hearing loss. At one end are those who have no vision or hearing at all; at the other end, many affected individuals have some residual vision and/or hearing. In between are combinations of varying degrees of the two impairments, all of which fall under the umbrella term of deaf-blindness. Thus, a person is deaf-blind when he/she suffers a severe combined limitation of hearing and seeing, which results in stark communication, information, and mobility problems².

Deaf-blindness can be acquired or congenital in origin. Acquired deaf-blindness involves becoming hearing and visually impaired during development or adulthood. In this case affected individuals may have already reached a level of symbolic communication, or at least experienced some pre-morbid normal sensory and social development. Some causes of acquired deaf-blindness include brain injury, diseases resulting in high fever, diabetes, and aging. There are three groups of people who acquire deaf-blindness; those who are born with normal sight and hearing, congenitally deaf or hard of hearing people who acquire problems of vision, and congenitally blind or visually impaired people who acquire problems with their hearing⁷. Balder estimates that of all people who are deaf-blind, 90% belong to the group of acquired deaf-blindness. The other 10% are congenitally deaf-blind. Congenital deaf-blindness involves visual and hearing impairments from birth or by the age of two. Frequently there are intellectual disabilities and opportunities for acquiring communication skills are compromised. Some causes of congenital deaf-blindness are prematurity, pre and post natal trauma, and viral infections such as rubella.

CONGENITAL RUBELLA SYNDROME

Rubella, also known as the German Measles, is a virus, which, if contracted by children or adults produces mild symptoms such as runny eyes, a sore throat and pain in the joints. In some cases, it may be so mild that the infection is not even noticed. However, if a pregnant woman contracts rubella, the virus can infect the developing foetus and lead to much more serious problems. This infection is especially dangerous in the first four months of pregnancy, when it can cause damage to the developing organs. Although any part of the body can be affected, the eyes, ears, heart, and central nervous system seem to be especially susceptible to damage from the rubella infection. Children who were infected in the womb are said to have congenital rubella syndrome (CRS). Children with CRS can develop additional medical problems as they get older; for example, further medical problems often arise during adolescence. For CRS individuals who had early exposure to the Rubella virus, and therefore have profound multiple disabilities, there is a high probability of deterioration in later life⁸. The earlier the virus attacks the developing foetus, the greater the damage to the eyes. The ears can be affected at a later stage of the first trimester. Infection after the first trimester can lead to deafness, but may spare vision.⁹ The combination of deficits in visual and hearing systems present a major challenge for cognition development. The visual deficit presents deaf-blind children with fewer opportunities to experience the effects of their own actions. They will meet with more obstructions, and therefore experience less pleasure in their own actions and movements². The auditory deficit presents a profound obstacle to language acquisition, and limits the child's orientation to sound in the environment. The result is a child who is not readily motivated to move or to explore things. In addition to the damage to the visual and auditory senses, the central nervous system is compromised. The maldevelopment of the brain in affected individuals further jeopardises their chances at effective communication and cognition and may contribute to challenging and stereotypical behaviours.

Ritualistic behaviours are often demonstrated by children with CRS. These behaviours, similar to those seen in autism, are explained by Jan Van Dijk, a leading researcher in the field of deaf-blind education, as being a direct consequence of sensory deprivation⁸. Systems of orientation, reaction and habituation are directed more toward stimulation from within, rather than the stimuli coming from the outer world via the senses. Thus self-stimulatory behaviours develop¹⁰. Examples of these ritualistic behaviours are twirling, eye-poking, slapping the face and flapping the hands. Individuals with CRS also display certain behavioural disturbances such as attention difficulties, impulsivity and low frustration tolerance¹¹. Aggression, tantrums, self-stimulation, ritualistic compulsive behaviour, and decreased attention span are examples of manifestations that can emerge at a latter stage. It is because of the prevalence of these behaviours that attempts at intervention are often hindered.

There are other challenges to the development of communication skills. One major problem concerns the lack of motivation. Not being able to see or hear stimuli in the world reliably will reduce the motivation of the individual to explore the world, and thus exploration is limited in both quantity and quality. This has a knock on effect for attention and cognition. The cognitive system is designed for visual and auditory input. When you have a deficit in one of these senses it can be challenging: a deficit in both is a cumulative disadvantage. Information is received in such a fragmented way that it will necessarily influence responses to any stimulus. There are also physical problems associated with CRS, which further encumber the individual. Symptoms are similar to those seen in cerebral palsy; for example, hands can be tightly clenched, which would hinder tactile communication. Furthermore, some deaf-blind adults may at an early age have been physically restrained in an attempt to control inappropriate or aggressive behaviours. The physical opportunities to develop and explore with one's hands would in these cases not have been provided, further limiting the prospects of obtaining sign language. Regardless of the specific challenges facing each deaf-blind individual, with intervention using specific educational strategies, motivation and communication can be fostered. Many such strategies rely on the introduction of gestures and signs.

THE USE OF GESTURE AND SIGNS

At around the age of nine or ten months babies begin to ask for things through the use of gesture. A demand for a toy is demonstrated by a stretched reach of the arm or the opening and closing of a hand. Gesture appears again as a precursor to speech between 18 and 24 months when combinations of spoken word and gesture are used to create meaning. A child may point to her father and then say 'shoe' as if to say 'this is daddy's shoe'.⁴ The invention of a rule based language through gesture can be seen in a study of deaf children of hearing parents who were not exposed to sign language.¹² The self-styled gestural communication system that developed has been described as having 'resilient' properties of language. These gestures, called homesigns, have lexical items that work like nouns, verbs, and adjectives. These gestures exhibited by deaf children who were not influenced by a language model, reveal a need to structure communication. Would gestures play a

similar role in the case of others who have obstacles that inhibit the acquisition of language? Observations of how the congenitally deaf-blind use gesture might provide insights into this issue.

Strategies involving the use of gestures and signs are commonly used with the deaf-blind. One type of sign system uses formal sign language such as the system of Irish Sign Language for the Deaf (National Association for the Deaf). The first dictionary of Irish sign language was first published in 1979, a product of research by teachers and past pupils of St. Mary's School for Deaf Girls and St. Josephs School for Deaf Boys in Cabra. The primary aim of the system was to unify the somewhat different sign languages used by the two Cabra schools). Today Irish Sign Language is widely used within Ireland by the deaf community. It involves a one handed alphabet, and approximately 1,600 signs are demonstrated in the dictionary. Some signs in the vocabulary are similar to the movements used in the activity they represent and have origins of a gestural nature. Another branch of sign language used is LAMH¹³ (Language Augmentation for the Mentally Handicapped). This vocabulary was developed as an easier option to the more abstract Irish Sign Language, from a need to have a unified, but more simplistic approach, for those with intellectual disabilities. Although LAMH is closely connected to ISL, it adapted signs to be more representative of the activity or object they represent. It also emphasizes the use of simple hand shapes and an incorporation of gesture in the development of a vocabulary. By definition these seem quite similar to adaptive signs, although they are perhaps more unified within a system.

Adaptive signs are defined here as those agreed upon by individuals who work with the deaf-blind. In other words, these signs emerge through use, and may differ from agency to agency, or undergo modification with use. The particular adaptive signs to be discussed here are those used at the agency where the case individual resides and are not used outside this organisation. They are chosen because they are closely connected to the activity they represent, thus providing an easier association to the activity. These signs usually involve a motor depiction of the activity, for example the sign for 'sound perception', an activity which can involve the use of a drum, is represented by banging your left palm with the right index finger. This sign was developed to simulate the banging of a drum. Adaptive signs are not individualised, but are based on an interpretation of what we perceive the activity to be. These adaptive signs are chosen from close observation of the students when they are in an activity. These signs are quite similar to what McInnes and Treffrey¹⁴ talk about when they describe 'gross signs'. Although gross signs might have more in common with LAMH signs, they take on an adaptive quality in that signs could vary according to the degree of the impairment in the child¹⁴.

Natural gestures are individually motivated signs, and involve a re-enactment of an experience with the body.⁵ A natural gesture comes from the student's own movements and grows into a gesture as it comes forth naturally. The deaf-blind do not show aspects of an event in the same way we would perceive it, but would refer to it as whatever impression they receive from the event through and directly on their body.¹⁵ For example, an event could be perceived based on any of a set of relevant features. These vary between deaf-blind individuals and require a rich interpretation on behalf of the carer. Recognition of a natural gesture depends more on the context and knowledge/ experience of the situation.⁵ Often gestures do not get interpreted or are mistaken for stereotypical behaviours. Rodbroe & Nafstad (1999), in *Co-creating Communication*, state that you must negotiate the meaning of these gestures through steps, which can be repeated in constructing a shared vocabulary.

A FRAMEWORK FOR FOSTERING GESTURAL COMMUNICATION

With respect to the present case study the issue of interest is how might natural gesture, adaptive sign and formal sign lead the individual towards effective communication and perhaps even language? If at first the deaf-blind individual is in a reflexive state and is displaying ritualistic or stereotypic behaviour, communication is not taking place at all. Some deaf-blind educational strategies focus on these stereotypic behaviours in order to begin communication. The co-active movement theories of Jan van Dijk begin with the *resonance stage*, which allows one to mirror back these behaviours in an attempt for communication to begin. Resonance takes place at a pre-conscious level where the behaviours are reflexive and through the reverberations of these behaviours the learner shifts from self-stimulatory behaviours to behaviours of interaction¹⁶. The following stages are followed through; resonance, co-active movement, deferred imitation and non-representational reference. As a trusting relationship begins to develop and reciprocal interaction begins to take place, the student begins to imitate and interact with others. It is during these encounters we see the emergence of natural gestures from the shared experience. This is one of the first steps towards communication. When the beginnings of adaptive signs are used, they express an understanding of shared meaning. Initially formal sign language serves a basic communicative function, and is very similar to adaptive sign, except that the signs themselves are more abstract. As formal sign language develops it becomes fully-

fledged language, and the individual becomes capable of symbolic representation. A framework for representing these stages of development as a progression from reflexive behaviours to fully-fledged language is illustrated in Table 1 below.

LEVEL OF FUNCTIONING	EXAMPLE
Reflexive	Ritualistic
Relating	Imitation
Communication	Natural gesture
Symbolic representation	Adaptive sign
	Formal sign language
Language	

Table 1: Proposed framework for development of sign systems

A CASE STUDY

This initial case study will highlight categories of natural gesture, adaptive sign, and formal sign language with the aim of examining how these can be built up, so that the individual's communicative potential is realised more fully. How can each of these areas be highlighted and developed so they best suit the individual? How can natural gesture, which is the beginning stage of communication, be turned into language? Or is natural gesture the only real stage of understanding for the deaf-blind? The following are some preliminary observations from a case study of a congenitally deaf-blind female, which may be useful in examining these issues further. This subject currently has poor communication, as well as a range of challenging behaviours, which complicates intervention.

Background information: Case M is a twenty-four year old deaf-blind female with congenital rubella syndrome. She has a complicated medical history and is under an extensive drug regime. She attended day services, since she was six years old, in an agency for those with learning disabilities. She lived at home with both parents and her brother and sister, until she was moved into residential care at the age of twelve. Both her parents died in that same year. At the age of seventeen it was reported in a psychological assessment that the services for the learning disabled were not adequately meeting her needs, and they requested a place in an agency for deaf-blind adults. She has been in residential care for deaf-blind adults since she was nineteen. Observations from her care team reveal that she displays many ritualistic behaviours, such as twirling; it is estimated by her care staff that she might twirl in one place for over half of her day. She also pokes her eye and pinches her cheek and exhibits challenging behaviour such as biting and pinching her staff. She slams doors and paces up and down corridors, head butts walls, and strips off her clothes at inappropriate times. Interaction with staff is often limited due to the excess of her challenging behaviour which restricts intervention.

Vision and hearing deficits: Her most recent Optometrist report from the National Council for the Blind states that she has bilateral cataracts, although it was hard to make a closer examination at this time because she was not co-operative. It was uncertain as to whether she had any residual vision in either eye. The most recent Health Board audiological report, stated that on test she did not respond to any warble tones up to 100db. They felt she had no residual hearing at all.

Gestural history: She has been introduced to thirty-six formal signs. These signs have been introduced co-actively: hand over hand during the activity. They are repeated several times during the activity to reinforce the sign. Two of these signs she used before she came to the agency; 'food' and 'sweet'. She can independently sign two more formal signs, but not always reliably. Often she will use these signs out of context; for example she will sign tea or food and then, when staff offer her a cup of tea or food, she might refuse. Jurgens¹⁷ describes a phenomenon where a deaf-blind child will learn two or three signs and continue to use these signs in inappropriate contexts, as an attempt for satisfaction. She explains that they do not actually connect the sign with the activity and that the sign is not natural to the student for the activity. In these cases, the signs do not mean the same thing to the student as to the

teacher. They may in fact be devoid of any definite meaning for the student. Whether Case M truly understands the connection with these activities is uncertain. Another option is that she is not actually demanding the activity, but is making an attempt at thinking or wanting to talk about the activity. She could be demonstrating these signs as 'thinking signs', where the deaf-blind student imagines an experience of an event, 'thinks aloud', or uses 'directed signs' where they are proposing a theme for conversation¹⁶. Alternatively the sign could have acquired ritualistic value for the individual.

She has been introduced to six adaptive signs for activities in the centre. She does not sign any of these independently. Because of her behavioural problems it is often hard to get her motivated to take part in activities connected with the adaptive sign. Since she is not participating in the activity these adaptive signs represent, then the use of these signs is not being reinforced. Like the introduction of formal signs these signs are always first introduced during the activity, and then distanced slowly in order to get a better understanding of the sign. It is questionable as to whether the success of these adaptive signs was limited by a failure to connect with the meaning, or by a difficulty in finding an activity she felt enthused to engage in.

Her care team showed concerns about how best to facilitate her communication through sign. Issues around confusion in her usage of formal signs were discussed. It was decided at this stage to observe her during activities for emerging natural gestures. If indeed she could not understand the meaning of some of her formal signs, then we could not go back a few steps and examine what level she might be communicating at. If she exhibits so much reflexive behaviour, then perhaps she is only beginning to form communicative relationships. Communication might develop more readily from affirming her perceptions, as opposed to instructing ours. Her care team was particularly interested in looking at how best to communicate basic functions, such as going to the toilet.

AN EXAMPLE OF HOW NATURAL GESTURE MIGHT BE EFFECTIVE

There seemed to be a lot of confusion for the case individual concerning her toileting programme. Due to her problem behaviour her care team offered her cups of tea, in order to bring her to the toilet, in order to help her relax. She had been introduced to the LAMH sign for toilet, which is made by touching the individual's palm with your palm. Her care team did not feel she understood this sign, because she would not initiate any move towards her bathroom when it was signed to her. As explained earlier, one of the formal signs that she signed independently was the sign for 'tea', but this often occurred out of context. The added complexity of her signing this all the time made it even harder to decipher whether she was confusing cups of tea at the toilet to other cups of tea she was having during drink activities, or indeed whether she was using the sign in a more general manner altogether.

Any key behaviour that might indicate a need to use the toilet was difficult to observe as she produced many ritualistic and stereotypical responses. It was on a home visit that her sister first noticed what could prove to be a key gesture. Seeing her gently tap herself just below her stomach, her sister brought her to the toilet. Every time her sister would imitate the gesture, the case individual would head in the direction of the toilet in her sister's house. The sister reported back to her care team the success of this natural gesture. The care team tried this at the centre, and found it again to be successful. It was then adopted, and used in her toileting routine and now appears to be effective. Although she still appears to have some problems in this area, it is of the opinion of the care team that it is for other reasons.

CONCLUSION

This initial case study demonstrates how incorporating a natural gesture into the individual's sign repertoire can be successful in establishing meaning, leading to the possibility of further communication. In such cases where ritualistic behaviours are prevailing, these gestures are not easily recognised as having communicative value. If one such gesture begins to make a difference, then perhaps closer observation might lead us to discover others that could as well. This study highlights the importance of recognising and confirming these gestures in such individuals, as a starting point for language development. It highlights the value of adopting gestures initiated by an individual in establishing meaning, and suggests that such natural gestures, having acquired meaning for the individual, could be used to scaffold more formal gestures and signs that have shared meaning for a wider group. Further research will examine the relationship between natural gesture, adaptive and formal signs in a series of case studies of other deaf-blind individuals of varying abilities.

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ON NETWORK LATENCY IN DISTRIBUTED INTERACTIVE APPLICATIONS

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This paper has three objectives. Firstly it describes the historical development of Distributed Interactive Applications. It then defines network latency. Finally it describes a new approach to masking network latency in Distributed Interactive Applications called the strategy model approach. This approach derives from the on-going PhD studies of one of the authors. A software application to gather strategy data from users is described in detail and an example of deriving a user strategy is given.

Key Terms: *Distributed Interactive Applications, Latency, Strategy Model*

1. INTRODUCTION

Human interaction with computers has evolved from batch processing using Hollerith cards to virtual reality systems in which the user can be fully immersed. The origins of virtual reality technology can be traced back to vehicle simulation research in the 1920s¹ and since then, virtual environments have spread to areas such as military simulations, cooperative whiteboards and architectural design. The first distributed software virtual environment was SIMNET, a United States research program initiated in 1983 to train soldiers in battlefield tactics². Since then numerous distributed virtual worlds and applications have been documented^{3, 4}. We refer to these systems as Distributed Interactive Applications (DIAs). They are networked software environments that usually model a real environment to facilitate communicative, cooperative and collaborative tasks involving numerous simultaneous participants⁵.

This paper provides a historical context to the development of DIAs, focusing on the development of standards within the military domain and on the development of research virtual environments in academia. It then describes the network latency phenomenon and presents a new approach to masking latency called strategy modeling. A novel software tool for collecting actual data from users is described and an example is given of how this data can be analyzed to derive a user strategy. This work is based on one of the authors PhD research.

The paper is structured as follows: the following section provides the historical background. Latency is defined in section 3. In section 4 the strategy approach to masking latency is presented and the software tool for collecting user strategy data is described in section 5. Section 6 contains an illustrative example. The paper ends with a concluding discussion.

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In this section we will give a succinct summary of the development of DIAs within the military and academic domains. Distributed applications have their origins in United States military research in the early 1980s and since the early 1990s many academic institutions have developed research groups, often with the participation of industry or government agencies. Running in parallel with both the military and academic research has been research into networked games, beginning with a program called *Flight* in 1984. Interested readers are referred to Singhal and Zyda⁶, McCoy⁷ and Smed⁸.

FROM MILITARY RESEARCH TO INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS

Research into military DIAs has been almost exclusively American-based⁹. The US department of defense refers to military DIAs as Advanced Distributed Simulations (ADS)^{10 and 11}. ADS aims to support three different types of simulation:

- *live*: involving people interfacing with real equipment. This equipment (hardware) is itself linked into the simulation environment. Such live participants are also referred to as Man-In-The-Loop (MITL) or Hardware-In-The-Loop (HITL);
- *virtual*: involving people interacting with simulated equipment. The simulated equipment is often referred to as a *simulator*;

- *constructive*: entirely computer generated simulation i.e. simulated people operating in a simulated environment. The term Semi-Automated Forces (SAF) is frequently used to describe this type of simulation.

The evolution of ADS can be described in terms of the evolution of simulation architectures that define the standards and protocols for interoperability between participating simulations. We will look at the evolution of these architectures as they are illustrated in Figure 1.

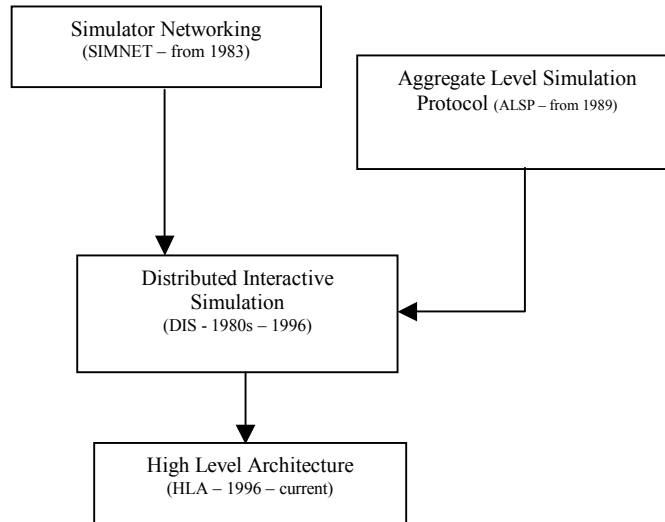


Figure 1: Evolution of architectures

SIMNET

Simulation NETwork (SIMNET) was a US Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) funded programme, which ran from 1983 until 1990 and resulted in the SIMNET protocol, an informal protocol developed by Bolt, Beranek and Newman (BBN). The SIMNET project aimed to provide a simulation environment suitable for tactical training of tank crews. The significant contribution of the SIMNET programme was to raise the importance of team training, and the use of simulation technology to support such training. The resulting network of tank simulators facilitated regular and intensive practice in combat skills. In addition, this also provided an environment capable of evaluating new and emerging tactics, doctrines and weapons systems. Many of the eventual 250 SIMNET simulators remain in operation with the US Army.

ALSP

Interoperability issues with other simulators were not a key concern for SIMNET, since the SIMNET simulators were specially developed and used a common set of protocols to exchange information. This was not, however, the case in other areas where the US Department of Defence (DoD) wanted to use such technology. In 1990 DARPA sponsored MITRE¹² to investigate the design of a general protocol to support interoperability of *existing* aggregate-level constructive combat simulations. The term *aggregate* refers to the ability of a simulation to represent groups of entities (e.g. squadron) while preserving the capabilities of the composite entities making up the aggregate. The resulting protocol became known as Aggregate Level Simulation Protocol (ALSP). The ALSP project recognized that different branches within the military had already invested in development of their own combat simulations. Increasingly, given the experiences of SIMNET, it was seen as beneficial to allow these disparate simulations to interoperate in ways never intended - ideally without having to totally redevelop them.

DIS

Features of both SIMNET and ALSP projects contributed to the subsequent development of the Distributed Interactive Simulation (DIS) protocol as IEEE std. 1278.1-1995. The DIS protocol is a 'government/industry initiative to define an infrastructure for linking simulations of various types at multiple locations to create realistic, complex, virtual worlds for the simulation of highly interactive activities.'¹³ The DIS standard defines the standard data messages that are exchanged between simulation applications. It only supports messages for certain domains, although it can be extended to

include new domains. Sample domains are radio communications, warfare and entity information/interaction. Data messages are known as Protocol Data Units (PDU) and this is an application layer protocol. The most important PDU in the DIS standard is the Entity State Protocol Data Unit (ESPDU). This contains information regarding the entity state (type, position, velocity, visual appearance, capabilities etc) and accounts for 96% of DIS network traffic. The architecture is fully replicated with no central control of the simulation exercise. This means that without a data reduction scheme, a simulation involving 100,000 players would require 375Mbits/s of network bandwidth to each participating node¹⁴. The DIS standard therefore defines the Dead Reckoning concept for reducing network traffic. Despite this the DIS protocol suffers from scalability issues.

HLA

In 1991 the US DoD formed the DMSO (Defense, Modeling and Simulation Office) to consolidate the efforts in ADS development. The cornerstone of DMSO efforts is the High Level Architecture (HLA)¹⁵. The HLA learned lessons from its predecessors and moved away from defining the format of data interchange. The focus moved from specifying communication content (the DIS approach) to the communication mechanism. In 1998 the HLA was adopted as an international standard by the Object Management Group (OMG), and was subsequently accepted and defined in IEEE std. 1516-2000. It is based on the premise that no one simulation can satisfy all uses and users. In HLA terms an individual simulation is referred to as a *federate*. A group of federates that intend to interoperate with one another form a *federation*. This terminology was introduced to avoid excessive use of the term *simulation*, where it would be unclear whether a *simulation* refers to the individual or the whole.

The HLA has two stated goals:

- (1) to achieve interoperability of a broader range of types of simulations than previous ADS achieved;
- (2) to maximize the reuse of existing code and architecture framework.

The HLA is defined by three components: (a) an Interface Specification to define federate interoperability, (b) a set of rules to govern federate interaction and (c) an *Object Model Template*.

SISO

As with its DIS predecessor, the HLA was initially intended for use within the US military. There was, however, increasing awareness that the HLA was applicable to problems in the wider simulation community, both outside of the US and outside of the defence community. Since 1996 the Simulation Interoperability Standards Organisation (SISO)¹⁶ has been at the fore in reporting ADS developments. SISO provides a focus for all groups with an interest in ADS developments. The SISO currently has 1176 official members representing over 400 organisations covering broad representation (approximately 51% commercial, 41% government/military and 8% academia). The members represent 12 countries including Canada, France, Germany, Ghana, Israel, Japan, Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom and the USA. A good summary of standards in collaborative virtual environments is given by Pullen et al¹⁷.

ACADEMIC DISTRIBUTED INTERACTIVE APPLICATIONS

Academic research into DIAs originated with the NPSNET in 1990. To review all subsequent academic DIAs would be a daunting task. Instead we will describe the origins and development of the NPSNET, and then focus on a number of more recent DIAs. Some important academic DIAs upon which all subsequent DIAs are constructed include MASSIVE¹⁸ and ¹⁹ (University of Nottingham), PaRADISE²⁰ (Stanford University), DIVE²¹ (Swedish Institute of Computer Science) and SPLINE²² (Mitsubishi Electric Research Laboratories). These have been extensively documented elsewhere and interested readers are referred to the relevant references.

NPSNET

The origins of this system date back to a missile virtual environment called FOG-M developed at the Navy Postgraduate School (NPS) in 1986. This was networked with a target vehicle simulator called VEH and developed into the Moving Platform Simulator (MPS). This then grew into NPSNET-1 in 1990, leading to NPSNET-IV²³ in 1993 and subsequently developed into NPSNET-V component framework²⁴ in 2000. NPSNET-V is a platform for student development and a test bed for advanced virtual environment research. It is a Java²⁵ component-based architecture that is extensible, allows dynamic extensibility (runtime replacement of any part of the application), is scalable, provides for cross-version compatibility and allows persistent storage. It has built upon aspects of other

architectures such as Bamboo, CORBA, GNU/MAVERIK, Deva, JADE (Java Adaptive Dynamic Environment), ERCSP (Extensible Runtime Containment and Services Protocol) and JavaBeans. NPSNET-V allows the construction of applications as component hierarchies rooted in an invariant microkernel. Components communicate with each other through an interface layer and event model.

ATLAS

This Java/C++-based scalable network framework for DIAs was developed at the Information and Communications University in Korea²⁶. To improve scalability the authors identify four core issues: (1) communication architecture – peer-to-peer vs. peer-to-server model, (2) Interest Management – relevance filtering and area-of-interest management²⁷ (3) Concurrency Control – replication means that replicas must be synchronized to avoid an inconsistent virtual world and (4) Data Replication – a central server maintains the actual virtual world and clients replicate all or part of this world²⁸. ATLAS has two main components – a Server and a Peer component. The Server Component consists of four managers: session, region, event and communication managers. Likewise the Peer consists of the same four managers together with the client application. ATLAS provides no graphics or UI support but it has a *veneer layer* that allows it to integrate successfully with other virtual environments. It has been integrated with systems such as the single user virtual reality system Kitten for a collaborative engineering application and Virtual Playground.

MOVE

This is a 3D collaborative environment built upon a component groupware framework called ANTS, which provides collaborative services. It is being developed by the universities of Rovira i Virgili and Murcia in Spain as part of the Catalanian Internet2 project²⁹. Users can interact with other users or with other entities such as documents, whiteboards or voting tools. MOVE has been developed using open technologies such as Java, the Virtual Reality Modeling Language (VRML)³⁰, and the H-Anim avatar standard specification³¹. MOVE aims to be scalable, component-based and record all avatar behaviour while in the virtual world. To tackle these problems it uses the standard JavaBeans specification as the component model and defines an event monitoring/handling system to facilitate the collection and retrieval of behavioral data.

SCORE

This DIA was developed at the L'Universite de Nice-Sophia Antipolis, France. The virtual world is divided into cells, each of which has a multicast group. Each user avatar has a square area of interest and subscribes to the multicast groups that its area of interest intersects. The cell size can be static or dynamic. The dynamic cell size can be calculated based on parameters such as avatar spatial density or available multicast addresses. The cells may also be of different size, allowing a fine grid where avatar spatial density is high³².

Having reviewed the historical foundations of DIAs, the next section will describe an inherent network phenomenon called latency which is the fundamental technical limitation associated with all DIAs.

3. NETWORK LATENCY

There are several potential delays in a distributed system, including tracking delay, computation delay, graphics rendering delay, synchronization delay, communication delay and display delay³³. One of the limiting factors to deploying interactive applications with possibly unrestrained geographical distribution is the communication delay associated with the interconnecting network. Information takes a finite, unpredictable length of time to reach each user because of the heterogeneous nature of the intervening networks. This inherent time delay is called *latency* or lag. Latency is the time it takes for a packet of information to travel from an application on one computer to an application on another computer across a network. Munki³⁴ provides a formula for calculating latency as follows:

$$\text{Latency} = \text{time per bit} * \text{number of bits} + \text{overhead (routing etc)}$$

Some typical latency values for different network technologies are shown in Table 1.

Network	Travel time	Time per data unit
Ethernet LAN	0-3 ms	Insignificant
Modem to modem	~ 100 ms	~ 1 ms/byte
Analogue modems	~ 200 ms	~ 2ms/byte
ISDN to ISDN	~ 10 ms	~ 0.5ms/byte
Internet	up to seconds	highly variable

Table 1: Some typical latency values

Acceptable latency values for DIS applications are defined by the Communications Architecture for Distributed Interactive Simulation (CADIS). These are illustrated in Figure 2 for an ISO protocol stack model³⁵. The latency experienced by the end user is the application-to-application delay.

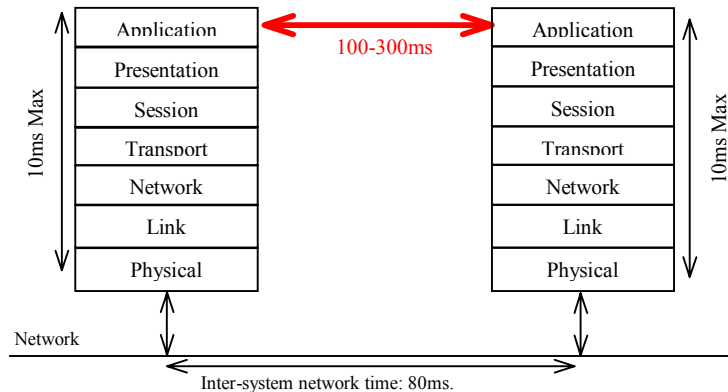


Figure 2: ISO Protocol Stack and CADIS latency values

Latency is an inherent network characteristic. The information travelling between two networked computers connected via fibre optic cable travels at about two-thirds the speed of light in a vacuum. Based on this, Cheshire³⁶ gives some minimum theoretical latency values as a function of distance. A rule of thumb is that round-trip latency is 1ms per 100km. For example, a minimum round-trip latency of 220ms is experienced in communicating with someone on the far side of the planet (a distance of about 22,000km).

Latency is particularly troublesome in interactive applications where the network delays are comparable to the interaction time³⁷. Typical latency values to allow real-time distributed collaboration fluctuate between 40 and 300ms³⁸. A good benchmark value is a one-way latency value of 100ms.

Latency can be reduced by physically increasing the available bandwidth. Alternatively, making more efficient use of existing bandwidth can reduce latency. Much research to date has focused on latency masking algorithms that reduce the number of network packets transmitted, creating the illusion of interactivity and ensuring a consistent worldview for all participants. Examples include client-prediction contracts (e.g. dead reckoning³⁹), relevance filtering⁴⁰, packet bundling/data compression⁴¹, multi-resolution techniques⁴² and time management^{43and44}. There are other ways of reducing latency effects including choice of transmission protocol⁴⁵, network architecture^{46and47} and Quality of Service (QoS)^{48and49}.

In the next section we describe a novel client-prediction approach that the authors have developed to reduce the number of packets being transmitted between participants and in so doing mask network latency.

4. STRATEGY MODEL APPROACH

A new and innovative approach to masking network latency is being developed by the authors. The following paragraphs describe the work to date. For the convenience of the reader we first define some necessary terminology.

TERMINOLOGY

A *goal* is the aim or objective a person has in moving through an environment. For example, the goal might be to go from point A to point B. In achieving a goal a person can adopt a number of strategies, so that any one *strategy* is an expression of the goal. Strategies can be either *steady-state* or *transient*. A steady-state strategy is a user-preferred method for achieving a set goal. A transient strategy is an exploratory method in an attempt to reach a steady-state strategy.

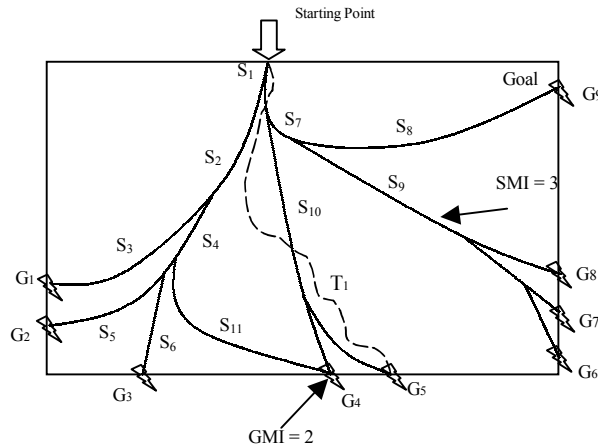


Figure 3: Terminology – S1 to S11 are strategies; G1 to G9 are goals; T1 is a sample trajectory; GMI is the Goal Multiplicity Index – how many strategies reach that goal; SMI = Strategy Multiplicity Index – how many goals this strategy lead to.

The idea underlying the hunt for strategies is to train a system to expect certain strategies based on past user behavior or based on expected user behavior. Each strategy comprises one or more trajectories – a set of trajectories can be associated with any strategy. A *trajectory* is a particular expression of a strategy. Multiplicity can refer to either strategies or goals. *Strategy Multiplicity Index* (SMI) refers to the number of goals a strategy leads to. *Goal Multiplicity Index* (GMI) refers to the number of steady-state strategies that lead to the goal. This terminology is illustrated in Figure3. In this paper we present results for a GMI of 1.

THE STRATEGY MODEL EXPLAINED

A user in a virtual environment constructs a mental model of the ‘physical’ structure of the environment as a function of the time spent in the environment. To achieve a goal within the environment the user adopts one of possibly many potential strategies in attempting to reach the desired goal. For example a user will enter a room with the goal of walking to the nearest window. How the user gets there (the strategy adopted) will depend on furniture in the room, whether the user can see the window from the starting position and so on.

The strategy model approach relies on the creation of a library of possible strategies based on the structure of the virtual environment or on previous user behavior. The behavior of each user is observed to determine which of the existing library strategies best fits the observations. All users of the DIA share the same strategy library. As a result, users only need to communicate their adopted strategy to other users across the network. This results in a decrease in network traffic, as users do not have to update their positions continuously. Instead they only send an update packet when they change strategy. The strategy approach is used in conjunction with the dead reckoning approach as explained by Delaney et al⁵⁰.

The strategy model approach relies on being able to identify user strategies and goals. There are a number of issues to be dealt with:

- how to determine the possible steady-state strategies given the environment. If there is only one possible strategy, the problem is relatively straightforward. If there are many potential strategies, the problem then becomes that of parameterising each strategy and choosing the statistically most probable one;
- once a strategy has been chosen the length of time over which the strategy is valid must be estimated;
- the user’s goal must be determined.

The first step in researching the validity of this new approach is to establish a strategy library based on the environment of the virtual world. In the next section the authors describe a software tool that allows them to record data from users navigating under controlled conditions in a virtual environment to illustrate the principle of the strategy approach.. From this, the possible steady-state strategies can be determined and a strategy library constructed.

5. STRATEGY SOFTWARE TOOL

The strategy software tool is a game-like Java application that allows the construction of a virtual environment within which users can navigate. All user actions are recorded for analysis. The software tool is called 'Universe Mapper' and will be described in the following paragraphs.

THE GRAPHICAL USER INTERFACE (GUI)

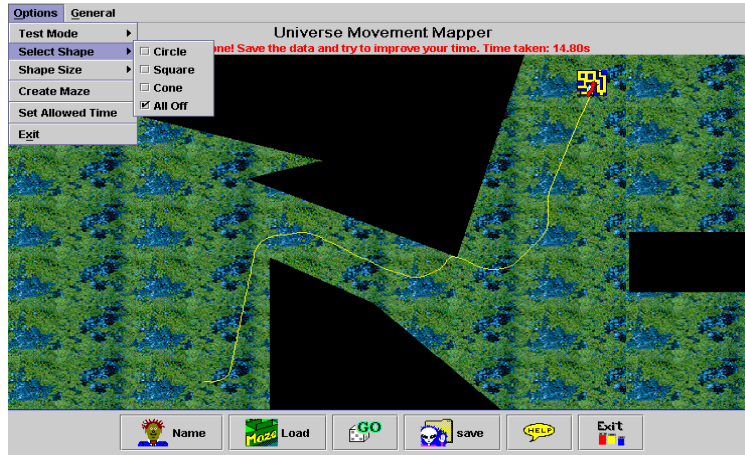


Figure 4: The Graphical User Interface of the program showing obstacles (in black), the drop down menu options and a sample user trajectory with the goal icon.

The software GUI is illustrated in Figure 4. The main options are illustrated as icons at the bottom of the screen and include Name (to input a user name), Load (to load a new environment) Go (to reset the program to an initial state), Save (to save all user movement data), Help (Hypertext document) and Exit. Users navigate a spacecraft using the arrow keys and their objective is to reach and move into the icon representing the goal. Areas presented in black are no-go areas through which users cannot pass. The spacecraft leaves a limited yellow trail in its wake so that users know where they have been over the recent past.

Some other options are included as menu items and allow the environmental parameters to be varied as well as allowing a new maze to be created. These will be explained further in the following paragraph.

THE SOFTWARE FEATURES

The software has a number of functional features that are not apparent to the users of the system. These are listed and described in Table 2.

Functional Feature	Description
Maze Construction	A Maze can be constructed using the mouse and saved to file. Start and end point locations can be set. This allows the construction of different mazes with different goals and different strategies. This feature is illustrated in Figure 5.
Limited Viewing Area	The user view of the maze environment is restricted to a region surrounding their current position. This region can be circular (as shown in Figure 6), square or conical. The size of this area can also be adjusted.
Best Scores List	To maintain user interest a best scores list based on the time to reach the goal is saved to persistent storage. This acts as an incentive to optimize the strategy adopted by users in reaching the goal.
Test Mode	A test mode is provided which allows users the opportunity to experience the dynamics of the spacecraft.
Time Allowed	The maximum time allowed by a user to reach the goal can be set manually. This is necessary because different environments with different goals will necessitate different strategies and hence different times to reach the goal. When the maximum time is exceeded the application halts and data must be saved to file.

Table 2: Universe Mapper Functional Features

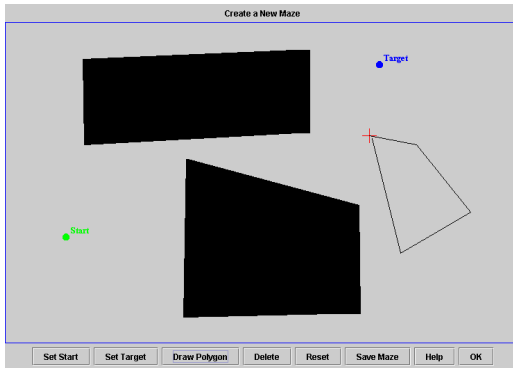


Figure 5: The 'Create Maze' option. A maze can be constructed, the start and goal points set and the information saved to file.

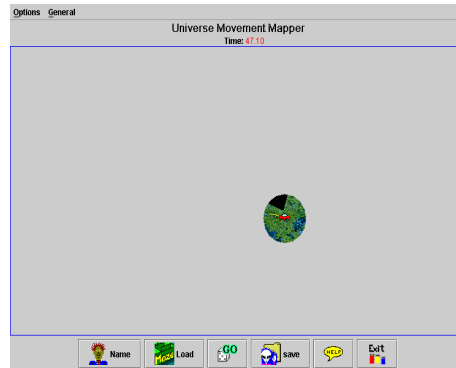


Figure 6: The user entity and the limited visible area surrounding the entity

THE SOFTWARE ARCHITECTURE

The software was written using the Java programming language. Java was chosen so that the application can be executed over the World Wide Web as an *applet*. The code structure is object-oriented and the classes, together with their principle relationships and methods, are shown in the UML diagram, Figure 7. The Frame classes (UniverseFrame and CreateMazeFrame) extend the JFrame class and the Panel classes (UniversePanel and CreateMazePanel) extend the JPanel class. All drawings are performed in the panels and the panel is contained within the frames. The frames control user input and menus.

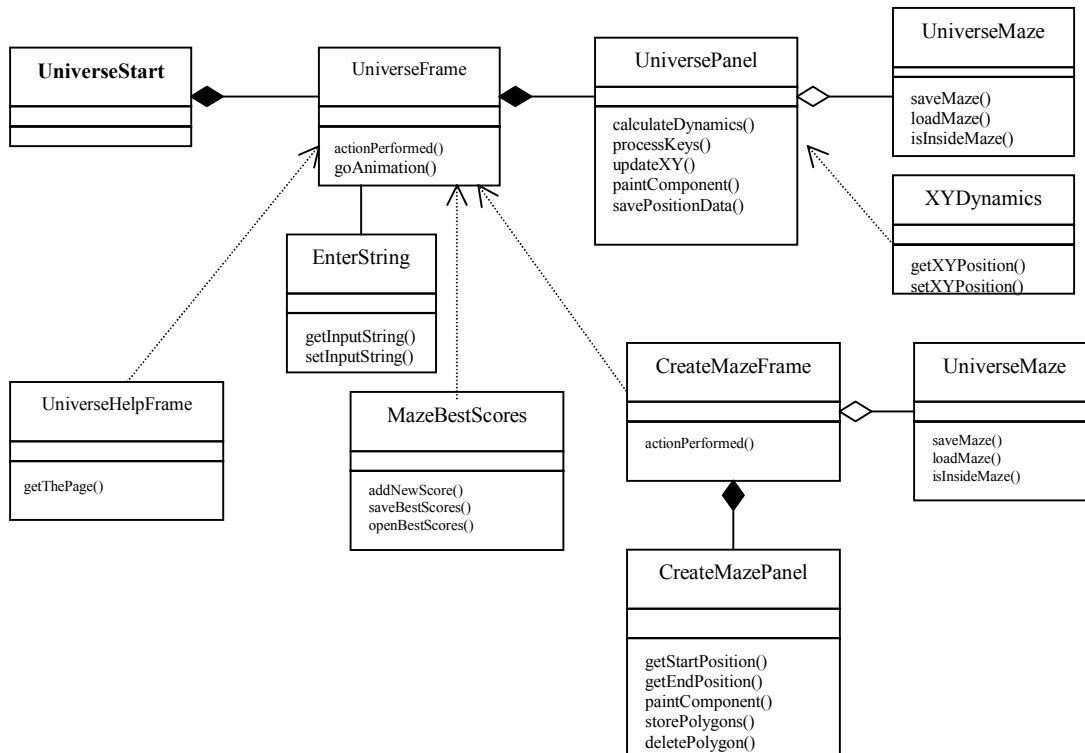


Figure 7: UML class diagram for the Universe Mapper

6. AN ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLE

User strategies within an environment were constructed using real data collected by means of the Universe Mapper software application. The example presented is based on the scenario of a single steady-state strategy and a single goal. The maze was designed so that the user had only one possible steady-state strategy to achieve the goal. This also means that both the steady-state user strategy and the user goal are known apriori.

DATA RECORDING

The software tool records user trajectories based on an experimental protocol described in Appendix A. Trajectories were recorded from 15 participants. The number of trajectory data files recorded for each participant varied because they converged to a steady-state strategy after fewer attempts. This can be expressed as follows:

$$|T^{t_n} - T^{t_{n-1}}| \leq \delta$$

where

t_n is the n^{th} trajectory associated with a strategy;

T is the time taken to reach the goal;

n is the trajectory index for a single strategy;

δ is an acceptable scalar error tolerance value.

All trajectories were analyzed using Matlab⁵¹ to determine both transient and steady-state strategies. The maze chosen for the experiment is shown in Figure 4 and it suggests only one obvious steady-state strategy. The goal is static and consisted of reaching a particular location in the shortest time possible. Given such a goal, it is to be expected that after an initial *transient strategy*, the user will settle down to a *steady-state strategy*.

DATA ANALYSIS

As a preliminary analysis the time taken to achieve the goal as a function of the number of attempts taken was plotted. This is illustrated in Figure 8. In general the time taken to achieve the goal decreased with the number of attempts. One user failed to improve and was very erratic, achieving the goal on one occasion and then being unable to decrease the time any further. These plots support the current hypothesis regarding novel user behavior in virtual environments⁵².

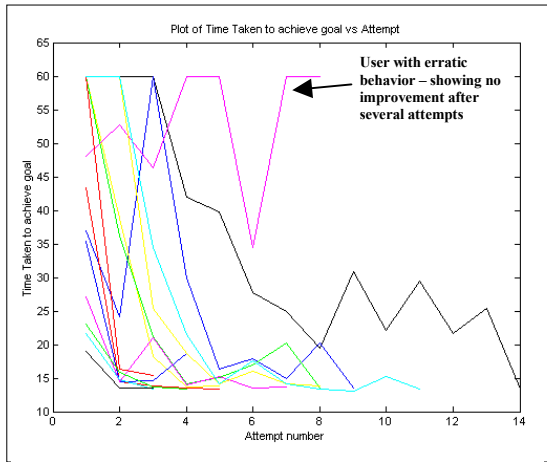


Figure 8: Plot of Time Taken to achieve goal as a function of the number of attempts made

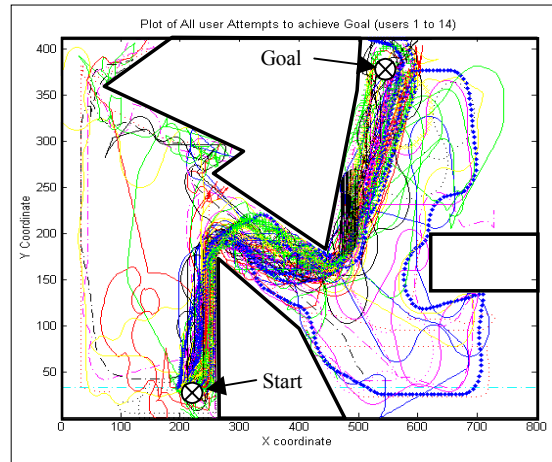


Figure 9: Spatial plot of all user trajectories recorded

A second plot (Figure 9) consists of the trajectories recorded for all the participants. The obstacles representing the maze are superimposed on the plot. From this plot it is clear that certain areas are traversed more frequently than others. In order to understand this more clearly the plot was broken into two parts – (1) Figure 10 shows the transient trajectories (those that failed to reach the

goal in the allowed time) and (2) Figure 11 shows the steady-state trajectories (those that reached the goal in the time allowed).

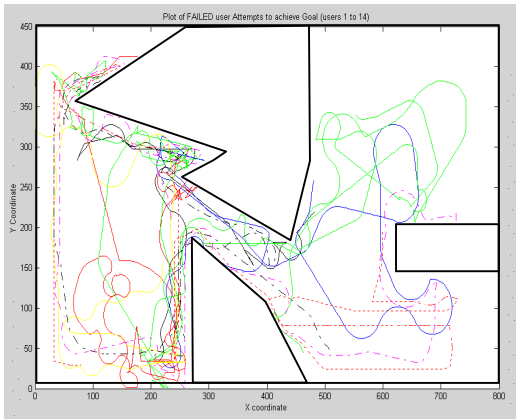


Figure 10: Spatial plot of all user trajectories that failed to reach the goal

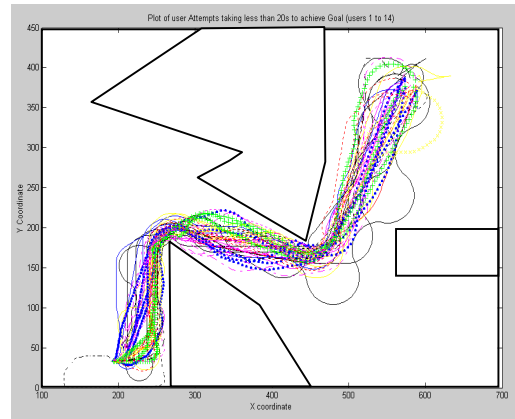


Figure 11: Plot of trajectories that reached goal via a steady-state strategy

From observation of Figures 9 to 11 we note the following:

- there is a predominant strategy adopted to achieve the goal. The steady-state trajectories converge to a single recognizable steady-state strategy;
- transient trajectories are not totally random and transient strategies can be identified. For example there is evidence of sweeping back and forth / up and down over the maze area; some users follow the maze boundaries to maintain a static reference and become familiar with the environment; users almost always turn into gaps instead of continuing in a straight line; open space are avoided;
- when the goal was achieved once, the trend of the steady-state trajectories was the same in all cases.

The steady-state strategy can be derived from the steady-state trajectories shown in Figure 11. For illustrative purposes we derive a model of the steady-state strategy using polynomials of degrees 3, 5 and 7. Other models will be explored in future work. The steady-state trajectories together with the fitted polynomials are shown in Figure 12. The arithmetic average of the trajectories is also shown. The coefficients of the polynomials are listed in Table 3.

Polynomial Degree	Coefficients of Polynomials
3	0.0000, -0.0224, 8.7912, -976.3743
5	-0.0000, 0.0000, -0.0006, 0.1781, -18.1966, 260.
7	-0.0000, 0.0000, -0.0000, 0.0000, -0.0000, 0.0006, -0.0774, 3.8862

Table 3: Parameters for various polynomial fits to trajectory data

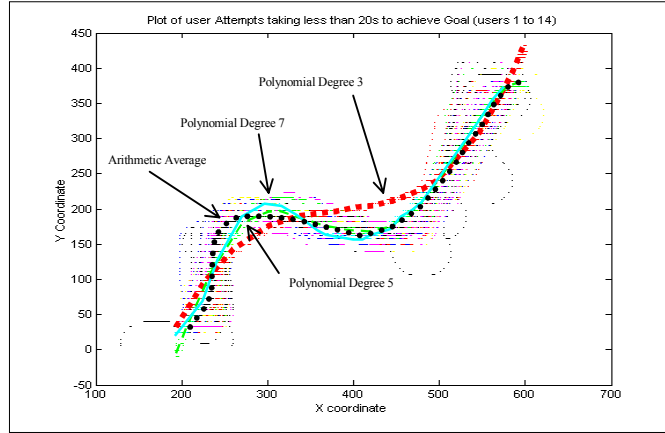


Figure 12: Plot of steady state user trajectories with the average trajectory and polynomial fits of degree 3, 5 and 7 superimposed.

7. CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE WORK

In this paper we have presented a unique historical perspective on the development of DIAs within the military and academic domains, noting also that research into networked games has made a significant contribution to the current state-of-the-art. We have defined latency and described a new approach to masking latency based on user strategy models. The details of a game-like application were presented. The tool offers a unique psychological window into strategies people adopt when confronted by an unknown maze environment with visibility restrictions.

Terminology associated with strategies, goals and trajectories was introduced. An illustrative example based on a single strategy and single goal was presented.

This paper is based on the PhD work of one of the authors. The next step in the research is to extend the data collection and analysis to goals with goal multiplicity index of 2 or more (two strategies that lead to the same goal). New methods of modeling the data will also be investigated. In addition research will focus on developing a protocol for efficient dissemination of user strategy information.

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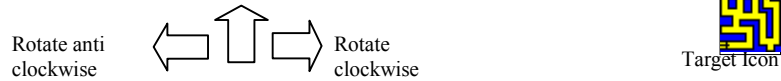
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APPENDIX A
 UNIVERSE MOVEMENT MAPPER
 EXPERIMENTAL PROTOCOL FOR DATA RECORDING

EXPLANATION OF GAME GIVEN TO EACH PARTICIPANT:

You are being asked to navigate a spacecraft through a maze from a given starting point. There is one target in the maze – (see icon below). Navigation is achieved by pressing the arrow keys. The arrow keys have the following functionality:

Move forward (keep pressed to accelerate to max velocity)



The maze is bounded by the blue rectangle delimiting the screen area. The maze layout, the starting position and the location of the target remain invariant. As you move about a short yellow trail illustrates the last few seconds of movement. The objective of the game is to reach the target in the shortest time possible and get your name on the Best Scores list. You may play the game as many times as you wish. Between each attempt the data will be saved to file. Between goes click the 'GO' button.

You will be given ONE trial run to test the dynamics of the spacecraft.

Name: Age:

Today's Date:

Male or Female Right handed ft handed

Do you play games? (Never) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 (Often)

How many other times have you used this Universe Mapper program?

	10	50	100	150	200	Time Allowed (s)	Maze Name	Saved Files
Circle								
Square								
Cone								

Comments:

DIS-PLAYING ICONS: FORM, CONTENT AND MEANING ON THE ROAD TO ST. JAMES

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*This paper examines a Spanish ritual called the *conxuro*, a contemporary revival of a pre-Christian rite of exorcism performed for pilgrims who walk through Spain to the shrine of St. James in Santiago de Compostela. The present-day performance of the *conxuro* is one that attempts to recover Galician cultural forms. It celebrates local cultural diversity and thus becomes a powerful example of the effect that EU patronage of the pilgrimage route has had on 'local' cultural processes over national 'Culture'. Thus, the performance of the *conxuro* represents and localises more general political processes that are reviving the 'local' as a local form in post-Franco Spain. The paper employs meaning-centred and critical approaches to examine the negotiation between performer and audience, between power and religion on the pilgrimage route.*

This paper will discuss visual aspects of the *conxuro*, a purported pre-Christian rite of exorcism, now performed as a contemporary tourist spectacle I attended two years ago in Santo Antonio (pseudonym) in Northern Spain as part of my research. The ceremony took place in a refuge for pilgrims making their way to the Christian shrine of St. James in Santiago de Compostela in Northwest Spain. After providing a sketch of the ceremony itself, I will consider it as a framed performative discourse that is visually more available to its audience than, for instance, the verbal message of the rite itself. I am drawing my use of the 'frame' from Bauman who states that a frame is a 'defined interpretive context providing guidelines for distinguishing between orders of message (e.g. insinuation, joking, imitation, translation and quotation).'¹

I will also show that this framed performance is accomplished through an ironic imagination of both the iconography of St. James the pilgrim and the representation of an imagined witch performing the rite that negotiates a position of power for the performer. This paper also examines the ritual as carnival, in Mikhail Bakhtin's terminology, employed here by the performer as a critique of power, religiosity and historical discourse in Spanish society. The use of irony in the *conxuro* creates what Taylor² calls, 'a dramatic situation of conspiracy between the ironist (Laura) and the [spectator-pilgrims] at the expense of a third party (the Catholic Church).' One interesting aspect of the *conxuro*, though, is that, while the spectators join the performer in a 'community of opposition'³ created by the performance, each person I talked to afterwards seemed to have their own idea of what was happening during the performance. Most, after all, did not speak Galician and so didn't understand the words spoken in the ritual. Thus, taking their own ideas from the performance was quite easy. As such, this paper may represent my view of the proceedings!

The ceremony itself is called the *conxuro de queimada* and it is presented to the pilgrims as a performance of a local Galician ritual. By ritual I also mean a performance having a degree of efficacy, although for reasons that I will show later, this efficacy is more political than sacred today. By ceremony, I refer in this instance to a spectacle for an audience of Catholic pilgrims with political potential rather than as an actual exorcism. If there is a degree of efficacy in this 'ritual' it would seem to be more political than spiritual (see below). Rather than exorcising spirits, the *conxuro* 'conjures' up a certain version of the pilgrimage, of Galicia, of Spain, and even of Europe.

The *queimada* is a concoction made by burning strong spirits called *aguardente* with citrus peel, coffee beans and plenty of sugar. I will refer to the *queimada* increasingly as a potion however, to indicate that in the experience of those attending the ceremony that something may indeed have happened to the drink. This belief is predicated upon, and framed by, the audience's engagement with the Catholic belief in the transubstantiation of liquids into something else through ritually efficacious prayer.

The ceremony itself takes place after sunset in near total darkness, where a ritual incantation is spoken over a pot of burning spirits. The incantation is playful, with phrases in Galician such as 'sinning tongue of the bad woman married to the old man' and refers to 'bodies mutilated by the indecent farts of the infernal arses!' the whole spell is written in what Bakhtin calls 'grotesque realism' a language of critical deformation, 'a special genre of billingsgate'.⁴ At the end of the prayer, the transformed alcohol is distributed to the audience by whom it is drunk after uttering the words,

'*Meigas fora!*' or 'Witches out!' thus effecting an exorcism for the imbiber, replacing one form of spirit with another. The flame from the burning alcohol serves to frame the ceremony, cloaking it in an older light and throwing the Catholicised surroundings into relief. After everybody had imbibed, the lights were switched on and the atmosphere of the ritual dissipated into the warm Galician night. The spectators were left dazed and a blinking groggily at the intrusion of the bright lights. Smiling coyly to each other, they moved into groups to discuss what they had witnessed. After a few minutes, Laura, who had taken off her St. James costume, requested that everyone to go to bed as we would have to be up early the next morning to continue on our way to Santiago.

The analysis of the rite cannot be divorced from some consideration of the historical processes that have preceded its enactment before me in the year 2000. Particularly in Spain, it must be said, Catholicism became under Franco an extension of state power. All the legislative changes effected under the previous Republic (1931-1936), Franco undid, such as secular education, divorce and separation of Church and State. The resulting rejoining of Catholicism and *patria* under Franco effectively made religious rites into 'the rites of statehood, on both national and local levels'.⁵ The Francoist style of worship concerned itself with public displays of faith, such as 'processions, solemn masses and elaborate ceremonialism reminiscent of the Counter-Reformation Church'.⁶ National Catholic ideology valorised the local, but only as evidence of the National Spanish culture, equated with Castilian identity.

After Vatican II, the situation changed dramatically. The Catholic Church in Spain began to distance itself from Franco, criticizing the relationship between Church and State as bringing about 'National Catholicism', a term coined by the liberal, reforming priests produced after Vatican II. With many priests resisting political and religious orthodoxy, a special jail was built to hold them in Zamora (Castille y Leon). In the post-Vatican II and post-Franco era, the Church's monopoly over Spain waned and in the spirit of 'an open market for religious beliefs', the rationalising reforms of the Council symbolised an effort, 'to divest Catholicism of much of its mystery and mysticism, thereby stripping away the ritualistic accretions that concealed the pure faith'.⁷ But if this was the case, then the need for mystery and mysticism still existed at local levels, a fact that gave rise to what Behar quotes the then Bishop of Leon as calling 'post-Christian paganism'.⁸ I contend that this paganism refers not only to the Church's need to re-evangelise Catholics (through imagining them as pagans and so needing to hear the Gospel), in Spain or indeed Europe, but for the need of those Catholics to re-engage, rename and reclaim the mystic elements of their faith.

In the recovery of local rites such as the *conxuro*, though, the Galicians found much more than a mystic revival. The ironic play with forms here for Laura drew on the public formal religion that clashed with the spirit of new ideas after Vatican. The suppression of all things Galician under Franco thus lends to the ritual a power, born of its purported survival from this time. The very utterance of any dialect other than Castilian in post-Franco Spain was, I found, a declaration that Franco's time had passed. The alliance of Church and State to suppress local forms had waned, leaving this Galician ritual to de-petrify the visible, and previously hegemonic, images of (National) Catholic sacredness in Laura's uttering the spell. Thus the rite can also be seen to call out the spirits of pre-Christian Hispania from the images of National Catholicism, and through the *queimada*, the rite pours 'real' spirits into the pilgrims, who, not being mindful of what they receive, drink heartily.

The modern *conxuro* is, it has to be said, these days, a 'local' tourist attraction. It is performed in several places, quite often for the benefit of tourists. One such place is O Cebrero, located on the Galician border and one of the oldest Celtic villages in Europe, and one legendary resting-place of the Holy Grail. While the ceremony is a 'cultural' event, I argue that other factors contribute to it being more. O Cebrero for instance, provides a setting where the ceremony can be consumed as a spectacle rather than as a pre-Christian ritual in a Catholicised space, a space that retains its mystic character, relegating the ceremony to the status of a 'superstition' and can be viewed without any sense of moral danger to the spectators. I met and talked with a priest who saw the ceremony as evidence that these superstitions had all but died out. They were performed for tourists, he felt, and so were a bit of fun.

When one observes the *conxuro* in O Cebrero, one is watching a ritual of times gone by. When the ceremony I attended took place in a refuge, however, we found ourselves drawn into the myth and magic of the performance in a different way. While the setting of the *conxuro* in O Cebrero emphasised the 'otherness' of the rite of exorcism, the setting of the ceremony in the refuge laid emphasis on the contact between the two cosmologies. Something else was happening in Santo Antonio.

As a pre-Christian ceremony, mixing the *conxuro* with the cult of St. James at a local level is not easy. The efficacy of the ceremony as a ritual exorcism is diminished as it becomes a spectacle for

transient pilgrims. The ceremony, though, is also an enactment of an element of another system of religion in a space that is nominally defined as 'Catholic' space. Thus the spectacle also resists Catholicism. The *conxuro* is only performed so the 2 *hospidaleros* (refuge workers) told me when they are 'sure' of their audience. By making a claim for the space here, then, the *conxuro* takes on new efficacy with potential for offering new interpretations of the pilgrimage experience. The *conxuro* presents an opportunity to look at the resultant meeting between two cosmologies in apparent conflict, offered as new ways for the spectators to re-imagine pilgrim identities. This re-imagination is powerful if we notice that the 'low' (local, ghostly) cultural form has appropriated the 'high' (hegemonic) national religious form, producing a sub-cultural moral system that 'protests the iniquity of power' that has subordinated the low.⁹

Moving to the speaker, Laura, and some aspects of her performance; I will look at the role(s) she played, how she laid claim to power in order to effect the performance and some of the broader frames that both give meaning to and are affected by her performance. Laura acts as what Levinson terms the 'ordinary speaker' in this context, which 'is a participant holding responsibility for several different aspects of message production simultaneously: for motivating it... and for actually transmitting it,' though not for supplying its form.¹⁰ Laura is a young girl, which represents an inversion of the age role that can be considered an appropriate index of the social right to perform such acts as spells.

In one sense, Laura is miming her grandmother, who she said had taught her the spell, which is where the authority ultimately derives for her to perform the ceremony in any circumstance. At the same time, her youth allows her to avoid claims that it is a 'serious' ritual she is performing, because, after all, she is only a young girl. This indeterminacy in her role as speaker is one aspect of the performance. The performance can remain a spectacle for tourists due to the girl's youth and also while being partially efficacious through the promise of the present absence of Laura's grandmother.

The speaker is female and claiming some sacred power within a religion that operates in part by withholding that voice from women. Her performance can thus be read in the context of the ongoing debate among lay-people about the possibility of women priests. All through my fieldwork, many issues, such as the role of women in the Church, were debated vigorously, each pilgrim adding his or her own image of Church to the conversation. In Iberian and Mediterranean societies, the public voice of the female is heard most commonly in lament,¹¹ and Laura's performance, if read as part lament, is as much a cultural form being called here to affirm her identity as speaker as a nod in the direction of an institutional requirement to remain silent. The refuge is a (Catholic) sanctuary from the raw primal 'elements' that are, paradoxically, being invoked in the ceremony and sought by the pilgrims. Thus, as her claim to power is through witchery, both her gender and the subject of her incantation place her outside of the refuge's 'official' power structure.

Staking a claim for 'male' power too, Laura embodies the image of St. James through her costume, a social skin that suspends the normal male/female dichotomy, or to follow Turner, at least takes the sting out of it. This indeterminacy of age, meaning and gender is maintained through her parodied embodiment of multiple representations i.e. St. James as pilgrim saint, an imagined context of James as being in contact with witchery, a witch, the speaker's grandmother and the speaker's here and now social role as 'refuge worker' that is suspended. The fragments of other voices point to Laura's inhabitation by other 'persons.' At one level her performance is legitimated by these voices.

At another level, Laura's social self, framed by her modern sense of selfhood, becomes decentred through that inhabitation, which can, through 'local' understandings be seen as a form of 'possession.' It is possible to imagine of possession as a two way process here, though, that is, Laura is as much a social actor making a powerful claim as possessor, when she appropriates high and low religious forms for the ceremony, as a 'medium' to explore broader cultural processes.

Through Laura's embodiment of two imaginations of religion or, more generally, the 'sacred,' we begin to establish some parameters to understand these broader cultural processes at work. The ceremony, as a mode of performance can first be thought of structurally as mimetic behaviour, 'the process of transforming raw experience into palatable forms.'¹² In this way, as a set of basic forms of human interactions, performative behaviour is 'socially co-created, with continual evaluative feedback... [E]valuation of ...the audience is crucial for the continuance of the communication.'¹³

This embodiment as mimetic function, to use Taussig's phrase, shows us a figure that 'provides both ineffability and representational space, by which, she exists not so much as a figure but as the possibility of figuration [and re-configuration]'.¹⁴ The grotesque syncretic body that Laura displays for her audience not only 'presses close to [her] object, as if through touching, smelling, tasting, [she] wanted to transform [herself]',¹⁵ but also parodies her audience's efforts to achieve the same ends: their self-transformation into the original pilgrim. Thus through the 'ancestors' she mocks,

Laura 'is granted the power to shake the foundations of institutions.'¹⁶ Saint and witch 'leak'¹⁷ into each other, maintaining the power of the performance, and keeping the speaker's role ambiguous. Her clowning empowers her through her irony and self-irony and draws her audience into a carnivalesque mimicry that reshapes their experience of the pilgrimage. Interestingly, Taylor points that this power of self-irony is the ability to make a 'pre-emptive strike', a warning as much as a story being retold.¹⁸ Those who come looking for a 'simpler,' rural, and nostalgic connection with their faith had better be careful! In the end, Laura can, and did, laugh at the romantic tourist-pilgrims' reactions to the ceremony.

The ceremony serves to provide 'raw material,' made palatable and indeed a latent critique, to a group of pilgrim-spectators, which is transformed through practised discussion within 'ad hoc communities of interpretation'¹⁹ that fluidly spring up and fade away on a daily basis in the pilgrimage. Entering the flow of the ceremony, the audience enters a transitional state²⁰ where they have chosen to explore new interpretations of their raw experience of pilgrimage. As such, the ceremony is multiply framed, as a ritual enacted as a performance and an embodied commentary on the pilgrimage, on 'official' interpretations of 'sacred' movement and on Galicia as a source of local 'difference'. As such, the performance offers a range of interpretations. As I talked to the audience afterwards and in the following days, the responses ranged from a belief that they had witnessed something of the 'genuine' Galician culture to one man who thought that it showed how contrived a lot of the pilgrimage had become.

Performative behaviour strives 'to affect human affairs, leaving the individuals involved in the performative act in a changed state.'²¹ From this aspect of performance I take it that the implicit political effect of the ceremony is to offer to pilgrims a ludic or playful reading of the pilgrimage as a site of cultural resistance, not sacred contestation. Laura as it seems able to perform her 'recovery' of old fragments of Galician culture because she understood the ceremony, not as religiously efficacious, but as culturally significant. Purifying pilgrims through the potion (casting out spirits) paradoxically 'corrupts' the pilgrims with the local (read: pagan) culture. This reading of the ceremony rests on pilgrims' continuous and ambiguous movements between 'official' Church structures (e.g. daily Mass, Church-run refuges) and finding a sense of the spiritual in the Spanish countryside. The performance thus lies not only within the frame of the ceremony itself as performance, but in the interpretations that abound afterwards, serving to re-frame the *conxuro* as an appropriated or recovered 'knowledge' within the pilgrims' social memory of a 'real' Spain that has been 'discovered' so serendipitously.

If St. James can be understood as an embodied Catholic presence in Spain, and pilgrims have travelled the pilgrimage route to mimetically reproduce James' journey, then the *parodied* embodiment of the saint, mixed with the *unknown* witch as an embodiment of the fragmented sense of Galician culture takes on new significance. When iconographic representations of St. James, from Laura to Basque statues in the Basque area of the saint with a red bandana (claiming a distinctly Basque nationalist interpretation of the saint as a symbolic resource), serve as sites 'for philosophical meditation, where force and image lock together,'²² they provide pilgrims with saintly imaginations that invoke a doorway into an authentic 'return to nature' in the form of the original pilgrim, the quest of many pilgrims to Santiago. In Laura's case, the ephemeral unknown witch she conjures interrupts the completion of this saintly imagination as humble pilgrim to his shrine and leaves the threshold uncompleted.

What we can call a 'carnivalisation'²³ of the Catholic pilgrimage in this performance shows how in one way that performance is removed directly, though not entirely, from its Catholic frame in order to release it to expose the cohesive and subversive potentialities of pilgrimage. 'Laminating'²⁴ the pilgrims' imaginations of sacred power present in the ceremony together through multiple framing allows for Laura's equal appropriation of the 'low' form and the 'high' form of sacred power through their contiguity. In effect, the performance recreates Laura's body as a portal, a sign-in-motion between two imaginations, Laura's 'corrupted' image and the pilgrims' ideal type, of sacred movement, a pilgrimage within a pilgrimage.

Moving on, I analyse the ceremony according to its didactic and cohesive/socialising functions, organised within a realm of contested discourses that are represented by the dual nature of the ritualised aspects of the ceremony. I ask what the performance actually tries to teach the spectators, and how they receive and come to understand its message.

The *conxuro* exists at many levels in the life-worlds of those who observe and participate. The ascription of a threshold status to the audience is contingent on a deferred interpretation that occurs after the event. For several days after, I found pilgrims discussing the performance, lamenting with pilgrims who had not stayed at that refuge and seeking out other *conxuro* rituals. The ceremony transmits an idea of Galician culture through the ceremony, as well as negotiating a space for Laura to

practise her own sense of Galician identity. The creation of multiple frames of space within the liminal pilgrimage space, (i.e. framed as not being everyday life, but a place betwixt and between) is coupled with the indeterminacy of Laura's role in the ceremony. Laura's role encapsulates both a spectacle and an efficacious alternative to a hegemonic Catholic interpretation of the 'pilgrim experience' in her parody of St. James. Her ironic performance is thus both an entertaining tourist spectacle and a potentially efficacious alternative construction of the pilgrimage experience

Within this ambiguous transmission of culture, then, we find the invention of a new tradition that is made sensible by a discourse of Catholic 'traditional' pilgrimage in Spain. However ambiguous and potentially subversive is this 'transmission' of culture, its multiple meanings all depend on the overarching structure of Spanish Catholic pilgrimage. This re-invention and appropriation of tradition relies on Laura's re-imagining of central elements of older forms for its logic and legitimacy, the recovery of 'local' culture and the stress on public displays. As Turner argues, in such liminal spaces, society presents the pilgrims with alternatives that emphasise both the potential for change and the structure that makes that presentation meaningful.²⁵

There are conflicting ideas of the performance that exist. The pilgrimage space has been called, 'a realm of competing discourses'²⁶ and in this case, these discourses are played out in Laura's performance. In as much as she re-presents Catholic discourse and its potential for change, Laura also embodies an uncomfortable vision of the mixing of local and Catholic forms of religious experience. The parody of St. James through a costume, which is offered in Santiago as a 'genuine' artefact of the experience of religion and worn here by a young girl incanting powerful spells, is unsettling. In one sense, the transformation effected is through a protean performance that creates a hybrid image in the darkness, devoured in the gaze of each spectator. If in performing, as Turner says, we are revealed to ourselves, then this re-presentation of embodied religious discourse in Laura must surely not be all that palatable. And yet the cameras flashed and the pilgrims drank the potion happily to make themselves as 'pure' as the speaker before them, or so the spell had promised. It was so strange for me to discover that nobody found the ceremony offensive or distasteful, as it surely ran counter to mainstream Catholicism and the faith of individuals making an arduous journey of faith. It was precisely this ambiguity, this syncretic image of saint and witch (not to mention priestess) that held their fascination. When asked, they talked about it being 'real' or 'magical.' One Spanish man told me I had seen something of Spain that most tourists didn't see.

The ceremony represents a history of discourses and a form of subversion, a discourse on histories, high and low. The audience witnesses, evaluates and participates in a framed expression of the religious and cultural history of the region and the pilgrimage space. The broader social drama of the Catholic Church's presence is framed and offered to the pilgrims, politicising their religious experience. At the same time, the presentation of this history is a situated one, contingent on a particular reading of 'history' and enacted as such.

Although the *conxuro de queimada* can quite easily continue as a tourist attraction, the ceremony contains an implicit critique of 'high' religious forms that can be seen when it is performed in places that are not as appropriate, such as in Catholic refuges. A more fundamental debate central to the meaning-making process of the pilgrim experience, namely, the power of a religious system, or actor, to offer 'other' interpretations to pilgrims, is uncovered. At the same time, spectators are constantly evaluating and incorporating the ritual to their own understandings of pilgrimage, Spain, and the 'authentic'. The 'authentic' can contribute to understanding, whether through a rite of exorcism that represents itself as a return to 'nature' or an exposure of such an endeavour as mockable. Indeed, by extension, the entire process of pilgrimage becomes vulnerable to such derision. Thus, while both religious systems provide interpretations, they compete with each other as they lay claim to a contested epistemological space, even as pilgrims come to their own decisions about this space. This contestation is seen here as a realm of multiple agendas, rather than as an all-encompassing arena of mutually antagonistic discourses. After all, Laura's battle with 'Catholicism' is not the pilgrims' battle. Laura's contestation is rather maintained through her ambiguity, her ability to negotiate new understandings of, in this case, what it means to be young, female and Galician on the pilgrimage route to St. James in Santiago.

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BUILDING AN IRISH GAELIC SYNTHESIZER USING THE FESTIVAL SPEECH SYNTHESIS SYSTEM/ TÓGAÍL SINTEÍSEORA GAEILGE TRÍ ÚSAID A BHAINN AS CÓRAS SINTEÍSE CAINTE FESTIVAL

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INTRODUCTION

Text-To-Speech (TTS) synthesis is a means for facilitating the automatic computerised pronunciation of a text-based input stream. It is becoming increasingly popular for both commercial and private uses, for example in automated telephone-answering systems and in readers for the visually impaired. A number of approaches exist for synthesizer design but the most popular method currently uses the concatenation of pre-recorded speech units. This has been favoured because of the greater degree of naturalness it adds to the synthetic waveform. To date there are a number of commercial products available for a wide range of languages that operate using concatenative speech synthesis¹. Furthermore, the research community is making greater efforts to build speech synthesizers for previously excluded languages. In particular, the users of the open source Festival speech synthesis system have been to the forefront^{2,3,4} and it appears now that the Festival system almost represents a standard application through which new languages can be implemented. However, much work remains to be done as many of the so-called ‘minority languages’ have not yet been implemented in the Festival system. The Irish language has unfortunately been given this minority status. There has been some previous work done towards building a synthesizer for Irish Gaelic but it was reported to be incomplete⁵. Thus, this paper offers a realisation of a speech synthesizer for the Irish Gaelic language that was built using the Festival system, drawing on its advantages and ability. The following sections will outline the structure of the Festival Speech synthesis system, some of the unique difficulties associated with synthesizing Irish Gaelic, the actual implementation of the synthesizer and last will explain the experiments currently being carried out to assess its performance and determine aspects that require further research.

THE FESTIVAL SPEECH SYNTHESIS SYSTEM

Festival⁶ is a general framework for building speech synthesis systems. Its modularity allows the various tasks involved to be addressed individually under the umbrella of the overall system. A concatenative TTS system such as Festival typically consists of the following core modules:

1. Text-processing to convert the input text into a series of phonemic representations that are used as input to the synthesis module.
2. A synthesis module to render the phonemic representation into actual sound by extracting the relevant phonemes from a database of sounds.
3. Prosodic processing to impress relevant prosodic variations on the synthetic waveform to add naturalness to the synthetic speech.

SPEECH SYNTHESIS FOR IRISH GAELIC

The Celtic languages are part of the family of Indo-European languages, and Irish Gaelic belongs to the Goidelic subgroup of Celtic languages. The development of a text-to-speech system for any new language presents specific problems, and such problems are pronounced with a language such as Irish Gaelic that has fallen from common use and has not been the subject of such intense linguistic study as languages that are used more widely. Because of this, any linguistic research that has been done has not been directed towards producing results that could be directly applied by speech technology scientists in a synthesis context.

To achieve the aim of an Irish Gaelic speech synthesizer, three essential tasks were recognised. The first was to identify a source of a complete phone set for Irish. This meant that a phone set had to be created from first principles. To simplify the task with respect to the resources at hand, it was assumed that the Irish language shares many phonemes with English. For example, the phone /a/ as in *cat* has the same pronunciation as the phone /a/ in *leat*. Thus, it was necessary to create the only definition of the phonetic features for original phones determined to exist in Irish Gaelic, such as the phone /ng/ as in *Dún Na nGall*, or of phones that may already

exist in English but are pronounced differently by Gaelic Irish speakers, such as /ch:/: as in *amárach*, not as in *chip*.

The second task was to convert this phone set into a series of recorded diphones (phone-phone transitions) that would be stored in the database of the Festival system. The recording procedure used by the Festival system to create any new voice is to generate a list of nonsense words containing the target diphones, which are then played to the subject who will repeat them as they are being recorded. The most effective method to achieve this is to map all Irish phones onto phones in an existing language. This facilitates the automatic generation of the nonsense words and also the prompt waveforms are used as a blueprint for the automatic labeling of the recorded waveforms. The mapping process also assists the creation of diphthongs unique to Irish, as two pre-existing phones can be mapped onto one diphthong, such as /i@/ as in *sios* and /u@/ as in *suas*. Once the nonsense words were recorded, the next task was to correctly label the occurrence of each diphone and mark its boundaries in the audio stream. This procedure is very laborious, but for languages like English it can be simplified by drawing on speech recognition technology. This technology can also be used if an English phone-set was used to generate the prompts. Thus, the majority of the labels were generated automatically and any errors found due to pronunciation variances in the new language were corrected by hand labeling.

Once the labeling has been completed, the Festival software analyses the waveforms to extract pitch marks and the mean power for each vowel in each diphone, the waveforms are then coded and stored in the database.

The next step is to enable the system to deal with text inputs, whether they are input directly to the command line of the user interface or from an external file. This required the provision of a lexicon file containing a set of text-to-phoneme conversion rules for the input words. A machine-readable, Festival-compatible, lexicon for the Irish language is currently under development. To facilitate testing of the system text-to-phoneme conversions for various words were added to a lexical addenda file, which allows the system to find the pronunciation before defaulting to LTS rules. Below is an example of a lexical addenda entry:

```
(lex.add.entry    ('dhuit' (((g w i t))))
```

Once the words to be synthesized are contained within the lexicon (or addenda) they will be synthesized correctly when input to the system.

ASSESSMENT OF THE SYNTHESIZER

To assess the operation of the synthesizer, listening and comprehension tests have been devised and are currently being carried out. The first test set will be to determine the perceived quality of the synthesizer output. Three different pieces of Irish text will be used taken from the following sources: (1) A newspaper (2) a poem (3) a piece of contemporary Irish fiction. The subjects will be instructed to rate their attitude towards the quality of the synthesis on a five-point scale. Other categories that will be examined include the perceived level of coarticulation errors. To examine the intelligibility of the synthesizer, the subjects will be played five unknown texts taken from a variety of sources and be asked to transcribe them. This will give some insight into the ability of users to comprehend the synthetic output.

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A BRIEF REVIEW OF THE COGNITIVE APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF READING DEVELOPMENT

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Although most children readily develop spoken language and comparatively little formal instruction, the same is not true of reading. In order to read, a child must be able to recognise and understand the meaning of individual words and letters and, ultimately, to integrate the meaning of these individual words and letters into meaningful phrases and sentences. However, the task of reading is complicated by a number of difficulties, some of which are a specific feature of the language in which the child is learning to read. Languages differ not only in the writing system employed (e.g. logographic/alphabetic/ consonantal) but also in orthography (i.e. transparency). That is, some languages contain a more direct mapping between spoken words and their written counterparts than do others. English, in particular, possesses a deep orthography in which a large number of spoken words do not map reliably onto their written counterparts. Learning to read in English is therefore complicated by irregularities and the lexical ambiguity introduced by homographs and homophones. Such features must be taken into consideration when developing a functional model of reading.

Understanding reading development is a major concern in modern education, as failure to acquire an adequate level of literacy may put an individual at a considerable disadvantage. Most modern education systems place much importance on developing the skills necessary for learning to read. However, research has shown that a number of people do not acquire the skills necessary for learning to read as quickly or as competently as others¹. In order to remediate these difficulties, it is first necessary to understand the processes that are involved in the development of reading skills. It is also necessary to develop remedial tools that can train these skills quickly and accurately.

It is well established that children develop the tools of spoken language without formal instruction² although the same cannot be said of learning to read. At its simplest, learning to read involves a basic understanding of the relationship between a spoken language and its written counterpart. This relationship, however, may be highly complex and/or specific to particular cultures, such as the variation in world writing systems. This complexity has attracted the interest of researchers who are concerned with the development of reading skills and the extent to which these abilities may be more general than specific. Some researchers have also suggested that evidence of such generic reading skills might be indicative of a set of innate human abilities that are brought to bear on a specific language rather than suggesting that the language environment itself generates specific reading abilities. The debate concerning the innate and environmental influences on reading development are beyond the scope of the current paper but the reader is referred to Gayan and Olsen³ for a good account of this issue. The following sections will present a brief review of the history of written language and its relationship to spoken language, describe the various reading skills that have thus far been investigated, review the literature on the developmental trends observed in the emergence of these skills and will also outline various cognitive models of competent reading performances that have been proposed.

THE HISTORY OF WRITTEN LANGUAGE

The evolution of writing systems has followed two general trends⁴ – one in which the sounds are represented specifically in the spoken language, and the other in which a greater economy of representation is achieved by the use of more abstract correspondences between the sounds and their written forms. Both trends may be applied simultaneously in a given writing system although some systems reflect the influence of one trend over another. Three main writing systems -- alphabetic, syllabary and morpho-syllabic can be identified, although there are a great many variations of these in languages currently used around the world.

As noted previously, researchers have been concerned with the extent to which reading abilities reflect a set of generic cognitive skills or whether specific abilities are required for the various writing systems.

READING SKILLS

Reading has been studied both as a broad and generic overarching skill and as a collection of component abilities, such as comprehension⁵, decoding⁶ and phonological awareness⁷. In order to be able to read, a child must not only be able to recognise and understand the meanings of individual words and letters, but she/he must be able to integrate these into meaningful phrases and sentences. There is widespread interest in the study of reading from psychological, educational and even biological perspectives and research in this area reflects the theories and methodologies of a wide range of traditions including, clinical psychology, developmental psychology, cognitive psychology, behaviour analysis and cognitive neuroscience.

One of the first tasks when learning to read involves appreciating how a given writing system relates to, or maps onto, the spoken language. Recall that a number of different types of writing system exist -- alphabetic, syllabary and morpho-syllabic scripts. English is an alphabetic writing system in which graphemes (i.e. printed letters) are associated with phonemes (i.e. the smallest distinguishable unit in the sound system of a language). Syllabary scripts include Japanese katakana, which consists of forty six signs in which the graphic units correspond to syllables. Chinese is a morpho-syllabic language in which the characters map onto syllable units that are usually morphemes (i.e. the smallest meaningful unit in the grammar of a language). The key difference between these writing systems lies in the particular spoken units represented by specific graphic (i.e. written or printed) units. The current paper will deal primarily with reading in alphabetic scripts.

Alphabetic scripts rely predominantly on one of three alphabetic systems -- Roman, Cyrillic, or Arabic. Although these all contain a strong phoneme-grapheme correspondence, they differ from each other on a number of features, including the number of phonemes represented in the alphabet and the orthography of the language (i.e. how transparent the language is, or how directly the spoken language maps onto the written language). Languages such as English, Italian and Spanish, for example, use the Roman alphabet but differ from each other in terms of the number of phonemes each language contains (e.g. English has forty four phonemes whereas Italian has twenty five). Languages such as Russian and Serbo-Croatian use the Cyrillic script but differ from each other in terms of orthography (e.g. Russian has a deep orthography whereas Serbo-Croatian has one of the shallowest orthographies of all modern languages). Although a number of different Cyrillic scripts exist, most contain around thirty letters. Arabic is the most well known language that uses the Arabic alphabet. This alphabet consists of twenty eight letters represented in words that are written in horizontal lines from right to left and numerals that are written from left to right.

Languages using alphabetic scripts differ notably in terms of their orthography. The orthography of a language refers to the directness of the mapping between the letters and sounds. In languages such as Serbo-Croatian (and to a lesser extent Welsh and Spanish), the mapping between graphemes and phonemes is direct and consistent, a characteristic of 'shallow orthography languages'⁸. The shallower the orthography, the more probable it is that a grapheme string will correspond to a single phonological sequence. For example, Spanish has a relatively shallow orthography, in which *vino*, *sino*, *lino*, and *pino* all contain the same unit (i.e. /ino/) and the unit is pronounced consistently across each word. Languages such as English, on the other hand, have deep orthographies that do not lend themselves readily to correspondence rules, and the relations between orthography and phonology are less consistent. For example, in English HINT, MINT, LINT and PINT all contain the same unit (i.e. INT), but this is pronounced differently in PINT compared to the other three words.

Researchers have identified different reading strategies that are necessary for interpreting the grapheme-phoneme relations that comprise the alphabetic writing system. English (a deep orthography language), for example, contains a number of features such as spelling and pronunciation irregularities that make reading more difficult. The following section outlines some of these features and how they are overcome by a proficient reader's use of different reading styles.

LEARNING TO READ A DEEP ORTHOGRAPHY LANGUAGE

The first difficulty in learning to read a deep orthography alphabetic script such as English is the abstract representation of phonemes and previous research has demonstrated that early readers have significant difficulty in phoneme discriminations⁹ ¹⁰. That is, early readers produce errors in associating an abstract phoneme with a specific grapheme. For example, the grapheme C is not associated with a particular phoneme. If the grapheme C is followed by a 'narrow vowel' i.e. I or U, it is pronounced using the phoneme associated with the grapheme S, whereas if it is followed by a 'broad vowel' i.e. A, O or E, it is pronounced using the phoneme associated with the grapheme K.

The second difficulty inherent in reading an alphabetic script results from the fact that many languages do not associate a specific grapheme with a specific phoneme. For example, written English has only five vowels, whereas spoken English contains over a dozen vowel sounds (e.g. CAT and CAKE use the printed vowel A for a different vowel phoneme). These two features of alphabetic scripts require proficient readers to demonstrate a high level of phonological awareness (i.e. a basic understanding of the alphabet and the recognition of individual letters or words). Phonological awareness is particularly important in reading alphabetic scripts because of the correspondence between phonemes and graphemes that does not exist in either syllabary or morpho-syllabic writing systems.

In the literature on reading, many researchers have paid considerable attention to phonological awareness as a core reading skill^{11 12 13}. The smallest sub-syllable phonological units are phonemes or sounds (e.g. /b/) of which graphemes are the written representation (e.g. B). Larger sub-syllable units may comprise onsets and rimes, each of which contains one or more phonemes. Onset refers to the initial consonant sound in a spoken or written word (e.g. PAT contains the onset P or /p/). Rime refers to the first vowel and subsequent consonant sound in a spoken or written word (e.g. PAT contains the rime AT). A number of researchers have emphasised the utility of using onsets and rimes in the development of programs concerned with training and testing reading abilities¹⁴¹⁰.

All spoken languages consist of collections of syllabic units that are organised in particular ways. Learning to read, whatever the nature of the script, involves parsing out words into the appropriate units and researchers have been concerned with the way in which this linguistic parsing is conducted. The English language, for example, possesses a deep orthography in which a large number of frequently used words of any type do not map onto their written counterparts. For example, the phoneme (i.e. sound) /ai/ can be written as it is in the words MINE, PIE or MY and is, therefore, referred to as a one-to-many phoneme/grapheme correspondence. Similarly, the grapheme A may present as a many-to-one phoneme/grapheme correspondence as in the spoken words /fate/, /fat/ or /father/.

As well as irregular correspondences in translating sounds to printed words and vice versa, the English language is made further difficult by spelling irregularities. Consider, for example, the words HINT, RAVE and LEAK in which the spelling-to-sound correspondences are regular (i.e. the words conform to standard English conventions for pronunciation). Now consider the words PINT, HAVE and STEAK, each of which contains the same rime as the aforementioned words (e.g. HINT and PINT both contain the rime INT) in which the pronunciation of the rime in each word is irregular. Consider also, the words YACHT, ISLAND, AISLE and GHOST that have been 'imported' from other languages and as such none of the English language spelling conventions apply (these are known as 'lexical hermits'). Further lexical ambiguity is introduced to reading in English by phenomena such as homographs and homophones. Homographs refer to words such as BOW, ROW and TEAR that have the same spelling but several possible pronunciations. In reading these printed words, it is necessary to use the written context as a guide to correct pronunciation. Similar difficulties emerge in dealing with homophones such as RIGHT/WRITE/RITE and THERE/THEIR in which the words have the same pronunciation but different spellings. All of the irregularities noted above present persistent difficulties in using a single strategy when learning to read the English language in printed form.

Treiman¹⁵ proposed the *linguistic status hypothesis* in which she suggested that English-speaking children learn to segment speech in a particular developmental sequence. They first develop the ability to segment speech into words; then words into syllables; then syllables into intra-syllabic units (i.e. onsets and rimes) and finally intra-syllabic units into phonemes. Two key pieces of empirical evidence support this proposed sequence. First, tasks involving syllables have been found to elicit more accurate performances than tasks involving lower level linguistic units^{16 17}. Second, tasks that require discrimination at the level of onsets and rimes elicit more accurate performances than tasks that require discrimination based on a single phoneme¹³.

Treiman and Zukowski¹³ proposed that a key weakness inherent in many of the relevant studies on reading development was that the tasks appeared to confound the *size* of the linguistic unit with its linguistic *status*. Because syllables generally contain more phonemes than intra-syllabic units (e.g. onsets or rimes), which in turn contain more than one phoneme, the order of difficulty of discrimination will generally be syllable, then intra-syllabic unit, and finally phoneme. In attempting to address this issue, Treiman and Zukowski designed a number of studies that distinguished between the size of a linguistic unit and its status (i.e. onset/rime, syllable, or phoneme).

Experiment 1 in this series of experiments was designed to compare two-consonant onsets to individual consonant phonemes. Participants were required to discriminate between *shared onset* pairs of words in which the shared unit was a complete onset (e.g. /pacts/-/peel/) and *shared part of onset*

pairs in which the shared unit formed part of a cluster onset (e.g. /plan/-/prow/). Treiman's¹⁵ linguistic status hypothesis would predict that participants would perform more accurately when the shared unit was a shared onset pair than when the shared unit formed a section of a shared part of onset pair. Specifically, a hypothesis in which the size of the unit is emphasised would predict that there would be no difference in performance on these tasks as the number of phonemes shared in each stimulus pair was equal (i.e. there was one phoneme in each word). The results from this study demonstrated that participants performed better when the onset formed part of a shared onset pair, and as such lent some support to the linguistic status hypothesis.

Treiman and Zukowski were also concerned with examining the effect of shared units at the end of a word. Thus, Experiment 2 investigated whether participants would perform better on tasks that required them to discriminate between *shared syllable* words that shared a final syllable (e.g. /retreat/-/entreat/) and *shared part of syllable* words that shared only part of a final syllable (e.g. /oppressed/-/undressed/). The number of phonemes in the shared unit and the proportion of the phonemes in the word that these shared phonemes represented were equal for both shared syllable words and shared part of syllable words. Although the results of this study appeared to lend some support to the linguistic status hypothesis in that the participants performed better on tasks that required discrimination on the basis of an entire syllable than part of a syllable, this difference was not statistically significant. In attempting to account for these findings, Treiman and Zukowski argued that children such as those who participated in the study perhaps syllabify words differently from adults. In attempting to address this issue in a subsequent study, the same researchers employed non-word stimuli (for example, /to'b mp/ - /fae's mp/) that shared either an entire final syllable or the rime of the final syllable. The results of this third experiment demonstrated that preschool children performed significantly better on tasks in which the stimuli contained an entire shared syllable than tasks in which the shared unit was a final rime. These results lent additional support to the linguistic status hypothesis in that once again participants performed better in tasks that required discrimination of larger rather than smaller linguistic units.

A possible alternative explanation of the findings from Treiman and Zukowski's third experiment was suggested by Read¹⁸, who argued that children discriminate between words that share a final unit in the form of simple rhyming. In attempting to address this possibility, Treiman and Zukowski conducted a fourth study in which the shared unit could not be discriminated as a rhyme because it now occurred in the middle of a tri-syllabic unit. Experiment 4 was designed to determine whether five and six year old children would perform better on tasks in which an entire syllable, rather than a rime, was shared. The results showed that participants performed better when the stimuli shared an entire syllable rather than part of a syllable, when the possibility of rhyming was not available, lending further support to the linguistic status hypothesis. However, one weakness inherent in this study was the fact that some of the shared syllable word-pairs contained less shared consonant phonemes than the shared part of syllable word-pairs. It may thus have been difficult for participants in Experiment 4 to abstract the common unit from shared rime pairs due to the presence of the consonant clusters. In order to address this weakness, Treiman and Zukowski designed a final experiment in which the word-pairs were balanced for the number of adjacent consonants. The results of this study were identical to those obtained previously in that participants produced significantly better performances with two tri-syllabic stimuli when the shared unit was a complete syllable than when the shared unit was a rime. Once again, these results appeared to support Treiman's¹⁵ linguistic status hypothesis.

THE COGNITIVE APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF READING

As far back as the 1800s, the study of reading has attracted the interest of researchers and practitioners within the domain of cognitive psychology. As is germane to the cognitive tradition, this interest has been dominated largely by attempts to generate and validate models of reading as comprising one or more cognitive processes^{19 20}. On the whole, these models have tended to emphasise particular aspects of reading such as decoding⁵, phonological recoding²¹, or analogy¹⁴.

A core distinction within the cognitive literature on reading concerns the specific cognitive strategy with which the reader decodes the material. Some researchers have argued that reading primarily involves a *whole-word* approach to printed material. From this perspective, children in their natural learning environments, even prior to formal reading instruction, have already been exposed to direct correspondences between printed and spoken words in the form of early reading books, educational television programmes etc. The primary advantage of the whole-word reading style is that larger linguistic units such as whole words are easier for the beginner reader to detect than word segments such as phonemes^{13 15}.

Other cognitive researchers have argued that reading predominantly involves a *phonics* approach to decoding printed material. These researchers have argued that children have a rudimentary understanding of the system of spelling-to-sound rules that exist in language. For example, when presented with the printed word CAT, the child is said to be aware that C is pronounced /k/, A is pronounced /ae/ and T is pronounced /t/. Thus, a phonics approach hypothesises that reading involves the systematic application of spelling-to-sound rules that allow children to transform written words (e.g. CAT) to spoken words (i.e. /cat/). Although this reading style may be more complex in that it involves an intermediary step in the transformation of spellings to sounds, it is believed to foster a more analytic approach to reading words that have not been previously encountered²².

Most contemporary cognitive models of reading acknowledge the importance of both whole-word and phonics based reading strategies. That is, they propose a *dual route* model and highlight the limitations of reliance upon only one approach. Specifically, in the whole-word approach to reading, a child can only acquire word-specific knowledge. Imagine, for example, a young girl who has previously learned to read the words SAT and MAD. Reading by whole words would not enable her to read the novel word MAT, even though she had already been exposed to similar words containing all of the constituent elements of the novel word (i.e. the child had previously been exposed to the M in MAD and the AT in SAT). An educational strategy that emphasised a phonics-based approach to reading would be more useful in this situation. One key disadvantage of the phonics approach, on the other hand, is the fact that spoken words, as previously discussed, frequently do not map regularly onto their written counterparts.

Cognitive researchers have tended to propose stage models of reading development in which the reader emphasises one approach to reading (i.e. a whole-word approach or phonics approach) at one stage and a different approach at later stages²⁰. One of the most widely accepted stage models of the development of reading has been proposed by Frith²⁰.

In this account, four main phases of reading development were identified: *sight-vocabulary*; the *discrimination-net*; *phonological re-coding*; and the *orthographic phase*, respectively. The initial phase of reading development is the sight-vocabulary phase, which usually occurs between the ages of four and five years old. Early readers at this level of ability can correctly identify a limited set of words by sight and characteristically make no attempt to read a novel word. Although some might acquire a limited sight vocabulary in the absence of any formal reading instruction, others may require direct instruction.

During the discrimination net phase, young readers have typically developed a larger sight vocabulary and approach the reading of a novel word by responding with one of a number of previously learned words. According to some researchers, children at this level of reading ability abstract salient visual information from a novel word and use it to discriminate between all of the words contained within their existing sight vocabulary. Seymour and Elder²³, for example, suggested that two common visual features emphasised by readers at this stage are word length and the presence of specific letters. For instance, a young reader might read the word CHILDREN when presented with the word TELEVISION because the former is the only long word in his or her existing sight vocabulary. As children progress through the discrimination-net phase, their reliance upon this strategy becomes more problematic because of the increasing number of items in their sight vocabulary²².

Prior to entering the phonological re-coding stage, early readers do not appear to use information on grapheme-phoneme correspondences and cannot read non-words (e.g. VIB). During this phase, readers demonstrate their first application of the phonics procedure by using grapheme-phoneme rules when presented with novel words, thus producing a rapid expansion in the number of words that can be read correctly.

In the orthographic phase readers will have mastered both the whole-word and phonics approaches to printed material. However, there is some evidence to suggest that readers at this stage use the whole-word approach to previously-experienced words and use the phonics approach in conjunction with semantic rules when presented with novel words.

Other stage models of reading development have proposed a similar transition from one stage to another. Although stage models offer useful descriptions of the common sequence of normal reading development and identify developmental milestones that are typical of these phases, they have by and large been criticised for failing to elaborate on the mechanisms that facilitate the transition from one stage to another, and for underestimating the impact of the orthography of a specific language¹⁴.

A number of researchers have proposed models of reading development that cannot be described as stage models¹⁴. In proposing an alternative approach to reading development, Goswami¹⁴ suggested that children make use of analogies among word-spellings when confronted with a novel word. For example, a child presented with the previously unseen word BEAK may derive analogies

between the novel word and similar sounding words (e.g. BEAN and PEAK) in order to pronounce BEAK correctly. However, previous research in this area has suggested that this type of analogy is used only in the more advanced stages of reading development.

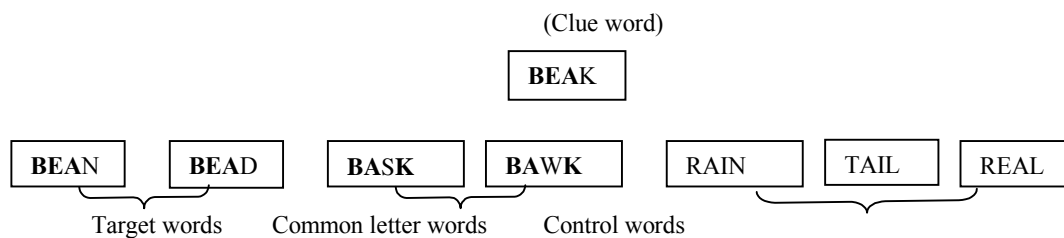
Goswami¹⁴ attempted to address this issue by determining whether early readers use the spelling-sound correspondence of a previously learned word to ‘work out’ the pronunciation of similar sounding words. In this study 5-8 year old children (i.e. early and advanced readers) were presented with a printed clue word (e.g. BEAK) that they had previously read correctly and asked to read seven test words, which were either analogous or non-analogous to the clue word. There were three types of test words: (1) target words that shared the same orthographic sequence at the *start* of the word as was present in the clue word (e.g. BEAK-BEAN) or at the end of the word (BEAK-PEAK); (2) common letter words that had three letters in common with the clue word that were not in sequence (e.g. BEAK-BASK); and (3) control words that were the target and common letter words for other clue words in the study. Participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions. In the first condition, the beginnings of the target words were analogous to the beginning of the clue word. In the second condition, the ends of the target words were analogous to the end of the clue word. In the third condition, no clue word was presented to the participants. During Conditions 1 and 2 the clue word was placed above the seven test words while the participant was being tested. During Condition 3 participants were presented with the seven test words without any clue word being present, and were presented with all four target words in a given word set as well as three control words. Figure 1 presents an outline of each of the three conditions.

Goswami predicted that if children were using analogy to correctly read novel words, they would read more words correctly in Conditions 1 and 2 (i.e. when analogous words were present) than in Condition 3 where no clue word was present. The results supported this prediction in that participants read more words accurately in Conditions 1 and 2 than in Condition 3. Furthermore, the results of this study indicated that participants read more target words correctly when the rime of the clue word was analogous to the rime of the target word (BEAK-PEAK) than when the onsets were analogous (e.g. BEAK-BEAN). Based on these findings, Goswami suggested that both early and advanced readers employ analogy in attempting to read novel words, although she did not specify the extent to which this strategy may be employed by readers at various levels of ability, nor did she propose the exact processes involved in this analogical performance.

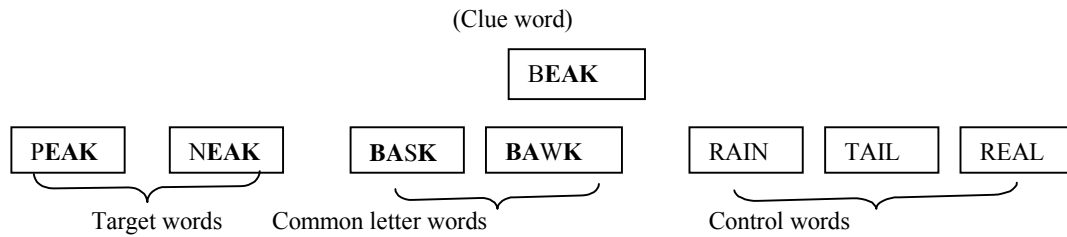
Other cognitive researchers have proposed alternative non-stage-based models of reading development. For example, Goodman²⁴ suggested that reading in English was a ‘psycholinguistic guessing game’ in which the reader uses three cue systems, graphophonic, syntactic and semantic, to determine what word ‘comes next’. In a similar model, Calfee, Chapman and Venezky²⁵ suggested that the cognitive processes of visual scanning, dual processing of input, and detection of the largest linguistic unit are central to competent reading. In a more biologically-based, cognitive model called the *Substrata-Factor Theory*, Holmes²⁶ proposed that various brain cell-assemblies contained specific information. According to this view, when the reader is exposed to printed material the cells containing the pertinent information are triggered and reading proficiency increases in line with the interfacilitation between these cell-assemblies.

A more process-oriented and less descriptive approach to modelling reading development has been proposed in the form of connectionist models. Connectionist models are a type of computational model, some of which attempt to explain reading in

Condition 1: Target words correspond to clue word at start of word



Condition 2: Target words correspond to clue word at end of word



Condition 3: No clue word present



Figure 1. Graphical Representation of Conditions 1, 2 and 3 for Goswami's¹⁴ study

terms of basic principles of learning, knowledge representation and information processing. To date, relatively complex models of reading ability have been proposed from this perspective^{27 28}. A brief description of some connectionist models of reading may be useful in illustrating how modelling grapheme-phoneme relationships can contribute to our understanding of reading development (for greater detail on this subject the reader is referred to *Parallel Distributed Processing: Volumes 1 and 2* by Rumelhart & McClelland²⁷).

Connectionist researchers have been concerned with attempts to model, in simple computer networks, the systematic relationships between orthographic and phonological word forms. These computer models are based on the concept of distributed representations, in which spellings, sounds and meanings are represented by small sets of units that participate in many words. An example of one such model is presented in Figure 2. The figure demonstrates the parallel processing of different aspects of reading such as context, meaning, spelling and phonology. When a letter string is presented as input (e.g. the printed word MAKE) the corresponding units are activated and this activation spreads to other units that represent phonological or semantic information. The connections between these units carry weights that determine how much activation is achieved. In some connectionist models a learning procedure known as *back propagation* allows the output for a particular word created by the model to be compared with the correct target word. If the model creates the target word incorrectly, it can subsequently re-adjust the weight of activation for each unit until the weights assume values that minimise any discrepancy between the model's output and the target word.

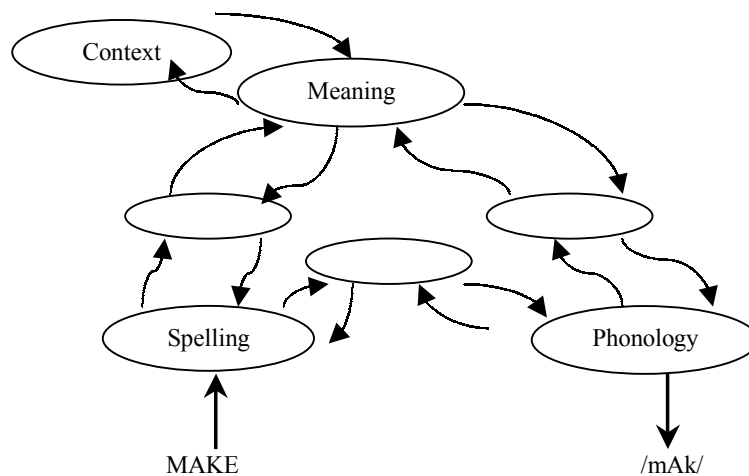


Figure 2. The connectionist model developed by Seidenberg and McClelland.

Although parallel distributed processing (PDP) networks attempt to model reading processes as systematic relationships between orthographic and phonological word forms, there is some debate among researchers with regard to the role of rules in competent reading. Seidenberg and McClelland, for example, argued that the relationships between semantic, orthographic and phonological units are not adequately expressed as a system of rules because this is not the nature of the English orthography. In an attempt to address the issue of rule-following, Seidenberg and McClelland examined computerised performances with words and non-words and found relatively inaccurate generalised performances on the non-words. In an attempt to explain these weak performances, Besner, Twilley, McCann and Seergobin²⁹ argued that the Seidenberg and McClelland model generated poor performances on non-words because it only attended to the lexical component of a dual route model and that in order for it to be complete, the semantic component would also have to be modelled. Other researchers such as Davies³⁰ have argued that the capacity to pronounce non-words inherently requires knowledge of rules and that the Seidenberg and McClelland model probably incorporates some form of rule-following to enable the generalisation performances required for the reading of non-words. However, Seidenberg and McClelland have maintained that even if this was the case, the rule-following itself is an emergent property of a system which arises from a knowledge base that is fundamentally different from symbolic models such as the dual route model.

More recently, Plaut, McClelland, Seidenberg, and Patterson³¹ have shown that the limitations of the Seidenberg and McClelland model in pronouncing non-words stem not from any general limitation in the abilities of connectionist networks in quasi-regular domains, but from its use of poorly structured orthographic and phonological representations. The original computer model used representations based on context-sensitive triples of letters or phonemic features. When more appropriately structured representations based on graphemes and phonemes are used, network implementations of the phonological pathway can learn to pronounce regular words, exception words, and nonwords as well as skilled readers pronounce these words.

Plaut et al.³¹ also developed a connectionist model of reading development in which language knowledge is inherently graded, and the language mechanism is a learning device that gradually picks up on the statistical structure among written and spoken words and the contexts in which they occur. In this way, the emphasis is on the degree to which the mappings among the spelling, sound, and meaning of a given word are consistent with those of other words.

Plaut et al.³¹ offered a mathematical explanation with regard to why connectionist models behave as they do. They proposed that factors that increase the summed input to units (e.g. word frequency and spelling-sound consistency) generally improve performance, but their contributions are subject to 'diminishing returns'. As a result, performance on stimuli that are strong in one factor appears to be relatively insensitive to variation in other factors. Thus, regular words show little effect of frequency, and high-frequency words show little effect of consistency. This gives rise to a standard pattern of interaction between frequency and consistency, in which the naming of low-frequency exception words is disproportionately slow or inaccurate.

Parallel distributed processing models, such as those of Seidenberg and McClelland, are believed to challenge the *central dogma* of symbolic dual-route models by showing that the behaviours assumed to demonstrate the existence of separate lexical and rule-based procedures can be simulated by a standard three-layer back-propagation network that contains neither a lexicon of entries corresponding to individual words, nor a set of pronunciation rules. This new class of models is believed to offer a single uniform procedure that learns to process letter strings through experience with the spelling-sound correspondences, and as such does not require dual routes of processing.

Connectionist models of reading appear to suggest an experience-based component to skilled reading that was not as clearly apparent in the more traditional cognitive models. In a sense, the connectionist models imply that repeated exposure to reading materials as opposed to a lexicon is fundamental to reading progress. This latter cognitive approach to reading development may provide alternative directions for future research in the area of reading.

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REALISING AND UNDERSTANDING PUPIL ATTITUDES TOWARDS AND PERCEPTIONS OF AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND AND LIECHTENSTEIN: AN EMPIRICAL STUDY

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The German language occupies the unusual position of belonging, as either the mother tongue or official language, to four nations within Europe - Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Liechtenstein. It is accepted pedagogical theory that successful learning of a foreign language is supported not only by the development of grammatical knowledge in the learner, but also by the provision of cultural information about the target language country. In this way, the learner is provided with a 'living' context to which otherwise random grammatical structures may be related. Consequently, the question arises not only of what role cultural information (Landeskunde) plays in the German language class in general, but also to which extent this information specifically relates to each of the four individual German-speaking countries¹. This paper, based on selected findings from an empirical study carried out between November 2002 and January 2003, examines some aspects of the current status of Switzerland, Austria and Liechtenstein in the German language classroom in Ireland. The paper begins with a brief introduction to a new concept of Landeskunde (cultural studies), the 'D-A-CH-L Konzept'², which has as a key principle, the integration of all four German-speaking countries into German language education. Following this, details of the empirical research project carried out are set out. Then, selected findings from the empirical research, which provide key information about the status of Switzerland, Austria and Liechtenstein within the German language classroom in Ireland, are presented. Finally, an abbreviated account of the conclusions drawn from those findings will be presented.

THE D-A-CH-L CONCEPT OF CULTURAL STUDIES

The German language is both a unifying and a divisive feature of the four German-speaking countries. On the one hand, the standard form of the language (*Hochdeutsch*) is acknowledged by each area, yet on the other, the extensive linguistic variation that exists not only on a national, but also a regional level within the German language provides a concrete source of differentiation between the regions. Thus the German language, in all of its regional and national diversity, provides a context for introducing the learner to linguistic and geographical variety, drawing boundaries which are very different to the 'official' national borders that exist between the four countries:

Jede Sprache hat kollektive Erfahrungen gespeichert; sie transportiert Traditionen, Werte, Urteile, Überzeugungen; sie macht Zugriffe auf die Wirklichkeit verfügbar, die nur ihr aufgrund historisch gewordener Strukturen und der von ihr vermittelten Traditionen eigen sind³

Linguistic diversity in German speaking regions, as with any language, is the product of more than merely a variation in vocabulary. Language is a manifestation of various (socio) cultural codes and traditions, which over time have collaborated to form a linguistic system that is defined not only by national identity, but also and just as importantly by regional identity. Thus, integrating linguistic diversity at both a national and a regional level into the language lesson is a means of integrating the differing cultural codes and practices which exist between countries and regions possessing a common language.

[...] Dagegen kann man sich sehr gut vorstellen, daß die Landeskunde motivierenden Charakter hat: nämlich das Interesse an **Deutschland** zu wecken, an **deutscher** Geschichte, Politik, Kultur (Musik, Malerei, Baukunst, Theater, Ballett, Film etc., selbstverständlich auch Literatur), am alltäglichen Leben der **Deutschen**. Aber das nicht

abstrakt und durch Frontalvermittlung des Lehrenden, sondern durch gemeinsames Lesen von Zeitungen, durch Diskussionen untereinander (aber auch mit Gästen), durch Filme, Sendungen der **Deutschen** Welle oder Videomitschnitte aus dem **deutschen** Fernsehen, bzw. dem nationalen, wenn dort etwas über **Deutschland** und die **Deutschen** gesendet wird. Insofern könnte gerade die Landeskunde die Studenten dazu anregen, sich auch jenseits des Studiums mit Dingen zu beschäftigen, die **Deutschland** (und natürlich auch die Studenten selbst) betreffen⁴.

The above extract from a set of Curricular Guidelines for teaching German as a foreign language in a non-German-speaking country, demonstrates in brief the extent to which Landeskunde has traditionally been centred on, and in some cases reduced to, the study of Germany, while Austria, Switzerland and Liechtenstein have been at best under-represented and at worst neglected. The lack of interest in and attention to Switzerland, Austria and Liechtenstein and their marginal status in the foreign language lesson has frequently been acknowledged:

[...] Dabei dominierte im DaF-Unterricht bisher die Kunde von Deutschland. [...] Die Schweiz und Österreich (von Liechtenstein als viertem deutschsprachigen Land ganz zu schweigen) wurde zum Gegenstand im Unterricht als ‘Zusatzangebot’ [...]⁵

Consequently, little or no time has been taken to re-assess or develop the image of Switzerland and Austria that is mediated to learners, with the result that simplified, stereotypical images of these countries often tend to prevail⁶. This fact is often reflected in the content of textbooks for the German language. In fact, Fischer states that up until the mid 1980s, the presentation of Austrian *Landeskunde* in textbooks for learners of German was very marginal, utilising solely historical, literary or factual information which supported the stereotypical images of *Hochkultur* and the agrarian idyll so familiar to non-Austrians⁷.

The foreign language lesson in Europe should reflect the changing European context in which it is taking place, as well as preparing language learners for interaction with members of the target language countries⁸. As a result, the importance of context and culturally-defined norms and nuances must come to the fore in the foreign language lesson. Modern *Landeskunde* is therefore no longer concerned solely with the mediation of superficial, factual information about the target language country. Rather, it aims at ‘die Kombination von (kognitivem) Wissenserwerb, dem Erfassen von (affektiven) Steuerungsmechanismen und in der Regel (operativem) Handeln’⁹. The D-A-CH-(L) concept of Landeskunde is a direct result of co-operation between the organisations responsible for German language teaching within the three largest German-speaking countries, namely the Goethe Institut (Germany), Kulturkontakt (Austria) and LEDAFIDS (Switzerland). It was developed primarily as a response of foreign (specifically German) language teaching to the political and social changes taking place within the European Union in recent times. In many ways, the D-A-CH-(L) concept of Landeskunde can be said to further develop many of the principles initiated by the earlier *ABCD Thesen*¹⁰. The emphasis of the *ABCD Thesen* on a learner-theme- and activity-oriented foreign language lesson, on the importance of all of the German-speaking areas, on the necessity for sensitivity towards foreign cultures are all reiterated and developed in the D-A-CH-(L) concept of Landeskunde.

REASONS FOR EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

At the time of writing there had been some research done in Ireland, Scotland and Great Britain into the general role of Cultural Studies in the foreign language classroom at secondary level¹¹. Several articles introducing and defining the D-A-CH-(L) concept of *Landeskunde* had also been published¹². However, no research specifically relating to either secondary school pupils’ perceptions of and attitudes towards Austria, Switzerland and Liechtenstein, or to the D-A-CH-(L) concept of *Landeskunde* in an *Irish* secondary school context had been carried out. Growing interest in recent years within the practice of *Deutsch als Fremdsprache*¹³ in methodologies and didactics for teaching *Landeskunde*, and more specifically in the development of a *Landeskunde* concept based upon learner autonomy and the integration of the four German-speaking countries into the German language class, has dictated that this is an area of language teaching (in Ireland) which merits examination. Taking this into account, it was decided that it would be very useful to examine the roles of Switzerland and Austria within the German language classroom and to discover the feasibility (and perhaps necessity) of the D-A-CH-(L) concept of *Landeskunde* in an Irish secondary school context.

Purely theoretical research would prove inadequate for a task such as this, as by its very nature it would fail to produce concrete, factual data specifically relating to the situation of *Landeskunde* in Ireland today. It was therefore decided to carry out empirical research in the form of a questionnaire to be distributed among a sample of secondary schools in Ireland.

AIMS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

A questionnaire was chosen as the principal investigative method for a number of reasons. It is generally accepted that questionnaires are a crucial tool for performing opinion research. Governments, businesses and organisations frequently obtain essential feedback and information about their services, their operation procedures and, crucially, public attitudes towards and perceptions of the organisation in question¹⁴. Questionnaires and surveys increasingly serve as a means of contributing to academic research, especially in the fields of education, psychology, anthropology, sociology and economics, to mention but a few and are instrumental both in the formation and the testing of hypotheses¹⁵. For this reason, questionnaires are particularly useful in the assessment of attitudes towards and perceptions of a particular topic. The following were the aims of the questionnaire in this study:

- a) To establish the significance attributed to Austria, Switzerland and Liechtenstein¹⁶ in the German language class in Ireland.
- b) To establish German learners' attitudes towards and perceptions of Switzerland, Austria, and Liechtenstein
- c) To establish the level of general knowledge that learners possess about Austria and Switzerland.
- d) To establish the predominant methodologies and didactics used in teaching *Landeskunde* in secondary schools in Ireland.
- e) To establish any correlation between the role of Switzerland and Austria in the language classroom and the attitude / perception of the learners towards these countries.
- f) To establish the necessity and feasibility of a model of *Landeskunde* teaching based on the D-A-CH-(L) concept within the current framework of German language teaching in Ireland.

STRUCTURE OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Careful consideration was accorded to the design and structure of the questionnaire regarding the types of questions asked, question wording, sequence of questions and the overall layout of the questionnaire to ensure that it could be clearly understood and easily completed by respondents. No long questions were asked in the survey, as these can often result in incomplete answers. The respondent may get lost in the question and thus respond to either only the beginning or only the end of the question. The same can be said of so-called 'catch all' questions. Care was also taken to avoid the inclusion of so-called 'leading questions', which literally 'lead' the respondent to a particular response and so result in biased responses. Also avoided were ambiguous, vague and generalised questions. In short, the more detail provided in the question, the more reliable and useful the answer is likely to be.

Technical or academic jargon was pointedly avoided, as it was almost certainly likely to be unfamiliar to the respondents. Familiar language and simple structure would ensure a high completion rate and given that the younger respondents in the First Year were unlikely to have been older than fourteen years old at the most and responsible for 33% of total responses, this was a very important consideration. The questionnaire was spacious, both for closed and open questions. A cramped questionnaire laid out in a complicated way will inevitably prove awkward and irritating for the respondent and hence result in s/he either half-completing it or not responding at all. Individual questions and the questionnaire itself were no longer than absolutely necessary in order to avoid boredom, disinterest and subsequent non-response on the part of the respondents. Finally, ease of administration and distribution were also deciding factors in ensuring that questionnaires were completed as correctly and as thoroughly as possible. Taking this into account, it was decided that an attachment of explicit instructions for the completion of the questionnaires should be included for the teacher. He or she would read the instructions, explain them to the class of respondents and ensure that every respondent understood how the questionnaires should be completed, thus securing a high response rate.

The likely response rate to the questionnaire, its clarity of meaning and ease of response to it were monitored in a pilot run among one hundred respondents. From the pilot group for this study, one hundred questionnaires were returned out of one hundred. There was no reference to a question being unclear or to the layout being complicated. At this point it was considered safe to proceed with the distribution of the questionnaires among the rest of the sample.

The questionnaire was composed of twenty-four questions and was both quantitative and qualitative in nature. Quantitative information was attained through questions asked in precise terms in a specified order, requiring specific, concise information. So-called 'closed' questions were used for this purpose. All of the questions, with the exception of questions nineteen, twenty and twenty-four, were closed, factual questions, aimed at eliciting concise, limited information which required no elaboration. Closed multiple choice-type questions on the whole require less thought than opinion-based open questions and the answers to such questions are therefore generally easier to obtain and analyse than open questions. Care was given to the sequence of questions in the questionnaire, a factor that can be crucial in maintaining learner interest and willingness in completing the survey. Most of the closed questions, with the exception of questions twenty-one, twenty-two and twenty-three, were placed at the beginning of the survey, in order to 'ease the respondents in' to completing the questionnaire.

Then, when students had familiarised themselves with the questionnaire and were focussed on the task at hand of completing the survey, open questions were introduced. Qualitative information is primarily concerned with the attitudes and beliefs of respondents and the relationship between certain attitudes and may be attained through use of open questions. Open questions are generally opinion-based questions requiring more thought and consideration on the part of the learner. They offer the respondent freedom to decide on the detail, structure and length of his/her responses and therefore take a little longer to complete. In this way, the 'intensity' of the questionnaire was slowly increased from beginning to end. Both closed and open questions are of great value to a survey. Closed questions provide the researcher with straightforward, basic information, which can be easily analysed, sorted and compiled into statistics. Open questions on the other hand are to a certain extent less routine with regard to analysis and sorting due both to the volume of information available, and to possible ambiguity within answers. Open questions however, are of tremendous value to an empirical investigation because by offering respondents the opportunity to freely express their opinion(s), an extraordinary variety of responses is obtained, which is fully representative of reality. Although there were no sub-headings printed on the actual questionnaire, questionnaires can be divided into groups relating to specific issues.

Questions one to three aimed to establish the background of the individual respondent and whether or not he or she had visited Austria, Switzerland or Germany.

Questions four and five were multiple choice questions relating to the 'typical' way of life and personality of Austrians. These questions were included in order to establish the prevalence of stereotypes in student perception of Austrian people.

Questions six to nine (inclusive), also multiple choice, aimed to establish the students' general knowledge of Austria.

Questions ten and eleven related to stereotypes and clichéd images of Swiss people.

Questions twelve to fifteen (inclusive) dealt with students' general knowledge of Switzerland.

Question sixteen briefly examined respondents' knowledge of Liechtenstein.

Questions seventeen and eighteen related to the role played by Switzerland and Austria in the German class.

Questions nineteen to twenty-one dealt with learner attitudes towards Switzerland and Austria and how learners felt about their level of knowledge of these countries. These questions were not only concerned with whether Austria and Switzerland were present in the language classroom, or whether a respondent was favourably inclined towards Austria and Switzerland, but also *to what extent* this was the case. The same is true of question twenty-four.

Questions twenty-two and twenty-three respectively aimed to establish which aspects of Austria and Switzerland students usually learned about and *how* they learned about these features.

Question twenty-four attempted to establish the overall role and general position held by Switzerland and Austria and their relative importance (according to the learners) in relation to Germany as features of the foreign language classroom. It also aimed to discover *why* learners perceived Austria and Switzerland as they did.

QUESTIONNAIRE DISTRIBUTION

The questionnaires were distributed in between October 2002 and January 2003 to one hundred and three teachers of German in seventy-two schools within Leinster, Munster, Connaught and Ulster. The schools chosen for participation in the project were selected by a process of systematic sampling within a database of all secondary schools in Ireland.

An exact representative sample of schools in each province proved impossible to create due to the fact that many schools which were contacted did not offer German as a subject. This meant that the deficit of schools for the study had to be replaced by schools from another province in order to render the sample meaningful. Consequently, 51% of the schools selected were in Leinster, 21% in Munster, 10% in Connaught and 11% in Ulster¹⁷. Of the seventy-two schools chosen to participate in the study, forty-six were co-educational, fifteen were girls' schools and eleven were boys' schools. The questionnaires were anonymous in order to encourage the most honest answers possible from the respondents. However, for reference purposes it was essential that the responses were in some way identifiable as being from a certain school. For this reason, it was decided to allocate a code to each school, which was to be referenced by teachers returning the surveys. The code consisted of the first letter of the province in which the school was located, followed by the first and last letters of the school's county, and finally a number: simply the number that the school had been allocated in that county. For example, a school code of LKE4 refers to school number four in County Kildare, which is in Leinster. Likewise, MCK5 refers to school number five in County Cork, which is in Munster and so on. In this way, schools were identifiable for reference and statistical purposes, but complete honesty was encouraged in the respondents as they themselves were assured of total anonymity in the project.

PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

In all, 3,557 questionnaires were distributed among seventy-two schools and 862 were returned, indicating a response rate of 24%. Careful deliberation was given to the selection of respondents in each school and it was decided that the first, third and sixth year students in each school should be chosen as respondents. The newly formed opinions of first year students about learning German would be particularly interesting and would also provide an insight into how learners are generally introduced to learning German at second level. Third year students are slightly more advanced, at the mid-point of their secondary school career and would be in a position to offer information about learning German for examination purposes (Junior Certificate Examination). Leaving Certificate students, in the final year of secondary schooling, would also be in a position to comment on whether and how learning a language is influenced by the need to perform well in the Leaving Certificate Examination. It was also anticipated that responses obtained from the earliest, middle and final stages of secondary schooling would provide a clear indication of the progression, not only of attitudes and perceptions of German-speaking countries, but also the of factual knowledge of those countries from the beginning to the end of secondary school.

32% of respondents were first year students, 51% of whom were male and 49% of whom were female.

34% of respondents were third year students, 46% of whom were male and 54% of whom were female.

34% of respondents were sixth year students, 53% of whom were male and 47% of whom were female.

FIG. 1: NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN EACH GROUP

	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
FIRST YEAR	140	135	275
THIRD YEAR	136	159	295
SIXTH YEAR	145	147	292

The average response rate for each question was very high at 93%.

Due to restrictions on space, it is impossible in the course of this paper to discuss the responses elicited for *all* of the questions in the survey. What follows here is a brief overview of selected responses regarding the place of Austria and Switzerland in the German language classroom in Ireland, which were deemed particularly significant for the study. Topics discussed in this paper

include general knowledge about Switzerland, Austria and Liechtenstein, the roles played by those countries in the foreign language classroom and learner attitudes towards those countries, particularly in comparison with Germany. Some responses to questions shall be cited throughout this paper. Individual citations of empirical research are useful in such a study either because they are important to the topic being discussed or are relevant to the study as a whole. All citations used in this paper shall be preserved in their original form. Quotations are referenced by using the school code, followed by M (male) or F (female) and a figure, 1, 3 or 6, which represents the school year that the respondent is in. For example, a quotation reference of MCK5F:3 refers to a female third year respondent in school number five in Cork and so on.

GENERAL KNOWLEDGE OF AUSTRIA AND SWITZERLAND

In all, eleven questions were asked that aimed to establish the level of 'general knowledge' about Switzerland, Austria and Liechtenstein among the respondents. Five questions related to Austria, five related to Switzerland and one related to Liechtenstein. Included in this section were basic questions on the geography of these two target language countries, as well as the language(s) and currencies used in those countries. The following section includes a selection of these questions. Question six asked respondents to name the capital city of Austria. 76% of First Years, 69% of Third Years and 76% of Sixth Years answered this question correctly. This data is surprising for two reasons. It is encouraging to note that over three quarters of First Year students, of whom the vast majority had been studying German for not more than five months at the time of responding to the questionnaire, had answered correctly. However, it is astonishing to note that of the Third Year students, who had been studying German for at least two and a half years at the time of completing this questionnaire, only 69% could name the capital city. The proportion of Sixth Year students who answered correctly, although reasonably acceptable at 76%, was very disappointing when examined in context. It was identical to the number of correct first year responses even though the Sixth Years had five years' educational advantage over the first years. A general knowledge of the capital cities of Europe is surely a most basic prerequisite for students at an elementary, not to mention a final stage of secondary education. For first year students, the next choice for the capital city was Innsbruck (9%), as it was for Sixth Years (11%). Although not the capital city, it is at least located in Austria. The third year group displayed the least knowledge with regard to this question. A sizeable 16% of this group named Prague, a city in the Czech Republic, as the capital of Austria.

Question fifteen¹⁸ aimed to establish whether students were aware of the fact that Switzerland is home to more than one language. Moreover, it was deemed useful to discover to what extent each of the *individual* languages was especially associated with Switzerland. The response rate for this question was extremely positive at 98% of the total sample of respondents. German was considered by the majority of respondents within each group to be the language most associated with Switzerland. 48% of First Years, 40% of Third Years and 30% of Sixth Years chose German as the *only* language spoken in Switzerland. The next most popular 'Swiss' language was French. However, chosen by only 3% of First Years, 3% of Third Years and 3% of Sixth Years, it clearly presents no competition for German. Surprisingly, Rhaeto-Romance was chosen by 2% of Third Years and was therefore more popular than even Italian which was chosen by only 1% of First Years. Respondents could select various combinations of languages spoken in Switzerland by ticking one, two, three or four boxes. By ticking four boxes, respondents indicated an awareness that four languages are spoken in Switzerland, which in this case is the 'correct' answer to the question. Overall, an astonishingly low number of respondents from each group succeeded in answering this question correctly: only 5% of Sixth Years, 5% of Third Years and 1% of First Years were aware that Switzerland is home to four official languages. It was particularly disappointing and surprising to note that even of the respondents who had visited Switzerland, only 9% were aware that four national languages were spoken there. The vast majority of this particular group appeared to be aware of the fact that Switzerland was home to more than one national language – 53% said that two languages (primarily German and French) were spoken there. However, a significant number of this group of respondents, 23%, was unaware even of this fact, and replied instead that only one language was spoken there (predominantly German).

Liechtenstein, due to its very small size, has traditionally occupied a peripheral role, if any role at all, within the German language classroom. Nestled between the more well-known Austria and Switzerland, it tends to be overlooked as a German-speaking country in its own right, often appearing as no more than an appendage to information about either Switzerland or Austria. It was decided to discover whether or not this commonly held belief held true for the secondary school pupils in Ireland who responded to this survey. Question sixteen thus asked respondents whether Liechtenstein was the longest river in Austria, the most mountainous region in Switzerland, the largest province in Austria or a German-speaking country. The majority of respondents from each of the three groups agreed that

Liechtenstein was a German-speaking country. However, the actual proportions representing each majority were nevertheless generally rather low: 47% of First Years, 49% of Third Years and 63% of Sixth Years. The results do little to dispute the assumption that Liechtenstein as a German-speaking country is in fact relatively unknown among Irish secondary school students and appear to be more conspicuous when viewed in the context of the entire sample of respondents. These figures are indicative of a distinct uncertainty among respondents regarding what Liechtenstein actually is. Of the complete sample, just over a half (53%) knew that Liechtenstein was a German-speaking country, just over a fifth (21%) considered it to be the largest province in Austria, 12% thought it was the most mountainous region in Switzerland and 5% thought it was the longest river in Austria.

THE ROLES OF SWITZERLAND AND AUSTRIA IN THE GERMAN LANGUAGE CLASSROOM

Much has been written regarding the roles of Austria and Switzerland in the German language classroom. Often, both countries have been described as at best under-represented and at worst ignored in their capacity as German-speaking countries (Hackl 1997: 19). Having established the level of basic general knowledge that the respondents possessed about both Austria and Switzerland, questions seventeen¹⁹ and eighteen²⁰ aimed to establish to what extent Switzerland and Austria were present in the German language class. In response to question seventeen, an overwhelming majority of third and sixth year respondents (91% and 94% respectively) and a sizeable majority of first year respondents (66%) stated that in German class they learned 'Mostly about Germany'. Only the first year respondents presented significant results for the option 'About all three countries equally', with 31% choosing this option. In contrast, only 4% of Third Years and 1% of Sixth Years felt that each of the three largest German-speaking countries was represented equally in class. Question eighteen required specific information about the presence of Austria and Switzerland, namely in regard to the 'cultural studies' aspect of the German-speaking countries within the German class. Respondents were asked how often Switzerland and Austria were included in discussions relating to the culture of German-speaking people. Response options ranged from 'Always' to 'Never'. The majority of respondents in each of the three groups (29% of First Years, 29% of Third Years and 34% of Sixth Years) opted for 'Sometimes' in response to this question. 'Rarely' was the next most popular choice with 19% of responses. 12% of the total sample of respondents felt that Austria and Switzerland were 'mostly' included in German class. Significant in the findings obtained for this question was that the option 'Never', with 10% of overall responses, attained more responses than either of the options 'Always' (5%) or 'Almost Always' (8%). These figures provide a clear indicator of the marginalized status of Switzerland and Austria, and in contrast the dominance of Germany, within the German language class in Ireland.

LEARNER ATTITUDES TOWARDS SWITZERLAND AND AUSTRIA IN THE GERMAN LANGUAGE CLASSROOM

Question nineteen²¹ asked respondents to rate Austria, Switzerland and Germany according to interest and importance in relation to the German language class. In this way, a comparison could be drawn between learners' attitudes towards Switzerland and Austria on the one hand and Germany on the other hand in the context of the German language class. The results for this question indicated very positive attitudes towards Switzerland and Austria as features of the German language class. A sizeable majority of each group of respondents (48% of First Years, 40% of Third Years and 38% of Sixth Years) judged Austria and Switzerland to be 'Just as important and interesting as learning about Germany' (option a). Respondents offered several reasons for viewing the study of Switzerland and Austria as just as important and interesting as the study of Germany in the German class. The most common reason given among the first year and third year groups was that Germany, Austria and Switzerland are geographically, culturally and linguistically closely linked to each other and should therefore be studied together in the context of the German language class: 'People join a German class to learn about German but it's also important to learn about the countries around it' (CGY1:M). 'Considering that they are all German-speaking countries we should learn about their way of life like [*sic*]' (LD6F:6). Many respondents in the sixth year group in particular on the other hand considered Austria and Switzerland to offer a wealth of material which was just as interesting as that of Germany to learn about: 'Yes as Austria and Switzerland have their own forms of German-different dialects which is interesting apart from learning Hoch-Deutsch [*sic*]' (LWH1M:6).

The next most popular choice for describing the role of Austria and Switzerland was option (b), whereby students (24% of First Years, 30% of Third Years and 37% of Sixth Years) indicated that learning about Austria and Switzerland, although interesting, was not as important as learning about Germany. The steady increase in responses to option (b) from first year students through to the sixth year group is a clear reflection of the importance of syllabus content with regard to examinations in the

course of secondary education in Ireland. The first year group, as can be seen from the above figures, is less likely than either the third or sixth year group to consider learning about Switzerland and Austria 'interesting but not as important as learning about Germany'. Both the third and sixth year groups on the other hand, shall sit the Junior and Leaving Certificate examinations respectively in June 2003. Consequently, respondents within these groups are very conscious of the need to cover essential material on the curriculum and are reluctant to diverge towards material that while interesting, may not be 'essential' for the examinations. As a result, 19% of Third Years and 29% of Sixth Years listed as their reason for choosing option (b) the fact that they 'don't need to know about Austria and Switzerland for the Leaving/Junior Certificate'. Responses included 'Won't come up as much as Germany might' (UMN3M:6). 'Many questions on the Leaving Cert may ask about Germany but not about Switzerland or Austria' (LMH4F:6). Option (f), which describes learning about Switzerland and Austria as 'More important than learning about Germany (but not as interesting)' attained the least number of responses from each group (2% of First Years, 3% of Third Years and 3% of Sixth Years), indicating once more that learning about Germany occupies the strongest position in the language class.

Several respondents in each group (15% of First Years, 12% of Third Years, 12% of Sixth Years) in response to options a, b or c of this question stated that they simply wished to learn more in general about the German-speaking countries: 'Because I haven't a clue about either of these countries and I'd like to know what there [sic] lifestyle is' (LMH4M:6). 'Because I know nothing about Switzerland or Austria' (LMH4M:3). 'Because I would like to have it even (and I like skiing [sic])' (MCK4M:1). The phrasing of the responses would appear to indicate that regardless of whether or not Switzerland or Austria were considered less dominant than Germany in the German class, or were not strong features of the Junior or Leaving Certificate examinations, respondents were willing and indeed keen to learn more about these countries. Such responses were judged to reflect further positive attitudes towards Austria and Switzerland.

10% of First Years, 11% of Third Years and 11% of Sixth Years chose option (d), where learning about Austria and Switzerland in German class was considered 'Not as interesting or as important as learning about Germany'. The primary reason offered for choosing this option was, in various forms, that it was a 'German'²² class which learners were attending and learning should therefore be concentrated on Germany: 'Because German speaking I think [sic] comes from Germany' (UDLF:1). 'I think it's more important because the German language originated in Germany' (MCK4M:1). 'It's a German class so we should only learn about Germany' (LKE9M:3). 'It's important to learn about the other countries but Germany seems more important' (LWH1M:6). One student in the first year provided the following reason for learning more about Austria and Switzerland: 'Because I want to learn new languages as well as German' (MCK4M:1). These and other similar responses would appear to indicate that many respondents are unaware even of the linguistic relationship between Germany, Switzerland and Austria. All of the First Years who chose option (d) provided a similar reason, along with 9% of Third Years and 6% of Sixth Years. It may be surmised from these results that such respondents regard the inclusion of Austria and Switzerland as unwarranted and unnecessary features of the German language class. Moreover, these respondents are clearly unaware of the obvious link that exists between the three target language countries, namely the German language. While it may be the case that the link between the three target language countries has not been fully established by respondents in the early phase of their first year of German education, no such 'excuse' exists for respondents in either the third or the sixth year group who had been learning German for more than two and four years respectively. 4% of the remaining sixth year respondents claimed that the high pressure and heavy workload in the final year of secondary education as a reason for not finding the study of Switzerland and Austria as stimulating as that of Germany. 'It's very hard to cope with German at the moment especially in the sixth year' (UMN3F:6). 'Because we already have too much to learn about Germany without including the rest' (LWH2F:3).

CONCLUSIONS

Overall, the general knowledge of the four target language countries was considered quite unimpressive for a number of reasons. In most cases, the number of correct responses is no more than 'fair'. This was true not only of responses obtained from the first year group who had been learning German for no more than six months at the time of responding to this survey. In the case of both the third year and the sixth year groups, with between two and four years' experience of learning German behind them, a lack of knowledge was also in evidence. The nature of the questions asked in the questionnaire was carefully considered and the questions were regarded as being of a relatively basic nature. Hence the overall performance by respondents indicates that while a general knowledge of facts and figures about Switzerland and Austria is to a certain extent in evidence among learners, this knowledge is not as widespread as perhaps it should be. Furthermore, responses received for several

general knowledge questions in the questionnaire as a whole indicate that there is little or no difference between the levels of general knowledge in each of the three groups. In several instances respondents in the first year group either equalled or bettered the amount of correct responses attained by either one or both of the more advanced groups. This however, does not point to an exceptionally intelligent first year cohort. Given the rather elementary nature of the general knowledge questions, it points instead to rather uninspiring examples of allegedly more advanced groups. The fact that the junior group regularly matches the more senior groups is not only surprising, but it is also worrying, indicating as it does that although the three groups of respondents are situated at three very different stages of secondary education, they nevertheless illustrate three very similar levels of general knowledge about the target language country. Despite attaining an advanced educational level and preparing to sit major examinations (the Junior Certificate and Leaving Certificate), the apparent lack of distinct intellectual advantage illustrated by the two more senior groups in relation to knowledge of the target language countries raises questions about both the role and development of basic cultural information throughout secondary German education in Ireland. Why, in the majority of responses to general knowledge questions, does there appear to be no distinct and appropriate difference between the levels of general knowledge of first, third and sixth year respondents? Where is the evidence of a progression of knowledge?

The data obtained for question seventeen indicates a pattern in the way that cultural information about the target language countries of Switzerland and Austria is taught. During the initial stages of secondary schooling, learners appear to be exposed to a more general cultural content in German language education. However, this rather general and inclusive pattern appears to become increasingly (country-) specific as students progress through secondary school. As the empirical data obtained in this survey shows, it is at sixth year level, more than any other, that students encounter a form of cultural studies which focuses predominantly on one German-speaking country (Germany). Yet why is this so? The implication (and it is no more than an implication) is that in the first year of their German studies, learners are introduced to Austria and Switzerland as a token gesture, or as a nod to the fact that German is indeed spoken as the official language of more than one country. As learners progress through their secondary German education, the need to refer to Switzerland and Austria apparently decreases – the obligation, while occasionally there, is no longer as strong as at the beginning of the German education. The results obtained for question eighteen provide further evidence of the marginal role of Switzerland and Austria within the foreign language classroom.

The results for question nineteen generally indicated very positive attitudes towards Switzerland and Austria as features of the German language class. A sizeable majority of each group of respondents judged Austria and Switzerland to be ‘Just as important and interesting as learning about Germany’ (option a). The next most popular choice for describing the role of Austria and Switzerland (option b) also indicated positive attitudes towards Switzerland and Austria. The phrasing of the reasons for responses (where provided) indicated that respondents were very willing to learn more about Austria and Switzerland. However, despite illustrating a primarily positive perception of Austria and Switzerland among learners, question nineteen further corroborate the findings of questions seventeen and eighteen. Switzerland and Austria, in spite of being regarded in a positive light, are nevertheless not considered as *important* as Germany. The principle reason for this, as apparent in the reasons offered by respondents for choosing this option appears to be the (perceived) Germany-oriented content of the Junior and Leaving Certificate examinations. Negative attitudes towards Austria and Switzerland (as expressed by choosing option d) are principally supported by a lack of knowledge of the relationship between Germany, Switzerland and Austria. It was generally found that those respondents who considered Austria and Switzerland to be neither as important nor as interesting as Germany, were those respondents who clearly displayed no knowledge of the linguistic, cultural or geographical relationship between the three countries in the reasons that they provided for their answers.

In conclusion then, this survey of secondary level learners of German in Ireland empirically records what has long been believed about the status of Switzerland and Austria in the German language classroom: that they are peripheral features, which although of significance in the early stages of learning German, gradually decrease in importance as education progresses. This is evident in both the level of general knowledge among learners of German, as well as in the attitudes of those learners to the target language countries. It is acknowledged that the changing face of Europe will bring consequences for many aspects of education, among them, the teaching of foreign languages²³. The D-A-CH-(L) concept of *Landeskunde* recognises this as far as the teaching of German is concerned. If foreign language teaching in Ireland is to fit the European context in which it is taking place, then it too will have to acknowledge foreign languages as what they are – the languages of our European neighbours. As such, German is the language of not one, but four of those neighbours.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Hans Simon-Pelanda, 'Deutsch als Fremdsprache-Sprache und Kultur der deutschsprachigen Länder', *Germanistische Mitteilungen*. 42 (1995), 27-31 (p.27).
- ² D-Germany, A-Austria, CH-Switzerland, L-Liechtenstein.
- ³ Herbert Christ, *Fremdsprachenunterricht und Sprachenpolitik* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1990), p. 16-17.
- ⁴ P.L. Völzing, 'Vorschlag für ein Curriculum, Germanistik als Fremdsprachenphilologie im Ausland', *Info DaF* 20 (1993), 16-27, (p. 24). My emphasis A.M.L.
- ⁵ Wolfgang Hackl & Hans Simon-Pelanda, DACH: Zur Sprache und Kultur der deutschsprachige Länder, in *Fremde Welt und eigene Wahrnehmung: Konzepte von Landeskunde in fremdsprachlichen Unterricht. Eine Tagungsdokumentation*, ed. By Gerhard Neuner (Kasseler Werkstattbericht zur Didaktik DAF, Heft 3 1994), pp. 133-140 (p. 136).
- ⁶ Wolfgang Hackl & Hans Simon-Pelanda, DACH: Zur Sprache und Kultur der deutschsprachige Länder, in *Fremde Welt und eigene Wahrnehmung: Konzepte von Landeskunde in fremdsprachlichen Unterricht. Eine Tagungsdokumentation*, ed. by Gerhard Neuner (Kasseler Werkstattbericht zur Didaktik DAF, Heft 3, 1994), pp. 133-140 (p. 137).
- ⁷ Roland Fischer, Bilder-Kontraste-Fragen: Anmerkungen zu einer Didaktik der Landeskunde, in *Österreichische Sprache, Literatur und Gesellschaft*, ed. by K.A. Backström et al. (Münster: Nodus Publikationen, 2000), pp. 53-64.
- ⁸ Wolfgang Hackl, Österreich als Mitglied der europäischen Union: Konsequenzen für den Landeskundeunterricht, *Germanistische Mitteilungen*. 42 (1995), pp. 41-51 (p. 42).
- ⁹ Wolfgang Hackl, Michael Langner & Hans Simon-Pelanda, Landeskundliches Lernen, *Fremdsprache Deutsch*. 18 (1998) pp. 5-12 (p. 5).
- ¹⁰ ABCD, Thesen zur Rolle der Landeskunde im Deutschunterricht, *ÖDAF Mitteilungen* (1990) pp. 26-29.
- ¹¹ Lysaght 1998; Byram 1990; Keller 1979.
- ¹² Hackl/Simon-Pelanda 1998; Hackl/Simon-Pelanda 1997; Hackl, Langner, Simon-Pelanda 1997; Krumm 1999
- ¹³ German as a Foreign Language
- ¹⁴ G Hoinville & R. Jowell, *Survey Research Practice* (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1977), p. 11.
- ¹⁵ C. Moser, *Methods in Social Investigation* (London: Heinemann, 1968), p. 4.
- ¹⁶ Not all questions refer to Liechtenstein.
- ¹⁷ An exact representative sample would have produced a division of 46%, 31%, 14% and 8% to Leinster, Munster, Connaught and Ulster respectively.
- ¹⁸ Question 15: Which of the following languages are spoken in Switzerland? (Tick as appropriate): German, French, Italian, Rhaeto-Romance.
- ¹⁹ Question 17: In German class do you learn (a) Mostly about Germany, (b) Mostly about Austria, (c) Mostly about Switzerland (d) About all three countries equally (Tick as appropriate).
- ²⁰ Question 18: When learning about the culture of the German-speaking people, Austria and Switzerland are included (a) Always (b) Almost always (c) Mostly (d) Sometimes (e) Rarely (f) Never (Tick as appropriate).
- ²¹ Question 19: Do you think that learning about Austria and Switzerland in German class is (a) just as important and interesting as learning about Germany (b) Not as important as learning about Germany, but interesting (c) Not as interesting as learning about Germany, but important (d) Not as important or as interesting as learning about Germany (e) More interesting than learning about Germany, but not as important (f) More important than learning about Germany, but not as interesting (f)
- ²² The majority of respondents made this point using italics or upper case for extra emphasis.
- ²³ Hans Jürgen Krumm, Landeskunde Deutschland, DACH oder Europa? In *Materialien: Deutsch als Fremdsprache* 52 (1999), pp. 31-57.

TWO FUNCTIONALLY DISTINCT APPROACHES TO THE PHENOMENON OF FALSE BELIEF

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The ability to attribute false beliefs to another is believed to be an important prerequisite for understanding social interactions of moral significance such as deception and humour. The current paper outlines two functionally distinct theoretical approaches to psychological phenomenon. According to the traditional cognitive paradigm known as 'Theory of Mind' (ToM) understanding that people have different thoughts about the same situation involves inferring another's mental state. According to a typical ToM approach there are five levels in the development of knowledge about informational states of the self and others. Levels four and five of this model, which are the levels relevant to the current paper, involve the principle that you can predict actions on the basis of true and false beliefs. People's ability to respond at these levels is tested using particular 'false belief' tasks. Relational Frame Theory (RFT), a modern behavioural approach to language and cognition, presents an alternative account of false belief understanding based on the phenomenon of derived relational responding. In the language of RFT, successful performance on false belief tasks requires contextual control over the derived relational response frames of I-YOU, HERE-THERE, NOW-THEN, and logical NOT. According to RFT, an effective means of establishing appropriate behavioral repertoires with regard to false belief understanding is to train these relational response frames directly.

The ability to attribute false beliefs to another individual is believed to be an important prerequisite for understanding social interactions of moral significance such as deception and humour¹. One of the most prominent contemporary cognitive approaches to false belief is that proposed by Theory of Mind (ToM) researchers² who define false belief abilities as ranging from the simple attribution of a mental state to another person to the more complex understanding that a person can have mental states about another person's mental states³. Wimmer and Perner¹ reported a sharp developmental increase in children's ability to make correct belief attributions (true or false) around four years of age. According to these researchers, the emergence of children's ability to understand another person's beliefs and how this person will react on the basis of these beliefs is not a mere side-effect of increased memory and central processing capacity. Rather, a novel cognitive skill is believed to emerge some time between the ages of four and six⁴. Until recently behavioural psychology has had little to say about complex cognitive phenomena such as belief understanding. In the last decade behavioural research into language and cognition under the rubric of Relational Frame Theory (RFT) has put forward a generalized operant account of the development of complex cognitive phenomena (Hayes, Barnes-Holmes, & Roche, 2000)⁵.

The current paper provides a review of the mainstream cognitive approach to false belief understanding and also presents a summary of the alternative behavioural approach to belief understanding. The paper aims to bridge the gap between these two functionally disparate approaches.

FALSE BELIEF AND THEORY OF MIND (TOM)

Theory of Mind is a mainstream psychological approach to perspective-taking and true and false belief understanding. According to this approach there are five levels in the development of the attribution of information or mental states to the self and others that range from simple visual perspective-taking to predicting actions on the basis of false belief⁶. Level 1 is simple visual perspective-taking. Individuals at this level of ability are said to act on the principle that different people can have different views of the same situation (e.g., with a two-sided card placed between two individuals, one person can see only one side while the other person can see the other side). Level 2 involves complex visual perspective-taking, and is based on the principle that people can see things differently (e.g., if a picture is placed between two individuals sitting opposite one another, the picture will appear upside down for one individual and the right way up for the other). These first two levels in the development of informational states may be collectively referred to as first-order false belief because they involve the simple attribution of a mental state to another person³. Many of the relevant studies on this level of cognitive ability have been concerned with developmental differences between normally-developing and autistic children. The findings have generally indicated that the latter population show notable deficits in first-order false belief, while the former do not⁷.

According to ToM, Levels 3-5 in the development of informational states may be collectively referred to as second-order false belief because they involve the more complex understanding that a person can have mental states about another person's mental states³. Levels 3 and 4 in particular are concerned with the attribution of false belief and the prediction of another person's action on this basis. At Level 3 individuals are said to understand that 'seeing leads to knowing', based on the principle that people only know things that they have seen⁸. Pratt and Bryant⁹, for example, presented three-year-old children with a story about two characters, one of whom looks in a box, while the other simply touches the box. The children were then asked 'Who knows what's in the box?' All of the children from this age group correctly determined that only the character who had seen inside the box would know what was inside and that the character who did not see would not know. Although this cognitive ability is of obvious significance to the development of socially appropriate communication, it also underpins an understanding of deception. That is, an individual who cannot keep track of what another person may or may not know is unlikely to be able to determine whether the other person is being truthful or dishonest.

Level 4 of this model of informational states involves the principle that actions can be predicted on the basis of true belief⁵. Consider a traditional training task involving toys, in which two similar scenes are portrayed. In one scene, a car is placed beside a boat, and in the other scene, an identical car is placed beside a plane. A child is then provided with the following true belief story. 'This morning, you saw the car next to the boat but you did not see the car next to the plane'. The child is then asked, 'Where do you think the car is? Why do you think it is near the boat? Where will you go to get the car? Why will you go to the boat?' The correct conclusions from this scenario involve the knowledge that one will only know what one has seen, and will act on this basis. Thus, Levels 3 and 4 of understanding informational states are relevant to the attribution of true belief to the self and others. These abilities are also believed to be important prerequisites to the attribution of false belief.

Level 5 of this model involves the principle that you can predict actions on the basis of false belief and can become aware that previous beliefs may have been false⁵. Cognitive researchers have emphasized the representational capabilities that are required for the representation of events and states¹⁰. In instances in which representations or beliefs are discriminated as incorrect or false (e.g., events may have occurred without a person's knowledge) the individual can alter the belief about these events. Moreover, the individual can recognise that prior to acquiring the new information he/she was behaving on the basis of a false belief. In this way, cognitive theorists have suggested that the representational capacity of the mind with regard to these events has a reflexive quality in which the mind is aware of its own representations even when these have been updated¹.

The deceptive container task is one of the most commonly used procedures for testing and training children's attributions of informational states regarding false belief¹¹. A child is shown a sweet box, for example, and asked, 'What do you think is inside the sweets box?' Unbeknownst to the child, the sweets box does not contain sweets, but does in fact contain pencils. The child is then shown inside the sweets box, and asked, 'Before we opened the sweet box, what did you think was inside? And what is really inside?' Gopnik and Astington¹² found that three-year-old children tended to respond incorrectly on this task and the researchers accounted for these findings in terms of the absence of an implicit acknowledgement that beliefs can be wrong. Perner, Leekam and Wimmer¹³ similarly suggested that the cognitive capabilities of a child below age four are not sufficiently developed to handle the representational complexity involved in tasks of this kind.

Another widely used task for testing and training the understanding of false belief is the unexpected transfer story¹. In this methodology a protagonist places an object in a particular location (e.g., A) and then leaves. In his/her absence the object is unexpectedly transferred from location A to location B, and thus on return the protagonist mistakenly believes that the object is still in location A. To assess the understanding of false belief, children may be asked to identify where the protagonist thinks the object is. At three years of age, Perner et al.,¹ found that almost all children incorrectly suggest that the protagonist will look for the object in its actual location (i.e., location B). Alternatively, children aged four years and older correctly determine that the protagonist believes the object to be in the location in which it was first placed (i.e., location A). According to Wimmer and Perner¹, the younger children fail because they once again lack an understanding about the mind's representational capacity.

In summary, therefore, the ToM approach to understanding first and second-order false beliefs involves the development of increasingly complex levels of understanding informational states from simple visual perspective-taking to acting on the basis of false belief. Cognitive theorists in this tradition have emphasized the representational capabilities of the human cognitive system that are required for understanding false belief and have generally noted the absence of such abilities in children younger than four years of age.

RELATIONAL FRAME THEORY AND FALSE BELIEF

Perspective-taking has traditionally been seen as the domain of cognitive psychological research. However, behavioural researchers have recently become interested in these phenomena¹⁴. Behaviour analysts have suggested an alternative approach to perspective-taking under the rubric of a modern behavioural account of human language and cognition known as Relational Frame Theory¹⁵. According to Relational Frame Theory (RFT), human language and cognition involves complex operant behaviour in which the language user and listener are responding in accordance with relations between events in the environment. This relational responding is understood to be learned behaviour (although not necessarily explicitly trained) and is generically referred to as relational framing. The various patterns of stimulus relations are themselves referred to as relational frames. In the language of RFT, deictic relational frames that specify stimulus relations in terms of the perspective of the speaker may play a role in the development of perspective-taking and false belief skills. The three relational frames that appear to be most important in this regard are believed to be the frames of I-YOU, HERE-THERE, and NOW-THEN.

In a recent study in this area on the development of perspective-taking, McHugh, Barnes-Holmes, and Barnes-Holmes¹³, employed a protocol for assessing the performances of different age groups on perspective-taking tasks involving the three deictic relational frames. The findings from this study indicated a clear developmental trend in the ability to perform these relational tasks from a group of children in early childhood to a group of adults. That is, the youngest participants (age 3-5) producing significantly more errors on these relational perspective-taking tasks than all of the older participant groups (ranging from 6-30 years old). The significant differences recorded between the early childhood group and all older groups on these tasks are broadly consistent with the ToM literature which has reported that performances on simple ToM tasks generally develop across the ages of four and five years old and are usually well established by age six⁷. This concordance of evidence lends support to the suggestion made by McHugh et al.,¹³ that responding in accordance with the three perspective-taking frames may involve similar behavioural processes to those traditionally referred to as Theory of Mind.

The literature on ToM suggests an important similarity between perspective-taking and false belief⁷. Specifically, researchers in this area have suggested that false belief constitutes a more complex level of perspective-taking and underpins the most complex level of perspective-taking, that is, deception. With the findings from the study reported by McHugh et al.,¹³ it seems plausible, therefore, that false belief from a relational frame perspective requires the development of all three perspective-taking frames I-YOU, HERE-THERE and NOW-THEN. Furthermore, from this perspective, an understanding of false belief, as opposed to true belief, would involve additional relational complexity with the relational frame of logical NOT. Consider the following questions from traditional false belief tasks: 'Why did you think there were sweets in the box before now?' and 'Why do you think there are pencils there now?' Responding correctly to these questions requires the ability to derive relations in accordance with the deictic frames of HERE-THERE and NOW-THEN, and in accordance with logical not. Consider the correct answers as follows: 'I did NOT see inside THERE and THEN, but I do see inside HERE and NOW'.

The findings from the perspective-taking study and the significant overlap between levels 1-3 and the relational frame approach to perspective-taking, led to an extension of the research program to investigate levels four and five of the informational states of knowledge of the self and others. According to RFT, ToM tasks provide incidental training in contextual control of the three perspective-taking frames, and add relational flexibility by requiring control by the relational frame of logical NOT in order to establish competent perspective-taking performances. In the language of RFT, tasks from ToM Levels 1 and 2 (simple and complex visual perspective-taking, respectively) inadvertently establish contextual control of the relational frame of I-YOU. That is, responding correctly to questions such as 'What can I see/What can you see?' is determined by the cues 'I' and 'you,' which are contained in the tasks.

According to RFT, training tasks in ToM Level 3 (seeing leads to knowing) increases the contextual control of I-YOU, and indirectly establishes control by the frame of NOW-THEN. Consider, the correct responses to the scenarios that focus on the self and another: 'I did not see THEN so I do not know NOW' and 'YOU saw THEN so YOU know NOW'. Level 4 ToM training tasks (understanding and predicting actions on the basis of true belief) appear to involve indirect training in contextual control of all three perspective-taking relational frames. Consider the frames involved in responding correctly as follows: 'I saw the car near the boat (THERE) this morning (THEN), and so I think the car is THERE NOW.' According to RFT, ToM training at Level 5 also incorporates incidental training in contextual control of the perspective-taking frames, and adds relational flexibility by requiring control by the relational frame of logical NOT. Consider the role of the perspective-taking

frames in the correct answer: ‘I did NOT see inside THERE and THEN, but I do see inside HERE and NOW.’

In interpreting the ToM approach to perspective-taking, RFT would argue that the tasks commonly used to establish a ToM repertoire, with regard to understanding informational states, indirectly involve training in relational perspective-taking (i.e., I-YOU, HERE-THERE, and NOW-THEN). In light of the foregoing research, and more recent unpublished evidence, it would appear that the relational skills required to complete the perspective-taking tasks in the RFT protocols may be heavily involved specifically in Levels 1-3 of the traditional ToM tasks. In order to investigate higher levels of perspective-taking, and the role of the perspective-taking frames in responding to true and false belief (Levels 4 and 5 of the ToM model), a similar protocol for testing true and false belief as relational responding was designed.

McHugh, Barnes-Holmes, & Barnes-Holmes¹⁶ developed a true and false belief protocol that consisted of six trial-types that differed from each other in terms of the relational frame or frames being targeted. The protocol developed was modeled on the ToM methodology most commonly used to investigate this phenomenon known as the ‘deceptive container task.’ For ease of communication, the trial-types contained within the RFT true and false belief protocol are referred to as: HERE trials, THERE trials, NOT HERE trials, NOT THERE trials, BEFORE NOW trials, and AFTER NOW trials.

The HERE and THERE trials were employed to assess responding to true belief (ToM Level 4). Consider a THERE trial-type: ‘If you put the pencils in the sweet box and I am there: what would I think is in the sweet box? What would you think is in the sweet box?’ This trial-type emphasizes the THERE aspect of responding on the basis of the HERE-THERE frame. The protocol also contained HERE trials that were identical to the THERE trials, except that the perspective of HERE was emphasized (e.g., ‘If you put the pencils in the sweet box and I was here what would I think is in the sweet box? What would you think is in the sweet box?’).

From an RFT perspective, responding in accordance with logical not may be important in understanding false belief. The protocol, therefore, incorporated a combination of HERE-THERE and logical-not trials, referred to as NOT HERE and NOT THERE trial-types, in order to assess the participants’ ability to understand false belief. These trials were almost identical to the HERE and THERE trials, respectively, except that they involved the addition of logical not. Consider a NOT HERE trial as follows: ‘If I put the pencils in the sweet box and you were not here: what would I think is in the sweet box? What would you think is in the sweet box?’ The correct response in this case involves indicating that I (Experimenter) will know what is inside, but you (Participants) will not know, because you were not located there. The NOT THERE trials were almost identical to the THERE trials, except that logical not was included.

The two remaining trial-types contained within the protocol directly targeted the third perspective-taking frame of NOW-THEN. Once again, some of these trial-types assessed true belief, referred to as AFTER NOW trials, while others assessed false belief, referred to as BEFORE NOW trials. Consider the AFTER NOW trial ‘You open the sweet box and there are pencils inside now. Now, what do you think is in the sweet box? After now, what would you think is in the sweet box?’ This task assessed true belief because the correct response requires participants to indicate that they can act on the basis of what they have seen as true. The BEFORE NOW trial-types were similar in format but assessed false belief. Unlike the other false belief trials, BEFORE NOW trials did not assess false belief by emphasizing logical not. Instead, false belief was implied in the temporal order of the events stated in the trial. Consider the following example: ‘You open the sweet box and there are pencils inside now. Now, what do you think is in the sweet box? Before now, what did you think was in the sweet box?’ This task assessed false belief because the correct answer required participants to determine that before now they could only act on the basis of a false belief (i.e., that there were sweets in the sweet box).

The results of this study add to earlier work on the developmental profile of relational perspective-taking (ToM Levels 1-3). The false belief protocol also found a clear developmental trend in the performances of participants aged from early childhood to adulthood. This developmental trend was supported by significant differences in the number of errors between the different age groups, and the fact that error rates appeared to decrease as a function of age.

In summary according to theory of mind there are five levels in the development of knowledge about informational states of the self and others that range from simple visual perspective-taking to predicting actions on the basis of false belief. RFT looks at these phenomena in terms of derived relational responding in accordance with the relational frames of I-YOU, HERE-THERE, NOW-THEN and logical NOT. According to RFT a more effective means of establishing these repertoires would be to target the relational frames directly, thereby focusing the training on the largely verbal nature of the behaviour involved.

ENDNOTES

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SACRED TEXTS AND MORAL LIVES: REINTERPRETING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SCRIPTURES AND CHRISTIAN MORALITY*

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Careful reading of the literature which treats the question of the specificity of Christian morality reveals that many moralists have ignored the fact that Christianity developed out of the Jewish tradition, which was in turn influenced by Greco-Roman society. Consequently, scholars tend to treat the debate on the Christian proprium as if there were only one horizon of meaning to be interpreted and considered. Furthermore, the complexity of biblical interpretation is frequently overlooked. Many of the moralists who have contributed to the debate in question tend either to avoid the intricacies involved in biblical interpretation altogether, or generalise about the Bible's moral content without using any appropriate method of interpretation.

The biblical scholars, for their part, seem to be caught between the critical, rational and scientific approach offered by historical criticism, and the postmodern approach, which asserts that meaning lies in front of the text and is interpreted by communities who use various methodologies, thus accepting a variety of meaning. Moreover, some scholars are doubtful that there are any ethics at all in the Bible. It seems that there is little or no dialogue between moralists and biblical scholars as to whether the Bible can contribute anything to Christian morality. Exegetes are preoccupied in trying to chart the significant moments of meaning of texts, and determine which method is most suitable, while moralists are anxious to show whether the Bible can or cannot give material norms to Christian morality without attending to the methodological questions of interpretation.

In this paper, I will argue that the debate on the specific character of Christian morality must be approached in a different way. First, the term 'specifically Christian' needs to be revised. Scholars must concede that Christianity has its origins in Judaism, and that it did not simply develop from a vacuum. The Judaism out of which Christianity emerged was significantly influenced by Greco-Roman culture. Many scholars writing about the debate in question appear to ignore this. The question of whether the moralists of the renewal had any case for using the expression 'specifically Christian morality' will be raised in this paper, and I will contend that although the ancients were unclear about the content of Christian morality, they did strive to attain a specific identity. This will have significant implications for how the question of the Christian proprium should be approached.

Second, this paper will show that more attention needs to be given to the methodological interpretation of the Scriptures, particularly on the part of the moralists. A new method of interpretation is necessary; a theory which is sensitive to the theoretical aspects of biblical interpretation, combined with the notion that self-knowledge and identity are crucial elements in the search for moral truth. From this conclusion, this paper will illustrate how Paul Ricoeur's hermeneutical theory can take one to the very heart of the debate on the Christian proprium, and help mediate the impasse between the Autonomy and Glaubensethik schools.

Finally, while affirming that the sacred texts of the Christian tradition narrate a special identity on the part of Christian believer, and relate ethically relevant experiences to us, this paper will underline the fact that texts do not replace real life experience. The paper puts forward the idea that while the Biblical passages, which deal with ethically relevant experiences and moral matters, give us a phronetic understanding of good and evil, they cannot become the authors of our moral lives.

INTRODUCTION

The debate on the distinctiveness of Christian morality focused mainly on the search to define, once and for all, what was specific to Christian morality. Disillusioned by the legacy which the manual tradition left behind, that of considering morality as a science of sin, Bernhard Häring's work *The Law of Christ* proposed a welcomed change. Determined to 'Christianise' morality, by attempting to integrate the Scriptures and make the figure of Christ relevant to the moral life, scholars like Häring began the daunting task of making the Scriptures the source *par excellence* of Christian morality. Initially Häring's new vision of Christian morality was warmly received by fellow theologians, but this period of enthusiasm was quickly replaced by scepticism. The desire to show that the figure of Christ could give specific norms or values to the Christian believer, which were not *per se* accessible to the non-believer, proved to be a demanding and complex task. The belief was that Christianity must have some exclusive or 'extra' content which is unavailable to those who are not part of this tradition, i.e. the humanist or the sensitively moral individual who is not religious. Evidently, this caused reverberations within the Church, leaving scholars acutely divided about the nature, source and specific content of Christian morality. The well-known *Glaubensethik* and Autonomy schools are representative of this critical period in the development of moral theology. Partisans of the former school espouse the notion that there is a specific content to Christian morality. Those of the latter reject this notion, preferring instead to rely on natural law and rationality in the search for moral truth.

The first point on which this paper will focus concerns the very nature of the enquiry involved in this debate. It involves a search for *new material content* which may be considered as specifically Christian. This presupposes from the outset that one can speak about what is 'specifically Christian' without acknowledging that much of what makes up the core of Christianity came out of the Jewish tradition. In turn, the Judaism out of which Christianity emerged was significantly influenced by Greco-Roman culture. A closer look at these traditions reveals that the early Christians were unsure about the specific content of their morality. As Wayne Meeks asserts, '[w]e cannot begin to understand that process of moral formation until we see that it is inextricable from the process by which distinctive communities were taking shape.'¹ This fact seems to have been neglected by many of the scholars who have written extensively on the question of the Christian *proprium*. It is generally accepted that in morality one of the essential components is self-knowledge; therefore, the core traditions out of which Christianity emerged need to be considered in the search for what is specific, if anything, about Christian morality.

Another problem arising out of research into this debate concerns the lack of attention to biblical methodologies on the part of the moralists. Certain scholars tend to ignore the intricacies of biblical hermeneutics altogether, and draw conclusions about the moral content of the Bible without indicating what interpretative (hermeneutical) stance they used to justify their views. Meanwhile, Biblical scholars seem to be caught up with trying to chart the significant moments of meaning in texts and determine which method is most suitable. Some doubt that there are any ethics to be studied in the Bible. If this is the case, how should moralists approach the question of the Christian *proprium*? Can the exegetes help in the search for what is truly human and virtuous? How are we to understand the Bible in the moral life if there are no ethics to be studied in it? In order to answer these pressing questions, however, it is imperative that the term 'specifically Christian' is renegotiated.

SPECIFICALLY CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES

According to Wayne Meeks, one of the most reputed students of early Christian morality, it is difficult to say what was distinctive about the morality of the fourth and fifth centuries.² While one can be almost certain that there emerged a new kind of moral language or vocabulary, it is difficult to pinpoint what was distinctive about Christian morality. Moreover, the language of virtues and vices did not emerge out of Christianity, but was adopted by the early Christians from other traditions. In Meeks' estimation, the moral behaviour of the early Christians was not much different in content from that of the pagan world.³ This clearly shows that the scholars of the renewal in moral theology have overlooked a significant point: the ethical standards of the early Christians were not evolved by the tradition itself. They were adapted from the pre-existing Judaic tradition. In an attempt to show the uniqueness of Christian morality, the moralists of the 40s and 50s overlooked the fact that the early Christians were converts. But they were converts within a Jewish world. They did not see themselves as leaving Judaism. Furthermore, moralists of the renewal have neglected the reality that the moral admonitions contained in the Scriptures are not those of a community which developed out of a vacuum. These ethical directives belong to a community which emerged out of the fabric of the ancient world. The moral teachings of Saint Paul, for example, could be heard in any synagogue and, according to Meeks, from most philosophers of the Greek world.⁴ Even though Paul speaks about a

conversion, a newness or a change to another way of life, in terms of its content this new way is still a Jewish way. As Meeks asserts;

The moral sphere within which the new Christians are urged to think about their own behaviour is a strongly bounded space. Its symbolic shape and texture are formed by Jewish conceptions and stories about the one God and by their peculiar Christian story about God's crucified and resurrected son. Its social boundaries are determined by the turning of those who have received these stories as their own and by separation from 'the Gentiles' who include those formerly their families and associates.⁵

Although it must be said that the way in which the early Christians were initiated into the tradition was distinctive, Christian baptism did not bring any new normative content to morality. The form and content of the moral language of the early Christians was quite ordinary, and not much different from that of the Jewish world. The decisive point for the current discussion is that Christian morality was not evolved by the tradition itself, nor did it develop in isolation from the experiences and traditions of others.

Roman imperial leadership, at the time of the emergence of Christianity, is also an issue which has been overlooked in the *Glaubensethik*/Autonomy. It seems that from the second century B.C. onwards, as the Rome began to oust the successors of Alexander, social standing and rank became important features in determining moral duty and obligation.⁶ This rise in power meant that virtuous behaviour became more increasingly dependent on one's status and position on the imperial ladder. Less responsibility lay with the individual when it came to making moral choices. The emperor and his advisors made up the ethical standards and maxims of acceptable behaviour for Roman subjects. One gets the impression that the distribution of justice was largely an imperial task and not just a human one. If one considers this notion in the light of the *Glaubensethik*/Autonomist debate, it is clear that any study of the specificity of Christian morality should take account of the complexity of the societies from which Christian morality developed. Issues such as imperial leadership and the social stratification of these societies must be considered. To search for specifically Christian norms, without acknowledging the origins of Christianity, undermines the complex development of Christian morality, and presumes that a consensus existed in the ancient world as to what constituted the content of Christian morality. Indeed, the New Testament bears witness to the fact that there was much conflict between various groups as to what Christianity as a religion consisted of in its substance. As Meeks asserts, 'It is not only our ignorance and distant angle of vision that make defining the church problematic; the early Christians themselves had a great deal of trouble deciding just what their movement was and what it ought to become.'⁷

From what has been said here, it is clear that the term 'specifically Christian' becomes problematic when used in the context of the *Glaubensethik*/Autonomy debate. It should be remembered that in terms of content the morality of the early Christians was not evolved by the tradition itself. It was adapted from the pre-existing Judaic tradition which was substantially influenced by Greco-Roman culture. Had the authors of the renewal period given sufficient attention to the development of Christianity, the presumption that Christians may be distinguished from other religious traditions by virtue of some specifically Christian moral actions could have been avoided. This clearly shows that ongoing dialogue with classicists, as to the nature and development of Christian society, is necessary. Discussions on the specificity of Christian morality should presuppose a certain knowledge and understanding of the ancient worlds out of which Christianity grew. This will prevent scholars from making incorrect assumptions about the Christian tradition, and expand MacNamara's thesis that Christian morality gives us a certain horizon of meaning.⁸ There is more than one horizon at stake here, the horizons of the ancients should also be considered. Moralists must approach the question from a multifaceted perspective, that is, a perspective which is mindful of the origins of Christianity.

The question still remains, however, as to whether in the context of the debate on the special character of Christian ethics the term 'specifically Christian' may be used at all. If the specificity of Christian morality does not lie in the realm of material normative content, then, to which realm does it belong? Is there anything specific about Christian morality?

We have already mentioned the fact that, located mainly in Judea and Galilee, Christianity began as a sect, or grouping, within dominant Judaism. The word 'sect' is important because it refers to a deviant group which strove to attain a certain independent identity.⁹ This meant that although, in content, Christianity resembled Judaism, Christians were not slavishly obliged to follow the rules and ritual observances of this tradition. There was a desire to map out an identity, which was independent

from Judaism, and this meant that certain boundaries needed to be drawn between the emerging grouping (Christianity) and the already established tradition (Judaism). Traces of this may be seen after the death of Christ.¹⁰ Baptism became the means of becoming a part of this Christian grouping. Ritual observances were discussed and became a distinctive feature of Christianity. Circumcision, Sabbath observance¹¹ and the common desire to become a messianic community were also noticeable elements of this new community. One of the most important aspects of being a sect is to attain a specific identity, and maintain a degree of separation and distinctiveness from other sects or religious communities. The most important aspect of early Christianity was the desire to attain a specific identity. This is a crucial point for our current discussion on the specific character of Christian morality.

Those who wished to become a part of the Christian community needed to be formally inaugurated. Anthropologically, Christian baptism did this. Believers were baptised and, from that moment on, were considered as wearing the stamp of Christian identity. They were called to live life as a messianic community. This meant that they sought ways of living which they considered befitting of this kind of life. As the community developed, specific distinctive practices emerged. It was, in some sense, a dialectic between the already existing tradition, from which Christianity developed, and the community they strove to become. The drive to continue the story of Christ, and find ways of living a life worthy of this identity, can be seen in St. Paul's letters.¹² Although many of the moral commands contained in his letters could be likened to the pagan moralists of the same period, the twist Paul brings is the desire to imitate the life of Christ and live as a messianic kingdom.¹³ All of what has been said here points to the idea that, in the debate on the special character of Christian morality, the expression 'specifically Christian' may be used. Its use may be justified if it refers to a *specific identity*, and acknowledges the fact that Christianity developed as a sect within Judaism, which was in turn influenced by Greco-Roman culture. 'If therefore we are looking for some 'pure' Christian values and beliefs unmixed with the surrounding culture, we are on a fool's errand.'¹⁴ The Autonomy and *Glaubensethik* schools, with their emphasis on the search for specific normative content, did just this. Since the renewal period, scholars have been acutely divided about the specific content of Christian morality. Their respective stances seemed irreconcilable. By shifting the emphasis from content to identity, however, it appears that there is a way out of this impasse for both schools. With this in mind, attention needs to be given to the interpretation of the Scriptures. After all, the main source of this specifically Christian identity is the Bible itself. If one is to speak of a specifically Christian identity in moral theology, a pragmatic account of how one can justify this claim from an interpretative perspective is imperative. What is needed is a theory which can explain the kind of identity that is given from the texts of the past, and lived in the present.

THE SEARCH FOR A NEW THEORY OF INTERPRETATION

The lack of dialogue and agreement between moralists and Scripture scholars has already been alluded to at the beginning of this paper. There is a tendency among moralists to skip over various important stages of interpretation, thus undermining the value of academic biblical studies for its insights. Richard Hays¹⁵ critique of Stanley Hauerwas' work typifies the problem. According to Hays, Hauerwas has moved to a more postmodern approach to the Bible, thus rejecting the idea that texts have meaning outside the communities for which, and within which, they are construed. By treating the texts of the Bible as narrative, Hays believes Hauerwas is abandoning the historical critical method and any consideration of the rules and principles of interpretation.¹⁶ The same author insists that because, in Hauerwas' view, there can be no other interpretation of the Bible apart from that of the believing community, objective rationality is ruled out as a means of interpretation. In brief, according to Hays, 'the New Testament falls mute, muzzled by the unfaithful church, and Hauerwas finds himself with no theoretical grounds for an appeal to Scripture against the Church's practices.'¹⁷

What is needed is a theory of interpretation which is sensitive to the theoretical aspects of interpretation and rational critique. Moreover, such a theory should be be mindful of the fact that story and self-understanding are crucial elements in the moral life. Hauerwas may not be wrong in asserting that the biblical texts can be considered as narrative, but a more theoretical approach to narrative is essential. If, as we have already noted, the debate on the special character of Christian ethics is to be understood in terms of a specific identity, then the believing community must be able to articulate that story in a rational manner. As Hille Haker points out, '[t]he identity of a person grows out of the story she tells, revises and varies under the impression of new experiences.'¹⁸ The early Christians varied their practices in order to define who they were. As their story developed, their Christian identity developed. Stories, including the Christian story, speak to us in a particular way, they tell us something about ourselves, but their use in moral discourse needs to be renegotiated. It is for this reason that Paul Ricoeur's hermeneutical theory of interpretation can take one to the heart of the debate on the Christian

proprium. Not only does it take account of that fact that stories play a part in the formation of identity, but it is also sensitive to the methods of sound exegetical interpretation.

At this point, one might wonder why Ricoeur's work is preferred over that of Julia Kristeva or Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, for example. No doubt Fiorenza's elaboration of feminist theological theory and the Bible would be useful for the current discussion on the Bible and the moral life. To date, studies of the *Glaubensethik*/Autonomist debate have failed to integrate the nature of the human person and being with a sound hermeneutical foundation, therefore, it is probably best to begin with Ricoeur and his hermeneutical scholarship before dealing with feminist critiques of interpretation theory. On a more theoretical level, Ricoeur's work is to be preferred because it encompasses politics, historical theory, Christian faith, phenomenology and existentialist thought, showing his willingness to engage with other disciplines on the question of interpretation. More importantly, his theory seems to encompass the kind of theory mentioned above, which is necessary for the reorientation of the debate on the Christian *proprium*. It combines the search for meaning, self-knowledge and identity with a sound pragmatic account of interpretation.

A unifying theme, runs through Ricoeur's work prior to and through his concern with hermeneutics, giving coherence and identity to the whole. Ihde and Rasmussen rightly express that theme in the question 'what does it mean to be human?' Ricoeur's work is best characterized as a contribution to philosophical anthropology, and his recent publications in hermeneutical theory are no exception. Ricoeur's hermeneutical theory enters the thick of current discussion of normative principles for exegesis and theory of text, but it does so because the text and textual understanding present a space of openness in which a relatively clear trace of human being can be discerned. Ricoeur has turned to hermeneutical theory in part because he has become convinced, with Heidegger, that 'man is language', in the sense that language is the openness of *Dasein* and reveals a relationship to being.¹⁹

Ricoeur's hermeneutical approach to texts could serve to unite moralists and biblical scholars interested in the debate on the specificity of Christian morality because his theory combines the human desire for self-understanding with the principles of textual exegesis. Furthermore, his belief that texts reveal something to us about our 'relationship to being' seems to suggest that texts should be considered as 'identity-givers' rather than 'moral law-makers'. We will return to this point at a later stage; suffice to say, for now, that Ricoeur's hermeneutical theory could be useful if applied to the *Glaubensethik*/Autonomist debate. First, we must look at this innovative and integrative method and determine its relevance for our discussion.

PAUL RICOEUR: LIFE AND NARRATIVE

Influenced by what has been called the 'Copernican Revolution', Frederick Schleiermacher and Wilhelm Dilthey are among those who sought to move the hermeneutical debate away from 'historical consciousness' towards the level of theory.²⁰ The former places a great deal of emphasis on the psychological and grammatical aspects of interpretation. For Schleiermacher, the mind of the author writing may be deciphered from texts by examining the kinds of linguistic patterns preferred by him. The belief behind this is that the reader or interpreter becomes the author in a sense and will eventually come to know more about the text than the author himself. Although Ricoeur does not place the same degree of emphasis on the psychological aspects of interpretation, one can still see Schleiermacher's influence on his work. Ricoeur shares with Schleiermacher the desire to hear the original message of the text, by using rational critique. Moreover, both maintain that rationality does not destroy or reduce texts, but rather leads to restoration of meaning, so that the message can be heard again.²¹

It is interesting to note here that Ricoeur does not adopt the psychological aspects of Schleiermacher's theory, despite the fact that his central thesis shows a strong correlation with the work of the German romantic. This, according to Klemm, is where we see the influence of Dilthey and the shift in perspective of the late nineteenth century.²² With the collapse of Hegelianism scholars believed that positivism and rationality were essential tools in the search for understanding and meaning. In line with this shift in perspective Dilthey sought to show that theories of interpretation should have the same pragmatic or scientific base as the sciences. Put simply, Dilthey believes that hermeneutics is concerned with the task of giving written expression an objective form/base and needs rules and principles of interpretation in order to arrive at an objective meaning. Ricoeur shares this desire to

extrapolate the meaning of texts by using rules and principles of interpretation. However, although Dilthey does concede that texts need the experience of life, Ricoeur goes a step further and asserts that 'man is language', thus, aligning himself with Fichte and Heidegger. This implies that since writing involves language, writing must say something about man himself and human existence. Writing should speak to us in some way. It is for this reason that it is frequently said of Ricoeur that his hermeneutical theory is a philosophical anthropology.

For Ricoeur and Heidegger, language is the articulation of *Verstehen* and *Befindlichkeit*; it is the medium of any thinking or experiencing. The guiding principle for the hermeneutical turn is that if language is the medium of experience and thought, then we can trace backward from the expression of experience and thought to the kind of self-in-a-world that '*spricht sich aus*' but is otherwise not directly accessible. In a profound sense, man is the animal that has the *logos*, the word, and Ricoeur is willing to wager on that basis that an enquiry into the hermeneutics of expression will repay him with a heightened understanding of the being of *Dasein*.²³

It is this understanding which leads Ricoeur to draw up his theory of mimesis and that of life in quest of narrative. For Ricoeur, life needs narrative and vice versa. The same could be said about the Christian life. Christian life needs articulation. It finds this expression mainly in the biblical texts. These texts, however, need critical interpretation in the form of rules and principles of exegesis. If, as Ricoeur explains, the interpretation of texts leads to a heightened understanding of the self, could one not say, then, that the interpretation of the biblical texts leads to a better understanding of Christian identity? Does this mean that what is specific about Christian morality is its identity and not its moral content? In order to answer this question, we must first examine Ricoeur's understanding of the art of narrating.

EMPLOTMENT

Inspired by Aristotle's *Poetics*, Ricoeur defines emplotment (*muthos*) as the opposite of Augustine's discordance (*distentio animi*).²⁴ Ricoeur explains that while Augustine experienced great difficulty with discordance, Aristotle overcame this problem by considering the art of poetic discourse as the battle between concordance and discordance, where concordance reigns superior.²⁵ This, of course, is Ricoeur's interpretation of both Aristotle and Augustine's work. In Ricoeur's estimation, emplotment is the stringing together, or synthesis, of 'heterogeneous elements',²⁶ or incidents, in order to make one complete story. Considered in this way, emplotment helps the story/narrative to move through as series of events and lead to a conclusion. There is also a synthesising element at stake here in terms of a story being told which allows us to speak of the temporal function of the plot. When one draws 'a configuration out of a succession', a time framed story emerges. The reader is left with a configuration of time, in text form, which has been drawn out of past events. In brief, Ricoeur maintains that stories are a mediation between time passed and time which endures. He refers to this aspect of story as its 'temporal identity'²⁷ because 'it must be characterised as something that endures and remains across that which passes and flows away.'²⁸ This point is not irrelevant to the topic under discussion here.

It is clear that, for Ricoeur, narrative involves a story of one kind or another. In Christianity there is also a story which, as pointed out earlier, is intrinsically connected with that of early Christianity, Judaism and the Greco-Roman world. In Ricoeur's estimation, stories convey meaning and are held together by means of a plot. The Bible is not without anecdotes, parables, and narratives which could be considered as narrative composition. Could one not, at least, say that the Bible is a configuration of the past which endures today in text form? Could it be said that the creation story, Abraham, Moses, the New Testament life of Jesus, including his death and Resurrection are attempts at configuring time so we might hold on to this past and revise it under in the present? Could these stories be considered as the dialectic between objective time and the subjective sense of time, that is, the telling of a story, save for the fact that, in the Bible, it is the telling of the Christian story of Salvation and Resurrection? If one could grant this temporal identity which is given by texts, is it fair to conclude that rather than dictating the content of our moral lives to us, the Bible presents us with a time framed account of who we are? If this is the case, how should we interpret the moral admonitions and directives contained in the pages of the biblical canon? A closer look at the elements of Ricoeur's narrative theory is useful here.

INTERPRETING NARRATIVE: READER/TEXT HORIZON

In Ricoeur's estimation, the process of narrative composition is not finalised in the text; rather it reaches its completion in the world of the reader. In order to illustrate this point, Ricoeur uses the example of tragedy. In tragedy, discordance reigns superior over concordance. The reader or spectator experiences the emotions offered by the text showing that the text finds its completion in the world of the reader and not in that of the text.

It is also in the spectator that the properly tragic emotions flower. For the pleasure proper to tragedy is one that engenders fear and pity. Nowhere better than here do we overtake the movement from the work to the spectator.²⁹

Only when the work has reached the world of the reader is it brought to its completion. Reading the text is an important aspect of narrative interpretation. The world of the text opens up a horizon of meaning for the reader. Contrary to the belief that the distinction between the inside and outside of the text must be maintained at all times; Ricoeur sees texts as dynamic entities. They open up possibilities for the reader and present him/her with a universe distinct from their own. The two horizons confront each other and quite frequently fuse together.³⁰ Therefore, in the act of reading, the reader belongs at once to the world of the text and to his/her own world. This allows the hermeneutical process to begin. After all, if narrative is derived from life itself, why should the life of the reader not be incorporated into the interpretative process?

According to Vincent MacNamara, a scholar who has significantly contributed to the study of the specificity of Christian morality, the Bible provides the Christian with a specific horizon, or world-view,³¹ within which the search for truth takes place. This is undoubtedly a valuable point and a scholarly attempt to say what is special about Christian morality. In light of what has been investigated here already, however, MacNamara's thesis could be developed further. In Ricoeur's estimation, there are two horizons at stake in the process of interpretation. The first is the reader. The second is the text. Applying this to MacNamara's work would lead us to say that the Bible provides the reader/believer with a horizon of meaning which reaches its completion in the reader. The horizon of the believer reading the Bible today confronts the biblical texts and the configuration of the story of Christ, but the act of reading completes the work; and demands interpretation, critique, dialogue and new ways of interpretation based on new historical contexts. It is perhaps true to say that the biblical texts provide a horizon of meaning for the believer. This approach, however, confines meaning to the text alone. The result is that the biblical texts are confined to linguistic or historical interpretation excluding the reader from the interpretative process. If the Bible has a role to play in moral living, the reader's experience must be considered as an essential factor. After all, the moral life is lived and stories are told or recounted.

Furthermore, MacNamara's perception of the text needs attention. When considering the horizon of the text, it must be remembered that the text has its own horizon in so far as the genre, plot and structure are unique. It has been argued here that the horizon of the reader should also play a part in the interpretative process. The fact that a phenomenological approach to the biblical texts is preferred here, however, does not mean that the notion of history should be completely disregarded. History or the prehistory of texts is also significant. 'The prehistory of a story is what connects it up to a vaster whole and gives it a background.'³² It is for this reason that MacNamara's notion of horizon of the text should be extended to include the prehistory of the Christian story, that is, the ancient societies from which, and within which, it emerged.

Several questions arise at this point. If the role of the reader is to complete the text, does this mean that the moral admonitions contained in texts find their expression in the life of the reader? Is the reader a medium for the expression of moral norms contained in texts? Does the text issue moral norms for the reader? Has this brought us to a cul-de-sac? When one asserts that the work is completed by the reader, is one not conceding that the moral admonitions contained in the Bible, for example, reach their fulfilment in the life of the reader causing her to act in a specifically Christian manner? Can the biblical texts be considered as the foundation of any specifically Christian norm or value?

Owing to the pre-narrative structure of life itself, the answer to these questions is a negative one. In Ricoeur's view, narrative is the imitation of action which has already taken place. It assists in the articulation of personal identity which grows out of the past and out of events which have occurred in the past. In this sense narrative is distinct from reality but not removable from it. Life dictates narrative; narrative does not dictate life. Life has the potential to recount stories. But stories cannot dictate life itself. The stories we find ourselves entangled in must answer to us and not the other way around. Ricoeur's example of the psychoanalyst who helps the patient find out who he/she is may be

useful in explaining what is at stake here. By drawing together the various strands of information or narrative which the patient speaks about, it is possible to configure a story which is more in tune with the individual's identity.

This narrative interpretation of psychoanalytic theory implies that the story of a life grows out of stories that have not been recounted and that have been repressed in the direction of actual stories which the subject could take charge of and consider to be constitutive of his *personal identity*.³³

Narrative is derived from life itself. It answers to the individual in so far as it says something about personal identity. Our being entangled in stories is what leads to the formation of narrative, a narrative which says something about who we are. Although we may be in search of a code of living, texts, be they fictional or non-fictional, do not give us this. Texts assist in the process of 'self-discovery [...]'. We are not persuaded into an identity, but we can hardly suppress the question of what our identity is and how we are responsible for it.³⁴ The same could be said of the biblical texts. They are a timed framed account of the story of Christianity, a story in which each believer is entangled. By interpreting these texts the subject emerges along with the identity of the believing community. This clearly shows that to search for specific norms in the pages of the biblical canon is to obliterate the pre-narrative structure of life itself, and to make texts the author of our moral lives.

It is easy to see how one could be led to believe that texts could dictate specific norms to us because they recount real life experiences in the form of narrative. Narrative, however, is a second-order discourse. As Ricoeur's explains, narrative simulates³⁵ an understanding which comes before the construction of narrative itself. Narrative which reflects on ethics does not give us any new material norms or values which we would not otherwise have access to by means of rationality. Although narrative helps in the interpretation of the self, which always comes from outside the subject, it must be understood as a second-order discourse. When applied to the *Glaubensethik*/Autonomist debate, it seems that the biblical passages, which deal with ethically relevant experiences, can only be considered as phronetic accounts of good and evil, and must be distinguished from the seriousness of life itself. Texts cannot become the authors of our moral lives. The distinction between the aesthetics and life itself must be maintained. Morality cannot be contained in dictionary, manual or binary code.

CONCLUSION

Although the debate on the specific character of Christian ethics seems to have become less popular in current moral discourse, this does not mean that the problems have been solved. In Alfons Auer's view, the Church needs to spend more time examining its own understanding of morality and less trying to say what is wrong with that of others.³⁶ He emphasises the fact that Catholic morality needs to adapt to a more modern way of putting the message across, rather than repeating what has been said in the past. Morality is a very complex matter and involves every aspect of a person's life. It becomes even more complex when we demand an answer to the question of whether Christian morality is identical to human morality. Indeed, one could even go as far as to say that the answer to the Christian *proprium* question may not lie in the Church or in moral theological discourse. This why the question must be looked at in a hermeneutical way, and scholars should be open to dialogue with other academic disciplines in the search for an answer.

This paper has concentrated on two critical points which arise out of research into the *Glaubensethik*/Autonomist debate, but it is hoped that it will open up the possibility of inviting classicists into the current discussion. This will provide moralists with a clearer picture of the shape of the early Christian cities and societies. In addition, this interdisciplinary dialogue will enable scholars to discern the kind of meaning which should be given to certain types of behaviour. As pointed out earlier, there are several horizons of meaning at stake in this debate and that of the early Christians may be the key to determining what is unique about Christian morality. This paper attempts to reorientate the debate to include this early Christian horizon of meaning, and suggests that the uniqueness of Christian morality has more to do with a unique *identity* than it does with particular moral content. This shift in emphasis moves the debate away from the futile search for specifically Christian norms or values to the hermeneutical search for meaning and self-understanding, as mediated through the texts of the Christian tradition. In effect, a 'narrative-identity' approach to Christian ethics mediates the impasse between the *Glaubensethik* and Autonomy schools. This is possible because it emphasises the power of the biblical texts to assist in the articulation of *identity*, thus ensuring that our understanding of moral truth remains an ongoing process of interpretation.

Using Paul Ricoeur's hermeneutical theory, this paper also demonstrates how the notion of a specifically Christian identity may be maintained while still being attentive to certain elements of praxis and interpretation. Highlighting the distinction between life and stories can help this debate to distinguish between textual accounts of good and evil and the seriousness of life itself. The moral life is lived. Its dynamism cannot be contained in narrative texts which give us a phronetic understanding of the good. While texts assist in the articulation of who we are, they cannot claim authorship of our moral lives. The Bible narrates an identity to Christian believers for which they take responsibility. The weekly retelling of this story keeps it alive in the hearts of the faithful as they are reminded that their story is entangled with that of Christ himself. It must be remembered that the Bible does not issue any exclusively Christian norms or values which are inaccessible to those who do not wear the stamp of Christian baptism. The Church, for its part, must help the faithful to interpret their special story and encourage them to become actors in their own moral lives. As Alasdair MacIntyre explains, 'I can only answer the question of 'what am I to do?' if I can answer the prior question, 'of what story or stories do I find myself a part?'³⁷

ENDNOTES

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- ¹ Wayne Meeks, *The Origins of Christian Morality : The First Two Centuries*, (New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 1993), p. 5.
- ² Ibid. p. 2.
- ³ Ibid. p. 2.
- ⁴ Ibid. p. 20.
- ⁵ Ibid. p. 32.
- ⁶ Wayne Meeks, *The Moral World of the First Christians*, (London, SPCK, 1986), p. 27.
- ⁷ Ibid. p. 120.
- ⁸ Vincent MacNamara, *Faith and Ethics: Recent Roman Catholicism*, (Dublin, Gill and MacMillan, 1985), p. 205.
- ⁹ Ibid. p. 98.
- ¹⁰ Ibid. p. 99.
- ¹¹ Ibid. p. 99.
- ¹² Ibid. p. 127.
- ¹³ Ibid. p. 33.
- ¹⁴ Ibid. p. 97.
- ¹⁵ Richard B. Hays, *The Moral Vision of the New Testament: A Contemporary Introduction to New Testament Ethics*, (New York, Harper Collins Publishers, 1996).
- ¹⁶ Ibid. p. 260 ff.
- ¹⁷ Ibid. p. 265-266.
- ¹⁸ Hille Haker, 'Narrative and Moral Identity in Paul Ricoeur', *Concilium*, 2000/2, p. 62.
- ¹⁹ David Klemm, *The Hermeneutical Theory of Paul Ricoeur : A Constructive Analysis*, (London & Toronto, Lewisburg Bucknell University Press, 1983), p. 45.
- ²⁰ Ibid. p. 19.
- ²¹ Paul Ricoeur, *Symbolism of Evil*, trans. Emerson Buchanan, (Boston, Beacon Press, 1967), p. 14ff.
- ²² David Klemm, *op.cit.* p. 22.
- ²³ Ibid. p. 62.
- ²⁴ Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, Vol 1, trans. Kathleen McLaughlin, (Chicago & London, The University of Chicago Press, 1983), p. 31.
- ²⁵ Ibid. p. 31.
- ²⁶ Paul Ricoeur, 'Life in Quest of Narrative', David Wood, ed. *On Paul Ricoeur: Narrative and Interpretation*, (London & New York, Routledge, 1991), p. 21.
- ²⁷ Ibid. p. 22.
- ²⁸ Ibid. p. 22.
- ²⁹ Paul Ricoeur, *op. cit.* 1983, p. 50.
- ³⁰ Paul Ricoeur, *op. cit.* 1991, p. 26.

- ³¹ Vincent MacNamara, *op.cit.* p. 202.
- ³² Paul Ricoeur, *op.cit.* 1991, p. 30.
- ³³ Ibid. p. 30.
- ³⁴ Dietmar Mieth, 'Moral Identity – How is it Narrated?' *Concilium*, Creating Identity, 2000/2, p. 21.
- ³⁵ Ibid. p. 23.
- ³⁶ Alfons Auer, 'Die Autonome Moral im Christlichen Kontext', Walter Seidel & Peter Reifenberg, *Moral Konkret: Impulse für eine Christliche Weltverantwortung*, (Würzburg, Echter, 1993), p. 15.
- ³⁷ Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory*, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981), p. 201.

FROM LITERARY THEORY TO LEGITIMATION

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This paper addresses several issues bound with the problem of 'value' and the constitution of value (or, the way in which value is constituted), as these emerge from the language, practices and thematizations of contemporary literary theory.

These assumptions will form the basis starting from which a passage may be attempted toward the concept of legitimation. By 'legitimation', I understand the specific form of value-constitution that has been employed in the discourse of the humanities – among these, in literary theory – in modernity and 'late' modernity. The word 'value' is taken in a general sense, as an encompassing term, comprising the connotation of value as the general object of an axiological theory, but also the values that theory discovers, abstracts from or reads into the literary text. In this paper however, the issue that is of particular interest is that of value-constitution, starting from the premise that the morphology of specific values is highly dependent on the way in which value is thought to be constituted. In that respect, legitimation is such a mode of thought referring to the constitution of value.

I will not attempt a more detailed description of legitimation in this paper. I am concerned here merely with a way of reaching the possibility and perhaps the desirability of such an account. I will start with a summary of some key assumptions concerning value that one encounters in the language of contemporary theory and will briefly explore whether these form an 'antinomy' concerning value, which might be caused by the way in which value is seen to be constituted.

The language of theory sees value as inescapable. This general observation precedes even the postulate of the need of a value-free theory: the addressing of the issue of value is at all times inherent. In his thorough study, *Theory and Cultural Value*¹, Steven Connor, whose premise I have just paraphrased, affirms under the title 'The Necessity of Value' that:

Value is inescapable. This is not to be taken as a claim for the objective existence or categorical force of any values or imperatives in particular, but rather as a claim that the process of estimating, ascribing, modifying, affirming and even denying value, in short, the process of *evaluation*, can never be avoided. We are claimed always and everywhere by the necessity of value in this active, transactional sense².

Value as evaluation is regarded generically as an inter-subjective *economy* ('this active, transactional sense'), a space in which evaluation or the usages of value are transacted. The necessity of value and, implicitly, of describing it thus, stems from the acknowledgement of this economy as a grounding of value as *evaluation*. The primacy of such an understanding of value is given in the fact that it is a *claim* ('we are claimed...'): it *claims* man 'always and everywhere' his possible thought extends. As such, as a claim, it represents a surrounding limit, or a *horizon* that encompasses the 'always and everywhere' the all-time and all-space of affirmations of value, as that which grounds them. What this limit excludes is the exteriority of value-constitution understood as *existence* ('objective existence', Connor says); and the ethical imperative ('he categorical force...').

Therefore, the nature of this limit emancipates the transactional economy of value (as evaluation), by abstracting it from two aspects of exteriority: exteriority-as-existence and exteriority-as-imperative. This abstraction constitutes the necessity of value 'in this active, transactional sense'.

The abstraction described above represents only the first step of the circumscription of value in the language of theory. Once the inescapability of value has been thought as necessity in this manner, there follows a second gesture through which the acceptance of this understanding of value is further grounded. The manoeuvre consists in the naturalization of the economy of value:

The argument of this book will be that we should acknowledge that value and evaluation are necessary as a kind of law of *human nature* (my emphasis), such that we cannot help but enter the play of value, even when we would wish to withdraw from it or suspend it. The

necessity of value is in this sense more like the necessity of breathing, than, say, the necessity of earning one's living. There are ways of *continuing to exist* (my emphasis) without the latter, but not without the former.³

This naturalizing drive is taken in the sense of an 'ultimate' grounding of the economy of value ('as a kind of law of human nature'), and this grounding, in its turn, is a pragmatic and teleological one. Its *telos* is the continuance of the economy as the 'play of value', which reflects back, as a 'way of continuing' upon 'human nature' itself, vouchsafing its 'humanity' ('there are ways of continuing to exist...').

Moving on from this totalising circumscription of value to more localised concepts one encounters in relation to theorizations about value, it is surprising to see that what has been previously excluded (the aspects of exteriority as grounding) is largely re-introduced into the picture as one of the poles that make up a generic antinomical tableau at work in contemporary theory. One finds a series of superimposed oppositions, which are not co-extensive but they share patterns of conjunction and disjunction.

Schematically, these oppositions may perhaps be represented as follows:

INTERNAL	Vs.	EXTERNAL
PLAY OF VALUE	Vs.	OBJECTIVISM
CONTINGENCY	Vs.	NECESSITY / 'REALISM'
HISTORICITY	Vs.	ATEMPORALITY (?)
THE SOCIAL CONSTITUTION OF VALUE	Vs.	'HUMANISM'
ANTIFOUNDATIONALISM	Vs.	FOUNDATIONALISM
THE POLITICAL LEFT	Vs.	HUMANIST LIBERALISM/ LIBERAL HUMANISM (i.e. the right)

The concepts above have been used and continue to be used by theorists in accounts of value – they may be narrowed down to categories such as aesthetic or ethical values – in different combinations and to diverse ends. The two columns could be considered as the poles or the extremes between which several possible definitions of value and value-constitution are situated.

The series is by no means complete, these are just a few oppositions according to which value and value-constitution have been assessed in numerous theoretical works. The list can continue, branches can be added which would lead to diverse theoretical areas and practices. The question that arises is whether these oppositions can be considered as forming a symmetrical antinomy as concerns the problem of value-constitution.

I would argue that the table above fares better when it is thought in an asymmetrical manner, when the extremes are taken on the one hand as tendencies bound together in the process of affirmation of value, and on the other as concepts brought about and employed in a larger cultural history. From this perspective, the stress shifts slightly from the concept of 'value' considered in isolation toward process of how value is 'affirmed'.

Connor sees this process as a 'recursive entanglement of theory with value'⁴, that is, as a double process of affirming value(s) and subjecting them to critique. This process is essentially marked by what he calls a 'performative self-contradiction', borrowing the phrase from the German philosopher Jurgen Habermas:

...performative self-contradiction is not an accidental or historically contingent fact, but rather a recurrent feature of all debates about value⁵.

However, there is a tendency to consider the two aspects in manner of a logical opposition. One should not confine oneself to the 'limiting exclusiveness of the binarism'⁶ that the two segments of the performative self-contradiction 'form together'. The performative process of value-affirmation inside an economy of value, Connor argues, should be acknowledged as fundamentally aporetic:

The structure of value is therefore paradoxical, involving the simultaneous desire and necessity to affirm unconditional values and the desire and necessity to subject such values to continuous corrosive scrutiny.⁷ This line of thought also helps to a certain extent to avoid the theoretical trap of the Epimenides paradox, or the 'liar' paradox, in varieties of which so much of recent theory entangles

itself. This paradox of self-inclusion plagues theory when the binarism is taken in an absolute manner as ‘either – or’, as a distinction between internal (‘from within’) or external (seen as ‘objectivity’).

In fact, there are two distinct reasons that render the idea that the concepts above form absolute binary oppositions untenable:

First, their inscription in the ‘performative’ process of value affirmation or ‘the play of values’ in an intersubjective economy. In such an outlook, the fixed symmetry of the table above is dispelled into the ceaseless human play of affirming values and scrutinising them reflexively.

Second, these oppositions can be traced along a cultural history: one might for instance consider – as many have – the column on the left as a ‘reaction’ – cultural and political – to the postulates in the column on the right, which in turn has elicited in recent years a counter-reaction. Thus, these concepts are modulated according to cultural history.

There is a second issue emerging from the ‘entanglement of theory with value’ which undermines theory’s attempts to explain the process of value-affirmation: there is a specific theoretical blindness, an inability on the part of theory to penetrate the grounding affirmation of value and bring it to clarity. Two of the examples that Connor discusses illustrate this idea. He sets side by side Wayne C. Booth’s *The Company We Keep. An Ethics of Fiction* and J. Hillis Miller’s *The Ethics of Reading* and demonstrates how their respective grounds for evaluation – the concept of *coduction* and the community of ‘conductive companions’ (a fancy name for a sufficiently educated elite), in Booth and, respectively, the ‘law of fidelity’ to the texts as an ethical imperative forged with the unlikely language of deconstruction, in Miller, cannot account for the actual affirmation of value. Connor’s striking conclusion is the following:

It is as though value can be affirmed only in some cavity of rationality,
in some *epoché* of the theoretical⁸.

Epoché is reduction, or perhaps more suitably in this context, ‘suspension’. The affirmation of value takes place in a lapse of rationality, in the suspension of the theoretical, in a space that is not responsive to sets of concepts as the ones listed above. This opens the way towards a theory of value-constitution as legitimation. Very bluntly put, it is actually not the affirmation of value – or the space of this affirmation – that theory is able to explore in a satisfactory manner, but the constitution of value as the legitimation for affirmations of value. It would be better to say then that the concepts above designate models of value constitution employed in the cultural history of modernity.

I would like to focus upon one of the legitimating traits that can be easily traced as a strategic use of the concepts in the table. This concerns the association of the concepts of ‘contingency’ – ‘anti-foundationalism’ – and ‘the social construction of value’, which opens the way for political criticism. This series of concepts represents one of the most constant associations in contemporary literary theory and has naturally been considered as akin with the views of the political left. A very good illustration is an essay by Michael Berubé, ‘The Return of Realism and the Future of Contingency’⁹. This essay knits together ‘anti-foundationalism’, ‘social constructivism’, ‘contingency’ and ‘the left’ and pits this united front against a heterogeneous group of named adversaries – the celebrated physician Alan Sokal and, to a lesser extent, the philosopher John Searle. The main target, nevertheless, is the concept of foundations or grounds or grounding, seen as political and ideological ballast, and simplistically associated with biological determinism and ultimately with racism. For Berubé all grounding is a worrying symptom of ‘strategic essentialism’, all essentialism leads directly to conceptual absolutism and all conceptual absolutism is implicitly a sign of a political totalitarian move. I fully agree with what Murray Krieger has said about such theories, in reference particularly to the aesthetic:

Enemies of the aesthetic can claim a correspondence between aesthetic totalization and political totalitarianism only because their claims are derived from a number of questionable assumptions.¹⁰

Chief among the fallacious premises, Krieger lists the ‘literalization of metaphors’. For instance, the injunction of ‘organicism’, which Berubé also condemns – a concept I did not put down in the table but which figures quite heavily as a target in theoretical writing – functions on the basis of a loose and rather indiscriminate transfer of characteristics from the ‘biological body’ to the ‘textual body’ and to the ‘body politic’.

There is, however, a less absolutist way of thinking about the constitution of value as a model of legitimation and, indeed, as politics. Terry Eagleton defines ‘political criticism’ thus:

There is, in fact, no need to drag politics into literary theory. As with South African sport, it has been there from the beginning. I mean by the political no more than the way we organise our social life together and

the power relations which this involves, and what I have tried to show throughout this book is that the history of modern literary theory is part of the political and ideological history of our epoch.¹¹

Thought in this general manner, the concept of the political allows literary theory, among other practices, to share in the larger ideological and cultural histories of modernity. This historical sharing represents in fact the grounding which regulates the theory about the social construction of value. The ‘political’, or the ‘historical and ideological’, to which it tends to be assimilated in Eagleton’s description, is postulated thus as the primary ground of value constitution, that which primarily ensures the meaningfulness of all theoretical talk about value. This line of thought integrates the column on the right inside a model of historical and cultural value-constitution. In other words, one can never have the column on the right as self-standing, its concepts are from the very beginning, as are those on the left, borne inside an ideological history. The question – and it will be my last question – is: is anything forgotten in this picture? Or: can anything be ‘left out’ by such a theory? This will instantly send one back to paradoxes of self-inclusion, and endless mental cramps in thinking the internal space and the exteriority of such a theory.

Is there, to use Maurice Blanchot’s wonderful expression, ‘a forgetfulness which gets forgotten’¹² and, furthermore, inevitably or necessarily forgotten, in order for the operations of theory to continue? If the blind spot, the suspension in which the affirmation of value, so to speak, ‘happens’ cannot be subjected to theory, then perhaps the circumstances of this oblivion can. I would argue that an account of value-constitution as legitimation might be able to shed some light upon this problem. Such an account would examine – theoretically and in relation to cultural history– the conditions of possibility which enabled such a logic – we may call it a cultural-historical logic – to come about. However natural it may appear to us today – and ‘common sense’ supports this immediacy of the historical and the cultural, inasmuch as it also forms an identifiable ‘logic’, that is, a model of understanding, it was not always with us. The condition of possibility for understanding the constitution of value as legitimation must first be sought in the *advent* of the historical cultural logic.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Steven Connor, *Theory and Cultural Value*. (Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992).
- ² Connor, p. 8.
- ³ Connor, p. 8.
- ⁴ Connor, p. 15.
- ⁵ Connor, p. 17.
- ⁶ Connor, p. 17.
- ⁷ Connor, p. 17.
- ⁸ Connor, p. 21.
- ⁹ Michael Berubé, ‘The Return of Realism and the Future of Contingency’ in *What’s Left of Theory*, Judith Butler, John Guillory, Kendall Thomas (eds.). (New York & London: Routledge, 2000).
- ¹⁰ Murray Krieger, ‘The Anthropological Persistence of the Aesthetic: Real Shadows and Textual Shadows, Real Texts and Shadow Texts’ in *New Literary History*, vol. 25, Issue 1 (winter 1994), p. 23.
- ¹¹ Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory. An Introduction*. (London: Blackwell, 1996), p. 170.
- ¹² Quoted in Michael Weston, *Literature, philosophy and the human good*. (London & New York : Routledge, 2001), p. 40.

MULTICULTURALISM AND IRELAND

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As accusations and incidences of racism and xenophobia have consistently risen against certain sections of Irish society over the past ten years this paper is an attempt to critically evaluate what is actually being done to stem racist and xenophobic practices in Ireland. As such, this paper represents an initial and in parts speculative analysis of the concepts of multiculturalism and anti-racism as defined and practiced by various agencies in contemporary Ireland. These agencies include sections of the Irish State, Irish academia, the media and various interested groups operating within civil society. It will be argued with reference to the wider Sociological literature on the area and specific Irish examples, that these agencies are often found to be acting in contradictory and conflicting fashions. Thus, this paper will contend that there exists significant differences in the understanding of what it means to be racist, anti-racist and multicultural in the Irish context. Furthermore, it will be argued that these differences in mirroring international experiences suggest that multiculturalism as an 'ideal' form of social integration is in fact, an impossible ideal in the context of the Irish liberal economic state. Finally, it will be suggested that the dynamic of racism in Ireland today is to be found in the contradictory practices of the Irish State and to a lesser extent, sections of the media and certain business interests.

Since the early 1990s there has been an ever-growing debate regarding Ireland and multiculturalism. At a general level, the most mutually cohesive thread to the various aspects of this debate is that Ireland is 'multicultural' or at the very least, Irish society is characterised by an embryonic form of multiculturalism¹. Taken in its literal and historic form multiculturalism may be said to represent the (co)existence of distinct cultures within specific communities that are embedded/disembedded within a shared social environment. That is, there are more than one distinct culture living in a mutually defined space with a distinct set of power relations, be they equal or unequal, determining access to societal resources. Taken as an academic and political/policy framework, multiculturalism can be further defined by its distinct relationship to both racism and anti-racism. Multiculturalism as a political dogma or academic pursuit exists to a large extent today as an institutional response or solution of a race relations industry, which promotes fair and just social integration while simultaneously seeking to eradicate current, pre-existing or possible future manifestations of racism and xenophobia. In essence it seeks to create and sustain an equal society through the abolition of racism, prejudice and xenophobia. Increasingly, issues such as gender discrimination and poverty are intersecting with multiculturalism to become integral issues within multicultural policies and theories. As such, the notion of cohesive communities and similarities of experiences therein which once dominated multicultural policies is slowly diminishing as a more fluid and diverse concept of culture is upheld.

Given the conceived cultural homogeneity and importantly communal cohesiveness of the Irish State since its inception, it is unsurprising that multiculturalism and racism were never a consistent academic, political or voluntary sector concern. It was not, bar scattered exceptions, until the late 1980's that multiculturalism as a theory and a practice began to be invoked by various stakeholders. Most notable among these were various Traveller organisations. However, the consistent reluctance on the behalf of the then policy-makers to recognise Travellers as a distinct ethnic community (a marker required for contemporary political and academic multiculturalism) meant that multiculturalism still remained a powerless minority discourse in sections of academia and civil society. Nowadays however, in many cases multiculturalism is being touted as the sole means through which social integration and the eradication of racism can be achieved. The most important and indeed obvious phenomenon to compel a large-scale turn to multiculturalism as a form of integrative and cohesive social organisation of differing or distinct cultures was the shift from net out-migration to net in-migration into Ireland². This shift began, not without coincidence, during the early years of the Irish economic boom once categorically referred to as the Celtic Tiger but now for certain reasons more adequately conceptualised in many ways as a myth.³

As economic rationality goes and how it can pervade social action, there is an obvious correlation between economic performance and migration, although such a relationship is by no means

wholly deterministic, as might sometimes be suggested⁴. The impact of economic factors on migration however, is easily identified in the migratory patterns of Irish citizens and today in the increased numbers of non-nationals coming to Ireland to seek employment. It of course makes sense to leave one area of deprivation for another area which at least displays the sense that a better economic life is available. It should be reiterated, however, that economic factors, although important, are but one reason for migration. Although not exhaustive other factors include; political persecution, torture (i.e. asylum seekers and refugees), frustration with life-chances in general and the practices of the *sojourner*⁵. These factors should also be taken into account when attempting to explain migratory trends both in and out of Ireland.

Increased migration then, has created the situation where a significant number of different cultures are entering Ireland for various reasons, some of which are briefly outlined above. As such then, it at first appears that the mere presence of various different cultures in Ireland became the stimulus for the creation of the debate on and the practice of multiculturalism. However, as I will contend below, the practice and debate on multiculturalism is not merely due to the increase in different cultures in Ireland. There have always been different cultures living in Ireland. The major difference between the last ten years or so and the past, is the implementation of multicultural policies by the state and its pursuit as an academic concept. A cursory reading of Irish history shows that Ireland was never really 'Ireland', in the sense that it was devoid of other cultures, religions, languages etc. and consisted solely of 'Irish' people who shared and celebrated a distinct and impermeable culture and heritage⁶. While such a conception is an outcome of the project of nation building, it tends to be based in the exclusion of the social experiences and realities of significant sections of the state.

Thus, we can ask what are the conditions and factors that make it possible and seemingly necessary today for the discourse and practice of multiculturalism to exist and flourish in Ireland besides the presence of differing cultures (something which is very much a historical constant)? It must be remembered here that the presence of different cultures does not always compel multiculturalism (as policy or theory) but rather multiculturalism should in this case be seen as a response by the 'majority' of a society who are inevitably determined by their social, political and economic environment to the presence of the Other. As such, it should be analysed as a distinct social policy and construct, in the main part introduced by the state, which promotes the construction of an equal and inclusive society, where otherwise racism and prejudice would serve to divide society and both exclude and persecute minorities. In saying this however, we should remain vigilant to other factors, such as the demands of economic development and the produce of a mass media and how these can determine the structure and content of multicultural policy. There is also the fact that the adoption of multiculturalism can also become a strategy of an established minority group in gaining recognition, status, equality etc. (this is the case with Travellers in Ireland albeit with the concept of interculturalism)⁷.

In no particular order and by no means exhaustively, I would suggest the following factors are important and in cases overlapping and conflictual constituents in the arena of Irish-style multiculturalism. In other words, these factors are what make multiculturalism as a policy and an academic pursuit necessary in the Irish context:

1) GOVERNANCE:

The Nation-State: As its development was initially fostered and further reproduced through the exclusion of particular groups (protestants, jews, travellers, women, children) and the specificity of belonging to an imagined or better still conceived, homogenous community which centred on the familial unit, Catholicism, and a shared sense of culture and history within which a prolonged struggle against colonialism, was a huge factor⁸. As such the nation-state model was not designed with the factor of differing cultures coexisting, rather it promoted their exclusion and stigmatisation or in certain cases assimilation and the dominant cultures own unhindered perpetuation. Therefore, in contemporary times the model of multiculturalism becomes a means through which these problems can be overcome. Specifically, it is a means through which the limited social and political integrative capability of the nation-state can be overcome, while simultaneously safeguarding its perpetuation, albeit in a modified form⁹. Such a strategy Habermas contends is a reaction by the nation-state to the twin 'threats' of multiculturalism (in the literal not policy sense) and globalisation which undermine 'both the internal and the external sovereignty of the existing nation-states'¹⁰. A similar process can be seen to occur through the adoption of human rights charters by states which simultaneously transcend the sovereignty of those states but ultimately as Levinas¹¹ suggests tend to reinforce the exclusionary practices of those states. The European Convention on Human Rights and the simultaneous creation of 'Fortress Europe' are a case in point. In this case the sovereignty which the creation of 'Fortress Europe' promotes overrides the universal human rights referred to in the European Convention on Human Rights.

Contemporary Capitalism: Here we can suggest that the present form of capitalist economic development cannot survive without a distinctively segmented labour force, that is to say without a secondary labour force which is available for atypical and 'dirty' or 'poor' work¹². This fact is in part borne out by the distribution of work permits to migrant workers by the state. In 2002, 40,321 work permits were issued by the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment. 63% of these permits were issued in the services sector. It is significant that majority of permits issues where in what one may call the *postindustrial sector*, in Kumar's¹³ critical sense of that concept, of the Irish economy. One could further add that the majority of those in positions outside of the *postindustrial sector* are employed in the traditionally low-skilled manufacturing realm or in sites where significant deskilling is apparent.¹⁴ While it remains undocumented to a great extent, one might suggest that a large proportion of these jobs are unskilled, low-paid and low on secondary benefits. What also remains undocumented are the numbers of people working outside of the work permit scheme who are totally uncatered for by the ineffectual legislation protecting migrant employees in Ireland.

Democracy: As is suggested by the Irish constitution and the ideology of democracy in general, equality is a necessary constituent of a just and fair society. As such, the policy of multiculturalism is a means of pursuing this goal within the confines of the liberal democratic state.

Racism and Anti-Racism as State Initiatives: This brings us to the point that multiculturalism is often cited as an institutional response to the problem of racism. As such the arenas of anti-racism and multiculturalism overlap and one is seen as a direct constituent of the other. Thus, in order to overcome the pre-existing problem of racism, prejudice and xenophobia a multicultural solution is often favoured. This is evinced by the governments Know-Racism program and its National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI) of which I will speak in greater length below.

The History of Countries such as Britain¹⁵: The case is that many States have for many years now created and adopted a multiplicity of multicultural policies. As such, Ireland in now implementing formal multicultural policies can learn from the these international experiences. There is also the fact that Ireland is copying or attempting to simulate the best practices of other European countries and their experiences and policies regarding multiculturalism. This fosters a notion of one-world and one-solution and this is an approach which as we will see, both Lentin and McVeigh criticise when they speak of the specificities of both Irish racism and anti-racism.

2) CIVIL SOCIETY:

The Catholic Church:

It is not an understatement to suggest that what many commentators believe to be significant and important components of any kind of multiculturalism such as dignity and respect are all ideas, beliefs and sometimes practices, which have a direct relationship to various religious teachings¹⁶. As such, it is the case today that much of the more radical multiculturalism comes from Church institutions¹⁷, all be they in the guise of a religious and ultimately, some might suggest, restrictive rational. It is also fair to say that a significant proportion of civil society anti-racism initiatives are created by individuals whose backgrounds are in the missions in Africa and elsewhere¹⁸.

Voluntary Organisations/Protest Groups:

There now exist a significant number of groups whose purpose and aims revolve around, among other things, the concept of multiculturalism and anti-racism¹⁹. In many cases these act as a challenge to State policy and indeed in most cases, as a supplement for the complete lack of state activity in many important areas. For example, the case of refugee and asylum-seeker groups who protest and lobby for policy changes such as the right to work for asylum-seekers or provide English classes, clothing, legal advice, crèches etc. or the case of anti-racism groups who actively challenge what they perceive to be incidences of State racism. The historical basis for many of these groups can be found most recently in the Traveller Movement (Irish Traveller Movement, Pavee Point) and perhaps further back in the Abolition Movement and how it intersected with Irish political movements of the time. In fact, we may ascribe to two groups, Harmony and the Irish Traveller Movement the first incidences within civil society of multicultural and intercultural agendas²⁰. Even farther back we can see how according to Fanning the Red Cross was instrumental in assisting refugees in the 1950's and 1960's when the government withdrew considerably from the process of integration²¹.

3) ACADEMIA

Theory and Practice: Although under-researched in the Irish context it is perhaps safe enough to speculate that sections of academia have a significant impact on State and civil society policies and discourses surrounding multiculturalism. Whether this occurs through activism, consultancy or semi-passively through publications is undocumented²².

4) MEDIA

According to some anti-racism groups and academics there is a strong correlation between media activity and the creation/perpetuation of racism and xenophobia²³. This has been well documented by Guerin and his notion of 'anti-immigrant racism' with relation to asylum-seekers and refugees. Furthermore, the media in its role of national representations plays a significant part in the arena of soft or commercial multiculturalism²⁴, e.g. Benneton advertisements or portrayals of non-nationals in Fair City and the Angelus. However, it is also the case that the media can become a site for minority discourses, as perhaps may be the case with the *Metro Eireann* newspaper.

What I want to do now is to take a closer look at the contributions of each of these sections of Irish society to the debate on multiculturalism. This will allow us to see similarities, disparities and indeed contradictions between their approaches to the concept and practice of multiculturalism, which resultantly becomes an arena of contestation. Within this field of contestation which is defined by a series of distinct power relations, it will become apparent that the debate and practice of multiculturalism has a far wider significance for Irish society than one might first think. It will require us to move beyond the oft presented framework of peoples simply respecting each other etc. and suggest that there are inherent within the structure of Irish society factors which make the idea of multiculturalism a necessary one but simultaneously impossible to realise and thus a defunct concept.

THE STATE/GOVERNANCE

It is increasingly becoming recognisable that the Irish State, when calling adherence to multicultural or as they now state intercultural practices, is acting in a profoundly contradictory manner. This contradiction is manifested chiefly through two particular state apparatuses. Firstly, through the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform and secondly through its creation of the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI). More minor sites of this contradictory and ultimately destructive mode of action are visible in individual instances emanating from 'rogue' TD's and most recently District Court judges²⁵. At the same time, the very same government introduces an Employment Equality Act (1998) and the Equal Status Act (2000), both measures aimed at combating discrimination. There is to a large extent the wish to create voluntaristic rather than statutory measures against racism, prejudice and discrimination. The government's strategy it would appear is to foist off as much as is possible the responsibility to the agents of civil society as the example above shows.

As mentioned, multiculturalism as a distinctive field of policy and theory is relatively new to Irish society and as a practice it incorporates anti-racism. Racism is thus seen as the most serious threat to a multicultural society. The Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform has been instrumental in the creation of Ireland's multicultural practices and anti-racism initiatives. It has done this most visibly through the creation of the NCCRI and the Know-Racism Campaign and less visibly so through the creation of legislation mentioned above and low key anti-racism initiatives in both public and private workplaces which, in some cases, were implemented in conjunction with various trade unions and employer bodies.

The NCCRI itself was established in July 1998, and according to the then Minister John O'Donoghue its goal is '...to develop programmes and actions aimed at developing an integrated approach against racism and to advise the government on matters relating to racism and interculturalism'²⁶.

No such state-sponsored body existed beforehand. Its membership comes from a diversity of backgrounds including civil servants, activists, academics and members of 'ethnic communities'. The NCCRI itself states:

'The overall aim of the Committee is to provide an ongoing structure to develop programmes and actions aimed at developing an integrated approach against racism and to act in a policy advisory role to the government. The development of such an approach goes hand in hand with the promotion of a more participative and intercultural society which is more inclusive of groups such as refugees, Travellers and other minority ethnic groups. The Committee will seek to integrate its work with other government initiatives and bodies which are working in related areas.'²⁷

As such, the NCCRI is playing a pivotal role in the advocacy and development of interculturalism and furthermore, in developing anti-racism strategies. I will firstly examine their work on interculturalism and then analyse the contribution of their off-shoot, the Know-Racism campaign to anti-racism in Ireland. According to the NCCRI:

‘An intercultural approach believes that the culture of the minority group is important and requires recognition and acceptance. The development of an intercultural approach implies the development of policy that promotes interaction, understanding and integration among and between different cultures and ethnic groups on the assumption that ethnic diversity can enrich society, without glossing over issues such as racism’.²⁸

They go on to explain the rationale behind adopting such an approach. Firstly, they acknowledge that the approach of assimilation, as enforced on Travellers, was a mistake for obvious reasons and should not be repeated. Secondly, they state that multiculturalism was an inadequate concept and policy as it did not challenge racism or xenophobia in the majority population. Finally, they state that interculturalism is now the most widely advocated approach in the European Union. Throughout this explanation of reasoning there is a strong teleological undercurrent of progression or evolution. Interculturalism is seen as the ultimate and progressive solution, within the confines of the contemporary democratic nation-state to the problems of racism and xenophobia. Furthermore, it states that individuals who inhabit the same physical and social space must be integrated into common assumption of celebrated difference whose end conclusion is the disappearance of racism and xenophobia.

However, there are barriers to this policy’s becoming a social fact/reality and these are acknowledged by the NCCRI as being racism and social prejudice. These barriers are however by definition, that which interculturalism as a social policy seeks to overcome and eventually eradicate all together. Therefore, any policy aimed at creating an intercultural society, as per the definition above, must take aim at and seek to eradicate the practices of racism and social prejudice. Hence, any intercultural policy must be both implicitly and explicitly anti-racist. What is then required is not only an understanding of what an intercultural society might look like, but also a complete understanding of why racism and social prejudice exist in any given society. It would appear from their various publications that racism, as defined by The UNESCO Declaration (1978), exists in order to sustain unequal power relations and access to resources. Furthermore, the challenge to racism must be primarily an educational affair coupled with legislative initiatives, which have at their centre an ability to change the attitudes and actions of both individuals and institutions of governance. Nowhere are reasons suggested as to why Irish people are or are not racist, as the case may be. This is an area which is perhaps as we will see later the preserve of academics and anti-racism activists.

With regards to the specifically anti-racist measures developed by the State’s National Anti-Racism Awareness Programme, the three year Know-Racism Campaign has perhaps been the most significant or at least publicly visible anti-racism initiative the State has undertaken. This campaign states among its principles that:

racism is a denial of basic human rights; racism is against the law; Ireland is increasingly a multicultural society and that this is a strength, inward migration is not the cause of racism and we all have a responsibility to tackle racism.²⁹

While this locates racism as being a problem of the majority society (in that being racist is contrary to the respect of basic human rights), it still ultimately leaves the causes of racism and racism itself as a site of reification. In order to promote state anti-racism a series of events which celebrate difference and highlight the contribution of different cultures to the Irish economy and culture have taken place and indeed continue to take place. For instance, a CD of anti-racism songs was released, a series of radio, billboard and press advertisements were released and an anti-racism video was sent to each secondary school in the country. If we take the following three advertisements as an initial example of state-initiated and approved anti-racism we can begin to analyse State anti-racism, its relationship to the concept of multiculturalism and also its relationship to the wider societal context. It should be noted here, that the production and dissemination of these advertisements were undertaken in conjunction with a private public relations company.

1) 'Which do you see- a foreigner or your doctor?'

The above caption is the set below the picture of a white elderly woman (presumably Irish) being gazed upon compassionately by a young male in a white laboratory coat whose presence is explained according to a second caption below because: 'These days, more and more people from different backgrounds are coming to live and work in Ireland. Bringing with them skills professions and experience that this economy needs. As we get to know new people in the workplace, it's easy to see how much we have in common. The differences matter less as we all get on with our lives. It is Ireland today- a good place to live, no place for racism.'

2) 'Does prejudice colour your thinking?'

The above caption is set below the scene of two builders, one black, one white sharing a joke together during a pause from work. The second caption below the image states: 'As people from different races and backgrounds come to live and work in Ireland, it is worth remembering what that means. In most cases, immigrants bring a trade, skill, or profession that very often is in short supply here. A desire to work, to make a living and to get involved in the local community. They bring the colour and diversity of a different culture'.

3)'He's from a small ethnic minority. Dubs with All-Ireland Medals.'

This semi-humorous caption is placed alongside a picture of a smiling Jason Sherlock, a full-forward for Dublin's Gaelic football team.

In general, this approach to anti-racism and interculturalism can be regarded as falling into the corporate category of multicultural policy initiatives as suggested by Pieterse and also Bonnet's idea of 'multicultural anti-racism'³⁰. Both of these approaches to multiculturalism or interculturalism are heavily criticised by the respective theorists. For Pieterse, corporate multiculturalism is an integral aspect of any liberal multicultural policy. According to Pieterse liberal multiculturalism generally assumes '...common citizenship and a commitment to individual rights.' That is more specifically '...liberalism plus recognition of differences'.³¹ At the backbone of any such conception of multiculturalism is the idea that the State can guarantee these individual rights. This assumption is made however, without actually questioning nor problematising the liberal state itself and as we saw earlier, multiculturalism is a construct of the limitedness of the liberal state. An aspect of this limitedness is captured in what Habermas refers to as the '...dialectic of *de jure* and *de facto* equality'³². Equality enshrined in law does not necessarily transfer into equality in an individuals social experience as the case of the continued segmentation of women in the workplace adequately proves. With specific reference to racism and in particular, institutional racism, The McPhearson Report (2000) in the U.K. highlighted to just what extent legislation and practice can be at odds³³. A running thread throughout the three advertisements is an active participation in Irish society which stresses, and here we can make analogies to Peillon's 'Strangers in our Midst', the importance of the social contract operating within society³⁴. In the first two cases there is an obvious thread, that of work and the workplace.

In order to highlight difference between the individuals in each of the advertisements, one of the persons is white and presumably Irish and the other person is of a different 'background' as the advertisement puts it. However, the relationship is the same, they are both relying on each other in a work situation. In the first case, we are asked to look beyond the doctor's 'background' and to recognise him as a trained and compassionate professional. In the second case, we see two work colleagues, one presumably Irish and the other not, share a joke on a building site. What the two advertisements have in common is that people who come to live and work have something which Ireland or more specifically the Irish economy needs in order to overcome a labour supply shortage. As such, the liberal state with its primacy upon the economic is to the forefront. The benefit of a human and cultural interaction is mentioned only in a secondary capacity. Economic rights are the first to be granted and only thereafter are civil, social and cultural rights mentioned. Importantly and along the lines of Pieterse's critique of the liberal multicultural approach, political rights are nowhere mentioned. Also, the viewer is forced to make a decision to as to recognise the Other or in other words, he/she is forced to identify characteristics that are not 'typically' considered to be Irish. This process simultaneously reinforces what it means to be 'Irish'. Hence, there is an association being made between biological traits and difference, even though culture is being identified in the captions as the main source of difference and as a possible cause of racism and xenophobia.

With regards to the third advertisement it is perhaps more difficult to decode. In fact, it is a clever representation of the intricacies and multiplicities of contemporary 'Irish' identities and indeed may be more representative of Irish identity throughout the past. That is to say, it has never been a fixed or determined representation, instead it has been and constantly is in flux and is the outcome in part of varied historical processes of out-migration and in-migration. Still however, Jason Sherlock is

presented as being quintessentially Irish despite his acknowledged 'difference' from a supposed norm of appearance (the advertisement would not work otherwise). What is not in dispute within this advertisement is the fact that Jason Sherlock has given much to a quintessentially Irish sporting culture. Such sentiments are obvious when one considers the first two advertisements and their heavy emphasis on the onus upon the working individual in the contemporary liberal social contract invoked by the liberal state. We should note here that in all cases the individuals promoted in the advertisements are giving back to the state in the form of labour expenditure both economic and cultural.

As touched on above, there are deep problems within the idea that the liberal state can ensure an equality of resources and opportunity to its citizens or more specifically in this case to its migrant labour force. Such advertisements gracefully ignore wider social issues which are then presupposed to have little to do with the problem of racism or the issue of creating an intercultural society. Such issues may include poverty, the practice of democracy, the minoritisation and subjugation of women and interestingly issues surrounding asylum seekers (especially those unable to work which obviously excludes them in the advertisements representation of a dutiful citizen or economic migrant). As such, the related problems and inadequacies of the liberal state remain and its inability to provide equality in any of its frames of reference remains untouched. This is perhaps borne out by the fact that many economic migrants are expending their labour in the secondary labour market, in badly paid jobs which have the sparseness of benefits normally associated with atypical work.

Furthermore, there is within the Know-Racism Campaign no acknowledgement of the history, sources, causes and maintaining apparatuses of racism within Irish society. Instead we are offered the following rhetoric: 'Irish people are traditionally generous, friendly and hospitable. It would be wrong to allow fear of strangers and intolerance spoil this traditional spirit and change our attitudes towards the minority ethnic people who live and work among us.'³⁵ Thus, an era when there were no 'strangers' and when Ireland was 'generous, friendly and hospitable' is conjured up. This part Bord Failte and part historically inaccurate statement merely serves to compound the difficulties the liberal State experiences when it attempts to implement a form of intercultural anti-racism.

CIVIL SOCIETY/THE MEDIA

While the above concerns State initiatives there are a significant number of groups working in the arena of civil society. A reasonable estimate of the number of such groups would be about 150³⁶. These groups range from small local initiatives such as Tallaght Intercultural Action to larger more formal groups such as Spiritan Asylum Services Initiative (SPIRASI). Civil society's range of actions incorporate, among other things, anti-racism initiatives, counselling for victims of torture, legal advice concerning asylum claims, anti-deportation campaigns, various multicultural events, holiday-camps and lobbying/protesting against State racism. In many ways, these groups not only fill the gaps left by the state but also protest against and challenge a state-directed mode of multiculturalism.

While State initiatives look only at the surface for the causes of racism, like for example the above idea of the Stranger and its obvious religious associations, groups such as those mentioned above are a lot more hard hitting in their analysis of the causes of racism in Ireland and indeed the barriers to creating an intercultural society. While they agree with the government on definitions of what racism as a universal phenomenon is, as was the case with the Anti-Racism Campaign (ARC) in Dublin, they actively accuse the State and the Media as being the main causes of racism in Ireland today. This claim is largely based in the racialisation of the small number of asylum-seekers (51,158 since 1992) and to a lesser extent refugees who have to come to Ireland in the past 10 or so years. This number is less than half of the total of 123,106 work permits issued since 1993. According to groups such as ARC and Residents Against Racism the government and media have been instrumental in this process of racialisation. Furthermore, this process has led to any person of a different background living in Ireland being labelled as an asylum seeker or refugee. As such, sentiment like 'they get cars, mobile phones etc' appears to abound. The government has made it quite clear that 90% of asylum-seekers are actively making fraudulent applications. This fact was determined even before the majority had their claims assessed. They are in fact according to the government, economic migrants abusing the Irish asylum system and the only solution is deportation. Such sentiment is very obvious in the following 'editorial' from the (Irish) Sun which relates to two asylum seekers who used Ireland as a 'back-door' to the UK being deported on a private plane:

'In fact, many of the migrants officially 'missing' in Ireland are believed to have gone to the UK. The Ahmadis have been sent back to Germany. What is astonishing is that the UK Home Office chartered a private plane to deport one family. That will cost the taxpayer thousands. What an appalling waste. *Next time hire a jumbo jet and deport 400 illegals at a time.* (their emphasis)³⁷

Such incidences of media reporting abound and have been well documented by Guerin³⁸. He conceptualises this process as 'anti-immigrant racism'. He identifies a number of 'metaphors' repeatedly used to describe the increase of in-migration to Ireland. Thus examples of metaphors continually used are 'flood', 'bogus', 'criminal', 'sponger', 'tide', 'wave'.

More recently a more blatant and destructive example was produced in the UCD's student newspaper, *The University Observer*. On the front-page one encountered a sensitive piece of reporting concerning the racially motivated attack of an African student. However, inside of the paper's supplement O2 in its 'Voxpops' section the headline reads 'Irish Racist? Never'³⁹. A group of students are asked the following question: 'Which ethnic minority do you hate the most and why?' Confronted with this loaded question the following are some of the responses of primarily first year students: 'The Romanians. I find that they beg more, and I find that I am constantly tripping over them.', 'The Afghans. Because the Americans should have done a better job taking them out over there.', 'The Paki's cause they smell different', 'The Bosnians. They keep interrupting Neighbours to come to the door and whinge about their dead families', and finally to completely compound the gross incompetence of this piece of reporting 'The Gays. Because they're breaking Gods Law'.

The article contains the following disclaimer of sorts: 'It should be noted that O2 approached this in a light-hearted manner and we are not responsible for the shocking and downright offensive views of some of the student body of UCD. Next issue, The Foreigners Strike Back.' Needless to say this was not in the next issue and that such a disclaimer does not waive the responsibility of writing such a piece nor publishing it.

Hence, for many voluntary groups the government and media are at the centre of the creation and perpetuation of racism in contemporary Ireland. Thus, any state-led anti-racism initiative must be largely futile. One must pause here and further attempt to characterise the nature and roots of this racism in Irish society. As such, it is a convenient point of departure to the analysis of academic responses to racism in Ireland and in particular discourses of multiculturalism and interculturalism, with the former gradually being replaced by the latter as the dominant paradigm. It is important to note here, that sections of civil society often accuse academia as largely pushing a research agenda which in many cases, is pursued without consultation with those who are the object of the research.

3) ACADEMIA

As is the case with voluntary groups, academics are among those who sit on the boards of the NCCRI and the Know-Racism Campaign. Both of their positions are however, as highlighted during the 'Developing ANTI-RACISM Awareness at Local Level Conference' organised by the High Level Steering Group for the National Anti-Racism Awareness Programme, KNOW RACISM, in partnership with the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, tenuous ones. Contributors to this conference raised the point that 'Some people feel inhibited from criticising the government for fear of losing funding from the grant schemes'⁴⁰. As such, participation by NGO's and academics in the NCCRI or KNOW RACISM can lead to a process of co-option and institutionalisation. Therefore, it is perhaps most useful to look at the output of academics outside of statutory bodies.

The literature on racism and multiculturalism in Ireland is burgeoning and as Lentin points out, a veritable race relations industry has been created as it were, almost overnight in Ireland⁴¹. What I wish to approach here are some of the more theoretical responses to racism and multiculturalism or interculturalism as a solution to racism and as best practice for contemporary social integration. So how do academics understand racism in Ireland and the now seemingly analogous phenomena of multiculturalism and anti-racism in Ireland?

In general, there is the affirmation that racism is a profound threat to the immigrant 'Other' in Ireland and also to the majority society. However, what type of racism are these theorists talking about? Firstly, we must draw a distinction between cultural and biological racism. Biological racism is based in the belief that some races are naturally superior to others. This, for practitioners of such a viewpoint, is scientifically verifiable and as such a fixed and unchanging ideology. Such a frame of reference therefore legitimises discrimination, prejudice, violence and as history shows the genocide of 'races' thought to be inferior. Cultural racism, on the other hand, refers to the idea that cultures vary so greatly that they cannot possibly coexist, and that ultimately one culture must take precedence over all others in a particular society and indeed, for some at a global level⁴². Most Irish academics theorise racism, like UNESCO, as being a combination or distinction of these two exclusionary and destructive ideologies. An example of cultural racism may be found in the following quotes made by an Irish woman during the recent Public Consultation On Immigration:

'If we allow 250,000 immigrants in we will shortly become a minority in our own country..we the Irish have only Ireland in which to be ourselves'. 'It really offends my sensibilities to see Muslim women

walking our streets –suffocated with the heat- with black veils and long dresses and gloves whilst their male partners wear the best Egyptian cotton short sleeved t-shirts and light trousers..’.

The same person goes on to say that ‘I’m even more offended when I see their cars parked , outside the mosque all over the south circular road, causing traffic jams while a few hundred yards off the road Irish people.’⁴³. Again cultural markers abound as does the issue of the relative strengths or weakness of particular cultures. Another submission speaks of allowing only American, Canadian, Australian and EU citizens into Ireland as these will be able integrate most easily. Again getting back to the cultural aspect of the argument one submission states:

‘In terms of determining immigration policy we should be very clear what we mean by ‘integration’ and ‘assimilation’. My view is that those applying for temporary residence here should be of an ethnic/cultural background that predisposes them, and particularly their children, to fully assimilate, and be accepted as such, into mainstream Irish society..I feel that this approach is crucial if we are to maintain our high level of social cohesion, and communal harmony, which is largely based on our sense of a shared common ancestry.’⁴⁴

Returning to Irish academic work we can observe Lentin and McVeigh’s definition of racism as being:

‘...any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on ‘race’, colour, descent, as well as national or ethnic origin, which inferioritises or excludes a collectivity using mechanisms of power.’ Importantly, they attempt to theoretically ‘situate’ both Irish racism and anti-racism. They suggest that Irish racism is influenced and empowered by the Irish Diaspora and their involvement in racialised encounters abroad, Ireland’s whiteness (something used by group’s such as the NSRUS) and Ireland’s Europeanness. In contrast, they suggest that Ireland is disempowered through its colonial history, its history of emigration and economic dependency and also, the fact that anti-Irish racism has been and continues to be experienced by Irish people throughout the world. Lentin and McVeigh conclude this piece on the specificities of Irish racism and anti-racism by stating: ‘In this sense Ireland is quintessentially ‘between two worlds’- both perpetrator and survivor of racism, both thoroughly racist and determinedly anti-racist.’⁴⁵

Rolston and Shannon in their historical perspective of racism in Ireland echo this point to a certain extent. They outline the consistently precarious position of an Ireland once dominated by a colonial power in the case of Britain, or invaded in terms of the Vikings, and how on the one hand Ireland suffered but on the other hand, elements of Irish society aided such practices and ideologies. This occurred for instance, with the case of collusion in the slave trade of the Vikings and then with Irish soldiers furthering the colonial exploits of Britain in places such as India. Such contradictions abound and importantly are not confined entirely to the arena of negativity. For instance, the Abolition Movement found strong support in Ireland and visiting ‘freak-shows’ and minstrel-shows were derided by the public⁴⁶. As such, throughout Irish history and as Lentin and McVeigh also point out, there has never been a simple cut and dry Irish experience. There have always been instances of racism and equally instances of anti-racism echoing their point made above.

We can add here again that Ireland has always been multicultural. Perhaps, not in the sense ascribed by academics and policy makers perhaps, but in the simple fact that there has never been one culture in Ireland. Instead, there have been and continue to be multiplicities of cultures of various sizes (Jews, Travellers, Spanish, Italian, English, African, the list goes on) existing in Ireland and within them the proliferation of experiences and furthermore the sole continuum, that of the veneer of tradition behind which change remains unabated. It is a complex and multifarious experience, albeit subject to a large extent to the representational dictates of a powerful majority culture in the guise of the nation-state or the media as seen in many 20th century representations of Ireland, be they home-grown or imagined from elsewhere.

One must question, whether or not it is feasible to partake in this analysis offered by Rolston and Shannon and Lentin and McVeigh, one which relies extensively on a historical dialectical process

of the type- racism versus anti-racism. It is perhaps at some points stretching the limits of analysis when one largely attempts to explain contemporary issues through the lens of historical analysis. As Fanon states: 'I am not a prisoner of history. I should not seek there for the meaning of my destiny...I do not have the right allow myself to be mired in what the past has determined...The body of history does not determine a single one of my actions'⁴⁷ Gilroy describes this stance as an '...imaginative supercession of history'. This suggests a concentration on the exposition and analysis of contemporary processes rather than on the highlighting of history as a partial explanation of contemporary social phenomena as much as calls for a '...self-conscious initiation of a cycle of freedom for black populations still dwelling in the aftershock of slavery, their founding trauma'⁴⁸. Therefore, the question we must ask in relation to Lentin's proposal of Hesse's 'politics of interrogation', is to what extent should this history and does this history determine contemporary social action or should more attention be paid to contemporary manifestations of racism and their sources?

It is still however, within Lentin's writings that we find perhaps one of the more radical approaches to multiculturalism in Irish academia. Lentin begins by using Hall's framework and divides Irish multiculturalism into six categories⁴⁹:

- 1) Conservative Multiculturalism: Assimilation into majority norms and values as seen with the case of Travellers. She suggests that this is the strategy of the NCCRI.
- 2) Liberal Multiculturalism: Here integration relies on the idea of universal citizenship and only allows/tolerates private expressions of difference. She sees this occurring to a certain extent in the 'grassroots' sections of Irish civil society.
- 3) Pluralist Multiculturalism: The State recognises and accepts cultural differences and allows these to continue within their prescribed communities.
- 4) Commercial Multiculturalism: This is the neo-liberal recognition of the market and therefore consumption as being inherently assimilationist. As such integration and ultimately assimilation occurs through participation in the market. Lentin sees this happening in business, universities and the media.
- 5) Corporate Multiculturalism: According to Lentin this '...seeks to 'manage' minority cultural differences in the interests of the centre'.
- 6) Critical or Revolutionary Multiculturalism: According to Lentin this attacks power structures at the centre of racism. This has occurred to a limited extent within certain anti-racism campaigns, although I would suggest that it is becoming more and more infrequent.

Lentin continues to suggest both here and elsewhere in her writings that what is required is not a 'politics of recognition' based in '...the principle of universalism and equal dignity [which] was formed in articulation with European racism and white masculinity' but rather a 'politics of interrogation'. She goes on to state that:

'In the Irish context, this implies the need for an interrogation of Irishness as dominant, racialising and oppressive, despite the history of anti-Irish racism and in the light of the racialisation of Irishness itself. It also means the subversive inscription of racialised spaces in white, settled Ireland, by among others, Travellers, African and Asian people, asylum-seekers, refugees and migrants, and antiracism activists'⁵⁰

Lentin also states elsewhere that '...multiculturalism is the return of the national repressed. In the Irish case, I would suggest that the national repressed is the pain of emigration, returning to haunt the Irish, through the presence of the immigrant 'other'...' ⁵¹ Lentin suggests that the present form of multiculturalism 'disavows' this racist past and also the past of emigration. Until these factors are recognised, racism according to Lentin, will continue to exist in Ireland and as such, present policies of interculturalism and anti-racism will be largely ineffective. This relies largely on an unspoken psychoanalytic paradigm suggesting that 'traumas' experienced in the infancy of the nation-state and in fact, when it was just a desire, in the womb so to speak, have a direct relationship to its contemporary failings, both individualistic and institutional. Criticisms of such an overly deterministic approach however, abound.⁵²

Elsewhere in the literature Fanning proposes:

'...that multiculturalism can only be achieved though measures which acknowledge and address racism and structural inequalities within society. Such measures begin, by definition, with a full measure of liberal

democratic individual rights to equal treatment but also include measures designed to contest the racism and inequalities experienced by citizen minorities... Equal access to the range of welfare goods and services provided within Ireland's mixed economy becomes a precondition of multiculturalism. Yet equal rights are often not enough in themselves to ensure the integration of minorities. The institutional discriminations experienced by minorities in accessing services provided by the state, the voluntary sector and the market have to be addressed.⁵³

He characterises Irish multiculturalism, in the sense that the above preconditions have not been met as, a 'weak multiculturalism'. This is similar in vein to Hall's and Pieterse's liberal multiculturalism and equates closely to the description above of State policies. The quote above incorporates some of the factors which Fanning declares to be at the heart of a 'strong multiculturalism'. They are in full as follows⁵⁴:

- 1) 'Racism as being the cause of structural inequalities in society' as distinct from immigration being the cause.
- 2) The focus must be on transforming the unequal social relations shaping the interaction between minority and dominant groups into egalitarian ones.
- 3) Positive discrimination and group rights must be acknowledged within *de facto* law.
- 4) Institutional racism's must be contested.

Hence, there is a distinction between Fanning's approach and that of Lentin's, which while welcoming institutional and policy changes stresses the necessity of a 'politics of interrogation' and the specificities of Irish racism.

With respect to Irish anti-racism as a particular focus of research, Maria Tannam and Robbie McVeigh may be said to be the greatest contributors to academic literature. As Tannam quite rightly points out, 'There has been very little empirical research or theorisation of anti-racism within the Irish context.'⁵⁵ However, as mentioned above there is an ever-growing literature on racism in Irish society. While charting the emergence of Irish anti-racism from the 1980's on, Tannam also provides us with a framework through which she believes anti-racism groups operating within civil society should operate and importantly the majority are independent of the state⁵⁶:

- 1) Initial alliances between older groups should be broadened to include the vast number of newer groups. Such a network exists with the umbrella organisation Integrating Ireland.
- 2) Anti-racism groups should be supported by '...a framework of strong and effective legislation'
- 3) Anti-racism groups should not mirror the existing structure of power relations within Irish society. Instead they should be '...informed by a 'bottom-up' approach with engagement at its core'.
- 4) Anti-racism groups should be aware of the process of co-option when entering partnership agreements and as such, partnership should be '...grounded in models of good practice'.

McVeigh provides us with a similar list of 'must-do's' if anti-racism is to develop and be effective in Ireland⁵⁷:

- 1) People must oppose and act against anti-Irish racism.
- 2) Anti-racism agendas must be set by those who are actually effected by racism.
- 3) Anti-racism must be backed up by sufficient and effective legislation.
- 4) Anti-racist alliances between Traveller support groups and other anti-racism groups must be applauded and furthermore increased.
- 5) Anti-racism must be mainstreamed into all other 'progressive' movements such as, the Women's Movement, Trade Unionism, the Lesbian and Gay Movement etc.
- 6) Even when anti-racism groups work in partnership with the state they should '...work to name and stem state and institutional racism and make visible the contradictory link between immigration and asylum policies and state-sponsored anti-racism'.

As can be seen from the two lists above, there is little distinction in these two important academic approaches to civil society anti-racism in Ireland. This is not to say however, that both of these approaches are not critical of anti-racist strategies of individual groups operating throughout Ireland. As mentioned previously antiracism has been charged by people such as McVeigh and Lentin

above and by others such as Michel Wieviorka⁵⁸ as being racist in itself as when it is dictated by the majority it tends to reproduce the unequal power relations that they enjoy.

It would appear that the notion of multiculturalism within academia is becoming less and less important. It is presently the site of much criticism and is often accused as being an outdated and inoperable within contemporary Western societies. The following offers a synopsis of some of the main critiques of multiculturalism, both as a policy and as an academic pursuit. Most of them are relevant to Ireland's situation, given the fact that much of its multicultural policy is modelled on European experiences and should be read in conjunction with the points made above on the inoperability of Irish-style multiculturalism and its practice by state institutions:

- 1) Multiculturalism is based on a notion of integration which 'presupposes the idea of a national society.'⁵⁹ In other words, it decrees that the best form of social integration is one based within a nation-state and that once integration takes place conflict will dissipate and consensus will reign. Therefore, such a model overemphasises consensus and underestimates the important role conflict has within society.
- 2) As democracy and multiculturalism are inextricably linked, barriers to democracy act as barriers to multiculturalism. Such barriers include the proliferation of a mass culture based in liberal economic ideology and an emphasis on identity politics based in cultural fundamentalism (e.g. USA)⁶⁰. The chief point here for many critics is that if democracy was to function correctly, multicultural policies would not be necessary or at the very least their implementation would be vastly more successful.
- 3) Cultures are not fixed entities nor are they composed of a homogenous group of individuals as some multicultural policies presuppose. For example, community leaders may push a cultural agenda which is not necessarily representative of those on whose behalf they speak. e.g. position of women.⁶¹ Such a case is also evident in the democratic process in Ireland where women are vastly underrepresented.
- 4) Multicultural policies can in fact extenuate and exaggerate the notion of difference and increase distance between communities because they only exist through difference. In many cases they can be accused of the exoticification of the Other.⁶²
- 5) Celebrating diversity as a means of practising multiculturalism (e.g. art shows, musical and theatrical events) can be accused of creating a high-culture available only for consumption by a small minority of the majority community and in many cases ignored by a majority of the minority community.
- 6) Multicultural policies work on a model of reciprocity close to that offered by Putnam⁶³. Such a model of reciprocity downplays the role of politics, the economy and the state thus burdening the individual while at the same time negating democracy. Thus, the power relations accused in the Irish case of creating and reproducing racism remain intact and unchallenged.
- 7) Multiculturalism in recognising cultural differences can lead to these differences becoming entrenched '...thus promoting reproduction rather than production and invention, and to do so is to the advantage of only some of those in the group in question.'⁶⁴ Therefore, early sociological models of community such as Tönnies' *Gemeinschaft* are adopted. This suggests a watershed where the community in question has reached a certain point of development where further social and cultural change is unnecessary. Such a perspective ignores the often dynamic historical development of a community and fixes an arbitrary point where their history ends.

Multiculturalism then is increasingly becoming an inept model of social integration promoted chiefly by liberal state apparatuses and to a lesser extent through media and corporate interests. As we have seen in Ireland's case such a model is being challenged chiefly through civil society and academia, even though in cases they are inextricably involved, at least at the level of appearances, in the State's race relations industry. The only utility today of the model of multiculturalism is that it brings to the forefront the inadequacies of the liberal state and also those of sections of the media and business. It is within these inadequacies and limitations that the main struggle against racism, discrimination and prejudice should be fought. This is not to say, however, that racism and prejudice at the individual level is not in cases independent of the localised state or media. Instead, it suggests that a concentrated effort should be first made to understand how certain sections of Irish society have been able to counter their production of racism through a process of 'inferiorization and differentiation'⁶⁵ with a model of multiculturalism, supposedly constructed upon the premises of respect, dignity and justice. It is within this contradiction, as Pieterse above illustrates, that the dynamic of contemporary racism in Ireland is to be found.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Lentin for example would suggest that Ireland is defined by an embryonic multiculturalism, whereas others such as the State define Ireland as being 'increasingly multicultural'. What the markers are for this will be discussed later on in the paper in relation to the political and academic meanings of what it is to be a 'multicultural society'.
- ² For instance, asylum application figures increased from 1,179 in 1996 to 11530 in 2002. This relatively small figure is dwarfed by immigration figures for the same period. In 1996 there were 39,200 immigrants with 17,700 of these returned Irish emigrants and in 2002 there were 47,500 immigrants with 18,000 of these being returned Irish emigrants. Thus, in-migration from 1995-2000 was composed of 123,100 returned Irish emigrants and a further 125,000 migrants from various parts of the world.
- ³ Kieran Allen, *The Celtic Tiger: The Myth of Social Partnership in Ireland*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).
- ⁴ Such a deterministic approach is easily identifiable in 'everyday' or 'commonsensical' explanations for certain social phenomenon. The debate on single-mothers in Ireland in the 1990's was often pervaded by the notion that women were having numerous children outside of wedlock for material reasons only. This direction of thought is presently identifiable in both Ireland and the UK regarding why asylum-seekers choose particular countries over others, i.e. welfare benefits are better in England than say France.
- ⁵ David Jacobson, *Rights Across Borders: Immigration and the Decline of Citizenship*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press).
- ⁶ Bill Rolston and Michael Shannon, *Encounters: How Racism Came to Ireland*. (Belfast: Beyond the Pale Publications, 2002),
- ⁷ Bryan Fanning, *Racism and Social Change in the Republic of Ireland*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p.190
- ⁸ Bryan Fanning, *Racism and Social Change in the Republic of Ireland*.
- ⁹ Jurgen Habermas, *The Inclusion of the Other: Studies in Political Theory*. (Cambridge, Mass. MIT Press, 1998), p.107
- ¹⁰ Jurgen Habermas, *The Inclusion of the Other: Studies in Political Theory*, p.107
- ¹¹ Emmanuel Levinas, 'The Rights of Man and the Rights of the Other' in *Outside the Subject*, trans. Michael B. Smyth, (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1993), 116-125.
- ¹² Robin Ward and Michael Cross, 'Race, Employment and Economic Change' in Philip Brown and Richard Scase eds., *Poor Work: Disadvantage and the Division of Labour*, (Milton Keynes, Open University Press, 1991), pp.116-131.
- ¹³ Krishan Kumar, *Prophecy and Progress: The Sociology of Industrial and Post-Industrial Society*, Chapter 6, 'A Post-Industrial Society', (New York, Penguin, 1978).
- ¹⁴ Of importance here is the agricultural sector where according to the Department of Trade, Enterprise and Employment, 15% of work permits were issued in 2002.
- ¹⁵ Bryan Fanning, *Racism and Social Change in the Republic of Ireland*, p.188.
- ¹⁶ If one examines the work of Emmanuel Levinas on the Other, there is an explicit relationship between Talmudic works and his Jewish background in general and his deeply philosophical approach to understanding social relationships based on alterity.
- ¹⁷ For instance see Fr. Donal O'Mahoney, 'The Role of the Churches' in Fintan Farrell and Philip Watt Eds., *Responding to Racism in Ireland*. (Dublin, Ireland, Veritas, 2001), pp.164-178, for an elaboration of an 'earth-perspective' to combating racism.
- ¹⁸ Maria Tannam, Suzanne Smith and Suzie Flood, *Anti-Racism: An Irish Perspective*. (Dublin, Ireland, Harmony, 1998), p.11.
- ¹⁹ According to Integrating Ireland, the umbrella organisation of anti-racism and minority support groups in Ireland, there are approximately 150 groups operating.
- ²⁰ Maria Tannam, Suzanne Smith and Suzie Flood, *Anti-Racism: An Irish Perspective*., pp.13-14 and also Bryan Fanning, *Racism and Social Change in the Republic of Ireland*, p.172.
- ²¹ Bryan Fanning, *Racism and Social Change in the Republic of Ireland*, pp.96-7.
- ²² This question will form part of my PhD. research agenda.
- ²³ The opposite relationship, i.e. anti-racism through public media campaigns appear to be less than effective. For example, the Citizen Traveller Campaign was shelved in November 2002 after it was found to be largely ineffective in reaching its objectives.
- ²⁴ Bryan Fanning, *Racism and Social Change in the Republic of Ireland*, p.179.

- ²⁵ For instance Fine Fail's T.D. Noel O'Flynn made the following statement regarding asylum-seekers in 1999, 'the spongers, the freeloaders, the people screwing the system' and in the same breath called for monitoring of asylum-seekers for diseases which could impact on the Irish health strategy.
- ²⁶ John O'Donoghue T.D., Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform, Speech given at the launch of the Three Year Progress Report of the NCCRI, 14th June, 2001. Available at www.justice.ie
- ²⁷ See www.nccri.com/about.html, accessed 20/03/03.
- ²⁸ NCCRI, *NCCRI Progress Report, 1998-2001, Annexe 4*.
- ²⁹ Know Racism: The National Anti-Racism Awareness Programme, *Information Pack*, pp.1-6.
- ³⁰ Alastair Bonnett, *Anti-Racism*, (London, Routledge, 2000), pp. 90-96
- ³¹ Jan Nederveen Pieterse, 'The Case of Multiculturalism: Kaleidoscopic and Long-Term Views', *Social Identities* 7, no. 3 (2001), pp.393-407, p.395.
- ³² Jurgen Habermas, *The Inclusion of the Other: Studies in Political Theory*, p.208.
- ³³ W. McPhearson, *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry: Report of an Inquiry by Sir William McPhearson of Cluny*, (London: The Stationery Office, 1999).
- ³⁴ Michel Peillon, 'Strangers in our Midst', in Eamon Slater and Michel Peillon (eds.), *Memories of the Present*, (Dublin, Institute of Public Administration, 2000), pp.105-115.
- ³⁵ Know Racism: The National Anti-Racism Awareness Programme, *Information Pack*, p.4.
- ³⁶ This figure is according to Integrating Ireland, an umbrella group for such organisations.
- ³⁷ The Sun, *Plane Crazy*, August 15th, 2002, p.8.
- ³⁸ Patrick Guerin, 'Racism and the Media in Ireland: Setting the Anti-Immigration Agenda' in Ronit Lentin and Robbie McVeigh Eds., *Racism and Anti-Racism in Ireland*, (Belfast, Beyond the Pale Publications, 2002), pp.91-101.
- ³⁹ 'Irish Racist? Never', in *O2, The University Observer*, Vol.9, Issue VIII, 29/03/02.
- ⁴⁰ Proceedings of *Developing ANTI-RACISM Awareness at Local Level*, Royal Hospital, Kilmainham, Dublin, Wednesday, 9th October, 2002, p. 4.
- ⁴¹ Ronit Lentin, 'Introduction: Intercultural Education for the University of Tomorrow?', in *Working in a Multicultural University: Proceedings of a Workshop Held in Trinity College Dublin*, 2002, pp.6-22, p. 8.
- ⁴² See www.nsrus.com for an example of both cultural and biological racism.
- ⁴³ *Submissions to the Public Consultation on Immigration Policy, Vol. 3*, p.54, available at www.justice.ie.
- ⁴⁴ *Submissions to the Public Consultation on Immigration Policy, Vol. 3*, p.65, available at www.justice.ie.
- ⁴⁵ Ronit Lentin and Robbie McVeigh, 'Situated Racisms: A Theoretical Introduction' in Ronit Lentin and Robbie McVeigh Eds., *Racism and Anti-Racism in Ireland*. (Belfast: Beyond the Pale Publications, 2002), pp.1-48, p.8.
- ⁴⁶ Bill Rolston and Michael Shannon, *Encounters: How Racism Came to Ireland*, pp.69-72.
- ⁴⁷ Franz Fanon in Paul Gilroy, *Between Camps: Race, Identity and Nationalism at the End of the Colour Line*, (London, Allen Lane, 2000), p.336.
- ⁴⁸ Paul Gilroy, *Between Camps: Race, Identity and Nationalism at the End of the Colour Line*, p.336
- ⁴⁹ Ronit Lentin, 'Introduction: Intercultural Education for the University of Tomorrow?', pp.6-21, p.11-12
- ⁵⁰ Ronit Lentin, 'Introduction: Intercultural Education for the University of Tomorrow?', pp.6-21, p.12
- ⁵¹ Ronit Lentin, 'At the heart of the Hibernian post-metropolis: Spatial narratives of ethnic minorities and diasporic communities in a changing city' in *City: analysis of urban trends, culture, theory, policy, action* 6, no. 2 (2002): 229-249, p.242.
- ⁵² For a humorous yet insightful critique of the psychoanalytical approach see 'Psychoanalytic Dialogue' in John Paul Sartre, *Between Existentialism and Marxism*, (New York, Pantheon Books, 1975).
- ⁵³ Bryan Fanning, *Racism and Social Change in the Republic of Ireland*, p.195.
- ⁵⁴ Bryan Fanning, *Racism and Social Change in the Republic of Ireland*, p.183.
- ⁵⁵ Maria Tannam, 'Questioning Irish Anti-Racism' in Ronit Lentin and Robbie McVeigh Eds., *Racism and Anti-Racism in Ireland*, (Belfast, Beyond the Pale Publications, 2002), pp.193-210, p. 193.
- ⁵⁶ Maria Tannam, 'Questioning Irish Anti-Racism' in Ronit Lentin and Robbie McVeigh Eds., *Racism and Anti-Racism in Ireland*, (Belfast, Beyond the Pale Publications, 2002), pp.193-210, p. 208.

- ⁵⁷ Robbie McVeigh, 'Is There an Irish Anti-Racism? Building an Anti-Racist Ireland in Ronit Lentin and Robbie McVeigh Eds., *Racism and Anti-Racism in Ireland*, (Belfast, Beyond the Pale Publications, 2002), pp.211-25, p.223
- ⁵⁸ Michel Wieviorka, *The Arena of Racism*, (London: Sage Publications, 1995).
- ⁵⁹ Alain Touraine, *Can We Live Together: Equality and Difference*, trans. David Macey, (California: Stanford University Press, 2000), p.190
- ⁶⁰ Alain Touraine, *Can We Live Together: Equality and Difference*, p.196.
- ⁶¹ Nira Yuval Davis, 'Multiculturalism, Multi-Layered Citizenship and the Politics of 'Social Cohesion'', Keynote Presentation at *Staden och Staten: Etnicitet, Migration och Medborgarskap*, 20-22 November, 2002, Norrköping, p. 4.
- ⁶² Ayhan Kaya, 'Multicultural Clientalism and Alevi Resurgence in the Turkish Diaspora: Berlin Alevis', in *New Perspectives on Turkey*, Spring 1998, 18:pp.23-49.
- ⁶³ Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone; The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. (New York, Simon and Schuster, 2000).
- ⁶⁴ Michael Wieviorka, 'Is Multiculturalism the Solution?', in *Ethnic and Racial Studies, Volume 21, Number 5, September 1998*, pp.881-910. P. 903
- ⁶⁵ Michel Wieviorka, *The Arena of Racism*, p. 119.

AIDS, POVERTY AND INJUSTICE: REFLECTIONS ON THE AIDS EPIDEMIC IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD

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INTRODUCTION

Any adequate study of the AIDS pandemic and its causes must consider the influence of poverty on the rapid spread of this disease. It is no coincidence that 90% of those infected with HIV/AIDS live in the Third World. An understanding of the impact of poverty is essential for any true awareness of this crisis, and also for the structuring of a long-term solution to the pandemic. Poverty is a grave injustice and hinders the attainability of true human development, and this particular form of injustice is a key element when considering the rapid spread of HIV/AIDS in the Developing World. I wish to concentrate on a number of issues in this paper. Firstly, the problem of Third World Debt and certain economic policies implemented by First World institutions need to be considered. Secondly, the problem of lack of adequate medical facilities and drugs to tackle this epidemic ought to be addressed. Finally, the subordination of women within many societies will be discussed, again emphasising the link here between injustice and the spread of HIV/AIDS.

Debt repayments severely hinder poorer countries in their efforts at providing adequate health and educational facilities. Large sums of money, desperately needed for these areas, are used instead to pay off large loans and accumulated interest. This drain on a country's financial resources, and the resulting lack of essential social services, adds to the AIDS crisis in the Developing World. Estimates show that African external debt is in approximately \$227 billion¹, while in 1999 the total foreign debt owed by Third World countries was believed to be \$2.1 trillion.² Other figures show that \$7 – 10 billion are needed each year to fight HIV/AIDS, yet African countries pay \$13.5 billion in debt service each year.³ This transfer of vital financial resources away from the educational and health sectors towards debt repayment is seriously hindering efforts both at containing the disease, and preventing the further spread of HIV/AIDS. Thus, directly tackling poverty and freeing up financial resources to address the AIDS epidemic is essential. Unless this takes place necessary provisions for fighting the spread of HIV/AIDS will not be available.

One area of criticism has been the policy of Structural Adjustment. Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) were intended to stabilise and restructure the economy of poorer countries, leading to economic growth and the ability to repay debts to donor countries. One result of these adjustment plans was a reduction in the role of the state both in the economy and also in the provision of other services including health care and education. They also placed sole importance on *economic* development and growth, and failed to take into account the effect that this would have on other social services. Funds were directed away from these areas since 'development' was seen in purely economic terms. Consequently, one is left with a very narrow vision of human development, and this inevitably results in other aspects of development being forgotten or ignored.

A major flaw of structural adjustment programmes is that their conditions and rules were applied unilaterally, with little or no consideration of an individual country's economic and social situation. Applying these programmes to all Third World Countries, irrespective of economic status, inevitably leads to problems. No thought is given to the difficulty individual countries may encounter in repaying debts. Also, the conditions accompanying these programmes benefit donor countries more so than recipient countries. This fact, along with the inflexibility of these programmes and their inability to meet the varying situations of individual countries, has meant that they have had an extremely negative effect on the economic plight of many Third World countries. Cheru concludes that 'While many elements of macroeconomic adjustment are critically important for promoting economic growth and social development, the context in which these policies have been applied is largely motivated to ensure that debtor nations fulfill their interest and principle payments to creditor institutions'.⁴

The result of focusing purely on macroeconomic balance and debt repayment has a regressive impact on access to education, food and social services. Several basic human rights are jeopardised in the process. For example, the right to food is threatened due to increased pressure on countries to produce cash crops such as tobacco, coffee and cotton instead of concentrating on agricultural produce. The result is low levels of food for local consumption, and goods for export become the main concern. The decline in local food production increases malnutrition and food shortages.

Another area affected is education. The right to education is jeopardized, and figures show a dramatic decline in children receiving primary education. In the 1960's and 1970's 50% of children in

most developing countries received at least four years primary education. However, structural adjustment programmes have resulted in many governments suspending or abolishing spending on education. Consequently, the percentage of children attending school has dropped from 55% in 1979 to 45% in 1995.⁵ Girls in particular have suffered since many families are unable to pay school fees and have to choose which children they can afford to send to school. Often the boys are sent in preference to girls. When trying to combat the AIDS epidemic one realises the importance of education. However, cuts in the social service sector have resulted in poor and inadequate educational facilities. Thus, education is often beyond the reach of the poor, and this adds to the problem of trying to tackle the scale of the AIDS epidemic.

The right to health is also threatened due to the implementation of structural adjustment programmes. Again, due to the reallocation of vital resources to repay huge loans, essential social services such as health care are often ignored. Where medical facilities exist, they are often understaffed and under-equipped. In relation to the AIDS epidemic one realises how inadequate the existing medical resources are in combatting the crisis. Despite the need to invest capital into medical care, funds are instead directed towards the payment of debt.

These examples show how structural adjustment programmes contribute, in many cases, to the problems within the Third World rather than solving them. This is not to say that SAPs are the only reason for these difficulties, but they are certainly part of the problem. I am not trying to suggest that by abolishing Third World debt and the policy of Structural Adjustment, these countries will have the necessary funds to invest in the social sector. It would be naïve to think that governments would automatically transfer the money required for debt repayments into education and health care. It may well be the case that this money would be used for other purposes and that the poor would still be neglected. Certainly the emphasis must be on encouraging wealthy nations and international organisations to work towards alleviating the poverty in which many Third World countries find themselves.

Central to this are economic policies that truly help the poor and address the social as well as the economic problems which exist. However, individual governments also have a duty and responsibility towards the poor. They must ensure that financial resources are used to address the problems within their countries. Should debt relief occur, this money must be redirected wisely. Increasingly we see examples where this is not the case. For example, in South Africa R40 billion (\$4 billion) is being spent on re-armament by a government that also argues that it does not have the resources to provide facilities such as HIV counseling and testing services.⁶ This is only one example of how countries misuse what little resources they have. Thus, although international policy directly affects the growth and development of Third World countries and often has devastating results, individual countries have a responsibility to ensure that resources are used in a way that provides its people with the chance to live, and live well.

At a local level the effects of poverty are equally severe. Poverty affects people in so many ways, and the poor are particularly vulnerable to this disease. One immediate effect of poverty among people is poor health and nutrition. Where clean water, adequate housing and sewerage, and sufficient food is lacking, the inevitable result is ill-health. Often those who need medical assistance most cannot afford it. Consequently, the immune system is weakened and is less able to fight off disease and infection. Whiteside explains that 'Protein-energy malnutrition, iron-deficiency anaemia, vitamin-A deficiency, all poverty related conditions, decrease resistance to disease'.⁷

But poverty also forces people to adopt 'survival' mechanisms in order to cope with lack of income. Prostitution is an obvious example here. This greatly increases the chance of contracting STDs and also of passing them on to other individuals. HIV may be transmitted to a large extent sexually, but sexual behavior must be considered within a social and economic context. Lack of income coupled with little job prospects drives women into prostitution. Inevitably such practices increase the chances of contracting HIV as well as adding to the future spread of the virus. Thus poverty plays a major role in the spread of HIV, and it also make containment of the virus increasingly difficult.

A second form of injustice which contributes to the AIDS crisis in many Developing Countries, and one related to poverty, is the lack of basic medical care and treatment for those suffering with HIV/AIDS. This poses a major obstacle in the fight against AIDS. Basic health care services are minimal. Drugs for fighting HIV-related illnesses are scarce and it is usually only the rich who can afford them. In most cases there are only the most basic drugs, such as aspirin, available for pain relief. The poor are unable to meet the many costs associated with HIV infection – essential life saving drugs, special dietary needs, the cost of care for the sick, travel expenses to hospitals and clinics and so on. Also, the fact that many developing countries lack the necessary funds for investment in social services means that services such as clinics, HIV testing facilities and counselling services are at a premium.

But why are drugs so expensive in Developing Countries? One reason for the high cost of drugs is the patents associated with them. Patents play a direct role in the cost of drug and are a major reason why essential medicines are often inaccessible to those most in need of them.

Historically a patent was something granted by the state, a reward given to an inventor who would, in return, make this invention available to the public. The idea was that the inventor would benefit from exclusive right to sell this invention for a certain amount of time denying others access to the production of the item. The patenting of drugs has a significant impact on access to affordable drugs, especially within developing countries. It is another example of how international policy negatively effects the poor and fails to consider their need above profit and economics.

According to reports, the price of antiretroviral drugs would need to be reduced by 95% before they would become affordable to Third World countries.⁸ Companies are unlikely to reduce the price to this extent. Efforts by poorer countries to get these drugs at cheaper rates, or produce them themselves, have been hampered by the might of the pharmaceutical companies as well as the US government. The irony is that these countries are only trying to obtain what they are legally entitled to under the WTO Trade Related Intellectual Property (TRIPS) agreement through parallel importing and compulsory licensing. All members of WTO are bound by TRIPS. 'The TRIPS agreement sets a minimum standard for intellectual property protection in all member countries' national legislation. In the case of pharmaceuticals, patent protection is extended for a minimum of 20 years. Developing countries had until 2000 (or 2006 for the least developed) to bring their national policies into line with this'.⁹ Thus we find many developing countries are bound by international legislation which, in relation to access to drugs, favours pharmaceutical companies and severely damages poorer countries' ability to purchase vital drugs. TRIPS undermine the ability of poorer countries to produce cheaper generic versions of drugs that are under patent in industrialised countries. It also strengthens the monopoly of large pharmaceutical companies and increases their grip on the global market. In reality, developing countries are often denied access to cheaper drugs through parallel importing and compulsory licensing due to the international pressure brought on them by powerful companies and governments.

There are loopholes in TRIPS however. In theory, at least, TRIPS allows countries to protect public health. Article 8.1 states that 'members may adopt measures necessary to protect public health and nutrition, and to promote public interests in sectors of vital importance to their socio-economic and technological development'.¹⁰ Interestingly, articles 6 and 31 allow countries, under certain circumstances, to avail of parallel importing and compulsory licensing respectively. Compulsory licensing allows the production and use of generic drugs without the consent of the patent holder. There are conditions, however, including cases of national emergency and ensuring that compensation is given to the patent holder.

One may ask why developing countries are not taking advantage of these loopholes and importing cheaper drugs or producing generic forms of these drugs themselves. One reason is that they lack the medical and industrial infrastructure necessary for such production, as well as trained personnel to work in these industries. In relation to parallel importing, the problems faced here are not so much legal as political. The problem for many poorer countries is not whether they are legally entitled to import cheaper drugs but rather the political consequences which may result if they do so. 'The problem for developing countries is not whether compulsory licensing of pharmaceuticals is legal, because it clearly is legal. It's the political problem of whether they will face sanctions from the United States government, for doing things that they have a legal right to do, but which the United States government does not like.'¹¹ The example of Thailand illustrates this point well. Thailand was about to use compulsory licensing to manufacture drugs for meningitis and AIDS, and had a statute in place which gave them the necessary power to do so. This was consistent with international law. The US government, however, threatened trade sanctions with Thailand unless they withdrew the license, and this resulted in Thailand's being forced out of something which they had a legal right to engage in. The result was that these drugs, which could have been produced much cheaper, were still beyond the reach of the poor who desperately needed them. Thus, although the production of cheaper drugs may be permitted under certain circumstances in international policy, there are few cases where this is actually taking place. India and Brazil are examples where it has worked, but often the might of the large pharmaceutical companies and western governments prevail.

It is not surprising that large pharmaceutical companies vehemently oppose developing countries producing or acquiring cheaper drugs, and they are determined to protect their own interests. However, a number of the arguments put forward by these companies for the safeguarding of their patenting rights and the prices they charge are questionable. One of the main reasons these companies offer for the high prices they charge is the research and development costs they incur. They claim that these research and development costs are so high that financial incentives are necessary to ensure

future investment in research. If they do not have patent protection, and if poorer countries begin producing cheaper drugs these companies have no incentive to invest new funds into the development of new drugs. This seems a legitimate argument at first glance, but there are problems with it. First, developing countries do not represent a lucrative market for these companies. Thomas explains that 'The global pharmaceutical market is huge – over \$400 billion per annum. Yet Africa only accounts for 1.3% of the global health market. About 90% of the \$70 billion invested annually in health R&D [research and development] by pharmaceutical companies and Western governments is not focused on tropical problems, but increasingly on the problems faced by the 10% of the global population living in developed, industrialised countries'.¹² Examples here include baldness and obesity. Thus the Third World is not a market priority for these companies. In this case it could be argued that the production of generic drugs or parallel importing will not effect the pharmaceutical companies in any significant way. Second, a significant amount of the investments into research and development is paid for by taxpayers. This is not to say that the companies themselves do not invest huge amounts in research, but a significant proportion is obtained through governments and taxpayers. Also, these companies make enormous profits each year which comfortably cover any investment risks into research they make take. So while companies claim the price of drugs reflect the research and development costs, others believe the prices reflect what the market will support rather than what the drugs are actually worth.

For example, Pentamidine was a relatively cheap treatment for sleeping sickness until it was discovered that this drug was effective in treating an AIDS related illness – pneumocystis carinii pneumonia. Once this was revealed the price of the drug rose by 500% and the drug disappeared from the poorer African and South Asian market.¹³ What this shows is that the price of drugs does not always reflect research costs or the value of the drug. It reflects, rather, the demand within a market and this increases prices to enormous levels. Those who feel the effects of this the most are the poor. The cost of drugs and the control larger companies have over the global market means that the majority of people suffering from illness, and those desperately in need of treatment, will never be able to afford it. Heywood concludes that 'the problem is with the commodification and privatisation of medicine and with the evolution of something that for many people is as essential for human life as water into something that makes profits for shareholders in countries of the first world. And this is made possible by the silent, but very deliberate, shifting of certain 'rights' away from the values that inspired them'.¹⁴

Patents are not the only reason why drugs are so costly within the Third World, although it is a leading factor. Import duties, taxes, distribution costs, and registration costs all push up the price of drugs. In 2000, for example, there was a \$12,000 registration fee for new drugs in Russia. This is a large *disincentive* for a company to enter the market. In South Africa there is a 14% value added tax on drugs and condoms. This has led in many cases to people paying up to five times the manufacturers selling price for a drug, whereas it normally costs only about twice the price in developed countries.¹⁵ Moreover, studies have shown that the cost of 15 out of 18 dosage forms of 11 antiretroviral and other drugs was higher in Africa, Asia and Latin America than in 10 wealthy nations.¹⁶ Thus although patents are not the only reason for high drug costs, they are a leading factor in this. We are left with the disturbing reality that many drugs are more expensive in Africa, where they are needed the most, than in developed countries.¹⁷ For example, ciprofloxacin, an extremely successful antiretroviral drug, cost twice as much in Uganda as in Norway. Similarly, fluconazole costs US\$0.30 in Thailand where generic production of this drug substantially lowered its cost. However to buy it in Kenya would cost US\$18.00. In conclusion, it was reported that ten out of thirteen of the most commonly used drugs were more expensive in Tanzania than in Canada.

A final area of injustice I wish to consider is the subordination of women within many countries and communities, and the impact this has on the spread of HIV/AIDS. In doing so I want to look at the situation in South Africa, paying particular attention to the extremely high levels of rape and sexual violence. Violence of this nature, directed largely at women, is not only a major injustice and violation of the person, but has obvious repercussions when dealing with the AIDS crisis in South Africa.

Accurate figures for the number of rapes and other sexual assaults are difficult to find. This is partly due to the fact that many rapes will never be reported. Women may find the police service intimidating or unhelpful, and insensitive questioning often leads to further feelings of shame and humiliation. It is also the fact that in many cases of rape the women knows her attacker and, consequently, is reluctant to report the assault out of fear of reprisal. The apartheid policies of the past have instilled deep suspicion of the police service particularly among the black population and this is a further reason for so few reports of rape and sexual violence. The result is that many rapes go unreported and unpunished. According to Rape Crisis Cape Town only one in twenty rapes are reported, while the Southern African Police force estimate that as few as one in thirty five rapes is reported to the authorities.¹⁸ Thus although in 1998 49,280 rapes were reported to the South African

police¹⁹ estimates show that in reality as many as 985,600 rapes occurred in 1998.²⁰ Figures for 1996 are more shocking with estimates for the number of rapes as high as 2 million in South Africa. 'Police statistics show that in 1996, over 50,000 women reported rape. Yet, these figures are the tip of the iceberg. The SAPS [South African Police Service] cite that only 1 in 35 rapes is reported. So almost 2 million women were raped in 1996 alone. It is estimated that a woman is raped every 23 seconds in South Africa, that between 1 in 3 and 1 in 2 women or girls will be raped in her lifetime, and that most will know her attacker'.²¹ These figures are supported by others also. For example Susan Rakoczy says that 'The 1997 figures on rape from the national Equal Rights Commission stated that every 26 seconds a woman or child is raped and that one out of every two of the country's 20 million women will be raped. It is estimated that 1.6 million girls and women are raped each year'.²²

A further alarming trend is the increasing number of child rapes taking place. This is largely due to the belief that sexual intercourse with a virgin or child will cure a person of HIV. There are other factors for the high levels of rape within South Africa, but in the case of 'baby rape' beliefs of this nature seem to be contributing to the number of assaults on children. Between January 2000 and October 2001, 31,780 cases of child rape and attempted child rape were reported to the South African police.²³

Obviously such trends have a devastating effect on society as a whole, but also make efforts at containing the AIDS epidemic very difficult. The police and legal systems are weighed down by the number of cases reported daily, and the result is that many attackers will never be caught or, if caught, may not be punished for their crime. This creates the impression that rape is a punishment-free crime, with many men believing they will never be caught or made pay for these attacks. Statistics enforce this view. Figures show that in 1995/6, for example, of an estimated 3 million rapes only 3,697 perpetrators were convicted.

Professor Amina Mama of the University of Cape Town notes that 'South Africa [is] one of the world's most deadly environments for women. Statistical evidence tells us that, post-apartheid, South African women are more likely to be murdered, raped or mutilated than women anywhere else in the democratic world, including the rest of Africa. Their assailants are not foreign invading armies demonstrating conquest, or even members of 'other' racial groups in the still-divided post-apartheid locales of the new nation. They are South African men, most often the very men with whom South African women live in intimate relationships'.²⁴ This statement points to an important aspect of rape in South Africa. Many women who have been raped know their attackers. They may be their husbands, boyfriends, neighbors or a male relative. As mentioned above, this is one reason why so few rapes are reported to the authorities. So unlike other situations where rape is used a tool of war, most rapes are carried out by people known to the survivors. But why are so many women being raped, and why is the problem so serious in South Africa?

Rape is concerned with issues of power and control. It has little to do with sexual attraction but instead is used to make men feel in control. In this respect it is interesting to consider the scale of the problem in South Africa. One aspect of the apartheid regime was that it denied black men any expression of their traditional roles; extreme poverty and high unemployment meant that in many cases they were unable to provide for their families. Male characteristics such as strength, powerfulness and being in control were denied under this regime. Black men generally felt frustrated and were oppressed by the strict laws within South African society. It seems that this legacy is still affecting many men today. The importance of gender and being able to identify with gender-roles means that men here need to be able to express such characteristics. Many believe that men's violent behaviour towards women should be considered, at least partly, in terms of the process of masculinisation. Certainly as regards rape one can see how the elements of control and power by men over women become a central aspect. Also the violence, abuse and injustice experienced under the apartheid regime must be a factor in the current high levels of violence within this society. This increasingly finds expression in men's violent behaviour against women. Binaifer Nowrojee describes the effect apartheid continues to have among the poor population of South Africa. 'In the black townships, the dense population, the breakdown of the family unit under the stress of apartheid policies, high levels of unemployment and the consequent rise in crime have all contributed to increased levels of violence. Violence directed against young women by armed youth gangs has become a well-known phenomenon'.²⁵

A related reason for the growing incidence of rape is the general inferior status held by women within society. Men are taught that women are their property. Women are expected to serve men, sexually and otherwise. It is 'natural' for men to expect sex whenever they want from women. If and when refusal occurs, men may interpret this as a lack of respect for them and their authority. Women may be raped in order to ensure their future respect and to leave a woman in no doubt of a man's authority over her. Obviously a lack of respect for women, and the denial of equal status with men or equal rights places women in a vulnerable and dangerous position. Reform of the legal system to

protect women's rights is necessary, but a change in men's attitudes towards women is essential for significant change to occur. Similarly, education is vital to dispel myths regarding the cure of HIV which put women's lives and health in danger.

Yet the reality remains that rape is a major problem within South Africa. The statistics seem incredible but they reflect the seriousness of the problem here. In many cases rape is considered by men, usually young men and adolescents, to be 'fun'. Gang rape and 'jackrolling' is on the increase. Some see jackrolling as a game and do not consider it a crime at all. Members of these gangs are encouraged to prove themselves in front of other gang members. This kind of rape is particularly severe. Schools and universities are regularly targeted, and the lack of security in many schools makes young women and girls very vulnerable to attack. Women who are homeless and sleep on the streets are other 'easy targets'. It is not uncommon for the victim to be murdered. If she knows the members of the gang she may be killed in order to avoid their identities being revealed.²⁶

The problem of rape and sexual violence is becoming more serious each day. Nowrojee says that 'What is certain ... is that South African women, living in one of the most violent countries in the world, are disproportionately likely to be victims of that abuse'.²⁷ The violence within South Africa, and particularly the sexual violence directed at women, is a major concern not only for South African society as a whole but also for those working to contain the AIDS epidemic. Reform is urgently needed to ensure that women's rights are protected. But more fundamentally reform in men's attitudes is required in order to ensure that, in the long-term, women will receive equal opportunities as men. Their social and economic subordination must be reversed and women must have the same freedoms and rights as men. Legal reform is insufficient if women remain inferior and subordinate in the eyes of men. Violence and rape are major factors in the spread of HIV and other STD's. However, it is necessary for society to tackle these crimes severely not only as a means to reduce HIV transmission but also in an effort to restore justice and equality for women.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this paper is to show the link between poverty, injustice, and the spread of HIV/AIDS in the Developing World. To treat the crisis merely as a sexual issue is inadequate and misses the complexity of the problem. Although the majority of HIV transmissions occur through sexual contact, one cannot reduce this subject to the area of sexual conduct. Sexual activity must be considered within a social and economic context. It is clear that at the heart of the problem within Developing Countries are matters of injustice. Poverty, subordination of women, lack of basic medical care and drugs, all contribute in a major way to the current crisis. Poverty, both on an individual and national level, makes people especially vulnerable to this disease for a variety of reasons. Injustices perpetrated against women also add to the difficulty in containing the spread of HIV. It is vital to tackle the problem of injustice and exploitation if any realistic long-term solution to the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the Third World is to be found.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Figures vary as to the total amount owed by African Countries. Alan Whiteside, for example, estimates African Debt at US\$227 billion. For these figures see Alan Whiteside, 'Poverty and HIV/AIDS in Africa', in *Third World Quarterly*, vol.23, no.2 (2002), p.330. Others believe the figure is much higher. Fantu Cheru estimates it is US\$340 billion. For this see Fantu Cheru, 'Debt, adjustment, and the politics of effective response to HIV/AIDS in Africa', in *Third World Quarterly*, vol.23 no.2, (2002), p.301.
- ² For these figures see Cheru, 'Debt, adjustment ...', p.301.
- ³ *Ibid.*, p.300.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, p.303.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, p.303-4.
- ⁶ See Mark Heywood, 'Drug access, patents and global health: 'chaffed and waxed sufficient'', *Third World Quarterly*, vol.23 no.2 (2002), p.220.
- ⁷ Alan Whiteside, 'Poverty and HIV/AIDS in Africa', p.317.
- ⁸ Caroline Thomas, 'Trade policy and the politics of access to drugs', *Third World Quarterly*, vol.23 no.2 (2002), p.254. Thomas is here using estimates given by PANOS in 2000.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, p.254.
- ¹⁰ Cited in Thomas, 'Trade policy and the politics of access to drugs', p.254.
- ¹¹ This point is made by James Love, of the Consumer Project on Technology in Washington, 1999, and cited in Thomas, 'Trade policy and the politics of access to drugs', p.255.

- 12 *Ibid.*, p.259.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p.260.
- 14 Heywood, 'Drug access, patents and global health ...', p.223.
- 15 PANOS, *Beyond Our Means: The cost of treating HIV/AIDS in the developing world*, (London: The Panos Institute, 2000), p.34.
- 16 On this point see PANOS, p.34.
- 17 For the figures quoted here see Nana Poku, 'Africa's AIDS crisis in context ...', p.202.
- 18 See Catholic Institute for International Relations (CIIR), *Tamar's Cry: Re-reading an ancient text in the midst of an HIV/AIDS pandemic*, (London: CIIR, 2002), p.17, or PACSA, *Rape*, PACSA Factsheet no.44, June 1998, p.1.
- 19 These figures exclude cases of sexual assault (4,851) and incest (179) because the South African definition of rape is limited. See CIIR, *Tamar's Cry...*, p.17.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p.17.
- 21 PACSA, *Rape*, p.1.
- 22 Susan Rakoczy, 'Women in Peril of Their Lives: Feminist Ethical Perspectives on the HIV/AIDS Pandemic', *Grace and Truth*, vol.18 no.3, (November 2001), p.49.
- 23 CIIR, *Tamar's Cry...*, p.17.
- 24 Cited in CIIR, *Tamar's Cry...*, p.16/17.
- 25 Binaifer Nowrojee, *Violence Against Women in South Africa: The State Response to Domestic Violence and Rape*, (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1995), p.54.
- 26 *Ibid.*, p.50-59.
- 27 *Ibid.*, p.44.

TEXTUAL INTERCOURSE: THE ROLE OF THE TEXT-MESSAGE IN THE SOCIAL LIFE OF ADOLESCENTS

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This paper will examine the role of the text message in the creation and maintenance of social relationships and how this serves to engender group cohesion and solidarity among adolescents. I will briefly examine how research has understood the upsurge in the use of text messaging. From here I will delineate its role within social interaction paying specific attention to two key ideas. The first follows the work of Taylor and Harper (in print) and analyses the text message through the concept of gift exchange, I will make particular reference to the work of Mauss and the idea of obligation and reciprocity in the act of 'gifting'. Secondly, I will focus on Simmel's conceptualisation of 'sociability' and make explicit claim to the idea that the text message can be seen as embodying acts of what Simmel would term 'pure sociability'.

INTRODUCTION

This paper will explore the role of the text message in the social lives of adolescents, offering some initial thoughts on how the culture of texting can be understood from a sociological perspective. I do not propose to present the definitive analysis of the text message but rather I wish to present two specific approaches that may serve as useful in broaching an understanding of their social consequences. While the text message is a new medium of communication the form of interaction it embodies can be seen as representative of established social practices. I will begin with an outline of how the text message developed and how its rising use has been understood by researchers as bound to specific concerns within youth culture. From here I will broach an understanding of how we may begin to investigate the social significance of text messaging, with a specific focus on how adolescents interact. I will argue that the use of the text message can be seen to fulfill certain traditional forms of behaviour in the creation and maintenance of adolescent peer-group relationships. Two key concepts will inform this hypothesis: firstly the location of the text message within the performance of gift exchange, with particular reference to Mauss, and second the use of the text message in carrying out of acts of sociability, specifically through Simmel's conceptualisation of the term. I will also critically examine the nature of the text message by looking at how it can be a source of stress and rupture in social interaction. Thus, this paper will seek to grasp the delicate and often problematic nature of adolescent use of the text message in social interaction.

THE BIRTH OF TEXT

The SMS (short message service), or text messaging as it has become more commonly known, was not initially considered as more than a side product to the other communicative applications of the mobile phone¹. It was added as little more than an afterthought to the GSM (Global System for Mobile communications) system essentially because the technology allowed for it². Its subsequent popularisation came as a major shock to those within the industry initially believed to be unfeasible as an evits perceived awkward nature and the relative brevity of the messages that could be sent. However, in the late nineties there came a Europe wide boom in text traffic driven by adolescent users who have taken to this form of communication at a high rate. For example, the volume of text messages sent in Ireland over the third quarter of 2002 reached 585 million, which represented a 55% increase over a 12 month period³. While figures for the age distribution of use are not available it is widely acknowledged that teenagers and adolescents are at the forefront of driving this textual revolution.

The adoption of the text message as a core medium of communication and the inability of marketers and developers of mobile phone technology to foresee this represents the unpredictable course which a technology takes. A technology, such as the mobile phone, can be seen as socially shaped as well as socially shaping. The particular case of the text message shows how it was users of the device who drove the development of the technology and developers and marketers who followed. The rise of the text message as one of the major successes of the mobile phone shows how adopters of a technology are not merely passive subjects but active participants in the social development of technology. The adoption of technology is followed by its adaptation to particular uses and concerns by the consumer. This was particularly evident in the development of the text message, as the consumer led the way in creating an understanding of its social applications.

WHY TEXT?

Research has identified three reasons why younger users have embraced the text message with such enthusiasm: its easy, quick and cheap⁴. These factors can be seen as initial precipitators for adolescent adoption of the text message. They sit easily with the needs of adolescents in terms of the way they construct and carry out their lives.

The ease of the text message means it affords the user a more discreet means of communication especially when one considers the often public nature of mobile phone use and the often private and personal character of its content. The text message can be sent and received in almost any conceivable location and offers the option of communication in areas and at times when one is normally incommunicado. It is also a discreet medium for the transmission of thoughts and feelings not readily presented in face-to-face interaction. The text message offers a direct line between individuals and circumvents the problem of eavesdroppers. It allows for the careful composition of a message through rereading, editing and even consulting with others. This is an important consideration for adolescents, particularly in relation to romance as one can avoid the characteristic awkward embarrassment so often associated with initial advances⁵.

Initial reservations about the awkward input mechanism have subsided as adolescents have come to interface effortlessly with the mobile phone's keypad mechanism, embracing the predictive text function offered on many models. Adolescent users display consummate ease in tapping away at their phones while engaging in other activities. The speed and direct nature of the text message strips away the time consuming pleasantries associated with more traditional telephone exchanges and provides a means through which communication is concentrated. Grinter and Eldridge in examining the texting practices of English teenagers argue that text messaging can circumvent conversational protocol, as it 'the terseness of the medium speeds up the exchange and focuses it'⁶.

Finally, the relative cheapness of text messaging compared with other forms of communication, especially mobile phone calls, is a further reason for its adoption and one that is certainly important to cost-conscious adolescents. Texting was initially free but with the growth in its usage providers applied a charge⁷. In Ireland this charge can be between 11c-15c depending on the service provider and tariff option.

However, these reasons only touch the surface of why the text message has become such an important means of communication within adolescent peer-group relationships and how we can understand its role within adolescent culture. They fail to fully address the role texting plays in the carrying out of adolescent life and the social meaning that can be attributed to this form of communication. While they account for the cosmetic features of the text message that gave impetus to its growth as a means of communication they are limited in explaining the social significance of this new text culture, which is what I am concerned with here. Texting can be seen as representative of customary rituals of interaction as new technology coalesces with traditional forms of social behaviour. Taylor and Harper argue: '...young people's motivation for texting seemed normative, complex and deeply rooted in their perceptions of social relations'⁸. Following the work of Taylor and Harper, I will examine how texting can be understood as part of the performance of gift-giving, with particular reference to the work of Marcel Mauss. I will then argue that the text message can be seen to embody acts of sociability as Georg Simmel in particular understood the term. The use of the text message is often characterised as fatuous and superficial. However, what I argue is that the use of text messaging is coming to play an important role in the social lives of adolescents and in the way they define themselves and their peer group relationships.

THE TEXT MESSAGE AND GIFT EXCHANGE

Brown quoted in Mauss writes of the gift: 'The goal is above all a moral one, the object being to foster friendly feelings between the two persons in question, and if the exercise failed to do so, everything had failed'⁹. It is part of a process of exchange in which giver and receiver are involved. It is a relationship in which obligations are created towards the end of producing peer group solidarity. The text message embodies this characteristic form of the gift. The giver of a text message is offering something that often transcends the specific content of the message and binds them to the receiver within this system of exchange - a modern day 'potlatch' - and indicates friendship between individuals. The text message is invested with meaning by both giver and receiver and this meaning is formed within the particular character of the message, the style of its composition, the time and place it is sent and received and the relationship that exists between the two parties. Mauss describes the *vaygu'a* exchanged by the inhabitants of the Trobriand Islands writing that 'each one has its name, a personal history, and even a tale attached to it'¹⁰. One could easily transfer the description to the text message in that each message is accompanied by an indication of the sender of the message, and the date and time at which it was sent. Similarly Helmuth Berking writes that the gift 'organises memories, makes feelings concrete, and sets up relationship signals'¹¹. Taylor and Harper found in their research of British teens that they saved messages they thought were 'valuable' or special, whether it was a romantic message from a boyfriend or girlfriend or personal interaction with a friend¹². The text message functions as a visible representation of a relationship that can be saved, reread and shared with others.

The text message also derives its value and meaning from its part within particular ritual exchanges 'it is not merely the object of exchange from which the meaning originates, but also its role in the ceremonial exchange itself'¹³. These messages like gifts take on meaning from the ritual process in which they occur 'they are in a sense feelings and also, temporally speaking, memories to be grasped and held because they are structurally associated with particular histories and bound up with particular individuals'¹⁴. The particular meaning and value ascribed to the text message differs according to whether they are private and personal or

jokes and stories to be shared with others. For example research indicates that the 'goodnight message' is a common ritual among adolescent couples, this is simply the nightly sending of a message saying 'good night'. Within their fieldwork, Taylor and Harper found how this practice has become normative and argue that 'normal, mundane encounter is made special through the observation of ceremony...the text message comes to mean more than merely an exchange of words, but becomes an offering of commitment to the relationship'¹⁵. This practice of the 'goodnight message' is evident in similar research that has been carried out¹⁶ and is just one example of how the text message can become meaningful within the context of ritual exchange.

Mauss, in his essay 'The Gift', delineated three core obligations within systems of exchange: the obligation to give, to receive and to reciprocate¹⁷. These themes can be seen within the process of exchange that is texting. I will deal with each in turn.

The obligation to give is, according to Mauss¹⁸, the essence of the potlatch. There exists an obligation to give or send text messages to foment cohesion and solidarity within adolescent peer groups. Through the exchange of text messages there is a sharing of thoughts and experiences. It is a means of offering oneself to others in maintaining the bonds of friendship. Ling and Yttri write that 'these expressive messages are a confirmation of a relationship. It is a type of social interaction in which the sender and receiver share a common, though asynchronous, experience. Sending a message refreshes the contact between the two'¹⁹. Interaction is often established through the sending of an 'opening gift'²⁰, text messages such as 'How r u?', 'r u goin to town?', etc. act in this fashion, equally a text message with a joke or comment opens up the possibility of further interaction. The continuation of this depends on how the message is received and reciprocated, no response leads to a closing down of the communication. It can be argued that the intent of the message to bring people closer can supercede its specific content. For example, text messages can in some instances be marked by a manifestly functional character, such as the arranging of meetings or activities, the adjusting of arrangements, etc.²¹ However, there exists a latent message in that the exchange and receipt of these messages is a mark of one's acceptance within the peer group. It is a gauge of one's popularity and acceptance that one is included in the plans of the group²². Thus, the specific content of the message can be seen as secondary to the intent of binding individuals together. Indeed, research shows that adolescents often quantify their peer group status by how many messages they receive in a day, who sent them or what type of messages they have saved on their phone²³. Those little 'beep beep's' that punctuate the day can serve as a powerful indication of one's popularity. The sending of messages is, like the giving of a gift, an act of friendship, a tangible marker of solidarity between individuals and part of the process in which social relationships are buttressed and confirmed.

We turn now to the obligations to receive and reciprocate within the system of gift exchange. In his work Mauss separates out these two obligations, but when applied to text messaging they become inseparable, in that the receipt of a text message is acknowledged through the act of reciprocation. Through the reciprocal sending of a message the parties are bound together in an unspoken and implicit social contract. Such interaction, research would indicate, is not replacing face-to-face meetings or even traditional phone calls but supplements it building on previous experience or providing context for future meetings. It can be seen as providing comfort in times of absence between friends and loved ones. The act of reciprocation is confirmation of the relationship and an indicator of trust and friendship between the parties. Through this cycle of reciprocity the peer group is produced and reproduced in everyday life.

THE TEXT MESSAGE AND SOCIABILITY

The use of the mobile phone for social interaction and expressive communication can be interpreted as a modern articulation of Simmel's concept of 'sociability' – 'the play form of association'. For Simmel sociability is interaction for its own sake and sociability is an end in itself. He speaks of an 'impulse to sociability in man', and beyond the particular content of groups organised around specific needs and interests there exists sociable association. He writes: '...associations are accompanied by a feeling for, by a satisfaction in, the very fact that one is associated with others and that the solitariness of the individual is resolved into togetherness, a union with others'²⁴. Thus sociability is bound to the creation and maintenance of social groups through the unity provided by association with others.

The traditional form of sociability that Simmel describes is based around face-to-face interaction and exists today within the gathering of friends in the local pub, coffee shop, etc. The mobile phone has been adopted as a medium of sociability, where it can substitute, or more commonly work in tandem with face-to-face interaction. It provides a virtual meeting place in which sociability can be found. Kopomaa²⁵ conceptualises the mobile phone in terms of Oldenburg's²⁶ concept of a 'third place'. Adjacent to yet beyond work and home Oldenburg saw this 'third place' in terms of physical spaces such as coffee shops, markets and other meeting places. For Kopomaa, the mobile phone constitutes a meeting place where people spend time yet at the same time it is a non-place a virtual space without spatial boundaries. The use of the text message provides a means through which interaction can continue outside its traditional time and space boundaries. After separation at the end of the school day or after a night out sociability can be found within this 'non-place'.

In sociable interaction, the emphasis is on the group, and personal whims and concerns are rendered secondary to the interdependence of the individuals involved in its maintenance. Sociability is interaction that exists for itself, and is not oriented towards the achievement of concrete goals. The nature of sociable interaction is derived from the 'personalities' involved. All sociability gives great emphasis to the role of 'good form' in bringing meaning and stability to associations. Good form is the unifying force that gives positive impetus to sociability, 'good form' is mutual self-definition, interaction of the elements, through which a unity is made²⁷. Through this 'good form' there emerges what Simmel terms the 'pure form of sociability', 'the free playing, interacting interdependence of individuals'²⁸. To show good form is to participate in sociability and to contribute to the production and reproduction of the group. Within the specific context of text messaging, it is shown through the sending of messages, that is through fulfilling the obligation to give and reciprocate. Such activity represents one's good form and willingness to participate in sociable interaction. There is equally a value in the use of chat, gossip, jokes or quirky comments in this expressive use of the mobile phone. The memorable message is one that provides the basis of sociability both through further text messages and also for future face-to-face interaction. Ling and Yttri speak of the existence of what they term the 'meta-content' of the message, 'that is, the receiver is in the thoughts of the sender and when they meet next they will be able to base a certain portion of their further interaction on the exchange of messages'²⁹.

It is teenagers and adolescents, more than older users, who engage with the mobile phone at the level of 'pure sociability' as Simmel defines it, particularly in relation to communication with their peers. Adolescents send messages to family and parents to organise practical everyday things, such as arranging to be picked up or letting them know where they are and when they will be home. However, when sending messages to friends they tend to be more playful in the composition of the text³⁰. They may incorporate abbreviations, slang, jokes, 'smileys' or emoticons etc. and the messages are often not bound to specific goals but to the revival of the contact between the parties and a mutual satisfaction in sociability. Even in messages based on the coordination of peer group activity adolescents often embellish the message through the use of idiosyncratic text styles raising the functional to the level of the sociable. The text message allows for the dissolution of end-oriented interaction and the engagement of interaction for its own sake: 'It is a unique way of saying something without saying too much'³¹.

TEXTUAL TENSION

As much as it can imbue relationships with solidarity the text message can also be a source of rupture between adolescents. Failure to give and reciprocate is, in Mauss's terms, 'tantamount to declaring war'. It breaks down this cycle of reciprocity, which the giver can construe as a rejection of friendship on the part of the receiver. Taylor and Harper argue that the recipient who fails to reciprocate is placed in a position of inferiority until a sufficient act of gratitude is provided. They can often find themselves cut off from future interaction until an acceptable offering is made or a reasonable excuse is provided. However, the giver who does not receive can often feel inferior in that a lack of response can make them feel unwanted and alone. Taylor and Harper illustrate this when they show how their respondents feel isolated when they are not receiving messages as if something is 'wrong with the world': '...there are days when my phone does not beep at all. I'm like 'ok nobody likes me. NOBODY knows me!...' ³². The lack of reciprocation may also be based on the receiver treating the message as an 'unwanted gift' in that it may come at an awkward moment or from someone they don't want to talk to. This failure to reciprocate means the connection between the two is broken or at least temporarily suspended. In this sense, the text message can be seen as a site of 'bad form', in contrast to Simmel's definition of 'good form'. Equally there is an oppressive undertone within the obligation to reciprocate that can be a source of friction. The demands of reciprocity can be tested by the use of the text at inopportune times and by its overuse. The exhaustion of the mobile phone as a technology of sociability can overlay this form and render it more a chore than an act of enjoyment and play. There appears from evidence in the existing research to be a delicate etiquette involved in the culture of the text message within adolescent life, one that is more often latent rather than manifest.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, what I have presented here are some initial thoughts on how the text message can be understood as part of the ongoing 'work' of adolescent life. The mobile phone has become a key component of youth culture in Ireland and its growing place in Irish life requires attention. The text message is especially associated with young people, they have embraced this form of communication with a marked enthusiasm. The interpretation offered here is just one way in which we may understand the way adolescents use the mobile phone in general and the text message in particular for the mediation of social relationships. The choice of framework stems from the identification of common features between the way adolescents use the text message and the prevailing theories of gift-exchange and sociability. Whilst this approach does not exhaust the analytical possibilities available, I feel it offers some important initial insights into the uses of mobile phone technology. The practices of gift exchange and sociability are both bound to supporting the creation of social relationships

and their distinctive form is in part at least reproduced through the practice of texting. What the culture of texting represents is to quote Raymond Williams: '...a willed coexistence of very new technology and very old social forms'³³. The text message can be seen in part as a mechanism through which traditional forms of social behaviour are carried out through a new medium. What I hope to examine is the degree to which these hypotheses can be seen as evident within the context of Irish adolescent life. I do not want to overplay the role the text message has, but merely wish to argue that it is becoming an increasingly prevalent medium of adolescent social expression.

ENDNOTES

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- ² J. Agar, *Constant Touch: A Brief History of the Mobile Phone*. (London: Icon Books, 2003), p.62
- ³ Office of the Director of Telecommunications Regulation, 'The Irish Communication Market Quarterly Review'. (www.odtr.ie, 2002)
- ⁴ R.E. Grinter & M. Eldridge, 'y do tngrs luv 2 txt msg?', in W. Prinz, M. Jarke, Y. Rogers, K. Schmidt & V. Wulf (eds.) *Proceedings of the Seventh European Conference on Computer-Supported Cooperative Work ECSCW '01, Bonn, Germany*. (Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers)
- ⁵ R. Ling & B. Yttri, 'Hyper-Coordination via mobile phones in Norway', in J.E. Katz & M. Aakhus (eds.) *Perpetual Contact: Mobile Communication, Private Talk, Public Performance*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p.161; S. Plant, 'On the Mobile: The effects of mobile telephones on social and individual life'. (www.motorola.com, 2002), p.18; A. Weilenmann & C. Larsson, 'Collaborative use of the mobile telephone. A field study of Swedish teenagers'. (Goteborg, Sweden: Mobile Informatics)
- ⁶ R.E. Grinter & M. Eldridge, 'y do tngrs luv 2 txt msg?', p.?
- ⁷ R. Ling & B. Yttri, 'Hyper-Coordination via mobile phones in Norway', pp. 150-1
- ⁸ A. Taylor & R. Harper, 'The gift of the *gab?*: a design oriented sociology of young people's use of 'mobileZe'. (in print)
- ⁹ M. Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*. (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 18
- ¹⁰ M. Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*. p. 24
- ¹¹ H. Berking, *The Sociology of Giving*. (London: Sage, 1999), p. 9
- ¹² A. Taylor & R. Harper, 'The gift of the *gab?*: a design oriented sociology of young people's use of 'mobileZe'.
- ¹³ A. Taylor & R. Harper, 'The gift of the *gab?*: a design oriented sociology of young people's use of 'mobileZe'.
- ¹⁴ H. Berking, *The Sociology of Giving*. p. 5
- ¹⁵ A. Taylor & R. Harper, 'The gift of the *gab?*: a design oriented sociology of young people's use of 'mobileZe'.
- ¹⁶ R.E. Grinter & M. Eldridge, 'y do tngrs luv 2 txt msg?'; E-L Kasesniemi & P. Rautianen, 'Mobile culture of children and teenagers in Finland'.
- ¹⁷ M. Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*. p. 39
- ¹⁸ M. Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*. p. 39
- ¹⁹ R. Ling & B. Yttri, 'Hyper-coordination via mobile phones in Norway', pp. 158
- ²⁰ M. Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*.
- ²¹ R.E. Grinter & M. Eldridge, 'y do tngrs luv 2 txt msg?'; R. Ling & B. Yttri, 'Hyper-Coordination via mobile phones in Norway'; E-L Kasesniemi & P. Rautianen, 'Mobile culture of children and teenagers in Finland'.
- ²² R. Ling & B. Yttri, 'Hyper-Coordination via mobile phones in Norway', p. 148
- ²³ A. Taylor & R. Harper, 'The Gift of the *gab?*: a design oriented sociology of young people's use of 'mobileZe'; R. Ling & B. Yttri, 'Hyper-coordination via mobile phones', p.161; S. Plant, 'On the Mobile: The effects of mobile telephones on social and individual life'.
- ²⁴ G. Simmel, 'The Sociology of Sociability', on D. Frisby & M. Featherstone (eds.) *Simmel on Culture*. (London: Sage Publications, 1997), p.121
- ²⁵ T. Kopomaa, *The City in Your Pocket: The Birth of the Mobile Information Society*. (Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 2000).
- ²⁶ R. Oldenburg, *The Great Good Place: Cafes, coffee shops, community centers, beauty parlors, general stores, bars hangouts and how they get us through the day*. (New York: Paragon House, 1989)
- ²⁷ G. Simmel, 'The Sociology of Sociability', p.121.
- ²⁸ G. Simmel, 'The Sociology of Sociability', p.121.
- ²⁹ R. Ling & B. Yttri, 'Hyper-coordination via mobile phones in Norway', p.158.

- ³⁰ E-L Kasesniemi & P. Rautanen, 'Mobile culture of children and teenagers in Finland', pp. 183-5; R. Ling & B. Yttri, 'Hyper-coordination via mobile phones in Norway', pp. 155-9; R.E. Grinter & M. Eldridge 'y do tngs luv 2 txt msg?', pp. 227-9.
- ³¹ S. Plant, 'On the Mobile: The effects of mobile telephones on social and individual life', p. 32.
- ³² quoted in A. Taylor & R. Harper, 'The Gift of the *gab?*: a design oriented sociology of young people's use of 'mobileZe'.
- ³³ quoted in R. Silverstone & E. Hirsch (eds.), *Consuming Technologies: Media and Information in Domestic Spaces*. (London: Routledge, 1992), p.1.

AN CAIGHDEÁN AGUS AN CHANÚINT I GCÍN LAE MHICHÍL MHIC AODHA

GEARÓID Ó CLEIRCÍN, ROINN NA NUA-GHAEILGE

Maoiníodh an taighde ar a bhfuil an páipéar seo bunaithe faoi choimirce na Comhairle um Thaighde sna Dána agus sna hEolaíochtaí Sóisialta trí Scoláireacht Rialtas na hÉireann agus faoi choimirce Ollscoil na hÉireann, Maigh Nuad trí Scoláireacht Iarchéime na nEalaíon.

Choinnigh Micheál Mac Aodha, cainteoir dúchais Gaeilge as an bPointe ar an gCeathrú Rua, Co. na Gaillimhe, cín lae don bhliain 1984. Bhí Mac Aodha ina phríomhoide ceardscóile i gCeanannas Mór, Co. na Mí, ag an am agus bhí sé d'aidhm aige saothar a chruthú a bheadh ina leacht cuimhneacháin ar a bhaile dúchais. Tá eagar á chur agam ar an gcín lae úd agus anailís á déanamh agam ar a bhfuil inti. Sa pháipéar seo dirim ar ghné faoi leith den chín lae .i. an idirghabháil atá sa téacs idir chanúint dúchais an údair agus Caighdeán Oifigiúil na Gaeilge. Sula bpléim an cheist sin tugaim spléachadh gairid ar shaol an údair agus ar ábhar a shaothair.

SAOL AN ÚDAIR

Rugadh Micheál Mac Aodha sa Phointe, an taobh thoir theas de leithinis na Ceathrún Rua, i 1924. D'fhreastail sé Scoil Mhic Dara ar an gCeathrú Rua agus ghnóthaigh sé scoláireacht chun freastal a dhéanamh ar Choláiste Mhuire, Cathair na Gaillimhe, áit ar chaith sé blianta an Dara Cogadh Domhanda ó 1939 go 1945. Fuair sé scoláireacht eile ina dhiaidh sin go hOllscoil na Gaillimhe. Bronnadh céim sa Tráchtáil air i nGaillimh agus thug sé faoi cháilíocht sa mhúinteoireacht ghairmoideachais a bhaint amach díreach tar éis dó an chéim úd a fháil. Agus é láncháilithe fuair sé a chéad phost mar mhúinteoir taistil in oirthear na Gaillimhe i mí Eanáir 1949. Bhí sé ag roinnt a chuid ama idir dhá pharóiste, An Cnoc Breac agus Cill Tulach. Chaith sé dhá bhliain go leith ag gabháil don obair sin go dtí gur ceapadh ina phríomhoide ar Ghairmscoil Ros Muc é. D'fhan sé sa phost sin go dtí lár na gcaogaidí nuair a aistríodh go gairmscoil nua-oscailte i gCois Fharraige é, arís ina phríomhoide. Sheol an Coiste Gairmoideachais go Baile Locha Riach é i 1958 mar phríomhoide ar an ngairmscoil nua sa bhaile sin. Ansin, i 1960 ceapadh ina phríomhoide ar Scoil na gCeard, Ceanannas Mór é agus b'éigean dó bogadh óna chontae dúchais go Co. na Mí, áit a bhfuil cónaí air ó shin. Chuaigh sé ar phinsean i 1989 agus é tar éis a bhliain dheireanach a chaitheamh ag múineadh i bPobalscoil Chiaráin, an scoil nua a bunaíodh i gCeanannas Mór nuair a rinneadh cumasc idir Scoil na gCeard agus Meánscoil na mBráithre Críostaí. Phós Micheál Mac Aodha a bhean chéile, Treasa, i 1965 agus thóg siad ceathrar clainne i gCeanannas Mór, beirt mhac agus beirt iníon.

Chinn Micheál Mac Aodha, dar leis, ar an gcín lae a scríobh i gcuimhne ar an bPointe agus ar a mhuintir. Fágann sin go bhfuil meascán suimiúil idir an sean agus an nua inti, cuimhní ar laethanta a óige taobh le cuntais ar a shaol laethúil féin agus ar mhóreachtraí na bliana 1984. Scríobh an t-údar thart ar cheithre chéad focal in aghaidh an lae agus tá cuntas aige ar gach lá ó Eanáir go Nollaig sa bhliain úd. Scríobh sé an chóip bhunaidh i gcóipleabhar agus rinneadh í a chlóbhuailt tamall ina dhiaidh sin. Chuaigh sé siar ar an leagan clóbhuailte ansin agus rinne sé go leor leasuithe air ó thaobh na teanga de. Ba rogha consiasach - agus ní scríbhneoireacht ar mhaithe léi féin - a bhí ar bun aige toisc go raibh sé ag iarraidh a chinntiú go mbeadh cáipéis éigin ar fáil a choinneodh cuimhne a mhuintire agus a bhaile dúchais beo ina dhiaidh. Níl éinne dá shloinne fágtha sa Phointe anois agus fiú fiche bliain ó shin agus é ag tabhairt faoin gcín lae ní raibh ach an t-aon duine amháin ó Chlann Mhic Aodha fós ina chónaí ar an bPointe, a dheartháir, Máirtín Mac Aodha.

Is i bhfianaise an bhánaithe seo a thug Micheál Mac Aodha faoi scríobh na cine lae sa bhliain 1984. 'Scríobh mé an méid seo i gcuimhne ar an bPointe agus ar a mhuintir. Is gann, faraoid, a bhfuil ann den mhuintir sin anois. Agus fiafraítear díom tuige nach n-athraim siar.'¹ Seo iad línte deireanacha na cine lae agus cuireann siad in iúl go gonta soiléir dearcadh an údair i leith a bhaile dúchais. Meascán den chumha agus den tuiscint atá ann. Cumha an deoraí i ndiaidh an bhaile agus tuiscint an té a thuigeann nach bhfuil ann den bhaile úd anois ach cuimhní cinn. Mar gheall air sin, ní hionadh, b'fhéidir, gur mó de chúrsaí laethúla agus de thráchtairacht ar eachtraí comhaimseartha a fhaightear sa chín lae seachas cuimhní cinn ar na seanlaethanta. Bíonn an chumha agus an chuimhne fite fuaite le chéile mar a mheabhraíonn Micheál Mac Aodha don léitheoir go minic.

Tugann Máirín Nic Eoin 'an litríocht réigiúnach' ar 'litríocht ar bith ina dtagann ceantar áirithe, nó pearsantacht cheantair chun tosaigh níos mó ná mar a thagann tréithe nó fadhbanna an duine aonair.'² Faoin lipéad ginearálta sin luann sí na dírbheathaisnéisí Gaeltachta, na bailiúcháin aistí ina dtráchtar ar shaol na Gaeltachta agus úrscéalta agus scríbhneoireacht chruthaitheach eile ina ndéantar iarracht saol na Gaeltachta a léiriú. Is cosúil go raibh tionchar ag an litríocht réigiúnach ar Mhicheál Mac Aodha agus luann sé cuid mhaith de mhórshaothair an réimse úd ina chín lae, *Peig, Caisleán Óir* Mháire agus *Mise* le Colm Ó Gaora ina measc. Níl ábhar na cine lae ag teacht go díreach le saintréithe na litríochta réigiúnaí, áfach, mar cé gur i gcuimhne ar

shaol a óige i nGaeltacht Chonamara a scríobh sé í, is mó de shaol meán-aicmeach an phríomhoide ceardscoile i gCeanannas Mór atá sa saothar seo ná de chur síos coinbhinsiúnta ar shaol na Gaeltachta. Dá ainneoin sin, nuair a thráchtann Micheál Mac Aodha ar shaol a óige ar an gCeathrú Rua is pictiúr sách maoithneach a chruthaíonn sé, pictiúr den chineál céanna a gheobhfaí in aon cheann de na saothair thuasluaite.

AN CAIGHDEÁN OIFIGIÚIL

Tagraíonn an téarma ‘an Caighdeán Oifigiúil’ don chóras litrithe agus gramadaí a tháinig chun cinn sna daichidí agus sna caogaidí as an obair a rinne Rannóg an Aistriúcháin (a bunaíodh go hoifigiúil i 1922). Foilsíodh *Litriú na Gaeilge – an Caighdeán Oifigiúil* sa bhliain 1945 agus ba léir ina dhiaidh sin go raibh éileamh ann ar lámhleabhar a leagfadh amach teoracha i gcomhair ghramadach na Gaeilge. Foilsíodh an leagan deifínideach seo i 1958 tar éis d’aistritheoirí na Rannóige tréimhse fada de bhlianta a chaitheamh ag plé an ábhair le cainteoirí dúchais, le scríbhneoirí, le scoláirí Gaeilge agus le daoine eile ar spéis leo ceist an chaighdeáin. *Gramadach na Gaeilge agus Litriú na Gaeilge: An Caighdeán Oifigiúil* teideal an lámhleabhair. Tá glactha go forleathan i saol na Gaeilge leis an gCaighdeán seo, cé go raibh neart conspóide ag baint leis ón tús. Mar atá léirithe ag Cathal Ó Háinle³ bhí easaontas i measc lucht na Gaeilge ó thús na hAthbheochana i leith maidir leis an gcló agus leis an ngramadach ba dhual don teanga. Bhíodhas ann ar mhian leo filleadh ar an nGaeilge Chlasaiceach agus bhí dream eile ann a chreid gur cheart do scríbhneoirí na Gaeilge casadh ar chaint na ndaoine sna Gaeltachtaí. Ní raibh sa chonspóid faoin gCaighdeán ach an chéad bhabhta eile den achrann céanna. Chuir go leor daoine in aghaidh an chórais nua, scríbhneoirí mór le rá ar nós Mháirtín Uí Chadhain agus Mháire ina measc. Shéan an Caighdeán sainiúlacht na gcanúintí áitiúla dar lena leithéid, cé go bhfuil sé soiléir go leor ó réamhrá an leabhráin féin nach bhfuil ann ach treoir agus go bhfuil solúbthacht ag baint leis.

Glactar leis go mbíonn tionchar ag caighdeán oifigiúil ar bith ar mheas an chainteora dúchais ar a chanúint féin. Go minic, séantar fiúntas na gcanúintí os comhair chruinneas, sholúbthacht agus shofaisticiúlacht an chaighdeáin. Uaireanta úsáidtear an caighdeán mar shlat tomhais shóisialta chun duine a mheas, in agallamh, mar shampla. Bhíodh an tionchar sin an-soiléir i gcás an Bhéarla i Sasana mar shampla. Tugadh ‘BBC English’ ar an gcaighdeán thall go minic mar bhíodh an chanúint chéanna ag gach láithreoir ar an stáisiún úd. Níl an gaol idir caighdeán agus canúint ó thaobh na Gaeilge ag teacht leis an bpátrún sin mar is caighdeán scríofa atá sa Chaighdeán Oifigiúil agus ní bhaineann sé leis an teanga labhartha. Níor éirigh le haon chanúint amháin tús áite a bhaint amach di féin os cionn na gcanúintí eile agus cé go ndearnadh iarracht ‘lárchanúint’ a chruthú in ochtóidí an chéid seo caite níor glacadh léi, go fóill, ach go háirithe, mar mhodh bailí cainte. D’fhéadfaí a rá, ar ndóigh, go bhfuil claonadh ann i gcás na Gaeilge dearcadh níos dearfaí a bheith ag an gcainteoir i leith aon cheann de na canúintí áitiúla ná mar a bheadh aige i leith ‘Gaeilge na leabhar’ mar a thugtar uaireanta ar an gcineál Gaeilge a fhoghlaimítear tríd an gcóras oideachais.

Ar an taobh eile, maítear go minic go gcuireann an Caighdeán Oifigiúil bac ar an gcainteoir dúchais ó thaobh na litearthachta de. Mar a deirtear thuas, tá tromlach na scríbhneoirí Gaeilge tar éis glacadh leis an gCaighdeán ó thaobh na teanga scríofa. Mar thoradh air sin is minic go mbíonn bearna sách fada idir an Ghaeilge a labhraíonn an cainteoir dúchais agus an teanga a léann sé sna nuachtáin nó i bhfógraí oifigiúla. Cothaíonn an bhearna seo an tuiscint nach bhfuil an chanúint áitiúil fóirsteanach don mheán scríofa. Breathnaítear, uaireanta, ar ghnásanna stairiúla na canúna mar lochtanna nuair a fheictear iad i bhfoirm scríofa. Tá sampla den mheon diúltach seo i leith na canúna dúchais luaite ag Conchúr Ó Giollagáin ina leabhar *Stairsheanchas Mhicil Chonraí*.⁴ shíl Micil Chonraí go raibh Ó Giollagáin imithe ar seachrán agus é ag iarraidh Gaeilge labhartha Mhicil a bhreacadh síos díreach mar a bhí gan í a athscríobh i dteanga liteartha. Ní raibh muinín dá laghad aige as a chuid Gaeilge féin cé go raibh sí ó dhúchas aige.

Is ina chanúint féin, canúint na Ceathrú Rua, a scríobh Micheál Mac Aodha an chín lae ach ní hin le rá go raibh lánmhuinín aige aisti. Ní raibh, ach an oiread, dearcadh cúng cúigeach aige, dearcadh a shéanfadh an Caighdeán. Is léir, fiú, go ndearna sé iarracht a chuid scríbhneoireachta a chur in oiriúint don Chaighdeán Oifigiúil, rud a léiríonn, mar a fheicfidimid, cuid de na fadhbanna a chruthaíonn caighdeán liteartha don chainteoir dúchais. Ní mór a admháil gur cás faoi leith é cás Mhichíl Mhic Aodha. Is cainteoir dúchais Gaeilge é a fuair cur amach ar an gCaighdeán Oifigiúil tríd an gcóras oideachais agus tá dearcadh níos dearfaí aige ina leith ná mar a bheifí ag súil leis, b’fhéidir. Tugann ráitis mar seo le fios gur ar son an Chaighdeáin Oifigiúil atá sé:

‘Tá athrú mór ar scríobh na Gaeilge ... an cló agus an litriú ach go háirithe. Fad saoil don Chaighdeán. Ina theannta sin tá athrú ar an aidhm, ar an stíl, ar an ábhar. Agus más mithid ní dochar sin.’

‘Ag léamh an leabhair dom, dúirt mé liom féin gur chun leasa na teanga an Caighdeán. Tá, mar shampla, an focal ‘giorrú’ giorraithe go mór. Cé a chreidfeadh anois go raibh sé ina chogadh dearg faoin gCaighdeán i lár an chéid seo. Tá muid ag teacht in inmhe.’

Ní hin le rá nach n-aithníonn Micheál Mac Aodha an fhadhb a chruthaíonn an Caighdeán don chainteoir dúchais go minic, go háirithe don té nach bhfuil eolas cuimsitheach ar an teanga scríofa. Cáineann sé alt a léigh sé i *Scéala Éireann* mar ní bheadh muintir na Gaeltachta in ann é a thuiscint, dar leis:

‘An dtuigfeadh duine de s[h]eanfhondúirí Gharmna nó na Gairbhfhionna an leagan sin? Ní thuigfeadh ná ní thuigimse é agus déarfadh duine gur fear mé a bhfuil roinnt réasúnta Gaeilge aige.’

AN SEAN AGUS AN NUA

Feictear an oscailteacht chéanna i leith na Gaeilge i bprós an údair. Braitheann i ndearcadh agus i gcleachtadh Mhíchíl Mhic Aodha ómós don ghaois agus don tsolúbthacht atá sa Ghaeilge leis na cianta maraon le leathanaigeantacht i leith focal agus frásaí nua-chumtha. Baineann sé leas as na seanfhocail go rímhinic sa chín lae agus molann sé go hard an chlisteacht atá iontu. Tráchtann sé ar dhea-chaint an tseandreama agus é ina ghasúr ach ní fhágann sin go bhfuil meon na hársaíochta aige i dtaobh na Gaeilge. Úsáideann sé an nuathéarmaíocht go cruinn agus gan leisce ar bith. Chomh maith leis sin bíonn sé sásta focail agus frásaí a chumadh as an nua nuair is gá. Taispeánann téarmaí ar nós ‘*Ióga*’, ‘*an tIarthar Fiáin*’, agus ‘*ceitseap*’ maille le teidil ar nós ‘*An tOlc, an Maith agus an Míofar*’ a chuir sé ar an scannán *The Good, the Bad and the Ugly* agus ‘*An Moladh Measartha*’ ar *A Modest Proposal* le Jonathan Swift an claonadh atá aige a chuid féin a dhéanamh de théarmaí agus de theidil nua-aimseartha. Nuair a luann sé, mar a dhéantar go minic, líne filíochta nó ráiteas cáiliúil as teanga eile déanann sé aistriúchán Gaeilge ar an sliocht. Féach ar an aistriúchán a dhéanann sé ar shainmhíniú cáiliúil Wordsworth ar an bhfilíocht (*‘emotion recollected in tranquility’*): ‘*mothúcháin a thagann chun cuimhne ar an gciúnas*.’ Is léir ó shamplaí mar seo go raibh dearcadh forbartha ag Micheál Mac Aodha i leith na teanga, gur thuig sé tábhacht an tsean ach nach raibh faitíos dá laghad air roimh an nua, ach an oiread.

TEANGA NA CINE LAE

Agus é ag cur tús lena shaothar bhí rogha le déanamh ag Micheál Mac Aodha i dtaobh teanga na cine lae. Thioctadh leis cloí leis an gCaighdeán Oifigiúil agus lena threoracha úd maidir le litriú agus deilbhíocht nó thioctadh leis casadh ar a theanga bhunaidh, canúint na Ceathrún Rua. Luann sé nuascríbhneoirí na Gaeilge agus a gcuid saothar go minic sa chín lae agus is cinnte gur thug sé faoi deara an bealach ar éirigh leis an gCadhach agus leis an mbeirt Chonaireach, mar shampla, a gcanúint féin a mhúnlú i gcomhair na teanga scríofa, beag beann ar an gCaighdeán. Is léir ó fhriotal na cine lae go ndearna sé iarracht an dá thrá a fhreastal. Cloíonn sé le córas litriú an Chaighdeáin cuid mhaith ach bíonn leaganacha na canúna in úsáid go minic aige, go háirithe ó thaobh na deilbhíochta de. Ní glanleáil atá ann idir gnásanna an Chaighdeáin agus gnásanna na canúna, áfach. Faightear go leor samplaí den dá chóras ag teacht salach ar a chéile, rud a chuireann in iúl nach raibh an t-údar go hiomlán cinnte faoin bpolasaí a bhí leagtha amach aige. Tá cuid mhaith leaganacha ann a thugann le fios go raibh sé ag iarraidh bogadh óna bhfriotal féin i dtreo rialacha gramadaí nó litriú an Chaighdeáin Oifigiúil. Pléitear thíos roinnt pointí teanga a léiríonn na deacrachtaí a bhí ag an údar an dá chód seo a láimhseáil. Ina measc siúd tá cásanna ina gclóíonn Micheál Mac Aodha le nós na canúna, cásanna ina bhfuil foirmeacha caighdeánta in úsáid aige agus cúpla sampla de na hócáidí ina dteipeann air ceachtar den dá chód a leanúint go sásúil.

AN BRIATHAR SAOR

Maidir leis an ngné seo de dheilbhíocht an bhriathair cloíonn Micheál Mac Aodha le gnásanna na canúna den chuid is mó. Is fíor-annamh a chuireann sé séimhiú ar an mbriathar saor i ndiaidh na míreanna briathartha *ní*, *má* agus *a* san aimsir láithreach nó san aimsir fháistineach, rud a mholtar sa Chaighdeán⁵ ach nach bhfuil róchoitianta sa chanúint. Fágann an t-údar lom é de ghnáth m.sh. *má glaoitear, ní cailltear, a tugtar cé* go mbíonn an séimhiú aige ó am go chéile m.sh. *nuair a chuirfear*. Rud eile a léiríonn an claonadh i dtreo na canúna an chaoi ina gcuireann Micheál Mac Aodha an réamhlitir *h* roimh ghuta tosaigh an tsaorbhriathair m.sh. *ar hitheadh, sular hadhlacadh, a himrítear* agus *a hiarradh*. Arís, is nós seo atá go forleathan i dteanga labhartha na Ceathrún Rua ach nach moltar sa Chaighdeán Oifigiúil.

AN CHÉAD PHEARSA IOLRA AIMSIR CHAITE

Ní de réir a chéile i gcónaí atá teanga na cine lae i dtaca le húsáid na bhfoirmeacha scartha agus táite. I gcás na chéad phearsa iolra, aimsir chaite is é gnás na canúna is mó a leantar .i. an fhoirm scartha den bhriathar a úsáid leis an bhforainm ‘muid’. Moltar an fhoirm tháite ‘-(e)amar’ a úsáid de réir rialacha an Chaighdeáin Oifigiúil.⁶ Bíonn an fhoirm sin ag Micheál Mac Aodha ó am go ham chomh maith cé nach n-úsáidí sa chaint ar chor ar bith í m.sh. *ní rabhamar, bhíomar, chaitheamar, bhuaileamar*.

NA FOIRMEACHA COIBHNEASTA

Ní bhíonn foirm choibhneasta an bhriathair, aimsir láithreach nó aimsir fháistineach ag Micheál Mac Aodha ach go fíorannamh. Is é gnás an Chaighdeán Oifigiúil a leantar ar an bhformhór mór m.sh. *nuair a phreabann sé, nuair a chloisfidh tú, nuair a théann an scoil chun suaimhnis*. Is gné shuntasach de theanga bheo Chonamara na foirmeacha úd ach is go hannamh a bhaintear leas astu sa chinn lae ach amháin i gcás an bhriathair shubstaintigh m.sh. *nuair a bheas, cén bhail a bheas orthu nuair a bheas an dá thríocha bliain sroichte acu*. Ní thugtar lán-aitheantas d'fhoirm choibhneasta an bhriathair sa Chaighdeán Oifigiúil cé go dtugtar cead ann iad a úsáid.⁷

LE AGUS H

Nuair a bhí Micheál Mac Aodha á chur faoi agallamh agam le déanaí cháin sé a shaothar as a mhíchruinne agus atá cúrsaí gramadaí ann. Dúirt sé go ndearna sé a sheacht ndícheall botúin ghramadaí a sheachaint agus é ag scríobh na cine lae. Is léir an méid sin ó shracfhéachaint ar leathanach ar bith den lámhscríbhinn agus a bhfuil de leasuithe teanga inti. Leasú amháin atá thar a bheith spéisiúil gur sholáthar sé an réamhlitir *h* i ndiaidh an réamhfhocail *le* i roinnt mhaith cásanna. Ní gnách an t-athrú tosaigh seo a fháil sa chanúint ach amháin i leaganacha seargtha ar nós *le haghaidh* agus is cosúil gur faoi anáil an Chaighdeán Oifigiúil a rinne Micheál Mac Aodha an leasú m.sh. *le him, le híoc, le héisteacht, le hobair, le hinseacht*. I gcuid mhaith cásanna níl an leasú déanta agus fágtar an guta lom mar a bheifí ag súil leis i gcanúint na Ceathrún Rua m.sh. *le aon, le osna, le asal, le ailse, le iníon, le aiste*. Tá sé spéisiúil go raibh gnás na canúna á leanúint aige sa bhunleagan ach gur leasaigh sé é nuair a chuaigh sé siar.

ABAIR

Sampla eile den iarracht a dhéanann an t-údar teacht leis an gCaighdeán is ea foirm spleách an bhriathair ‘abair’ san aimsir chaite. Is iad na leaganacha ‘an ndúirt’, ‘ní dúirt’, ‘go ndúirt’ 7rl. a mholtar sa Chaighdeán Oifigiúil. ‘Ar ’úirt’, ‘níor ’úirt’ agus ‘gur ’úirt’ a déarfadh an t-údar. Is léir gur thuig sé nach raibh a leagan féin ag teacht leis an gCaighdeán agus go ndearna se iarracht leasú a dhéanamh. I leaganacha ar nós *níor dúirt* agus *gur dúirt* is léir go bhfuil teipthe air ceachtar den dá leagan a léiriú go sásúil. Lean sé gnás an Chaighdeán maidir le foirm an bhriathair féin ach chloígh sé leis na míreanna briathartha dar críoch –r. Sa chás seo agus i gcásanna eile dá leithéid chinn mise, mar eagarthóir, ar leaganacha na canúna a chur in áit leaganacha an údair. Tagann an cinneadh sin le haidhm an údair agus é i mbun pinn go gcoinneodh sé chomh gar agus ab fhéidir lena chanúint féin.⁸

TÉIGH AGUS GABH

Bíonn an leagan ‘ag dul do’, a chiallaíonn ‘ag crá’ nó ‘ag tabhairt faoi’, ag Micheál Mac Aodha go minic shíl sé gur ainm briathartha ‘téigh’ seachas ‘gabh’ a bhí i gceist sa leagan ‘ag goil do’. Leasaigh mé ‘ag dul do’ go dtí ‘ag gabháil do’ tríd síos .i. *tá tálach scríbhneora ag gabháil dó, ag gabháil don staidéar*. trína shaothar m.sh. *tá tálach scríbhneora ag dul dó, ag dul don staidéar*. ‘Ag gabháil do’ ba cheart a bheith aige. Baineann an leagan lochtach leis an meascán atá ann idir ainmneacha briathartha ‘téigh’ agus ‘gabh’ i nGaeilge Chonamara. Faightear na trí leagan ‘dul’, ‘goil’ agus ‘góil’ i gcanúint na Ceathrún Rua. Maidir le ‘dul’ is i leaganacha stairiúla amháin ar nós ‘níl dul as’ a úsáidtear é. Cumasc atá sa leagan ‘goil’ de ‘gabháil’, ainm briathartha ‘gabh’ agus ‘dul’, ainm briathartha ‘téigh’. Úsáidtear go forleathan é i leaganacha ar nós ‘ag goil amach’ agus, ar ndóigh, ‘ag goil do’. Ainm briathartha ‘gabh’ atá san fhoirm ‘góil’ atá le fáil i leaganacha ar nós ‘ag góil fhoinn’ agus ‘ag gabháil an bháid’. Tá an chosúlacht ar an scéal gur thuig Micheál Mac Aodha nár réitigh ‘ag goil’ leis an gCaighdeán Oifigiúil agus gur

CONCLÚID

Is léir ó theanga na cine lae gur mhinic a chas Micheál Mac Aodha ón aidhm a bhí aige cloí leis an gcanúint a shealbhaigh sé, mar a deir sé féin, ‘ar theallaigh an Phointe’ agus gur bhain sé úsáid as leaganacha nach bhfuil le fáil i nGaeilge na Ceathrún Rua ach a réitíonn le gnásanna an Chaighdeán Oifigiúil. Sa pháipéar seo rinne mé iarracht roinnt samplaí den idirghabháil atá ar siúl idir canúint an údair agus an Chaighdeán Oifigiúil a léiriú. Chomh maith leis sin chaith mé súil ar shaol an údair agus ar ábhar na cine lae. Ag an bpointe seo i mo chuid taighde tá mé fós gafa le próiseas na heagarthóireachta agus leis na ceisteanna praiticiúla a eascraíonn as sin. Dá bhrí sin bheadh drogall orm tuairimíocht a dhéanamh ar na himpleachtaí a ardaíonn ceist seo an Chaighdeán agus na canúna. Is cinnte go bhfuil teannas le brath idir an dá chóras i dteanga na cine lae. Mar atá léirithe thuas tarlaíonn trí rud arís agus arís eile sa téacs – cloíonn an t-údar le leagan na canúna, úsáideann sé foirm an Chaighdeán Oifigiúil nó cailleann sé léim an dá bhruach agus cumann sé foirm nach bhfuil baint ar bith aici le ceachtar den dá chóras. Léiríonn an ghné seo de *Chinn Lae Mhíchil Mhic Aodha* an fhadhb a chruthaíonn an Caighdeán don chainteoir duchais, fiú má bhíonn eolas cuimsitheach aige ar an nGaeilge scríofa.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Mura bhfuil a mhalairt curtha in iúl tá eagar curtha agam ar na sleachta as an dialann atá le fáil san alt seo.
- ² Máirín Nic Eoin, *An Litriocht Réigiúnach*. (Baile Átha Cliath: An Clóchomhar, 1982), lch 9.
- ³ Cathal Ó Háinle, ‘Ó Chaint na nDaoine go dtí an Caighdeán Oifigiúil’, *Stair na Gaeilge: in Ómós do Pádraig Ó Fiannachta*. (Maigh Nuad: Roinn na Sean-Ghaeilge, 1994), lgh 745-793.
- ⁴ Conchúr Ó Giollagáin [eag.], *Stairsheanachas Mhicil Chonraí: Ón Máimín go Ráth Chairn*. (Indreabhán, Conamara: Cló Iar-Chonnachta, 1999).
- ⁵ *Gramadach na Gaeilge agus Litriú na Gaeilge: an Caighdeán Oifigiúil*. (Baile Átha Cliath: Oifig an tSoláthair, 1998⁹), lch 90.
- ⁶ Tá neamhréiteach idir *Gramadach na Gaeilge agus Litriú na Gaeilge* agus *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla* (Niall Ó Dónaill [eag.]. Baile Átha Cliath: An Gúm, 1977 [1978]) maidir leis an gceist seo. Ní moltar ach na foirmeacha táite a úsáid sa chéad phearsa iolra i lámhleabhar an Chaighdeáin ach tugann Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla aitheantas do na foirmeacha scartha chomh maith.
- ⁷ *ibid.*, lch x, lch 46.
- ⁸ Comhfhreagras pearsanta.

A CLASS OF EDUCATORS

PADRAIC J.O'DOWD, DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

AIM OF RESEARCH

The research has the following purpose: to address and alleviate the problems of pupil transfer that exists between a secondary school and its primary feeder schools, through focusing specifically on how the schools' organisation and teaching methodology has an impact on pupil transfer and identifying the quality of this impact on pupil outcomes.

INTRODUCTION

An initial proposal for research was to evaluate the management of existing processes within secondary schools that assist students and parents to make the transition from primary to secondary school. Initial reading made it clear that the danger inherent in this proposal was that such a research project was 'conservative in its aim' and 'managerialist in its orientation'.¹ The difference that this research will make is that it will engage class teachers, pupils, parents and other communities of practice within schools to reflect on how school organisation and teaching methodology makes a difference to the quality of students' learning experiences at the time of transfer from primary to post-primary and throughout their time in post-primary.

TRANSITION AS AN ISSUE

The issue of transition between primary and post-primary is of critical importance because of the short-term problems of student anxiety, longer-term problems of declining achievement and motivation, and persistent problems of lack of curriculum continuity. It is therefore not solely a question of helping students adjust to their new environment, but also a question regarding how that environment responds to the needs of the new pupils.² This responsive engagement would involve gaining knowledge of the pupils that would extend beyond administrative, remedial and pastoral priorities into their prior learning approaches and educational experiences. The challenge would be how to access this information and then use it to facilitate effective transition.

PERCEPTION OF TRANSITION IN GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

Official publications of the last twenty years have each highlighted the critical importance of transition between primary and post primary³. The Junior Cycle Review states the critical importance of the transfer from primary to post primary,

Given the significance of this process for student achievement and patterns of early school leaving particular emphasis needs to be placed on enhancing the experience of transition for all students in all schools.⁴

The White Paper, *Charting Our Education Future*, clearly identifies five areas that are at the root of student transfer problems;

- Poor communications between primary and secondary schools;
- Difficulty for some students in gaining access to the first choice school;
- Difference in teaching methods and approaches;
- Curricula that do not suit a student's particular abilities and aspirations;
- Being compelled to make subject choice, or choices of subject level, too soon and later facing unduly restrictive options.⁵

It is the opinion of this researcher that if this list of problems were to be adopted as a checklist by a school to enhance the experience of transition for all students, the outcomes of such efforts would be limited, as such efforts would be failing to address where these problems originate. Take for example the problem identified, difference in teaching methods and approaches. These differences as a source of problems may be overstated. It is claimed that differences in teaching methods and approaches as a source of problems are 'frequently exaggerated'.⁶ Support for this claim can be found in many studies in the United Kingdom and America. Relevant to this research is the Irish study of sixteen primary teachers, which found that student-centered learning in primary schools is as highly structured as secondary schools.⁷

Hargreaves claims that the distinguishing feature between schools is not pedagogy but the cultures of primary and secondary schooling. If this is correct, rather than just trying to respond to the challenges outlined in the White Paper, *Charting Our Education Future* the real issues around transition arise out of the failure of primary and secondary schools to reorganise these basic structures to take into account the reality that they are

educating early adolescents. This claim can be made on the grounds that, 'too many of our students are turning away from schools physically, or tuning out of them emotionally and intellectually'.⁶ This lack of awareness of the adolescent educational context may contribute to the long-term problems of declining achievement and motivation and curriculum continuity.

However this researcher can easily see why it may be easier for a school to focus on addressing the challenges outlined in the White Paper as singular, unconnected problems faced by students, rather than explore, articulate and understand how the schools organisational culture does/does not address and alleviate student transition from primary to post-primary.

Endeavouring to bring about changes in school culture is difficult. Organisational culture has a normative function in that it indicates how teachers, students and parents are expected to behave and an interpretive function in that it provides a framework through which events and actions are interpreted and given meaning by teachers, students and parents. Culture is not a passive phenomenon: it is 'actively created and contested against competing visions and values of what people in the organisation should do'⁶ Modifying organisational culture therefore involves, challenging the organisations shared historical memories of 'the way we do things around here'⁸, identifying the organisational culture involves identifying sets of values and beliefs that are difficult to interact with directly apart from observing what people say, do, and how they interrelate⁹ and identifying how power is structured and used in the organisation and for what benefit and for whose benefit it is so structured and used.

Care also has to be taken not to claim that this school or that school culture will benefit students as,

No school or teacher culture can be shown to have a *direct* impact on student learning and achievement, and claims to that end are vacuous. But the effects of culture can be conceptualized as trickling down, so to speak until they eventually make some impact on what goes on in the classroom.¹⁰

This statement appears to contradict what was stated by Hargreaves et al where they sought to find out 'what ways and to what extent do the organisation and culture of most existing elementary and secondary schools meet the characteristics and needs of early adolescents'⁶.

To resolve this appearance of contradiction this researcher perceives the first quote as an issue concerning the lack of developed research methodology to understand organisational culture and the complexity of the whole notion of school culture. Whereas the second quote is concerned with how to bring about change through combining existing expertise and knowledge about the direction and nature of change they are pursuing.¹¹ This distinction is important as care must be taken with research findings that make claims to understand fully school culture and draw conclusions from that understanding.

To respond to the problems identified in the White Paper as a way to enhance the experience of transition fails to grapple with the central issue of transition: how schools organise themselves. The issue of transition is not solely adjustment-challenges for pupils but also adjustment-challenges to schools' culture and how they accommodate the education of early adolescents. Irish studies have shown that school organisation does have an impact on pupil outcomes.¹²

This research will not focus on trying to change school culture because due to its complexity it may prove difficult to be understood fully. It may be more attainable and accurate to investigate the impact which school organisation has at this time on pupils in transition. What may provide a clear purpose and direction to addressing and alleviating the problems of transition would be school development planning that would begin to address and alleviate the problems of transition through suggesting methods for improving curriculum continuity and progression for students, and suggest practices that support mutual classroom observation and discussion of teaching and learning for students.

To this end the following issues need to be focused on: theories of adolescence, the organisation of schools for early adolescents, the transition process, the curriculum, Guidance and Support of early adolescents, assessment and evaluation of students, teaching and learning, management issues.

These issues will therefore address transfer problems located in the area of the curriculum, especially curriculum continuity.

WHAT IS CURRICULUM CONTINUITY?

The concept of curriculum contains more than the subjects that students are taught. It consists of the 'full range of learning experiences provided for students'.¹² The quest for curriculum continuity involves teachers, students and parents seeing linkages and sensing progression between and within these learning experiences. This is why curricular continuity within the curriculum and between the curriculums of the Primary and Post Primary is of central importance for understanding student development over time.¹³ Curricular continuity becomes more of a problem between educational settings when the philosophy of education is

underpinned by divergent principles, when developments within the curricula are undertaken in an independent and unconnected manner and when the connection between the principles behind the curriculum and its assessment diverge.

THE QUEST FOR CURRICULUM CONTINUITY

The quest for curriculum continuity involves teachers, students and parents seeing linkages and sensing progression between and within learning experiences over time.¹⁴ Curriculum continuity involves not only the processes of teaching, learning experiences but also the assessment of teaching and learning experiences.¹⁵ There is an interaction between these elements - teaching, learning and assessment, e.g. the form of the assessment and what it rewards impacts on type of teaching and learning that takes place.¹⁶

The documentation of the aforementioned CEB and the NCCA emphasize that curriculum should not be seen as merely knowledge and content. The present Junior Certificate is a 'development of the approaches to learning which underpin the primary curriculum and takes cognizance of the full range of knowledge, concepts, skills and attitudes associated with primary education'.¹⁷ What is happening is that the Junior Certificate curriculum despite its intention, to a greater degree is being narrowed to the teaching of subject content and the assessment of knowledge through a terminal exam.¹⁸ Some issues that militate against the Junior Certificate's effective implementation were identified as the failure to take account of school contexts it was being inserted into and its challenge to existing teacher roles.¹⁹ Other issues include resistance by pupils and parents to diversity away from traditional curriculum content, teaching approaches and forms of assessment. These issues highlight that any revision of the second level curriculum must be supported by how learning experiences are organised within schools and supported by changes in teaching methodologies and an awareness of the traditional expectations there are with regard to curriculum content, assessment and certification.²⁰

Efforts at curricular continuity have led to the development of a National Curriculum in England and Northern Ireland. However a clear understanding of what is involved in curricular continuity is missing. Despite a shared common curricular and assessment language in Northern Ireland, contacts between primary and secondary schools 'produce little by way of shared understanding'. (see note ¹⁴ above) Where there has been relative success in communication it has been due to finding a shared common root that can reveal 'authentic versions of both traditions'.²¹ In Ireland the experience of teachers within a curriculum action research at University College Cork (1996-1999) demonstrated that 'given the opportunity and the appropriate environment, teachers from both levels want to talk and will talk, and will have something worthwhile to say'.²² The task of this research is to engage participants in the area of curricular continuity through focusing on teaching approaches, learning experiences and forms of assessment in order to address and alleviate the transitional difficulties experienced by pupils on transfer to secondary school. While at national level there is evidence of commitment to curricular continuity what is needed are models of successful collaboration at inter school level.

RELATIVE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CONTRIBUTION THAT THE PROPOSED PROJECT WILL MAKE TO THE AREA

The significance of this project is that at a time in Ireland when there is no common curriculum and no shared language of assessment between primary and post primary the quest for curriculum continuity must infuse the experience of all educational partners. Despite curriculum continuity being identified as a real issue requiring a response as of yet there has been no official response³. Primary and Post primary have developed separately and there is very little research if any taking place to develop collaborative models of engagement between Primary and Post- primary at local level.

By locating the proposed research project within the quest for curricular continuity between a secondary school and its feeder schools, a model of collaborative engagement would be developed. This engagement would aid the 'identification, re-examination and realignment of the fundamental philosophies underpinning the approaches adopted in primary and post-primary teaching'. (see note ¹⁵ above) Such communication would respond to the imperative that parents, pupils and teachers see linkages and sense progression as they transfer between schools and advance within schools locally and nationally.

Galton suggests that in the quest for curricular continuity an important point that can be overlooked is that pupils 'don't wish to continue to do primary work now that they are at big school and therefore tend to lose motivation and interest'²³. It is the opinion of this researcher that linkages may be achieved not by repeating past experiences but revealing new experiences that can be related to past experiences. Discontinuity of experience at this time of transition is also important as these periods 'make it possible for adolescents to develop their own identity'.²⁴ The possibility of building in a sense of discontinuity for pupils, not only to help develop their own identity, but also for them to experience that negative educational experiences of the past can be changed into positive experiences for the future would be very valuable.

PROPOSED METHODOLOGY

As the research questions are still being developed and refined there are some difficulties in articulating precisely the research programme methodology. The focus of the research is to develop a model of collaborative engagement between primary and secondary schools that will address the short-term problems of student anxiety, longer-term problems of declining achievement and motivation, and persistent problems of lack of curriculum continuity. This research focus should help identify the specific objectives of the research. These objectives are being articulated as research questions, e.g.

- Is it possible, within the present system, to develop a meaningful collaborative engagement for the participants?
- Is it possible to identify structural difficulties / supports and resources that would prevent, and or aid collaboration between primary and secondary?
- How can efforts at enhancing curricular continuity help address and alleviate transitional difficulties experienced by pupils?
- How can schools respond to declining achievement and motivation?
- What aspects of this study will help to inform and develop further research?

The research methods will be qualitative. Action research will form a large part of this research methodology. A strategy of the research would be that the participants become co-researchers. This involvement could result in changes in the educational experience and practice of all the participants, including the researcher, by effecting the perspectives and understanding that the participants have of the issues involved in the process of pupil transfer.

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JOHN O'MAHONY AND THE INSURRECTION OF 1848

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The Irish Confederation backed rising, of July 1848, ended near Ballingarry, county Tipperary, by the end of that month. In September a much more serious effort, with longstanding consequences, took place under John O'Mahony's leadership.

INTRODUCTION

Historians, in recent years, have written extensively on the Irish Confederation based revolt of July 1848 (centred around the Confederate leader, William Smith O'Brien). There was no previously drawn up military plan of campaign and no secret organisation for this attempted rising. Only last minute events shaped its development. The only definite policy adopted was that any attempt made by the authorities to arrest the Confederate leaders would be resisted. This, it was hoped, would trigger a rising. Smith O'Brien came to Carrick-on-Suir, County Tipperary, on 24 July, because he had been informed that this area was the best organised in the country. The potential for staging a real revolution existed in Carrick at this time; but O'Brien did not accept this opportunity due to his yielding to clerical pressure to leave. The attempted rising eventually collapsed in failure at 'the Commons', a few miles north of Ballingarry, on 29 July.

Within weeks a much more determined and longer lasting effort would take place under John O'Mahony's leadership. This was a completely separate and distinct outbreak from the Ballingarry affair. O'Mahony was far more aware of the capacity of the rural masses for revolutionary insurrection than was O'Brien. Of the three outbreaks that occurred during the period of 1848-9, my research shows that the O'Mahony led insurrection, of September 1848, was by far the most significant and potentially dangerous. The government and constabulary records rightly perceived this particular outbreak as having the potential to be a very serious threat, which they never felt with O'Brien. O'Mahony, largely because of the extensive loyalty to his family and name, was the only leader to pose a real danger and make any serious headway against the government forces in 1848.

THE REAPING OF MULLOUGH

On 21 August 1848, R.D. Coulson, (a magistrate brought from Tyrone to Carrick in the aftermath of O'Brien's July rising), reported that everything was quiet and the country people were cutting and saving the crops of those against whom arrest warrants had been issued. They intended doing so the next day for O'Mahony.¹

The project that brought many people together in the new insurgent movement seems to have been the reaping of a large field of wheat belonging to O'Mahony.² This saving of O'Mahony's harvest is commemorated in the ballad 'The Reaping of Mullough', composed by John Savage who was in O'Mahony's company on that day. Savage had left Dublin, on 28 July, seeking to link up with Smith O'Brien in the South. It was upon Savage's arrival in the Carrick area, at this time, that he first met O'Mahony.³ We are told in the poem that the reapers, on this day of 22 August, came 'from Comeraghs wild to Slievenamon, from Grange to Galteemore'.⁴ This is an extensive area encompassing parts of Cork, Limerick, Tipperary, Waterford and Kilkenny. The O'Mahonys had been substantial landholders in the first three of these counties in the nineteenth century.

It is clear, from Coulson's account, that several hundred men made their way to Mullough with the 'purpose of cutting the crops of O'Mahony'.⁵ Coulson believed that the harvesting of crops 'might be an excuse for a meeting of another description,' by which he undoubtedly meant a muster for insurrection.⁶ A boast had been made (it is not clear how) that O'Mahony would be there and the authorities would not be able to take him. It would be shown that this was no hollow boast. On this day, Coulson had taken out a force of thirty constabulary with a support party of one hundred military and twenty cavalry following a short distance behind. The reapers had scarcely begun working when the approach of a troop of horse was announced and O'Mahony and Savage decided to leave.

Upon reaching the field the constabulary discovered a very large group of people cutting wheat.⁷ The reapers 'instantly began to fling up their hats and then look above their heads'.⁸ Thereupon, Coulson 'thought it prudent to unite... the whole column letting the troops proceed with the police' into the field. The constabulary 'searched every man's face through the crowds for O'Mahony, or any others against whom we had warrants, yet found none'.⁹ No arrests were made and the work of the day went on without further disturbance. A follow up

search was made in three houses nearby but 'the people instantly became as quiet as mice'.¹⁰ The saving of O'Mahony's harvest that day at Mullough, in spite of this attempt of intimidation by the authorities clearly demonstrated both the people's loyalty to him and a strong degree of organisation among his followers and by implication a direct challenge to the authorities.

CAUSES OF INSURRECTION

O'Mahony stated, in an account written some years later, that again, nearly two months after the attempted outbreak in July, 'a somewhat similar, and no less imprudent and hap-hazard attempt, was made in the neighbourhood of Carrick-on-Suir. Of this I had the misfortune to be, myself, the ostensible mover.... It was simply the result of the popular indignation of the men of that locality, at the disappointment of their hopes at Ballingarry'.¹¹ O'Mahony's opinion here is corroborated by William Ryan, R.M. at Clonmel, who reported, on 2 September, that the people were not satisfied with the way 'the war' (O'Brien's attempted rising) had ended.¹²

The emphasis in the September outbreak clearly appeared to have been poverty rather than politics. The majority of the insurgents were little influenced by political feeling. A correspondent, from Carrick-on-Suir, wrote later in the *Tipperary Vindicator* that the insurgent movement had been caused, more by the 'grinding social tyranny' perpetrated against the labouring population than by political discontent. He believed that it would be extremely difficult to put it down unless the government provided food, employment and stopped the practice of wholesale eviction.¹³ A spy, (from some place between Glenbower and Lisadobber), who signed his letters as Mr. M. reported as much to William Ryan, R.M. Clonmel. Mr. M believed that the poor would give up all thoughts of disturbance if given employment.¹⁴ The failure of the potato crop, for the fourth successive year, left the people facing starvation. There was violent feeling among the insurgents against the export of corn and many rumours abounded with regard to their intentions concerning this.¹⁵

William Ryan, R.M. Clonmel, was informed, on 5 September, that there were 'letters going about from one place to another to raise the people'.¹⁶ By the first week of September, O'Mahony was persuaded to give discipline and direction to a new insurrection in Tipperary and Waterford and Kilkenny. O'Mahony, on the 5 September 1848, transferred his interest in the Clonkilla estate, near Mitchelstown, county Cork, to his brother in law, James Mandeville, for £225, in order to save that property from forfeiture.¹⁷ The authorities were aware, at this time that O'Mahony was obliged to sell his property to fund the rising.¹⁸

GUERRILLA WARFARE

O'Mahony eluded the vigilance of the detectives by continually moving about from place to place, being guarded while he slept by an improvised band of about fifty to a hundred followers.¹⁹ On 5 September some parties of constabulary, surrounding an extensive district for O'Mahony and his comrades, made a search in the district of Kilcash and Ballypatrick (south-east of Slievenamon) on the Tipperary side of the Suir. They failed to capture anyone. The following night they searched on the Waterford side but were again unsuccessful. Coulson admitted that the insurgents' movements clearly made his duties very difficult. He consistently complained of being 'greatly accursed at not being able to arrest O'Mahony. He is a most dangerous character...exciting the minds of the people lately for a rising in both counties'²⁰ (Tipperary and Waterford).

The insurgents' tactics were so cunningly devised that they didn't allow the authorities an opportunity of a combined movement to hem them in.²¹ The former would certainly have known the country better. The rebels apparently had better intelligence of the authorities' movements than vice versa. O'Mahony was nearly always made aware of the intended line of march of the constabulary/military 'before they had gone far beyond the precincts of their barracks'.²² He also believed that his followers were 'more faithful' than those of the authorities.²³ O'Mahony later claimed to have had frequent discussions with influential men among the labourers at this time, and to have 'more than once, held parley with rebelliously disposed soldiers, almost within the lines of their encampments'.²⁴ This is consistent with reports in the *Tipperary Vindicator* where O'Mahony was said to have been in the neighbourhood of Carrick having 'as an object for his visit to discover the movements of the soldiery'.²⁵

O'Mahony was most dangerous, during this period, as a leader waging guerrilla warfare. The authorities' greatest difficulty was hunting from hill to hill after the rebels whose chief strength, as 'guerrilla banditti' (Coulson's term), was their power of 'harassing and fatiguing' the troops.²⁶ Many policemen and soldiers, 'worn out' by forced marches day and night, had apparently to be sent off sick, secretly under cover of darkness, to distant hospitals. By these means, O'Mahony's forces caused his pursuers to suffer many of the 'evils of an actual campaign' although the latter could not see an opposing force anywhere.²⁷ Tipperary remained tense with rumours of daring guerrilla feats, using 'flying Columns'. This term was used at that time to describe small mobile military units although it is generally associated today with the activities of the insurgents in the Irish war for independence of 1916-21. The guerrilla tactics that were adopted by O'Mahony in 1848 certainly anticipated those used more effectively in the Ireland of the early twentieth century.

A reporter for the *Tipperary Vindicator* wrote that seven confederate leaders had imitated the tactics of the military by setting up a 'flying column' whose quick and sudden movements were the subject of general

surprise – one time at the hill of Carrickbeg, another at Lowry’s bridge; in the evening encamped at Curraghmore wood, and away at Kilmacthomas in the morning. Informers themselves were apparently puzzled in giving secret information as to the whereabouts of the rebels, their movements were so uncertain.²⁸

O’Mahony presented a serious threat to government authority, which terrified local conservatives. His presence under the nose of the authorities in Carrick, Clonmel, South Kilkenny and Waterford, along with the large number of his followers, was certainly causing the authorities great embarrassment and alarm.²⁹ On one occasion O’Mahony was reported to have passed and re-passed four times within view of the police barracks in the vicinity of Slievenamon (most likely Kilcash police barracks).³⁰ It seems likely, from the lack of concrete facts in the magistrate’s reports that the authorities were, as O’Mahony states, ‘entirely ignorant of the extent of my power to attack them’.³¹ This is verified by Coulson’s reports where he relates continuously that much of the information that he received was either ‘too late to prove useful’ to him or that ‘unfortunately all my information comes the day after it could have been beneficial.’³² O’Mahony claimed later that ‘the authorities could neither form an estimate of our force nor learn when, where, or how, it was about to be brought to bear against them.’³³ This uncertainty, on the part of the latter, gave the insurgents a very great advantage over them.

The authorities, night and day, from at least the 5 September and continuing for several weeks, had parties of constabulary and military engaged in an almost ‘constant system of harassing pursuit’³⁴ in hunting O’Mahony and ‘two or three of his fellow-outlaws’.³⁵ Through a series of startling adventures the pursued baffled all efforts at capture.³⁶ Coulson believed that he could give the rebels as many sleepless nights and busy days as he received from them.³⁷ O’Mahony claimed, however, that although they he and his men had often to sleep in the open air and in caverns and woods they never lost a night’s rest by their enemies’ pursuit.³⁸

INSURRECTION

O’Mahony had, by this time, a suit of war clothes made for himself and was later described, in the *Tipperary Vindicator*, as being ‘well accoutred’ on a large bay horse.³⁹ From 11 September onwards, O’Mahony, along with John Savage (O’Mahony’s chief lieutenant in ’48) and Philip Gray, conducted a guerrilla campaign against the police barracks and smaller military posts along the valley of the Suir in the Tipperary-Waterford-Kilkenny border area. Their forces caused panic among the authorities, resulting in the withdrawal of the constabulary from a number of barracks, until a series of reverses led to the termination of the guerrilla war activity. After the ending of active insurrection, O’Mahony escaped to France and Savage made his way to America. Of the triumvirate, Gray alone remained in Ireland and was to play a leading role in the following year’s rising.

ASSESSMENT

Some years later O’Mahony, in discussing the September 1848 insurrection with Thomas Clarke Luby, stated that ‘a very slight change in circumstances might have rendered it far more formidable’.⁴⁰ John Savage later stated, in relation to O’Mahony’s rising that ‘our success was not commensurate with our endeavours’.⁴¹ Michael Cavanagh (O’Mahony’s secretary in the later Fenian Brotherhood) wrote that had the peasantry and mechanics been properly organised and led by a sufficient number of skilled officers they could most likely have inaugurated a formidable insurrection.⁴²

Some of the local gentry, along the valley of the Suir, appear to have shown some interest. Richard Lalor Shiel’s wealthy son in law, Power of Gurteen, (who was a cousin of O’Mahony), paid a visit to one of the insurgent camps. Wall, of Coolnamuck, was also, said at the time, to be far from hostile to the aims of the insurgents.⁴³ It was reported to the authorities that the rebels lit signal fires in close proximity to his house.⁴⁴ There are reasonable grounds for thinking that had O’Mahony been in a position to represent the prospects of his movement in a more favourable light, these and other more influential men would have joined him.

What can be said with certainty is that O’Mahony was never again to engage in such intense revolutionary activity on Irish soil as he had done, along the valley of the Suir, in 1848. The events, which took place during the late summer/early autumn of that year, had longstanding consequences for O’Mahony who, up to then, had lived the comfortable life of a gentleman farmer and scholar near Carrick-On-Suir. The rising of 1848 brought him from his home and drove him into exile. O’Mahony, by his public involvement in that crucial hour of 1848, began his commitment to the attainment of Irish independence by revolutionary means – a cause to which he would devote the remainder of his life.

ENDNOTES

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- 2 Michael Doheny, *The Felon's Track* (New York, 1849), pp.284-5 (hereafter cited as Doheny, *Felon's Track*).
- 3 John Savage, *'98 and '48: The Modern Revolutionary History and Literature of Ireland* (New York, 1860), p.327-8 (hereafter cited as Savage, *'98 and '48*).
- 4 James Maher, Chief of the Comeraghs: A John O'Mahony Anthology (Tipperary, 1957), pp.62-3.
- 5 Report of R.D. Coulson, R.M. Carrick-on-Suir, 23 Aug. 1848. (27/1629, Outrage papers, N.A.I.)
- 6 Ibid
- 7 Ibid; Doheny, *Felon's Track*, pp.284-5.
- 8 Report of R.D. Coulson, R.M. Carrick-on-Suir, 23 Aug. 1848. (27/1629, Outrage papers, N.A.I.)
- 9 Ibid
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- 11 'To thirty-one very impatient correspondents - somewhere' by John O'Mahony, in the *Phoenix* (New York), 10 Feb. 1860.
- 12 Report of William Ryan, R.M. Clonmel, 2 Sept.1848, (27/1948, Outrage papers, N.A.I.).
- 13 *Ibid*.
- 14 Letter from Mr. M. to William Ryan, R.M. Clonmel, 2 Sept. 1848, (27/1948, Outrage papers, N.A.I.).
- 15 *Tipperary Vindicator*, 20 Sept. 1848.
- 16 Letter from Mr.M. to William Ryan, R.M. Clonmel, 5 Sept. 1848, (27/1825, Outrage papers, N.A.I.).
- 17 Assignment dated 5 Sept. 1848. John O'Mahony, Loughananna, Limerick, to James H. Mandeville, Ballyquirkeen House, Tipperary, (1848.17.211. Registry of Deeds, Dublin)
- 18 Report of R.D. Coulson, R.M. Carrick-on-Suir, 7 Sept. 1848, (27/1837, Outrage papers, N.A.I.).
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- 21 Ibid.
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- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 *Tipperary Vindicator*, 16 Sept. 1848.
- 26 Report of R.D. Coulson, R.M. Carrick-on-Suir, 7 Sept.1848, (27/1837, Outrage papers, N.A.I.).
- 27 O'Mahony's account in the *Phoenix* (New York) 10 Feb. 1860; Doheny, *Felon's Track*, pp.285-6.
- 28 *Tipperary Vindicator*, 16 and 20 Sept. 1848.
- 29
- 30 *Tipperary Vindicator*, 16 Sept. 1848.
- 31 O'Mahony's account in the *Phoenix* (New York) 10 Feb. 1860
- 32 Report of R.D. Coulson, R.M. Carrick-on-Suir, 7 Sept. 1848, (27/1837, Outrage papers, N.A.I.); Report of R.D. Coulson, R.M. Carrick-on-Suir, 9 Sept. 1848. (27/1870, Outrage papers, N.A.I.)
- 33 O'Mahony's account in the *Phoenix* (New York) 10 Feb. 1860
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- 35 O'Mahony's account in the *Phoenix* (New York) 10 Feb. 1860
- 36 Savage, *'98 and '48*, p.353.
- 37 Report of R.D. Coulson, R.M. Carrick-on-Suir, 9 Sept. 1848, (27/1870, Outrage papers, N.A.I.).
- 38 O'Mahony's account in the *Phoenix* (New York) 10 Feb. 1860; Doheny, pp.285-6.
- 39 Report of William Ryan, R.M. Clonmel, 11 Sept. 1848, (27/1863, Outrage papers, N.A.I.). ; *Tipperary Vindicator*, 20 Sept. 1848.
- 40 T.C. Luby, 'The Father of Fenianism: Personal Reminiscences of Colonel John O'Mahony' in *Irish World* (New York), 3 Mar. 1877.
- 41 Savage, *'98 and '48*, pp.328.
- 42 Michael Cavanagh. 'Joseph Brennan', (MS.3225 Hickey Collection, N.L.I.)
- 43 Luby's reminiscences in the *Irish World* (New York), 3 Mar. 1877.
- 44 Letter from T. Moore Grubb to William Ryan, R.M. Clonmel, 13 Sept. 1848, (27/1825, Outrage papers, N.A.I.).

THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM: PERSPECTIVES AND SOLUTIONS

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This article is a reflection, from the perspective of Catholic theology, on what is often referred to as 'the economic problem'. The economic problem is understood here as having a two-fold character, first, how to produce the objects of human desire from nature's resources, using a form of labour which affirms rather than debases the humanity of those involved, and second, how to distribute the goods produced in a way that respects the equal dignity of all. The method used is to consider the specific response of the Catholic tradition in comparison with the response of another tradition, and to ask if positions can be clarified, if lessons can be learned by means of this comparison, or even if solutions could be borrowed by the Catholic tradition.

The Catholic tradition bases its approach to the economic problem on a distinct prioritisation of justice. Justice is seen as governing the different sets of relationships operating at different levels of the social organism. The discipline of political philosophy has been reinvigorated in the past thirty years, since the publication of John Rawls' book, 'A Theory of Justice'. What is important about this is that Rawls has reinstated justice at the heart of political debate, where other traditions would emphasise revolution or techniques of control. To that extent, Rawlsian political theory suggests itself as an appropriate dialogue partner for Catholic social philosophy. In the past ten years or so, a movement has emerged largely from within this tradition, identified by a common desire to update the concept of income entitlement to one more appropriate to the post-Industrial age. This is the 'Universal Basic Income' movement. The dialogue in question here is between the social philosophy of this movement and Catholic social philosophy. The article suggests that the two traditions have significant areas of agreement, and it proposes that a form of Universal Basic Income, if suitably defined, could be compatible with the principles and perspectives of Catholic Social Teaching.

1: THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM: A SOCIAL SOLUTION

What historians call 'the Long Nineteenth Century' came to a convulsive end on the battlefields of France and Belgium during the First World War. The period 1780-1918 had seen the spectacular unfolding of the industrial revolution which, beyond its contributions to the science of warfare, yielded its true harvest in an abundance of goods and services unrivalled before in history. To some observers, this new world was the epitome of progress. Others, however, saw a more unsettling picture; behind the vaunted achievements in industrial output, they saw the scene of human misery in the mines and factories of the new industrial empires. A host of visionaries, engineers, industrialists, and positivist philosophers like Comte and Spencer hailed the Industrial Revolution as an historic point of arrival, representing humankind's final triumph over the vicissitudes of nature. In Britain, the leading industrial power, the apostles of progress extolled the landmark achievements of the era: the revolution in transport, culminating in the magnificent ocean liners; the shrinking of the globe with the electric telegraph and later the telephone; the Great Exhibition of London of 1851 showcased by the new Crystal Palace building; the smart Victorian towns with their elegant promenades. But another equally animated group of observers joined in a chorus of criticism, novelists, revolutionary socialists, churchmen, philanthropists, and even some utopian industrialist, who, each according to his own genre, highlighted and slated the degradation of humanity in the squalid slums of the new industrial towns. The incisive analysis came from Karl Marx: this was the systematic exploitation of a whole social class. To that extent at least, Pope Leo XIII agreed: 'A small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the teeming masses of the labouring poor a yoke little better than that of slavery itself.'¹ The efforts of the few reformers such as Lord Shaftsbury were frustrated by the effects of a growing *laissez faire* policy, inspired, firstly, by the economic pessimism of economists like Malthus and Ricardo and, secondly, by the new Darwinian-inspired doctrine of Herbert Spencer and others, which held that the natural law of society was one of 'social evolution', where the strong survive at the expense of the weak. It was, thus, the consensus of the wise that social intervention, however well-intentioned would impede nature's work, and would ultimately increase the suffering. A retrospective indication of the two-sided social nature of the Industrial Revolution is the fact that the history books devote as many pages to the figures who defended humanity against its negative effects as to those who achieved its positive outcomes for humanity.

The oppressed state of the working-class in Britain was starkly exposed during the recruiting campaign of the First World War, when a surprisingly high percentage of draftees from the urban working-class areas, through problems of malnutrition and general ill-health, were found to be medically unfit for military service. Concerns over the military implications were discussed in government. The government was further disquieted as the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 in Russia reawakening the dormant fears of working-class revolt. Stung into action by pragmatism if not compassion, Prime Minister Lloyd George initiated a programme of reforms, promising the returning soldiers that he would make Britain 'a fit country for heroes to live in'. The urban slums would be swept away and houses 'fit for heroes' built.² This would be the watershed of social history in Britain:

the industrial work-force would no longer inhabit a shadowy half-forgotten world, but would take their place as full members of their society. But, a decade of procrastination followed as the established order resisted any erosion of its position. After that came the paralysis of the world economic recession, lasting throughout the 1930's, marked in Britain by the 'hunger marches' by unemployed men in demand of work. Another war later, social conditions had changed little as another army arrived home from the front, the men voicing anew the expectations of their fathers, that their sacrifice should not be in the defence of wealth and privilege, but of a just social order. This time, however, the response was different; the tide of political change had already begun to turn.

Under pressure from a resurgent Labour party, the Coalition government led by Churchill had commissioned a report into poverty. The resulting Beveridge Report was published in 1942. Emboldened by the new Keynesian credo that full employment could be maintained by selective state policy, Beveridge presented a novel socio-economic idea. The State, assured of its ability to maintain full employment, would sponsor a system of social insurance, available to all, funded by modest contributions from workers and their employers, and guaranteed by the State. This was presented as the solution to Britain's problem of marginalization and poverty. The state had taken the initiative, and, in the quaintly belligerent language of Beveridge, had set about slaying 'the five giants that stood in the path of social progress, namely, 'want', 'disease', 'ignorance', 'squalor' and 'idleness'.³

For socialists generally the Beveridge Plan was seen as an incremental step towards the full socialist state. Social democrats welcomed it, seeing it through the lens of their commitment to redistribution of wealth. The view of R. H. Tawney is typical and is summarised by Kearns:

It is the task of the state to mitigate those gross inequalities that flow from birth, inherited wealth or the accumulated advantage of economic power. These essentially 'unearned' inequalities cannot be justified socially or economically and consequently the state via progressive taxation and redistribution, must seek ... to redress them.⁴

Despite the strong support for a thoroughgoing redistribution of wealth, as evidenced in the Labour Party's sweeping victory in the 1945 election, the Welfare State, when legislated by the Labour Government, retained the stamp of its politically liberal makers – it was not a scheme of redistribution but essentially an insurance scheme. Kearns comments:

The central point ... is that both Keynes and Beveridge were liberal thinkers; they were both committed to the preservation of liberal capitalism. They both believed that this could only be achieved through the purposive actions of a benign and positive state which could balance the reasonable aspirations of its citizens for economic and social security, while preserving the economic dynamism of market capitalism and the traditional freedoms associated with liberalism.⁵

The Keynes-Beveridge Welfare State essentially transferred wealth linearly throughout the course of an individual's life, assisted by modest contributions from his/her employer; it did not substantially address itself to lateral transfers of wealth, to redistribution of wealth, as envisaged by reformers like Tawney.⁶ In that form, it continued as the unchallenged socio-economic model in Britain throughout the 1950's, 60's, and 70's. Though under Labour Governments the scope of its activities was expanded, it retained its essential character as a social insurance rather than a redistributive scheme. With the British Welfare State as an obvious model and standard of comparison, a welfare state developed along parallel lines in Ireland during the same period.⁷

As early as the mid 1960's, the economics of the welfare state in Ireland, but more notably in Britain, were showing strain. The problem was that 'public expectations were running ahead of public willingness to bear taxation'.⁸ That revenue problem was compounded by the oil crisis and subsequent recession of the 1970's. But a deeper problem showed itself, one which threw into question the Keynesian assumption that the state, by prudent action, can buttress itself against economic recession. The phenomenon of *stagflation*, high rates of inflation in the absence of strong economic growth, continued unabated. It came to be seen as evidence of the failure of Keynesian economics. As the monetarism of Friedman became the new economic orthodoxy, markets, not social programmes were held out as the solution to all socio-economic problems. The dismantling of the Keynes-Beveridge Welfare State had begun not only in Britain, but also in those states like Ireland which had mirrored that model.

The Keynes-Beveridge Welfare State emerged from a period when the political world was dominated by two great monolithic ideas, Free-market Capitalism and Marxism in its various shades. Capitalism's core conviction was the market's ability to answer all conceivable human needs, leaving moral agency in the public

arena largely redundant. For Marxism, it was the belief that the amoral forces of history would of themselves blindly improve the human condition, hastened perhaps, by revolutionary intervention. Pope John Paul II points out the ‘fundamental error’ of both. Both are based on an inadequate anthropology. Both fail to recognise the individuality, the ‘subjectivity’ of the individual.⁹ The Keynes-Beveridge Welfare State, it could be argued, bears that flaw; it bears the mark of the anonymity and the impersonalism of a collectivist approach to human welfare, and it fails to recognise and challenge these same defects in the free-market.

Despite the flaws in its eventual form, the Keynes-Beveridge Welfare State made a significant statement. In its conception, it represented the victory of the moral vision of the human and of society over what JPII calls the ‘economistic’ vision. It was attempting to say that people are central, not the economic system, and that if the market was blind to some needs, then these needs were to be formally and deliberately addressed without further deference to the market.

The Keynes-Beveridge Welfare State might, in retrospect, be seen to have done an unintended disservice to the whole project of social reform. Presented, and accepted, by most interested parties as the ‘solution’, it tended to foreclose a certain type of debate which was being actively pursued in Ireland, Britain, and most other countries, especially in the 1930’s. That is the debate about the root philosophical questions of economic justice, questions about the rights, duties and limits of ownership and questions about the moral character of market exchange. These were not first raised by Industrial Capitalism, but were given a new urgency as ownership and market exchange became, with Industrial Capitalism, the bedrock of economic life. In the view of many, solving the economic problem is about answering these root questions and no thin consensus between two monolithic ideas can be an adequate alternative. Two intellectual traditions who think along these lines are considered in this article and their particular solutions are examined. These are the Catholic ‘Just Price’/‘Just Wage’ tradition which has attempted, over many centuries, to deal with the problem, and a new and eclectic movement supporting the concept of ‘Universal Basic Income’. First, however, the ‘economic problem’ is considered more closely.

2: THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM IN PERSPECTIVE

The ‘economic problem’ figures centrally in the opening chapters of the Judeo-Christian Scriptures. Humankind’s first intuition about their rightful place in creation suggests a life of ease and leisure. Yet, the paradox, or the rift that is at the heart of the human condition is that, given their fallen state, as Genesis depicts it, humankind find they must abandon their ideal of leisure for the discipline of labour. Humankind are told that the fruits of the earth, which that first intuition intimates to them should be theirs for free, must be earned by labour: ‘With sweat on your brow shall you eat your bread.’¹⁰ The earliest literature of Ancient Greece speaks in similar terms about the economic paradox. The 8th century poet, Hesiod, speaks of a perceived alienation from a previous ‘Golden Age’ and comments somewhat dolefully on life on the mountain-slopes of Attica: ‘men never rest from labour and sorrow by day and from perishing by night’.¹¹ As Ancient Israel became a nation and developed a sophisticated economic life, it became apparent that the economic problem was not only one of eeking out adequate sustenance; there was also the problem of distributing the wealth created to the satisfaction of all. The prophets of Ancient Israel, Amos, Hosea and Isaiah, repeatedly called attention to the offensiveness before God and man of the existence of poverty among plenty. The Greek tradition, too identified this second economic problem and, even if less colourful in expression, was more analytical in its treatment.

There are, for Aristotle, two distinct aspects of economic science, if not two distinct economic sciences. He distinguishes between *oikonomike* (economics) and *chrematistike* (wealth-making or the science of supply).¹² There are distinct points of difference. Firstly, *chrematistike* the science of means, is about the multiplication of means through activities such as trading, the improvement of land, the carrying out of all the arts and crafts; *oikonomike* is the science of ends and is about the choosing of ends, deciding how, within individual families and within the state as a whole, the wealth produced should be apportioned. Secondly, the material of the science of ends is that which is produced by the science of means. Thirdly, the excellence of *oikonomike* is a human excellence, having to do with people and their needs, while that of *chrematistike* is the lesser excellence of skill and of property.

Contrary to the modern mode of thinking, which sees the multiplication of means or ‘production’ as the *sine qua non* of economic life, the first science for Aristotle is that of ends, of making the most of what is there already. The reason is straightforward: happiness is that which is sought, but happiness is not the necessary outcome of wealth. Aristotle agrees with his master, Plato that ‘poverty results from increase of man’s desires, not from diminution of his property’.¹³ Aristotle points out that true happiness is not possible without a minimum of external goods, and goes on: ‘This makes men fancy that external goods are the cause of happiness, yet we might as well say that a brilliant performance on the lyre was to be attributed to the instrument and not to the skill of the performer.’¹⁴ The key to the welfare of human communities is not primarily the expansion of wealth but the wise use of that wealth within the community, given the tentative link between wealth and happiness – the science of *oikonomike*. That is not to say that Aristotle fails to see the importance of wealth *creation* – he just gives priority to the *use* of wealth. Economics, then, for Aristotle is ‘an exercise in government or management

(where) the primary responsibility of the manager is choice of goals to be pursued. The economic problem is primarily a problem of selection among competing ends.¹⁵

The purpose of this digression into Old Testament and Aristotelian economics is to demonstrate the twin nature of the economic problem, as it is recognised from the dawn of recorded history. The normative aspect, that of deciding how much wealth and for whom, is as much part of the economic problem as is the positive aspect, that of how the wealth is to be produced. Around the turn of the twentieth century, towards the end of the great age of 'progress', when all human problems were seen to be amenable to the scientific method, the ancient discipline of 'political economy', the inheritor of that twin tradition, was phased out of the curricula of academic institutions, in favour of the new scientific 'economics', which recognised essentially only the wealth-creation aspect. Since then, the study of, and practice of, economics has been of the 'positive' kind. As world politics polarised in line with the contemporary conflicts of the twentieth century, Aristotle's *oikonomike* faded out as a topic of political interest. It was left, then, to the great names of positive economics, Keynes, Schumpeter, von Hayek, and Friedman to shape the economic destiny of the twentieth century. Aristotle's lesser economic science, the multiplication of means, was held out as the total solution to the economic problem. Promoting economic growth was the work of these economists not the justice of benefits and burdens. That their legacy is less than wholesome can be readily demonstrated.

It is clear from an examination of European unemployment figures that at the end of a decade free of major economic recession and with at least positive economic growth overall, unemployment levels remain stubbornly at around the ten percent level. From a (positive) economics point of view, that figure might be manageable, but from a moral point of view, the denial to one in every ten people of the 'pass-card' which gives full membership of their society must be seen as an unmitigated failure. In a climate of high unemployment the low-wage sector of the economy tends to expand, and that has been the visible trend. The 'flexible employment' regime has brought the bottom twenty percent of US workers a precarious life of poverty-level incomes with almost no chance of improving their position.¹⁶ The 'low-wage' phenomenon has recently been the subject of *exposes* by journalists Barbara Ehrenreich in the US and Polly Toynbee in Britain.¹⁷ The picture conveyed, of how modern wealthy societies prey on their weakest, mostly women and those of racial minorities, subjecting them to conditions of low pay, long hours and utterly inadequate family time, raises major moral questions. The overall distribution of wealth in the US, the state which sets the economic standard towards which most others now tend to gravitate, presents an alarming picture. The record of political and civil equality that the US is rightly proud of must be considered sullied by its record of gross economic inequality. Will Hutton wrote in 2002: 'The richest 20 per cent of Americans earn nine times more than the poorest 20 per cent.'¹⁸ Finally, the Ireland of the mature Celtic Tiger shows a progressive social polarisation, the much-publicised failure of basic social services contrasting markedly with the continuing enrichment of the top echelon.¹⁹

The problem of economic inequality is an especially challenging one for theology. Pope Pius XI in 1931 endorsed the work of Catholic social reformers 'who could in no way convince themselves that so enormous and unjust an inequality in the distribution of this world's goods truly conforms to the designs of the all-wise Creator'. Pope John Paul II wrote in 1987, 'So widespread is the phenomenon (of inequality) that it brings into question the financial, monetary, production, and commercial mechanisms that, resting on various political pressures, support the world economy. These are proving incapable either of remedying the unjust social situations inherited from the past or of dealing with the urgent challenges and ethical demands of the present.'²⁰ Catholic social teaching, drawing on the guidance of Scripture and the supporting insights of the Greek and Scholastic philosophical traditions, has offered its own solution. Central to that solution are a specific concept of ownership, an ownership which carries duties as well as rights, and a specific concept of exchange, one which considers the human needs of the contracting parties, not just their utility value to each other.

3: THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM: A TRADITIONAL SOLUTION - THE JUST WAGE

Within the broad discipline of social ethics, the fundamental interpretive principle in Catholic Teaching is the dignity of the human person, each person being made in the imago of God (*Imago Dei*) and thus having an intrinsic dignity. This has the implication for social ethics that the value of individuals and groups, as human persons, transcends all economic estimations of their contribution to society or their cost to their community. Within the particular field of the ethics of economic life, the foundational principle is the universal destination of all created goods. The *Catechism of the Catholic Church* says: 'God entrusted the earth and its resources to the common stewardship of (humankind) to take care of them, master them by labour and enjoy their fruits. The goods of creation are destined for the whole human race.'²¹ The Catholic teaching on the Just Wage brings together a number of teachings from the tradition such as those relating to justice in the use of external goods and justice in exchange. These are examined in brief.

The civil law code which the Middle Ages inherited from the Roman Empire gave almost unlimited rights of ownership. It gave, in Rodger Charles' words, 'the right of using, but also of abusing'.²² The fiery condemnations of such injustice by the Early Fathers of the Church are numerous. For example, St Augustine wrote: 'The superfluous things of the wealthy are the necessities of the poor. When superfluous things are

possessed, the property of others is possessed'.²³ St Thomas Aquinas approached the problem with a less passionate but more analytical mind. His teachings on economic matters can be considered under two broad headings, the rights and responsibilities of ownership and justice in exchange. A pattern of private ownership of property, where ownership was restricted to a privileged elite, was solidly established in custom and in civil law in the thirteenth century, and Aquinas chose not to directly challenge that. His task was, however, to reconcile such unequal ownership with the principle of universal destination, that the use and benefit of property should be for all. His solution was to employ a distinction, made by Aristotle, between the ownership and the use of goods. While goods may be owned as of right, there is a corresponding duty, in respect of their use, not to regard them as one's own, but to be 'ready to communicate them to others in their need.'²⁴ Thomas' thinking is summed up by Daniel Rush Finn: 'Because it is the nature of material goods to meet human needs, a man who owns more than he needs violates the nature of those very goods if he refuses to allow them to meet the needs of the poor.'²⁵ This is the crucial point. Ownership for Aquinas does not give the right to hold one's wealth against those who have a greater need. This first duty is one of responsible stewardship, to see that the goods one holds are 'communicated' to others who need them.

What is significant for social relations is that while the right of property is upheld by the civil law, the duties of ownership are not, being a matter of the personal virtue of the owner. The virtues in question are those of almsgiving, beneficence and munificence. Almsgiving is an 'external act' whose purpose is 'to relieve one who is in need'. Beneficence is the more general act of doing good. Munificence is the doing of some 'great work' for the common good out of one's resources.²⁶

In the twelfth century, long-distance trade began to revive and the slow process began whereby specialised production for the market replaced the subsistence livelihood of feudalism as the general form of economic life. Where before, markets might have been of peripheral interest, they became progressively of more central importance to livelihoods. With the markets came the all-consuming topic of price. A picture emerges of the merchants of the day haggling over prices in the expanding marketplaces and, it would appear, sometimes no less fraught exchanges in the new academic establishments concerning the exact meaning of the just price.

The problem of exchange is that of whether goods should be exchanged on a 'cost of production' basis or on a 'utility' basis. 'Cost of production' is where goods are exchanged on the basis of an equal investment of time and expense by either party in producing them. Essentially, the goods a carpenter can produce in a day will trade for what a shoe-maker can produce in a day (assuming equal overhead costs for each). A 'utility' basis of exchange is exemplified in the case where the shoe-maker discovers how to produce a much finer class of shoe, and consequently, market demand, and price, increase, so that he may then no longer wish to exchange with the carpenter on a one-to-one basis, because the 'utility' value of his product, as judged by the market, is greater than that of the carpenter. The question is important because a cost-of-production basis of exchange guarantees all those who sell their product in the market a reasonably average income, whereas a utility basis leaves all incomes subject to the vagaries of supply and demand and various distortions of trade, resulting in the familiar pattern of riches for some and poverty for others.

Aquinas makes some brief comments on exchange, but a certain ambiguity in his writings has given rise to differing interpretations. In the *Summa Theologica*, Thomas Aquinas states that the value of things depends 'on their usefulness to man.'²⁷ While it is generally agreed that this is an espousal of a utility theory of value, many, but not all, commentators believe that Aquinas, elsewhere in his writings, advocates a cost-of-production theory. In his commentary on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aquinas writes, 'The arts will be destroyed if the workman who has made some article does not receive for it another article similar in quantity and quality. One man's labour must be compared with another's if the exchange is to be just.'²⁸ Barry Gordon believes that the just price, for Aquinas was arrived at by the application of both the principle of utility and the principle of cost.²⁹ Many commentators understand Aquinas as requiring of buyers that they would offer a price based on 'a kind of estimate', where they would weigh both the utility of the article to themselves and the seller's likely living expenses against the price offered.³⁰ The just price, finally, was never that of an individual transaction, but was the general aggregate of all transactions, an overall average.

The centuries following Aquinas saw little departure from his teaching on the rights and duties of property. Considerable development took place, however, of his teachings on exchange. As goods arrived in the marketplace from remote regions, the possibility of an estimation in respect of the producer's needs became equally remote. By the fifteenth century the market was beginning to function as an impersonal mechanism, operating by the laws of supply and demand and regulated by competition. The teaching on just price evolved to the point where the just price was brought about more through the regulation of market forces than through appeal to individual consciences. The doctrine in its mature form is given by J. Messner: 'The primary task in the establishment of the just price is not ... the fixing of prices. It is the regulating of the mechanism whereby the factors determining the just price structure are enabled to exercise their due influence.'³¹ The just price is no longer arrived at primarily through personal interaction, but through the proper regulation of the impersonal machinery of the market. That regulation means enforcing standards such as free and fair trading and ensuring adequate competition.

The arrival of the 'factory system' in the late eighteenth century meant that, for the first time in history, the majority of people depended solely on a wage for their income. The wage had come to reflect the sum total of a person's economic contribution, and the adequacy of the wage was soon seen as the most essential measure of the justice of economic relations. Following a lengthy examination of the workings of the new industrial capitalism, Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum* was published in 1891. Leo does not challenge the position that prices in general may be set by the market. But he strongly rejects the liberal position that labour is a commodity to be bought and sold like any other. The price of labour is determined by criteria unlike the price of any other saleable good, and that position Leo elaborates into the doctrine of the Just Wage.

The Industrial Revolution was founded on the *laissez faire* principle, the essence of which is the unhindered freedom of individuals to enter into contracts of exchange with others. All men are merchants, Adam Smith had said, each has something to sell. After some centuries of land clearances and general social upheaval in Britain, the only commodity many people had left to sell was their labour. Labour, as was the case with other commodities, was sold by the *laissez faire* principle. In operation, the system seemed to bear out Ricardo's 'iron law of wages' prediction: wages soon settled at subsistence level. Buyers of labour in the market were sternly reminded of the inadequacy of this by Leo when he wrote: 'There underlies a dictate of natural justice more imperious and ancient than any bargain between man and man, namely, that wages ought not to be insufficient to support a frugal and well-behaved wage-earner.'³² What is significant about Leo's position is that he is returning, for the first time in centuries, to a clear statement of the cost-of-production principle in exchange. While he does recommend some structural changes, the main thrust of his solution is the payment of the 'just wage'. There is an obligation on the employer to make the sort of 'estimation' spoken of by Aquinas in respect of the needs of the worker and to pay accordingly. That estimation must take account of essentially two sets of costs. Firstly, there is the requirement that the worker should be able to maintain himself and his family in modest comfort. Secondly, and this seems to be Leo's ultimate solution to the problem of the 'working poor', the wage should be sufficient for the employee to put some savings by in order 'to secure a modest source of income'.³³ Leo is not saying that the utility value of the work is not relevant; the just wage involves a balancing of both of Aquinas' principles, cost-of-production and utility.

While Leo's great contribution was the establishment of a criterion of welfare for workers, conveyed in the doctrine of the 'just wage', Pius XI, in his encyclical, *Quadragesimo Anno* of 1931, went further in his analysis of the relationship between the 'rich' and the 'non-owning workers'. What concerned him was not simply that the workers should be given a wage which could support them (the criterion of welfare), but that the whole social enterprise should be just (the criterion of justice). The principle of the universal destination of goods applied to the manufactured goods of industrial capitalism as much as it did to land and its produce in the earlier economic system. His concern was that, in his own words, 'the riches which are so abundantly produced in our age of 'industrialism', as it is called, are not rightly distributed and equitably made available to the various classes of the people'. Pius, in *Quadragesimo Anno*, reiterates the traditional duties of stewardship, but, despite their central place, he insists, these duties of charity must not usurp the central place of justice. 'No vicarious charity', he writes, 'can substitute for justice denied ...'³⁴ Pius recognised that the present social situation calls for more than the traditional spelling out of the duties of the rich to the (sometimes idle) poor. Here was a joint social enterprise involving all, owners and workers, in diligent mutual effort. All contributed in the same way, through their labour, and justice required that that fundamental parity of desert be reflected in an appropriate parity of reward.

Labour, Pius points out, is one of the traditionally recognised sources of title. However, Pius challenges one of the key assumptions which has permitted the all-important accumulation of capital of Industrial Capitalism, that employers may use the labour of their employees to enhance the value of their (the employers') capital. The 'increase' on wealth which occurs in a productive enterprise is brought about by the labour of both owners and workers, and therefore 'it is wholly unjust for either, denying the efficacy of the other, to arrogate to itself whatever has been produced.'³⁵ The 'law of social justice' says that the wealth produced 'ought to be so distributed among individual persons and classes that the common advantage of all ... will be safeguarded'.³⁶ This fair distribution among owners and workers is the meaning of social justice and it is a further duty of owners beyond charity, munificence and beneficence. This disbursement from the profits of their labour is to make up part of worker' wages. The just wage now has three distinct elements. First there is the utility element, the one spontaneously recognized by the market. Second is the labour-cost element set out by Leo. Third is the distributional element of Pius where that portion of the profits that are due to labour are returned to it.

Pope John Paul II radically revises, almost reverses, the teaching of Leo on property. 'The position of 'rigid capitalism' continues to remain unacceptable, namely the position that defends the exclusive right to private ownership of the means of production as an untouchable 'dogma' of economic life. The principle of respect for work demands that this right should undergo a constructive revision, both in theory and in practice.'³⁷ He retains the central position of the market in economic life: 'The free market is the most efficient instrument for utilizing resources and effectively responding to needs'. However, he goes on to say, 'This is true only for those needs which are 'solvent', insofar as they are endowed with purchasing power, and for those resources that

are 'marketable', insofar as they are capable of obtaining a satisfactory price.'³⁸ For that reason, the activities of the market must be 'circumscribed within a strong juridical framework', one which will place it 'at the service of human freedom in its totality'.³⁹

John Paul reiterates the traditional teaching that sees personal incomes as direct remuneration for work done. 'Wages ... are still a practical means whereby the vast majority of people can have access to those goods which are intended for common use ...'.⁴⁰ In determining the just wage, he gives precedence to the need standard. Payment according to the value of the work done is only the secondary consideration. He condemns as 'economistic thinking' the placing of the utility standard first. It must be remembered, he says, that the one doing the work is not a form of capital but a person. Where the solutions of his predecessors fall somewhat flat insofar as they rely on the preaching of their moral obligations to a largely recalcitrant ownership class, John Paul's solution overcomes this problem. Proper respect for work requires that the division between capital and labour should be abolished, that the worker should come to own his or her own 'workbench'.⁴¹ John Paul's vision is a future of owning workers where the antagonisms of the 'owning' and 'working' classes has been replaced with the harmony of the new classless workplace, and where the problem of the 'just wage', at least in its old form, has thereby dissolved for good.

John Paul II's last social encyclical, *Centesimus Annus*, was published in 1991. In the intervening years, a considerable amount of material has been produced on an alternate vision of economic justice, that centred around the concept of 'Universal Basic Income'. It is examined next.

4: THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM: A NEW SOLUTION – UNIVERSAL BASIC INCOME

Thomas Paine was the first to advocate any form of payment to individuals as an entitlement. In his book, *Agrarian Justice* of 1796 Payne wrote, 'It is a position not to be controverted that the earth, in its natural, uncultivated state was, and ever would have continued to be, the common property of the human race.' In a direct refutation of John Locke's argument that individuals can acquire ownership of (previously unowned) land by invested their labour in it, Payne continues, 'It is the value of the improvement, only, and not the earth itself, that is in individual property.' Payne states his conclusion: 'Every proprietor, therefore, of cultivated lands, owes to the community a ground-rent (for I know of no better term to express the idea) for the land which he holds....' Grounds rents will be accumulated into a fund from which 'there shall be paid to every person, when arrived at the age of twenty-one years, the sum of fifteen pounds sterling, as a compensation in part, for the loss of his or her natural inheritance by the introduction of the system of landed property.' All, whether otherwise rich or poor, will receive these payments because this is their 'natural inheritance'.⁴²

In the mid 1800's some French social utopians, among them Charles Fourier, came up with the first proposal for Basic Income. Fourier expressed an intuitive conviction that the gifts of nature were the common right of all: *Le premier droit, celui de récolte naturelle, usage des dons de la nature, liberté de chasse, cueillette, pâture, constitue le droit de se nourrir, de manger quand on a faim*. In recognition of this right of nature's harvest, of their co-ownership of the land, there was to be a 'territorial dividend' paid to each citizen.⁴³ Taking up the idea, John Stuart Mill, in his *Principles of Political Economy*, proposed a 'citizen's dividend'. He suggested a two-tier distribution of the wealth produced within the economy, first a subsistence allowance to all citizens and second, a distribution which would take account of the person's specific contribution in work, capital and talent.⁴⁴

The period of greatest interest for the development of the theory of Basic Income is the period between the two World Wars of the twentieth century. That period saw a ferment of debate, intensified by the economic crisis of the 1930's and concomitantly, the growing appeal of the Marxist alternative. In Britain, the 'State Bonus League' flourished in the 1920's. Quakers, Dennis and Mabel Milner and Bertram Pickard, inspired by their religion's commitment to social justice, set out to provide concrete proposals for a fairer distribution of society's wealth. The 'State Bonus' which would be paid to all could be financed, they claimed, by a 25% increase in economic output. The State Bonus League flourished for a number of years in the late 1910's and early 1920's. Links with the Labour Party were formed, but these remained tentative. However, the idea of a State Bonus was discussed at the Labour Party's Annual conference in 1921. Eventually, the Labour Party rejected the concept on various grounds, essentially, because it cut across the Labour Party's aim of securing social justice through the provision well-paid jobs for all.⁴⁵ The Social Credit Movement followed and lasted throughout the 1920's. It is significant not for the ideas of its proponents, which were somewhat obscure, but for the groundswell of popular support it enjoyed. However, another idea of the 1930's, market socialism, was to leave a much more lasting legacy.

British Economist James Meade was a towering figure in economic policy from the 1930's to the beginning of the 1990's. Though one of the founding fathers of the British Welfare State, he was also a strong supporter of the 'Social Dividend' proposed by market socialists, Lange and Taylor in the 1930's.⁴⁶ Later in his career, as he witnessed the arrival of the post-industrial age, he became more convinced of the rightness of Social Dividend. In his book 'Equality, Efficiency and Ownership of Property', published in 1965, Meade warned of the trend for industry to base its production on capital rather than labour, and the resultant tendency of society to

split into a wealthy capital-owning minority and a majority of low-wage workers. The solution Meade proposed was a combination of Welfare State *and* Social Dividend. The social dividend was paid to counteract the polarisation of society between owners of capital and non-owners. He saw the Social Dividend 'not as a *replacement* for the Keynes-Beveridge welfare state which he, himself, helped to create, but as a vital missing ingredient'.⁴⁷ The Keynes-Beveridge proposal swept aside any further discussion on Social Dividend after 1942, though not altogether. In 1943, Juliet Rhys Williams advocated a 'New Social Contract' as an alternative to the Beveridge Plan which, she claimed, did not adequately safeguard women and children against poverty. In an atmosphere of general enthusiasm for the Keynes-Beveridge model, her proposal seems to have received little attention and the entire Citizen's Dividend debate appears to have subsided.

As the above account attempts to show, Basic Income models of social reform existed alongside the Welfare State model, and, in fact, pre-dated it. The triumphing of the Welfare State model over the Basic Income type models might be seen as the work of an unwitting conspiracy between the Conservative and Labour parties in Britain. For the Conservatives, Basic Income would bring an unwelcome tax on property. For the Labour Party, firstly, Basic Income could be seen as an erosion of their position as sole defenders of worker's incomes, and secondly, a collectivist social policy was preferred to the individual-orientated Basic Income, being seen as an incremental step towards the eventual Socialist state.

There has been a strong revival of interest in Basic Income, as indicated by the number of books published on the topic in the past ten years, and the number of international conferences held on Basic Income. An overall body, the Basic Income European Network acts as a coordinating body for those interested in promoting Basic Income in Europe.⁴⁸ Other bodies exist in Canada, the US, New Zealand and Australia. The members of BIEN include 'academics, students and social policy practitioners as well as people actively engaged in political, social and religious organisations'.⁴⁹ The reasons given for the current strength of the Basic Income idea include loss of faith in the Welfare State model, reaction to the neo-liberal trend in economics, the undermining of the traditional 'job', and its compatibility with 'alternative' lifestyles.

Tony Fitzpatrick defines Basic Income as an income 'paid unconditionally on either a weekly or a monthly basis to every man, woman and child as an individual right of citizenship ... without reference to employment status, employment record, intention to seek employment, or marital status'.⁵⁰ For Van Parijs, the income is 'basic' in the sense that it is 'something on which a person can safely count, a material foundation on which a life can firmly rest'.⁵¹

Different levels of income are proposed by different proponents, ranging from less than subsistence to one which would almost match present incomes. Most would see it as complementing, not replacing the Welfare State. Support for UBI is not limited to any school of political theory, any political party, or ideological pressure-group. What identifies advocates of UBI as a group are not the arguments used, which are an eclectic mix, but a commitment to two values, a willingness to tackle the problem of the distribution of society's wealth and a belief that this particular mechanism is an essential element in the achievement of that distribution.

UBI has similarities with the Negative Income Tax proposal which is sometimes suggested in political circles. Proponents of UBI claim that it would be easier to administer than Negative Income Tax, and more effective in relieving poverty. Another related idea is the 'stakeholder society', giving citizens a capital grant on reaching the age of majority, which would be theirs to invest in their own livelihood.⁵² Proponents of UBI point out that miscalculation or misfortune in investing one's capital would be punished for life and that UBI is a more forgiving option.

Two broad classes of argument are advanced for UBI, arguments from principles of justice and arguments on the grounds of welfare and/or pragmatism. Taking justice first, it can be noted, to begin with, that political theories break down according to the precise interpretation given to the concept of justice, whether justice is interpreted as freedom (liberalism), as entitlement to resources (social democracy), or as equality (egalitarianism). Basic Income has been advocated from all three positions.

Liberalism makes freedom the absolute political value, the freedom to live one's life without interference from others. The necessary means of achieving that freedom is the holding, by the individual, of his or her own property. Classical liberalism, therefore, defends absolutely the right to hold property. That defence was provided by John Locke, the 17th Century philosopher, who declared, that whatever man 'hath mixed his labour with', he has 'joined it to something that is his own and thereby makes it his property.'. But, he added the highly significant 'Lockean proviso': he may take it as his own provided there is 'as good left in common for others'.⁵³ The 'Lockean proviso' has been a troublesome appendix of the liberal corpus down the years. The publication of John Rawls' book, *A Theory of Justice* in 1971, stimulated a thorough self-examination of political liberalism, and its proclaimed grounding in justice. Some of the implications are developed by Raymond Plant. For Plant, what counts is not formal liberty, but the 'worth of liberty' or the 'value of liberty'. All have formal liberty, the right to own property. Some have already exercised that right, but they failed to leave 'as good in common for others'. These others then, have formal liberty, but, having no property, they do not have the 'worth' of that liberty. In the interests of justice, then, it is imperative to achieve 'a greater equality in the worth of liberty'.⁵⁴

Philippe Van Parijs, who holds the Hoover Chair of Economic and Social Ethics in the Catholic University of Louvain, is the foremost proponent of UBI in Europe. He is best known for his 1995 book, *Real Freedom for All: What (if anything) can Justify Capitalism?* where he attempts to derive the justification for a Basic Income from the liberal premise.⁵⁵ In the book, Van Parijs agrees that if liberalism is to be true to itself, ‘formal freedom’ must be replaced with ‘real freedom’, which means real title to their fair share of society’s wealth for all. If it is not possible to make transfers of actual capital wealth – and Van Parijs agrees it is neither practical nor prudent – then compensation should be given for the denial of common ownership rights. This will take the form of a Basic Income payment. ‘In the eyes of anyone who finds (a free society) attractive, there cannot but be a strong presumption in favour of UBI. A cash grant to all, no questions asked, no strings attached, at the highest sustainable level, can hardly fail to advance that ideal.’⁵⁶

The earliest and the most obvious justification for Basic Income, that appealed to by Paine, Fourier and Mill, is the payment of a dividend on one’s personal share of the value of natural resources. However, it is commonly argued that in an age when the things of greatest value derive more from human labour than from nature’s store, that argument loses much of its force. Gar Alperovitz believes that if the labour factor is examined more closely, then a much stronger case for Basic Income can be made. Most of the capital we use, he points out, is the work of past generations of workers. Over 90 percent of present capital wealth, he suggests, is due to our economic inheritance – past technological progress, advances in knowledge – rather than to the efforts of workers living today. This inheritance from past generations must be considered the common property of humanity and, Alperovitz argues, forms the basis of a more substantial basic income payment.⁵⁷ The prospects for a Basic Income payment can be further improved if it is accepted that commonly owned factors of production like the ‘governmental-legal framework’ and the ‘diversity of talents’ should not selectively enhance private wealth but should generate an equal dividend for all.⁵⁸

From an egalitarian stance, John Baker argues that ‘societies should ensure the satisfaction of the most basic needs of their members’.⁵⁹ Equal income is the best means of achieving equality of condition. ‘For equal income is a publicly acceptable and observable way of providing each individual with a fair share of the means necessary to realize their final ends.’ As an egalitarian, he makes the mandatory concession when he accepts that individuals do carry unequal ‘occupational burdens’, and that that calls for unequal incomes. Basic income, then, represents that part of our fortunes that are shared by all. In recognition of differing ‘occupational burdens’, departures from the ‘baseline’ of BI will be justified.⁶⁰

André Gorz belongs to a grouping of intellectuals who have become disenchanted with the notion of organising one’s life around the ‘job’, given the diminishment of the factors which make for personal fulfilment in the workplace. In the age of technology and automation, of workplace efficiency, and of short-term contracts, he regards the workplace as no longer the sphere where one can express one’s humanity, develop one’s creativity, and form social bonds. Work has now become the realm of necessity; it is outside of work that one acts in an un-coerced, self-managed and free manner. A certain conspiracy between the main parties, capitalists and trade unions, aims to maximise the amount of time people spend at work. An enlightened society, Gorz believes, will act to decrease the amount of working time and increase the amount of free time its members enjoy. People will spend less of their active lives in paid work. A UBI will act as a ‘second cheque’ to make up for the earned income forgone.⁶¹ The reduction in working-hours is made possible by the greater productivity of modern capital.

Bill Jordan makes the case for Basic Income from the need to maintain community bonds. His argument is essentially that the fostering of community comes before issues of employment, and that a community supported by the payment of a Basic Income will, out of its own energies, come eventually to make a net contribution to the overall economy.⁶² Another group, market socialists, make a strong case for BI. John Roemer argues for a sophisticated system of income made up of payment for work done and dividends from the shared ownership of capital.⁶³

Another direction of support is the eco-movement. All the national Green parties express strong support for Basic Income in their policy-documents. Their main reason for support is that the ‘logic of industrialism’ to which the western world subscribes has such negative effects on the environment. As well as opting out of the destructive consumer lifestyle, those opting to live on a Basic Income, they say, could engage in positive environmentally friendly activities such as self-sufficiency lifestyles.

5: DIALOGUE

The doctrine of the Just Wage comes from a religious tradition which understands humankind’s sojourn in the world to be of significance in God’s overall Plan of Salvation and understands that humankind will attempt to carry out their divine mandate, that they should ‘govern the world with justice and holiness’.⁶⁴ The Catholic tradition, being a long one, it is the recipient of that wisdom that only tradition can convey. UBI is a largely secular movement which could be called ‘humanist’ in its majority ethos. UBI is a new concept and has, thus, the benefit of being free to mould its ideas and policies to the demands of the world as it finds it. A dialogue between these two approaches, each with its own strengths and weaknesses, should be helpful to both,

and the outlines of such a dialogue are sketched in the remainder of this article. Particular attention is paid to those aspects of UBI thinking which might be of benefit to Catholic Social Teaching. In their differences, each challenges the other and these differences are investigated. But, first some of their many common features are outlined.

Political and economic discussions have tended to align themselves along a Capitalist–Socialist polarisation for the past century or more, or in John Paul’s words, have tended to follow ‘a logic of the blocks’. Catholic Social Teaching is one of the schools of socio-economic thinking which has refused this polarisation. ‘The Church’s social doctrine adopts a critical attitude towards both liberal capitalism and Marxist collectivism’.⁶⁵ The Basic Income debate has done so as well. Van Parijs refers to his proposal as ‘left-libertarian’, an oxymoronic concept to this polarised mindset, but it indicates how Basic Income thinking can cut across ideological divisions. Both, then, are independent intellectual systems, capable of justifying themselves without resort to the categories of the capitalist-socialist debate.

Both the Catholic Just Wage tradition and the UBI movement approach socio-economic matters from the perspective of Aristotle’s first economic science, *oikonomike*. They both agree that the problem is a social and political one, not a problem of economic growth. In figurative terms, they both agree that making the pie bigger is not the answer; they are willing instead to attempt the much more difficult task of adjusting the divisions in the pie, in the interests of greater equality. Pope John Paul agrees that what is at issue is not an economic problem but a moral one: ‘It will thus be seen at once that the questions facing us are above all moral questions; and that neither the analysis of the problem ... as such nor the means to overcome the present difficulties can ignore this essential dimension.’⁶⁶ Similarly, writers like Van Parijs and Baker are willing to advance moral arguments such as those based on freedom and equality against the rigid claims of property rights in neo-liberal thinking.

Both traditions understand all visible wealth as primarily the common inheritance of humankind and not as the object of neo-capitalist private ownership. The Church has always taught, through the doctrine of the universal destination of created goods, that the use and benefit of such goods is intended for all. Pope John Paul II has developed that teaching to take account of modern forms of wealth:

Working at any workbench, whether a relatively primitive or an ultramodern one, a man can easily see that through his work he enters into two inheritances: the inheritance of what is given to the whole of humanity in the resources of nature, and the inheritance of what others have already developed on the basis of those resources, primarily by developing technology, that is to say, by producing a whole collection of increasingly perfect instruments for work. In working, man also ‘enters into the labour of others.’⁶⁷

As outlined above, the founding fathers of Universal Basic Income, Paine, Fourier, and Mill, grounded their arguments on the principle of common ownership of all natural resources. In a manner that closely parallels the thinking by John Paul in the passage quoted above, Gar Alperovitz claims the accumulation of capital over the generations to be rightfully the common property of all.

Both traditions believe that markets must not determine the overall shape and value system of society. The proponents of UBI propose another structure within society which will transfer wealth according to standards of distributive justice which the market shows itself to be incapable of achieving. ‘Catholic social teaching... has never accepted the marketplace as a sufficient determinant of just access to goods and services in a modern economy. Wages and prices set in the market, even when freely negotiated, are not automatically judged to be just wages and prices ...’⁶⁸

Both traditions agree that the limits of growth have been reached from the point of view of environmental sustainability and so they both reject the neo-liberal emphasis on economic growth as the solution. Pope John Paul II refers to the ‘senseless destruction of the natural environment,’ rooted in the erroneous belief that we ‘can make arbitrary use of the earth, subjecting it without restraint to [our] will as though it did not have its own requisites and a prior God-given purpose, which humankind can indeed develop but must not betray’.⁶⁹ Ecological supporters of UBI argue against ‘productivism’, or ‘the logic of industrialism’, the compulsive belief that industrialized societies can keep on boosting economic growth, oblivious to the environmental cost.

The Catholic Social Teaching tradition, with its well-developed understanding of work and the meaning of work, particularly as elucidated in John Paul II’s *Laborem Exercens*, highlights a possible *naïveté* in that area in the UBI position. UBI raises the possibility of a life lived without work (understood as the conventional ‘job’) being a central part of it. There is the presumption that it is possible for a person to live a fulfilling and wholesome life without this kind of work. Against this, John Paul II teaches that work is a central and indelible part of human life. ‘The Church is convinced that work is a fundamental dimension of man’s existence on earth.’ Work is presented as being good for man. ‘Man’s life is built up every day from work, from work it derives its

specific dignity.’ It is in work that man most closely resembles his Creator.⁷⁰ If John Paul’s understanding of work, as humankind’s true vocation, is of the waged or salaried ‘job’ or self-employed ‘occupation’, then UBI’s notion of a life without a ‘job’ must be judged by this position as a hollow and meaningless lifestyle. It is argued here, however, that work, in John Paul’s mind, is understood in the wider sense of ‘human activity’ which includes many of the activities proposed for recipients of UBI, the giving of one’s time to caring, cultural, and artistic activities, educational, and even sports and hobby activities, and that John Paul’s theology of work is, therefore, not incompatible with UBI.

Work, for John Paul, is a transitive activity, that is, an activity not done for its own sake, but for the sake of its object. Three classes of work are identified in the following statement, based on their different objects: ‘Through work man must earn his daily bread and contribute to the continual advance of science and technology and, above all, to elevating unceasingly the cultural and moral level of the society within which he lives ...’⁷¹ The first class, productive work, generally falls into the standard category of paid work. The second, scientific research and development generally, though not always, is rewarded with payment. The third, elevating the cultural and moral level of society, is clearly outside what might be regarded as paid work – the vast amount of voluntary work done for humanitarian, cultural and other causes, is, by definition, unpaid. John Paul is clearly thinking of both conventionally paid work and unpaid work, then. When he says that work is ‘a fundamental dimension’ of human life, he is talking about both work which draws normal remuneration and work which doesn’t, the person doing it having an alternative source in income such as UBI. It can be concluded, then, that John Paul’s concept of work includes much of the activities proposed for recipients of UBI. To that extent, John Paul’s theology of work is not incompatible with UBI, and it might be argued that UBI could be adapted by Catholic Social Teaching without contradicting John Paul’s theology of work. A further advantage for work, and for the dignity of work, is that UBI would alter the market for low-skill work, recipients having then the option of declining low-paid, exploitative jobs, and that the overall effect would be of an improvement in pay and conditions, an improvement in the actual conditions of, and respect for work itself.

The next question is, whether UBI represents a fair balance of benefits and burdens, whether the recipients would be in a position of unfairly taking advantage of the contribution of others. A major source of controversy within the UBI movement is the issue of whether payments should be unconditional, as proposed by Van Parijs, or a form of ‘workfare’ or ‘participation income’, as proposed by many others. Fitzpatrick presents the objection of Brian Barry. ‘BI represents a ‘something-for-nothing’ income. The able-bodied would not have to make any contribution to society whatsoever; on the contrary, they would choose to do nothing and at all and yet still receive BI.’⁷² The intuitive response of many people is one of sympathy with this. The debate on this issue within the UBI movement, which centres around definitions of justice and exploitation, seems interminable and intractable. However, the theology of work of John Paul II suggests a solution. The normal lifestyle of the person is that of devoting himself or herself to work, where work is defined according to one of John Paul’s three classes. John Paul’s anthropology simply does not envisage a life of idleness or of indulgence in some self-serving pursuit, such as playing golf. Work, as a transitive activity must be directed towards an object, and suitable objects are all activities which help to build up the earth, make it more habitable for humankind, and guide it towards its final goal. According to this outlook, the natural activity of all able-bodied people is that of work. UBI, then, insofar as it could be endorsed by Catholic teaching, would be a basic income for all, where it is understood that all have a moral obligation to work.

This matter can be considered at another level, at the level of rights and obligations. Critics, many within, see UBI as advocating an unhealthy concession of rights without any corresponding obligations. There is a spontaneous rejection, on the part of many people, of the idea of giving ‘something for nothing’. Recipients of UBI are seen as being ‘free-riders’ or ‘spongers’. Catholic Social Teaching has always taught the correlativity of rights and duties. The two key features in the anthropology of John Paul II are freedom and responsibility. The exercise of responsibility is the mark of the human and so, it is not contrary to the nature of the human person that certain work or social commitments would be required of the recipient of UBI. The concept of personal liberty, from which Philippe Van Parijs so capably argues for a Basic Income, is complemented by the concept of personal responsibility in Catholic teaching. A Basic Income, argued from the Catholic position, would involve a clearer understanding of the responsibilities as well as the rights of the recipient, and this would, perhaps help to resolve the conflict regarding unconditionality.

The challenge to rethink positions is not all one-way. The UBI position challenges the Catholic Social Teaching understanding of work as primarily and necessarily within the framework of markets, and of incomes as defined by market forces. It challenges the associated assumption that work is valued for its ‘exchange value’, not for its intrinsic usefulness. The work of theorists like Bill Jordan who have justified UBI on the basis of citizenship and community and of John Baker who have justified in on the basis of equality, raise the question of a breaking of the link between work and income. There is, they would say, another entitlement to an income apart from payment for the holding of a ‘job’. For Jordan, being a member of a society brings with it a right to share in the goods under the stewardship of that society. Jordan thus raises the question of entitlement to an income quite apart from consideration of the ‘job’ one does. A considerable amount of work is done outside of

the scope of the market, cultural and artistic work, caring work, community development work, even the efforts of full-time mature students – all these activities help to elevate the cultural and moral level society. Such activities qualify as work under JP's criteria. The question might be asked, why shouldn't they merit the recompense of an income? To the objection that there is no mechanism whereby such payments could be made, that of UBI might be suggested.

The principle of the universal destination of goods requires that there be a just system of distribution of wealth. The Catholic tradition has always recognised that the free market, operating by its own spontaneous laws, is not capable of meeting the required standard of distributive justice. It was for that reason that Aquinas proposed the doctrine of the just price, a pricing mechanism that took account of the factor of subjective need as well as the factor freely recognised by the market, objective utility. Against the classical liberal and neo-liberal world-view, where individuals have no entitlement apart from what they can earn in competition with one others, Catholic Social Teaching has always upheld another level of entitlement, has supported the giving of another *tranche* of income apart from that freely given by the market. To this end, Leo XIII upheld the payment of an income adequate to family needs. Pius XI upheld the right of those who have a job to a fair share of the profits made. But, two difficulties stand out with this position, first, the payment of the extra-market *tranche* is voluntary, no mechanism is proposed, and second, it cannot deal with the problem of structural unemployment.

It was pointed out above that Aquinas recognises two standards in economic life, the standard of need, that the income be adequate for the worker's needs, and the standard of utility, that the service given be of value in itself. While the standard of need might have been eclipsed over the centuries, as markets came to dominate economic life, that standard was strongly reinstated by Leo XIII in his teaching on the Just Wage. Whatever the market may decide to pay the worker on the basis of utility, the criterion of meeting the worker's needs stood on its own as an independent moral standard in economic life. Even a worker who, through some circumstance or other, produces nothing over a period is entitled to an income for that period according to the standard of need. While that standard has been consistently upheld in Church Teaching over the years, the difficulty is that of suggesting a concrete means whereby the standard of need might be applied. Leo, in endorsing the private ownership of capital, requiring of his capitalists a paternalism and benevolence in respect of their worker's needs which they have clearly failed to live up to. In the language of Aquinas, they were required to 'communicate' their wealth to the workers in their need. The same fate befell the standard of 'social justice' spelled out by Pius XI, where owners were asked to recognise social justice as a further duty of stewardship and act accordingly. John Paul II, in *Centesimus Annus*, draws away from expectations in respect of the personal virtue of owners, and recommends, so long as the present system of 'owner' and 'worker' classes continues, a strong legislative framework to oblige owners of capital, to live up to their social obligations. This is a positive step in that it is an attempt to set in place an objective structure whose purpose is to distribute society's wealth in accordance with the standard of justice. It suffers, however, from a certain limitation: there is no analysis in John Paul's writings of what notion of justice would ground this framework. That is the kind of analysis of the benefits and burdens of economic cooperation first carried out by John Rawls, that is found in the writings of UBI thinkers like Barry, Roemer, Baker and others.

Charles Curran in his book, *Catholic Social Teaching: 1891 – present* makes the point that Catholic Social Teaching does not provide any analysis of the concept of justice. It steers clear of any close scrutiny of what a fair balance of the burdens and benefits of social life is:

Catholic social teaching could learn a helpful lesson and more specific criterion (sic) from American Philosopher John Rawls, who specifically addresses the issue (of justice) in his defence of political liberalism. Rawls' second principle of justice states, 'Social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both: (a) to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged, consistent with a just savings principle, and (b) attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity.' If something similar were to become part of Catholic social teaching, not only would poor people have a right to a basic minimum income; inequalities above and beyond that income could be justified only if they are to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged.⁷³

Thinkers of the UBI movement like John Baker and John Roemer are willing to make this sort of analysis. Roemer, for example, examines the different entitlements under distributive justice and thus derives a multi-level system of income-entitlement. John Baker begins with the presumption of equality of entitlement and departs from that only when there is clear justification. This is the sort of analysis which, it might be suggested, would help Catholic Social Teaching to build a mechanism, or to endorse an existing mechanism, which would act alongside the market mechanism for the just distribution of wealth.

Some Church figures have been willing to take what, to them, appears the next step for Church Teaching, the advocating of a universal basic income. Fr. Sean Healy and Sr. Brid Reynolds of the Justice Office of the Conference of Religious of Ireland advocate such a position. For years now, they write, a certain ‘paradigm’ has dominated socio-economic thinking. ‘This paradigm envisages a world in which full-time jobs are available for everyone seeking them, in which these jobs provide adequate income for people holding them and their ‘dependents’... In this way every person is meant to have meaningful work, adequate income and to participate in national development.’⁷⁴ ‘Christianity’, they write, ‘subscribes to the values of both human dignity and the centrality of community’.⁷⁵ Justice is understood in terms of right relationships. As society becomes more structured and more complicated, personal virtue as the primary means of upholding right relationships and preserving the dignity of all become less adequate. New structures, they say, will have to be introduced: ‘As a society we should recognise that it is not possible to ‘put new wine into old wineskins’. We need new wineskins.’⁷⁶ They support the call for the introduction of UBI on many of the grounds advanced, particularly those of justice, human dignity and community.

The Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace hosted a conference in September, 2001, the 20th anniversary of Pope John Paul II’s encyclical on work, *Laborem Exercens*, which examined the changes in the situation of work since then. One contributor, Sr. Geneviève Médevielle, S.A. said:

Today, when the volume of wealth produced is largely unrelated to the quantity of work because of organisational changes in businesses, we begin to realise that the employment crisis is not the result of a temporary malfunction of the economic system and that it will not be overcome except by social programmes that go beyond the economic sector in the strict sense of the term. Thus, twenty years after *Laborem Exercens*, we must take notice that *work appears to be a value on its way to extinction...* The ‘society of work’ according to Hannah Arendt or the ‘wage-orientated society’ according to Michel Aglietta, as it has been experienced since the nineteenth century, is in its death throes. The kind of work that corresponds to this society is disappearing.⁷⁷

Laborem Exercens, Sr Geneviève pointed out, presents a vision of work that is no longer sustainable. Now, unemployment is ‘structural, widespread and persistent’. Church teaching has broadly affirmed a ‘right to work’. We must move, she suggests, to a ‘right to income’.⁷⁸

These last few pages have attempted to relate the specific understandings of how human dignity in economic life is to be upheld as presented by Catholic Social Teaching and the UBI movement. The two perspectives have much in common, the centrality of justice in their thinking, their espousal of common themes such as the universal destination of wealth, the primacy of a labour theory of value, and a willingness to balance economic growth against its impact on the environment. While many proponents of UBI would support a right to an unconditional income, the Catholic tradition would not support such a right, both on the grounds of humankind’s self-definition as worker and on the grounds of the traditional reciprocity of rights and duties.

Catholic Social Teaching has always taught the entitlement to a wage by criteria other than those of the market. It has, however, been unable to find a workable concrete model whereby this aim could be realised. UBI presents itself as such a model. Understood as ‘workfare’ rather than unconditional payment, it offers a mechanism whereby the dual entitlements advocated by the Catholic tradition could be satisfied. Individuals, on the grounds of their co-ownership of all resources, and the continuing fruitfulness of these resources, would have an entitlement to a basic flat-rate income. They would supplement this by their own initiative in the conventional jobs market. The matter of the growing reliance on capital, and with it, the permanent scarcity of ‘market’ jobs is a new problem, and one for which a response will have to come from the Catholic tradition. UBI presents itself as a solution here as well. Some, within the Catholic tradition, already advocate that solution. In a world where the thrust of the market is towards concentration and exclusion, they see some form of UBI as essential if the principle of the universal destination of created goods is to be upheld and, ultimately, if the world is to be ruled with the justice and holiness desired for it by its Creator.

ENDNOTES

¹ Pope Leo XIII, Social Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, §3 (The Vatican, 1891); available from http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/leo_xiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_15051891_rerum-novarum_en.html; Internet; accessed 2 June 2003.

² *Times* (London), 25 November 1918.

- ³ The Beveridge Report, 1942, quoted in Kevin Kearns, ‘Social Democratic Perspectives on the Welfare State,’ in *Social Policy: A Conceptual and Theoretical Introduction*, ed. Michael Lavalette and Alan Pratt (London: Sage Publications, 1997), p. 19.
- ⁴ Kearns, ‘Social Democratic Perspectives on the Welfare State,’ p. 24.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.
- ⁶ Undoubtedly, the Keynes-Beveridge model is only one of a number of models of welfare state, and of the three models identified by sociologist Espen-Andersen, it is the model which least embodies a redistributive ethos. Esping-Andersen identifies the ‘liberal’ model of Britain, Ireland and the US, the ‘corporatist’ of Continental Europe, and the ‘social democratic’ model of Northern Europe. However, as the Keynes-Beveridge model, called the ‘liberal’ welfare state model by Esping-Andersen is the one in operation in Ireland, that is the one referred to in this article. See G. Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990).
- ⁷ Richard Breen et al., *Understanding Contemporary Ireland: State, Class and Development in the Republic of Ireland* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1990), pp. 70–100.
- ⁸ Kathleen Jones, *The Making of Social Policy in Britain 1830-1990* (Athlone Press Ltd: London, 1991), p. 189.
- ⁹ Pope John Paul II, Social Encyclical *Centesimus Annus*, §13, and Social Encyclical *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, §17 and §33 (The Vatican, 1991, 1987); available from http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/encyclicals/index.htm; Internet; accessed 2 June 2003.
- ¹⁰ Gen. 3:19 (The Jerusalem Bible).
- ¹¹ H. G. Evelyn-White, trans., *The Homeric Poems and the Homeric* (London: Heinman, 1954), quoted in Barry Gordon, *Economic Analysis Before Adam Smith: Hesiod to Lessius* (London: Macmillan, 1975), p. 4.
- ¹² Aristotle *Politics* 1256a, quoted in Gordon, *Economic Analysis Before Adam Smith*, p. 34.
- ¹³ Plato *Laws* V.736, quoted in Gordon, *Economic Analysis Before Adam Smith*, p. 34.
- ¹⁴ Aristotle *The Politics* 1332a, quoted in Gordon, *Economic Analysis Before Adam Smith*, p. 35.
- ¹⁵ Gordon, *Economic Analysis Before Adam Smith*, p. 35.
- ¹⁶ See Will Hutton, *The World We’re In* (London: Little, Brown, 2002), p. 149-167.
- ¹⁷ Barbara Ehrenreich, *Nickel and Dimed: Undercover in Low-wage USA* (London: Granta Books, 2002), and Polly Toynbee, *Hard Work: Like in Low-pay Britain* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2003).
- ¹⁸ Hutton, *The World We’re In*, p. 149
- ¹⁹ In Ireland the number of people earning over IR£100,000 increased by a factor of three between 1998 and 2002 (from 7,000 to 28,000). For the same period the number of people earning over IR£200,000 increased by a factor of eight (from 960 to 7,400). Figures quoted in *Irish Independent*, 14 Jan 2002.
- ²⁰ Pope Pius XI, Social Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* §5, and Pope John Paul II, Social Encyclical *Redemptor Hominis*, §16,4 (The Vatican: 1931 and 1991); available from http://www.vatican.va/holy_father.htm; accessed 2 June 2003.
- ²¹ *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, §2402 (Dublin: Veritas, 1994).
- ²² Roger Charles, *Christian Social Witness and Teaching: The Catholic Tradition from Genesis to Centesimus Annus*, Vol. 1 (Herefordshire: Gracewing, 1998), p.85.
- ²³ St. Augustine *Psalmum* 147 12, PL 37: 1922, quoted in *The New Dictionary of Catholic Social Thought*, s. v. ‘Economic Order,’ by Daniel Rush Finn, p. 314.
- ²⁴ St. Thomas Aquinas *Summa Theologica* IIa IIae, Q. 66, art. 2, ‘Whether it is lawful for a man to possess a thing as his own?’
- ²⁵ *The New Dictionary of Catholic Social Thought*, s. v. ‘Economic Order,’ by Daniel Rush Finn, p. 317.
- ²⁶ *Summa* IIa IIae Q. 32, 31, and 134.
- ²⁷ *Summa* IIa IIae Q. 77 art. 2, ‘Whether a sale is rendered unlawful through a fault in the thing sold?’ Reply to Objection 3.
- ²⁸ St Thomas Aquinas, *Commentarium in X. libros Ethicorum ad Nicomachum, Liber V, Lectio 8*, quoted in Gordon, *Economic Analysis*, p.61.
- ²⁹ Gordon, *Economic Analysis*, p. 177.
- ³⁰ *Summa* IIa IIae art.77, ‘Whether it is lawful to sell a thing for more than it is worth?’ reply to Objection 1.
- ³¹ J. Messner, *Social Ethics: Natural Law in the Modern World*, trans., J. J. Doherty (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1949), p. 754.
- ³² Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum*, §45.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, §46.
- ³⁴ Pius XI, *Quadragesimo Anno*, §137.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, §53.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, §57.
- ³⁷ Pope John Paul II, Social Encyclical, *Laborem Exercens*, §14, 4.

38 Pope John Paul II, Social Encyclical *Centesimus Annus*, §34, 1.
39 Pope John Paul II, *Centesimus Annus*, § 42,2
40 Pope John Paul II, *Laborem Exercens*, §19, 2.
41 Pope John Paul II, *Laborem Exercens*, §14,6.
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64 Pastoral Constitution: On the Church in the Modern World, *Gaudium et Spes*, §34, 1.
65 Pope John Paul II, Social Encyclical, *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, §21.
66 Ibid.
67 *Laborem Exercens*, §13, 1.
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69 *Centesimus Annus*, §37, 1.
70 *Laborem Exercens*, 4,1; 1,2; and 4.
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73 Charles Curran, *Catholic Social Teaching, 1891 – present: A Historical, Theological, and Ethical Analysis*, (Washington, Georgetown University Press, 2002), p. 194, quoting John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, 1971.
74 Fr. Sean Healy and Sr. Brid Reynolds, *Towards a Basic Income for All*, p. 29.
75 Ibid, 40.
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77 Sr. Geneviève Médevielle, S.A., ‘When Work Becomes Scarce: What Does the Church Have to Say?’ in Paper presented of the conference, *Work as Key to the Social Question*, Rome, 12-15 September, 2001, p. 271.
78 Ibid, 277.

CROAGH PATRICK AND THE BALLINTUBBER EXPERIENCE: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOANALYTIC PERSPECTIVE ON PILGRIMAGE

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I attempt to look at the religious experience – the pilgrimage to Croagh Patrick, and the Ballintubber Experience–, and the concept of experience in a more general, from an Anthropological and Psychoanalytic perspective. Besides Durkheim, Van Gennep, and Turner’s structuro-functionalism, Eade and Sallnow’s social constructivism, and Taylor’s hermeneutics, I also wish to consider the religious rite through psychoanalysis, and as a symptom of unsolved emotional conflicts. Psychoanalysis appears to be rather a thought than a method to answer the issue of the field, the topic, and the issue itself. Indeed, first, or maybe these assumptions appeared in the same time, when individuals tell me that they do the ascent to Croagh Patrick for fun, the crack, or for hill climbing and challenge, I do not get any feedback when I ask them back to answer this other questions: Why climbing this mountain in particular? Why did you choose to do it? Most of them take refuge behind tradition. But in a time where people also call upon different and ‘new’ techniques of therapy (counselling, psychoanalysis, psychiatry, hypnotism...) to ease their mind/spirit and body, I want to revisit the cathartic dimension of the ritual. Crossing theories such as rite of passage (Van Gennep, Turner) and the distanciations of emotions (Scheff, Freud), I want to understand how the experience of pilgrimage talks of another experience in individuals’ life story from the emotions’ point of view. I want to reverse the process, starting from a present emotional situation, supposedly the climax of the ritual, and going back as far into individuals’ past in order to figure out what push them to be involved in such a practice rather than another. Thus, I also attend to redefine individuals’ reasons and motivations for doing a pilgrimage, and give another reality of the social.

The pilgrimage supposes a voyage, an advance, and thus a physical test in space. It is also a spiritual test. The pilgrim embarks on a journey, takes the road, the time necessary to achieve his destination. And tears himself away from the comforts of everyday life. The concept of pilgrimage expresses ‘the outward journey towards one elsewhere’, which is spiritual, and by accepting the hardness of the physical effort the pilgrim puts his body through ‘an adventure of death’ ...

INTRODUCTION

Every last Sunday of July, the traditional pilgrimage to Croagh Patrick takes place as part of the celebration of the Festival of Lughnasa, according to the common sense and historical sources. It is an occasion for which thousands of pilgrims gather together in Murrisk, County Mayo. They gather on the north side of the mountain in order to ‘obtain indulgence and make penance for their sins’, after they have completed three stations, and reached the summit to attend mass. But what I have just briefly described is only one aspect of what the tradition of the pilgrimage really is, for there are many other ways – physically and conceptually – to attend and complete the pilgrimage. I propose here to use the example of *Tochar Phadraig*, Patrick’s Causeway, which I experienced twice last year. The walk is 22 miles in length, and starts from Ballintubber and its abbey, founded in 1216, a village situated 8 miles in the south of Castlebar. But there are other activities I want to pay attention to, which I will describe later, like the day retreats and the Celtic Furrow (a cultural centre that brings you on a journey back to Irish Celtic roots). These too concern the idea of pilgrimage, and give shape, with the walk, to what is called The Ballintubber Experience. I will then turn to the theoretical framework I am working on at the moment, which is based on an anthropological reading of psychoanalysis. Indeed, I believe that cultural practices are influenced by unconscious thoughts, affects, and motives, and taking the psychoanalytic perspective into account enable the anthropologist to further his investigation and understanding of one culture.

A STORY OF CROAGH PATRICK

But first, and for those who are not familiar with Croagh Patrick pilgrimage, a brief historical description of the pilgrimage, and an introduction to Saint Patrick. Historical data tell us that, after he undertook theological studies that took him to Gaul and Italy, Patrick began his resolutely pacifist evangelisation in Ireland around 431. Ireland at that time was then Celtic and pagan, with druidism for religion. Patrick then determined to convert the kings of each county, beginning the process of conversion that aimed the whole country (I admit that this episode took place in a far more complex and contested historical context than this naïve acceptance).

Patrick's purgatory pilgrimage to Lough Dergh and his ascent of Croagh Patrick in 441 (known then as Mons Aigli, among other names) were part of the process of evangelisation in which he was involved, as these places were known to be very important druidic shrines. Patrick followed – or is imagined and 'remembered' to have followed – the prophetic model of Moses, Elijah and Christ. He is said to have walked barefoot to the summit, fasting there for forty days and forty nights (time of the Lent between Shrove Saturday and Easter Saturday) to receive the blessing of God. Since then, many pilgrims are believed to have followed in his footsteps, and Irish people have come to consider Croagh Patrick as the symbolic foundation of the Irish Christian World, the mountain where their 'father in faith' fasted and prayed. Thus, today's tradition requires the pilgrim to fast and walk barefoot in order to truly follow the footsteps of the 'leader', the patron saint of Ireland, and to thereby prove their faith. For many, Croagh Patrick thus symbolizes the religious aspiration of a whole people and their ascending course towards God.

Today, the pilgrimage dates extend from June to September, with many celebrations: like Garland Friday held before Reek Sunday (the former is mostly frequented by locals, and the latter, taking place on the last Sunday of July, is also known as National Day of pilgrimage); the Assumption Day (on August the 15th) and the celebration of saint Augustine (on August the 28th). As far as I know, masses are only celebrated on Reek Sunday, and on the 15th of August, dedicated to the Marian cult. There are other dates when people gather to climb, like the 17th of March (Ireland National Day), and many paths can be used to reach the summit. The most used is the one that starts from Murrisk, which takes two hours to complete. One of the longest paths is *Tóchar Phadraig* that takes approximately twelve hours walking.

THE FIELD

I had read and heard through locals, books and the Internet about the *Tóchar Phadraig*, this 'old pilgrimage route', along which Patrick is believed to have walked along to reach the summit of Croagh Patrick. In Ballintubber, last April, I met Father Franck Fahey, the priest in charge of the Abbey, who welcomed and introduced me to the place with all that it encompasses. After reflection, it appeared to me that the National Day of Pilgrimage, I mentioned earlier, and the path from Murrisk that leads to the summit would be too short in time and space, and too big to make any good observations. Indeed, each time I found myself on the mountain on this particular day, I was lost in a huge crowd, people coming from anywhere in Ireland and abroad with their own tradition. Knowing nobody, lonely, I was not confident enough to undertake any social contacts and, even when I tried, I had to face people who spoke a language I could not understand because of the local accent. I then decided to focus on this part of the pilgrimage, *Tóchar Phadraig*, which, to my view, is more feasible.

I entered the fieldwork nearly four months later with Reek Sunday, and the *Tochar*, as they call it locally. This was the first of my experience on this particular path to Croagh Patrick, and the second one took place on the last Saturday of August, a day with no cult significance, but rather the end of the tourist season. The day-ritual starts with some recommendations given to us by Father Fahey who explains to us the difference between the pilgrim and the tourist. He makes a clear difference as, according to him, the former never complains, and so we have to behave. But the beginning of *Tochar Phadraig* rather looks like a tourist trip, and thereby seems to lose a bit of its religious dimension. On the path, then, we stop at different places, like Patrick did in his own time according to the guides, as at a Holy well that locals believe it cures blindness or other eyes trouble. There are, as well, historical sites where we are told local stories referring to the great famine, beliefs and 'superstitions'. We also stop at Aghagower for lunch where we have a short prayer in the patrician church. Later on in the walk, and depending on the priest availability, we celebrate an open air mass before we start the ascent by the south side of the mountain. It is an ascent that we never make completely, sometimes because of weather conditions, and most times because the people in charge of the group do not want to take the responsibility to bring pilgrims who are not physically well enough to climb the last few yards of Croagh Patrick, which are quite hazardous. Some want to make it to the top at all cost, but the majority goes down to Murrisk and the local pub, where we finish the pilgrimage.

Beyond the pilgrimage per se, the Abbey is also taking part in the promotion of a heritage, a territory, as well as a locality, and ironically, given Father Fahey's moralised definition, appears to depend for its livelihood on tourism. I can quickly mention the *Tochar Valley Company* that gathers villages and communities that follow the path, and sells *Tochar Phadraig* in the form of package holidays:

'The pilgrim walk is taken in 4 stages, the last of which is climbing Croagh Patrick. Accommodation is at local Bed and Breakfasts, enjoying the warmth and hospitality for which Ireland is famous. Dinner and pubs with traditional music, dance or song are arranged for each night. Enjoy walking from village on foot, like St Patrick. Relax and enjoy the beautiful countryside – clean air, rolling hills, forests, fast flowing rivers and rural villages steeped in local history and archaeology.'

In addition, the *Tochar Valley Company* provides hospitality courses to local people that they can welcome strangers in properly. Indeed, the whole village is involved in the Abbey enterprise as the staff is composed of locals, and the rest of the population, more or less, has turned their houses into B&Bs. There is also the local pub, Corley's Abbey Lodge, run by locals that take huge benefit of the abbey's retreats and weddings¹.

Ballintubber Abbey offers different activities to visitors coming essentially from all over Ireland, such as golf and fishing, as well as a visit to the Celtic Furrow, which sums up very well the whole idea of Ballintubber Experience. First, the visit is intended to bring contemporary individuals back to their Celtic roots, and then return them to the present renewed with identity and purpose, in the words of the plaque: 'A path to our past... a preview of our future.' These words are intended to frame our experience of the journey in the Celtic Furrow. Here are the questions we have to keep in mind: How can we deal with challenges around us, for ourselves but also for people around us? How to deal with mysteries, and the visions of the future that sciences bring to us? How can we make our society work? How can we help people defined as 'excluded' to take benefit of the prestige, wealth and privileges shared by the community? How can religion, and its values, help us to go through life? How can these values be extended in our social life? Then, we go through different universes relating to the pre- and post- Christian era in Ireland accompanied with Father Fahey who tells us stories of pagan rites, the coming of Christianity in Ireland, historical events, and livelihood. The retreat happening a whole day, we are given time to reflect. Then, it is back to where we started that this historical, social and spiritual journey comes to an end.

The Celtic Furrow is also included in the five day-retreats that take place every week during the summer. But there is another retreat that consists of a boat trip to Church Island in the middle of a lake surrounded with the peaceful scenery of the land and still water, which reveal the purpose of the place. There we spend the morning, led by a layperson guide or a sister Maura, in charge of the retreats, or Father Fahey himself, or the three of them all together going around the island, crossing several cosmological universes, and episodes that refer to the creation of the Christian world, from Eden, to the arrival of Jesus to another called 'until he comes again'. On the way, we listen to the guide telling us the stories of each of these episodes. Afterwards, we gather in the middle of the island for a prayer, and a reflection that can be of political nature. For instance, the one I attended was on the climate change, and the global warming, with references to the position of the Irish and British government, and the Kyoto Protocol. Then, we start a personal reflection we will keep in mind during the day, and which may be different to the theme of the day. In the afternoon, we wander around the island to go back to the place or places that speak and make sense to us, and pick up a symbol to reflect on during the evening mass and prayers.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Moving from an empirical approach to a conceptual one, I want to take into account an idea of pilgrimage that allows these different activities and experiences to be understood as both social activity and rite of passage. The former idea about rites is that, according to Durkheim², the religious event is a social unifier and moral regenerator. The latter notion refers to a process in which three major phases are distinguished, according to Van Gennep³: separation, transition and incorporation, phases which have to be thought of as different yet linked processes – different stages of continuous process of transformation.

On the other hand, pilgrimages also express the desire that humans have to escape the constraining structures of 'normal life'. So, before it takes a therapeutic, cathartic, and [healing] dimension, I would like to mention the pilgrimage as an alternative way for individuals to express their religion, religiosity, their beliefs and their spirituality in a different social context than that of the church. For example, together with the conceptual approaches of Van Gennep and Durkheim, there is Victor Turner's⁴ concept of *communitas*. That is to say a community of opposition and protest (contest), and *liminality*, a process of transition, define his idea on pilgrimage. Even though the concept of *communitas* is not universal, its idea is worth consideration as most individuals I spoke with define their practise of 'pilgrimage', and thus religion, as 'getting away', 'going out and escaping from' a stressful and busy world, materialism, and religion itself, as well 'getting back to basics'. Interestingly, *communitas*, often described as an aspect of religion in the context of pilgrimage, seems, in this case, to express itself in opposition to 'official religion'.

So, an emotional reality occurs through the act of 'getting away'. When individuals come on the walk or on any retreats, they know that they will cross through a universe of emotions, because they often heard about the experience before, or/and know what it refers to. Individuals are not left alone in the experience, which is constructed and structured. They are rather accompanied and guided through the senses, the meanings, and the acts that are part of their practise. They will belong for a while to an 'emotional community' that will intervene as a support, existing in a special time and a space. The individual will express him or herself with words and gestures in interaction with the rest of the members, whether the emotions are 'repressed' (like that of suffering

on the walk) or not (like on Church Island where some people cry during the time of the evening prayer). But individuals have also to face their life story, and the emotions that refer to it, alone.

While doing some fieldwork around Castlebar, I met different individuals, religious figures and lay-people, negotiating and dealing with Catholicism, and its many aspects of suffering, between present and past representations, and all indicating the different levels of practises within the pilgrimage. Those practises depending on motivations (for penance, sacrifice, intentions, an expedition, a journey, 'a good crack') set up dialogue between a spiritual experience and a physical challenge. Even though the individual may deny the penance and sacrifice dimensions in their practice, his or her reference to the tradition always involves a representation of ancestors fasting, walking barefoot or kneeling. These are strong sentiments that still mark the practise of the pilgrimage.

When Eade and Sallnow⁵ talk of the pilgrimage as a 'realm of competed discourses', I would rather say that discourses are coexisting, and the pilgrimage is the *occasion*⁶ that reveals different processes. And, for some individuals, the experience can be redemption, fulfilment, or refer to the appearance of Christ in their life – in that case a specifically religious experience. For example, that was the discourse of a young lady, 26, I met, for whom the pilgrimage was an extension of her return into religion. She described her return as motivated by a feeling that she had missed something. She felt guilty for her teenage life, apparently characterised by free-sex, drugs and alcohol. There were others who used a different, but related idiom, speaking about religion as the need for a balance in everyday life, at work, with the family. They defined the experience of pilgrimage as 'taking time out for myself', for self-development, to understand 'what I want in life... it gives space to think... to be in my own company'. For others, the experience of religion seems to be still linked to the practise of intentions, as in the case of a woman told me that she went on pilgrimage because one of her family members had cancer. But she added: 'I was not asking for a favour, a miracle. I use religion to get over that stage, as a strengthening tool'. Another lady, going through family trouble as well, as her husband and son are suffering from manic depression and heart disease, also deploras the amount of stress everyday life brings, and defines her day retreat to church island as 'an apprenticeship of a context of reflection to use in everyday life'. The religious experience also enables individuals to cope with others' death as well as his or her own, and the anxieties that accompany it.

All these examples relate to an experience of anxiety that individuals try to cope with in the ritual, or want to get rid of. So, here, I take the chance to compare Van Gennep's *rite of passage*, with Thomas Scheff's *distancing of emotion*⁷. The sketch (see Table 1) that tries to sum up the idea can be seen as the primary structure of emotions in the ritual, as well as the structure of an individual's life. The latter structure would occur as the transition phase, and be a climax in the individual's life with the same structure of emotions happening in the ritual. So, during our formative years, according to Scheff, individuals repress emotions, and generate distress, like 'grief (or anxiety) that is the result of intense and incommunicable feelings of separation and loss'.⁸ But at this stage of his life an individual also faces a blockage of discharge, because of external controls, like when a father tells his son 'not to cry like a baby', and to behave 'like a man', and internal ones, when the child learns how to block and hide his emotions. So, if neurosis is at the formation of religion, according to Freud⁹, this accumulation of repressed emotions, the generation of distress, and blockage of discharge, explain the need for people to take part in rituals, such as a pilgrimage, that re-enact unsolved emotional conflicts, and allow the discharge of those emotions, and the catharsis to function. The ritual is a process, and a 'temporary regression'¹⁰. It is the passage from a separation to a transitional state in the individual's emotional reality, involving different degrees of distance that 'corresponds to the extent to which one is responding to a present environment'.¹¹

Indeed, Thomas Scheff talks of 'overdistancing', as an experience that is completely cognitive, in which emotions act as knowledge, that results from the formative years mentioned before, and corresponds to the separation phase in the ritual process. From that stage, the individual goes through the experience of 'aesthetic distance', a balance of feeling and thought halfway between the cognitive and affective dimension of emotions, to reach a higher stage of affectiveness, the 'underdistancing experience', which corresponds to the return of repressed emotions. This is a time of transition, and liminality that happens at the climax of the ritual, but it is also what I meant by 'regression', that is an experience that brings up to date, back into present some memories, and feelings that were born from other precise and ulterior situations, and led to the creation of knots in the individual's mind. So, this emotional experience does not refer to the situation in which the individual moves, but rather to what he or she experienced emotionally in the past, which causes that distress. It is like this old lady who, during the evening prayer at the end of a day retreat on Church Island, cried when evoking the death of a close friend. But, was she really crying for her dead friend? Or, was she crying because she was afraid of her own death? Or is it an experience of breaking off (death, loss, separation, pilgrimage) that speaks of another experience in the individual's life?

CONCLUSION

But I will not wait for individuals to be in such a precarious emotional state to question them, as I will apply the issue to every practise the pilgrimage arouses. Even though a pilgrim tells me that he does the walk to Croagh Patrick because he likes hill climbing, I will ask why this mountain rather than another, and then try to discover the ways in which his emotions shape his particular experience of pilgrimage, and if it speaks, somehow, of another experience in his life story. I want to reverse the process, and go back as far as possible into the individual's past, as this research project is an attempt to reach their unconscious in order to figure out what pushes them to be involved, in that case, in the Ballintubber Experience. I want to understand where the separation process starts: at the beginning of the ritual itself? The morning, the day before, or when the decision to do it was taken? Or was it when the generation of distress happened? After being participant observer in the field, I want to use psychoanalysis as a method, and bring, in my interviews, people back into this *temporary regression*, in order to make the links between a present and past emotional situation, a primary and a latent cultural matrix in the discourse, go to where it is painful, and undertake to undo the knots. Thus, by redefining, this way, reasons and motivations for doing a pilgrimage, I also intend to reveal another side of religious practice, as, according to Lawrence Taylor, being 'in the process of making themselves, [individuals] make religion.'¹²

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Ballintubber Abbey, it is said, welcomes a wedding a day all along the year.
- ² Emile Durkheim, *The elementary forms of the religious life*. (Free Press, New York, 1965, c1915).
- ³ Arnold Van Gennep, *The rites of passage*, (Routledge and Paul, London, 1960).
- ⁴ Victor Turner, *The ritual process: Structure and anti-structure*, (Routledge and Paul, London, 1969-1977).
- ⁵ John Eade and Mickael Sallnow, *Contesting the sacred: the anthropology of Christian pilgrimage*, (New York: Routledge, London, 1991).
- ⁶ Lawrence Taylor, *Occasion of faith; an anthropology of Irish Catholics*, Lilliput, Dublin, 1995.
- ⁷ Thomas Scheff, *The distancing of emotion in ritual*, *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 18, No. 3. (Sep., 1977), pp. 483-505.
- ⁸ Thomas Scheff, op. Cit., p. 487.
- ⁹ Freud quoted by Thomas Scheff, op. Cit., 1977.
- ¹⁰ Robert A. Paul, *Psychoanalytic Anthropology*, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Volume 18 (1989), p. 179.
- ¹¹ Thomas Scheff, op.cit., p. 486
- ¹² Lawrence Taylor, op. cit., p. 242.

RITE OF PASSAGE AND DISTANCING OF EMOTIONS

(Affective dimension) SEPARATION → TRANSITION →
INCORPORATION

UNDERDISTANCING

**AESTHETIC
AESTHETIC
DISTANCE
DISTANCE**

(Cognitive dimension) OVERDISTANCING
OVERDISTANCING

(Table 1)

THE TRANSFORMATION OF RESPONDENT FUNCTIONS: AN EXPERIMENTAL EXAMPLE

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The transformation of respondently conditioned functions is an area of research with wide implications both at a basic and an applied level. This phenomenon may constitute the empirical support for a radical-behavioural account of human emotional responding. It provides an explanation of how emotional responses may appear in novel contexts in which individuals do not have a direct history of contingencies that accounts for such reactions. The present paper briefly presents the transformation of respondents and links research in this area with a behavioural approach to the aetiology of human fears. It also presents a brief report of original research in this area with a novel preparation for the study of the derived transfer of latent inhibition, a phenomenon associated with respondent conditioning. Results are discussed in terms of their applied implications.

INTRODUCTION

The research area of derived stimulus relations has provided the empirical foundations for a functional-analytic account of the emergence of novel behaviour. It has made possible an understanding of the emergence of behaviour for which a direct history of reinforcement is lacking or at least not evident. Therefore, it has important implications for behavioural accounts of several phenomena that are difficult to explain in terms of their history of direct contingencies.

Behaviour-analytic research on derived stimulus relations has been traditionally conducted under the rubric of stimulus equivalence or equivalence relations. In short, stimulus equivalence can be described as follows: if a person receives conditional discrimination training to select B1 rather than B2, in the presence of A1, and C1 rather than C2, in the presence of B2, then s/he will typically show the emergence of several untrained relations. For instance: select A1 given B1 and B1 given C1 (symmetry), select C1 given A1 (transitivity) and select A1 given C1 (combined transitivity and symmetry, or equivalence). These untrained or emergent relations are termed derived stimulus relations, as opposed to those that have been explicitly trained. Since the original demonstration of this effect¹, hundreds of behavioural studies have been devoted to this topic. This enthusiasm is due, in part, to the unexpected nature of these results from a strict operant or respondent conditioning viewpoint -conditional discriminations would not be expected to reverse or to combine bi-directionally. The bi-directional and combinatorial nature of equivalence relations seems to readily account for the emergence of novel performances without explicit training, and it closely resembles the bi-directionality of word-referent semantic relations².

Relational Frame Theory (RFT) is a recent behavioural approach to the study of language and cognition that focuses on deriving stimulus relations -or derived relational responding- as the basic behavioural process involved in complex human behaviour, such as language and higher cognitive phenomena³. According to this approach, both language and derived relational responding are instances of the same psychological process. This recent perspective has invigorated behavioural research on language and cognition, providing empirically supported alternatives to many of the criticisms typically made against behavioural accounts of these psychological phenomena. RFT contends that the relations that can be derived are not always of equivalence (i.e. opposition, comparison or difference). Therefore, it has adopted a more generic terminology to describe the features of derived relational responding, which is applicable to all possible relations among stimuli: relational responding is characterized by the generic properties of mutual entailment, combinatorial entailment and transformation of functions⁴. Mutual entailment involves responding to one event in terms of another, and vice-versa (in a given context, if A is related to B, then B is related to A), and it describes the fundamental bi-directionality of relational responding. Combinatorial entailment refers to a relation in which two or more stimulus relations are mutually combined (in a given context, if A is related to B and A is related to C, then B and C are related as well). Finally, the transformation of functions refers to the fact that the psychological functions of the stimuli in a relational network can be modified in accordance with the underlying derived relation among the members of the network. Transformation of functions has been traditionally termed transfer of functions among stimulus equivalence researchers, although this term only refers to a transformation in accordance with a frame of equivalence or coordination. Specifically, the transfer of functions may explain how

a stimulus can acquire a specific behavioural function just by virtue of its membership in an equivalence network.

Among the many functions which have proved to transfer through equivalence classes, respondent functions are very important in the explanation of human emotional responding. Respondent conditioning is a basic learning process that has traditionally been thought to be involved in human fear learning. A classic experiment⁵ can serve as an example of this process: an infant was presented with a strong aversive noise in the presence of a neutral stimulus (a little rabbit); the noise originally generated fear reactions (like crying), but after several presentations of the noise in the presence of the rabbit, the latter started to generate fear reactions itself. In brief, the strong noise is termed an unconditional stimulus (UCS), the initially neutral stimulus is termed a conditional stimulus (CS), and the fear reactions elicited by the latter are termed conditioned emotional responses (CERs). This simple process can explain how an originally neutral stimulus may come to elicit fear responses.

A few studies have shown the transfer of respondent elicitation and extinction of autonomic arousal responses, with implications for the study of emotional disorders⁶ and human sexual behaviour⁷. The first published study showing the transfer of respondent elicitation and extinction⁸ employed an aversive conditioning paradigm, and several theoretical implications have been derived from its results. When these findings are coupled with those of other studies regarding the transfer of avoidance responding⁹, they provide empirical data to explain how some stimuli may come to elicit anxiety and avoidance responses without a direct history of pairing with aversive events. This constitutes a plausible argument in support of behavioural models of the aetiology of fears and phobias. These models have traditionally been criticised in terms of the absence of conditioning histories for many clients suffering from anxiety problems¹⁰. It has been argued that human fears need not involve a traumatic history of aversive conditioning, and processes other than respondent conditioning have been proposed to account for the emergence of emotional reactions. A criticism frequently made has been that regarding the selectivity of fears and phobias, that is, the fact that fears of certain stimuli (snakes, dogs, spiders), are much more common than others. These differences in the frequency with which some fears appear, are supposed to be due to differences in the readiness with which an association with an aversive event can be learned. A widely accepted explanation of these phenomena has been that of biological preparedness, by which certain stimuli are supposed to be phylogenetically prepared to be more easily conditioned to elicit fear responses than others¹¹. This preparedness is due to the evolutionary survival value that this kind of learning was supposed to have for our ancestors. Many explicative models of fears and phobias have adopted some sort of biological preparedness to account for differences in conditionability^{12 13}.

However, ontogeny-based behavioural alternatives have also been proposed to account for these differences. They focus on the individual history of the subject as the major determinant which might account for differences in conditionability of some stimuli to elicit fear reactions. Latent inhibition (LI) has been proposed as this kind of behavioural process^{14 15}. LI is the retardation in conditioning observed when a stimulus is preexposed prior to conditioning¹⁶. With preexposure we refer to the fact that the stimulus is repeatedly presented alone previous to being consistently paired with the unconditioned stimulus. LI in humans has been obtained with several experimental preparations, among them, with the respondent conditioning of autonomic activation responses¹⁷. Lipp, Vaitl and Siddle¹⁸, obtained the LI of heart rate conditioning among several other psychophysiological measures.

The current study is an attempt to see if LI of heart rate conditioning would transfer across the members of an equivalence class. Such a finding would have important implications for a behavioural account of fears and phobias, as it might serve to explain why it is more difficult to condition emotional responses to some stimuli than to others, without appealing to phylogeny or to a direct individual history with the stimuli concerned. It also constitutes a novel approach to the study of LI, a phenomenon which is supposed to be stimulus specific¹⁹. Normally the stimulus which is preexposed is the same one to be conditioned in a later phase. This study analyses the LI effect when the preexposed stimulus is not the same one to be conditioned, but a stimulus in an equivalence relation with the to-be-conditioned stimulus. The preparation here employed considerably broadens the individual history of interactions that may yield the LI effect.

METHOD

SUBJECTS

Eight undergraduate students (five male, three females) participated in this study. They were recruited through in-class announcements and personal contacts. Before entering the experimental session, they received an explanation of the general procedures and they signed a statement of informed consent, acknowledging that the features of the experiment had been explained and that they did not suffer from any cardiovascular problems. All participants went through the study individually in a single experimental session.

SETTING, STIMULI AND MATERIALS

All sessions were conducted in an experimental room equipped with a one-way observation mirror. Subjects were seated in a comfortable armchair at a table. An Apple Macintosh Power-PC computer was utilised to present all stimuli and record performance data. Both experimental tasks (formation of equivalence classes and classical conditioning) were created using PsyScope, a software package designed for the preparation of computer controlled psychological experiments^{20,21}.

Ten nonsense syllables (CUG, MEL, PAF, MAU, ZID, HOL, COL, LEB, KET and SIP) were used as stimuli.

The first nine of them were labelled A1, A2, A3, B1, B2, B3, C1, C2 and C3 respectively, for experimental purposes, but subjects were not exposed to these alphanumerical labels. The last one (SIP) was used as an irrelevant stimulus that was presented to the control group in the pre-exposure phase of the study.

Mild electric shocks were employed as unconditioned stimuli (US). All shocks were 50-80 volts in amplitude and 50 ms in duration and were provided by a variable-amplitude shock generator (Lafayette Instruments). Shocks were delivered to the right forearm of each subject through a bar electrode fastened to it with surgical tape.

Heart rate was recorded through BIOPAC ELS503 pre-gelled electrodes, connected to a BIOPAC ECG100A amplifier. The amplifier was connected to an Apple Macintosh computer through an MP100W A/D converter (BIOPAC Instruments).

Additionally, white noise was presented through stereo headphones in order to isolate participants from external noises.

EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

Subjects were randomly assigned to one of two experimental conditions, designated as CONTROL and EXPERIMENTAL, respectively. The study consisted of three different phases: (1) formation of equivalence classes, (2) pre-exposure and (3) classical conditioning. Phases 1 and 3 were identical for both experimental conditions, whereas the second phase involved an experimental manipulation between conditions.

In Phase 1, all subjects were trained and tested for the formation of two three-member equivalence classes by means of a matching-to-sample procedure. Phase 2 consisted of twenty unreinforced presentations of either stimulus A1 (EXPERIMENTAL condition) or the irrelevant syllable SIP (CONTROL condition). In Phase 3, all subjects went through a differential aversive conditioning procedure with C1 as the positive conditioned stimulus (CS+), C3 as the negative conditioned stimulus (CS-) and mild electric shock as the US.

PROCEDURE

Before beginning the experimental session, the experimenter explained the general procedures to the participant concerned, and they signed the statement of informed consent. Participants were explicitly told that they were free to discontinue participation at any time during the study if they so wished. They then entered the experimental room and the session began.

Phase 1: Formation of equivalence classes.

Subjects were trained in four conditional discriminations (A1-B1, A2-B2, B1-C1, B2-C2) by means of matching-to-sample procedures. Subjects were then tested for the emergence of two equivalence classes (A1-B1-C1 and A2-B2-C2). A third set of stimuli (A3, B3, C3) served as incorrect comparisons, therefore no specific relations among these stimuli were trained nor tested. Training trials were conducted as follows: a sample stimulus appeared at the top centre of the screen, and one second later, three comparisons appeared in a row at the bottom of the screen (left, centre and right, respectively). Subjects could choose any comparison by pressing either the Z key for the comparison on the left, the V key for the comparison in the centre, or the M key for the comparison on the right. When subjects pressed one of the keys (either Z, V or M), the screen cleared, and both written and spoken feedback were provided. When participants responded in accordance with the conditional relations to be trained, the word CORRECT appeared at the centre of the screen for 1.5 seconds, while a recorded female voice simultaneously said it through the computer speakers. When subjects did not respond in accordance to the relations to be trained, the word WRONG was presented in an identical way. After that, the screen cleared again and a new trial started. Test trials were conducted in the same way, with the exception that no feedback, either written or spoken, was provided. After each press on a response key, the screen just cleared and a new trial started. The position of each comparison varied randomly across trials.

First, participants were presented with a training block for the A-B relation. Six A1-B1 trials and six A2-B2 trials appeared sequentially, and then 24 trials (12 of each kind) appeared in random order. Subjects had to complete the last twelve trials without errors to pass this block. Next, a test block for the symmetrical relation B-A was provided. Twenty B-A trials appeared in random order and subjects had to show an errorless performance in order to pass to the next block. Then, they went through another training block, identical to the first one, but for the B-C relation. After that, another symmetry test block, but for the C-B relation, was presented. The next block was another training block of both trained relations (A-B and B-C). It consisted of 60

trials (15 per relation) in random order. The criterion for this block was a maximum of one mistake throughout the whole block. All symmetry relations were tested in the next block, consisting of 28 trials (7 per relation) in random order. The criterion for passing to the next and final block was 100% correct. Finally, in the last block participants were tested for all derived relations (both mutually and combinatorially entailed) through 56 trials (7 per relation) presented in random order. Subjects had to show an errorless performance to pass this block. When participants reached the mastery criterion for each block they passed to the next scheduled block. If they failed to pass a training block, it was re-trained until they reached the mastery criterion. When they failed to pass a test block, the immediately prior training block was re-trained, with the exception of the two last test blocks. In these cases, when subjects failed a maximum of once per relation, they were re-tested. When the number of errors was higher, they were re-trained. Subjects were exposed to each block a maximum of three times. They were dropped from the study if they did not reach criteria within these parameters.

Subjects were presented with written instructions before the first training block and before the first test block. They also read these instructions again before the last test (all derived relations). Besides the basic features of the task (how to perform the task, which keys should be pressed), the instructions explicitly stated that:

- The purpose of the task was to relate syllables.
- The computer would indicate whether trials were correct or wrong (for training blocks).
- Just one comparison was correct for each sample.
- One comparison in each trial would always be incorrect.
- It was important to pay attention and to perform the task with the least errors possible.
- Although the computer did not always indicate whether trials were correct or wrong, there was always a correct response per trial (for test blocks).
- When novel relations appeared, participants should always respond in accordance with the relations learned in previous blocks (for test blocks)

Phases 2 (Pre-exposure) and 3 (Classical Conditioning)

After the formation of equivalence classes, subjects were requested to leave the experimental room for a five- minute break. When they entered the room again, the recording electrodes were attached according to ECG lead II. The negative electrode was placed on the volar surface of the right wrist, the positive one on the inner side of the left ankle, and the ground electrode on the inner side of the right ankle. After that, the stimulating electrode (the one through which electric shocks were delivered) was fastened to the right forearm.

Participants then selected the amplitude with which shocks would be delivered. They were told to select a level of amplitude such that the shock was uncomfortable, but not painful. The experimenter then administered several test shocks with increasing amplitudes, until the participant chose the level they considered correct. Once such a level was selected, the experimenter told the subjects that their task was to look at the screen and pay attention, and to stay as still and quiet as possible. They were told that the screen would remain blank, and that sometimes a syllable would appear. They were also told that during that phase of the experiment the electric shock would sometimes appear and that the whole duration of that phase would be about half an hour.

Phases 2 and 3 were conducted consecutively without pauses, as part of the same experimental task. The pre-exposure phase consisted of the presentation of 20 consecutive trials in which a syllable appeared on the screen for 8 s. Subjects in the EXPERIMENTAL condition were presented with the syllable CUG (stimulus A1), whereas subjects in the CONTROL condition were presented with SIP (irrelevant stimulus). Inter-trial interval (ITI) was 15 s, during which the screen remained blank. After pre-exposure, all participants (in both conditions) went through the same classical conditioning phase.

Participants were exposed to an 8 second-delay differential conditioning procedure, with both acquisition and extinction trials. During acquisition trials syllable PAF (stimulus C1) served as the CS+, and was paired for 10 trials with the US (electric shock). The CS+ appeared on the screen for 8 seconds. The onset of the US was simultaneous to the offset of the CS+. Syllable KET (stimulus C3) served as the CS-, and it was presented alone for 10 trials. Trials of both types appeared intermixed in a random order, one at a time, with the constraint that no more than two trials of the same sort appeared consecutive to each other. The ITI was variable, in order to avoid temporal conditioning effects. The average ITI was 35 s. Extinction trials commenced after all acquisition trials had been presented. They were identical to acquisition trials, with the exception that the US was never presented. Both the CS+ and the CS- were presented alone, in random order and with an average ITI of 35 s. Once the conditioning phase was over, the experiment was finished.

RESPONSE QUANTIFICATION

The raw ECG was recorded and filtered in order to obtain a clearer R-wave. Heart rate (HR) was calculated online by the computer on the basis of the inter-peak interval for the R-wave. The maximum decrease in HR was calculated for each CS interval (8 seconds). The minimum HR score in the interval was subtracted from a baseline HR value obtained for each trial by averaging HR during the 2 second interval immediately prior

o to each CS presentation. Whenever that no decrease was found, that is, data just showed an increase in HR for that period, the response was given a zero value for that trial, rather than including negative scores for data analyses. A similar approach has been undertaken by other researchers in the area of the transformation of respondent functions²². This quantification was done for pre-exposure, acquisition and extinction trials. These data provide relevant information about anticipatory conditioned responses to each stimulus presented. Additionally, for extinction trials the maximum HR decrease was also calculated for the 7 second interval immediately following the CS offset. These data provide relevant information about conditioned responses to the US omission.

RESULTS

Although with some variability in regard to the number of trials needed, all subjects reached training and testing criteria during the formation of equivalence classes. A detailed description of these results is beyond the scope of the present paper, and therefore these data are not included here. For present purposes it is enough to remark that all participants passed the training and testing of equivalence relations and thus went through both the pre-exposure and conditioning phases.

It seems necessary to clarify some issues before undertaking the description of results regarding the transfer of latent inhibition. First, the differential conditioning procedure allows for the analysis of conditioning effects on an individual basis. For each subject, a conditioning effect is assumed to happen if they show a differential response pattern to the CS+ as opposed to the CS-. Specifically, responses to the CS+ should be larger than responses to the CS- in order to assume such an effect (because the CS+ was consistently paired with the US during the conditioning phase). Therefore, even though the study is designed according to a between-groups methodology, the individual analysis can provide an index of conditioning for the participants in each condition. According to this analysis, the transfer of latent inhibition should be observed either as retardation or preclusion of the conditioning effect. That is, participants in the EXPERIMENTAL condition should show no difference between their responses to the CS+ and the CS-, whereas participants in the CONTROL condition should show the normal conditioning effect of bigger responses to the CS+ than to the CS-.

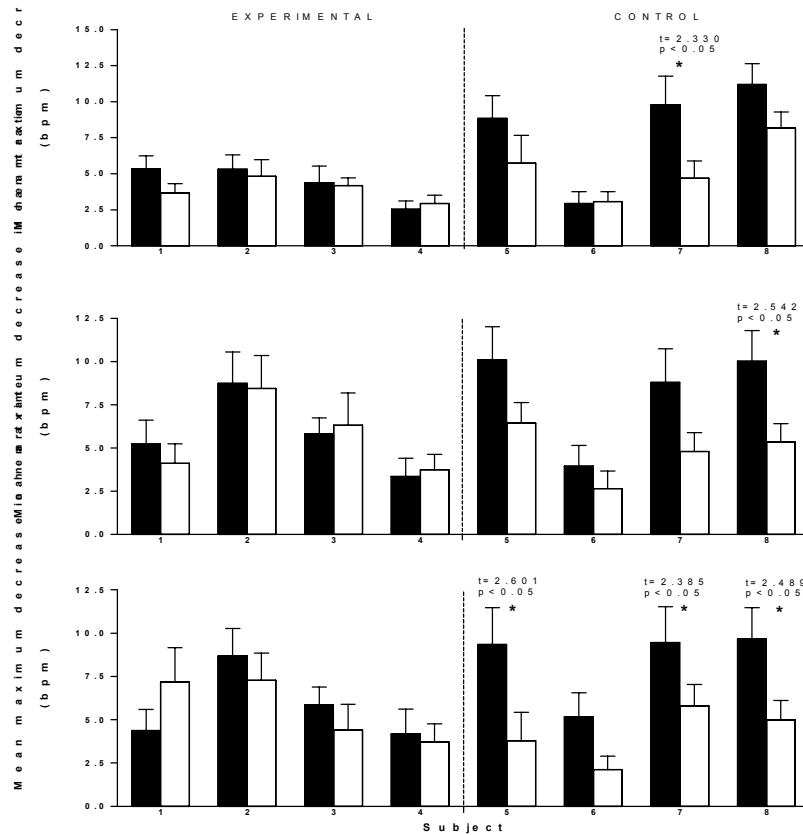


Figure 1. Average HR responses for each subject during the CS duration interval across acquisition (upper panel) and extinction trials (middle panel). The lower panel presents responses across extinction trials during the 7 s interval following CS offset.

In order to assess differential response patterns, the average maximum HR decrease across trials was calculated for each subject. Figure 1 depicts the mean maximum HR decrease with both the CS+ and the CS- for all subjects and for each of the intervals analysed. The upper graph shows average HR responses during the CS duration interval across acquisition trials. The graph in the middle shows the average HR responses during the same interval across extinction trials. Finally, the lower graph shows average HR responses during the 7 s interval after CS offset across extinction trials (US omission responses). Statistical analyses were performed for each subject in order to determine whether the visual differences in the graphs in Figure 1 were significant. Related samples t-tests were performed to compare HR responses to the CS+ with responses to the CS- for each of the three intervals. Significant differences ($p < 0.05$) are indicated in Figure 1 with asterisks. Subjects 5, 7 and 8 (all of them in the CONTROL condition) show significantly larger responses to the CS+ than to the CS- for extinction trials during the 7 s interval following the CS onset (lower panel). Additionally, subject 7 also shows significant differences for acquisition trials (upper panel), and subject 8 shows them for extinction trials during the CS duration interval (middle panel).

DISCUSSION

Both the visual inspection and the statistical analysis of the results show some variability. However, in our opinion a tendency can be seen in subjects in the CONTROL condition for a bigger decrease in HR when presented with the CS+ than with the CS-. Such a decrease is not evident for any subject in the EXPERIMENTAL condition, whereas 3 out of 4 show it in the CONTROL condition. This means that subjects in the CONTROL condition show conditioning to a certain extent. These subjects were preexposed to a novel stimulus completely irrelevant to the conditioning task. On the other hand, EXPERIMENTAL subjects, who were preexposed to a stimulus in an equivalence relation with the to-be-conditioned stimulus, show no conditioning effects of any sort, which is indicative of the transfer of the latent inhibition effect.

However, these results should be taken cautiously. The main problem with them is that the conditioning effect is not completely evident, which questions the effectiveness of the procedure used to obtain conditioning. Conditioning effects for the three subjects are observed just in one of the analysed intervals, but not for the three of them. For the remaining two intervals, just one subject shows evidence of conditioning in each case. There are several possible reasons for this. First, the HR response is quite complex and variable, and it largely depends on pre-stimulus HR levels²³. Thus, although a decrease in HR -a conditioned deceleration- is expected as a conditioned response on the basis of prior studies²⁴, both increases and decreases may be found within very short time intervals²⁵. Additionally, these studies normally use larger samples, and average data across groups are presented. Large samples and group methodology tend to yield softer curves by masking individual variability, thus making differences among groups more evident. However, in our opinion an attempt should be made to obtain a better within-subject control of this sort of response, rather than masking the lack of experimental control with large samples and between-groups statistical analyses. An alternative possibility is to work with other indices of autonomic arousal which are supposed to be less variable and less sensitive to pre-stimulus baseline levels, like electrodermal activity²⁶.

Besides the variable nature of the response, there are other features of the procedure employed that might account for the weakness in the conditioning effect. For instance, all stimuli involved in the conditioning procedure had a history (formation of equivalence classes) which may have functioned as a preexposure phase itself, thus making it more difficult to obtain the conditioning effect for subjects in either condition²⁷, regardless of the preexposed stimulus. Additionally, it has to be admitted that more control conditions are needed. At least, a group in which latent inhibition per se was tested (the stimulus which is preexposed would be the same one to be conditioned later), and another one to test for the differential transfer of the LI effect to the members of the same class, but not to the members of a different class. Further research could also attempt to obtain the transformation of LI in accordance with relational frames other than equivalence or coordination relations, such as difference or opposition.

Nevertheless, although further research is needed, both with the same procedure and with different ones, we think that the data presented here are indicative that the retardation in conditioning due to unreinforced preexposure, that is, LI, may be observed for stimuli which have not been directly preexposed, but which are in equivalence with a preexposed stimulus. Furthermore, we think these data justify further research in this direction, pursuing a more strict control of the conditions that might determine the occurrence of such a phenomenon. Further results indicative of the transfer of LI would posit interesting questions for current theories of LI²⁸, as well as they shall offer further support for a contextual and ontogenetic account of the selectivity of fears and phobias. Such an account places the emphasis on the personal history of the individual, both in direct and derived terms, and it would constitute an empirically-based behavioural alternative to associative accounts that include some sort of biological preparedness^{29 30}, to accounts which overtly advocate a non-associative and genetically-based explanation of the aetiology of fears and phobias³¹, or to cognitive accounts which rely on hypothetical explanatory constructs such as fear expectancies³².

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IS THE TERM 'REINFORCER EFFECTIVENESS' AN EXPLANATORY FICTION?

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The topic of motivation and motivational stimuli has rarely been addressed under the rubric of behaviour analysis. Recently, however, the notion of the Establishing Operation (EO) has emerged as the foremost behaviour analytic theory of motivation. A key aspect of the EO is that its effects are two-fold, altering (1) the reinforcing effectiveness of other events, objects or stimuli (the reinforcer-establishing effect), and (2) the current frequency of all behaviour that has been reinforced by those objects, events, and stimuli (the evocative effect). The aim of this paper is to demonstrate that the two-fold nature of the EO is fundamentally incompatible with the philosophy that underlies behaviour analysis, and more specifically that the term 'reinforcer effectiveness' is an explanatory fiction. Instead, a simpler theoretical alternative will be offered, one that concentrates on the functional relations among stimuli.

INTRODUCTION

In common-sense psychology, a person's behaviour can be considered a function of two general factors: knowledge and motivation. For any particular behaviour to occur (with the exception of 'involuntary' acts such as reflexes), the person must both *know how* and *want* to execute the behaviour in question. Knowledge has been addressed reasonably accurately within the rubric of behaviour analysis by the concept of discriminated operants¹. In contrast, the topic of motivation and motivational stimuli has rarely been addressed, at least in a direct manner. Recently, however, the notion of the Establishing Operation (EO)² has emerged as the foremost behaviour analytic theory of motivation. A key aspect of the EO is that its effects are two-fold, altering (1) the reinforcing effectiveness of other events, objects or stimuli (the reinforcer-establishing effect), and (2) the current frequency of all behaviour that has been reinforced by those objects, events, and stimuli (the evocative effect). This dual-role has already been questioned by Cherpas³. However, his focus was on the problem of examining reinforcer effectiveness experimentally. The aim of this paper is to demonstrate that the two-fold nature of the EO is fundamentally incompatible with the philosophy that underlies behaviour analysis, and more specifically that the term 'reinforcer effectiveness' is an explanatory fiction. Instead, a simpler theoretical alternative will be offered, one that concentrates on the functional relations among stimuli. The features of scientific explanation in behaviour analysis will be outlined first, followed by an outline of the EO concept. Next, the terms 'reinforcer effectiveness' and 'reinforcer establishing' will be evaluated, and the argument made that they are unnecessarily cumbersome, and finally a simple alternative will be offered.

SCIENCE FROM A BEHAVIOUR ANALYTIC PERSPECTIVE

The goal of behaviour analysis is to predict and influence behaviour with precision, scope and depth⁴. Cause and effect in behaviour analysis are descriptions of functional dependencies between dependent variables (DVs) and independent variables (IVs) in the context in which they occur. Descriptions in this mode do go beyond single instances to describe uniformities, but they do not go beyond the relations observed. To be explanatory, a description must relate uniformities between classes or properties of events. Behaviour analysts reject explanations 'of an observed fact which appeals to events taking place somewhere else, at some other level of observation, described in different terms, and measured, if at all, in different dimensions. Terms are used merely to bring together groups of observations, to state uniformities and to express properties of behaviour which transcend single instances'⁵.

MOTIVATION

Motivation in behaviour analysis is usually viewed as the effect of antecedent conditions or events on operant behaviour. The term operant is used when we want to distinguish between an *instance* of a behaviour (e.g., at 11am yesterday I put money in a vending machine to buy a soft drink), and a *class* of behaviour (e.g., buying soft drinks from vending machines). An instance of behaviour

does not require that we specify a functional relation between the behaviour in question and an environmental event. However, in order to describe classes of behaviour it is necessary to specify at least one relation to a variable, namely the effect that the class of behaviours generally, though not always, have on the environment (e.g., if I put money in a vending machine I usually get a soft drink – but not always: the drink may be sold out, the machine broken etc.).

Because operant behaviours are not always followed by characteristic consequences, Skinner⁶ introduced the term discriminative stimulus (S^D) for the stimulus condition in which the response is reinforced, and S^A for the stimulus condition in which the response is not reinforced. In other words, an S^D is a stimulus condition that has a history of correlation with the *differential availability* of reinforcement. Differential availability in this case means that the relevant consequence has been in some way more available in the presence than in the absence of the stimulus condition, or S^D . To continue the above example, if the vending machine is broken then I cannot buy a drink from it. Hence, an S^D in this case is a functioning vending machine. Taking the S^D and the operant together, the discriminated operant is described in terms of a jointly-defined three-term contingency, where ‘operant’, ‘reinforcement’, and ‘discriminative stimulus’ (or S^D) are three technical terms that compose the operant contingency. In lay language, the discriminated operant might be described as the ‘knowing how’ component of a person’s actions (e.g., ‘the vending machine is not broken or sold out, so if I put money in then I should get a drink’).

There has been a tendency within behaviour analysis to view all behaviour as under the control of discriminated operants⁷. However, Skinner issued a cautionary note concerning the use of the technical term S^D :

[The discriminative stimulus]...is perhaps best described as ‘setting the occasion’ for a response. Whether or not the response is to occur *does not depend upon the discriminative stimulus*, once it is present, *but upon other factors*....strictly speaking we should refer to a discriminated operant as ‘occurring in the presence of’ rather than ‘elicited as a response to’ the S^D .⁸

It is these ‘other factors’ that are usually regarded as motivational variables. That is, factors that act on the three-term contingency, but are not part of it, are termed motivational. To continue with the example, if I have just consumed a large quantity of soft drinks then I am less likely to buy a soft drink, should the opportunity present itself.

THE ESTABLISHING OPERATION

Leigland⁹ noted that the treatment of motivational variables in behaviour analysis has suffered from the lack of a clear functional definition. Michael¹⁰ attempted to improve this situation by defining the term ‘Establishing Operation’ (EO) ‘as some environmental variable (event, operation, condition, etc.) that alters (1) the reinforcing effectiveness of other events, objects or stimuli (the reinforcer-establishing effect), and (2) the current frequency of all behaviour that has been reinforced by those objects, events, and stimuli (the evocative effect). For example, food deprivation establishes food as an effective form of reinforcement, if the organism should encounter food; it also momentarily increases the frequency of the types of behaviour that have been previously reinforced with food. The evocative effect of the EO on any behaviour that has been previously reinforced can be thought of as (a) the result of a direct effect of the EO on such behaviour, (b) an increase in the evocative effectiveness of all S^D ’s for behaviour that has been followed by reinforcement, and (c) an increase in the frequency of behaviour that has been followed by conditioned reinforcers whose effectiveness depends on the appropriate EO (a conditioned reinforcer is a stimulus that has the effect of a reinforcer because of its relation to a stimulus already having that effect). Michael intends the term ‘evoke’ be used as a general term to denote antecedent controlling conditions, similarly to the way the term ‘elicit’ is used in the case of the unconditioned stimulus in respondent conditioning, and the term ‘occasion’ is used in the case of the discriminative stimulus.

PROBLEMS WITH THE DUAL NATURE OF THE EO

The argument presented in this paper is that the term ‘reinforcing effectiveness’ can never be a functional definition. Instead, this term is an explanatory fiction¹¹ – in other words, a supposed cause (IV) that cannot be observed independently of the effect (DV) for which it is the explanation. Consider an animal who can press a lever to produce food. Increased food deprivation (IV) is correlated with increased lever pressing (DV) – this correlation can be called an evocative effect. This is acceptable because the word ‘evoke’ simply describes a uniform relation between an independent variable and a dependent variable in the context in which it occurs. In contrast, how do we know if the deprivation has simultaneously made the reinforcer, if it is contacted, more effective (the ‘reinforcer-establishing’ effect)? We can only know this because lever pressing increases. However, increased reinforcer effectiveness is supposed to be one of the reasons *why* lever pressing has increased.

According to Michael, the reinforcer-establishing effect is important for identifying various types of EOs, and for distinguishing them from other types of variables¹². For example, he differentiates between ‘Unconditioned Establishing Operations’ (UEOs) and three types of Conditioned Establishing Operations (CEOs). In the case of UEOs, the reinforcer-establishing effect is unlearned, and is a consequence of the evolution of the species. For example, food deprivation establishes food as reinforcing, water deprivation establishes water as reinforcing etc. In contrast, CEOs alter the reinforcing effectiveness of other events as a result of an individual organism’s history. In these cases, however, the history of the antecedent motivational events is either learned or unlearned – saying that the *evocative* effects of operations or stimuli are either learned or unlearned does not seem to diminish our ability to predict and influence the behaviour in question. (As an aside, the term *Establishing Operation* is itself misleading. Operations are manipulations of the *environment*, thus, the modifiers unconditioned and conditioned are not appropriate for the term establishing operations. Only the reinforcing properties of particular *stimuli* can be learned or unlearned; the manipulation of the operations themselves cannot be learned or unlearned¹³).

Michael¹⁴ outlined three types of CEOs that could be distinguished by their different reinforcer-establishing effects: a surrogate CEO, a reflexive CEO, and a transitive CEO. A surrogate CEO is a stimulus that is correlated with a UEO. For example, correlating a neutral stimulus with painful stimulation may increase the effectiveness of pain reduction as a form of reinforcement, and evoke the behaviour that has been reinforced with pain reduction. This is the simplest case of an explanatory fiction – it is more parsimonious to say that correlating a neutral stimulus with painful stimulation is more likely to evoke the behaviour that has been reinforced with pain reduction. A reflexive CEO is assumed to be established when a stimulus systematically precedes some form of worsening (any stimulus change that would function as punishment for the type of behaviour that preceded it) and this worsening does not occur if the stimulus is terminated. For example, a warning stimulus in an avoidance procedure can acquire the capacity to establish its own termination as an effective form of conditioned reinforcement, and can evoke any behaviour that has accomplished this termination. Again, it seems redundant to say that the warning stimulus is established as a negative conditioned reinforcer *prior* to the response, because this can only be inferred from the increased rate of responding when the termination of this stimulus is the consequence. Transitive CEOs are established when a certain stimulus condition is correlated with the correlation between another stimulus and some form of worsening or improvement. Thus, the first stimulus (S_1) establishes the reinforcing or punishing effectiveness of the second stimulus (S_2), and evokes or suppresses the behaviour that has been followed by that reinforcement or punishment. However, it is more straightforward to say that in the presence of S_1 the response that produces or terminates S_2 is more likely. The crucial difference between S_1 and an S^D is that S_2 *can* be obtained – even in the absence of S_1 ¹⁵. In all of the above cases, it seems just as easy to separate out the different CEOs on the basis of their evocative effects, than on the basis of a hypothetical reinforcer-establishing effect.

Michael (2000) further refined his concept of the EO. In particular, he elaborated on the nature of the EO evocative relation, and cautioned against conceptualising the evocative effect of the EO as a product of the organism’s contact with the more effective reinforcement (in other words, that response frequency increases after the more effective reinforcement has occurred). ‘For example, food deprivation makes food a more effective form of reinforcement *and* increases the current frequency of all behaviour that has been reinforced with food. These two effects occur simultaneously and independently...’¹⁶. However, the reinforcer-establishing effect is presumed to occur *prior* to the response, yet it makes the reinforcer, which is or is not contacted *following* the response, more effective. To argue that the delivery of a more effective reinforcer in the future affects the current rate of responding is to use an ‘argument from purpose’¹⁷, in order to explain behaviour. A future event cannot function as an independent variable, behaviour can only be explained in terms of existing or past functional dependencies.

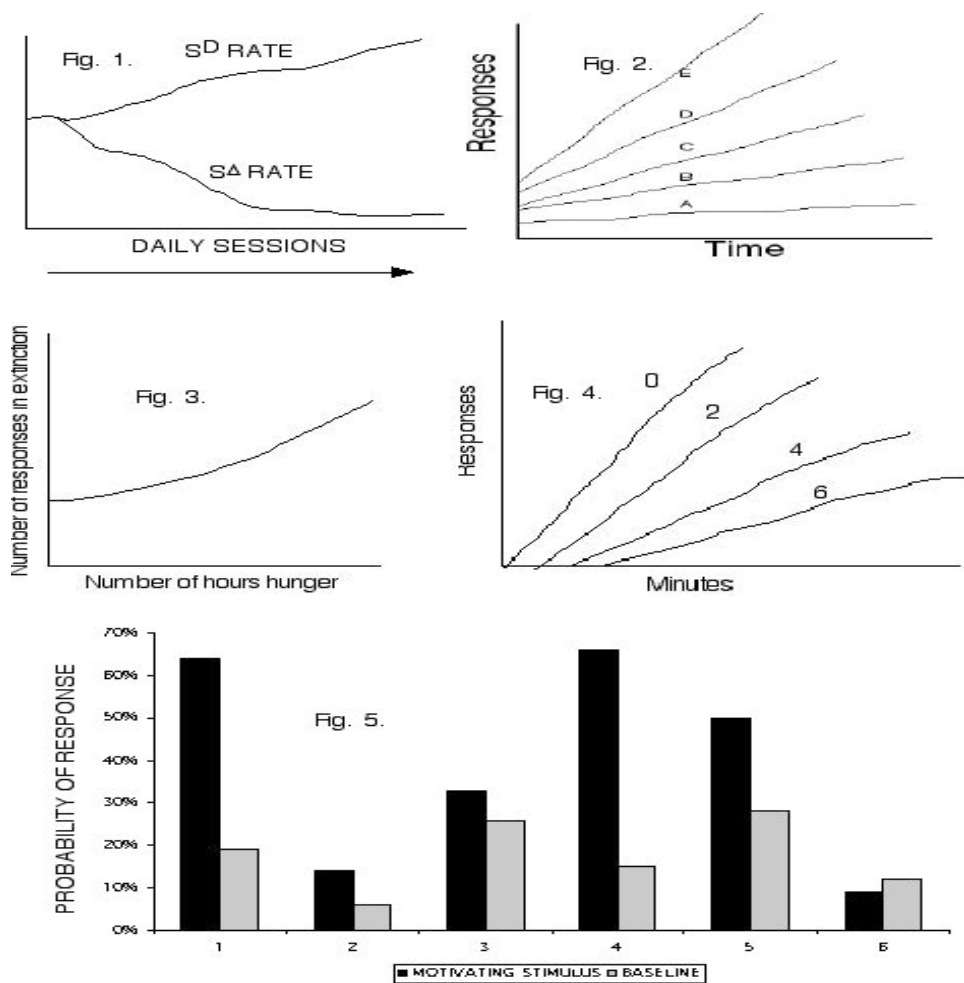
According to Michael, we should regard the evocative effect as the ‘direct relation between deprivation level and the initial rate of responding or the total number of responses emitted *during extinction*’¹⁸(original emphasis). In other words, the reinforcer-establishing effect does not occur in extinction. Imagine, though, that a particular animal has been exposed to a particular schedule where reinforcement is delivered on a FR-100 schedule, and the experimenter suddenly discontinues the presentation of reinforcers. Assuming that the relevant EO is in place, (i.e., the animal is hungry), what happens the first time that a response is made in extinction? Presumably the animal does not ‘know’ that its response will not be followed by reinforcement, and continues pressing at the same rate as before. Have the two effects of the EO controlled responding, or is the reinforcer-establishing effect (that occurred before the response was made) retrospectively negated if reinforcement does not occur? The reinforcer-effectiveness argument appears to be relying on ‘an observed fact which appeals to events taking place somewhere else, at some other level of observation...’¹⁹, and is thus an unsatisfactory description of the events in question.

A FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS OF MOTIVATION

As an alternative to the foregoing theory, the current analysis is a novel theoretical approach that focuses on the functional relations that obtain when certain antecedent stimulus situations, response patterns, and consequences are observed. Table 1 displays some of these relations. Row 1 lists the four kinds of events necessary to describe basic operant functional relations: a motivating operation, and a particular stimulus situation (SS₁) where at least some kinds of responses are followed by reinforcement. The rate of responding can be some arbitrary value, B. To continue with the example given at the start of this paper, a person is thirsty, and the operant behaviour in question is buying a soft drink from a vending machine. In addition, the availability of drinks is indicated by a light on the front of the machine; if the light is green then drinks are available, but if the light is red then drinks are sold out. The drink that is obtained is the reinforcer. Imagine also that this person has never encountered a vending machine of this type before (i.e., with red and green lights), and therefore does not know what the light denotes. Thus, at first, they will probably try to buy a drink irrespective of the colour of the light. Sometimes their responses will be reinforced, and sometimes they will not be reinforced.

		Antecedents		Response rate	Consequence
		Operation	Stimulus	Stimulus	
Baseline					
1	Baseline Motivation	-	SS ₁	B	Reinforcer/EXT
2	Baseline Motivation	-	S ^D	X	Reinforcer
3	Baseline Motivation	-	S ^A	Y	EXT
Motivating operations					
4	Evoking operation	-	S ^D	>X	Reinforcer
5	Evoking operation	-	S ^A	>Y	EXT
6	Suppressing operation	-	S ^D	<X	Reinforcer
7	Suppressing operation	-	S ^A	<Y	EXT
Motivating stimuli					
8	Baseline Motivation	Evoking stimulus	S ^D	>X	Reinforcer
9	Baseline Motivation	Evoking stimulus	S ^A	>Y	EXT
10	Baseline Motivation	Suppressing stimulus	S ^D	<X	Reinforcer
11	Baseline Motivation	Suppressing stimulus	S ^A	<Y	EXT

Rows 2 and 3 illustrate what happens when a response is reinforced in some of the elements of a situation, but not reinforced in others. Stimuli that are correlated with reinforcement and an increased rate of responding, are termed S^D s, and stimuli that are negatively correlated with reinforcement and a decreased rate of responding are termed S^A s. Thus, Columns 2 and 3 represent discriminative control over responding. The response rate in the presence of the S^D is some value X, whereas the response rate in the presence of the S^A will be some value less than X, say Y. For example, a person will gradually learn that when the green light is on, making a response will be reinforced, and that when the red light is on responses will not be reinforced. This behaviour might stabilise so that, for example, drinks are bought about 70% of the time when the green light is on, but attempts are made to buy drinks only about 20% of the time when the red light is on (someone might still respond in the presence of the red light because they 'forget what it means', or, more technically, because the light exerts insufficient discriminative control over the responses). Figure 1 presents a simplified version of an actual experiment²⁰ that demonstrated the development of control by a discriminative stimulus, and thus represents the functional relations described in Columns 1, 2 and 3.



A situation may arise where some antecedent operation is modified and response rate increases. The antecedent operation is motivational if (1) the relations among the events within the three-term contingency remain unchanged; (2) response rate in the presence of the S^D is increased relative to the baseline response rate in the presence of S^D (i.e., greater than X); and (3) the response rate in the presence of the S^A is increased relative to the response rate in the presence of S^A in the baseline condition (i.e., greater than Y). If these conditions are met then we can say that the antecedent operation has *evoked* the responses. Rows 4 and 5 display these relationships. A similar logic can be applied if some antecedent operation is correlated with a response rate that is lower than X in the presence of the S^D , and is lower than Y in the presence of the S^A . These can be termed *suppressive*

effects – the opposite to evocative effects. Rows 6 and 7 display these relationships. Figure 2 displays results from an experiment where a rat's food deprivation increased daily, and is representative of Row 4. The line marked A is the first day, the line E the last day. It can be seen that although the three-term contingency remained unchanged, responses were evoked in accordance with the antecedent operation (deprivation). Figure 3 displays results from an experiment where responses were not reinforced, and response rate increased as a function of deprivation, and is representative of Row 5. Suppressive effects can be seen in Figure 4, where feeding an animal just prior to an experimental session lowers the rate of responding during that session. The numbers above the lines represent food in grams. Similar effects could be seen in the drink-buying model if, for example, there is a period of hot weather. In this case the rate of buying drinks from the vending machine when the green light is on might increase from 70% to 80%. Also, the rate of attempting to buy from the vending machine when the red light is on might increase from 20% to 30%. In both cases response rate has increased, but the functional dependency between the S^D , S^A , response and the reinforcer has not changed.

Motivational effects are not limited to operations. For example, consider a situation where the baseline motivation and the three term contingency are not altered, and a novel antecedent stimulus is introduced. This stimulus is motivational if it is correlated with an increase in responding either above X if the S^D is present, or above Y if the S^A is present (Rows 8 and 9, respectively). Conversely a suppressing stimulus is related to a rate of responding below X if the S^D is present, or below Y if the S^A is present. Figure 5 displays results collected in the Maynooth laboratory that represent the functional relations described in Row 8, where a motivating stimulus increases the rate of responding relative to the baseline rate. Suppressive stimuli are those that work in the opposite direction to motivating stimuli, specifically they are correlated with a decrease in responding either below X if the S^D is present, or below Y if the S^A is present.

The analysis outlined above may have some advantages over Michael's dual-role EO. For example, it is not necessary to appeal to any supposed reinforcer-establishing effect in order to discriminate among different kinds of CEO; nor is it necessary to make the case, as Michael does, that EOs have a dual function (i.e., reinforcer-establishing *and* evocative) when responses are followed by reinforcement, but have only one function (i.e., evocative) when responses are not followed by reinforcement.

CONCLUSION

The current paper has attempted to argue that the term 'reinforcer effectiveness' is an explanatory fiction, and thus adds nothing to a behaviour analytic interpretation of motivation. Instead, a strictly functional-analytic treatment of motivation is presented. This approach may sidestep some of the problems that a dual-role EO seems to incorporate, such as ascribing causal status to future events. It is hoped that the current theoretical analysis of motivation will further the empirical investigation of this important topic.

ENDNOTES

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Jack Michael, 'Establishing Operations', *The Behavior Analyst*, 16, (1993), 191-206.
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- ³ Chris Cherpas, 'Do establishing operations alter reinforcement effectiveness?', *The Behavior Analyst*, 16, (1993), 347-349.
- ⁴ Bryan Roche, 'New wave' analysis', *Psychologist*, 12, (1999), 498-499.
- ⁵ Skinner (1938), p. 44.
- ⁶ Skinner (1938), p.177.
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- ¹⁴ Michael (1993).
- ¹⁵ Anthony McPherson & John Geoffrey Osborne, Control of behavior by an establishing stimulus, *Journal of the Experimental Analysis of Behavior*, 49, (1988), 213-227.
- ¹⁶ Michael (2000), p. 403.
- ¹⁷ Chiesa, (1994), p. 103.
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- ¹⁹ Skinner (1938), p. 44.
- ²⁰ Robert M. Herrick, Jerome L. Myers, & Arthur L. Korotkin, 'Changes in S-super (D) and in S-super (!D) rates during the development of operant discrimination', *Journal of Comparative & Physiological Psychology*, 52, (1959), 359-363.

TEOIRIC NA HAPASTRÓIFE AGUS FILÍOCHT NA MBARD

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An Chomhairle um Thaighde sna Dána agus sna hEolaíochtaí Sóisialta a bhronn Scoláireacht Rialtas na hÉireann ar an údar, a chuir ar a cumas tabhairt faoin taighde seo.

Is suaithinseach an claonadh i dtreo theicniocht na hapastróife i bhfilíocht na Gaeilge trí chéile ach is annamh a luaitear an teicniocht i gcritic na filíochta. D'fhéadfaimis é seo a léamh mar chomhartha gur coinbhinsiún éadairbheach í an apastróf, a bhí in úsáid ag an bhfile clasaiceach ar chúiseanna meadrachta b'fhéidir, agus atá anois neamhbhríoch. Ach ar ndóigh, ní hionann teirce critice agus easpa tábhachta. Fágann an folús sa chritic go bhfuil go leor ceisteanna le freagairt maidir le ról na hapastróife san fhilíocht. In éagmais fráma tagartha le haghaidh apastróf na Gaeilge, déantar scagadh sa pháipéar seo ar na teoiricí a chuirtear chun cinn faoin apastróf i dtraidisiún chritice eile agus sonraítear na himpleachtaí a eascraíonn do chás na bairdne.

RÉAMHRÁ

Téarma Gréigise is ea an téarma ‘apastróf’ a thagair ón tús d’aon chasadh ón lucht éisteachta i dtreo comhchainteora ar leith. D’fhéadfadh an comhchainteoir sin a bheith i láthair a chainteora, mar a tharlaíonn nuair a chuireann an file forrán ar dhuine amháin i dtionól poiblí nó ar léitheoir amháin as grúpa léitheoirí. Ach ní gá an láithreach fhisiceach a bheith i gceist. Ar dhaoine atá as láthair agus marbh go minic a dhírítear, amhail is go bhfuil siad i láthair, nó castar i dtreo rudaí neamhbheo gan anam, nó i dtreo Dé. Is iad an gairmeach, an t-ordaitheach agus an dara pearsa a sainchomharthaí.

Is suaithinseach an claonadh i dtreo na teicniochta seo i bhfilíocht na Gaeilge trí chéile. Tá aitheanta ag Leerssen¹ agus é ag tarraingt ar thaighde staitistiúil Simms,² gur filíocht apastrófach í filíocht na mbard ó bhonn. San fhilíocht sin, dar leis, labhraítear i gcónaí le ‘*destinataire*’ éigin.

Is annamh, ámh, a luaitear an teicniocht i gcritic na filíochta agus fágann an folús seo go bhfuil na buncheisteanna faoi ról na hapastróife i bhfilíocht na Gaeilge le freagairt. In éagmais fráma tagartha is fiú amharc i dtreo traidisiún chritice eile chun teacht ar eiseamláirí léirmheastóireachta. Tá trácht déanta ar an apastróf sa staidéar atá déanta ar sheanlitríocht na Gréigise, agus tá an apastróf sa reitric chlasaiceach pléite ag na húdaráis sa réimse úd. Chomh maith leis sin faightear tráchttaireacht ar an apastróf i dteoiricí liteartha an Bhéarla agus sa diagacht spioradálta. Is é gnó an pháipéir seo achoimre a dhéanamh ar na teoiricí a chuirtear chun cinn faoin apastróf sna traidisiúin sin, agus roinnt impleachtaí a eascraíonn do chás na bairdne a chur san áireamh.

AN APASTRÓF SA TRÁCHTAIREACHT AR AN LITRÍOCHT GHRÉAGACH

Ag tús an chéid seo caite tosaíodh díospóireacht maidir le ról na hapastróife i bhfilíocht Homer. Ar an lámh amháin d’aontaigh an tráchttaire Henry³ le reitricelaithe anallód go raibh feidhm mhothálach ag an apastróf san fhilíocht. Ar an lámh eile d’áitigh Bonner gur gléas é a roghnaigh an file toisc gur oir sé don mheadarachta.⁴ Le linn na seachtóidí shonraigh Parry,⁵ an ceannródaí cáiliúil i réimse na litríochta béil, go bhfuil an dá mhíniúchán sin teoranta.⁶ Tháinig sé ar an gconclúid go gcaitheann an apastróf solas ar charachtracht agus ar ábhar an dáin agus gur réaduchtú é féachaint ar an tróp mar ghné a roghnaíodh ar chúiseanna meadarachta amháin.

Cé nach bhféachtar ar an apastróf mar áis mheadarachta sa Ghaeilge, féachann Pádraig Breatnach⁷ ar athrá na míre gairmí i ndánta áirithe mar chuid de ghléas buafhoclach a bhí i bpáirt ag na filí. Tá an gléas sin le sonrú sa dán ‘Féuch féin an obairsi, a Aodh.’⁸ Ach cé gur gléas coinbhinsiúnta é, ‘ornáid chaitheasach’, dar leis, atá sa ghléas buafhoclach freisin, ‘ag soláthar treise leis an bpríomhargóint adhmholtach.’⁹ Tagann an dearcadh seo leis an dearcadh a nocht Parry i dtaobh fhilíocht na Gréigise, go mbaintear feidhm as an gcoinbhinsiún go comhfhiosach chun cur le plota an dáin agus ní toisc go n-éilíonn an mheadarachta a leithéid de ghléas.

Staidéar eile ar an litríocht Ghréagach gur fiú srachfhéachaint a thabhairt air anseo is ea staidéar Brunius-Nilsson¹⁰ ar mhód amháin den apastróf sa litríocht sin. Bíonn d’fheidhm ag an ngairmeach sa phaidir, sa ghríosadh agus sa spreagadh fileata dar léi, dul i gcion ar bhealaí éagsúla ar an gcomhchainteoir. De réir na teoirice seo is tróp í an apastróf a shoilsiúnn a chaolchúisí is atá an cleachtas cumhachta laistigh den téacs. Aithnítear go raibh filíocht na mbard dlúthcheangailte le cúrsaí cumhachta ar chúiseanna pátrúnachta, agus de bharr an ról a bhí ag an bhfile i gcaomhnú na struchtúr polaitiúil sa tsochaí mheánaoiseach. Ar an ábhar sin b’fhéidir go gcaithfidh an staidéar ar an apastróf lóchrann ar chúrsaí cumhachta sa chaidreamh a chruthaítear laistigh den dán díreach.

AN APASTRÓF SA REITRIC CHLASAICEACH

In alt ceannródaíoch leis an mBreatnach a foilsíodh le déanaí, bhí an méid seo le rá aige faoi thionchar na reitrice ar thraidisiún na mbard:

One important ingredient which should never be overlooked is the influence of school doctrines concerning the art of rhetoric...We should expect to detect that influence in some measure in Irish vernacular tradition also, both in relation to the organisation of the subject matter and the use of figurative language.¹¹

Ar ndóigh bheadh gá le buntaighde ar na foinsí chun an t-áiteamh sin i dtaobh thionchar na reitrice ar fhilíocht na scol a chruthú, ach mar fhéidearthacht is fiú é a lua anseo go háirithe i gcomhthéacs an méid atá díreach ráite againn faoin gcumhacht, óir aithnítear gurb é an aidhm is mó a bhí ag an reitric ná dul i gcion ar an gcomhchainteoir.¹²

Dar leis na saineolaithe a phléann le cúrsaí reitrice, bhain an apastróf leis na fíoracha a raibh sé d'aidhm acu dul i gcion ar mhothúcháin an lucht éisteachta nó an léitheora. Ina leabhar *In Defence of Rhetoric* míníonn Vickers¹³ gur bhain an apastróf leis na *figurae sententiae* nó *les grandes figures* mar a thug na Francaigh orthu. Chomh maith leis an apastróf chuir na reitriceolaithe an *exclamatio*, an *imprecatio* agus an *prosopopoeia* sa ghrúpa céanna leis agus séard a bhí iontu ná 'an automatic way of arousing the feelings.'¹⁴ Faoi thionchar na fileatachta Arastatalaí bhí an dearcadh forleathan i measc reitriceolaithe go dtéann carachtar a bhíonn i ngreim na mothúcháin i gcion ar dhaoine ar bhealach suntasach. Mar seo atá sé ag Vickers:

In Aristotle's words, 'those who are in the grip of the emotions are most persuasive because they speak to the same natural tendencies in us, and it is the character who rages or expresses dejections... [who] stirs us to anger or dejection.'¹⁵

I gcás na bairdne is minic a úsáidtear an apastróf i gcomhthéacsanna ríthochtmarha. Is féidir na dánta deoraíochta a cumadh ag tús an tseachtú haois déag a lua mar shamplaí. Faightear Giolla Brighde Ó hEoghusa ag labhairt leis an tír go heolchaireach agus é ag fágáil slán lena thír dhúchais agus lena ghairm mar fhíle, nó Eoghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird ag labhairt go haithiseach lena chroí féin ar chloisteáil dó go bhfuil Ó Domhnaill tinn. D'fhéadfaí na dánta atá dírithe ar thithe agus ar chaisleáin bhánaithe a léamh mar chomhartha ar an ngné chéanna den apastróf.¹⁶

Mar sin féin is fiú a chur san áireamh go gceistíonn an léirmheastóir nua-aimseartha Culler an dearcadh go dtéann an apastróf i gcion ar mhothúcháin an éisteora tríd an léargas a thugann sí ar mhothúcháin an chainteora. Dar leis gur mó a fheidhmíonn na dánta ina labhraítear go paiseanta, go háirithe le rudaí neamhbheo, chun léargas a thabhairt ar ghníomh na gairme agus ar chumhacht fhíleata an chainteora chun cumarsáid a dhéanamh leis an rud neamhbheo.¹⁷ Fillfear ar theoiricí Culler thíos ach i dtús féachfar ar an ról a shamhlaítear leis an apastróf laistigh de dhisciplín na diagachta.

AN APASTRÓF SA DIAGACHT SPIORADÁLTA

Ní haon ionadh go mbeadh staidéar déanta ar an apastróf laistigh de thraidisiún na diagachta óir bunghné stairiúil d'adhradh na ndéithe i mórán gach cultúr is ea an guth apastrófach. Feiniméan reiligiúnach seachas liteartha atá san apastróf dírithe ar Dhia. Is féidir fianaise den ghuth achainíoch apastrófach sin a fháil i bpaidreacha ársa ar fud an domhain, paidreacha atá i bhfoirm filíochta go minic. Sa diagacht spioradálta Chríostaí glactar leis gurb é atá sa phaidreoireacht ná caidreamh idir an duine agus Dia. Tá ról lárnach ag an bhfórrán sa ghairmeach agus ag an achainí i bhforbairt an chaidrimh sin.¹⁸ Dar le diagairí ar nós Saliers ba chóir don diagacht ar fad claonadh i dtreo na paidre agus i dtreo an ghairmigh, toisc go mbaineann aon tráchttaireacht a dhéantar ar Dhia le réimse tnúthánach den teanga agus gurb é an gairmeach is mó a léiríonn an tnúthán sin. Mar seo atá aige:

Theology belongs to a mode of understanding deeper than knowing by discursive reason alone. Since prayer is communion and dialogue, always involving a relatedness...theological thinking must exhibit the very nature of the relationship in which it approaches its object. Theology approaches its task by respecting and participating in the language of the vocative.¹⁹

Ainneoin nach é an liotúirge is cúis linne anseo, is fiú féachaint freisin ar theoiricí an diagaire Chríostaí Pickstock faoi fheidhm na hapastróife sa phaidreoireacht liotúirgeach.²⁰ Glacann Pickstock leis gur tróp drámatúil guthach mothálach ó bhonn atá san apastróf agus nach í an teanga réasúnaíoch eolaíochtúil atá ann, ach a mhalairt. Tá nádúr dialógach seachas monalógach ag an apastróf liotúirgeach sa mhéid go gcreidtear go mbuaileann dhá réaltacht le chéile tríd an tróp, ach cé go mbuaileann an paidreoir agus Dia le chéile gabhann cráiteacht áirithe leis an gcumarsáid. ‘The agony of apostrophic striving’ a thugann sí air, agus is é sin a chinntíonn go sáraíonn an guth seo dírithe ar Dhia an t-imeanachas atá mar shainthréith den nua-aimsearthacht²¹ dar le tráchtairí áirithe, toisc go n-aithnítear go bhfuil achar idir an paidreoir agus Dia agus go bhfuil ann don tarchéimnitheacht.

I gcomhthéacs achtú an liotúirge is tróp poiblí é. Scrúdaíonn Pickstock gnás Rómhánach an aifrinn sa mhéanaois mar pharadím den liotúirge i gcoitinne. Sa ghnás sin sonraíonn sí dhá chineál apastróife. I dtús tá an apastróf achainíoch a lorgaíonn cabhair ó Dhia i dtaobh an liotúirge féin. Sa dara háit tá an apastróf atá cosúil leis an tíolacadh agus leis an gceol. Apastróf í sin a ghlaonn le bheith ag glaach amach:

Because this latter type is removed from the economy of utility, it is more readily assimilable to the character of language as gift...and takes the form not of a petition but a calling which, like music, both invokes and attracts. It instantiates a sensual calling which, without instrumental purpose, represents the dislodging of language from diurnal orders of reasoning. The apostrophic voice calls in order to be calling...and is thus situated within an expectant and passionate order of language.²²

Díol spéise an ghné seo den apastróf óir aithníonn tráchtairí ar nós Watkins gur mar ‘thabhartas’²³ don phátrún a d’fheidhmigh filíocht na mbard. Ar ndóigh níor thabhartas saor in aisce a bhí san fhilíocht ach tabhartas a thuill cúiteamh ón bpátrún. Is féidir a rá mar sin nach bhfuil apastróf na mbard saor ón bhfóntachas ná ó chleachtas na cumhachta murab ionann, is cosúil, agus an apastróf tabhartasach sa liotúirge. Fiú amháin san fhilíocht dhiaga is léir go bhfuil dearcadh na pátrúnachta le feiceáil ann agus lorgaíonn Giolla Bhrighde Mac Con Midhe, mar shampla, mac ó Dhia ‘i lógh’²⁴ a dháin.

AN APASTRÓF I DTEOIRICÍ LITEARHA AN BHÉARLA

Toisc gurb é an rud dodhéanta atá á dhéanamh nuair a labhraítear le rudaí atá gan chumas éisteachta agus tuisceana sa saol mór, áitíonn teoiriceoirí éagsúla go ndéanann an file iarracht gnáthdhlíthe na cumarsáide a sháru le cabhair na hapastróife. Mar seo a chuireann Furniss agus Bath síos ar an ngné seo den apastróf:

Apostrophe seems to hark back to magic ritual and to primitive ideas that the absent, the dead, the inanimate or the non-human can be contacted, and their aid invoked. Yet the thing which is humanized retains a sense of mysterious otherness, as if it might have power over us (as the dead do in some religions).²⁵

Cé gur idirdhealú caolchúiseach é seo idir an pearsantú agus an claonadh draíochtúil, tuilleann sé aird ar leith i gcomhthéacs na Gaeilge toisc go nglactar leis an bhfilíocht sa bhéaloideas mar chleachtas osnádúrtha draíochtúil. Ach an féidir linn, mar shampla, dánta ar nós ‘A Chláirsíoch Chnuic Í Chosgair’ ón gceathrú haois déag le Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh,²⁶ a léamh mar iarracht dhraíochtúil cumarsáid a dhéanamh leis an uirlis cheoil? Sa dán sin, cé go ndéantar pearsantú áirithe ar an gcláirseach sa mhéid go labhraítear leis an gcláirseach amháin is go mbeadh cumas éisteachta agus tuisceana ag an uirlis, fós fanann siombalachas na cláirsí slán; ní léir aon chomparáid ar leith á dhéanamh idir an chláirseach agus an duine daonna. Tugann sé sin le fios b’fhéidir, go bhfuil an file ag iarraidh cumarsáid dhraíochtúil a dhéanamh leis an gcláirseach féin, seachas le híomhá phearsantaithe den uirlis. Sin ráite, is mó an fhéidearthacht gur pearsantú ar bhonn na sineicidicé atá ar súil i ndánta mar é seo, atá dírithe ar earraí de chuid an phátrúin. Is é sin go labhraítear le giúrléidí an phátrúin in ionad leis an bpátrún féin: pars pro toto. Go deimhin, is mar bhrainte den phearsantú a fhéachann teoiriceoirí litearha an Bhéarla ar an apastróf dírithe ar rudaí neamhbheo go hiondúil. Ach glactar leis nach pearsantú simplí atá ann. Dar le de Man,²⁷ tá gaol ag an apastróf leis an rudú agus leis an bpearsantú araon, sa mhéid go dtugtar cumas don chainteoir teagmháil a dhéanamh le rudaí neamhbheo, agus san am céanna, go dtugtar cumas don rud an teanga dhaonna a thuiscint.

An teoriceoir Culler, ámh, is mó atá i ndiaidh dul i ngleic le ról na hapastróife i bhfilíocht an Bhéarla. I gcomhthéacs na cumarsáide a shuionn sé an fhíor. Trí pháirtí atá i gceist san apastróf dar leis: an guth fileata a labhraíonn, a chomhchainteoir, agus an lucht éisteachta. Ach ní cumarsáid shimplí í óir ní ag iarraidh freagra a mhúscailt ina chomhchainteoir amháin atá an file, ach ag iarraidh a chuid cumhachta a thaispeáint freisin agus í a chruthú os comhair an lucht éisteachta. Nuair a labhrann an cainteoir le rudaí neamhbheo tugann sé le fios go bhfuil seans ann go bhfuil de chumhacht aige teagmháil a dhéanamh leis an rud neamhbheo. Ach is cumhacht fhileata é seo seachas cumhacht dhraíochtúil. Láthraítear nó ath-láthraítear an rud atá as láthair, is é sin, déantar iarracht an dlíáthreachas, an bhailbhe agus uaireanta an bás stairiúil a shárú le cabhair coinbhinsiúin fhileata, a thrópann ar an gcumarsáid féin.²⁸ Is é saineúlacht na hapastróife dar le Culler, go ndéantar iarracht an t-am stairiúil a shárú tríd an am fileata dioscúrsach a chur ina áit. I bhfocail Culler:

Apostrophe resists narrative because its now is not a moment in a temporal sequence but a now of discourse, of writing. This temporality of writing is scarcely understood, difficult to think...Apostrophe is not the representation of an event; if it works, it produces a fictive, discursive event.²⁹

Má ghlactar le teoricí Culler glactar leis go ndéanann an léamh a fhéachann ar dhánta apastrófacha mar fhianaise ar chumarsáid stairiúil amháin, réaduchtú ar fhairsingeacht agus ar shainiúlacht na hapastróife. Tugann an méid sin muid go táirseach dhíospóireacht idirghabhálach idirnáisiúnta faoin tagarthacht agus faoin fhileatacht. Ó Cuív,³⁰ i lár na seascaidí a chuir tús leis an díospóireacht i gcomhthéacs na Gaeilge maidir le filíocht na mbard. Shonraigh sé comhionannas idir an file agus an staraí sa tréimhse iar-Normanach.³¹ Ar an ábhar sin caitheann filíocht na sgol, dar leis, solas ar easnamhachaí na gcáipéisí staire. Is iomaí cló a fuair an argóint chéanna ó shin i leith. Dar le Ó Faoláin feidhmíonn filíocht na mbard mar fhoinsé staire agus áitíonn sé gur féidir ionannú a dhéanamh idir an fhilíocht seo agus na cáipéisí stáit a bheadh ar fáil don staraí de ghnáth.³² An tuairim chéanna atá ag Canny agus déanann sé ionannú arís idir an fhilíocht agus na háiseanna stairiúla.³³ Cé go n-aithníonn Simms go bhfuil gné fhalsa ag baint leis na dánta, fós áitíonn sí³⁴ gur féidir comparáid a dhéanamh idir an dán díreach agus an litir nó an dialann i gcultúir eile.³⁵

Is mór idir é sin agus an léamh a mholann Culler, is é sin na dánta apastrófacha a léamh mar léiriú fileata nó drámata ar chomhrá stairiúil, nó mar léiriú fileata ar chomhrá nár tharla riamh sa stair ach amháin i samhlaíocht an fhile. An cheist atá le freagairt anseo ná an féidir linn léamh Culler ar fheidhm na hapastróife, léamh atá struchtúrach nua-aimseartha ó bhonn, a dhéanamh ar fhilíocht na mbard?

Chun teacht ar fhreagra na ceiste sin ní mór aird a thabhairt i dtús ar cheann de na díospóireachtaí is conspóidí le blianta beaga anuas maidir le filíocht na mbard, is í sin an díospóireacht faoi na constaicí atá le sárú ag an léirmheastóir nua-aimseartha a dhéanann iarracht filíocht na mbard a mheas go haestéitiúil. Ar an lámh amháin tá teoriceoirí ar nós Leerssen, a áitíonn go bhfuil gá le staidéar ar nádúr agus ar chineál na bearna idir téacsanna fileata na mbard agus an pheirspictíocht theoriciúil iar-rómánsach atá ag criticeoirí an lae inniu i leith na litríochta.³⁶ Tá Nic Eoin den tuairim chéanna; nár cóir múnlaí údarlárnacha an rómánsachais a chur anuas ar théacsanna a d'eascraigh as comhthéacs réamhrómánsach³⁷ agus gur fhilíocht fhoirmiúil choinbhinsiúnta seachas pearsanta a bhí ann den chuid is mó. Freagra ar na teoricí sin a fhaighimid ó Louis de Paor³⁸ san alt léirmheasa aige ar dhán de chuid Uí hEodhusa agus léiríonn sé go n-éiríonn leis an bhfile foirmlí comónta an traidisiúin a mhúnlú chun fíormhothú pearsanta a chur in iúl. Freagra eile a fhaighimid ó Titley san alt aige faoi litríocht na meánaoiseanna. Is féidir a áitiú gur réaladh cruthaitheach go pointe áirithe ar an ábhar céanna atá san úrscéal uaidh An Fear Dána.³⁹ Dar leis gur minic a chuirtear constaicí sa tslí ar an léitheoir nua-aimseartha a dhéanann iarracht léamh fhiúntach a dhéanamh ar fhilíocht na scol. Cé go n-aithníonn sé gur filíocht dheasghnáthach shearmanasach í a cuireadh os comhair an phobail san aithris phoiblí bhéil, áitíonn sé gur féidir na deacrachtaí léirmheastóireachta a eascraíonn as sin a shárú,⁴⁰ agus go raibh an coinbhinsiún agus an tsamhlaíocht chlaochlaitheach ann riamh anall sa litríocht. Le déanaí tá Breatnach i ndiaidh páirt a ghlacadh sa díospóireacht chéanna agus cé go ndéanann sé léirmheastóireacht aestéitiúil ar dhán de chuid Fhearghal Óg Mhac an Bhaird, tugann sé rabhadh arís i bhfocail Paul Zumthor faoi 'that vast impassable abyss that divides our modernity from the middle ages.'⁴¹ Ar na gnéithe is suntasaí d'fhilíocht na mbard atá cailte ar an léirmheastóir nua-aimseartha dar leis, tá a nádúr béil.⁴²

Aineoinn nach bhfuil na scoláirí ar aon tuairim faoin scéal, tá an méid seo i bpáirt acu ar fad, is é sin go raibh ról ag an aithris bheo bhéil i láithriú na filíochta agus cé nach féidir an comhthéacs beo sin a athchruthú ar bhealach lánsásúil, gur fheidhmigh formhór na ndánta mar chumarsáid

amharclannach tháisceantach (murab ionann agus cumarsáid phríobháideach, ar bhonn liteartha, de chuid an lae inniu) idir an file, an taoiseach agus an pobal. Dhá eilimint atá anseo; an chumarsáid agus an drámatacht le chéile. I ndáta apastrófacha bíonn an file i gcumarsáid leis an taoiseach, ach is trí mheán dráma fhileata, atá nach mór liotúirgeach, os comhair an lucht éisteachta a tharlaíonn an chumarsáid sin. B'fhéidir mar sin go gcaithfidh teoiricí nua-aimseartha Culler, a fhéachann ar an apastróf mar thróp a thróppann ar chiorcad na cumarsáide féin, solas ar an idir-imirt chasta a tharlaíonn i bhfilíocht na mbard idir cumarsáid litriúil agus cumarsáid amharclannach, idir tagarthacht agus fileatacht, idir stair agus aestéitic.

CONCLUÍD

Ag labhairt i dtaobh fhilíocht an Bhéarla dúirt Culler nach bhfuil go leor ar eolas againn faoin apastróf go fóill, lena rá céard go baileach a tharlaíonn nuair a éiríonn leis an tróp san fhilíocht.⁴³ Is lú fós atá ar eolas againn faoi fheidhmiú na hapastróife i bhfilíocht na Gaeilge. Cé nach bhfuil mórchuid tuairimíochta déanta ar an apastróf i ndisciplín ar bith, is léir fós ón scagadh gairid a rinneadh sa pháipéar seo ar thrópeolaíocht idimáisiúnta na hapastróife gur tróp ilghnéitheach é a thagann chun cinn san fhilíocht ar chúiseanna éagsúla. Uaireanta luaitear cúiseanna caoithiúlachta a bheith taobh thiar de rogha na hapastróife; go n-éilíonn an mheadaracht an gléas mar shampla; ach luaitear cúiseanna níos tromchúisí freisin, agus dar le tráchtairí áirithe tá sé ar na bealaí is coitianta a dtéann an fhilíocht i ngleic le mórfhadhb an chine dhaonna, is é sin, fadhb an diláithreachais. Cé go soláthraíonn na teoiricí idimáisiúnta seo fráma tagartha, agus cé go spreagann siad ceisteanna faoi leith i dtaobh apastróf na Gaeilge, níl iontu sa deireadh ach an pointe tosaigh.

NÓTAÍ

- ¹ Leerssen, J., *The Contention of the Bards (Iomarbhágh na bhFileadh) and its Place in Irish Political and Literary History*, (London: Irish Texts Society Subsidiary Series, 1994) lch 65; 'The type of bardic poetry on which the participants in the Contention drew is always *addressed* to someone. Such poetry may be religious in nature, addressing God or the Virgin Mary. It may be nature-poetry, addressing a river, a landscape or a bird. However, the usual variety addresses chiefs or princes, in encomiastic, exhortatory or elegiac terms. Formal bardic poetry by definition worked by apostrophizing a specific *destinataire*.'
- ² Simms, K., 'Bardic poetry as a historical source,' *The Writer as Witness: Literature as Historical Evidence*, Dunne (ed.), (Cork University Press, 1987, lgh 58-75), lch 71
- ³ Henry, R. M., 'The use and origin of apostrophe in Homer,' (*Classical Review*, 19, 1905, lgh 7-9), lch 9
- ⁴ Bonner, C., 'The use of apostrophe in Homer,' (*Classical Review*, 19, 1905, lgh 383-386), lch 383; 'Having previously made some notes on the subject of apostrophe in Homer, and having found reason to believe that metrical convenience played an important part in the use of the figure, I was surprised to see no mention of this phase of the question in Mr. R.M. Henry's article...And yet I find that the opinion that metrical necessity had something to do with the use of apostrophe is not a new one.'
- ⁵ Parry, A., 'Language and characterization in Homer,' (*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 76, 1972, lgh 1-22), lch 9
- ⁶ Parry, *ibid.*, . 14-15
- ⁷ Breatnach, P., *Téamaí Taighde Nua-Ghaeilge*, (Maigh Nuad: An Sagart, 1998), lgh 75-76
- ⁸ In eagar: Gwynn, E. J., 'Tomás Costelloe and O'Rourke's Wife' (*Ériu* 9, 1921), lgh 1-11
- ⁹ Breatnach, *Téamaí*, lch 87
- ¹⁰ Brunius-Nilsson, E., *Daimonie: An Inquiry into a Mode of Apostrophe in Old Greek Literature*, (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksills Boktryckeri AB, 1955), lch 41
- ¹¹ Breatnach, P., 'The aesthetics of Irish bardic composition: an analysis of 'Fuaras iongnadh, a fhir chumainn' by Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird', (*Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 42, Winter 2001, p. 51-72) lch 53
- ¹² Breatnach, *ibid.*, lch 59, 'The art of rhetoric...seeks to persuade the judge;...and the medieval inheritors of the classical rhetorical tradition...see the need to deal with the process of construing arguments as one of their foremost objectives.'
- ¹³ Vickers, B., *In Defence of Rhetoric*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), lch 284
- ¹⁴ Vickers, *ibid*
- ¹⁵ Vickers, *ibid*, lch 297
- ¹⁶ Giolla Brighde Ó hEoghusa, in eagar: Mhág Craith, C., *Dán na mBráthar Mionúr 1*, (Institiúid Árd-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath, 1967, 1980), lgh 28-31 agus Maolmuire Mac con-Uladh mac an Bhaird, in eagar: O' Rahilly, T. F., *Measgra Dánta II*, (Cló Ollscoile Chorcaí, 1927), lgh 150-155

- ¹⁷ Culler, J., *The Pursuit of Signs: Semiotics, Literature, Deconstruction*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), lch 138
- ¹⁸ Féach go háirithe an tráchtas ar an bpaidreoireacht sa *Catechism of The Catholic Church*, (Dublin:Veritas, 1994), lgh 544-610
- ¹⁹ Saliers, D. E, 'Religious Affections and The Grammar of Prayer,' *The Grammar of the Heart: New Essays in Moral Philosophy and Theology*, Bell, R.H. (ed.), (Harper and Row, San Francisco, 1988), lgh 189-190. Saliers, *ibid*, lch 194.
- ²⁰ Tuairmionn Simms go bhfuil fiche faoin gcéad d'fhilíocht na mbard dírithe i dtreo neimhe. Simms, 'Bardic poetry as a historical source' lch 71. Féach freisin Mac Craith, M., 'An intinn Ghaelach agus an diagacht,' (*Comhar*, Deireadh Fómhair, 1980 lgh 116-120), lch 126: 'Nuair a bhreathnaíonn duine ar phaidreacha dúchais na hÉireann agus na hAlban, ceann de na rudaí is suntasaí a bhaineann leo is ea a mhíniche is dánta agus/nó amhráin iad. Is iad na paidreacha nach dtagann leis an bpátrún seo na heisceachtaí, déanta na firinne. Ba í an fhilíocht an meán ba nádúrtha agus ab éifeachtaí don ghúí...'
- ²¹ Pickstock, C., *After Writing: On The Liturgical Consummation of Philosophy*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), lch 198. Tá sé ar cheann de conclúidí is spéisiúla a thagann as staidéar Pickstock, go dtugann an teanga apastrófach, dar léi, dúshlán suntasach don nua-aimsearhacht; ar ndóigh is tábhachtaí é sin don staidéar ar an bhfilíocht nua-aimseartha ná d'fhilíocht na mbard ach is fiú é a lua d'fhonn comparáide. Dar léi tugann an guth apastrófach liotúirgeach dúshlán do réamhthuisintí na nua-aimsearhachta i leith na suibhachta: '...the substitution for nominalization by apostrophe in liturgical forms redefines objectivity as holding a depth of absence and spontaneous initiative. In this way, objectivity is grounded in transcendent subjectivity, and liturgical truth is understood not to involve primarily the clear apprehension of a mastered object, but rather a prior seizure of the subject by an overwhelming subjectivity...The liturgical use of apostrophe insinuates, against the modern and postmodern, a non-ironic, identifiable subject.' Spreagann an méid sin ceisteanna tábhachta do chás na Gaeilge; cad a chiallaíonn sé, mar shampla, gur ionann 'urnaí maidine' agus gnáthchumarsáid teaghlaigh do Michael Davitt? Gur ionann an t-adhradh agus an grá daonna i gcás Mhic Fhearghusa? B'fhéidir gur comharthaí iad na dánta seo go bhfuil an guth apastrófach dírithe ar Dhia tréigthe ag na filí nua-aimseartha, nó b'fhéidir gur comhartha iad den teibíocht faoina labhrann de Paor, (de Paor, P., 'Gnéithe den saol eile inár gcultúr comhaimseartha: An leannán Sí agus Lara Croft,' (*An Aimsir Óg*, cuid II, 2000, lgh 1-26), lch 7) go bhfuil 'an dearcadh dealaitheach nua-aimseartha i ndiaidh castáil isteach ar an duine féin, ar an tsuibhacht' agus go bhfuil an 'duine comhaimseartha ag imirt oibiachtíú ar a phearsantacht féin.' Tugann na ceisteanna sin le fios cé chomh práinneach agus atá an taighde ar an apastróf mar choinbhinsiún liteartha, ní hamháin i bhfilíocht apastrófach na mbard ach san fhilíocht nua-aimseartha freisin.
- ²² Pickstock, *ibid*, lch 193
- ²³ Watkins, C., 'The Etymology of Irish Duán,' (*Celtica* 11, 1976) lgh 270-277
- ²⁴ O'Rahilly, T.F. (eag.), *Measgra Dánta*, (Cló Ollscoile Chorcaí, 1972), lch 167.
- ²⁵ Furniss, T. agus Bath, M., *Reading Poetry: An Introduction*, (London: Prentice Hall, 1996), lch 127
- ²⁶ Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh, in eagar: Bergin, O., *Irish Bardic Poetry*, (Institiúid Ard-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath, 1984), lch 66
- ²⁷ Paxson, J., *The Poetics of Personification*, (Cambridge University Press, 1994), lch 52; '...apostrophe is intimately linked to reification, for the phenomenological stakes of addressing speech towards that which is non-human presumes an imaginary, ontically different state of affairs in which non-human things could have 'language,' however alien...The move thus assimilates the apostrophized to the apostrophized, engendering the reification of the human speaker as well as the personification of the apostrophized thing. Put another way, apostrophe is both *prosopopeia* and reification.'
- ²⁸ Culler, *The Pursuit of Signs* lch 135
- ²⁹ Culler, *ibid*, lgh 152-153
- ³⁰ Ó Cuív, B., 'Literary creation and Irish historical tradition,' (*Proceedings of the British Academy*, iml xlix. 1963, lgh 233-262), lch 235
- ³¹ Ó Cuív, *ibid*, lgh 234-5.
- ³² Ó Faoláin, S., *King of the Beggars: A life of Daniel O' Connell*, [London: Nelson, 1938] (Dublin: Poolbeg, 1986), lch 18
- ³³ Canny, N., 'The formation of the Irish mind: religion, politics and Gaelic Irish literature 1580-1750,' (*Past and Present*, 95), lgh 91-116, lch 111

- ³⁴ Simms, 'Bardic poetry as a historical source', lch 58
- ³⁵ Féach freisin, Leerssen, J., *Mere Irish and Fíor-Ghael*, [Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Co., 1986] (Cork University Press in Association with Field Day, 1996) lch 152; 'Nevertheless I hope to show that the non-fictional, discursive quality of bardic poetry does not negate its importance as poetry...'
- ³⁶ Leerssen, J., 'Faoi thuairim na deorantachta' in *Nua Léamha: Gnéithe de Chultúr, Stair agus Polaitíocht na hÉireann c.1600-c.1900*, Ní Dhonnchadha, M., (eag.), (Baile Átha Cliath: An Clóchomhar Tta, 1996), lch 50
- ³⁷ Nic Eoin, M., 'An tÚdar, an Téacs agus an Criticeoir,' in *Téacs agus Comhthéacs: Gnéithe de Chritic na Gaeilge, Ní Annracháin, M. agus Nic Dhiarmada, B. (eag)*, (Cló Ollscoile Chorcaí, 1998, lgh 64-94), lch 68: 'Cé gur bhuail fileolaithe agus eagarthóirí múnla údarlárnach ar thraidisiún filíochta na scol, ní hé an cur chuige sin is oiriúnaí ar chor ar bith le dul i ngleic chriticiúil le corpas liteartha a fáisceadh as comhthéacs agus mothálacht réamhrómánsaíoch.'
- ³⁸ De Paor, L., 'Do chur cuarta ar gcrídhe,' *Saoi na hÉigse*, Riggs, P., Ó Conchúir, B., Ó Coileáin, S. (eag.), (Baile Átha Cliath: An Clóchomhar Tta, 2000) lgh 35-55
- ³⁹ Mar seo a chuireann Mac Craith, (Mac Craith, M., 'Treallchogaíocht in aghaidh na critice' (*Comhar*, Aibreán 1996, lgh 33-34), síos ar ghnó Titley san úrscéal: 'Athchruthú beoga bríomhar ar shaolréim an mhórfhile Muiríoch Albanach Ó Dálaigh. Urscéal stairiúil den scoth...Ach...agus tá go leor *achanna* ann...Ní hé an file féin is mo is cás leis ach iomhá an fhile faoi mar a chruthaigh na léirmheastoirí agus na scoláirí literatha é...'
- ⁴⁰ Titley, A., 'Litriocht na meánaoiseanna,' *Saoi na hÉigse*, Riggs et al (eag) lgh 261-302), lch 292
- ⁴¹ Breatnach, 'The aesthetics....', lch 52
- ⁴² Breatnach, *ibid*: 'One aspect common to all medieval poetry, which is obviously irrecoverable and accordingly gives rise to a limitation of our capacity to appreciate the genre on its own terms, is the aural/oral dimension. Zumthor points out that all through the Middle Ages the text 'seems to have been designed to function theatrically as a communication between performer (singer, writer, or reader) and public.'
- ⁴³ Culler, *The Pursuit of Signs*, lch 153

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