

How are the Irish European? An anthropological examination of belonging among the Irish in Belgium

Sean O' DUBHGHAILL

Proefschrift aangeboden tot het verkrijgen van de
graad van Doctor in de Sociale en culturele antropologie

Promotor: Prof. Dr. Noel Salazar

Nr. 275

2015

Sean O'DUBHGHAILL

How are the Irish European? An anthropological examination
of belonging among the Irish in Belgium

2015

How are the Irish European? An anthropological examination of belonging among the Irish in Belgium

Sean O' DUBHGHAILL

Proefschrift aangeboden tot het verkrijgen van de
graad van Doctor in de Sociale en culturele antropologie

2015

Samenstelling van de examencommissie:

Prof. Dr. Rudi Laermans (voorzitter)
Prof. Dr. Noel Salazar (promotor)
Prof. Dr. Karel Arnout
Dr. Steve Coleman [University of Ireland, Maynooth, IE]
Prof. Dr. Alice Elliot [University College London, UK]
Prof. Dr. Marie-Claire Foblets
Dr. Fiona Murphy [Dublin City University, IE]

De verantwoordelijkheid voor de ingenomen standpunten berust alleen bij de auteur.

Gepubliceerd door:

Onderzoekseenheid: Interculturalism, Migration and Minorities Research Centre [IMMRC],
KU Leuven, Parkstraat 45 bus 3615 -- 3000 Leuven, België.

© 2015 by the author.

Niets uit deze uitgave mag worden verveelvoudigd zonder voorafgaande schriftelijke toestemming van de auteur / No part of this book may be reproduced in any form without permission in writing from the author.

D/2015/8978/9

Table of Contents.

Table of Contents.	i
Preface:	viii
1. Introduction.	1
1.1. The Irish community: An anthropological perspective.	3
1.2. Irish community at home and abroad.	10
1.3. Irishness, Europeanness and anthropological research.	16
1.4. Approaching Irishness and Europeanness methodologically.	18
1.5. The Irish abroad encountering Belgium.	20
1.6. The non-Irish, Irish-speaking community.	23
1.7. Theorising ‘Europe’	24
1.8. Concluding remarks: The relevance and timeliness of the work.	25
2. Reviewing the literature: An anthropological overview.	27
2.1. European identity; consensus and dissensus.	31
2.1.1. European exteriority: Representations and supplementarity.	40
2.2. Mobility: The necessity of moving away from a fixist model of identity.	43
2.3. Mobilising Europe: Alterity and activity.	46
2.4. ‘Europe’ and/as metaphor.	52
2.5. Europe and Ireland: Conceptual metaphors and good Europeans.	55
2.6. The Irish Diaspora; Continuity, rupture and scattering.	59
2.7. Concluding remarks.	68
3. Methodology.	71
3.1. Methods employed.	74
3.2. Practice and predisposition: Participant observation.	82
3.3. Ethical choices and error: Guidelines and practice.	85
3.3.1 Ethical quandaries in fieldwork.	87
3.4. Etic-becoming-emic: Inside, outside and change.	90
3.5. When is the native at home?: Location and belonging.	93
3.6. Writing: Presence and absence in ethnography:	95

3.6.1. Writing in company: Writing and reception.	97
3.7. The limits of mobility: Flux, stasis and paradox.	100
3.8. Method and their application in modish ideas for anthropology:.....	102
3.8.1. Anatomy of a dispute: Becoming-Deleuzians:.....	105
3.9. Belonging and becoming; Methodologising becoming in Europeanisation:	108
3.10. Closing remarks on Anthropological Methodology:	111
4. The Irish in Brussels, neither Boston nor Berlin: European integration and solidarity.	113
4.1. Brussels, “far from this we were reared!”: Nearness and distance.....	117
4.2. Ireland moves from the shadows into Europe: Approximating sameness. ...	126
4.3. Euroscepticism, emigration and language; Ireland and Europe at the beginning of the 21 st Century.	132
4.4. Solidarity, crisis and non-Europe.	136
4.5. Why Europeanness needs Irishness: In-field investigations.	140
4.6. Irish life in Brussels: Irishness in formation and flux.....	143
4.6.1. St. Patrick’s Day.	147
4.6.2. Arthur’s day.	150
4.6.3. Seachtain na Gaeilge.	151
4.6.4. Culture Night.	153
4.6.5. European movement; Ireland and Brussels.	156
4.7. Concluding remarks.....	162
5. Leuven, roots and routes: Placing the Irish Diaspora in Europe.	165
5.1. Locating the Irish College of Leuven in time.....	169
5.2. Exile, the past and reconnection: Heritage and lines of belonging.	174
5.3. Roots and routes: An anthropological analysis of mobility.	176
5.4. “The Irish are now so used to exile that it is part of their heritage”: The Irish College in Leuven.....	181
5.5. Not open to the public: Putting my ‘self’ to good use.	184
5.6. Yu Ming is ainm dom: The Irish language and belonging.....	192
5.7. Taste and belonging: Representing Irish culture and its transmission.....	196
5.8. Irishfest(ivities): The global Irish diaspora.	197

5.9.	“We don’t want it to be too plastic after all”: Performance and anxiety.	200
5.10.	The Irish pub in Belgium: Homes-away-from-homes and ‘homing’	204
5.11.	Concluding remarks.	209
6.	Plasticity, simulacra and passing among the Irish Diaspora.	213
6.1.	“It’s fake- I mean it sounds the same, but it’s fake.” Irish language use among non-Irish people.	216
6.2.	Whereabouts in Donegal are you from? Misattribution and pride.	220
6.3.	Philosophy and simulacra.	221
6.4.	Anthropology and simulacra.	225
6.5.	No Irish, no Blacks and no Dogs: Continuity and discontinuity in migration.	229
6.6.	The limits of pretence: “You can’t pretend to speak a language!”	233
6.7.	The use of Irish at home and abroad: Do something Irish!.....	235
6.8.	Passing, pride and dejection: Simulation and language acquisition:	238
6.9.	The Irish and the ‘properly Irish’: He’s not Irish. Just listen to him!	242
6.10.	Concluding remarks.	247
7.	Europe is not a place: Recovering memory in a non-lieu de memoire	251
7.1.	Europe, or whatever that even is: Ethnographic inroads.	254
7.2.	Placing objects and objectifying place: Thought and the Universal.....	259
7.3.	Place, non-place and interplay: (Mis)attribution and (non)place.	264
7.4.	Show me the money: European currency and place.	267
7.5.	Non-places and non-non-places.	270
7.6.	Coming to dwell in what is gone: Memorialising the non-place.....	272
7.7.	Going places: When does place become connected to other places?	277
7.8.	Concluding remarks.	280
8.	The Irish abroad and European belonging; avenues for further research.	283
	Appendix 1: Figures and Illustrations.	291
	Summary:	341
	Resumé:	343
	Samenvatting:	345

Acknowledgments.

While it may be trite to maintain that any given work is the culmination of many individual participants whose testimony and assistance helped the project come to fruition, rather than just the author's exclusively, it is certainly and especially true for the practice of anthropology. It is for this reason that I would like to express my gratitude to the many people who helped the project to grow and who saw the merit of the work even at times when I remained ambivalent. Your support is worth, and has meant, more than I can express here.

First, I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Noel Salazar for his guidance, supervision and willingness to take under his wing a project which, at that time, was completely rudderless. His assistance, input and receptivity to the project are things for which I will be forever grateful. Many thanks also go to Prof. Dr. Karel Arnaut and Dr. Alice Elliot who furnished me with excellent insights and profound observations at a very critical point in the work's development. Thanks also go to Dr. Fiona Murphy whose assistance has been invaluable, not only in the final stages but for the past 6 years or so. I would also like to thank Dr. Steve Coleman who has been assisting my anthropological training since the time of writing my Master's thesis. I would also like to graciously thank Prof. Dr. Marie-Claire Foblets for her guidance and advice.

I must also offer thanks to the IMMRC's internal funding body which provided for partial funding throughout the months of September to December 2012 and which allowed breathing room for the exploration of broader themes in the work. I also wish to thank various members of staff at the Faculty of Social Sciences: Diane Schiepers, Kathleen Geens, the librarians at the FSW and especially Kristien Hermans

who always took the time, and went the extra mile, to keep track of the administrative aspects of the doctoral work.

I also wish to thank most especially my partner Sarah Tumbleton who has had to withstand the anxieties and insecurities that come part and parcel with living with a doctoral student. I am forever indebted for her eagerness to listen to large sections of the work, for her seemingly limitless patience and care and for her constant support. It has meant the world to me in a manner that words fail fully to capture.

I also would like to thank my parents, Eileen and Sean O' Dubhghaill, as well as the rest of my family, Ríta, Sorcha, Caitlin and Laura who all offered counsel, assistance and support in any way they could and as often as was needed. I was always sure that I had their help and that they were available at a moment's notice to Skype and to attentively listen to any number of issues that I was faced with. I am incredibly grateful for their support.

Although conditions of anonymity require that I not name them, I would also like to acknowledge the assistance of my informants who went to incredible lengths to assist me, in any way they could, and who often took a great deal of time out of their very busy schedules to sit with me and to offer their insights into the multi-faceted aspects of life in Belgium. How grateful I am, and how delighted I was to have their input, is something which is too difficult to overstate. Many thanks for all of your incredible company, stories and insights.

Finally, I wish to thank my colleagues and friends who were never short on erudite commentary, much-needed levity and keen insights: Jori De Coster, Hannelore Roos, Geertrui Vannoppen, Dr. Thomas Hendricks, Marjan Moris, Saliha Ozdemir, Joel Hubick, Patrick Eldridge, Cody Staton, Marc Bennett, Wim Peumans, Kristien

Dupae, the staff at the Xpeditions Malta Summer School, the Leuven Centre for Irish Studies and the Cultural Mobilities Research unit (CuMoRe) are all owed a debt of thanks. Lastly, I should like to thank Stephen Breen for his sage wisdom and support.

Preface:

In January 2010 I was invited to meet and sit with the then-head of the Interculturalism, Migration and Minorities Research Centre (IMMRC) to discuss a prospective doctoral project in anthropology. I made my way to his office with plenty of time to spare and prepared to enumerate a list of potential topics with the intention of abandoning those projects which did not fall under the remit of the subjects in which the staff of the IMMRC specialised. I made my way to his office and we exchanged pleasantries. Just before I had the opportunity to run down a list of possible topics, the topic of the Irish abroad came up organically. It seemed that the Professor had recently returned from a conference in Canada at which he had been sat next to another scholar who mentioned that he was third-generation Irish, was proud of that fact and he identified with Ireland in a very deeply felt and sincere way. Almost rhetorically, the Professor posed a question: why was it that this man, even after having integrated elsewhere, still viewed himself, with pride, as being Irish? This question gave me a moment's pause. Why, after the decennia of finding one's self elsewhere, was identifying so strongly with Ireland still so prominent that it would be brought up in conversation, seemingly apropos of nothing.

The meeting ran its course in an altogether collegiate and professional manner but the question remained with me thereafter. A great deal had been written on the Irish diaspora in the United States, particularly with respect to the great Irish famine (1845-1851) which caused the deaths of an estimated one million people and twice the amount are thought to have left Ireland in its aftermath, but much less had been written about the Irish diaspora in Europe. At that point in time, as I was preparing a project proposal, the only answer to the question of how Irish people belonged in Europe was as unanimous as it was uncontroversial; they were European only historically. Feeling this to be untrue, as something of an anthropological gut-reaction,

I spent the days which followed making my way around the greater Leuven area all the while overhearing Irish-sounding accents, discovering the graves of Irish men who had died in the Second World War and being advised to visit the Irish pub and the Irish college. A great deal of importance had been ascribed to the manner in which the Irish in Europe endeavoured to integrate, but it seemed as though that integration was somehow total and that there had been something of a tipping point beyond which history was uninterested. Was it not possible that the question of their experiences of life in Europe was something which exceeded history and, instead, was a socio-cultural phenomenon that is being lived in the present? My interest had not waned, however, and nor was I interested in examining the manner in which the Irish were European in a strictly historical way. The work which follows, then, is an attempt to understand the manner in which 'Irishness' encounters 'Europeanness' which includes, but also exceeds, historical reduction and is receptive to the manner in which the Irish in Belgium feel pride about who they are, how they understand their home, wherever that may be, their language and one another.

1. Introduction.

The central theme of the present work is to examine the question of how, and exact manner in which, the Irish might be thought of as being European. Given the centrality of this research question to this present work's design a proviso might serve useful as the orientation. What follows, by way of introducing the work's context, is an eking out of the broad state of play which derives from many sources; the primary question addressed is how the Irish abroad might be theorised and have, historically and anthropologically, been theorised when they have become "on the move"- whether forced or by their own volition.

What follows is a distilling off, from many historical, sociological, anthropological and literary sources, of the general meanings of a plethora of terms which have been deemed necessary and which are examined in situ alongside a presentation of the context to which they relate. What are we to make of European belonging? What effect does mobility have upon how a person conceives of themselves in an 'alien' context? Are there any specific meanings attached to emigration, diaspora and belonging, in the context of Ireland and beyond, whose understanding are seminal to the question of how the Irish might become intertwined with something else? Delimiting or operationalising these terms, even tentatively, provides a starting point to this end. This allows ground to be broken concerning who

the Irish are, how human movement has been theorised and what the Irish abroad might (foreseeably) become.

Having established a general repertoire for the specific experience of the Irish it will then be necessary to address what current epistemological apparel might be best applied to their situation from among the anthropological, sociological and economic sources available. While each subsequent chapter provides an outline as to its intention in the introductory section thereof, it may be worthwhile to give a broad overview which serves as an orientation to the research I have undertaken. The question of the manner in which, or whether, the Irish are European is done in two ways; the first is undertaken by situating them in two areas in Belgium and by analysing their experiences ethnographically and the second is by treating the terms Irish and 'Europe' as being more conceptually involved than they first appear and which involves placing the Irish community abroad into dialogue with the non-Irish and against the backdrop of the polysemic notion of 'Europe'.

This chapter intends to examine whether, at the outset, referring to the Irish community abroad, using the term community specifically is a prudent or accurate idea. Is the notion of a community abroad a contradiction in terms or does it have less explanatory power, given the rapid pace of globalisation and its parenthetical process of deterritorialisation? By providing an anthropological tracing of the manner in which the Irish have been analysed ethnographically it is possible to situate, as a necessary offshoot of works already completed, the mode in which my own work has been conducted.

This examination of the notion of the Irish community abroad has been informed by the literature employed to understand the context in which the work was

carried out and has informed the methods employed to account for the phenomena encountered. The chapter closes with specific areas of interest being addressed and whose conceptual gravity have required that they receive a chapter-length consideration each. The sub-question of the way in which the Irish are regarded as being 'European'- with respect to the European Union's formulation of their belonging, is examined against the contextual backdrop of the Irish in Brussels. How the Irish have always been European, in a manner quite apart from the more recent formulation offered by the European super-state, is examined with respect to the historical legacy and foundation of the Irish college in Leuven. How the Irish might be thought of as being a group unto themselves, closed off to claims by others who engage with their processes of meaning-making, is examined from the perspectives of the non-Irish who imagine themselves to have a stake in what it means to be Irish. Finally, a postulation of how European belonging might be examined in future works is put forward which was spurred on by in-field encounters with the multiple meanings the notion possesses.

1.1. The Irish community: An anthropological perspective.

To introduce the Irish community in Belgium it is necessary to explore the manner in which this community has been studied historically. Given the research question's focus, as it arose in the example outlined in the preface, I aim to achieve this by examining primarily anthropological accounts which have examined 'communities'. This is achieved by honing in on the ways in which it was possible to understand a group of individuals who related, and the way in which they were understood to relate to a community, as well as to one another, of/in Ireland in the 20th century.

The 'Yankee City' project- a community studies project undertaken by William Lloyd Warner in the 1920's in Newburyport, Massachusetts, USA- set the template for works concerning investigations of modern communities, thought to serve as a necessary point of departure from examinations of far-flung and exotic locations. Warner's students in Harvard, most notably Conrad Arensberg and Solon Kimball, were to be the first exponents, in the 20th century at least, of both this brand of investigative community analysis and of structural-functional thought. The works which are thought to be most notable in this instance are *The Irish Countryman: An Anthropological Study* (1959[1939]), authored by Arensberg alone, and *Family and community in Ireland* (1940) with Kimball.

The works attempted to act as prolegomena to further efforts of establishing a foothold for structural-functionalist ethnographic examinations, and placed a premium on analysing aspects of consonant peasant relations and the manner in which complex tensions and disjunctures lead to harmonious and agreeable social relations. In its most pronounced form, the structural functionalist account given by Arensberg is thought to capture, within itself, the composition and vicissitudes of social life:

Balance, pattern, system, structure, may perhaps seem formidable terms. They may seem too heavy and too prosaic to do justice to the countryman's way of life. Or again, they may strike you as too formal; for what I name with them is compounded of a thousand personal intimacies. Yet no other terms represent so well the fluid realities of social life. (Arensberg, 1959[1939]:71)

Here the minutiae of daily life in peasant communities is thought to be reducible to the necessity of accounting for the genesis point of systemic equilibrium. Around the same period in which Arensberg's account of the relation of the community life to its most basic representative, the individual, was released though we can already view something of a schism occurring within the structural-functional paradigm in

Malinowski's work: *The group and the Individual in Functional Analysis* (1937).

Malinowski's aim here is to recapitulate the manner in which practices unfold and are enacted over time and become embodied by institutions, rather than by communities (economics, education, social control and political formations).

What emerges in Malinowski's analysis is the institutional mediation which is brought into existence to meet a variety of individually-derived needs (basic, instrumental and symbolic and integrative needs):

[I]n these analyses the twofold approach through the study of the individual with his innate tendencies and their cultural transformation, and the study of the group as the relationship and co-ordination of individuals, with reference to space, environment and material equipment is necessary. (Malinowski, 1939:954)

The fusing together of the individual and the space in which those individuals' needs are met can be closely aligned with the dual notions of the inter-relation of the individual and the community¹.

Thomas Hylland Eriksen & Finn Sivert Nielsen's *A History of Anthropology* (2001) devotes only a short section to the shift in academic fervour for Malinowskian functionalism and Radcliffe-Brownian Structural functionalism in which they write:

By 1950, Radcliffe-Brownians had secured jobs at Cambridge, Manchester and University College London, and the Malinowskians seem to have lost the competition for academic control... Functionalist explanations should always be examined closely, to see whether they in fact specify all the links by which the 'purposes' and 'needs' of the whole are communicated to the individual actor. This will lead us to focus on process and communication rather than function and structure. (Eriksen & Nielsen 2001:72-75).

¹ Malinowski writes that his brand of functionalism differs from that of A. R. Radcliffe-Brown which he claims rejects the role played by the individual, and their biology, and aligns his efforts more with that of Robert Lowie's ethnological enquiry (1939:939, Fn:1) .

The section, entitled *Functionalism's last stand*, concerns the entry onto the scene of the sophisticated analyses of Gregory Bateson and the ushering in of whose work is thought to have brought an end to studies which tout the centrality of function and structure over intersubjective examinations of process and time. This shift can also be viewed in the anthropology of Ireland where accounts written with a structural-functional bent in mind began to undergo a change in terms of the roles played by chronological processes such as decline, change and flux. The individual actors began to emerge from behind their structural functional scaffolding.

Two works which are thought to examine these phenomena more closely, and which were conducted in the decades following the publication of Kimball and Arensberg's work, are Hugh Brody's: *Inishkillane: Change and Decline in the West of Ireland* (1973) as well as Nancy Scheper-Hughes' work: *Saints, Scholars and Schizophrenics: Mental Illness in Rural Ireland* (1979). Both works are set in the fictive communities of Inishkillane (located in County Clare, Ireland) and Ballyblan (in the Dingle peninsula, county Kerry) and are typified by themes of social disintegration, rather than by the functional components espoused in their generational forebears. Moreover, though, they retain the notion of a bounded community as the central point of reference from which broader themes of isolation, mental illness and emigration can be contextualised and examined ethnographically. Brody's intention was to revisit the self-same site that Arensberg and Kimball had written about but was intended to be less charitable to the structural-functionalism of the holistic kind in favour of a model which attempted to account for change over time. It is only in the aftermath of the publication of the aforementioned works that something of a sea-

change in the perception of the role played by community, continuity and the position from which authorship about Ireland could take place is seen to occur.

In a scathing review of *Inishkillane*, Gibbon (1973) claims that both Brody's (1973) work and Arensberg and Kimball's work (1959[1939]) fail to document the exact manner in which change over time is actually thought to occur and that they both fall prey to romantically-inclined examinations:

The fact is, therefore, that none of the 'changes' in Irish rural society which Brody identifies is novel at all. All that they are novel in relation to is rural Irish society as it was romantically depicted by Arensberg and Kimball. Arensberg and Kimball's functionalist theoretical position produced an account of the Luogh which had more in common with the vision of obscurantist nativists and revivalists than with concrete reality. On every score—the family, the 'mutual aid' system, the economic and cultural stability of the system and its politics- their account ranges from the inaccurate to the fictive. (Gibbon, 1973:491)

The concern, it seemed, was that orienting anthropological accounts towards a single community, thought to be representable in monographic terms, might come at the expense of examining external factors. Accounts which were of an overly static sort, examining change and decline as foregone conclusions, ignored the manner in which new sorts of communities were emerging in the wake of Ireland's history of emigration. Falling prey to the romanticism latent in accounts of communities in decline seems inevitable, then, and nowhere is this more visible than in a work entitled: *Gola: The life and last days of an island community* (1969), written by F. H.

A. Aalen & Hugh Brody:

[The people of Gola] are no longer willing to live in isolation, separated from the opportunities and excitements they have come to associate with urban centres. They expect more than their small community can provide. And as they leave, so such communities do become able to provide less and less... Yet it is but one of many remote communities that share a paramountly unifying feature: like so many other isolated centres of rural life, it does seem to be coming to an end. (Aalen & Brody, 1969:126)

It is on this ominous note that the work concludes.

Where the works examined in the previous section were critiqued for incorrectly explaining systems of cultural stability and the composition and function of the family, Brody's earlier work falls prey to a kind of fatalism which ties the inhabitants of an 'Island community' to that very island. It might have been viewed as a category error to establish a continuity between the community, as it emigrated, and the feelings of positivity they held onto for the place from which they came. That they left seems to mean that they have opted out of any claims to the immobility which was presupposed on their behalves by the authors.

By the 1970s it appeared the purchase that the term 'community' possessed was beginning to slacken for this very reason. Wilson and Donnan remark:

The concept of 'community' seemed to have diminished explanatory power, and the changing nature of Irish life, due to the related forces of modernization, economic development, secularism and integration with a wider Europe of the nine member states of the European Common Market (Ireland and the United Kingdom became members in 1973) made people both more mobile and more involved in new relations of class, status and culture. (Wilson & Donnan, 2006:24)

Wilson and Donnan provide a summary overview of the conceptual cache that Kimball and Arensberg's work had over the ethnographic writing of small, Irish communities which were often construed as being subject to the dual yokes of the dying peasantry on the one hand and the omnipresence of anomie and emigration on the other. What occurred in the era following the rejection, in certain areas of the academic community, of writing carried out on discrete areas of Ireland by outsiders was a recapturing from within of folk-histories and the undertaking of smaller ethnographic ventures conducted by 'natives'. Accounts such as Ó' Hógáin's examination of popular attitudes to Irish poetry (1979), Bourke's writing on Irish

women and lamentation poetry, ‘cultural loss’ and the virtuality of Irish lore (1993, 1998, 1999 respectively), Uí Ógáin’s work on Irish fairy music (1992), Breathnach’s work on Irish pipers in Co. Kerry (1985) and Ó’ Crulaoích’s examination of Irish funerary traditions (1993) illustrate a rise in the interest in the examination of tradition and custom as it was practised. What occurs in the period following the decline of the persuasiveness of structural-functional accounts is a resurgence and interest in examining Irishness in a manner unbound from community, an Irishness which is negotiated, deployed, contested and resisted in different ways in diffuse areas of the country.

What has been teased out here is the abiding nature of the term Irish community, as a legacy from structural-functional examinations of various kinds, and the parenthetical shift towards an examination of the ‘Irish’ in terms of the representational expressions which are thought to be idiosyncratically Irish in nature. While I have provided details of works conducted by Irish thinkers and folklorists seeking to reclaim an ethnological foothold we might also turn to ethnography conducted in the 21st Century which is also sensitive to this endeavour. In Olaf Zenker’s *Irish/ness is all around us: Language revivalism and the culture of Ethnic Identity in Northern Ireland* (2013) it is possible to observe the manner in which Irishness is treated as a social construct, which is unbound from place, and the mode in which it is related to the Irish language. The early sections of the work relay this difficulty in the following manner:

My open questions such as ‘What ethnic or national identity do you have?’ at times even irritated my interlocutors, not so much, as I figured out, because they felt like I was contesting their sense of identity but, to the contrary, because the answer ‘Irish’ seemed so obvious. ‘What else could I be?’ was a rhetorical question I often encountered in such conversations, indicating to me that, for many, Irish identity went without saying. If this was the case, then

what did being Irish mean to these people?... [I]f senses of Irishness were possibly but not exclusively found in representations and practices of the Irish language, where else could they be found? (Zenker, 2013:3-4.)

Zenker's formulation is interesting because it stems from an inductive frustration which arrives out of the encounter with a tacit understanding of one's identity. This is a phenomenon which is difficult to scrutinise and which must be countered with rhetoric, but also that in separating Irishness from Irish identity we can carry forward the notion of an expression of what being Irish means without having to tie it either to a geographical locale or to the ethnic marker of Irish language competence. Senses of Irishness, representations and speech acts in Irish became unbound and were practically explorable anywhere. But, would there be such a thing as an Irish community abroad? In order to address this concern it will be necessary to turn to the exact manner in which the term community has been operationalised in the past as well as by examining more contemporary critiques of the term and its applicability.

1.2. Irish community at home and abroad.

The notion of community appears, in the beginning of the 20th century, to be part of a dualistic whole which relates, for the purposes of the-then popular exposition of the inner workings of structural functionalism, the individual and community (or to the more utilitarian construct of group). Raymond Williams' account is one which attempts to disembody the term community from its utilitarian capacity, instead displaying the warmth with which the concept has been embraced and the homogeneity that the term itself presupposes:

Community can be the warmly persuasive word to describe an existing set of relationships, or the warmly persuasive word to describe an alternative set of relationships. What is most important, perhaps, is that unlike all other terms of

social organization (state, nation, society, etc.) it seems never to be used unfavourably, and never to be given any positive opposing or distinguishing term. (Williams, 1983:76)

Community, from among any of the terms used to characterise or map out various models of territorially-defined intersubjectivity, describes both a state of existing relationships but also points to the emergence of new sets of relationships.

This is a possibility which might be thought to be lacking in accounts which frame emigration in terms of the irreversible loss of community as such. What might stand in opposition to community, at the ontological level, may be something akin to the tenacious purchase over the agglomeration of cultural difference to which it lays claim. This is examined in Bauman (2000) who takes as his point of departure Williams' contention that community's primary feature, apart from its pliability, is its abiding quality:

In so far as they need to be defended to survive and they need to appeal to their own members to secure that survival by their individual choices and take for that survival individual responsibility - all communities are postulated; projects rather than realities, something that comes after, not before the individual choice. The community 'as seen in communitarian paintings' would be tangible enough to be invisible and to afford silence; but then communitarians won't paint its likenesses, let alone exhibit them. (Bauman, 2000:169)

Community's abiding quality, as well as the parenthetical difficulties involved in its invocation, is also a topic tackled in Vered Amit & Nigel Rapport's *The Trouble with Community: Anthropological Reflections on Movement, Identity and Collectivity* (2002). Community is put forward in the work as being a tentative entity which has a postulated quality but is one which is more useful as a collective designation than it is as an individually-felt entity. In Amit's closing remarks she writes that:

Over the last three decades, cultural analysts have increasingly resorted to this form of proclaimed category (i.e. Community, Ed.), fictive communality as the theoretical model for all forms of community. But some of the most crucial

forms of fellowship, of belonging, are barely marked by explicit symbolic icons... But some of the personal links that arise through these experiences carry on. Most people are able to transform some of these encounters into more dyadic personal relationships that can be exported into different contexts. (Amit & Rapport, 2002:63-64)

The enduring quality community is thought to express, even after having left one supposed community to live in another, is the express interest of the present work as well as the examination of the 'exportability' and transformative components of an expression of identity that one group is thought to possess and to undergo.

Community, thought of in exactly this manner, is merely a reflection of ethnicity which is coupled with a presupposed, imaginatively proscribed quality which unites those it is thought to encapsulate: ²

[C]ommunal, local, regional, national, and 'racial' identities can all be understood as locally and historically specific variants on a general and ancient theme of collective identification: ethnicity. Each of these variants says something about "the social organisation of culture difference"... They are, if you like, culturally imagined and socially consequential. (Jenkins, 2002:125)

The manner in which the composition of communities as having a perceived similarity is similar in kind to that articulated by William Shakespeare in *Henry V* (1599) in that the necessity for interlocutors to presuppose the possibility of similarity is the grounds for a common Irishness at all:

“.....But pardon, Gentles all:
The flat unrayed spirits, that hath dar'd
On this unworthy Scaffold, to bring forth

² A limitation in the research's design, which might be articulated here, is the amount of exposure I had to research conducted on imaginaries- which only took place following the phase in which the ethnographic research was carried out- and while I have attempted to operationalise the term with respect to Jenkins (2002), Anderson (1983) and the works of Shakespeare I intend to revisit the material in future publications with respect to the works of Salazar (2010), Cresswell (1997) and Noyes (2000) as well as the philosophy of Charles Taylor, particularly to Taylor (2004).

So great an Object. Can this Cock-Pit hold
The Vastie fields of France? Or can we cramme
Within this Wooden O, the very Caskes
That did affright the Ayre of Agincourt?" (Henry V, Lines 8-14)

The possibilities for Irishness to be expressed in its entirety will, out of necessity, be one which is imagined into existence and which is supplemental in nature and is geographically unbound.

This mode of belonging is also interpellated, in the manner prescribed in Althusser (1971), an excellent example of which is the observation of the manner through which a community, imagined to exist in one way, can change its pre-ideological ethnic construction of itself. This is achieved in Noel Ignatiev's *How the Irish became white* (1995) in which, only in the work's afterword it must be noted, the author reveals that the work does not concern race at all but, instead, focuses on ethnicity and ethnic transformation:

In Britain, the Irish constituted a subject race. Because blackness was the badge of the slave in America, people from Ireland who went there entered the free labour system, which made them part of the dominant race. As unskilled workers, they occupied the lowest place within it. Ethnicity marked the spot. (Ignatiev, 1995:186.)

Curiously placed in the postscript, this final section reveals the point of departure of the book which concerns the manner in which it was possible for the Irish (not members of discrete communities or from particular locales, but to whom the label was thought to indiscriminately apply) to belong in the United States over time. Given the previous examination of the anthropological/sociological accounts of Irish people in the 20th century confined to particular locales, and the manner in which they perceive their daily lives and the mode in which they apply meaning thereto, by the

end of the 20th century the Irish subject seems to have become unmoored as a focal point of analysis. It is exactly this unmooring, the treatment of a subjective phenomenon which is receptive to change over time, which is the epistemological underpinning of this current project which is meted out through an investigation of the new mobilities paradigm and of mobility studies in general (Augé, 2002[1995], Clifford, 1997, Cresswell, 1997, 2006, Dalakoglou, 2010, Salazar & Glick-Schiller, 2014, Salazar, 2013, Urry, 2000, 2007).

Another epistemological consideration is that of the manner in which the work, examined here, is framed and the manner in which it has been conceived. The ‘new mobilities paradigm’ has served as a conveyance through which the complexities of community, as an abiding and non-geographical construct, and the mobile interplay of Irishness with Europeaness can be examined. Given the emergence of the mobilities paradigm as an abreaction to the perceived prioritisation of static, bounded whole categories, its inclusion and critique in this work has been deemed to be a necessity:³

The emergent mobilities paradigm problematizes two sets of extant theory. First, it undermines *sedentary* theories present in many studies in geography, anthropology and sociology. Sedentaryism treats as normal stability, meaning and place, and treats as abnormal distance, change, and placelessness... Second, our critique of ‘static’ social sciences also departs from those that concentrate on postnational *deterritorialisation* processes and the end of states as containers for societies. (Sheller & Urry, 2006:208-210. Emphasis in original)

This tentative formulation of the mobilities paradigm is sufficient to enter into an examination of the anthropological precedent of this project and it is to the manner in which the acknowledgment of mobility in the development of anthropology can

³ Rather than providing a full, sustained critique of the mobilities paradigm at the outset I have included relevant sections on mobilities in the section in which I have felt their inclusion to be most apposite.

rectify the possible preference for stasis and immobility ahead of movement and mobilities. This is also the mindset that led me to re-examine the notion of community here to assess its analytical value.

Anthropology by its nature is comparative, both in that it cannot isolate itself to the study of one immutable or irretrievably remote community, but from within by dint of the fact that cultures are or have been in communication with one another prior to the point at which the anthropologist arrives upon the scene. The new mobilities paradigm, allows us to take this ontological parity or multiplicity as the point from which we depart. From the outset, then, we can agree that no group can claim a kind of privileged primacy or solitary access to a repository of cultural know-how that is not, nor has it ever been, in any way shared or common.⁴ This being borne in mind we arrive at the concern that no actor working alone can accurately speak to the vastness of a network which exceeds his or her grasp. This acknowledgment means that an examination of any large-scale social representation or discourse requires that more than one perspective be entertained in order for an accurate picture to be arrived at or constructed around a given field.

It is necessary, then, to establish the requirement of a multi-party approach to the matter at hand at the outset given that the project described here attends to the manner in which a particular de-territorialised community attempt to resituate themselves in relation to their home and to their 'host'-land. The question under scrutiny here is as follows: *How are the Irish European?* The necessity of an open

⁴ The mobilities paradigm, like the anthropological epistemology from which it draws this sensitivity, is only employed here as the most recent turn in anthropology and which was the most apposite to my work at the time of writing. For a full critique of the interrelation of anthropology and mobility, see Salazar (2013)

forum, in which this question can be put, appears immediately in the postulation of a question of this kind. Even during interviews informants have paused in order to fully plumb the depths of the nature of the question being asked of them; “what is meant by Europe?” “What’s meant by Irishness?” “Are there qualifications by which a population might be considered to be more or less European?” “Ireland is a part of Europe, doesn’t your question kind of overlook that?” This is a similar rhetorical frustration, the kind of which I have previously alluded to in Zenker (2013). It may be necessary, then, to explore the competing concept-metaphors and discourses behind which the complex, dual, intersecting or antithetical aspects of Irishness or Europeanness come to be imbued with meaning. This undertaking allows the research question to be situated among the concerns mentioned here, and those mentioned above, while also encompassing them within its scope.

1.3. Irishness, Europeanness and anthropological research.

The Irish diaspora is a term employed to refer to the Irish community abroad by the Irish government⁵ and by those who identify as Irish-American or for others who long for ‘home’ in other ways, as well as the people of Ireland themselves. The term has undergone tremendous changes over the past forty years and academics have begun to pay more attention to changes over time than to the continuity which presents itself between shifts in historical epochs. This continuity is guaranteed by a solidarity expressed through the imagination:

⁵ This is discussed with respect to “The Gathering” the most recent attempt by the Irish government to bring a population, who imagine themselves to be Irish, into existence while inviting them to return to

[Diasporas] are formed by the forcible or voluntary dispersion of peoples to a number of countries. They constitute a diaspora if they continue to evince a common concern for their 'homeland' (sometimes an imagined homeland) and come to share a common fate with their own people, wherever they happen to be. (Cohen & Kennedy, 2000:32)

However, this belief in a shared common fate is neither something given nor is it something immune to, or remote from, greater processes of change which the diaspora can undergo. Consider, for instance, Ignatiev's (1995) landmark work in which he examines the manner through which the Irish became white, or Kuhling and Keohane's (2007) work which examines the conditions which had to come into place, regarding prosperity, such that forced emigration became itself a strain of modern cosmopolitanism rather than as a casting into darkness of those who left in exile. Ireland's place among the most globalised countries in the world⁶ is also an opportunity to recast notions which have been postulated in maintaining the bucolic image of an unspoiled, green Ireland by various stakeholders in the tourism industry.

A postmodern, post-Celtic tiger capitulation of Irishness sits uneasily alongside a more generic stereotypical portrayal of the ruddy-cheeked forebear of the Irish farmer about which much is written in European ethnology (see Barrera-Gonzalez, 2005 and Kockel, Nic Craith and Frykman, 2012), written at the turn of the century, which can be found in accounts of the West of Ireland, discussed above.

Anthropology has a prized position, over more historically or sociologically inclined disciplines, in this regard though as it has the ability to orient itself to the examination

Ireland in the year 2013. "The Gathering" is examined further in Chapter 2, my intention here is only to signpost the term such that it can be analysed theoretically.

⁶ This curious sentiment has been confirmed in a variety of econometrically-informed reports provided by KOF Swiss Economic Institute (http://globalization.kof.ethz.ch/media/filer_public/2014/04/16/press_release_2014_en.pdf), Ernst and Young Globalisation Index of 2010 (<http://www.ey.com/IE/en/Newsroom/News-releases/Press-release->

of, not just how social phenomena became other social phenomena over time, but one which affords a latitude to the question of what can something become, what is becoming something else now? The question of how the Irish are European, taking Irishness as a jumping-off point, must also address whether Irishness can become Europeanness and this question is tackled in the literature review section of the work by examining the traditional, canonical understandings espoused in the anthropology of Europe and in the anthropology of Ireland.

The chapter which follows, then, attempts to provide a short outline of the history of the Anthropology of the European Union and of the Anthropology of Ireland by examining the overlapping elements which allow for the conditions under which the postulation of an Irish-European identity which possesses equally salient, subjectively immediate resources which can be put to use in situations which facilitate belonging.

1.4. Approaching Irishness and Europeanness methodologically.

Given the transhistorical processes of meaning-making that acts of mobility, large or small in scale, possess for Irish expats it will be necessary to critically examine the materials surrounding the mobilities-turn. Concept-metaphors (Moore, 2004), here thought of as contextually (re)configured, contested, condensed understandings of subjects which are themselves of a vastly broader composition, serve as the epistemological plane in relation to which informants are actively positing, narrating and orienting themselves such as in the notion of community. Acts of becoming, used

2013---Globalisation-report) and whose assessment seems to rely on metrics such as receptivity to

in the manner prescribed by Deleuze and Guattari (1986, 1988), and whose meaning is traced back to its generational forebear in Heraclitus are well-suited to the purposes of the project outlined here.

This is due, primarily, to the fact that the notion of becoming pays attention to the processes of subjectivity which are understood as being on a continuum rather than being found in the wellspring of a monadic, closed-off ethnicity; this question is one which is addressed, but in a chapter further along in the work. The specific question wrestled with, for the time being, is the question of both how and *in what ways* members of the Irish diaspora belong or come to identify themselves in new ways either by engaging in or disengaging from what, through the act of expatriation, becomes an unfettered, footloose strain of their ‘Irishness’. Becoming is also well-suited methodologically to the understanding of change over time and is, for this reason, transposed into anthropology, a process which in the past has proven to be more or less successful and which can draw a wide variety of criticism.⁷ The necessity that an inquiry be launched into the manner in which the Irish diaspora might be considered to be, or to become European through acts of mobility, affiliation or shifts in their processes of national and international identification, is outlined in the section which follows.

global trade, movements of global capital, labour and technology as well as cultural integration.

⁷ The question of the analytical relevance of becoming to anthropology is a sub-question in the research’s design. I was fortunate enough to be invited to speak to this matter directly at a conference entitled “Fielding challenges, challenging the field: The methodologies of mobility” held at the University of Oxford in a talk entitled: “Mobilising Theoretical methodologies of involvement: Becoming-European and the Irish Diaspora in Belgium” on the 27th, September 2013.

1.5. The Irish abroad encountering Belgium.

The question of whether Ireland, already being a part of 'Europe' beyond the confines of their accession to the European Economic Community (as it was known in 1973), is a question which seems to yield strangely revealing and yet highly duplicitous answers. The first response can be broadly qualified in terms of the extent to which Irish people deem themselves to have become Europeanised. Laffan (2013) has, borrowing W. B. Yeats' turn of phrase, noted that there is a certain praiseworthiness, tacitly expressed, within the notion of an 'indomitable' Irishry which resists rule of any kind, i.e. either a colonial one or one which compromises in any way its sovereignty.⁸ The second response is that Ireland is so interwoven into the history of Europe that extricating it, in order to ask whether the Irish are European at all, is to encounter a pre-paired entity only to then dis-embed it from itself in order to establish the relationship between them.

The stalwartness and resistance expressed, with respect to external forces and agents who alter Ireland's fundamental composition from within, tends to privilege the notion that Irishness travels well, is mobile but is not fundamentally reducible to this or that individual cultural specificity or component. The authenticity of a given thing is what appears to be at issue and discerning the imitator from its genuine counterpart, usually located on the island of Ireland itself, is a common pastime. It is difficult to overstate the amount of times when, in a self-styled Irish pub, an informant would pass over the offer of a Guinness, offered in the attempt to approximate a rapport, by reminding me that Guinness, unlike the person to whom I was speaking,

does *not* travel. Complaining about other household staples, unavailable in their self-same form in Belgium, is also a common trope such as in the case of UHT milk compared to unpasteurised milk, the obvious and almost offensive passing off of tea as something even remotely similar to Irish “black” tea, and so on. Emails inviting requests for items, luxury goods and more specific requests, would circulate prior to any given person’s return trip (whose duration varied) which all bespoke a kind of desperation and longing for the creature comforts of home.

And there are those for whom this experience is completely alien. The research question has also had to accommodate the fact that there are some migrants who, upon leaving Ireland, simply never look back. This is not as radical a discontinuity as might first appear and their stories are often framed in terms of their having moved from a peripheral location to a more central, continental one. Freedoms from Ireland’s insularity, religiosity and Celtic-tiger era capitalistic “*mé féin*”⁹ mind-set are all thought to be liberating enough to allow integration to occur from a newly-crafted *tabula rasa*-like position. Another problem is simply that given the mobility (and history of emigration) of the group discussed herein it seems a difficult thing to represent a phenomenon so aqueous through a medium which does not allow for it to be represented in its entirety.

An equivalent comparison would be in the attempt to transport an object which has three dimensions (x, y, z) onto a plane which only recognises two (x and y) and so something remains supplementary in the account proffered here, something which

⁸ Laffan, B. (2013) “Ireland and the EU: Forty years of membership” Available here:<http://eu2013.ie/ireland-and-the-president/abouttheeu/theeuandyou>. October 21 2013.

⁹ *Mé féin* is a Gaelic expression whose transliteration is: me myself, but which means me for myself over and above others.

somehow exceeds and eludes the efforts by the text to capture it to its fullest extent. To this end I have employed an understanding of the mobilities-turn by relating it to the understanding, outlined previously, of the notion of becoming. This has been done in the earnest attempt to relay fully the contexts of transportation in which the research was very often carried out: train carriages, cars, restaurants, cafés and pubs which were oftentimes bustling with people milling and conversing on either side.

Another consideration, namely the act of writing itself, has been addressed in the chapter devoted to exploring the methodology employed in this work, even though subquestions concerning methodology are occasionally address in other chapters too. These broadly sketched states of affairs are quite cursory in nature; re-insinuating the narratives yielded into the contextual circumstances from which they are derived allows for a bigger picture of the Leuven and Brussels contexts to be drawn, and even some to be removed. Social boundaries are quite aqueous in construction and the individuals and groups involved orbit around a specific set of historically or socially relevant sites and which are examined in chapters 4 and 5. These narratives are formulated with respect to the common tropes which emerge therefrom concerning roots, emigration, culture, Europeanisation and Hibernicisation, the impossibility of the former and to the role played by the Irish language as well as authenticity in the latter. Following the recent emergence. prominence and subsequent slinking from grace of the Ontological turn in anthropology (Descola, 2014; Fischer, 2014; Latour, 2014) it is also a necessity to excavate the predicates on which the former contention rests, namely that there is an ethnic difference between the Irish and non-Irish and that

‘Europe’ might be understood as a place at all in the anthropological sense of the term.¹⁰

1.6. The non-Irish, Irish-speaking community.

Even though the multiple aspects from which the central research question can be asked have been specifically addressed and accounted for, cursorily at least, one outlying group remains to whom the question of Irishness and Europeaness pertains, albeit to different degrees. These people are the small, but not insubstantial, group of Irish-speaking, non-natives of Ireland who live and/or work in Leuven and Brussels. One of the most unexpected features of my stay in Belgium has been the effect and degree to which Hibernization has manifested itself not in the desire to pursue more conventionally cultural, and parenthetically more accessible, fare (sports, music or attendance at Irish-themed events) but have committed themselves to learning to speak Irish to a high degree of fluency. This is made all the more interesting by the fact that not many people in Ireland even speak the language, around 77,000 people in Ireland use it daily (CSO, 2011:40) in a context outside of the classroom where it is a mandatory language.

This curious in-between group have served well to illustrate that Irishness is not simply something which is yielded through nationality but that it is in the process of being made and remade overseas. This group are also avid in their attendance at functions which have an Irish-bent and need to be considered within the scope of the study for this reason; I contend that they ought not be discriminated against for not

¹⁰ This is similar in kind to the investigation, launched in Spivak’s work (1988) concerning the possible

falling into the exact scope of the project especially where the provision of their time, care and hospitality have been concerned. Moreover, it was due in large part to their interest in Irish-related events that I first came into contact particular events, held annually, in Brussels.

One discourse in which the non-Irish Irish-speakers found themselves was the degree to which their involvement in language acquisition could allow them to be considered as Irish. Bearing the aforementioned statistic in mind, the conflation of the ability to speak a language and the inference that the speaker is part of a broader group is here a tricky issue whose intricacies are laid out and examined.

1.7. Theorising ‘Europe’.

The composition of ‘Europe’¹¹— that is the manner in which it has been imagined by the European Union— is a question which, given its centrality in the formulation of the research question, seems irresponsible to be left unanswered. During interviews, casual conversations, lectures, radio interviews and elsewhere the question has been asked of me: “how is it that *you’re* defining Europe.” Given the inductive, rather than hypothesis-driven, nature of anthropology it has been possible to defer the question back to the inquisitor which has often led to a spontaneous exposition of the curious, grand and contested character of Europe. In gathering this data I felt that it was necessary to include statements made by informants on the matter. In so doing it has also been necessary to revisit Marc Augé’s (1995) contention that we live in a

representability of the “Third World”. For an insightful critique, see Kapoor (2004).

¹¹ Europe, when placed between single quotation marks, is meant to connote the manner in which the term is meant at the official discursive level. For more on this distinction see Sassatelli (2002).

supermodern society, one in which the non-place is more typical than place, even going so far as to contend that the former has come to dominate the latter. That 'Europe' might be thought of as being a non-place is the contribution that this work makes to the prevailing discourses on European Anthropology.

1.8. Concluding remarks: The relevance and timeliness of the work.

The concept of 'Europe' is one of an ambiguous, unfinished project whose existence relies on it being understood by the European citizen. The European citizen is, in turn, a product imagined by the European Union, itself a legal/political entity, and it is the citizen who is thought to imbue the European Union with their legitimacy democratically but whose vast, expansive, complex and multi-tiered nature, for the latter at least, all but guarantees that it cannot be understood synchronically. That being said, and given that the work employs concept-metaphors in place of more conventional discourses (formed by news or social media academic textbooks), the question of how we might conceive of 'Europe' is put from the perspectives of informants who, by most of the standards mentioned in the discourses alluded to previously, should acknowledge or feel themselves to be in alignment with the project of European expansion and integration. Whether they in fact do, and the manner in which they do, conceive of Europe is examined under this broadly formulated question. What are the extant economic, cultural and ethno-national historical claims which can be mobilised to qualify the Irish as being European? This project derives its

importance from the celebration of the 40th anniversary of Ireland¹² throwing in their lot with that of the, then, European Economic community and that of a financial crisis which was, arguably, a direct consequence thereof. Whatever the macro-economic or socio-political factors may be, the work intends to provide a perspective from which these larger phenomena can be viewed, interpreted, critiqued, parodied and actually lived in the context of Belgium.

¹² Chapter 4 offers an historical examination of the manner in which the Irish were thought of as being European from the time of their accession in 1973 to the present economic crisis.

2. Reviewing the literature: An anthropological overview.

It might be prudent to begin the examination of the literature employed in this work with the publication of a book which was released pursuant to this project's investigatory phase. *Ireland and Belgium: Past Connections & Continuing Ties* (MacAodha & Murray, 2014) was a book, the launch for which I was invited to attend on the 18th of December, 2014. The book was supported and compiled by the Irish embassy and the festivities were presided over by An Taoiseach, Ireland's Prime Minister, Enda Kenny. I was stricken by a pervading feeling of dread upon receiving the invitation, given its proximity to my own topic, and was somewhat frantic upon arriving at the beautifully adorned function room of a hotel in Ixelles, Brussels.

I mingled, spoke to the organisers and cursorily leafed through the text. The necessity for a work of this kind was a recurring topic of speech at the event; how had there not been anything written on a topic so interesting before now? I felt ill at ease and busied myself taking photos and notes. Before too long the event got underway and the Prime Minister of Ireland made his way to the dais stopping for photos, glad-handing and waving. His speech was a précis of the work, its timeliness and parenthetical overdueness, and its centrality to understanding the Irish in Belgium. My feeling, as represented in one destitute fieldnote at that time was akin to having been invited to attend my own funeral.

Having read the work, though, the complementarity of its viewpoint and that of the work which follows has become clearer. The publication concerns the same distinction drawn here of, on the one hand, Ireland's relationship with the Belgian (so-conceived) milieu historically and from the time of Ireland's accession to the

European Economic Community to the present. Omitted almost entirely, though, is the aspect of social commentary and while the work is certainly scholarly it is seldom critical. For instance, the context of the Irish College in Leuven is presented by its current director (2014:49-53) and is more summary than the in-depth account I have attempted to provide herein, in chapter 5; particularly, with respect to its ownership, seeming absence of the Irish language and barriers presented concerning access to outsiders. Moreover, the historical dimension is thought to be the condition of possibility of links between Ireland and Belgium primarily (15 chapters are devoted to the topic) while present day manifestations of linkages are given less attention (6 chapters). Of the linkages examining modern ties and affiliations the common threads concern social policy, commerce and macro-economics. While the social dimension, or the analysis of discourses concerning Ireland's accession and historical ties, is often overlooked there is one selection (2014:85-102) which includes a paragraph or two on each of the organisations and social groups operating in Belgium, something which overlaps with my own work to a high degree.

This is in no way meant to serve as a criticism, but my inclusion of this work at the outset serves a dual purpose. The first purpose is to resituate claims concerning the dearth of literature on the topic, which is no longer as applicable as it was at the time of the literature review's construction. The second purpose is to explain the necessity with which I was met in-field of having to describe the social contexts in which encounters occurred. Had this book been released prior to this investigation, there would be no need (or less of a need) to give context-specific expositions concerning the field site.

The slight feeling of frustration with which I was met, upon asking the manner in which the Irish are European either through history or by dint of their belonging to the European Union, is here something which has now been cursorily addressed. What this has meant that some sections of this work are, in effect, expositions that are dealt with less critically elsewhere it has also served the end of providing much needed social commentary- or the social contribution of components of larger discourses- which is a caveat I feel should be borne in mind throughout this work. It has also informed the work's final chapter on avenues for further research.

The purpose of this chapter, then, is to examine, with respect to the incredible swathe of literature on 'European' belonging, whether the Irish who establish a 'community' therein are thought to incur the loss of their national belonging in order to become European. The focus of this chapter concerns the way in which the European citizen has been theorised, the meaning of Europeanisation to those involved in the project of European integration and the role mobility plays in anthropological postulates on belonging. The work, then, traces the contours along which the dual, complex notions of Ireland and Europe relate to one another and closes with an examination of the meaning of diaspora by examining the composition of a "global community" which retains an imagined connection to the 'homeland'. In synthesising these diffuse topics what is being striven for is a condensed, conceptual-metaphorical language in which to couch the vast notions of Irishness and Europeanness and which is refracted through the dual lenses of Hibernicisation and Europeanisation. The examination of the specificities of the Irish diaspora, as opposed to the Irish community abroad— a notion which has been unpacked in the previous

chapter— and is one which aims to single out the Irish case from among other ‘European’ ones more generally.

That ‘Europe’ is not, then, a blanket descriptor from which no single cast might be extricated is a topic which this dissertation takes as one of its points of departure. The contention, which is espoused in the *Anthropology of the European Union*¹³, generally, is that ‘Europe’ can be conceived of as an entity which does not undergo change with respect to the addition of member states, particularly the expansion of 2004 which almost doubled the size of the European Union. What is really being asked here is whether it is possible to conceive of the canonical works on the anthropology of Europe, or the anthropology of the European Union or of those examining ‘Europe’, as being relevant to an increasingly large community to which it bears less of a resemblance over time? Commentators on the EU can be roughly parted into two camps¹⁴, those that prescribe a meaningful, albeit not fully immanent importance and which incurs affectivity to the notion of a Europe-wide identity, and those that are less optimistic of that possibility.¹⁵

It is for this reason that there are so many different kinds of understandings of the entity that ‘Europe’ is, which are broadly framed in terms of theorising it as a fortress (Mandel, 1994) as a borderland (Balibar, 2009; Goddard, Shore & Llobera, 1994; Anderson, O’ Dowd & Wilson, 2003; Wilson & Donnan 2006) or as being constituted by ‘borderlands’ (Asher, 2005) as being occupied by ‘liminal Europeans’ (Nic Craith, 2009) as ‘a committee of regions’ (De Jagger, 1999) or, more recently, as

¹³ The literature concerning the *Anthropology of the European Union* is examined within this chapter.

¹⁴ Their exponents are examined in the paragraph which follows.

¹⁵ Chapter 4 concerns an examination of the economic contours along which this process is thought to occur.

a ‘gated community’ (Houtum & Pijpers, 2008). This work attempts to offer insights from an intra-European perspective by analysing ethnographic vignettes and those experiences narrated by one minority stakeholder in the postulation of a European identity¹⁶, the Irish community in continental Europe.

To begin, therefore, it is necessary to examine the literature which has postulated these models of European integration in order to ascertain their epistemological underpinnings and only then can the population, who are thought to be illustrative of this phenomena, be introduced as being among their ‘European’ counterparts.

2.1. European identity; consensus and dissensus.

As Gellner (1983) has pointed out, the desire for nationality emerges from the wish to ensure the commensurability of the political will of the people and the populous which it represents. The stakes are perhaps even grander in the example of the European Union due to its oft-critiqued ‘democratic deficit’ (Campbell, 2011; Debomy, 2011). The model for European commensurability in the supranational domain, that is the domain in which it is hoped to which the subject will arrive and wherein they no longer depend on one nation’s perspective to imbue it with meaning, relies on an alleged ‘dormant sameness’ which is encountered through acts of mobility¹⁷. Seemingly agreeing that, “The lack of Demos is the main reason for the lack of democracy and the democratic system without ‘demos’ is just ‘cratos’, power.” (Shore, 2001a: 30) the European Union began attempting to represent this

¹⁶ The notion of a ‘Europe-wide’ identity is discussed in the section which follows.

‘demos’ in terms of its broader commonality, and this was effectively managed through the postulation of a European Identity¹⁸. Macdonald (1993) contends, however, that a more systematic revision of the subject positions adopted by those residing in Europe is required prior to the development of something resembling a European public sphere, which would be the by-product of a dialogue which might take place among Europeans:

Europe was gradually invented as a knowable, countable, representable space (with the Eurostat branch of the commission, and the positivistic *Eurobarometer* created to effect this governable Europe) and one increasingly rationalised in time and space...With constant encouragement from the parliament, the notion of a people’s Europe was born in the mid-1980’s in which ‘symbols’ and ‘culture’ became increasingly important in explicit exercises of ‘consciousness-raising’ (MacDonald, 1993:54)

This effort of consciousness-raising is generally referred to as Europeanisation and entails, according to Borneman and Fowler (1997), the transgression of nationalistic limits to the threshold of supranational ones in which Europe comes to meaningfully occupy, in an augmented, provisional and supplementary manner, a role in one’s construction of identity and one’s belonging. This postulation of a total identity has been subject to the changing economic character of its organisation over time, which becomes less total and more focussed on the citizenry, upon solidarity and has almost completely faded from view. This notion has remained in terms of the working definition of ‘Europeanisation’ however.

Turning to the work of Abeles (2004) we can observe why this might be:

Deterritorialized, virtual Europe, does not change people’s identity but brings them to a completely new perspective on their own traditions. Even if there is

¹⁷ This notion is further unpacked and examined in Chapter 2.3.

¹⁸ For more on Europeanisation see: Borneman & Fowler, 1997; Mcdonald, 1996; Shore, 1996; Shore & Black, 1992a, 1992b.

no word in the political vocabulary to qualify Europe (is it postnational, supranational, poststate, multigovernmental?) it appears that Europe as an emerging form will significantly change Europeans' conceptions of politics and identity (Abeles, 2004:25)

This lack of change in people's identity, then, with the arrival on the scene of 'Europe's' attempts to have the population of each member state recognise themselves as part of a 'People's Europe' (Addonino, 1985) or with the 'Charta for European Identity' (Havel, 1995). This is something of a challenge to the researcher. This is ameliorated, somewhat, by the fact that the notion of 'Europe' is still a relatively new construct. The efforts taken to construct something resembling a European sameness (or at the very least of a difference which is contrasted to other continents whose identities seem more fixed) however, has extended only as far as the co-opting of already existing conveyances of national belonging with an eye to a parenthetical rise in identification with an ambiguous 'Europe'. Shore speaks to this point by reminding us that "Constructing Europe requires the creation of Europeans not simply as an objectified category of EU passport holders and 'citizens' but more fundamentally as a category of subjectivity" (Shore 2001:30).

However, what Shore may be understating here is that Europeanisation may well occur with only a provisional change in perspective and that there may be different manners, rather than degrees, in which people become Europeanised rather than viewing the project as intending to bring all of the peoples of Europe into a radically new relation with their national governments. It is often difficult to discern the degree to which the construction of supra-nationality presupposes the abandonment of individual nationalities and the distinction regarding the manner in which belonging changes over time remains unclear, with others maintaining the oil-

and-water irreconcilability that the two strands of hierarchy will ever coalesce (Taras, 2009).

It is for this reason that we must explore further an aspect of identity alluded to in Abeles; namely, the supplementary character of European identity. While it has been suggested that the influence that 'Europe' has upon the subject allows them to think in terms of 'Europe' there is no clear suggestion as to why this is preferable to seeing oneself solely in terms of one's nationality or ethnicity. These phenomenon are not unchanging, though, and in an increasingly globalised and hybrid world it may be necessary to examine the manner in which the notion of nationalism is becoming less applicable in situations in which deterritorialisation is occurring alongside reterritorialisation and the social field is becoming more complex, fluid and globalised:

[G]lobalization makes a universalist cosmopolitanism possible in political thought and action because it reminds us that we are all in the same boat and have to live together in spite of our mutual differences; but it also encourages fundamentalism and various forms of missionary universalism as well as parochial localism, because global integration leads to a sense of alienation threatening identities and notions of political sovereignty. (Eriksen, 2007:142)

This alienation, or sense of alienation, is thought to have arisen at the level of macrosocial economic processes but which has ramifications at the regional, parochial and local levels. This has caused new relations of disparity in and between communities, particularly in 'Europe', and a prevailing dualism between cosmopolitan receptivity to travel and alterity seems counterweighted by a resorting to, or an intensification of, national, insular rhetoric that otherwise proposes a sameness among any given ethnic locale.

We must remember, too, that the term ethnicity is one such attempt to account for an allegedly presupposed, un-differentiated subjective orientation. This has been noted by Monserrat Guibernau and John Rex (1997):

It is not simply having physical or cultural characteristics that is important but rather the subjective perception of those characteristics, both by those who share them and those who react to them...It is political community, however it is organised, which appeals to shared ethnicity and brings it into action. (Guibernau & Rex, 1997:2)

It is this effort of re-appropriation of the subject perception and orientation towards 'Europe' by the European community, whose mission it is to diminish its democratic deficit, which is examined here. Ethnicity is, then and according to Guibernau and Rex (1997), capitulated with respect to belief, to which I wish to add a supplementary component in order to put it to work in understanding European identity. Believing, with Anderson (1983), that communities which are imagined depend largely upon subjects who can, by definition, never be present or fully represented we must understand that imagination functions in a manner that can create a 'we-feeling' around remote or proximal fellow-subjects:

It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. (Anderson, 1983:6. Emphasis in Original)

The impossibility of an undifferentiated knowledge of a 'People', among whom there is no internal differentiation, is also something which it is thought can be achieved by pioneers¹⁹, according to Favell (2008) and Ban (2007, 2008)²⁰ Favell and Recchi

¹⁹ Who these pioneers are, and the role they are meant or thought to play, is discussed in 4.2.

²⁰ An informant of anthropologist Maryon McDonald's also gives a very telling, candid rendition of this phenomenon of an emulative, top-down Europeanisation: "Do you know what it reminds me of?"

(2009) also provide an extensive examination of the paths taken by these pioneers in examining the movement of the five most populous members states of the European Union's movers (Germans, French, British, Italians and Spanish) to those five most populous states of the European Union (Germany, France, Britain, Italy and Spain). Pioneers in this sense are early-adopters of the notion that European integration is a beneficial force for good, given that they are thought to bear witness to it first-hand. Therefore, it is expected that the onus is upon them to extol the virtues of European membership to others who remain unconvinced. The work of Favell and Recchi (2009) is largely quantitative in measure and so it has been deemed sufficient to mention their work only tangentially.

Through this composition and its supposed transmissibility it might be thought that European identity is flexible, complex, volitional and relational and refers to a category of identification which extends beyond an understanding of a European-Union prescribed type of belonging. Rather than a political act of claims-making the notion of European might as easily be invoked in exterior contexts and from which narrower discussion of the relative location of specific countries therein can take place. My intention here is also only to ground these epistemological claims in the review of the literature rather than, as Kuper (1994) warns, by putting anthropology to work into something akin to the service of European integration. What Kuper means is that because anthropology is diachronic and dialogical that it cannot simply presuppose either that our informants have failed to grasp the models currently espoused in the hallowed-halls of anthropology departments or that the accounts

The USSR. Just think about it: we can't say we're all motivated by money and we are not supposed to talk of nationality. And somehow we're all going to be better human beings" (Ibid, 59)

proffered by natives somehow exceed, undermine or run contrary to the ethnographic project; anthropology is a cosmopolitan endeavour:

Our object must be to confront the models current in the social sciences with the experiences and models of our subjects, while insisting that this should be a two way process. This is inevitably a cosmopolitan project, and one that cannot be bound in the service of any political programme. (Kuper, 1994:551)

The advancement of a political programme which, for example, has the heralding of the necessity of European identity at its core would also surely run the risk that it would espouse 'Europe' as being a kind of exclusionary zone, which is also warned of in Shore and Black (1994):

The writer comments that a charitable view of Euro-nationalism is that it is the embryo of a European identity that could in time make a United states of Europe workable, but warns that like nationalism it carries the risk that 'Europe' might be invoked to keep out everything from American culture to Japanese computers, Ukrainian corn and Arab immigrants. Indeed Euro-nationalism should not be allowed to slide into Euro-protectionism or Euro-racism. A dark but maybe appropriate note to end upon. (Shore & Black, 1994)

The problem latent in a postulation of this kind is that there is no way in which a concept as broad as European identity could be interpreted in one manner- operating alone and at a remove from one's own nationality- and what is more likely to occur would be the birth of Europeanisations, which might come to occupy the place currently eked out by the European Union's model thereof.

The reason for the possibility of multiple belongings to 'Europe' is also embedded within the notion that the project of 'Europe' is thought to be in competition with nations for the seemingly limited resource of identification and solidarity, rather than as something which is complementary thereto. Duchesne (2008) writes:

As a would-be political community and sovereign entity, Europe is in competition with its own nations for the identification of its citizens. If we believe Anderson to be correct about the way people imagine themselves in their nation, and considering the way the European Union is expanding (by taking precedence over national governments in an increasing range of activities and giving direct rights to people to select governing elites) we should expect European feelings of belonging to develop in direct competition with former national attachments. (Duchesne, 2008:405)

‘Europe’ as an emergent, not-yet, ever-closer Union of members states as it emerges is viewed as being post-national to the core and, therefore, at odds with pre-existing nation-states whose validity is ascribed from their time-tested mythos.

It is for this reason that belonging is examined in terms of becoming instead of as a fully hewn, *pret-a-porter*, subjective orientation which exceeds one’s national one and which is fixed in space:

At the same time, the very existence of the EU changes and moulds local cultures and identities, and something new is slowly appearing, some kind of European identity, perhaps, although so far difficult to discern with any certainty (Borgstrom, 2002:1231)

The uncertain, or immanent, quality of European identity has been stated elsewhere, by Abeles (2004), but that does not mean that no speculation of any kind can occur when attempting to characterise the European Superstate. However, the phenomenon of Europeanisation has been appropriated both from within and without and does not necessarily concern only the definition provided for in texts which seek to legitimize the project of European expansion. One could, for instance, take the project of Europeanisation as the broader backdrop against which individual cases of mobility, migration and transnational engagement take place. The opportunity provided in studying the role played by nationality within supranationality emerges from the claim established by Demoissier (2007), with which I am in accord, and which states:

The relationship between culture, identity and politics therefore offers a fruitful way to examine the effects of attempts to create a transnational or

multicultural sense of belonging to shared institutions and to foster it at a European level. The formation of a new Europe challenges many of our cultural constructions by raising questions about the nature of our societies and their cultural uniqueness (Demoissier, 1997:51)

Whether there is a tacit underlying identity or relationship between Europe as a continent and the political entity of the European Union, or 'Europe', has been hotly contested in anthropological circles and beyond. It might be useful to bear Anthony Smith's capitulation²¹ of the age old adage, that the easiest way to have people identify with one another is to give them a common enemy, in mind here.

For others though, rather than arriving at a sense of belonging by way of antagonism, the commonality stems from the detestation of warfare, evidenced on February 15, 2003 and which was a world-wide protest of the US military invasion of Iraq and which serves as the conceptual underpinning for a kind of European public sphere as argued by Jurgen Habermas and Jacques Derrida (2005):

A bellicose past once entangled all European nations in bloody conflicts. They drew a conclusion from that military and spiritual mobilization against one another: the imperative of developing new, supranational forms of cooperation after the Second World War. The successful history of the European Union may have confirmed Europeans in their belief that the domestication of state power demands a mutual limitation of sovereignty, on the global as well as the national- state level. (Habermas & Derrida, 2005:296)

These protests, therefore, point to an actually existing community which is informed by the European Union's central metanarrative that mutual exchange of the resources required for warfare creates an interdependence, and parenthetical solidarity, among all of its citizenry.

²¹ This is most succinctly expressed in Smith (2002) and well-critiqued in Guibernau (2004).

2.1.1. European exteriority: Representations and supplementarity.

At the very outset it may be possible to establish that Europe does not have its own 'culture' as such, according to Llobera (2003), due to the necessity of having to exceed the dimensions of one's own nation in order to encounter a possible

Europeanness:

The strength of nationalism is far from being undermined by the existence of a transnational elite parading its cosmopolitanism in selected circles of academics, business people and others. As to European identity, in no way can we say that, at the cultural level, there is at present an entity that we can call 'Europe'. The fact of the matter is that the everyday horizon of most Europeans is still nation and state-based, if not regionally coloured. (Llobera, 2003:172)

Instead, Llobera contends, we might think of 'Europe' as being an *idée-force* which has its own volitional momentum and does not require pioneering Eurocrats to extol its virtues. While not intent on uprooting or disembedding one's subjective identification, and following Gellner (1983), their political identification too, that is of the notion of 'Europe', is an attempt to be one which sits alongside or adjacent to one's national identity.

Identity as a supplementary phenomenon, rather than as something fixed and tied to territory and is, therefore, something more akin to identification, and which can sit uneasily in notions which derive their meaning from a regional viewpoint. James Joyce provides an interesting telescopic lens through which to explore this notion in *Portrait of the Artist as a young man* (1916) wherein the lead character (Joyce's own, thinly-veiled, literary alter ego) Stephen Dedalus attempts to write his home address in full. He writes:

Stephen Dedalus
Class of Elements

Clongowes Wood College

Sallins

County Kildare

Ireland

Europe

The World

The Universe (Joyce 2005 [1916]:10)

Here Joyce illuminates the degree to which Europe as a continent can be imagined in place of another exterior landmass (the curiously absent reference to the British Isles, of which Ireland is a part)²² as a possible locus of identity, as one which requires expatriation in order to be encountered which is what Joyce affected when he placed himself in self-imposed exile in 1904.²³

My work aims to sever the connection between identity and fixity, agreeing with Easthope (2009) that rigid and fixist models of identity-construction tend to understate the degree to which belonging and identification are processes which occur over time and do not occur alongside shifts in transnational expatriation solely (Bellier, 2002; Gatti, 2009). This is an effort which might be undertaken through an examination of belonging, rather than identity as such, as Easthope contends:

Such studies [which describe push/pull economics and are otherwise reductive Ed.] fail to explicitly recognize the broader relevance of mobility to social life and tend to neglect both the interrelations between these structural factors and individual agency. (Easthope, 2009:62)

By emphasising the role that mobility places upon the shifting sands of deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation (Appadurai, 1996) anthropologists have

²² I wish here to thank Rapheal Ingelbien and Elke D'Hoker of the Faculty of Letters, KU Leuven for bringing this to my attention.

²³ This might also be understood with respect to the fact that Joyce's continental focus became shaped and reshaped by economic necessity and the looming threat of warfare following the outbreak of the First World War. For a more elaborate discussion, see Orr (2008).

been able to confidently advance the equally important role played by fluidity and motion rather than intergenerational stasis over time. Inattention to the role mobility and fluidity play can often result in quite definitive, albeit not very critically useful, dismissals of the efforts taken by the European Union to endorse acts of mobility.

Kanth (1997) writes one such account in which individual agency as a transformative possibility is dismissed out of hand:

Ultimately, however, unlike the United States and Japan, Europe remains divided far more radically into tribes, ethnicities, and reactive-nationalisms...that history has rendered quite insuperable. As such, no amount of capitalistic unity at the top can consolidate the deep rooted fissures within society and polity. The aggressive drive for a European Union underscores only Europe's inherent, divided, fragility, cultures being far more enduring entities than economies and politics. It is culture, not economics or politics that will ultimately frustrate the high ambitions of the European Union. (Kanth, 1997:32)

Ethnicity is here reified in such a way that its legitimacy is presupposed, is static and is reluctant to the ambitions of the endorsement and role played by mobility. Regions are thought to possess culture but Europe is not.

What is required of anthropologists, then, if the recent mobilities turn is to be implemented or believed to have occurred at all, is to not only imagine the world as if it were in motion but rather to acknowledge *that* it is in motion. This being the case we might suggest that people who are mobile still retain aspects of their culture, instead of abandoning it the moment they depart from their region, a concern, which is completely overlooked structural-functional accounts of community for instance. The next section examines how this non-static and non-territorially determined anthropological conviction is put into effect, with respect specifically being paid to anthropological examinations of mobility, and which puts the case forward for the

movement away from the fixist model of identity which attempts to locate culture in space.

2.2. Mobility: The necessity of moving away from a fixist model of identity.

Mobility is a notion whose examination seems to have been incited on two fronts, by Malkki (1994) and Clifford (1997), and is one which is prurient in anthropology as it gives rise to the question of whether anthropology can be undertaken without having recourse to some strain of mobility or other at all. Salazar (2013) has recently attempted to rewrite Malinowski's excursion between the Trobriand Islands as a kind of prototypical model of anthropological engagements with mobility as a precondition for cultural knowledge. The antithesis of this notion is the conceit that when arriving to an island, any island, we do so anew and as though we are the first to arrive there. Marcus (1995) in his multi-sited theory has also indicated that 'following' is a legitimate subset of anthropological methodology, popularising a contention previously posited by Appadurai (1986), because it pays a greater amount of attention to movement, as a phenomenological experience, which is conducive to the accrual of various types of capital. Arriving at a discretely carved-out, territorially bound culture, about which a monograph can be constructed, is no longer the only manner through which anthropology can be carried out; the errors incurred by reverting to this atavistic notion are described in the section which follows.

The model of the 'noble savage' untainted by the contaminating influence of 'civilisation' - a trope established through certain misinterpretations of immobility being constitutive of a lack of change since time immemorial - is one which can cause anthropologists to be led astray where certain claims about indigeneity or

sedentariness over time and can result in epistemological errors and ideological oversights. (Cf. writings on The Tasaday Scandal and Project Camelot; Young and Juan, 1985, regarding the Mead/Freeman debate; Watson, 1999). As Metcalf (2002) contends, anthropologists have a tendency to invoke the notion of the exotic only to negate it, what we are presented with is more akin to undergoing an act of mobility in order to access a timeless, insular culture which is immune to outside, mobile forces including our own.

The reflexive, mobilities and postmodern turns in anthropology can serve to safeguard our notions of closed societies or cultures which are completely insulated from the effects of flows which alter local spaces (Appadurai, 1990). Hannerz also examines how this 'world culture', which is coming into existence by way of the flows of information, ideologies, ethnicities, capital and technologies causes the interdependence of cosmopolitan and local, rather than their becoming juxtaposed antinomies (Hannerz, 1990). This acknowledgement of the interdependence of movement and stasis, here represented as cosmopolitanism and localism, is also being projected into the past where analyses of movement can further historicise, contextualise and account for current demographic distributions (Sassen, 1999; Bakewell & De Hass, 2007, and more recently, Johnson, Sabean, Teuscher, et al., 2011²⁴). The mobilities paradigm has drawn attention in so many different manners to the undergirding notion that mobility has always played a role in the constitution and reconstitution of place. This gives rise to the question of whether or not the object proper of mobility can be known or whether mobilities is simply a conveyance

²⁴ For a further exploration of this particular work, see: O' Dubhghaill (2013).

through which to approach a given subject. What we are presented with at the level of anthropological thought is that of a world typified by complexity rather than one which runs concurrent to lines which divide civilizations apart.

Urry (2003) contends that while it is ultimately impossible to accurately relay this level of complexity certain tentative representations can be posited to close the gap between epistemology and methodology:

Indeed, it is epistemologically and ontologically unknowable, with efforts at comprehension changing the very world that is being investigated. But, because of the power of metaphor in thinking, some notions from complexity will be interrogated in order to assess their fruitfulness in representing those processes implicated in such a global ordering (Urry, 2003:16)

Elsewhere, Urry argues that notions which are not reducible to single strains of thought be examined, where monolithic ideas come to occupy the place of polysemiticity, but instead that notions which can better account for flows over global scapes be brought to bear upon the practice of anthropology. Frello contends that mobility is also bound to difference, as mobility is the acting out of the encounter with difference:

The distinguishing quality of these activities [mobilities, broadly stated, ed.]- what makes them qualify as 'movement' activities- is not the overcoming of physical distance, but rather the fact that they involve engaging with some kind of 'difference', such as academic disciplines of different (imagined) worlds. (Frello, 2008:29)

Encountering difference, and its parenthetical relation to the viewpoint adopted by the subject with respect to that difference, is central to understanding both the manner in which the Irish 'community' abroad might be thought of as having become Europeanised and the manner in which the receptivity to the differences is evoked and represented by that same group.

2.3. Mobilising Europe: Alterity and activity.

Europeanisation, put curtly, is the process by which the different contexts presented by other member states are experienced and managed and which would, ideally lead to a European demos— one which sees beyond difference to sameness, as it is stated.

Mobility is the lynchpin to the process of Europeanisation, according to Aradau et al. (2010), and is one which attempts to posit that difference, once encountered by way of mobility, is actually a manifestation of a similarity. This is recognised within the EU's motto 'Unity within Diversity' and is examined in McDonald (1993). Aradau et al. write:

...[C]itizenship rights in the Union are primarily activated through practices of free movement, rendering the mobility of citizens central to the effective institution of European Citizenship. European citizenship, it would seem, is marked by a deep-rooted tension between nationality and free movement (Aradau et al. 2010: 946)

'Europe', which involves the collapsing of the notion of Europe as a geographical space and the European Union as a political entity, can be theorised by anthropologists and is experienced by interlocutors who are said, by way of the 'contact hypothesis' (Deutsch et al., 1957), to encounter differences among Europeans first, and then similarity thereafter; this is thought to lead to a 'we-feeling' among 'fellow' Europeans. More importantly perhaps, from the point of view of citizenship rights at least, is that moving within and between Europe allows rights to be eked out at a level which supersedes national governments:

Thus, European citizenship is a direct relationship between Citizens and European Institutions, but certain aspects of this relationship are only activated when these citizens are outside of their own member states. Thus, European Citizenship in terms of voting rights is only open to those nationals settled in another member state. European Citizenship is at the same time a mediated relationship between citizen and European Institutions, through the

implementation of European Directives by national governments and because only member-states national are Union citizens (Neveu, 2000:124)

The inability to go beyond one's national, governmentally-inscribed sense of belonging also makes European identity a supplementary one necessarily as has been stated. Smith (1992) reminds us of this by remarking that such an identification would result in the kind of Euronationalism, warned of in Shore and Black (2004) previously, but less attention has been paid to the component of mobility which inscribes this enterprise with meaning. This is thought to occur by taking one member state's national identity, within the context of their exposure to European difference, and putting it against the backdrop of the process of intra-European mobility.

My purpose in pursuing an aim of this kind is not to establish a litmus test as to whether the people who undergo processes of transnational mobility become what can adequately and accurately be described of as truly, fully-fledged 'Europeans' proper, but is one which attempts to unpack Europeanisation as a process and by examining it as a force, by efforts taken to Europeanise, and not as a foregone conclusion. Cris Shore, in his now landmark *Building Europe: The Cultural politics of European integration* (2000), has erred in overstating the already existing category of 'European'. This error comes about because he neglects to state, in any of his fieldwork, what individual nationality the Eurocrats, amongst whom he worked, were identified as and whether there was perhaps more porousness between individual subjectivities which are derived from different individual member states. It is for this reason that in works which followed there was a curious blend of affirming the relative merit of mobility as a requirement for European identification and, thereafter, a subsequent exposition at the regional, parochial level of the merits of mobility in order to become a self-identifying European subject. Shore writes:

This also affirms the notion that mobility is the constitutive act of the European self-identifying citizen. "...Developing a European "civil society" became part of the Commission's core strategy. In the White Paper²⁵, it was translated as "generating a sense of belonging to Europe", in order to create a "trans-national space". From the lips of Commission President Romano Prodi came "...forging a union at grass roots level..." and "promoting a sense of shared interests, values and aspirations among citizens through activities in their home town, region or country", building "a Union of hearts and minds, of people with a shared sense of common destiny and of European Citizenship" (Shore, 2001:29)

The notion that once mobility has been engaged in then that group or diasporic element must be known thereafter in one, monadic fashion is also examined by Drakakis-Smith:

[M]obility could be more (and less) than a life-stage choice with far-reaching implications for norms and values which could endure even when travelling ceased and which could come to define the individual indefinitely. (Drakakis-Smith, 2007:470)

Rather than a 'be all or end all' mobility might be construed of as being a phenomenon which can be regimented to entirely differing degrees and extents (Salazar and Glick-Schiller, 2014). We must also be wary that both the endorsement of mobility and its regulation (or insistence upon immobility) are fraught with error. Verstraete (2010) has contended that the efforts of consciousness-raising (described above, concerning Europeanisation) and the activation of rights, occur through acts of European border-making. The European Union, by acknowledging its own populous by, parenthetically, prescribing illegality upon the Other, comes to affect the manner through which mobility is undertaken and experienced. The regulation of mobility,

²⁵ White papers are ostensibly documents which recommend a course of action to be taken and are written tentatively ahead of either European Council reception and might be followed by an action programme to put the recommendations of the White paper into effect. See http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/glossary/white_paper_en.htm.

she contends, is performed by the pooling of power by national sovereignties to the outer limits of the European Union. She writes:

This contradictory notion of unlimited mobility marked by the borders of white capitalist nation-state serves a triple function: generalizing the national subject's position as a European citizen, expanding national sovereignty to the external borders of the EU; and protecting the EU's national differences over the admission of migrants and refugees onto non-European others, people who cannot enter European space other than illegally, as criminals. (Verstraete, 2010:16)

Here the outer limits of migration are set as the outer limits of the possibility of Europeanisation; the member states national identities are protected from the non-European other by dint of their belonging to the European Union.

In order to close this summary section on the variety of roles played by mobility within the construction and postulation of European identity it may be necessary to reduce the phenomenon at hand, that is the construction of 'Europe' as a conglomeration of its member states which occupies a certain delimited space, to a concept-metaphor. This reduction is common and has been capitalised upon by the Brussels Transit Authority to situate the powerhouses of European integration (The European Commission, Parliament and Council specifically) in Brussels, Belgium. Any effort to reduce a phenomenon so complex incurs the conflation of two different ideas which lie along the dividing lines of the European Union and the composition of countries which it comprises, as observed in Figure 1 as well as by Perry Anderson:

Europe, as it has become more integrated, has also become more difficult to write about. The Union that now stretches from Limerick to Nicosia has given the continent an encompassing institutional framework of famous complexity, over-arching the nations that compose it, that sets this part of the world off from any other. This structure is so novel, and in many respects so imposing, that the term 'Europe', as currently used, now often refers simply to the EU, as if the two were interchangeable. But, of course, they are not. (Anderson, 2009:xi)

While it is Anderson's position that the equation of the two terms is an erroneous venture, it does allow us to acknowledge that 'Europe', with respect to its identity politics, is something that can be a jumping off point from which broader complexities and institutional frameworks can occur. This is, of course, provided we do not equate the two notions. Anderson's reading, I contend, pays little regard to the way in which notions of 'Europe' compete and contradict each other or are concerned either with the fashion in which it is employed or the senses in which it is meant, whether in error or otherwise.

Representations are a difficult thing about which to offer definitive statements and even if an individual collapses the notions of Europe down to that of the idea postulated by the European Union in what sense is that interchangeability invalid? Interpretive anthropology takes this notion as its point of departure and in order to situate concept-metaphors which are espoused we must understand that every appropriation of a complex term will involve a certain amount of reduction. In relating representations on behalf of informants who, themselves are absent and only partially represented, a reduction is always taking place. This is especially pronounced in Schneider's critique (1987) of Geertz (1983) wherein the author enquires about the origin point of the notions espoused in Geertz's work, particularly 'playful theatricality':

The Balinese cockfight (a social phenomenon written about by Geertz, 1973, Ed.), for example, is potentially as much a text as one of Mallarmé's poems. And because both fail of perspicuousness, understanding them therefore requires an interpretive act, a construal that renders them more accessible to us. The reading reduces the enigma, appropriating the foreign by relating it to familiar categories of our own experience and motivating its occurrence. (Schneider, 1987: 810)

Category mistakes of this kind can also be viewed in certain works of political science where the notion of European identity is equated solely with the awareness of the ‘*acquis communautaire*’ and not with any of the ones posited above from the social science domain generally.²⁶ Concept-metaphors²⁷ (Moore, 2004), then, might occupy a half-way house in which we get to ask questions concerning the use of concepts, what they represent to broader notions of what is meant and what is designated in their usage. The problem in assigning meaning to what certain discourses allow for, by delimiting what it is that they can mean, means not allowing for the alteration of subjective-orientation which is said to be necessary in the supplementation of one’s own identity with that of a ‘European’ one.

MacDonald (2004) accuses Shore and Abeles (2004), cited above, of making exactly this kind of error by not paying sufficient regard to the official European discourses proffered by Eurocrats themselves:

Shore is right to suggest that anthropologists might ask ‘What exactly is the EU and what is it for?’, but this is a question asked also by EU officials. If we want to ask this question anthropologically, we will need to ask it in a rather more fundamental way than he allows. (MacDonald, 2004: 24)

I wish to go one step further by taking European identity as a point from which broader lived contexts and processes of identity (re)formation can occur. Therefore, the notion of how concept-metaphors change and become supplemented through acts

²⁶ The ‘*Acquis Communautaire*’ is a: “French term refers to the body of legislation and guarantees between member states as a result of the Treaty obligations, regulations and laws since the Treaties of Rome establishing the European Economic Community (EEC) entered into force in 1958. (Blair, 2006:79)

²⁷ Concept metaphors are employed in the work in order to adopt a position from which criticisms of the positionality of ‘nativity’ can be dealt; the rationale here is that there can be no undifferentiated conceptual notion from which the public at large and the researcher are at a remove- in my instance it is simply a matter of degrees of familiarity.

of mobility, I contend, is the exact brand or fundamental manner through which to address the question of European identity as it is formulated here.

2.4. 'Europe' and/as metaphor.

What is avoided when acknowledging that the European Union is often metonymously associated with Brussels solely, and that geographical constructions of 'Europe' revolve around the Western main and hinterland(s), is the notion that only particular rhetorics of Europeanness are admissible as being valid. This tends to overlook the cultural, and cultured, components which the notion of concept metaphors elicits.²⁸ Moore (2004) is quite correct in this regard by clarifying that the notions employed by academics are not totally inaccessible to the layperson and never have been. It is quite a counterintuitive method, on the anthropologist's part, to maintain otherwise. The acknowledgement of the presence of mobility, in supplementing identities over time, is one which also brings us into new relations of complexity with respect to social phenomenon, historical representations and hermeneutical viewpoints. This, so-conceived, problem is mediated through the employment of 'conceptual-metaphors'. Moore (2004) writes:

Concept metaphors²⁹ like global, gender, the self and the body are a kind of conceptual shorthand, both for anthropologists and others...Concept-Metaphors are examples of catachresis, i.e. they are metaphors that have no adequate referent. Their exact meanings can never be stated in advance- although they can be defined in practices and in context- and there is a part of them that remains outside of or exceeds representation. Concept-metaphors

²⁸ Urry's contention that metaphors can come to suppress multiplicity is borne in mind here and the notion is here employed with the realisation that 'concept-metaphors' are held by many and which are not exclusively owned by the anthropologist coining them.

²⁹ Moore wavers in the spelling of concept-metaphors, as can be observed here. The author has elected to include only the latter, hyphenated spelling for grammatical ease.

are, of course, as important to science as they are for social science: think for example of the notion of the mind. At such a stage their existence is posited and not proven... (Moore, 2004:73)

What concept-metaphors allow us to examine is the contextual garb in which irreducibly complex phenomena are clothed, understood, which vary widely and which are cultural in nature. Complex constructions, which even extend as far as the analysis of mobilities itself, are postulated in the domain of the empirical but vary hugely by dint of the fact and manner in which they are encountered. Some informants, for this reason, may not identify strongly with Ireland, feeling it to be a mooring from which they departed, while others construct home as that entity which is pined after. This latitude, in terms of differences in the way in which the encounter plays itself out on the macro-social scale, and is well suited to a project which is evidence-supported, inductive and relies on the narratives of those who have experienced this phenomenon first-hand. The concern with unnecessarily circumspect argumentation also gives rise to restating the importance with which the citing of cues as evidentiary support is required. Another critique of Geertz's (1973), in this mode, is that of Rabinow:

If Geertz is still seeking to conjure and capture the demons of exoticism - theater states, shadow plays, cockfights - through his limited use of fictionalized stagings in which they can appear to us, the textualist/deconstructive move runs the risk of inventing ever more clever filing systems for others' texts and of imagining that everyone else in the world is hard at work doing the same thing. (Rabinow, 1996:38)

At every stage in this work, wary of the criticism posited in Rabinow, an attempt has been to marry, as closely as possible, the sentiments offered by participants and the broader context from which they derive. This sentiment is also echoed by Geertz (1975) himself when discerning, not only the nature of the inter-epistemological

conflict between common sense and lexical nomenclature and the accidental reporting of one as the other, when he writes:

Anthropologists often spin notional complexities they then report as cultural facts through a failure to realize that much of what their informants are saying is, however strange it may sound to educated ears, meant literally (Geertz, 1975)

Somewhere between the literality of Europe-as-Brussels and Europe-as-place³⁰ lies in the examination of the prospect of interconnection, evidentially-supported and subjectively inhabited worlds which this project has taken as its epistemological, anthropological undergirding.

It is my contention, then, that the relation of the commonsensical and the recounting of experience-proximal accounts, when given their due scrutiny, are in fact the very stuff of anthropology. The perceived necessity of the evasion of jargon has been documented many times elsewhere (Das, 1998; D'Andrade, 2000) and most recently, and very vituperatively, by Fischer in response to the influence of Deleuze on the practice of Anthropology (Biehl and Locke, 2010)³¹.

'Concept-metaphors' are not exactly a new phenomenon to social sciences either, though I contend that Moore's exposition on what they consist of is particularly well put. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) had previously equated culture, metaphor and conceptual apparatus:

The conceptual systems of cultures and religions are metaphorical in nature. Symbolic metonymies are critical links between everyday experience and the coherent metaphorical systems that characterize religions and cultures. Symbolic metonymies that are grounded in our physical experience provide an

³⁰ This exact distinction is scrutinised in Chapter 7.

³¹ A further exploration of the nature of the abreaction to the inclusion of Deleuze's work among anthropologists is provided in 3.8.1.

essential means of comprehending religious and cultural concepts. (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980:41)

Two interesting facets emerge upon the invocation of concept-metaphors; the first is that a certain democratic step is taken, in recognising that conceptual-metaphors can contain a particular individual's social disposition in relation to certain phenomena, which provides a profound insight into the matter being studied. The second benefit, which stems from the employment of concept-metaphors, is that it sustains the notion that, by being shared, there can be no final or static conception even upon one notion. Every idea is subject to a paradigmatic shift in its meaning and, therefore, to a kind of supplementation over time and in this sense is negotiated and shared.³² Accounting for difference over time is an imperative to anthropology because it is not generally considered to be a discipline whereby models are brought to bear on local contexts to determine whether the people fit the theoretical mould.

2.5. Europe and Ireland: Conceptual metaphors and good Europeans.

Concept-metaphors are not only necessary to ensure that anthropologists and their interlocutors are not talking across one another, rather than to one another, but their presence can also be indicative of whether it is thought that whatever representation being employed is deserving of the designation wrapped up in a particular concept-metaphor, no matter how hotly-contested that term is. It may be wise, then, to examine one specific incident in which the posited-and-not-yet-proven category,

³² This can be demonstrated in the removal of the notion that homosexuality belonged in the 'Diagnostic Statisticians Manual' as a pathology. After public pressure was exerted it was agreed that it would be removed from any future iterations of the DSM. This came to pass with the launch of the

which constitutes concept-metaphors, can be examined with respect to efforts undertaken regarding European integration in Ireland at the macro-perceptual level.

Borneman and Fowler write:

All prospective members are considered juvenile if not actively infantilised by their Western relatives and must undergo a probationary period of Europeanization before being ostensibly adopted by the family (Borneman and Fowler, 2007:496)

Although the quoted tract is aimed at ex-Eastern Bloc countries (indicated by the invocation of their Western relatives) this critique is evidenced fully in Ireland's voting habits in 2001 and again in 2008. Ireland, being the Western-most country of the EU, was certainly infantilised failing the passing of the Treaty of Nice in 2001. Hellstrom (2003), writing on the trouble experienced during the ratification of the Nice treaty, which concerned the development of eastward European expansion, first drew anthropological attention to the Irish predicament:

The Irish "no" was not considered to be an expression of political resentment that could impinge on further development of European integration, but rather a sign of an information deficit. According to the EU top down rhetoric, the Irish people had not yet realised what it means to be Europeans in Europe³³ (Hellstrom, 2003:123)

The contradictions thrown up by the refusal to sign the initial 'Nice treaty', in June 2001, served to bring Ireland to the European Union's attention. The Irish, simply put, were not educated sufficiently or exposed to the virtues European Identity enough to vote "correctly". The Nice treaty was successfully ratified following a second referendum in October 2002. Irish voters also voted in a manner not in keeping with

DSM IV and profoundly altered the manner in which homosexuality, as a concept-metaphor, was thought about.

³³ The notion of the manner in which the Irish might be thought of as being 'European' is examined in Chapter 4.

official discourses of European expansion when they failed to ratify the Lisbon treaty, a treaty aimed at improving the democratic efficiency and legitimacy of the Union, in 2008. It appears that the Irish were still some distance away from being 'European'. The treaty was ratified by the holding of another, second, referendum held in 2009.

The notion of 'good Europe', then, was something brought to the fore in Ireland's voting habits and which contended, tacitly, that there was a more-and-less well-educated calibre of 'European' citizen. In Nietzsche's formulation, desiring critical distance from European heritage, in whatever manner and at whatever historical epoch it is formulated, is not a cause for pessimism or ought not to result in dejection. Instead, rather than through their exposure to EU-vetted information, passed down by pioneering commissioners, Europeans might express themselves with respect to their critical orientation as they had done in their opposition to warfare:

[W]hat Nietzsche's notion of the 'good Europeans' suggests, is that, in principle the modern experience of meaninglessness could actually be the sign of an increased 'spiritual vitality'... Indeed, it would be indicative of a 'good European' who is 'good' in the sense that he no longer seeks out the 'idea of Europe' as a space for maintaining Europe's metaphysical heritage, but tries instead to problematize this heritage and seeks critical distance from it (Elbe, 2003:274-275)

The 'good European' is the individual who retains the capacity to critique and withdraw from the project of either a homeostatic view of the nation or land *or* the putting into action of a greater metaphysical project of the same order. What we can take from this is, then, that the likelihood of a confederacy of nations which would

give rise to a Euro-nationalism is less possible if people remain sceptical about positions deriving from heritage, nationalism and metaphysical stasis of any kind³⁴.

Further analyses of Ireland's broader relationship with the European Union can be found elsewhere (see Augestijn, 2004; Bartley and Kitchin, 2007; Brown, 2010; Kuhling and Keohane, 2007; Laffan and O' Mahoney, 2008). My intention here is only to demonstrate that the information, concerning the nature of European belonging at the national level, is often both more supplemental and provisional than many theorists suggest. Instead, we are left, from the literature, with a variety of scenarios which include the possibilities that European identity proper exists, is hopelessly doomed to failure for reasons concerning regional and sub-regional cultural differences or is an idea whose time has not yet arrived due to the novelty of the type of supernational entity that the European Union comprises. To what extent are these views formed, altered, constituted or reshaped by engaging in mobility which is thought to bring to life the subject position which is conventionally understood as the European Citizen? To what extent might the 'citizen' be thought of as being one thing?

It might be prudent to examine the seminar delivered in October of 2008 on the topic of theorising a changing Europe, arranged by the European Commission Directorate-General for Research and Innovation and which saw anthropologists providing a response thereto. Essentially the document examines the degree to which globalisation and deterritorialisation have paved the way, somewhat, for the

³⁴ The move from Euro-positivity to Euro-scepticism, within the Irish context is examined in Chapter 4 of this work.

reinvigoration and necessity for special attention being paid, by anthropologists, to the subject of the people of ‘Europe’:

[A]nthropology’s specificities, and in particular its methodology, can contribute greatly to the issues around the European project by shedding light on the behaviour of its main focus and *raison d’être*: The European citizen. In fact what matters the most to this discipline is to bring in the local, the particularistic, the critical reflection, the context, the elements of comparison and most of all the **people!** (EUCOM, 2009:19. Emboldened text in original.)

The necessity of re-embedding the experiences of European citizens, among whom students, intra-Europe migrants and Eurocrats are examples *par excellence*, into the broader capitulation and generality of the abstract figure of the European subject.

What follows is an examination of how the people have experienced living abroad, historically, before turning to the present which is the aim of this work. What follows, then, is the provision of a distinction between Europeans and the Irish community abroad and which aims to employ and outline what is meant by the term diaspora.

2.6. The Irish Diaspora; Continuity, rupture and scattering.

This penultimate section examines the customary notion of emigration among the Irish diaspora in Belgium. How might we proceed to analyse the shifts in identity which come about due to the process of mobility? In examining the literature on the topic I found a statement by the former President of the European Council, Herman Van Rompuy, made at the opening of “Changing States: Contemporary Irish Art & Francis Bacon’s Studio” which was an exhibit launched on the 27th February, 2013³⁵

³⁵ I was lucky enough to receive an invitation to the opening event at which the Irish Ambassador, H. E. Eamonn Mac Aodha, provided the figure of 15,000 Irish Emigrants in Belgium, which if true would make the Irish population in Belgium the second largest population out of every European Member

as part of Ireland's third presidency of the Council of the European Union, made an interesting observation:

In these contemporary reflections on 'changing states' of affairs there's an unmistakable continuity with the Irish tradition. Part of what it means to be Irish is to be a foreigner. More Irish live abroad than in their country. Being scattered all over the world in an extensive diaspora has profoundly affected and shaped their way of thinking (Van Rompuy, 2013:5)

The manner in which the thinking of, and about, belonging changes through processes of emigration, which gives rise to continuity rather than discontinuity, has hitherto been unexamined among the Irish diaspora in Belgium- with the exception of the vignette provided in the preface to this chapter. This is framed both in terms of European belonging and among the diaspora's sense of belonging, which is the topic to which I wish to turn next.

The notion of the 'Irish diaspora' is one of a recent composition, rather than referring to them as an Irish community abroad in the strictest sense and whose complexities have been examined previously, and which burst onto the scene and into the popular lexicon after a speech given by former President of Ireland Mary Robinson in 1998. Robinson highlighted the work of Eavan Boland, which had been written a decade previously, concerning the treatment of members of the diaspora by those who remained at home:

Like oil lamps we put them out the back,
of our houses, of our minds. We had lights
better than, newer than and then
a time came, this time and now
we need them. (Boland, 2012)

state, second only to the Irish population in the United Kingdom. See:
http://theit.cartodb.com/viz/12013f72-aacd-11e4-b0c4-0e9d821ea90d/public_map

Robinson attempted to redirect attention to the swathe of Irish people abroad who had been consigned to elsewhere from the national consciousness and is thought to have been the driving force behind more attention being paid to the Irish diaspora.

This became enshrined in law only that same year because article two of the Irish Constitution had to be rewritten in light of the “Good Friday agreement”; the original iteration reads simply: “The national territory consists of the whole island of Ireland, its islands and the territorial seas”. The primacy of the territory in the composition of the citizen is concisely stated and is such that the diaspora can no longer identify closely with a citizenry, the limits of belonging of which do not extend overseas. This was changed in 1998 to acknowledge the special relationship that Ireland has with its overseas diaspora and currently reads:

It is the entitlement and birthright of every person born in the island of Ireland, which includes its islands and seas, to be part of the Irish Nation. That is also the entitlement of all persons otherwise qualified in accordance with law to be citizens of Ireland. Furthermore, the Irish nation cherishes its special affinity with people of Irish ancestry living abroad who share its cultural identity and heritage.” (Articles 2 and 3 of the Irish Constitution, 2002)

The concept of diaspora, as it applies to the manner in which the Irish government has instrumentalised the diaspora and how their special affinity, which might be framed as a ‘we-consciousness’, stems from inter-ethnic acknowledgment. However, in the gradated acknowledgment of citizens versus denizens we might observe that there remains a central identity which exogenously cherishes those who are, and remain, outside of Ireland.³⁶

³⁶ This has led to an imaginary line being drawn and maintained in various discourses between ‘real’ and ‘fake’ or ‘plastic’ Irish people. This is further examined within the scope of the work presented in chapter 6.

Differentiation between the homeland-dwelling, immobile citizens of Ireland and the diasporic, migrant population is a matter for concern here for anthropologists. To address the manner in which the Irish community abroad encounter their fellow Europeans in situ and to ground this question, such that it can be assessed and examined, the population, among whom this question was put to, were members of the Irish community in Belgium. This section aims to provide a rough outline of their composition and relative location in Belgium. There is not much written on the topic of Irish migrants to Belgium in the 21st century and the reason for that may be quite simple to explain, Belgium's propinquity to Ireland; in other words, their closeness to one another (and their parenthetically assumed similarity to one another) has failed to capture the interest of many scholars³⁷. Cronin (2008) writes:

The permanent move to Canada but not the sojourn to Sicily, the emigrants' letters home from Australia, but not the visit to Berlin, become objects of critical inquiry. Irrevocability risks becoming a talisman of authenticity (real travel [exile] v. superficial travel [tourism]) and concentration on the Irish in New Communities may narrow the world to encounters with varieties of Anglophone Irishness and neglect individual Irish experiences of a multi-lingual and multicultural planet. (Cronin, 2008)

Examining this particular community in Europe, therefore, is intended to occupy both the lacunae which stems from the tendency to examine the Irish community abroad in Anglophone countries solely, as identified by Cronin, and to re-'people' discourses conventionally occupied by political scientists. Returning to the figures though, figure 2 specifically³⁸, it can be observed that emigration is on the rise, meaning that it can

³⁷ Another possibility is the idea that Ireland is somehow close to continental Europe is one which is only thinkable recently; this notion is examined at length in Chapter 4 and in the context of Ireland's accession to Europe in 1973.

³⁸ Figure 2 has been replicated from CSO (2011) which is available here: <http://www.cso.ie/en/media/csoie/releasespublications/documents/population/2011/Population,and,Migration,Estimates,April,2011.pdf>

be inferred that the Irish are a particularly migration-inclined community. The number of emigrants from Ireland for the 12 months spanning April, 2012 to April, 2013 was 89,000 of which 50,900 were estimated to have been born in Ireland and which includes children of non-Irish migrants.³⁹ The determination of whether or not these children were citizens of Ireland is made more complicated in the wake of the 27th amendment to the Irish constitution, in 2004, and which limited access to citizenship by birthright⁴⁰. Of the 50,900, though, it is estimated that slightly fewer than one in ten went to an EU 15 country (denoting countries who were a member of the European community prior to the expansion which took place in 2004⁴¹).

According to the latest Statbel estimates (as of 1/1/2012) the entire Irish expatriate community comprises 3,336 individuals, the majority of which occupy the 18-64 years old age bracket. Other estimates go as high as 10,000 for the turn of the century (Harvey, 1999). A higher figure still is often circulated among the Eurocrats working in the Irish Permanent representation to the European Union and the figure 15,000 is believed to be an accurate estimate which extrapolates upon Harvey's figure.⁴²

Bronwen et al's study (2002) *A study of the existing sources of information and analysis about Irish emigrants and Irish communities abroad* is illuminating for a different reason, which is that of the 20 page list of citations and references only 4 of

³⁹ CSO 2013. Available here:

http://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/er/pme/populationandmigrationestimatesapril2013/#.UnbPS_1dpnE.

⁴⁰ For a critical overview and commentary upon the effect this amendment had, see Brandi (2007).

⁴¹ For clarity's sake, they include: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, and Portugal.

⁴² This was the explanation I was given when looking for figures in an earlier stage of research and I was invited to submit a more accurate number of Irish Emigrants if I ever came across it.

which concern the Irish diaspora in, what is termed, the “Rest of EU”. The migrant profile in the aforementioned study is drawn in the following manner:

Although there have been close connections between Ireland and European countries other than Britain for centuries, migration for employment on a significant scale is a very recent phenomenon. It belongs clearly to the latest economic phase of emigration, that of global mobility, and is in striking contrast to the social model of movement ‘from the known to the known’ (Bronwen et al., 2002.)

The conclusion that can be drawn, therefore, is that while mobility and emigration are not new phenomenon, and that there has been an increase in the former and decrease in the latter over time, the scale and pace at which they are occurring is unprecedented. It would be difficult to conclude whether Europeanisation or globalisation (in the senses espoused in Harvey, 1989; Giddens, 1990; and examined anthropologically in Inda & Rosaldo, 2008⁴³) can be ascribed as being the sole cause for this increasing trend, although given the notion that Irish emigration occurs along transnational paths that move from the “known to the known”, we might logically conclude that it is simply the acceleration of older formations of emigration that is taking place:

Emigration of some members of the family has almost become part of the established custom of the people in certain areas – a part of the generally accepted pattern of life. For very many emigrants there was a traditional path ‘from the known to the known’, that is to say from areas where they lived to places where their friends and relations awaited them (Commission on Emigration, 1955:137)

These movements, in by-gone eras, trace a line of continuity from the known to the known and the Irish abroad now appear to be making new traces from the known into

⁴³ To be specific, that: “the term describes a condition in which the rapid flow of capital, people, goods, images and ideologies across national boundaries continuously draws more of the world into webs of

the unknown. The interpersonal character of arriving to a known, pre-established network is not always the case, and nor is it required, and other social networks which can be viewed as postulating a sense of belonging can also become co-opted or joined to fulfil this function.

Turning to the Irish diaspora globally the figures present something of a different story and which were recently released as part of “The Gathering”⁴⁴ which posits the presence of an Irish, global diasporic community who are invited to return to Ireland to get in touch with their ‘roots’? What is being capitalised upon is that the diaspora, whose cherishment is enshrined in the constitution, can return to Ireland and whose presence is thought to be very beneficial in the context of economic crisis. The map outlining the spread and composition of the communities overseas has been reproduced as figure 3.

What can be observed immediately is a matter alluded to previously, specifically of the Anglophone preference in migration over multilingual migration. The figure postulated here for those individuals in Belgium who identify themselves as Irish, or possibly as having a special affinity with the people of Ireland, is estimated to be 400,000. This figure, as we have observed, far exceeds any currently on record but that does not make it a false one. The Irish diaspora cannot be thought of in terms of strictly delineated patterns of continuity and which would be extremely difficult if not impossible to do given their internal differences (see, Doyle, 1999). Instead, we

interconnectedness, thereby compressing our sense of time and space and making the world seem smaller and distances shorter” (Xavier & Rosaldo, 2008:6)

⁴⁴ “The Gathering” is a consolidated effort taken by many state bodies, Governmental departments and local development authorities, in co-operation with the two largest Tourism stakeholders “Fáilte Ireland” and “Tourism Ireland” to invite people to host and attend events organised and run in Ireland in the year 2013.

might extrapolate that the diaspora, in having an effect on the region in which they reside, change the subjective orientations of those they encounter as well as undergoing change themselves. Instead of capitulating this alteration in the composition of the diaspora as something which is to its detriment, i.e. that it is losing something integral to itself, we are reminded in Hall (1990) that this is a necessary component of those elements of exposure to other cultures which lead to identities being reconstructed anew:

The diaspora experience as I intend it here is defined, not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of 'identity' which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by hybridity. Diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference. (Hall, 1990: 235, emphasis in original)

This being borne in mind, one of the primary sites in which this fieldwork takes place is within the "Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe" which attempts to closely ally the Irish-Belgian contingent of the European Diaspora with European identity more generally in order to bring a more European-focussed, and oriented, disposition into existence (Meyvis, 2000). This effort of conjoining the Irish with 'Europe', and against Hall's contention, is often thought to be something of a diminution or dilution of the Irish and which is thought to have a similar effect to migration:

This very same concern is commonly represented either to tourists or others that require a supplementation of knowledge by persons wishing to commodify goods which are in danger of being in short supply. This, thereby, increases the demand for a product which is in ever decreasing amounts- subject, as it is to an internal, always-already process of ongoing dilution which is seldom, if ever, put across as diversification. A clear example of this is observable in a series of photographic works entitled *Vanishing Ireland*:

I believe the images herein are a romantic view of an Ireland rapidly vanishing into the 21st century. American-style subdivisions have started to dot the landscape, new cars abound, and the winding, narrow country lanes are being replaced by Motorways. Almost nothing is sacred any longer. Even some of the most historically and culturally significant sites, such as The Hill of Tara, are being threatened by the new super highways... On one of my last trips to Ireland, I was astounded by the transformation and prosperity of the country. I remarked to a shopkeeper how different things seemed compared to just three years before. She agreed that things were indeed better, but was quick to note that she felt they were losing something special. They were becoming more European. They were losing their 'Irishness' (Niemann, 2013)

Rather than concerning myself with authenticating one postulation of legitimacy over another, whether Europeanness is thought to be damaging to Irishness or vice-versa, it is my intention solely to investigate the interplay between identities which can be examined through acts of mobility.

Curiously, Abeles, Bellier & McDonald (1993) have drawn a similar parallel and following their work in the European Commission they drew attention to the fact that a given member state's identity can be better understood, due to it losing its uniqueness and becoming an entity which is comparative, by employing the prism of European Identity in a manner similar to that circumscribed by Joyce (1916):

This point is further exemplified in the case of Irish identity. Irish identity was constructed, from the nineteenth century onwards, in conceptual opposition to England and Britain. Where Britain was rational, Ireland was emotional. Where Britain came to represent imperial, industrial rationality, Ireland became a primitive, backward and, by the same token, mystical, rural and festive authenticity. This imagery has, through tourism, become an important part of Ireland's economy. (Abeles, Bellier & McDonald, 1993:48)

Ireland, having been the product of English alterity exclusively, overlooks the European dimension and consigns Ireland once more to a postcolonial position from which it cannot hope to lay claims to a certain degree of 'Europeanness'. This was inscribed in various discourses surrounding Ireland's accession to the European Union and which drew upon by-gone notions of backwardness, economic dependency and

which became transformed over time to occupying a more enviable position on the world stage. It is for this reason that we must consider Ireland as being something which is not an entity which, had it not manifested itself, would have been imagined into existence by the English⁴⁵.

2.7. Concluding remarks.

To close then, I wish to turn to the necessity of examining the dual relationships of Irish Identity (postulated as a process of Hibernicization) and European migration (conceived of as Europeanisation). The question of Hibernicization, as a process, has been put forward by Wilson and McCall in whose work it is characterised as a ‘blank slate’. Hibernicization, which has its etymological roots as the word Ireland from Latin designation, Hibernia and which is derived from Greek *Iouerniā* (written Ἰουερνία)⁴⁶, is here theorised as a mobile brand of Irishness whose workings can be examined in the context of Belgium. How might we conceive of the ways in which these migrants shape the host society into which they arrive? I contend that this takes place through the workings of Hibernicization which can help account for the discrepancy between figures concerning Irish Emigrants in Belgium and those people residing in Belgium who claim to be Irish.

Giving Hibernicisation equal billing to Europeanisation, or alternatively to globalisation, allows for the possibility of addressing one major oversight of the current crop of anthropological literature, namely that of the lack of critical attention

⁴⁵ It is for this reason that Kilberd mentions that: “If Ireland had never existed, the English would have invented it” (Kilberd, 1995:9)

⁴⁶ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hibernia>

paid to re-territorialized members of the diaspora in Belgium. Thomas Wilson and Cathal McCall (2010) speak to this very point:

Questions such as ‘How Europeanised?’ and ‘Why Europeanised?’ remain unexplored. Crucially, does the European layer of identity in Ireland have a purely instrumental basis – economic prosperity and the economic rights of associated with EU citizenship – that will come under pressure in the post-2008 period of recession, or is there a genuine affective dimension to a European layer of identity in Ireland? (Wilson and McCall, 2010:24)

While the two authors address their formulation of the argument concerning the manner in which Irish identity is informed by European identity my intention is to invert this examination of the affective and conceptual metaphorical domains of identity by asking: “How are the Irish diaspora, residing in Belgium, European?” I believe this question has been couched in the many epistemological, demographical and anthropological examinations of the existing literature and what is required now is a more in depth examination of the exact manner and method through which an effort of this kind will be undertaken.

3. Methodology.

There is a particular vignette, from my own childhood, which might serve as the connective tissue between an examination of the literature on the Irish community, and how both of those terms might be understood anthropologically, and how the methodology most apposite to their examination might be framed. I believe that this can be concisely conveyed by reflecting back on formative experiences from my childhood which took place in the company of my Irish-American cousins. Believing with Robin Boylorn and Mark Orbe (2014) that auto-ethnography can be used to convey information derived from sense experience and Peter Collins and Anselma Gallinat (2010) who claim that the self is the primary conveyance of formative pre-theoretical notions, recounting these events might serve to heighten the experience of ethnographic engagement, rather than detracting from them.

In March of 1993 my Irish-American mother drove two Irish-American cousins and myself down to a remote castle in County Cork, in the province of Munster in Ireland. At the very top of Blarney castle, which is surrounded by lush groves of beautifully-arranged thickets and meadows, is a kind of enclosure which is surrounded by fortress walls but which is also exposed to the elements. The main attraction lies off to one side, and atop a small pile of scaffolding. The Blarney stone which, when kissed, is thought to imbue those undergoing the ritual with the gift of 'eloquence', is the reason we have arrived. First, it might be important to stress that while the gift which is thought to be obtained through this odd ritual is not exactly eloquence as such but is, in actuality, commonly referred to as the gift of the gab, a metonymical construction which brings together those undergoing the ritual and those

living in Ireland. It is, without reading between the lines, thought to involve the initiate's induction into receiving the gift of being seamlessly akin to the Irish in manners of speech.

This highly prized ethnic marker was why we were here and my cousins ran quickly past our tour guide in order to ensure that they had a good place in line. I was more fearful and hesitant. What was required, as can be seen partially in figure 4., is that the neophyte lie on their back, grab a hold of two iron bars which are necessary to secure oneself and to kiss a part of the rock which is smoother than elsewhere on the castle's inner wall. An attendant assists in this, laying his/her hands on the torso of anyone supplicating themselves to the rite. What cannot be observed in fig 4, though, is that there is a sheer drop, protected only by a fine grill, over which the head of the prospective initiate would lie. I am quite sure, thinking back upon it, that my imagination has pronounced the fineness of the grill and if I were to see it now I believe that it would be more than adequate, but there was no convincing me of that at that time. My fear of heights had gotten the better of me and I stood ramrod still as my cousins beckoned me to join them in the queue. I saw participant after participant undergo the procedure, I remember the majority of them being (Irish-)Americans who had Irish roots, but no matter how expertly it was conducted, time after time, I could not be convinced to partake.

I remember feeling quite embarrassed at this. My cousins returned and were now affecting Irish accents. My mother spoke to me shortly thereafter, upon seeing my dejection. "You know that you don't have to kiss the Blarney stone though, right?" I was intrigued. "Why not?" "Well, you were born here, your father is Irish and you

Irish. There's no need for you to do this like there is for them. You already are Irish." I remember feeling incredibly relieved.

What is at stake in this vignette is still as relevant to my research today as it was when it occurred over two decades ago. In unpacking what happened, or at least how I remember what had happened, what was at stake was the concretising of a claim to belonging by way of something metonymically, irreducibly associated with one's identity; my cousins had travelled from overseas and in so doing had been given the opportunity to (re)connect with their roots. To me, we had driven for about three hours to a new locale. What was more was that I didn't have to get in touch with a connection which was imaginary in nature; my connection seems to have been secured by a kind of factual bind and just by dint of what might be viewed as contingent things, I was thought to be exempt from having to commemorate my identity.

It is to this task directly that the chapter which follows is oriented; emerging schools of thought in the social sciences, including the mobilities paradigm (examined below), and a new emphasis being placed on the role played by emigration and distance provide opportunities and new directions for researchers. Moreover, as in the vignette above, is there something specific about becoming (an idea which is scrutinised in the chapter which follows) something else that is not required by the Irish in Belgium? Is the Europeanness of Irish people not transformative? It is to this question that the chapter which follows is directly addressed.

3.1. Methods employed.

It is worrisome that anthropological method and anthropological methodology have come to be increasingly viewed as synonymous entities. In this chapter I examine the methods employed in the present work through the capitulation and examination of a broad variety of methods. The methods employed are also thought of as reflecting broader anthropological themes themselves, usually at the level of the marriage of a method to an episteme. These include, but are not limited to, textual and symbolic analyses of social phenomena and the tried and tested formulae of our anthropological traditions, which all bear the markings of pre-theoretical suppositions. Therefore, treating the manner in which they came to have a bearing upon the conducting of anthropological research has been deemed a necessity. I have always been uneasy with the notion that simply by dint of the fact that a given method has been applied in a particular context means that it will be immediately applicable elsewhere and this concern is the one that becomes lost in conflating method with methodology. Certain particular instances, therefore, in which problems have arisen in the putting into practice of the methods outlined in this chapter are also explored to ensure that a reflexive position, with respect to the information proffered by informants, is adopted. Concerns over the positionality of the individual researcher within the field, their nativity, the manner in which the writing of fieldnotes (Sanjek, 1990) is perceived and ethical concerns (relating to the treatment of the information yielded regarding informed consent and to current ethical standards upheld by professional bodies) are also treated.

To begin, then, the research is embedded in a qualitative framework and uses participant observation (Hart 2004, DeWalt and Dewalt, 2001), as it is the most

appropriate method available to facilitate the understanding of the tacit aspects of subjectivity and belonging, as well as analysis of the discourses surrounding the Irish community and the provision of socio-economic and historical contexts. The supplementary aspect of belonging and its imagined-ness, understood through the lens of 'becoming', can be traced episodically and upon repeat visits and this aspect has been included in the methodology (as advised in Flick, 1997). How, and in what ways, 'European' identity has an effect or bearing upon the lives of the Irish diaspora in Belgium can only be examined in a manner which is sensitive to the lived, empirical reality of its constitutive members. This is no less true in examinations of the question of the inter-relationship of the non-Irish and the conceptual treatment of 'Europe'.

This research involves the narrative method, which consists of one to three interviews being undertaken of between 1-3 hours among a total of 45 participants, which are transcribed verbatim, coded and arranged thematically (Bruner, 1987). The themes are arranged in terms of their salience, meta-communicative relation of cultural knowledge and the degree to which informants undergo felt shifts in their processes of identification, which are then traced (Flick, 1998; Erikson, 2007). The treatment of culture as overarching, as something not solely discursive but not entirely monopolised by those that claim authority on the matter, has been borrowed from Nigel Rapport:

It is not 'a culture' which possesses a total repertoire of things known, but rather individuals who create and possess an ongoing multitude of diverse discrepant knowledges in their animation and use of thoroughly malleable matter of cultural symbols and discourses (Rapport, 1999:94)

Other methods, beyond participant-observation, have also been employed in order to fully explore the manner in which Irishness and Europeanness can be examined; one

of the reasons for this being the case concerns the conceptual vastness of the terms employed. Occasionally, either in the company of interlocutors or whether undertaking desk research, I would be exposed to video clips, have old photographs brought to my attention or simply by dint of being present at museum exhibits I would discover something whose relevance allowed it to speak directly to this project's ambitions. The story of the project's genesis, provided at the outset, is integral to understanding the "drawing board" into which the exploration of dimensions of European belonging and Irish belonging were first sketched. Understanding the trials of a recently arrived Chinese migrant, who is fluent in Irish, to the largely Anglophone Irish capital of Dublin has innumerable parallels with the experiences of young Flemish students who have the desire to familiarise themselves with the Irish language. Popular advertisements which creatively imagine the manner in which the Irish-language is employed to get out of potentially dangerous situations in Brazil have also been included.

In including descriptions of a wide variety of media, and by placing them alongside ethnographic vignettes, what is striven for is an account which does not steer away from representations of 'popular culture'. Instead, these representations are employed to buttress and convey the prevalence of those things to which my informants speak. Specifically, allusions are made to art exhibits on the topic of the 'Irish and Europe', Irish-language films, facts and figures on the composition of the Irish 'diaspora' from a variety of stakeholders as well as photos taken by the author⁴⁷.

⁴⁷ All photos for this project, which are my own, were taken on a Nikon D40 with an 18-55mm lens.

Fieldwork was undertaken from the period of January, 2011 to May, 2013 with the exception of a few ethnographical skirmishes undertaken thereafter. In total 45 people committed their time and assistance to the project by sharing their stories and experiences of life in Belgium with me and agreed to be interviewed; their composition was broad and was quite evenly spread between the Brussels and Leuven contexts and by Gender. Apart from the 45 individuals, however, there were almost countless temporary encounters with travelling artists or filmmakers, partygoers, tourists, students, people working in the EU, Irish-language enthusiasts, Hibernophiles and people who would occasionally butt into conversations to share their views. Synthesising the views of this broad spectrum of people, who ranged from spending hours and hours in conversation and in interviews to people who offered insights in passing or at social functions, has been something of a high-wire act. In total I have logged a little over 100 interview hours and filled, cover to cover, 9 A5-sized notebooks with field observations, topics of interest derived from interviews, addresses and contact numbers, personal reflections and postulations on the possible directions I had anticipated the final work taking.

One of the chief difficulties encountered has been in ensuring the equity of pages devoted to informants over explorations of the larger conceptual framework in which the project was carried out. One of the chief reasons for this being that the topic is thought to possess something of a foregone conclusion; either the Irish are European historically (citing the Irish College and the involvement of the Irish in warfare on the continent as evidence of this) or that they were European on the very day they acceded to the European common market in 1973. Both views have had to be reassessed given the glaring discontinuity in the historical evolution of the Irish

college and the unfavourable role that Ireland first adopted among the European community; an additional problem lay in the absence of anthropological data on the Irish in Europe and a certain amount of transposition of works which emerge from a political science, sociology or macroeconomics background has also been deemed to be necessary.

The semi-structured interviews themselves were first recorded on a Sanyo-brand digital voice recorder whose model number was ICR-B20 and was, thereafter, recorded on an Olympus Digital Voice recorder whose model number was VN-8700PC. The reason for changing the use of Dictaphone was one of recording quality and precision. Informed consent was given verbally at the beginning of every interview, as well as for the photos taken or illustrations employed herein, and the interviewee was asked to give the date on which the interview took place. For any word whose transcription I envisioned incurring difficulty, I placed a small A5 notepad and pen close by so that I could ask for the word to be reproduced at a moment's notice; this turned out to be a necessity in the instance of speaking to Irish-speakers whose linguistic mastery far surpassed mine.

Believing with Boas that “the method of starting with a hypothesis is infinitely inferior to the one in which by truly inductive processes the actual history of definite phenomena is derived” (Boas, 1896:905). I have proceeded by attempting to inductively attend to the meaningful concept-metaphors which prevail in these individual's daily lives acknowledging that they require contextualisation within the broader narrative dynamics of the diaspora at large. This has been undertaken through the assessment of narratives given, fieldnotes taken and participation in and among groups who self-select to speak about their experiences. This might be read as relying

heavily on a broad variety of representations, given in language and observed in social action, but these are viewed as being indicative of the culture of the Irish community in Belgium. However, plausibility within narratives remains a discriminatory factor in narratives:

Of course, that requires us first to accept that the structure of language is not the only locus of truth, that epistemology is possible, and that some accounts are more plausible than others on the basis of the available, closely scrutinized, evidence. (Wilson, 2004:17)

Wilson's contention is a sober reminder that while we must extend a latitude to informants who share their 'concept-metaphors' and constructions of social reality with us that we must bare their plausibility (in any given context) in mind. What is truthful, and the manner in which anthropologists go about obtaining the truth, are inter-related concept-metaphors.⁴⁸ The degree to which concept-metaphors are elastic enough to allow us to extend our perspective into others' worlds, and to adopt narratives proffered by others, has been scrutinised but is ultimately held in abeyance. This is a view which is held in Schutz's phenomenological work:

Of course, we may also take a doubtful situation for granted, in which case the given affair as it appears to us remains uninvestigated, left in the twilight of its possibly typical and atypical aspects. We then take it for granted that this unclarified situation may be kept in abeyance until further notice. (Schutz, 2011:181)

This willing suspension of disbelief or keeping in abeyance of particular uncertain 'qualia' in the practice of anthropology is often necessary, as has been examined in the treatment of the term community. As observed in the introduction and in Moore's

⁴⁸ The notion that competing definitions of the notions of the good, and the reason that the ethical returns in epistemological conversations as both correct and verified with just and proper also has an etymological basis: "'Truth' starts as follows: "Quality by which things appear such as they are. *Verus*, "true" [vrai], is used in Latin in the sense of "real" and "regular" and "correct." (Canguilhem, 2012:45)

analysis, it is a prudent thing to keep these tentative postulations of concept-metaphors in abeyance because their provisional nature allows them to be viewed as being non-reified and, thus, prone to change over time.

There are a swathe of Irish clubs, interest groups, Irish language conversation circles, public houses⁴⁹, bridge clubs, sporting associations and even a bi-lingual “Toastmaster’s association”⁵⁰ in which Irish people are actively involved. Each of the contexts in which research was conducted, and from which ethnographic data has been represented, are examined and outlined in the relevant chapter but it might serve fruitful to provide an overview, which is provided in the section which follows.

The places in which the research has been undertaken are transnational in character and revolve around four locales, roughly sketched, and are as follows:

- 1) The meeting house of the ‘Hiberno-Celtic Toastmaster’s Association’⁵¹: A bi-lingual English-Irish organisation geared towards the furthering of the Irish language and intra-community dialogue within Brussels.
- 2) The Ciorcail Comhrá- Irish speaking events held in Brussels City Centre.⁵²

An Irish-speaking group for language enthusiasts, as well as high-ranking Irish civil servants working in the Ionad Na Haistrúcháin (EU Translation Service)

⁴⁹ Public houses, as semi-public spheres in the making, are thought to be the crossroads at which intercultural exchange takes place (Mandelbaum, 1965; Scheper-hughes, 1987; Wilson, 2005; Holt, 2006.)

⁵⁰ The toastmasters is the name of an organisation, under the banner of “Toastmasters International”, which trains people to excel in the field of public speaking. Meetings would involve getting up on stage, being given a random topic on which to speak (in Irish or English) for a few minutes precisely and then returning to your seat in the audience. Having partaken in this affair criticism and suggestions are offered by the audience which are thought to help improve the way in which you communicate.

⁵¹ <https://sites.google.com/site/claddagtoastmasters/>

⁵² <https://www.facebook.com/CiorcalComhraBhruseil>

- 3) The Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe which is housed in the Irish College of Leuven,⁵³ the Leuven Centre for Irish Studies⁵⁴ and its hinterlands.⁵⁵
- 4) In informal locations frequented by the participants involved (Public houses, their apartments, European commission canteens, offices and press areas). One such designation concerns the “Kraainem Mafia”- a group living in the greater Tervuren and Kraainem areas who work, generally, in the European Institutions or at one of the Four European Schools for secondary level pupils.⁵⁶

Other organizations, such as football club FC Irlande (which has been analysed in Nagy, Maclean & O’ Sullivan, 2013) and various Gaelic Games Associations also seek to instil a sense of community, and render Belgium as a ‘known’ space. That said, I have limited my analysis so that sporting clubs fall beyond the remit of the present work. The examination of the role played by sports and sporting associations is one which could fill an entire PhD-length examination. That being remarked, I do wish to draw upon an insight yielded from Nagy, Maclean and O’ Sullivan’s (2013) work on FC Irlande, an expat football club in Brussels, which is drawn from Bauman’s work that when a community is thought to have become dissolved the desire to create a community still remains in earnest and is even re-ignited by the realisation of the gone-ness of the previous community:

⁵³ <http://www.leuveninstitute.eu/asp/index.asp>

⁵⁴ <http://www.irishstudies.be/>

⁵⁵ By hinterlands it is meant here simply by liberty of being involved in the community in Leuven in the Irish public house (Stapletons: <https://www.facebook.com/stapletons.leuven>) during sporting event or concerts as well as being introduced to other Irish expats by expats, or once simply by the intonation of my speech- through which it was assumed that I was Irish and a conversation was stricken up.

[T]he club features an “imagined” community since what brings it together is an imagined Irishness. But the practices around this Irishness are very real, and here we do not only refer to football; the carcass of a “traditional” Irish community has been adapted to the reality of today’s Brussels and has taken the shape of a Cocoon Community. For many of the club’s members, Brussels in general and FC Irlande remain the places that most closely resemble the possibility of a community. (Nagy, Maclean & O’ Sullivan, 2013)

In the above account FC Irlande stands in for a representation that closely resembles the community which has been abandoned in favour of the current circumstances; while I reject the notion that Football associations are the only conveyance through which to examine the cocoon community, occupied by the Irish, as it is represented by the community and as it undergoes changes, I contend that the feeling of inertia felt by members of the Irish community abroad to be palpable with respect to what has gone.

3.2. Practice and predisposition: Participant observation.

In the field of practice, however, it is not always easy to remove oneself from the frame of reference, and to distance oneself from the context in which one is residing, especially given that anthropologists require intimacy, developed over time, and proximity among their informants and their lived-in contexts. This is well illustrated in Hastrup and Elsass (1990) who detail their concerns both with becoming merely passive observers in the process of colonial expansion or they could (whether intentionally or not) act as governmental intermediaries aiding the “development and expansion” of the indigenous peoples among whom they worked. Hastrup and Elsass write:

⁵⁶ This has always been at the request of the participants involved and efforts have been taken whereby,

It is tempting to succumb to the anthropological gut reaction of wanting to protect the “islands of culture” rather than the apparently cultureless *colonos*, but both groups may be worthy of consideration. Were we, in our first enthusiasm [which we are prepared to defend], led astray by the romantic notions attached to the European vision of the Indian as ultimate Other. (Hastrup and Elsass, 1990:304. Emphasis in original)

This is by no means an isolated incident, as the section which follows will attest to, and anthropologists ought to scrutinise (without being egocentric) their impulses and whether they are to consign certain (meta-)narratives to falsehood or to advocate on behalf of a cause. This might also explain why it took so long for anthropologists to ‘study up’, in Nader’s terminology (1974[1969]), by examining both those in power and those who have none. This move struck a considerable blow to the notion that there were certain populations which, for whatever reason, were somehow below (or possibly “above”) investigation by the anthropologist.⁵⁷ It is for this reason that an examination of the Irish community in Belgium, rather than in Ireland solely, becomes an examinable fora; elites, mobile persons or cosmopolitan tourists can, from Nader forward, possess the same anthropological validity as work conducted among any group of any kind or composition. A proper attention to induction, and the adoption thereof as an epistemo-method pretty much guarantees, where the limits of the research question pursued is concerned, that nothing is expressly rejected or is thought to be uninteresting to the anthropological scrutiny.

The use of participant-observation is indispensable to anthropology in the documentation and in the transmission of *in situ* contextual and narrative nuance and which illuminates the grounding and the context in which the research is conducted

even in informal contexts, informed consent is maintained.

⁵⁷ Other instances in which an anthropologist acts overly hesitantly or too instinctively are rife and are also discussed in a subsequent section concerning ethics.

(Dewalt et al., 1998). I employ “thick description” (Geertz, 1973) by detailing the participant’s local haunts or places of business as well as everyday rituals and narrative tendencies in order to offer a full and accurate expositional account of lives lead in order to concisely impart the information to the reader and to allow them to enter the frame of reference. This achieves two functions; the first is to allow the reader to involve themselves in following the logical progression of the argument but also to afford them the opportunity to take issue with the extrapolations drawn in the work (as advised in Berg, 2004). I have also attempted to demonstrate this through the employment of the vignette which served as the prologue to this chapter. This relies on the creation and maintenance of bonds with those among whom the research has been conducted. The necessity to create intimate personal bonds among the people, about whom an account is being written, is woven into many of the conventional definitions of the anthropological pursuit:

[Anthropology] is less a subject matter than a bond between subject matters. It is in part history, part literature; in part natural science, part social science; it strives to study men both from within and without; it represents both a manner of looking at man and a vision of man—the most scientific of the humanities, the most humanist of sciences. (Wolf, 1964:88)⁵⁸

This same intimacy and the co-dependencies which emerge between participants and researcher have led to my being something of an anthropological factotum.

Positions I have occupied, or roles I have performed in order to be of assistance to participants include, but are not limited to: English-Irish translator, journal columnist, barber, advocate, tour guide, confidant, radio-show guest, master of ceremonies, tailor, seat-filler, Irish-language teacher and more. What was required of

me, as an embedded researcher, was the performance of many roles, a technique elsewhere described, and over-simplified, by using the term ‘hat switching’:

From the subject’s point of view, the observer may become someone far different from the formally established role of researcher. Observers may find themselves responding to unanticipated demands and interests of their subjects that create a myriad of reactions and involvements. While such instances may foster the retrieval of substantive data unenvisioned by the observer in the initial stages of a study, they heighten the reciprocal quality of the researcher-subject relationship. (Wade, 1984:213)

‘Hat switching’, in this sense, has been deemed to be necessary when certain situations required that I not adopt a sterile kind of ‘scientism’ and instead was required to actively involve myself in the lives of the informants detailed in this work. I should also state that the nearness and proximity required in/of anthropology was often seen as being similar in kind to flirtation or to socially undesirable behaviour in the expression of interest in the exchange of contact details or insights from prospective participants. Business cards were printed up, in an attempt to professionalise the manner in which contributions were sought, although the ambiguity remained at times⁵⁹. In advocating a kind of hands-on, active and engaged anthropology the role played by ethics, in carrying out the research, must be explored and occurs in the section which follows.

3.3. Ethical choices and error: Guidelines and practice.

The adaptation to the social field during my field-stay required tailoring and re-tailoring my own ethical perspective to the requirement of the social field (as well as

⁵⁸ This citation has become almost apocryphal over time and is often attributed to the anthropologist Alfred Louis Kroeber. He appears to have mentioned it in lectures but not in any of his published work.

⁵⁹ I have devoted a section on this topic in 5.6. of this work.

being officially inscribed in the AAA Anthropologist's code of ethics). The latest version of the code of ethics, AAA (2012), states that ethical guidelines should only serve as indices for those perspectives adopted by the researcher in the field; they are, therefore, in no way to be taken in a literal way or applied dogmatically:

These principles address general circumstances, priorities and relationships, and also provide helpful specific examples, that should be considered in anthropological work and ethical decision-making. The individual anthropologist must be willing to make carefully considered ethical choices and be prepared to make clear the assumptions, facts and considerations on which those choices are based. (Draft Statement on Ethics Principle of professional responsibility, 2012)

The ethical disposition adopted by the field-researcher should be informed (or rather dually informed) by the field site and the personal ethical viewpoint held by the researcher, which should be rendered to the reader, where relevant. As a professional however, the anthropologist might also be receptive to the implementation of the guidelines espoused by the Anthropologists Association of America.

The idiosyncrasies and nuances which are encountered in-field give rise to, and necessitate, the adoption of a position among our informants by which one's ethical perspectives are and remain moveable. The behaviours observed then require us, as researchers, to abstain from judgments which are codified through 'Ethical Relativism':

[E]thical relativism: This implies that there is never a single determinate answer to the question of what is and is not legitimate behaviour on the part of a researcher. This is because judgments about the good and the bad are always dependent on commitment to a particular value perspective, and there is a plurality of values and cultures to which human beings can be committed. (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995:271)

The necessity, then, in the legitimation of certain ethical decisions taken is to provide some background into the manner and mode in which they were taken or preferred over others. The individual decisions made vary so considerably, however, it is only

possible to demonstrate this ethical obligation through the provision of a small number of in situ examples.

3.3.1 Ethical quandaries in fieldwork.

Ethnographic vignettes from the field may be illustrative in this regard and this section intends to offer, by way of providing ethnographic instances of the obligation of people's wishes to retain a degree of autonomy with respect to the final ethnographic work, as a summary.

Catalin⁶⁰ is a Bulgarian man in his early 40s who has a profound interest in Irish culture. He and I are sitting outside of Leuven's local Irish public house, Stapletons, in the smoking area, an area of the venue in which I generally prefer to conduct interviews due to its superior acoustics. Catalin had agreed to be interviewed earlier that evening and we began by simply exchanging pleasantries about our respective weeks. We are the best part of an hour into speaking about his teenage years and early twenties growing up in soviet-era Bulgaria placing particular emphasis on the time he spent in the army. Our conversations often revolved around his childhood and were usually related as the site of his burgeoning interest in the Irish language. It is an August evening, chilly but not cold, and I am diligently taking notes when a voice from behind me addresses myself and Catalin in Flemish. I am at a loss as to its meaning but discern a few elements and understand that the man is enquiring into what language we were speaking. Catalin addresses the man in a friendly tone of

⁶⁰ This, and all names supplied in this work, is a pseudonym. This is in keeping with the anthropological requirement to maintain and honour the privacy of those informants who take us into their confidence.

voice, gives a brief explanation of the languages history (he apprises me of this afterwards) and returns to sipping from his pint of Guinness. The man continues in earnest but I discern from the change in register and tone of voice that the conversation has changed tack. The two begin exchanging ideas with greater rapidity and I realise that the conversation has turned to politics and has become something of an unsavoury exchange.

Before too long the man departs, having finished his cigarette and feeling his question concerning which language we spoke to have been satisfactorily answered. I begin to strike up a conversation with Catalin to see what it was that he had finished speaking so heatedly about. He shakes his head and casts his eyes down to the screen of the voice recorder which is placed on the table. "Sean, I would like it if you deleted this night's conversation." It transpired that the man had goaded Catalin into speaking about a topic (which I did not pursue) that unnerved him relating to politics. In deleting our entire discussion, however, I would also be erasing a considerable amount of what I felt at the time to be usable data in the process. During the process of fieldworking it is often difficult to discern whether what is being discussed will be included in the final work. This is in keeping with Boas' underscoring of the fact that anthropology is (and ought to be) primarily an inductive discipline. If I obliged Catalin in his request, however, I would be altering the scope of inquiry by delimiting the amount of data from which a future hypothesis could be deduced. This epistemological consideration, however, was outweighed by the ethical principles by which anthropology works and I immediately obliged Catalin in his request and erased the file.

Catalin's request to withdraw his testimony, which serves to undergird the interrelationship between ethics and epistemology, is only one facet by which an informant can employ their awareness and autonomy to inform the anthropological project's direction and drawing from another vignette might be instructive in this regard. On another occasion I had been conducting fieldwork with the assistance of a digital recorder when, without my noticing it, the battery power ran out. I continued speaking in earnest, all the while my informant, Shane, kept motioning at the device by darting his eyes to its location on the table. Eventually I realised that my recorder was out of battery, I replaced the battery and realised that I had missed about thirty seconds of conversation in total. At this time Shane took the recorder from me, pressed record and proceeded to prompt me to ask him about what we had been discussing only moments earlier. He kept his phrasing as close to the original as possible and continued to prompt me so that the exact line of questioning could be reproduced more or less verbatim.

There have been other occasions on which informants took the recording device and pressed stop on the tape or held their hand over the end with the microphone on it in order to ask for clarification on some of the questions put to them, to apprise me of other time commitments they had and, on one occasion, to ask if they could use the restroom. What marks these two situations out as being indicative of the relation between anthropological epistemology and the practice of ethics specifically is the onus being placed on the author to create a partial account (that is, one in which parts of interviews have had to be omitted or supplemented). This partiality, which has been instigated by the withdrawal of an informant's 'informed consent', is understood to be part and parcel of the ethnographic enterprise in general and therefore not a drawback:

The ethnographer must be able to see with the eyes of an outsider as well as the eyes of an insider, although both views are, of course, only ever partial. Good participant observation thus requires a self-conscious balance between intimacy with, and distance from, the individuals we are seeking to better understand. By definition, participant observers deliberately place themselves in a series of very awkward social spaces, some of which are more difficult to inhabit than others. (Hume and Maycock, 2004:12)

In reality these two positions shift almost constantly and imperceptibly from one to the other and the researcher might do better to be candid about the position they occupy at the time of writing instead of contending that they have successfully upheld both. The shifting positions of insider and outsider is demonstrated by looking to an example in the field where the permeability of the dual constructs of in/out is examined.

3.4. Etic-becoming-emic: Inside, outside and change

Performing different roles and having different roles placed upon you are two very different things and, given the relevance, it is necessary to understand the notion of flux and the timeframe in which one social situation can give way to another. I would now like to demonstrate the manner in which the etic/emic binary is a lot more porous than is often suggested by their etymological connotation of phonetic and phonemic meaning lacking a linguistic competence, and being 'without', and having a competence and, therefore, of being 'within' one respectively. Despite the manifold manners in which the notions of insiderness (or nativity as discussed below) and outsiderness (Otherness) have been critiqued and construed in anthropology, their composition in difference is often maintained as a concept-metaphor which adequately captures the journey an anthropologist makes to the inner circle of his or her selected society. This is also framed broadly in terms of progressions, from

neophyte to initiate, novice to expert or researcher to authority. For my part I wish to furnish an example of the speed at which outsidership can fall away giving way to an immediate, and as it happened, undesired insidership.

The 21st, September, 2012 saw “Culture Night” being hosted in the Institute for Ireland in Europe for its third consecutive year. The event is part sponsored by the Irish government and has as its intention the broadcasting of Irish talent in many locales both in Ireland and overseas. My intention for the evening was to attend, take fieldnotes of the proceedings and meet up with interlocutors in a social setting afterwards. As the lights in the large auditorium came down we were treated to a partly absurd, partly biting political-satirical puppet and costume show by an Irish-speaking dance troupe who had travelled over specifically to perform. Busying myself with taking fieldnotes of who was in attendance and on the manner in which the venue had been dressed up for the occasion in the low light I failed to notice that the proceedings had ground to a halt.

I looked upon the stage only to hear a man dressed as the devil pointing to me and speaking in Irish that he would like me to come on stage to participate. Before I had the chance to display reticence he bounded up the tiered stairs, grabbed my hand and extricated me from my detached, speculative position. He frogmarched me clumsily down the stairs, one foot after the other, and suddenly I was on stage with the actors.

All of a sudden I had become a part of the stagecraft and was instructed to “obey the commands” of the various ghouls. I was strapped to a large wheel as another man dressed as an imp took flight up the stairs again to the back of the auditorium. Once there, and with every audience member’s eyes pointed in his direction he proceeded to

withdraw knives from his pockets. The audience “ooh-ed” and “ahh-ed” as I was strapped into a giant wheel. The imp at the rear of the hall then began to “throw” the knives one after the other as the crowd pointed and jeered.⁶¹

What had happened is that the knives were inserted, from behind the wheel, and appeared with a massive thud to give the impression that they had been thrown from quite a distance. When the audience had their fill of this particular spectacle I was then thrown water at and congratulated for being a good sport and I returned to my seat. When I returned to my seat, and to the manual in which I was keeping my fieldnotes, I was stricken by the rapidity at which I had gone from being on the side-lines to being involved in the construction and relation to the audience of the play itself. Here, as I have shown, the quality of etic-ness can become emic-ness at any given moment and other moments during which emic-ness lapses into an etic-ness can occur equally rapidly.

While I hope that I have made it abundantly clear here that the positions of etic and emic can be extremely porous, and can give way to one another, the primacy of place and belonging in anthropology have conventionally resided in the status of one’s becoming emically accepted. My research could be viewed as already having emerged from a position of ‘insiderness’, given my Irishness, and so the position of nativity is the topic to which I wish to turn next in order to disabuse certain privileged notions of access and insight which nativity connotes.

⁶¹ Photos were taken by Lieve Boussauw. See figures 5 and 6. Her work can be seen at www.b-lieve.be and has been reproduced with permission of the author.

3.5. When is the native at home?: Location and belonging.

For the anthropologists, the world is professionally divided into “home” and “out there,” the domestic and the exotic, the urban academic world and the tropics. The anthropologist is not simply a neutral observer... The anthropologists in the field becomes the very model of the twentieth-century consciousness: a “critic at home” but a “conformist elsewhere”. (Sontag, 1970:189)

Sontag’s remarks emerge in the context of the alleged colonisation of the experiences of others by the self as though the other is an expurgated and uncorrupted version of the same. It is necessary to consider the impact that this sentiment has upon the articulation of the data yielded through fieldwork. As an Irish expatriate researcher researching the Irish abroad it has been necessary to examine and re-examine, rather than leaving latent, some aspects of reflexivity which have become embedded and sedimented in the findings. Narayan (1993) discusses at length the degree to which any researcher can be considered to be an insider who possesses an immutable, authoritative and unmediated viewpoint on or about any given culture. Narayan writes:

[W]ho is the generic subject the “native”? To use a clump term is to assume that all natives are the same native, mutually substitutable in presenting the same (male) point of view. Yet even received anthropological wisdom tells us that the simplest societies, gender and age provide factors for social differentiation. (Narayan, 1993:676)

Every individual detail of the researcher’s biography seems to recalibrate the sense in which their nativity is to be understood. I contend that as a researcher this bias, or partiality (which is unavoidable, see Clifford, 1986) is the jumping off point rather than something which allows one to collapse any given work to being that of an insider examining the inside of a culture of which they are a part and over which they possess the dominion of authority. Methodological blinkers can serve the same function by blinding researchers to the limits of the methods they use which cause

them to reduce the phenomenon with which they are presented in the social field to the lens through which those phenomena are observed:

The Marxist therefore is impelled to take as an appearance the real content of a behaviour or of a thought; when he dissolves the particular in the Universal, he has the satisfaction of believing that he is reducing appearance to truth (Sartre, 1968:48-9, Cited in Sahlins, 1999).

This can be observed in the debate concerning the Irish community abroad's composition, and the nature of their claim of belonging, which is starkly contrasted against those who live, 'immobile' in Ireland. The Irish diaspora are thought to have fallen prey to an illusory, false consciousness concerning their belonging which is always resisted by reference to the authenticated version⁶². While acknowledging, then, that the epistemology upon which the methodology adopted is based can give rise to error I contend that the ethnographic self- however involved or allegedly co-opted by their sustained social presence in the field- remains a valuable resource (Collins and Gallinat, 2010) and which I have attempted to demonstrate in the prologue of this chapter. Although the dread remains that certain expositions concerning fieldnotes taken while in the field, which are brought to bear on certain case studies where relevant, may devolve into solipsistic fare thereafter it is still a necessity to state the degree to which the ethnographic self affects the phenomenon observed.

This problem can also be observed in cases in which anthropology 'at home' is being undertaken. I might be thought of as having been at 'home' only in Dublin, Ireland and so in having travelled to Belgium I have come to an altogether new place.

⁶² This is examined with respect to both the tourism-driven enterprise of "the Gathering", examined in this section, and the perceptions of the Irish in the United Kingdom in 6.4.

However, given that this project examines the manner in which Europeanness and Irishness are being co-articulated in Belgium the advantage of recognising, seemingly “intuitively”, the manner in which Brussels and Leuven were being made into something resembling ‘home’⁶³ is invaluable. This sameness, between home-place and field, is a methodological concern primarily because it runs the risk of homogenising the space in which research is conducted. In Peirano (1998) a programmatic approach is outlined such as would allow research ‘at home’ to be undertaken which still safeguards the otherness of Others, but the broader point taken from analysing accounts which posit ‘home’ as the location that the fieldworker departs from, and returns to, remains the same. Peirano writes:

[W]e must grant that academic knowledge, however socially produced, is relatively autonomous from its immediate contexts of production and therefore is capable of attaining desirable levels of communication. (Peirano, 1998:123)

No matter how insular or remote from one’s own experience an account of ‘home’ is we retain the sense that its communication to a broader audience remains possible.

What bearing does the communication to third parties have upon the limits which are placed upon the researcher’s design? This question is addressed in the section which follows.

3.6. Writing: Presence and absence in ethnography:

Examining the etymology of *graphos* in *ethnography* reveals to the researcher that the writing of the representational phenomena under study must also serve as something

⁶³ Inherent to the construction of ‘home’ here, such as it is employed by the Irish abroad, is the primacy that Ireland as an imagined construct plays; this is examined with respect to the positioning of the Irish

which can supplement the understanding of the readers and the academy in general. The representational mode through which anthropology works deserves no less scrutiny than the position the individual researcher does. Turning to Roffe (2004):

On the one hand writing is split (differed) by the absence that makes it necessary, one example of which is the fact that we write something down because we may soon forget it, or to communicate it to someone who is not there. Writing also involves deferral because the meaning of the text is never punctually present, never perfectly captured by the author's intention to convey some particular idea, experience, memory, semantic nuance, or whatever. That meaning is endlessly deferred, subject to the chances and vicissitudes of the text's unpredictable reception history. (Roffe, 2004:20)

Even within this project's duration many, many changes have altered the social field's composition; informants have returned 'home' to Ireland, Irish-interest clubs have ceased operation and people have otherwise moved on⁶⁴.

The absence of one thing or the supplementation of another can comprise a truth from a binary opposition in a manner similar to the fact that the negation of the speed of an electron is required to allow for the determination of its trajectory in the 'Heisenberg principle'⁶⁵. The reader's necessary absence from the field, which requires the provision of first-hand information in order to alleviate or supplement one's lack of knowledge, brings about the necessary conditions for a possible ethnography. However, given the mobility, supplementarity and contextual complexity of representations which are in evidence in the social field, why would our

College in Leuven which is thought to supplement the idea that a 'home' space needs to be confined to Irish soil, in Chapter 5.

⁶⁴ This is examined in 4.6.1. of this work which concerns the pace at which Irish-themed clubs came emerge and fade from view.

⁶⁵ Werner Heisenberg is the first proponent of the 'Uncertainty principle' which states that the more exactly that one wishes to quantify any given element, the more it will require that other, related, phenomenon become less precisely quantifiable; the application concerns the measuring of the speed or trajectory of an electron in a nucleus and within an atom, given that both cannot be observed simultaneously without the other becoming obscured.

representations thereof be any less bound to the notions for which they are trying to account? Deleuze offers the following by way of consolation:

To write is certainly not to impose a form (of expression) on the matter of lived experience... Writing is a question of becoming, always incomplete, always in the midst of being formed, and goes beyond the matter of any liveable or lived experience. It is a process, that is, a passage of Life that traverses both the liveable and the lived. (Deleuze, 1997:225)

3.6.1. Writing in company: Writing and reception.

While it has not been possible to fully represent the minutiae and the exact nature, or every instance, of the interactions between researcher and informant what is outlined here is an overview of the more problematic elements encountered, relating to writing, which have limited or blinkered the work or which have prevented certain kinds of data from being examined here. Anthropology, as has been examined above, is primarily inductive in nature. This often led to a lull in conversation when the question of “How the Irish are European?” as a few informants seemed to assume that there was one answer to this question and it was one to which the researcher alone was privy. A kind of panic-stricken look often crept over a few informant’s faces upon being asked the question directly. This was later softened with the caveat: “How, in your opinion, are the Irish European?” A lack of emphasis on the connection between their subjective opinion’s validity has here been encountered as a research problem and a doubling back upon the composition of the question itself was experienced as yielding a more convivial environment and rapport.

Even the mere act of writing itself, whether relating to personal matters or to anthropological fieldnotes has been understood by some informants as being invasive. The provision of an account, even one which has no desire to capitalise upon its

subject matter, is generally viewed as being something which is undesirable. Taylor (1996) speaks directly to this phenomenon:

The year was 1973, and we had been discussing the public relations problems of anthropologists in Ireland. No doubt exaggerating, he told me that, according to his sources, neither of two ethnographers of small islands off the west coast [of Ireland, ed.] could safely return to his research site. I asked him about a rather technical kinship article by another anthropologist who had conducted fieldwork close by in west Donegal; surely that had not upset anyone? His answer: "There are two things that people don't like to hear about themselves; one of them is lies and the other's the truth" (Taylor, 1996:213)

What is touched upon, above, is the general notion that the figure of the anthropologist as stranger is actively resisted either in the form of threats to returning post-fieldwork anthropologists or to the possibility that an account can be provided at all. The concern being that ethnography, while possible, is not preferable given that people aren't receptive to truths which are too close to the bone or to spurious accounts of their culture being created therefrom. My experience ran directly against this where, when speaking to a Eurocrat who was a friend of the family, I was informed that he had agreed to take part in another anthropologist's work and that he was: "very familiar with the kinds of questions and responses that were expected of him".

The act of writing fieldnotes or notes of any kind has also been treated in many instances as being suspicious. Quite early on in the fieldwork I was invited to the premiere of a film which was being screened in the Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe. I was greeted by the director ahead of time and we exchanged a few pleasantries before the film began. Even though the light in the conference room was dim it was sufficient to take notes and I jotted down a few thoughts I had had during the film. After the film had ended, and I was able to speak to the director once more, I noticed that the friendly rapport had completely dissipated. It was only later that he

disclosed that he thought that I was taking pejorative notes throughout the film.

“Maybe it’s me, but when I see someone writing *that much* about something I just think: this is going to be baaaaad”.

Note-taking was generally viewed as being somewhat disruptive to the flow of conversation, at least in the early part of the interview. Common interjections concerned the lack of “interesting insights” an informant would have on any given matter, as well as a more general reticence which was coupled with a desire to provide worthwhile information. Efforts needed to be undertaken to assure participants that their contribution was valid, necessary to the construction of the project and were being treated with the highest ethical propriety, as examined above. In order to assure the informant that note-taking was used as a method of gathering information, rather than as a method through which to pass judgment, I would ask informants to double check whether I had correctly spelled a word that they had employed. This was felt to be a necessary outcome of the climate of suspicion which surrounds anthropological accounts, even if they are written by someone who is themselves partially Irish. This allowed for the informant to plainly see the constituents of the interview and whose function was to put them at ease.

Another problem encountered was the mobility of the population under study, established previously. While the scale of the mobility varied greatly the outcome on the work conducted herein remained very much the same. Oftentimes, while checking in on informants informally, I would send invitations to people for an upcoming event I hoped/expected to see them at only to receive replies informing me that they had reneged on their rental contract and returned to Ireland or that they had completed their studies/stages and had returned home. In these instances I have

resorted to correspondences via email or fieldnotes taken during previous encounters. This has been a necessary response to informants who have return-migrated from Belgium. This has also been a difficulty in other, less conventional, note-taking situations, i.e. at a concert, in a car or while cycling, and every effort has been taken to ensure that their contributions are as close to the sentiments given directly as possible.

This changeability of the social field is not viewed as something which undoes efforts taken at offering an ethnography thereof. Given that even the mode of representation itself concerns ‘becoming’, and so a more sustained treatment of the interplay of mobility and becoming is what is examined in the section which follows.

3.7. The limits of mobility: Flux, stasis and paradox.

Wittgenstein (1951) claims that to know the limit of something is impossible because it requires thinking both sides of the limit; in other words, in order to know the extent to which we can think of the applicability of a term we would have to go beyond the concept itself to see when what is being applied becomes inert or becomes a pointless exercise. The difficulty in an operation of that kind is that we would somehow have to know the limit of something which we don't know has a limit and testing it would only result in the postulation of non-sense. That being said it may be possible to approximate the *most pronounced* version of a given postulation to see whether the limit can come into view. For my purposes here I would like to return to an ancient debate on the nature of flux vs. fixity but it's not that of Heraclitus contra Parmenides but instead concerns the notion of the possibility of a fixist metaphysics

at all⁶⁶. After all, is the advancement of particular, new strains of thought a worthy endeavour without having a sound foundation upon which to rest them?

It has always seemed to me that theorists of the static, fixist aspects of mobility can be likened to the Parmenidean approach to flux, which is similar in kind to that of a Malinowskian reduction to general laws, and that theorists who prescribe a primacy of importance to movement and flow adopt something of a more Heraclitean approach to motion. What is often overlooked in this regard are the postulates of Cratylus who contended, in a somewhat more radical way than Heraclitus, that if things are so contingent upon movement, in a non-fixed sense, that something like the equation of words and things, in a diachronic space, would also be impossible. Cratylus' contribution to the Heraclitus and Parmenides debate is that the river cannot be stood into even once, given the full play of mobility, given that the coinage of a term to characterise the river always arrives too late, it cannot catch a word in the act of signifying (Derrida contra Husserl, cf. Derrida, 1973). Is it possible then to find an architecture which would allow for moments of flux, mobility or flow to shine through⁶⁷? According to Socrates this cannot be so if the world is in constant transition; he reasons this in the following way:

[I]f everything is in a state of transition and there is nothing abiding; for knowledge too cannot continue to be knowledge unless continuing always to abide and exist. But if the very nature of knowledge changes, at the time when the change occurs there will be no knowledge; and if the transition is always going on, there will always be no knowledge, and, according to this view, there will be no one to know and nothing to be known. (Socrates, Cratylus in Sedley, 2013:19)

⁶⁶ For a fuller review of competing notions of Flux over time, see Rockefeller (2011).

⁶⁷ This has already been achieved in examining the manner through which one's ethical stance, conceptions of nativity and notions of inside/outside are almost completely interdependent upon indispensably mobile facets of social life.

Given that diaspora is the apotheosis of transnational representation, (Vertovec, 1999) and that diaspora, by its nature, attacks the monadic metaphysical structure of sedentarist metaphysics and gives nomadics a metaphysics all of its own, how might we examine it without consigning it to a unicity? How might we interpret new propositions of 'home', which have varying degrees of permanence, with respect to members of the diaspora proper and exchange students or short-term labourers? I believe the question which is more pressing is what we expect from an anthropological model at all; what can they, in fact, achieve? Can a theoretical model account for the multiple processes of meaning, and the parenthetical meanings with which 'home' and notions of belonging come to be imbued, whose depths are explored through engagements in (im)permanent mobility?

3.8. Method and their application in modish ideas for anthropology:

Is 'becoming' an adequate methodological tool to occupy a lacuna in mobilities studies? According to Kaufmann, Bergman and Joye the problem may lie with the application of theoretical visors to similar, alterity-imbued evidence:

Intellectual fashions weaken the cohesiveness of paradigms in the social sciences, while concurrently reducing the choices of theoretical explanation and interpretation... [D]ivergent results are not necessarily based on different research findings, but rather on divergent interpretations of similar evidence. (Kaufmann, Bergman and Joye, 2004:746)

The concern, therefore, in the postulation of any new model is whether it is apposite and can meaningfully address a new situation or whether it is designed with a particularistic approach to an idiosyncratic concern deriving from one's own ethnographic venture.

Wherever there is a postulation of an idea which encompasses any given manifestations of social phenomenon there also must be critique of that idea as the grist for the mill of academia. Criticisms of this kind can sprout up particularly where the transposition of a particular philosopher's thought, and tacitly their methods, into the domain of anthropology comes about. Some examples include the application of the philosophical apparatus of Wittgensteinian thought, phenomenology, existentialism and most recently in the work of Deleuze and Guattari to anthropology. These works, respectively, are for Wittgenstein see Das (1998), for phenomenology see Casey (1996) and Jackson (1996), in existential parallels see Csordas, (1995) and Jackson (1998, 2005, 2012) and finally for Deleuzian thought see Biehl and Locke (2010) and Bruun Jensen & Rodje (2010). Only the most recent of the examples listed above, the entry onto the scene of Deleuze, will be critiqued here. Many other examples of the shirking off of or of shying away from popular paradigms imported to anthropology include Brown (1996) which extols the applicability of the popular notion of resistance, only to subvert the category itself by critiquing its use-value. Schneider (1987) also, rightly, points out Geertz's troublesome extrapolation drawn from empirical insights to broader social aspects of Balinese life by asking where the notion of playful theatricality actually comes from, and a rather more ornery critique by Sahlins (1999) which decries modern graduate students of anthropology's inability to chart certain kinship charts in favour of memorising certain chapters of 'after-ology', a term used to designate postmodern anthropology. Common to their critiques is the notion that there are certain motivations to anthropological understandings that do not stem organically from fieldwork or do not rest easily alongside the process of conducting anthropological research:

As we know of Culture generally, explanations can be rhetorically sufficient even though they do not logically motivate the distinctiveness of the things they explain. (Sahlins, 1999:406)

What Sahlins is contending here is actually something which is two-fold; first that we might be mindful to the postulation of an idea (a for-itself system in Geertzian thought) upon an actually occurring social phenomenon that the model is attempting to account for (my concern here) and the second is that fashionable postulates in anthropology often receive a differential amount of traction.

It is the concern with how apposite a model is to a particular paradigm that the undertaking of methodology can address. Given the multiplicity, then, of these postulates we might ask whether accounting for phenomena in the mobilities paradigm just a matter of selection, or of trial and error? How do we avoid employing certain popular theorist's ideas as sufficient evidence for the analysis of a particular phenomenon?

There are those for whom subjectivism is a term of abuse – think of Freeman on Margaret Mead – and those for whom it is almost a principle, and for whom the sin is to be unaware of what is methodologically unavoidable. (Watson, 1999:74)

Can a methodology, or a methodological approach even be made with respect to the imposition of an epistemology upon empirically derived facts at all? To what extent can subjectivism overcome methodological error? The battery of questions, which emerge in considerations of this kind, fall outside of the scope of the present work but inform the sections which follow and which addressed the application of a philosophical idea to the method of conducting fieldwork.

3.8.1. Anatomy of a dispute: Becoming-Deleuzians:

The collapsing of space and time and the eradication of common notions of distance, as being constitutive of differing identities, in place of complexity being maintained in terms of fluidities, appears to be the point at which sedentarist metaphysics gives way to a more mobile metaphysic, a nomadic one. The problem which remains is in identifying the point at which the relationality, between the dual concepts of fixity and fluidity, gives way to a total emphasis being placed upon movement such that the drawing of any distinction is either analytically fruitless or hopelessly circumspect. It is popular, therefore, to theorise the world as being constant, in flux, but as something which still has limits. The social field itself is, for this reason, often thought to be rather liquid in nature with a range of epistemologies built in different shapes and sizes to contain this aqueous matter, occupying whichever methodological container they come to fill. This is also the case where, as highlighted previously, anthropologists can transpose understandings of continental philosophers onto anthropological thought, for the betterment of both. Even within Biehl and Locke's work (2010) on bringing 'becoming' over into anthropology, (a move many before have done in a variety of philosophical fields, see above) Michael Fischer⁶⁸, in the commentary section of their work, adopts a strong position of defiance in which he contends:

The "theoretical quick fix" of philosophers' names, like attributing trademarks to ordinary words—assemblages, friction, equipment, concept work, multisided (attribute and use them quickly, expiry looms, next arrives)—is a self-defeating neoliberal game of valuation, hardly an improvement over Cold

⁶⁸ This is also the case for the most recent Ontologies turn, to which Fischer is no more charitable. See Fischer (2014).

War ideological schools (you evil deconstructionist, postmodernist, bioculturalist, structuralist, functionalist). (Biehl & Locke, 2010:357-358)

The intention here is to evoke this problematic, rather than offering rebuttal to this refutation, particularly as this present work relies on the perspective that the movement in and between perspectives and across disciplines can lead to new varieties of understanding. That said, what remains important in Fischer's commentary is the employment of philosophers' names simply as sufficient evidence for an ethnographic contention. This is by no means definitive and any theoretical constructs placed around an irreducible entity or upon an abstract contextual notion will never be final or complete. Biehl and Locke posit, in relation to Fischer's criticism, that:

In emphasizing the powers and potentials of desire (both creative and destructive), the ways in which social fields ceaselessly leak and transform (power and knowledge notwithstanding), and the in-between, plastic, and ever-unfinished nature of *a* life, Deleuze lends himself to inspiring ethnographic efforts to illuminate the dynamism of the everyday and the literality and singularity of human becomings. (Ibid, 2010:317. Emphasis in original)

Here we acknowledge that the deployment of Deleuze, if he is to be successfully deployed, is in the capacity in which his thought can be said to be of immediate salience to anthropology as such.

Is the mobilities turn simply a vehicle, like 'becoming' in the Deleuzian sense, for ascribing meaning to an age old phenomenon the only thing new about which is simply the pace at which the process of the dissemination of images, ideologies, capital, technologies and ethnoscaapes has quickened beyond historical recognition? By the same token, the impact that this turn is thought to have is also something which ought to be scrutinised here. The intention in including works addressing the mobilities-turn specifically, and the multidisciplinary nature of the term

should be borne in mind here, is epistemologically and methodologically addressed at proposing a non-territorially, homogenously or nationalistically determined model; by paying attention to mobilities we can better buttress, and understand, anthropological works which attempt to move away from business as usual, community in situ works⁶⁹. Here, I would like to restate the value of the notion of plasticity, alluded to above, to the present work and as being seminal to the examination of the conceptual-metaphorical usage of the term ‘Plastic Paddies’ in Chapter 6.

Leakage appears to be most immediately present metaphor for the constitution of the social field in the 21st century. The effort should be then, if we agree with the aqueous metaphysic, a manifestation of which is thought to be adumbrated somewhere between the sedentarist metaphysic and the interplay of more and less malleable entities. The primary notion in becoming is not simply its aqueousness, and its parenthetical irreducibility, but rather in its orientation as being receptive both to the orientations of the past as well as to the prospects of the future. In the most programmatic assessment of the possibilities of becoming, towards the close of the piece, we find the contention:

It is not enough to simply observe that assemblages exist; we must attend, as Deleuze and Guattari originally urged, to the ways these configurations are constantly constructed, undone and redone by the desires and becomings of actual people- caught up in the messiness, the desperation and aspiration, of life in idiosyncratic millieus. (Ibid, 2010:337)

It is not simply a redirecting of the agenda of anthropology, but rather an augmenting, by way of Deleuze and Guattari, that is thought to be going on. Becoming, then, is

⁶⁹ This is also the express intention of Salazar’s (2013) work, as has been stated elsewhere.

well-suited to anthropology if it is in keeping with Deleuze and Guattari's original formulation.

Becoming, because it departs from a point that it negates in its departure and is not defined in that manner, can help us carve out a model not contingent on relationality and the between. Becoming has a trajectory which is indeterminable in advance and is not reducible or synonymous with being as such. Deleuze offers us the following prospect, as an abreaction to an understanding of hybridity or in mobilities studies relationality in a sense, and instead contends:

A line of becoming is not defined by points that it connects, or by points that compose it; on the contrary, it passes between points, it comes up through the middle, it runs perpendicular to the points first perceived... a point is always a point of origin. But a line of becoming has neither beginning nor end, departure nor arrival. (Deleuze, 1987: 323. Emphasis in original)

Away from the fixist, origin-establishing entity of the nation state lies the understanding of a becoming not contingent on notions of origin or dependant or derivative of those things from which they draw their meaning. How is it that this notion allows new social configurations to take place within and beyond the interstices of Irishness and Europeanness? This question is addressed in the section which follows.

3.9. Belonging and becoming; Methodologising becoming in Europeanisation:

Testing the applicability of the Deleuzian notion of becoming vis-à-vis the paradigm of mobilities in relation to a small population of the Irish diaspora in Belgium will have to take place alongside one another, rather than outside of any of these particular paradigms. It is for this reason that this examination will take place in three parts each of which will touch on two of the paradigms necessary to determine whether a)

becoming, in the Deleuzian sense, is apposite to the pursuit of mobility as a necessity, b) mobility and its parenthetical relation to diaspora and Europeanisation as a process and, finally, c) to the particular example of the Irish diaspora who are examined with respect to the Europeanising of their identity. In sum, the question which is begged is: what is the angle from which a given idea can be applied to mobilities such that it retains the understanding from which it derives but is also applicable in a broader, methodological and anthropological fashion? Some in-roads to a becoming-mobility are pointed to.

What might be the solution in the soldering together- of a modish anthropological think-piece and any given social phenomenon are the sufficient conditions, examined in ethnographic vignettes or as case studies. In so doing I attempt to demonstrate to the reader, and to the anthropological community in general, that the pairing of epistemology to empirically-derived methodological concerns is a prurient choice. If we take the notion of mobilities as being something fluid and radically contingent and prone to change, in a manner described by Cratylus, and not just that of Heraclitus, we will observe that so prone to change is the social field, so fluid and parenthetically complex is it that we must ready ourselves for this event and not place too much purchase in less apposite theories. That is not to say that regimes of mobility (Salazar, 2013; Salazar & Glick-Schiller, 2014) and the moorings (Hannam, Sheller, Urry, 2006) upon which they depend lose any of their salience and their inclusion is a necessary accompaniment to any examination of mobility which otherwise runs the risk of portraying it as a process which is totally aqueous in composition.

It was in this mode of thinking that I arrived to analyse the notion of becoming to determine its relative merit in examining the Irish diaspora in Belgium. Here the

notion of contact with difference, through movement, being inextricably linked to the creation or augmentation of one's identity is acknowledged in Hall (1990):

There is, however, a second, related but different view of cultural identity. This second position recognises that, as well as the many points of similarity, there are also critical points of deep and significant difference which constitute 'what we really are'; or rather - since history has intervened - 'what we have become'... Cultural identity, in this second sense, is a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'. It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture. Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. (Hall, 1990:225)

Cultural identity is deployed in Hall, therefore, to signify that difference is also bound to a becoming, the future, the possibility of the current situation not being so. It is for this reason that mobilities and the understanding that the paradigms which we attempt to ground are themselves placed upon shifting sands. Thankfully, Wilson (2000) also restates the importance of understanding the notion of becoming if one is to understand the manner in which European identity can be understood at all:

European identity is about 'being' as much as about 'becoming' European, in that surveys, ethnographic research, inferences from a variety of scholarly studies, and just plain common sense all agree that the people of the EU recognise that they are European by culture, tradition and heritage, but they are also in the process of becoming something new, also European, depending on the course which the EU takes, and the path which their member state takes in reaction and adaptation. (Wilson, 2000:139)

It is for this reason, and by dint of the examination of the present work being undertaken on the possible forms a European identity would take, that 'Europe' is framed and argued as being a 'concept-metaphor'. Those concept-metaphors which were the most frequently in evidence and were able to best account for the various, multiple and manifold processes of becoming, identification and transnational mobility have here been sub-divided and given separate chapters in which they are examined in full.

3.10. Closing remarks on Anthropological Methodology:

This chapter has taken, as its point of departure, the notion that methodology is less an enumeration of the methods employed in any given work and more an examination of the applicability of these methods, the contexts from which they emerged and the situations in which they are thought to be more or less favourable. I have attempted here to explore the methods, from the so-called pioneers of Modern ethnography on both sides of the Atlantic, Boas and Malinowski, as well as the more recently coined insights yielded from emerging thinkers and disciplines regarding the methods employed specifically. The position of the native, anthropological writing and the manner in which it can be conducted professionally and ethically have been surveyed and brought to bear upon the contexts in which the experiences and testimony, found in the subsequent chapters, have been derived.

Beyond the method, strictly, what has been striven for is a qualitatively-grounded exploration of the manner in which one transnationally-inclined grouping, from among many European member states, encounters the vast, complicated and unfinished project of 'Europe-building'. Having reviewed the anthropological literature surrounding the topic and espoused a methodological consideration of the manner through which it was carried out, in moving forward the dual interplay of the notions of how Europe is becoming Hibernicised (with the accession of Ireland to the EU) and how the Irish are becoming European (or how the Irish are becoming Europeanised) will occupy the centre stage. The two chapters which follow deal with these topics, respectively, and it is in context that this becoming is thought to be observable and transmissible.

The chapter which follows occurs exactly in the locality of Brussels which has been so frequently and metonymously drawn upon as being the heart of 'Europe'. Far from being unidirectional in focus, though, with respect to integration in Brussels is the question of the way in which Brussels has become affected by the presence of the Irish community. It is to this dual interplay that the chapter which follows is devoted.

4. The Irish in Brussels, neither Boston nor Berlin: European integration and solidarity.

My first introduction to the Brussels context, such as it presented itself to me, was through an Irish speaking circle, a slightly odd feature of life abroad given the minimal extent to which it's spoken in Ireland (see, 1.5.). The Ciorcal Comhrá (transl. Conversation Circle) takes place in Brussels on the last Thursday of every month. I was informed that it was brought about through the efforts of a limited number of Eurocrats who sought to speak Irish in Brussels outside of a work capacity and was founded in 2008. Since that time the regular attendance of the group has both waxed and waned. The invitation, sent monthly, is controlled by the chief organiser and includes a lengthy list of email addresses which largely consist of ec.europa.eu, consilium.europa.eu and europarl.europa.eu domain names. The venue, 'The Old Oak' has remained the same, more or less, for the last 6 years. 'The Old Oak' is an Irish-pub staffed by Anglophones, half of whom are Irish and the rest are from Australia, the United Kingdom or Belgium. It is inviting and hospitable and was seldom empty.

No specific, designated table at which the group would meet was ever reserved for the circle officially with the staff and it was oftentimes difficult to determine whether any of the attendees had already arrived due to the size of the venue. Asking wait-staff there yielded no results, a frustration I had in my early days as an attendee and then later as a co-organiser. Over time I realised that the annex, arrived at by going right at the entrance and over to the window, was the regular spot. Irish-speakers, interested in pursuing the speaking of Irish in their spare time, are a small

but tightly-knit group. The very first Ciorcal at which I was present comprised myself, Violet, Claire and Catalin. It was on my very first time in attendance that I met Violet who was born in Dublin and had inherited the task of administrator of the event from her mother who worked in the European Commission. Violet was close in age to myself and was also a Dubliner who had lived in Brussels for five years. Dublin itself, then, was a common topic of conversation and it took on a very specific ‘home’ context in conversation; once her longing for Dublin was so pronounced that she asked me not to speak about it at all, following the birth of her child, due to her homesickness. At other time she would also derive a certain amount of fun out of speaking in Irish to the lounge staff to their frustration, in jest and often to their embarrassment given the amount of speakers of the language there are in Ireland.

The Ciorcal Comhrá lasts for about two hours with those who wish to further practise their Irish staying later. It was through conversations that occurred after the official event that I came to know the people who volunteered their time and whose responses to the research question are detailed in the chapters which follow. One evening, after a particularly poorly attended meeting Violet and myself were brainstorming ideas to make the group more palatable to a wider audience when the conversation veered off to the topic of the Irish in Brussels more generally. Violet was slightly frustrated with the lack of desire among the Irish to speak the language, in any capacity and to any degree possible, and she attributed this to a kind of change which she thought was happening to the Irish people who lived there. They were becoming something else.

I returned with two pints of Guinness and Violet had just finished a phone call with her Belgian partner. In this instance she began to speak about someone in her

mother's peer group whom she had overheard pining for authentic Irish kippers, a thing that she didn't believe existed in the strictest sense. She began to discuss what brought about this change, as she perceived it, and how it manifested itself among the Irish in 'Europe' by declaring the manner in which Irish people imagined their homeland many years after their arrival; specifically, she was wondering why it was that they sought out foodstuffs they longed for but which actually had no referent meaning in Ireland:

V: Kippers? I mean kippers, *really*- What kind of Irish person after all that time (in Belgium, Ed.) wants Kippers? Like there're authentic Irish Kippers. And that's not even the worst part- Have you been back there? (Recently, Ed.)

I: No

V: It's all Ireland, all of the time. It's actually too much. And everything is all: how are things going in Europe, for Ireland. We're talking to an Irish person now from Ireland who has a view on Ireland. It's straightjacketing. I mean do you have Belgian people walk up to you and say: Hi! We have the best Chips, beer and fish- We are a great lookin' bunch of people and by the way, while I have you, we invented the comic book, the big bang, the steering wheel and the saxophone and they don't go around talking about themselves all of the time because they're f**ckin' classy. (Violet)

Violet's concern struck me immediately. What were the Irish, working both within and outside the European institutions becoming in Brussels and to what extent was it possible to understand the trajectory of Ireland's involvement in 'Europe' such that, even over the decades, an Irishness which was real, imagined or fictive remained at the forefront of daily life? What conveyances existed in Brussels for the Irish to express their belonging or their imagined 'Irishness' and what was the manner through which a European supplementary component was being advocated? An examination of these questions comprise the chapter which follows.

This chapter attempts to trace the contextual, social and historical developments of Ireland's accession to the European Union, then the EEC, in 1973 and offers an

overview of the developments in the four decades which precede it which have been deemed necessary to the understanding of Ireland's relationship to 'Europe'. To this end it examines the specific events which are oriented towards the Irish community abroad, the difficulty in employing that term notwithstanding. It attempts to offer an overview of the conditions by which Ireland is thought to derive a 'parity of esteem' from its peers and whose examination will allow us to probe, conversely, the way in which 'Europe' has become Hibernicised. Beginning from a position of relative poverty, at accession Ireland's GDP was only 40% of every other member state which rose to 110% of GDP within a period of 30 or so years. Massive shifts have occurred in the manner in which Irish people are constructed by a broad spectrum of stakeholders whose commentaries are included in this chapter. This chapter traces the way through which the construction of the Irish abroad in terms of categories of citizens (first as poor distant relatives, then as model citizens and then as Europeans to whom the concept of 'Europe' was not entirely clear) as well as the contexts in which the members of the community have found themselves occurs. This is achieved by attempting to provide a ritual calendar of sorts which outlines events held annually and their salience to the Irish community in Brussels. It is only through an examination of this kind that it might be said that Brussels, subject as the latter is to forces reconstituting it as the 'European' capital, is undergoing a Europeanisation within which the Irish play an active role.

4.1. Brussels, “far from this we were reared!”: Nearness and distance.

In January of 2013 I received a job offer at a European school⁷⁰ in under less than desirable circumstances; one of the Irish teacher’s husband had passed away suddenly of a massive heart attack. The European schools had always seemed an interesting area in which to pursue ethnographic fieldwork and I had often discussed what the term meant with my partner, who had worked there for two years at that point. My name had been put forward by another Irish member of staff (we had met previously at a function held in the Leuven institute for Ireland in Europe) and I was offered the opportunity to interview for the position on a temporary basis. I was given the position, after having been told that this was a far more preferable option than having another teacher take a taxi from another European school in Brussels to give a class only to return shortly thereafter to their teaching commitments. I graciously accepted the position on the 23rd of January with the view to beginning the following week.

I started on the afternoon of the 29th of January and made my way through the multi-storey school, which was bustling with throngs of students speaking a wide variety of languages, on through to the staff canteen. Once there, I was stricken by the axes along which the teaching staff were divided; to the right of the entrance lay the Francophones and to the left were the Anglophones. Over time I began to recognise individual tables at which sat Swedes, Spaniards, Germans, Portuguese teachers and so on. I was invited by name to sit at a sizeable table off to the left which was comprised of teachers from England and Ireland. I was greeted warmly and the staff made a point of thanking me for “stepping in at the last minute” and was told that the

teacher, whom I was replacing, was grateful that I could take her classes. The canteen was a large, well-lit room with a shuttered-off cafeteria, run by largely Flemish-speaking staff, and I was taken to get a coffee and introduced to every Anglophone member of staff individually. The canteen area was constantly bustling as announcements were made over the tannoy and a gaggle of students crowded the entrance trying to attract the attentions of those inside.

The content I presented to these Irish classes closely resembles that of the Irish classes I gave to students in Leuven, elsewhere in 5.5. of this work, and the class sizes were very small (the lowest number of students was 2 and the greatest was 4). The structure of the European school system, as I was told, was such that students had to opt to learn subjects in a language other than their own; what this meant in practice was that teachers would give classes through English on history, the human sciences or the hard sciences to students for whom it was their second language, or L2⁷¹. The Irish language was regarded as an ‘Other national language’, among which also included the languages referred to collectively as ‘the Baltics’, and which meant that classes have to be given in a language recognised as being among the working languages of the European Union (Sutton, 2011). This, I was told, accounted for the fact that the class sizes were so small.

The European school was founded with the view to educating the offspring of personnel working within any of the European institutions but which also has an

⁷⁰ For the purposes of anonymity I have not opted to name the school of which there are 5 and which are scattered around Brussels and its hinterlands.

⁷¹ The objectives, according to a document entitled: “The European Schools” is to give pupils confidence in their own cultural identity – the bedrock for their development as European citizens (EURSC, 2012:9). The term citizens here is not the kind examined previously and seems to stem more from Havel’s definition (1995) than Aradau et al’s (2010).

increasing number of fee-paying students. The curriculum is based around the European Baccalaureate, which is recognised by each of the member states' governing bodies. Official literature on the topic tends particularly to emphasise language-acquisition as a *sine qua non* of Europeanness. The requirement of undertaking an education in a language other than your own was also thought to give rise to something like a 'European' point of view- rather than in the creation of a European citizenry-, something I was told often by the staff. Not long after I had arrived, and realising that this temporary teaching position had presented an opportunity through which to do fieldwork, I began to ask what the 'European' in European School meant- language acquisition notwithstanding. To this end, and with the assistance of very busy Irish staff members, I began to formally interview some of the Irish staff members, of whom 5 graciously volunteered their time, and took fieldnotes. Many participants offered their time whenever they had a break between periods, a time at which they would usually correct examinations, learn French or 'have the banter' in the staff canteen.

What was clear, even in conversation, was that each of the staff members had their own take on what the European component of the school meant. I first addressed this to Joy, a woman in her mid-fifties who was the first to bring to my attention to a small smoking area which was far away from the prying eyes of students. We chatted and smoked and spoke candidly about the necessity of the idea of 'Europe' in terms of an economic immediacy.

You look at Ireland and you think: wow, that's small. And then you fit that into Europe the continent and you think okay. But then you look at any of the booming economies overseas and they're really massive. I mean huge, and you think like I don't think we can go it alone any more. We need to be in this together or get lost. When I think of a Europe that's bound together that's what I think of immediately; that it's important and that it's necessary. (Joy)

Joy was a ‘detaché’ which meant that she had been seconded by the Irish government, and eligibility for which involves having taught for 6 years in Ireland, after having applied for an open call. She was elegantly dressed and well-spoken and was quite convinced that, even though she was a history teacher, that the bedrock of a ‘European’ sameness derives itself from economic necessity rather than the rousing of a dormant body of self-identifying citizens. She also spoke often of the Ireland she grew up in, which she thought was too replete with religiosity, and she spoke of Ireland’s boom times as having liberated it somewhat. She was also immensely helpful as a gatekeeper and sought people out, without my realising it, to help me with my ‘project’.

The classes themselves went smoothly, possibly by dint of the small class-size and the fact that all of the students were Irish-born or had at least one Irish parent and, therefore, already had a competence in the language. One class, which just comprised of one pair of twins, was especially interesting given that their father’s position at the European commission was temporary and they wanted to learn Irish while attending the European School so that they could reintegrate themselves into a class in Ireland seamlessly when they returned at the end of the school year. Given that I had no curricular constraints, I was able to show short films in the Irish language, review basic vocabulary, work on elements of pronunciation and simply hold conversations in the Irish language.

Another staff member, Éoin, who actually put my name forward for consideration of the position, after having learned that I had given Irish classes in Leuven, also said that he would be happy to contribute. I interrupted, unknowingly, his French lesson after having been directed to his office one Tuesday afternoon. Éoin is from Dublin,

his wife travels back to Ireland every 2 weeks- “it’s that close”, and he was close to retirement. He was sharply-dressed and warm. When asked what it is that he thought the word ‘Europe’ meant in the context of the school, and whether he thought it was an ethos, a category of citizenship in the strict sense or a linguistic commonality, also made reference to the economic component. Allowing his mind to wander, he told me a story of his purchasing a car recently which really struck him:

I was buying a car, and I had to do it quick because it won’t be tax-free for too much longer (Éoin returned to Ireland with his wife in June of that year) and it was the first time that, I mean I think the guy thought to himself “this guy is a European so I can charge that bit more”. I think he saw me as something apart, which is harder to do in Ireland I think, or that I represented something to him. In any case, I felt a bit European then, because he saw me that way, and now I represented a man of means. (Éoin)

As well as the determination by the staff member at the car dealership I believe what was the context of Éoin’s contention was that having become European, or what allowed him to be likened to that of a ‘European’ was something which had been composed, necessarily by his wealth. That wealth is a constitutive element of Europeanness is something with which this chapter is directly concerned. Taking its cue from the very brief time I spent at the European School, this chapter attempts to trace the contours along which the Irish acceded to the European Union, were thought to belong, were ‘good’ citizens and came to adopt a Euro-sceptical position and underwent crisis and whose remoteness from ‘Europe’ came to be seen as less of a dividing line with rising prosperity in Ireland.

Emily Hourican (2005) a journalist for *The Dubliner* magazine wrote a piece entitled *The Irish in Belgium* which considers the experience of Irish Commissioners upon their first landing in Belgium:

The first Irish recruits arrived in Brussels as soon as we joined the common market in January 1973. A merry bunch, whole-heartedly delighted with the richness of the gravy train, they ignored the natives but soon took to life in Brussels. “It’s far from this we were reared,” they would chortle... (Hourican, 2005:15)

What is curious is the dualism in terms of distance that is evoked here; Ireland, at that time, is imagined as being a separate entity entirely from the other member states in economic terms, which is evoked in terms of the largesse which was available in Brussels at that time, but it also evokes a distance in geographical terms. By the time my research project was undertaken both meanings of felt-distance had utterly vanished. What became clear was that Brussels, as a field site, had come to lose some of its intimidating aura and that, at present at least, informants pointed to the propinquity of Ireland to Belgium, in terms of the lack of distance with respect to geography and matters of economy. The Brussels Capital region, the largest urban area in Belgium, is comprised of 19 municipalities of which the city of Brussels is only one. The reason for the diminution of distance can be posited in terms of Ireland’s rapid economic growth, during a period known as the Celtic Tiger, as well and equally in terms of the decline in airfare prices and an increase in discretionary expenditure.

But Ireland’s economic independence is something of a recent phenomenon and its relative poverty was constructed initially, prior to joining the EEC, as a stumbling block to their accession thereto. Another was the early speculation on the prospect of this community which was thought to bring about a more continental brand of European Solidarity as its *raison d’être* and which can be found in Winston Churchill’s lecture in 1946 in Zurich on the necessity of a “United States of Europe”:

We British have our own Commonwealth of Nations. These do not weaken, on the contrary they strengthen, the world organization. They are in fact its main

support. And why should there not be a European group which could give a sense of enlarged patriotism and common citizenship to the distracted peoples of this turbulent and mighty continent? And why should it not take its rightful place with other great groupings and help to shape the onward destinies of men? In order that this should be accomplished there must be an act of faith in which millions of families speaking many languages must consciously take part. (Churchill's speech to the academic youth forum in Zurich, 1946⁷²)

There is a detachment evident in the speech that while Churchill exclaims that we might "Let Europe arise" it is a 'Europe' called into existence by mutually necessary ties which would bind France and Germany, but not the United Kingdom. There is, even as early as 1946, the inkling that European solidarity is a construction of a solely mainland-continental kind and which extends only as far as its Eastern seaboard.

What occurred over the following period, and right up until the moment of Ireland's accession, is somewhat surplus to requirement in an analysis of this sort, but has been written about in Keogh (1997), Geary (2007) and Hoffman (1964). Suffice it to say that it was De Gaulle whose family, the Macartans, had Irish roots, who vetoed England's and Ireland's bids for membership citing the desire to avoid the construction of a more Atlantic vision of the European Community. The overarching concern was whether a community of six was preferable to a construct which required a more supranational focus:

[D]e Gaulle was deeply affected by the failure of his plan for a European political union, which had been torpedoed by the Benelux countries after months of discussions. Those countries, probably with the hope of forcing de Gaulle's hand, had insisted either on a supranational Europe of the Six or on an obviously not supranational political union including Britain. (Hoffman, 1964:12)

⁷² I have endeavoured here to find a version of this speech re-printed in full in an academic work but have only managed to locate it here: <http://archive.today/hSYZV>.

Supranationality, then, is constructed as a commonality then only thought to be in existence among spatially-close regions. This postulation was overturned by newer economic models (an in-depth examination of which can be found in Cini, M. & Perez-Solorzano Borragan (2004)) which suggest that the ‘spillover’ of elite loyalty would create the conditions of possibility for a supranational character among members states; this Europe-wide solidarity would not depend on spatial propinquity and so a ‘Europe’, which became broader than the continent proper, became theorisable. Europe grows in size and scope.

The first expansion of the European Union since its foundation was the inclusion of Denmark, the UK and Ireland in 1973. This expansion brought about the exact composition of the European Economic Community which ran along the dual lines of economic and social concerns:

[T]wo earlier applications from the UK in 1961 and 1967 were vetoed by then President of France Charles De Gaulle. In 1961, de Gaulle argued that the accession of Great Britain would alter the nature of the European EC completely and lead to an Atlantic Community under American domination. In 1963 he raised concerns about economic weakness that could inhibit the economic development of the EC. (Schneider, 2009:13)

The perceived, or imagined, difference between Ireland and the other member states seems to have less to do with a broader mismatch among and between them but rather more to do with the economic character of each of the states concerned⁷³. Europe encountered expansion as, first and foremost, a political-economic issue rather than as a cultural one:

⁷³ For vox-pops of what people thought of the accession of Ireland to the European Economic Community a video of a series of brief interviews, broadcast in 1972, can be viewed at: http://www.euscreen.eu/play.jsp?id=EUS_93D2AF57AE4E4FA4B06ACD79760F508D.

Did the arrival of new members alter the administrative culture or practices established under the Community of Six? The challenge was primarily political. It was linked to the relative economic poverty of Ireland, and to the persistence of a Eurosceptic opposition in Denmark and the United Kingdom. (Bussiere, Dujardin, Dumoulin, et al. 2013:123)

Ireland's colonial relationship with Britain also typified a 'peripheral-core' relationship with Ireland's agricultural, exploitative and export-driven market which is thought to have allowed the Industrial Revolution to take place in Britain unimpeded. In Regan's *Economic Development in Ireland: The historical Dimension* it is contended that:

In the period between 1650 and 1770 the Irish Bourgeoisie (composed mainly of landlords and some merchants) ceased to be potential competitors with their neighbours and Ireland became, by the end of this period, an agricultural province providing cheap foodstuffs and labour to fuel the Industrial revolution. The economy of the country had been rebuilt on an entirely new basis which, while providing relative prosperity for some merchants and landlords (and even some tenants), also created the basis for continuing crisis and contradiction which lasted well into the present century. (Regan, 1980:7)

The story of endemic underdevelopment in Ireland, and its parenthetical overreliance on the fluctuations of British markets, was viewed as one of the main benefits of EEC membership (Laffan, 2010). Throwing in their lot with a continental market helped to hedge the bets on the exporting of domestic products for which there was a desire overseas- which also gave rise to the desire for other exportable products not traditionally associated with Ireland, authentic Irish kippers as alluded to in the introductory vignette. The relationship to a broader common market was the original point of departure for an uncoupling of the centuries-old asymmetrical economic relationship between Ireland and England.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ This uneven economic relationship manifested itself as a civilizational divide and were common to the Irish diaspora in England and which are examined in chapter 6.

4.2. Ireland moves from the shadows into Europe: Approximating sameness.

With economic interdependence established, then, it was possible to formulate and to ensure a sense of cooperation within and among these, now increasingly diffuse and geographically-spread out member states. The model from which a bedrock of solidarity was thought to emerge was in further efforts at integration and interdependent co-operation which would take place over time. European identity (see 2.1.) is only the most recent effort at integration which has now been superseded by more immediate economic concerns than worries over identification. The European Economic Community's base, economical structure had already been postulated and viewed in terms of the school of economics referred to as "Neo-functionalist" economics even as early as the 1950s; the term was coined by Ernst Haas to account for the ambitions of a small community of European countries who were consolidating various resources in order to stave off the then-present but now, according to Habermas (2012), totally exhausted possibility of warfare. The model aimed to account for the rise of intergovernmental cooperation in terms of shifts of loyalty (to the European Supranational concept and cause) and was thought to take place by way of a 'functional spillover'. Cini, whose account is taken to be authoritative in the sphere of European Union political integration theory, formulates it in the following manner:

Political spillover occurs in situations characterised by a more deliberated political process, where national elites or interest groups argue that supranational cooperation is needed in order to solve political problems. National interest groups focus more on European than on national solutions and tend to shift their loyalty toward the supranational level. (Cini and Perez-Solorzano Borrigan, 2010:79)

The superabundance of political will, which is thought to arrive out of necessity and manifest itself as intergovernmental goodwill, has also been thought of as being the

engine of European integration generally or of ‘engrenage’ as it is often referred to⁷⁵. This supranational, super-structural model of economic interdependence has also been thought to allow for the conditions by which, in macro-economic commercial settings, a kind of reliance on interdependence is thought to give rise to feelings of solidarity. Despite the falling in and out of favour of the model of neo-functionalism there is an enduring appeal in the notion that neo-functional economics still holds, as evidenced in Shore (2000), who points to a pervading reliance on economic co-operation as giving rise to European solidarity:

Foremost among these themes [of Europeanist ideology, ed.] are its uncritical assumptions about harmony and consensus, its functionalist model of social cohesion, its belief in the moral superiority of supranationalism as a more ‘advanced’ system of governance, its unflinching optimism in ‘functional spillover’ and the enlightening power of *engrenage*. In this respect, ‘European construction’ is perhaps the last, and possibly the greatest of the Enlightenment grand narratives. (Shore, 2001:207. Emphasis in original)

What I wish to delineate from Shore’s conclusion is an examination of the construction of supranational interdependence giving rise to a common identity, which was thought to be a logical by-product thereof. The capacity of economic partnership giving rise to civil and social feelings of solidarity is the guise under which the social model latent in the ambitions of the European Coal and Steel community has operated. An examination of this kind also assists in determining the principles by which one member states populous might be thought of as being European, which is analysed in the sections which follow.

⁷⁵ I must here acknowledge the work of an IMMRC colleague, Julia Rozanska, who works on Polish employees of a wide variety of European Institutions and which attempts to examine their processes of engrenage since their accession in 2004.

Garret Fitzgerald, former Taoiseach (Transl. Prime Minister) on two occasions and active participant in European politics, wrote a volume which served as a retrospective on the occasion of thirty years of EU membership. For Ireland, at heart, the rise in per capita GDP to the level comparable of other member states in the European Union, which occurred in the last two decades of the previous century, was due in large part to emigration:

If, in the three-quarters of a century before the Great War, Ireland gained some ground economically, eventually achieving levels of national output and income that were about 60 percent of those of neighbouring Britain, this was largely a consequence of the socially inhuman process of exporting the large proportion of its people who were effectively destitute. Throughout most of the twentieth century, Ireland remained in roughly the same economic relationship that it had in 1914. (Fitzgerald, 2005:214)⁷⁶

Emigration, then, can be viewed to have played a considerable role in facilitating the manner by which the Irish populace could be viewed as being among Europeans. This is, in effect, the point of departure from which this chapter has arisen. What occurred to the Irish economy, whether as a direct outcome of increasing emigration or not, was the birth of the ‘Celtic Tiger’ economy and Ireland’s new-found wealth incurred a paradigmatic shift in relations to their fellow member states; namely, that of an unenviable relation with respect to economic output to a country whose populace served as something of an aspirational role model:

[T]he Irish economy became a miracle economy in during the 1990s and was practically transformed, in half a decade, from one of the most peripheral and poorest regions of the European Union (EU) to a fully participating and wealthy member of the European core. Ireland became the ‘Celtic tiger’ of

⁷⁶ The press release tribute, issued by the European people’s party on the 19th of May 2011 on the occasion of his passing, heralded Fitzgerald as “one of Ireland’s great Europeans”. <http://pr.euractiv.com/pr/tribute-dr-garret-fitzgerald-one-irelands-most-committed-europeans-epp-group-chairman-joseph-daul>.

Europe, the place to emulate, what other peripheral countries should and *could* be. (O' Hearn, 1998:x. Emphasis in Original)

Even here, O' Hearn alludes to a remoteness and peripherality that seem to have become more porous in composition through economic development. The actors who are thought to be most exposed to the benefits of European integration, arising from the felt-desire to aid and abet the expansion of the EU, are those working within the capacity of the European institutions and are the ones who are looked to as agents of change at the level of a Europeanisation from below.

More than simply having the desire to sing the praises of European integration, with the end of involving the aloof, elusive democratic contingent which would imbue the working of the project of Europeanisation with legitimacy, the necessity to speak positively on matters concerning European integration is codified into the European Commissioner's code of conduct⁷⁷. This manual clearly states that any extra-curricular, pedagogical or speaking engagements must concern itself with extolling the value inherent in the "European interest". In article 1.1. of the code of conduct for European commissioners can be seen:

Commissioners may not engage in any other professional activity, whether gainful or not. Unpaid courses given from time to time in the interests of European integration and other communication activities on areas of European interest are the only outside activities that are permitted, and do not have to be declared (EUCOM, 2011:2)

It is in this way that anthropologists might select, as their template, a small number within the European institutions and elsewhere to examine the effect that these members have had in the carrying-out of this aim. The shift in loyalty, experienced by

⁷⁷ A comparative analysis of the manner and extent to which European commissioners, of every single members states, adhere to this code would also, doubtless, make interesting anthropological grist for the mill; this, however, fall beyond the scope of inquiry of the present work.

top European brass alike, has been studied in many manners and it is to these examples that I will turn in the section which follows.

Ban (2007, 2008) has employed organizational studies and the study of management to determine the impact further enlargement has had on prospective European commissioners, who work in the executive and legislative body of the European institutions, arriving from new member states. Two strands which underpin the motivations behind these Eurocrats to join the project of European enlargement are of interest here:

While many respondents saw this as a good career move or a way to work in an international setting, the most common response was actually that this was, in some way, a natural progression from their studies or their previous work inside their national government on accession... But a few people also saw working for the European institutions as a chance to represent their own country. As one person put it: My interest is in working for the European Union because I am interested in helping my country and representing my country. (Ban, 2008:7-8)

What emerges is the notion that European integration is something which requires that the boundaries of the nation state be exceeded and that only by being involved at the European level can one's own nation be represented. This is in keeping, broadly, with the spectre and scale of high modernity or postmodernity which requires that we think in a manner which is post-national and which exceeds the notion of bounded, individual, remote and discrete nation states working for a bounded and identifiable populous. This concern is shared by Favell (2003) who writes about the lack of determinism, concerning integration policies having dominion over individual nation-state's affairs, as well as the lack of care being paid to the individual citizen whose desires may be more in keeping with the European project than with their own nation states:

But what of bottom-up studies: empirical work which focuses on the experiences, attitudes or social mobility of the immigrants or ethnic minority members themselves? Policy and institutional-based studies often have very little to say about actual migrant experiences... Clearly, this would be material close to the actual process of social change going on inside 'multicultural' nation-states; and, it might be thought, material more likely to reveal evidence of tendencies that are decomposing the conventional nation-state integration paradigm. (Favell, 2003:12)

Favell's appeal to a more ethnographically oriented work is well founded; integration, in the European perspective, needs must extol the virtue which is possible in looking beyond the operation of the individual nation state to examine, in a comparative manner, those which are taking place at the intergovernmental and European levels. Elsewhere, in a prolegomena to a new research agenda within the sociology of the European Union, Favell writes that the agents for the decomposition of the nation-state ideology, in place of a cosmopolite horizon which has yet to be fully articulated, are exactly these pioneers of European integration:

The low numbers of EU migrants may indeed be explained by the persistence of national 'cultural' barriers rooted in the preservation of welfare protection... These 'pioneers' of an integrating Europe experience first-hand the invisible borders of European polities, embodying the possibility of social mobility while pointing to the immobile resilience of the European nation-state-society as the dominant organizational form (Favell, 2009:563)

Here the individual EU migrant, who contains within themselves the possibility of advocating for the adoption of a more European perspective, rather than simply the elite who is actively involved in its construction, even slightly dogmatically so in the instance of the European commission, and who is outlined as also being a valuable unit of analysis. Theirs is the voice which, it is thought, can speak to a broader set of experiences than those embodied by the occupant of one member state who is believed to adhere more strictly to the nation-state prescribed model. Whether this

model is of a more positive or negative kind though is also co-determined by the climate of receptivity to ‘Europe’ at home, and it is to this context that I will turn next.

4.3. Euroscepticism, emigration and language; Ireland and Europe at the beginning of the 21st Century.

Laffan (2011) pinpoints the emergence of something akin to a Eurosceptical consciousness, as something like a certain feeling of commonality which has developed over time but which also incurs a certain palpable disagreement with the trajectory of ‘Europe’, in Ireland as having occurred in the year 2000. This was generated by the exact same elites who were thought to endeavour to further the efforts of European integration rather than critiquing them; two events are appropriated in her argument to this end, the first is the reprimand handed down from the European Council to the Irish minister for Finance Charlie McCreevy for failing to implement anti-inflation measures to their full extent and the second is the entry into popular parlance of the Brussels-Boston dichotomy. The second instance concerned a speech by then-Minister for Arts, Culture and the Gaeltacht’s Síle De Valera, delivered in Boston College which commemorated the launch of a work by author Kevin Kenny on the topic of the “American Irish” during which she remarked:

As the EEC developed into our European Community and later the European Union, decisions other than economic ones were taken. They seemed secondary at the time. But we have found that directives and regulations agreed in Brussels can often seriously impinge on our identity, culture and traditions.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Although this speech is cited often, by Laffan as well as more popular media, it seems next to impossible to procure a copy of the speech in its entirety.

Laffan remarks that this is the first occasion on which a Eurosceptical Irish viewpoint can be viewed and seems to be more indicative of Ireland's relationship with the European Union from the period extending from 2000 to 2010 and which came at the expense of Ireland's prominent standing and reputation in Brussels. Laffan is quick to remind the reader too that with Ireland's increasing global sway, as a direct consequence of the Celtic Tiger, it became possible to look beyond the budgetary transfers being made by the European Union and with the declining reliance thereupon emerged speeches and discourses which were typified as being softly-Eurosceptical. The Irish response to the Nice treaty⁷⁹, which required an amendment being made to the Irish constitution, was hailed as being indicative of exactly this problem, and of European governance in general, and four months after the non-ratification the European Commission issued the *White paper on European Governance* in which:

The Irish 'no' highlights the impact of these problems on many people. This was reflected not only in the final outcome of the referendum, but also in the low turnout and quality of the debate which preceded it. Yet people also expect the Union to take the lead in seizing the opportunities of globalisation for economic and human development, and in responding to environmental challenges, unemployment, concerns over food safety, crime and regional conflicts. They expect the Union to act as visibly as national governments. (EC, 2001:3)

This executive capacity for decision making became all too immediate with the European Financial Crisis and Laffan, writing in 2010, refers to this time as a critical junction and warns of the possibility of a dissemination of the view that Ireland had become something of a whipping boy or scapegoat by European élites:

⁷⁹ For an expanded examination of the effects that the Nice treaty brought about see: *The Treaty of Nice: A comprehensive guide* (2008) available here:

Ireland's dependence on the EU in the terms of the bailout could well have long lasting effects on Ireland's relationships with European institutions and the other member states... [T]he discourse and narrative on the bailout in the Irish print media is replete with references to what was done to Ireland, to Ireland as victim. (Laffan, 2010:9)

The economic interrelationship shared between members of the Economic Monetary Union is made all too visible by the conditions of crisis (thought to have occurred between 2008 and 2013) and is in evidence in recent capitulations of the meaning of European identity. In an experimental propaedeutic on the future prospects of European identity, Vaclav Havel wrote about the clear disassociation between the ambition in erecting a European Monetary Union and one in which the Union is derived from the fellow-feeling and commonalities in and between Europeans:

The driving force behind European unification was economic, though at the same time it has become clear that achievement in this field alone is insufficient for the development of a European identity. Despite economic success, something is obviously missing at present. Trade and industry exist to serve the people, so the social objectives of the economy must be identifiable. (Havel, 1995)⁸⁰

However, where there was an economic solidarity from which Europeans reaped benefits, by dint of their living in member states who benefitted directly therefrom, so too must there be efforts made to understand and to live among fellow Europeans. Havel singles out, in the final section of the work, from among the features which are integral to a European identity the necessity to acquire languages with a view to understanding our fellow citizens. "All Europeans should learn foreign languages as early as possible. European citizens must be able to understand each other" (Ibid, 1995:4). In the case of Ireland this possibility for multi-lingualism was then more

http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/institutional_affairs/treaties/nice_treaty/index_en.htm

⁸⁰ I have not been able to secure a hard copy of this speech. It is available in full, with a brief synopsis of how it came to be ratified: <http://www.eurit.it/Eurplace/diba/citta/cartaci.html>

difficult to realise given that the primary language of Ireland, as enshrined in its constitution, was not at that time (prior to 2008) recognised to be a modern European language at all. The distinction between recognised, modern languages and essential working languages is an important one; there are three ‘core’ working languages in the European institutions, namely English, German and French, and 21 other recognised languages⁸¹. Since 2008, it has been possible to apply for positions within the EU citing Irish as a second language which is a necessity in applying for work within the EU institutions. This is a clear advantage for many while also alleviating problems concerning Ireland’s generally monolingual composition.

A timely work is that of Ó Ríain who, writing on the necessity of inclusion of Irish among the European Union’s recognised “modern” languages remarks:

How does European identity relate to the Irish language? A common feature would appear to be equity or equal treatment, expressed in Irish as "cothrom na Féinne"⁸², the fair play characteristic of the ancient Irish band of heroes, the Fianna. The Irish language lacked this equitable treatment for many centuries, and its absence today for most European languages may imperil both Europe's identity and its linguistic diversity. Although the present international language order pays lip service to the importance of human rights, and to the equality of individual rights irrespective of language, in practical terms it rejects them by perpetuating linguistic injustice. (Ó Ríain, 2001)

This work predates the admission of the Irish language into the status of an official language of the European Union by 6 years while also attempting to more closely join the dual notions language identity and political solidarity. The remainder of O’ Ríain’s work is an examination of the feasibility of using Esperanto as a kind of

⁸¹ See: http://ec.europa.eu/languages/policy/language-policy/official_languages_en.htm

⁸² Cothrom na féinne means something akin to a fair and equal treatment among peers as well as an equality, or parity of esteem, among a people of the same type.

initiate language which students could acquire with ease and which might lay the foundation for the acquisition of many more languages besides.⁸³

At the end of the first decade of the 21st century Ireland occupies, once again, a dual position of having overcome economic difficulty to be perceived as being among peers and has also been hit hard by the European financial crisis; the acknowledgment of Irish, as being among the modern European working languages, which was voted in unanimously by the European Council of ministers is also an act of recognition, of solidarity⁸⁴. The notion of solidarity, as it concerns the current crisis, is examined in the section which follows.

4.4. Solidarity, crisis and non-Europe.

I take intimacy to be a foundational aspect of identity, with respect to the development of a supranational ‘we-feeling’ (Deutsch et al., 1957) or of a successfully "imagined" community (Anderson, 1983). In order to establish what is meant by crisis I wish to return to Canguilhem's formulation that: "[Crisis] is a concept of medical origin- it is the concept of a change that, signalled by certain symptoms, intervenes in the course of an illness and that will indeed decide the life of the patient" (Canguilhem, 2012:69).

In April, 2013 I heard Jurgen Habermas give an address which concerned the notions of crisis and solidarity which stemmed from the already-existing architecture

⁸³ Dr. O Ríain, as well as being a well-respected figure in the Irish community and occasional attendee to the Ciorcal Comhrá, is invited to give a lecture on the occasion of “Seachtain na Gaeilge” and he has lectured on this theme every year for the past four years during which research was conducted.

⁸⁴ For more on the entry of the Irish language as the 21st working language of the European Union, see: <http://eu2013.ie/ireland-and-the-presidency/about-ireland/irishlife/irishlanguage>.

of economic integration but which still possesses, as a hangover from its neo-functionalism, an economic integration that is beginning to spillover into nationalist resentments rather than a solidarity in and between nations.

Systemic constraints again shatter the established relations of solidarity and compel us to reconstruct the challenged forms of political integration of the nation state. This time, the uncontrolled systemic contingencies of a form of capitalism driven by unrestrained financial markets are transformed into tensions between the member states of the European Monetary Union. If one wants to preserve the Monetary Union, it is no longer enough, given the structural imbalances between the national economies, to provide loans to over-indebted states so that each should improve its competitiveness by its own efforts. What is required is solidarity instead, a cooperative effort *from a shared political perspective* to promote growth and competitiveness in the euro zone as a whole. (Habermas, 2013, emphasis in original)

The capitalistic architecture upon which the European Monetary Union rests is now itself in jeopardy and it is for this reason that a social, political solidarity is now required. The figures released recently by Eurostat (2012), which attempt to calculate the costs for individual member states with respect to their government's financial intervention during the years 2007-2013. The figures are somewhat staggering and have been widely reported upon. The Irish taxpayer is believed to have paid for 42% of the Europe-wide financial crisis.⁸⁵ Even Irish MEP, Nessa Childers, is thought to have broken ranks when in a press release she remarked:

Without burden sharing on banking debt in Europe, then any pretence of solidarity left in the EU will be extinguished. As we speak, the EU social model is being torn apart in many parts of Europe including in Ireland. (January 15th, 2013)⁸⁶

⁸⁵ "42% of Europe's banking crisis paid by Ireland" Wednesday, January 16th, 2014. The Irish Examiner, available here: <http://www.irishexaminer.com/ireland/42-of-europes-banking-crisis-paid-by-ireland-219703.html>. "How much has Ireland paid for the EU banking crisis?" January 15th, 2014. The Journal: <http://www.thejournal.ie/readme/banking-crisis-bill-ireland-755464-Jan2013/>

⁸⁶ Available in full here: <http://www.mediahq.com/nchildersmep/45695/irish-have-paid-42-of-cost-of-european-banking-crisis.html>

The response which was thought to be the one most fitting to concerns over the economic model of European integration and, parenthetically the social one which is thought to stem therefrom, is in the postulation and questioning of what Europe would be like without the European Monetary Union; this idea is referred to by the European Economic and Social Committee as non-Europe and it is to the notion of non-Europe that I wish now to turn.

The notion of non-Europe seems to be a recent invention which has as its aim to (re-)establish the benefits accrued from being part of a single monetary union and of EU membership more generally. What is put forward is that ‘Europe’ as a consolidated entity which, even though it has an ambiguous and complex process of subjectification, is one which is better than its antithesis. These measures have been adopted in effect to invent a post-crisis European viewpoint with the express intention of revivifying discourses concerning the role of the European Citizen in the democratic process.

On 18 September 2012, the EESC adopted an opinion on the cost of non-Europe, an issue which has resurfaced on the European agenda not only because it is important in mapping a way out of the financial crisis, but also because it is crucial to the success of the Europe 2020 strategy and the next Multiannual Financial Framework. It is a useful perspective from which to take forward the debate on pursuing European integration at a time of rising anti-European sentiment among citizens, growing populism and extremism (EESC, 2012⁸⁷)

What ensued was the publication of a 521 page work detailing the economic manner in which membership of the European Union was superior to a ‘Europe’ in which there was an economic “war of all against all”. What is striven for, then, is an attempt

⁸⁷ The full text of the assessment of the costs of non-Europe is available here: European Economic and Social Committee Press Release, CES 12/57. 24th, September, 2012.

to restructure the debate so that a hitherto fully-populated Europe of active citizens is preferable to no 'Europe' at all.

Weirdly, an idea of this kind has already been formulated in the European Commission funded work: *The Raspberry Ice Cream war* (EUCOM, 1998) in which a group of three children are transported to a by-gone age. This alternate universe still possesses stringent border control, which the children must bribe their way around, and is replete with provincial self-interest and xenophobia. The work is not uncontroversial, given that its target audience is children, and that its express aim is to show in a fictive manner the perils of being without European governance by showing the many luxuries of mobility, mutual respect and open-mindedness which are thought to be taken for granted. Below is the climax of the piece in which two protagonists expound the reasons why European solidarity is preferable to regionalism, and parenthetically to inter-regional warfare, sanctions or prohibitions of the kind which are no longer encountered after European accession.

The work, figure 7⁸⁸, whose subtitle reads: *A comic for young people on a peaceful Europe without frontiers*, caused the most controversy in England where 75,000 copies of the work were, depending on a variety of reports, either placed in storage in a warehouse in Oxfordshire, pending a possible re-shipment to Brussels⁸⁹, or were pulped. The text is in keeping with the notion that the manner in which the incitement to solidarity can occur is through the medium of education, which is

http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_CES-12-57_en.html

⁸⁸ Source: EUCOM, 1998:15. While the text is currently unavailable in hardcopy form it can still be downloaded from <http://bookshop.europa.eu/en/the-raspberry-ice-cream-war-pbCM1097130/> in one of 7 languages.

present in the code of conduct for commissioners and elsewhere. The stakes here, even in the realm of the fantastical, is the spectral re-visitation of non-Europe.

Perhaps even the tone of the re-visitation of non-Europe is an unwise one, given that if an identity cannot be summoned from a place which exceeds the desire for economic interdependence (i.e. the point at which it is thought to be desirable), then how might a notion which concerns the possibility of a dissolution or non-involvement in the European Union be any clearer? This is recognized by former assistant to Jean Monnet, Pascal Fontaine:

A sense of belonging together and having a common destiny cannot be manufactured. It can only arise from a shared cultural awareness, which is why Europe needs to focus not just on economics but also on education, citizenship and culture. (Fontaine, 2010)

The section which follows attempts to examine the manner in which the engagement of the European subject as citizen, who has both rights and duties to the cause of European integration, is thought to give rise to solidarity.

4.5. Why Europeanness needs Irishness: In-field investigations.

Moving to other ethnographic considerations we can observe the interrelationship between the Brussels and Leuven contexts, with respect to their seeming desire to Europeanise. It has been deemed a necessity to trace the development of Ireland from the position of remote, community-oriented and isolated Island nation to a position among their fellow Europeans, in the ideas of the abstruse 'Europe' and from the

⁸⁹ This is especially curious given that the EU publishes its work from their Publications Office which located in Luxembourg and not Brussels. <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/proeuro-comic-binned-for-taking-wrong-tone-1179980.html>

position of a wide variety of stakeholders we can now turn to how this manifests itself in the present.

Declan was hired by the Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe to act as a secretary for the European Presidency's cultural agenda, which included a speech, to be held only a week later, and for which a lack of attendance was a genuine concern. Declan was a 28 year old, former Irish teacher and fluent Irish speaker who described the Irish language once as "a thing that elevates normal conversation and makes things really important-feeling." He was also an active member of FC Irlanda and worked ardently to promote the Irish presidency of the European Council in 2013 cultural programme. He rang me, on this occasion, out of a frustration in the lack of engagement that the LIIE had made to reach out to the public to attend a lecture that he had organised. The topic, as he explained, would be an examination of European Integration delivered by an Irish minister but which had no wine reception afterward and given that there was little opportunity for networking or glad-handing there had been a lower expression of interest. He asked me, at that time, to attempt to 'rent-a-crowd' for the event and I undertook it to invite as many colleagues and friends to the event in order to fill the room.

The talk given by the Minister of state for European Affairs, Lucinda Creighton TD, concerned the interstitial position which 'Europe' has found itself faced with over the recent years due both to the financial crisis and to the difficulties in remedying Europe's 'legitimacy deficit'. The speech, entitled: *Europe in a New Axial Age? Democracy and Citizenship in a Deeper Union*, was a protracted examination how 'Europe' might be theorised in a period of transition. This is a notion similar to that of the axial age alluded to in the title, as well as a call to arms of

the responsibilities of the individual citizen of the European Union to take action which was underscored by 2013's celebration of the "European Year of the Citizen." The aim of promoting the role of the European Citizen, throughout 2013, can be put as follows:

The European Year [of the Citizen, ed.] would raise awareness among multipliers⁹⁰ and the general public about Union citizens' rights and how to concretely benefit from those rights, with a view to facilitating the exercise of the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States. General objective of the European Year is a greater sense of belonging of citizens to the EU through the promotion of rights of Union citizens, in particular the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States. (EUCOM, 2011:12)

Minister Creighton's address also touched upon the interstitial relationship, brought about by the crisis in part, between the citizen and the European social model and referred to this period as being akin to the axial age and as an interregnum. What was required to ameliorate the effects of the crisis was a greater sense of belonging, of solidarity.

Whatever model is thought to account best for economic integration, there has been far less of an effort made to account for the exact position or site at which solidarity, here constructed as the transfer of loyalty from the citizen to the project of European integration, would emerge and take a hold over self-styled, post-national subjects. For this project's purposes this question has been included within the general domain of the examination of the manner in which the Irish might be thought of as being European. Demoissier (2012) explains the reasons why it is that anthropology is

⁹⁰ Although originally a term employed in Keynesian economics the meaning of multiplier here is the 'spillover' effect that the choices made by one member of any given community automatically alters the possible paths available to others of that community. The notion of spillover is prominent here once more.

well-suited, possibly even best placed, to examine the empirically-embedded space, in writing:

Europe is as much a construction as it is a reality, which makes the anthropological discipline the perfect match for an understanding of social and cultural processes. The study of European integration is dominated by the growing role of political sciences, which as borrowed not always systematically some of anthropology's qualitative methodological tools. Time is ripe to engage with other disciplines and bring our cultural expertise back to the centre of the debate on the EU and on the relationship between culture and politics. (Demoissier, 2012:11)

It is for this reason that I wish to move from the tumultuous relationship between Ireland and Europe to more ethnographically-attuned accounts of the manner in which the Irish community have established a community in Brussels which might be thought of as being subject to the broader pattern of Europeanisation, as it has been capitulated here.

4.6. Irish life in Brussels: Irishness in formation and flux.

Conventional ethnological and ethnographical accounts of Ireland in the early part of the 20th century are replete with accounts of seasonal variation (crop yields, tourism, emigration and population variation). Rather than trying to construct something resembling a ritual calendar, which has conventionally been viewed as a pedigree for ethnographic wholeness, at least in earlier works, it has been deemed less necessary here; this view is in keeping with Wilson and Donnan's pronouncement that the full provision of an annual calendar of the events held for the purposes of conjoining a community is one which has become less apposite or necessary in the era of postmodernity.

One particular sore point of discussion was the old 'chestnut' that an anthropologist should conduct research for at least one annual cycle, to

witness social and cultural life through all the annual seasons. As one of the opponents to the position put it, this was an antiquated practice of an outdated anthropological tradition, linked to rural and agricultural studies, when old fashioned anthropologists sought to chronicle the agricultural cycle: 'anthropologists do not do that anymore' (Wilson & Donnan, 2006:186)

What is striking in the contention above is, given anthropology's devotion to information which is collected with a qualitative mind-set, is that it is conceivable that ethnography could take place in time frames which are far, far shorter than those envisioned in a doctoral length programme; what I mean here is that an all-year round examination of the inner workings of any given transnational group(s). This belief may be a theoretical hangover from the age in which Malinowski was writing and thought the legitimacy of ethnographic accounts would stem from an examination of the smallest minutiae of everyday encounters:

...there is a series of phenomena of great importance which cannot possibly be recorded by questioning or computing documents, but have to be observed in their full actuality. Let us call them the imponderabilia of actual life. Here belong such things as the routine of a man's working day, the details of his care of the body, of the manner of taking food and preparing it, and of passing sympathies and dislikes between people; the subtle yet unmistakable manner in which personal vanities and ambitions are reflected in the behaviour of the individual and in the emotional reactions of those who surround him (Malinowski, (1984)[1922]:18-19)

They are imponderabilia precisely because they are not reducible either to some function or cause; this is clearly expressed elsewhere in anthropology that an ultimate reduction, of any given manner of food preparation or personal manner by which people conduct their daily affairs, is impossible if not totally undesirable. What is provided here, then, is a broad overview of the way in which 'Irishness', or the extension outward of Hibernophilia, is deployed, interpreted and articulated. What I wish to contend, in anticipation of the examination of the days of celebration observed by many within the Irish community in Belgium, is that they have emerged in tandem

with narratives from my participants as to their importance and oftentimes at their insistence. It is also important to stress that the desire to attend any event, or prompting to be in attendance at that event, can emerge from a position of jocularity as often as it can from a sincere desire to be present. It is for this reason that there is a split between those events which cater to the Irish community and those events which are an attempt to capitalise upon or to commodify that same identity.

What is meant here by commodification is the manner in which celebrations of Irish identity in Europe might be thought of, allegedly, as an attempt to co-opt an identity which is thought to be territorially-bound⁹¹. This act of dissociation, that can occur within the context of home by alien spectators attempting to commodify aspects of Irish life as it is lived, is exemplified in Quinn (2001) who analyses the manner in which ‘traditional’ crafts become transformed into palatable tourist fare. Moore details her ethnographic experience among a small group of interested Irish speakers (an *Tapéis gael* or Irish tapestry) who are attempting to revive the craft of weaving as part of their purported heritage. The ethnographer details the manner in which in anticipation of an upcoming event a ‘frontstage’, intended for consumption by the tourist gaze, is erected which bears little commonality with the group’s everyday workings and tasks. This presentification of cultural heritage, as though it were contemporaneous and in keeping with life in the present age, causes proponents to become alienated from their own attempts to revive the lost heritage and induces, in one informant, the desire to emigrate and to start anew. In closing, Quinn writes:

⁹¹ The interplay between roots and routes is examined in the chapter which follows. It is sufficient only to note here that roots, in a vein similar to the manner in which Simone Weil (2001[1952]) had capitulated them, served as a counterpoint and/or solution to feelings of ‘homelessness’, concerns over the dissolution of community and a breaking away from the historical memory of the past.

[T]he reconfiguring of persons who seek to define themselves as cultural artefacts, and who subsequently become defined as such, means that they as well as the objects they create are susceptible of coming under the influence and power of continuing objective discourses... To colonizer, church and state in Ireland is now added tourist, the newest representer who, because s/he is solicited and approached, arrives with even more disingenuous acerbity. (Quinn, 2001:38)

The consumption of Irish-themed fare, though, is not simply done by tourists who arrive with the express intention of watching, while simultaneously objectifying the display, is thought to be most rife among third and fourth generation Irish-American for whom St. Patrick's day is the single largest conveyance through which a collective assembly can join together and express pride in their identity. This includes both the Irish and the non-Irish and is thought to imbue those in the audience with a kind of provisional and temporal license over Irishness⁹². This is oftentimes difficult given that their identity has been formed, not by having been born in Ireland, but has been mediated through simulations and other representations of that identity:

The negotiations of such Irish Americans' relationship to Ireland becomes one dominated by the concept of a home nation which is not only elsewhere, but which is not directly and personally remembered. It is this moment at which Ireland becomes, for the majority of the world's population who identify themselves as Irish, a home understood through the consumption of narrativised images- principally those of film and tourism- rather than first-hand memory or experience. (Rains, 2006:141)

With the desire for consumption in mind what is examined next, with respect to events held annually, is the manner in which Irishness is deployed and negotiated in Brussels. This is undertaken with an eye to observing the manner in which Irishness is reformulating the symbolic landscape of the 'European' capital.

⁹² For a comprehensive history of St. Patrick's Day festivities, which are documented in largely Anglophone communities, see Cronin and Adair (2002).

4.6.1. St. Patrick's Day.

One of the most important events in the Irish social calendar is St. Patrick's Day, celebrated every year on March 17th and whose celebration officially brings Seachtain Na Gaeilge -(see 4.6.3.) to a close. St Patrick, the patron saint of Ireland, is most-well known for having been able to explain the complexity of the Holy Trinity to Irish pagans in terms of a shamrock whose three points constituted the manifestation of three separate entities while remaining only one object. The event has become synonymous with excessive drinking due to the lenience which is exercised with respect to Lenten vows. Shamrocks are often worn on the lapels, or are emblazoned upon badges, as the event begins early in the morning when Manneken Pis⁹³ is bedecked with an Aran sweater, a tweed cap and green trousers. The Hibernification of Manneken Pis is arranged by the Irish Embassy to Belgium and is usually conducted before the St. Patrick's Day march, which takes place in Parc Cinquantenaire. The "parade" which is in actuality more of an extended walk, or "mórshiúl" in Irish, is organized by a smaller cluster of agencies, although there is one individual who runs, with some assistance, each of these agencies. First, there is the not for profit group which arranges the walk, known as the "Brussels Saint Patrick's Day Parade" which also comprises the "Meetup" group known as "The Irish in Europe Association (International)"⁹⁴. The group concerns itself primarily with raising capital sufficient to hold the St. Patrick's Day parade at which there is usually a grandmaster and one or two musicians. The slogan for the St. Patrick's Day parade

⁹³ Mannekin Pis is a small, bronze statue of you young boy urinating into a font and is a popular favourite among Brussels-bound tourists. For more see: <http://www.brussels.be/artdet.cfm/4328>

has remained more or less the same since the beginning of my research stay; namely, “Everyone is invited to wear the green⁹⁵ and be Irish for the day!” The term Irish-for-the-day is an interesting one and on the walk-cum-parade I took a photo of a sash, which was being worn by a woman whose hibernophilia had drawn her to celebrate the event, which was a direct testament to that sentiment. Irishness here takes on a non-sedentary, nation-bound quality; it becomes an unmoored Irishness in flux and for this reason creates the possibility for non-Irish people to join the festivities on an equal footing.

The act of interpolation, then, is foregone and rather everyone simply becomes Irish by their being in attendance. What can be observed, then, is the parenthetical accessibility of Irishness being reappropriated as a ‘floating signifier’ but also its temporariness. It is a day upon which anyone is welcome to join in, albeit in a partial way and in a time-restricted manner. The controlled and carefully planned out route is similar in many sense to the way through which Irishness, and attachments thereto, is parcelled out to the audience. Irishness is provisionally attributed, but claiming that this is the case any other day besides the day on which it has been permitted would almost certainly result in a contestation.⁹⁶ It was my intention to analyse this phenomenon on a more regular basis than once a year in Brussels, and its hinterlands, and in what follows I attempt to offer a tracing of the manner in which Irishness, and belonging thereto in a sense, is meted out.

⁹⁴ <http://www.meetup.com/Irish-in-Europe>.

⁹⁵ “Wherever the green is worn” is a turn of phrase coined in Yeats’ “Easter, 1916” which details the events of the Civil Rising in Dublin at that time but has also been used in Coogan’s 2002 work “Wherever the Green is worn: The Story of the Irish Diaspora”. The wearing of the green is symbolically imbued with having a connection to the expansive Diaspora as well as to the homeland.

I had originally planned to spend as much time with members of the Irish Club in Brussels as was possible, given that they were also a stakeholder in the Irish St. Patrick's Day march, often meeting their members at events held in the Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe, but in late April, 2012 this became less of a tenable option; this was due to its closure in response to allegations levelled against the organisation of tax evasion. What happened to bring these allegations about, exactly, is difficult to discern, but an email sent early in April by the Irish Club's list serve arrived in my inbox advertising a seminar on Taxation and investment to be held in the Holiday Inn, Brussels, on May 15th. I paid it no mind but before too long I received apologetic emails and saw news articles running headlines concerning the Irish Embassy's endorsement⁹⁷.

The most recent copy of the newsletter, which announces the details of an upcoming AGM, is from just after the time that this information was made available to the press, May, 2012; The link when followed leads simply to an Error 404 message. Since that time the Irish Club of Brussels have been less prolific, still arranging monthly walking excursions and arranging the annual St. Patrick's Day Gala, and so many other organisations have attempted to occupy the lacuna left behind by their departure.

⁹⁶ This is analysed at length in Chapter 6 which aims to examine even how Irish belonging can come to be questioned as being valid in the space of one generation, such as was the case for the Irish in the United Kingdom in the 1960s.

⁹⁷ "Irish Brussels Embassy 'promotes' tax avoidance through Malta":

<http://www.independent.com.mt/articles/2012-04-29/news/irish-brussels-embassy-promotes-tax-avoidance-through-malta-309402/> and "Oops, Irish Embassy Email Promoted Tax Evasion by transferring (sic) funds to Malta":<http://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20120428/local/oops-irish-embassy-email-promoted.417320> and "Embassy in Brussels promoted event on avoiding Irish taxes":<http://www.irishtimes.com/news/embassy-in-brussels-promoted-event-on-avoiding-irish-taxes-1.510283>.

4.6.2. Arthur's day.

Arthur's day is the most recent addition to the Irish ritual calendar and was first conceived of in 2009. Resembling Saint Patrick's Day, in its phrasing at least, the idea concerns consumeristic consumption more directly. Irishness is less emphasized than the consumption of Irish-fare is, as a kind of fetishistic Hibernophilia. Each Guinness glass is inscribed with a golden Celtic harp and the year on which it was established, 1759, emblazoned on either side. In anticipation of the occasion of its 250th anniversary Diageo⁹⁸ began undertaking an aggressive marketing campaign the intention behind which was to fill pubs with celebrants who at 17:59 pm would make a solemn toast: "To Arthur!" The novelty of this occasion was something that was captured through advertisements, as though to communicate the fact that the confusion surrounding what exactly the propriety of the occasion meant was also part of its appeal. The pseudo-nationalist character of the affair, and the parenthetical drunkenness which, because it begins comparatively early in the evening, have been criticised and attempts were quickly made to dress-up the occasion in a kind of cultural garb by hosting concerts in various parts of Ireland and beyond. While the original event was held on the 23rd of September the date has changed over the years in order to land on a Thursday. This has led the occasion to be dubbed as an 'alcoholiday' and is widely viewed as a dressed-up, culturally-tinged affair on which the excessive consumption of one brand of alcohol exclusively is tolerated.

⁹⁸ Diageo is a massive transnational drinks and spirits company whose portfolio includes brands such as Bushmill's Irish Whiskey, Bailey's Irish Cream and Guinness.

The perceived hollowness, around the consumption of alcohol exclusively- which has no commemorative garb, has drawn criticism and allegations of the incitement to excessive alcohol consumption⁹⁹ and calls for a more conscientious redistribution of the proceeds earned in order to combat the societal ills that excessive alcohol consumption brings about¹⁰⁰. Despite its negative press, the event has been embraced by certain parts of the Irish community. I was present for two consecutive Arthur's days, one in Brussels and one in Leuven, Kitty O' Shea's and Stapletons Irish Bar respectively, and on each occasion the venue was packed to capacity at around the prescribed time. The novelty of the celebration, and its only tangential connection with Irishness as such, appears to be what calls for exception here but what is still sought is an occasion on which Irishness is represented globally through one, and only one, iconic consumeristic representation.

4.6.3. Seachtain na Gaeilge.

Seachtain na Gaeilge seems to have been observed and celebrated in Belgium from around 2008 onwards. The event, which celebrates and highlights the Irish language and, albeit tangentially, other more stereotypically Irish fare such as music, spans between 14 and 17 days. The event has been officially opened with a speech in Irish by both the Irish Commissioner for Research and Innovation, Máire Geogahan-Quinn,

⁹⁹ Arthur's Day 'lethal for young people'. Available here: <http://www.herald.ie/news/arthur-s-day-lethal-for-young-people-29599686.html>. See also: Drinking Guinness on Arthur's Day helps Diageo define a drunken Ireland:<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/oct/02/guinness-arthur-s-day-diageo-ireland>

as well as others since its inception. The opening event is held in the Irish Permanent Representation to the European Union, on Rue De Froissart, Brussels, and while the first two times it appeared as though there was a spontaneity to the occasion over time it was possible to discern various behavioural and linguistic motifs which was compounded by the fact that the affair is a primarily social one. The early parts of the evening, prior to the official opening speech, are held in a large function room at which Guinness and red and white wine are freely available. The event is attended, for the most part, by employees in the European Commission who work as English-Irish translators as well as members of the non-Irish community who speak Irish. For the three incarnations, at which I could be present, a similar sentiment was mentioned by those giving speeches, often in Irish alone; the first topic is the quasi-esoteric character of the Irish language, thought to be incredibly useful in the capacity of day to day life in Brussels, (“you can’t, after all, have a private conversation in English in Brussels. You need something else.”), restating the ancient connection the Irish language has with the Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe (examined in the chapter which follows) as well as an overview of the events which celebrate the week(s) of Irish (which include a “Trath na gceist” (table quiz), “Ceolchoirm” (music concert) and a “Lón le gaeilge” (a lunch held entirely through Irish, even in interactions with wait staff and which takes place in Delish¹⁰¹ and whose staff are fluent in Irish).

¹⁰⁰ Arthur's Day bands 'should donate fees to charity'. Available at: <http://www.irishexaminer.com/breakingnews/ireland/arthurs-day-bands-should-donate-fees-to-charity-607859.html>.

¹⁰¹ <http://www.delish.be/>

Publicity for these events takes place both via email and by way of a dedicated Facebook group.¹⁰²

Here, the centrality of the Irish language serves as something of a disincentive to a broader audience and most of the events are organised in such a manner as to optimise the amount of shared conversation that can take place. Where St. Patrick's day invites those living in Brussels and its hinterlands to be Irish for a day, Seachtain na Gaeilge relies quite heavily on a pre-supposed Irishness which is in tune with the language and to a very high competence; it is, in this way, exclusive to a certain extent. What they have in common, though, is that they are only partially shared and appear to be non-porous in composition given their calendrical scarcity¹⁰³. The two sections which follow might be thought of as being less exclusive, given that their intention is both to re-present Irishness and to assist in the orientation and acclimatisation of the Irish to Brussels, respectively.

4.6.4. Culture Night.

Culture night is an event which is also recent in origin; it was founded at the behest of the Temple Bar Cultural Trust and was given support by the Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht¹⁰⁴. Beginning in 2002, it is an effort to raise the profile of Temple Bar by offering a range of Cultural events which could be delivered to the

¹⁰² Seachtain na Gaeilge: Océidí sa Bheilg (Weeks of Irish, Events in Belgium): <https://www.facebook.com/groups/102015379878220/>

¹⁰³ A possible reason for this being is that the former is only celebrated once a year and the latter because meeting Irish speakers in Belgium is a rarity for all of the reasons highlighted in Chapter 2.

¹⁰⁴ An extended list of the partners and stakeholders can be found here: <http://www.culturenight.ie/partners>.

public free of charge and which would yield dividends at the level of public and civic consumption. The festivities took on a more global character over the years and events were held overseas in Belgium and further afield in the United States.

Although I was unable to attend the first celebration of Culture Night, in 2010, which had two separate events in both Brussels and Leuven, having just arrived to Leuven myself, I was present at each subsequent incarnation. The following year I received an invitation to partake in a performance by storyteller Niall De Burca which was followed by a poetry reading and live-painting experience. An encounter, detailed previously in section 3.5. of this work, has described one such event which occurred on Culture night in the Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe. My fieldwork has led me to the observation that the culture envisioned and represented by the Irish college is an older model of culture, envisioned in works such as those of Matthew Arnold. Arnold believed that civilizations, when representing themselves, do so in a manner indicative of high culture and which is distinct from those representations that envision culture to be a more dialogical process where no one owns the monopoly of rights over an intangible heritage¹⁰⁵. Arnold writes:

The pursuit of perfection, then, is sweetness and light. He who works for sweetness and light, works to make reason and the will of God prevail. He who works only for machinery, he who works for hatred, works only for confusion. Culture looks beyond machinery, culture hates hatred; culture has one great passion, the passion for sweetness and light. (Arnold, 1993:78)

This crystalline model of works undertaken in the pursuit of a brand of representation of a kind of perfection, at which one can only marvel and not interact, is almost

¹⁰⁵ This is also examined in Kuper (1994) who draws the distinction between a strain of culture which is shared, common and was the “achievement of people” and the latter which was thought to be more sympathetic to ‘high culture’ which was derived from “... an unbroken line from classical antiquity” (Kuper, 1994:539).

certainly the brand of culture envisioned at the Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe. My interjection here intends only to sever the notion that classical objects of culture- artworks, musical recitals, stagecraft etc. - are quite different from less conventional kinds of cultures- subcultural involvements, online communities and much more- the culture represented here is primarily of the reified kind.

Bourdieu (1984) attempted to hierarchicalise this manner of fare in terms of their refinement and as being constitutive of class difference. Discernments and refinements of palate play themselves out upon the stage and the viewer, in appreciating them, can either augment their understanding of high art through exposure to high-culture, to sweetness and light, or can betray their ignorance and reveal their class standing as being uncivilised. Bourdieu writes:

[T]aste classifies, and it classifies the classifier. Social subjects, classified by their classifications, distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make, between the beautiful and the ugly, the distinguished and the vulgar, in which their position in the objective classifications is expressed or betrayed (Bourdieu, 1984:6).

Here, taste and refinement are co-joined with the notion of a culture which is enclosed, viewed from tiered seating, interpreted and which is thought to assist in ameliorating feelings of exile by exposure to Irish culture.

One evening, after a performance in 2012, I sat with the three performers and they spoke about the manner in which the Irish language has assisted them in their careers; the trio, known as Fíbin, had begun to accrue fame as a performance drama troupe who spoke mostly in Irish, were known for the elaborate masks worn during performances and frequently leapt into the crowd to invite members of the public onto the stage to be ridiculed. Theirs is an important conjoining of the language spoken and representational prowess with high culture. Our conversation took place in Irish and in

English and concerned the use of the Irish language as well as of culture generally. “I have been three different characters on Ros Na Rún.¹⁰⁶ And now we’re going on an extended tour- so there’s lots you can do with the Irish language.” I also recognized two of the actors as having performed in Leuven previously. In casual conversation it was possible to ask them about a t-shirt they had given me for “participating” in their work. The T-Shirt (see fig 10) reads “Tá ár bhféamhacha níos doimhne” (Our roots run much deeper) and they explained that roots as objects don’t just give rise to things but also exceed others. The barcode, without reading too deeply into it, represents a kind of commodification which the roots exceed and seep out beyond and have the possibility of exceeding the grounding from which they emerge. Instead of taste being a defining factor of objective habitus, a kind of commodification of roots- a branching out from taste- is something which is resisted. But in attempting to belong in Belgium new roots can be set down, a topic which the section which follows examines.

4.6.5. European movement; Ireland and Brussels.

During the formative period, and in attempting to ground the work among an advocacy group who worked to ‘Europeanise’ its population, I came across a website which offered to help Irish expats to adjust to life in Brussels during their stages in the European Institutions. I received a copy of the *Green Book Vol. 2* in late 2010. The staff at the European Movement also forwarded a list of pubs in Brussels at which the stagiaires tend to drink and explained how the Green Book was first capitulated by

¹⁰⁶ Ros na Rún is an Irish-language soap opera broadcast on Ireland’s all-Irish television channel TG4.

way of a desire to provide an in situ-derived work which they felt did not exist prior to that. There is an inductive, things as they are, component to the project which interested me and I would like to devote the section which follows to a short examination thereof.

The Green Book (whose subtitle is: *A very handy book if you happen to be an Irish Stagiaire in Brussels*) is teeming with insight and drew a great deal from testimony given by former stagiaires but which addresses a broader set of concerns affecting the Irish community in Brussels more generally. The book's introduction also sought to offer a riposte to the notion of an anonymous Eurocratic elite who, by moving to Brussels, become strangers to their fellow countrymen:

It's just so important to show to everyone in Ireland that people don't just get on a plane and disappear (which is often the view held) – instead, the Irish people living and working in the EU system are incredible ambassadors for our country representing Ireland through their work ethic and their commitment (our sense of humour does help too...) (Andrea Pappin, Executive Director, 2010:3)

The book is pragmatic to the core, and includes general tips on Brussels life, a guide to daily necessities unavailable (or extortionately priced) in Brussels, discusses banking, accommodation and commuting options. Some of the advice given borders on advocating illegality though¹⁰⁷, specifically where registering in a commune is concerned, and arguments for and against it are put forward; in the pro column there is the ever-looming threat of things going wrong and requiring juridical intervention which is impossible without having been registered and the cons highlight the cost (both in terms of time and money). Other sections of the book also attempt to

¹⁰⁷ The requirement of foreign persons to register in their local commune, as their first step, is outlined here: <http://www.brussels.be/artdet.cfm/4867>

underscore similarities between daily life in Ireland and daily life in Brussels, such as Bancontact being analogous to a debit card (pg. 11), outline public holidays which overlap (pg. 18) as well as providing contact details for the English-speaking Catholic church in Kraainem, for one of the largest GAA club¹⁰⁸ in Brussels and of an Irish butcher, Jack O' Shea's, in Rue le Titien (Ibid:31-33).

The creation of analogies between Ireland and Belgium is also a practice which is in evidence and to which my informants often made mention. Emma, when discussing her daily commute, stumbled in remembering one of the road's names.

It's, eh... It's got the same name as the metro stop. It's on the tip of my tongue. It's Grafton Street. It's the Grafton Street of Brussels! (Emma)

Emma is referring to Dublin's central shopping pavilion, Grafton Street, and from there it was possible to determine that she was actually speaking about the street that serves the same function in Brussels; she was either speaking about Rue de Louise. Louisalaan or Rue Neuve, Nieuwstraat. What is interesting to note, though, is the primacy of place which Irish-derived places hold even after their having moved abroad.

The Green book is now in its 8th incarnation and since I began my fieldwork another branch of the European Movement, Ireland was established in Brussels in March, 2013. Prior to that, and during my initial foray into fieldwork expeditions, it had been contingent on one or two members of the European Movement Ireland to fly over with a suitcase, usually still tagged with an Aer Lingus sticker, full of hard

¹⁰⁸ The GAA, or the Gaelic Athletics Associations, are in charge of a large family of Irish sports, the chief among which and the one to which I allude here is the Gaelic version of Football. The primary differences between football as it is played in Ireland in comparison to football as it is played in England is the use of player's hands, the ability to bounce the ball and that "goals" are worth three points you can also score by kicking or throwing the ball over the crossbar of the goal for one point.

copies of the Green Book each time a new volume was issued the same evening on which the event was scheduled to take place. The book launches were open to the public and well-advertised on their website¹⁰⁹ and on Facebook¹¹⁰. These events were advertised as EM (European Movement) Brussels Connection events and whose express intention was to have Irish stagiaires come together and exchange contact information with the view to creating a network.¹¹¹ The events have also risen in profile, with the establishment of a dedicated Brussels-based branch of the European Movement and this year's event was held in the Irish Permanent Representation to the European Union and not in Kitty O' Shea's pub as it had been.

In June 2011, I participated in a short Training Academy offered by the European Movement Training Academy. The week-long course aimed at providing an examination of the inner working of many of the European institutions, as well as providing the space to build up a network within Brussels of like-minded, career-driven EU enthusiasts¹¹². While I found the coursework interesting, and it has certainly informed the construction of the present work, it was the extra-curricular activities which were the most illuminating. This particular iteration of the training academy had three other Irish people taking part, many of whom had a broad knowledge of the workings of the European Union. One afternoon we were tasked with presenting our countries of origin to our classmates. It was a team exercise and it was quickly decided upon that the meeting, at which we would discuss strategies,

¹⁰⁹ <http://www.europeanmovement.ie/event/em-ireland-brussels-connection/>

¹¹⁰ <https://www.facebook.com/EMIrelandBrussels>

¹¹¹ It was at one such meeting that I met with Emma, see chapter 5.

¹¹² Similar courses are available at blbe.be which acts as something of a more international brand of Brussels-based analysis and which has its own equivalent of the *Green Book* referred to as the *Survival*

would be held in Fat Boys on Place de Luxembourg. ‘Place Lux’, as place Luxembourg is colloquially known, comprises a series of bars and restaurants which encompass a small, central green area and which is located at the back of the European Parliament building. The place has become synonymous with networking and is at its busiest on Wednesdays and Thursdays provided that the Parliamentarians, and parenthetically their aides, are not in session in Strasbourg.

The meeting began and immediately ideas were cast out as to how to subvert or lampoon some of the more curious aspects of the relationship Ireland has with the European Union. What surprised me, and which has taken a foothold in my thinking on representation, was that there was one in the party who had absolutely no interest in making light of Ireland’s situation and so plead that we treat the topic reverentially. She made an appeal which hinged upon our common Irishness as bearing a responsibility to act as ambassadors for our culture and began scribbling down broad topics which come under the banner of culture: literature, sport, music and dancing- the final one required that we get up in front of our class of 17 or so and dance an Irish dance. What struck me was the felt-desire to give a representation of Ireland that was, in essence, a glorification of the island’s achievements. Perhaps feeling that the group was less enthused about a project which would be harder to construct than a tongue-in-cheek overview Aoife took charge and set about dividing up the tasks and reminded me that Ireland has an astonishingly high number of Nobel prizes in literature and elsewhere and asked me to look up the exact amount on my phone.

Guide for Newcomers in Brussels: <http://www.blbe.be/en/survival-guide-newcomers-brussels>. I am indebted here to Noel Salazar for pointing this out.

I think people say “oh Ireland isn’t really involved in Europe” but really that’s just not true. When I worked as a stagiaire for an MEP my phone rang off the hook some days with people from Ireland who wanted their voices to be heard. I don’t think the idea of Europe is unpopular with Irish people or anything. I think *saying* that Europe is popular in Ireland is what’s unpopular. (Aoife).

It was our job, then, being that we were in Brussels, to represent Ireland in a manner so as to remedy their democratic deficit and to put forward a representation of ‘home’ that would ensure that Ireland was being represented on other people’s behalves and in the best light possible.

The European training academy also offered days on which it was possible to visit the various sites located on the Brussels hinterland, and provided a great deal of literature on various attractions. As it happened the three women with whom I took the course, were already familiar with Brussels which afforded me the opportunity to outline my project to them and to explore the processes of Europeanisation and Hibernicisation. One class, held before we broke for the day, concerned European citizenship and was given by Diogo Pinto. The lecture contended that we might observe identity, although I feel that multiple sense of belonging or identification are what were meant, as something dual (or even more) rather than as something singular and during the break which followed, when I asked about identity, an informant interjected that she had never considered it that way before:

Like, that you can be a part of two things and them not contradict one another, like they can co-exist, is something I don’t think I would have ever thought of. It’s not something we’re taught either; Ireland is one thing and Europe is a place over there. (Sinead)

While this is well-trodden ground in anthropological examinations of hybridity, syncretism and Mobius-style subjectivity, it was new to Sinead. The lens of Europe, as an outer identity, is similar to that constructed and transmitted in Joyce (1916) but moreover it also contains the condition by which this multiple identification exists

elsewhere too.¹¹³ In closing, then, the European movement attempts to bring into existence, both by way of their courses and their *Green book*, a new orientation towards Europe which is meted out through the deployment of analogy and relation to their home country, but which evolves into a kind of augmenting of identity which can occur as in the manner written about above.

4.7. Concluding remarks.

In his work, *Deconstructing Ireland: Identity, Theory, Culture*, Colin Graham posits that Ireland is, broadly, a phantasmal signifier which doesn't seek to fix itself in the desire and utopian-style longing for a united Ireland, the constant need to authenticate particular versions of an ancestral past and an acknowledgment of the momentum and direction in which Ireland's future is fast becoming its present. Graham writes:

... 'Ireland' stages its own deconstruction and that at every turn the idea unravels and reforms itself, always in anticipation of the next act of definition and criticism which, like this one, will be inadequately applied to it. (Graham, 2001:x)

In attempting to pin down Ireland, both conceptually and with respect to those subjects which claim a meaningful belonging thereto, I must acknowledge that mine is an attempt to posit Europeanness as being the most recent participant in a kind of supplementary chain which extends back further into history than accounts of them often allow for. What has been sought in this chapter is, first, the grounding and the emergence of the economic conditions through which Ireland could be thought of as being European, on through the difficulties which came about in advocating the

¹¹³ The supplementarity position of identity has been examined in 2.1.1.

further expansion of Europe as a political project (through referenda) and, finally, to a crisis which was thought to have brought the question of the future viability of European belonging back squarely into popular discourse. The conceptual slipperiness and the unfolding over time of the manner in which Irishness is represented and what it means is certainly subject, as Graham describes, to vicissitudes, changes and partial acknowledgment.

What became necessary, then and after having understood the various dimensions of European belonging, was a closer examination of the composition of the social field and the manner in which Irishness, and the process of hibernicisation, are transforming the surroundings of Brussels in more and less temporary ways. The notion of Irishness comes to be embedded in multiple ways and to varying degrees of accessibility; what remains present, though, is a broad receptivity to the possible (re)conciliation of European and Irish identities, with the acknowledgment of the Irish language's entry into the fold as a modern European language, and an acknowledgment from above and below about the necessity of revisiting the European social model so that openly discussing European integration in Ireland becomes less unpopular.

The occasions here outlined serve multiple purposes, of easing one's transition to daily life in Brussels, of showing outwardly that the Irish language still has a relevance in the 21st century and of supplementing the expatriate's desire for cultural fare by way of bigger displays of Irishness. It might be relevant here, then, to revisit the vignette which introduced the direction of this chapter and which served to show a desire both to supplement one's Irishness for more "European" fare as well as by being nostalgic and by reimagining what is available. This desire was also clearly

observable through Aoife's request that Ireland be represented in its best possible light as well as the earnest desire that people might become more candid about the degree to which 'Europe' shapes the political landscape in Ireland.

There is also a marked difference between the kind of Europe-wide sense of solidarity, thought to be in effect in the context of Brussels, and the fragmented and partial manner in which non-Irish people are acknowledged. Given the history of Irish people, with their worldwide community, one might think that an organisation which capitalises on a receptivity that lasts more than one day might be something sustainable; given the recent difficulties faced by the Irish Club of Brussels, and the growth and gradual occupation of other smaller, newer traditions among the pool of stakeholders in Brussels, the possibility of a broader capitulation of belong, after the crisis, remains a strong possibility.

In examining how the Irish came to be thought of as European, and the exact manner in which that Irishness is navigated in a context thought to broadly represent 'Europe' over the course of the past 40 years, the chapter which follows is a more sustained examination of the historical antecedents which are thought to provide the groundwork for a possible, pre-existing Europe-wide sense of belonging, which was formulated in Leuven, Belgium in the 17th century.

5. Leuven, roots and routes: Placing the Irish Diaspora in Europe.

Strangers to Citizen's: The Irish in Europe, 1600-1800 is a multimedia exhibit of archival material and images which attempts to tell the diffuse stories of the Irish migrants who travelled to Europe between the 17th and 19th centuries. The work was first exhibited in December, 2007 in the National Library of Ireland to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the 'Flight of the Earls' as well as the foundation of the Irish College in Leuven. While the exhibit had run its course at the National Library in Dublin, and was closed in October of 2009, it was given a new lease of life as part of the Irish Presidency of the European Council (which ran from January 1st 2013 to June 30th, 2013) and was put on display in the Europe Info Europa building on Rue Archimede, Brussels from the 3rd to the 24th of May, 2013.

The primary intention of the exhibit was to display the manner in which the Irish abroad, and their subsequent 'toing and froing' to Ireland, contributed to Irish culture and to Irish identity. These migratory inroads allowed for the possibility that Irish men and women abroad could settle and orient themselves in such a way that Europe became something which was not different to Ireland but housed within it an escape from economic tumult and religious persecution. The images on display in the exhibit have been reproduced in the section which outlines the history of the Irish college itself; turning to the textual commentary, though, we observe the levels of political engagement which allowed for the possibility of political belonging in Europe:

The deployment of inbound Irish migrants in the political strategies of receiving jurisdictions was important. The phenomenon, in all its variety, illustrates how it sometimes suited host administrations to maintain an 'Irish'

community, or at least an ‘Irish identity’, in order to serve specific local political objectives. (Lyons & O’ Connor, 2008:6)¹¹⁴

Moving from placard to placard, and admiring the detail and its parenthetical storytelling, it quickly became obvious that the historical phenomenon of the usefulness of Irish identity to a broader political project was also evident in the exhibition. While the official mantra of the Irish presidency of the European Council was “For Stability, Jobs and Growth”¹¹⁵ the cultural programme was termed: “Culture Connects”¹¹⁶. The desire to establish the foundations for a possible continuity between Irish émigré’s in the past and those in the present seems to be of the same sort as that described above. Moving from panel to panel, watching the Irish transition from strangers to citizens and eking out livings and living lives in various discrete locations on the continent, was surely a response of a sort to the question of the manner in which the Irish are European; namely, historically.

Rather than consigning the issue of the manner in which Irish identity is European, as product of integration in Europe over time, the question of how the Irish view themselves to be European in the present as well as in the past- as something apart from a politically tinged necessity- is one which is central to the chapter which follows. Given the anthropologically sensitive focus of this work it has been necessary

¹¹⁴ The text referred to here was a companion piece released in conjunction with the exhibit and which shares its title.

¹¹⁵ For a full assessment of the extent to which the presidency is thought to have brought that about see: *Results of the Irish Presidency of the Council of the European Union: January-June 2013*. This document is available in full at the following address:
<http://eu2013.ie/media/eupresidency/content/documents/Irish-EU-Presidency-achievements-report-English.pdf>

¹¹⁶ Culture Connects. This document is available in full at the following address:
<http://www.eu2013.ie/media/eupresidency/content/documents/culture-ireland-international-programme.pdf>

to select a site which is thought to represent the manner in which this historical connection has slackened, become stronger and changed in composition over time.

Then, while it has been necessary, for this work's purposes, to divide the context of Leuven from that of Brussels in point of fact they are far more integrated in practice than has been suggested up to this point. Leuven, as the arrival site of a small band of Franciscans in exile, is thought to be the hub around which the Irish community orbit; the site of the arrival, renamed the "Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe" in 1983 following the sites' de-consecration, and is attributed with a variety of landmark historical endeavours ranging from the penning of the first authoritative history of the Irish people (in the "Annals of the four masters"¹¹⁷) to the preservation and reinvention of the Irish language. It serves as an excellent point of departure from which questions concerning the historical dimension and dynamics of Irish identity, language and political engagement can be examined as a repository of the elements which are thought to act as ethnic markers, then.

This chapter, therefore, aims to investigate the history of the College in order to recast presently prevailing discourses which concern the capitulation of Irish and European Identity. The history traces the difficulty, first, in establishing roots in Leuven and thereafter of establishing an identity or place of belonging for a subset of people of Irish provenance who arrived in the, then-Spanish Netherlands. The second section attends to provide in situ, contextual examples of the manner in which this identity is challenged, meted out and critiqued from both within and without and from the play of a great many signifiers including the Irish language and the possibility of

(re-)establishing roots abroad. Anthropological works which employ the pervading dualism of roots (which boast a nation-state imbued, territorially bound discursive legitimacy) and the undertaking of routes (thought to have occurred out of necessity and which consign the emigrant to the position of wandering exile) are also formulated in a manner which assists in reading the contours which emerge in the empirical domain of The Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe and its hinterlands in Leuven.

In the previous chapter I have attempted to restate the difficulty in consigning what, at present, we might think of as geographical distance to a notion which becomes something of a triviality in an age where the affordability of transnational air travel has become cheap and accessible, to varying degrees, to all. How this has often manifested itself, in studies of the Irish abroad, is as an overarching concern with the composition of the Irish diaspora solely in locations which are more remote and which are, generally, Anglophone. Given this work's central question, which concerns the extent and manner in which we might think of the Irish as being, in a sense, European, it is first necessary to position this historical oversight as being something of a stumbling block. It is only through an examination of the manner in which the Irish become more closely associated with their continental counterparts that a question such as the one formulated here can be addressed.

What become real objects of critical inquiry, then, are the exact manner in which the Irish diaspora were received in a multilingual capacity and what effect this

¹¹⁷ The Annals of the Four Masters are a compilation of medieval chronicles of Ireland which were compiled in Leuven and the full text of which can be accessed online:

encounter is thought to have both on their constructions of identity and their perceptions of the role and relevance of their own language¹¹⁸. It is exactly to this multilingual continent that a band of 100 or so migrants arrived from the oppressive conditions which existed in Ireland at that time and it is to this context that the section which follows attends. The work then moves on to the question of how Irishness is represented there in the 20th century.

5.1. Locating the Irish College of Leuven in time.

With any examination of a historical kind it seems first necessary to parse out the exact context in which the foundation of the college occurred.

After the Irish defeat at Kinsale in 1601 and the flight of the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell in 1607 (the year St Anthony's was founded) Louvain became a source of new life for the Irish province. Mooney said that King Philip III of Spain (d.1621), conceded the foundation to the friars as an alms at a time when the rulers of England had forbidden them to have a house of studies or a novitiate for the reception of candidates in Ireland... Writing in 1630, another Franciscan minister provincial interested in recording the history of the province, Francis O' Mahony, said that by then the College had produced sixty-eight missionaries and preachers, four ministers provincial, three archbishops, two bishops, eighteen lecturers in theology and twenty-five in philosophy - ten of the former and eleven of the latter going to help other Franciscan provinces on the continent; he added that the Louvain friars set up a printing press (another new venture) and printed books in Irish for the use of the faithful at home. (Fennessy, 2000:217-218)

It is very easy to observe the difficulty in postulating a 'national identity', as opposed to something more akin to the deployment of a descriptive label or imagined similarity, at a time when no such object, as such, exists. Many of the Franciscans who worked in Leuven studied the philosophy of Duns Scotus believing him to be

<http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100005B/>

Irish, whereas the designation Scoti refers both to the Gaels of Ireland and Scotland. Scotism, nevertheless, was championed by the Franciscans all over Europe.

What can be observed, in the Franciscan's efforts to assist those left at home, by way of liturgical material which was accessible to them, is the desire both for a single discursive representation for those who found themselves in exile after the "Flight of the Earls" as well as the desire to simplify the construction of the language in order to maximize exposure among some of the less-literate Irish folk. This was chiefly an undertaking carried out by Franciscan, and former Arch-Bishop of Tuam, Florence Conry (Irish: Flathraí o Maoil Chonaire).

In translating this work, Conry addressed an audience which included the clergy but also literate Gaelic laity. He appeals to Gaelic literati not to criticise the simplicity of but rather to understand his pious objective of helping the poorly educated. (O' Connor, 2002:100-101)

He explains that the translation was intended for those who have no knowledge of languages other than simple Irish. This contradicts a variety of other understandings which claim that, in fact, the work was translated from Spanish, and not Catalan, and that it was translated into a far more complicated version of Irish than it had been originally to please the Irish literati.¹¹⁹ This is still a matter of contention and Conry's citation in the *New Advent Catholic Encyclopaedia* reads:

One of the earliest works of Conry was a translation from Spanish into very pure Irish of a catechism known as "The Mirror of Christian Life", printed at Louvain in 1626, but probably current in manuscript at an earlier date, both in Ireland and among the Irish troops in the Netherlands; this was composed, as

¹¹⁸ For an excellent, albeit slightly dated but comprehensive list of work directly concerning the relationship between language and identity see Keller (1983).

¹¹⁹ The full text of "The Mirror of Piety" is available at: <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/G208020/index.html> and there is the suggestion in the preamble that the desire is to spread the word of God in the simplest manner possible and less attention is paid to the providence of the work itself.

he says himself, "out of charity for the souls of the Gael". (New Advent Catholic Encyclopaedia¹²⁰)

Whatever the intention in writing the text may have been what we can discern from the original foundation of the Irish college of Leuven was the dual intentions of those residing within the college of spreading of the word of God and of the possibility of printing works in Irish from abroad for the betterment of Irish people at home.

Addressing the Irish, summoning an extant population into existence from exile, seems to have taken place along the lines of etymological reconstruction through the reinvention of the Irish language as well as through ethnic, identity-based markers. Mac Craith (2007) traces the shift in linguistic register in the following manner:

[O]ne of the novel features of Louvain publications is their preference for the geographical marker Eireannach in place of the ethnic markers Gaidheal and Sean-Ghail. This seems to have been a deliberate option adopted by the Franciscans in order to surmount the ethnic tensions dividing the exiled Irish communities and help them (sic) present a united front before the papacy and the Catholic powers of Europe (Mac Craith, 2007:30)

This point requires a certain amount of elaboration, and rests on a difference in Irish, which is undiscernible in English. The replacement of the words 'Eireannach' and 'Sean-Ghail' or 'Gael' is more than simply a shift in the linguistic register, but a shift that approximates the germ of differentiation between Irish people, in name only, and people who are ethnically Irish. The invocation of the language itself is among the components of the claim to legitimacy. The word Eireannach means something akin to a person born in Ireland, where Gael means Irish in a stricter sense.¹²¹ Even the

¹²⁰ <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04261c.htm>

¹²¹ This has been examined with respect to the amendments made to the Irish constitution, articles 2 and 3, which sought to broaden conceptions of Irish belonging beyond a simple, territorially bounded

employment of the term Gael is now used to signify those who speak Irish as opposed to the term Eireanneach which implies that they may not. The deferral, beyond ethnic confines, in evidence even as early as the beginning of the 17th century, continues today in the capacity of the Irish-Belgian contingent of the European diaspora and one which seems bent on ensuring that the Irish diaspora continue attempting to bring a European-focussed, and oriented, disposition into existence. This remains the central mission of the Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe.¹²² In attempting to establish a continuity between the site's first inhabitants and its present day owners we observe the creation of a time-tested optic from which the de-ethnicised superseding, or supplementation, of national ties is thought to bring people into new relations with the peoples of continental Europe.

It has not been deemed a necessity to trace the historical rise and fall of the Franciscan effort in St. Anthony's college, Leuven, but instead the erstwhile endeavour is to examine the historical origin which gives rise, even 400 years later, to the possibility of a shift in ethnic markers, with respect to a greater power, then the papacy and now the institutions of the European Union. Examining the grounds of the Irish college in Leuven a broad variety of multimedia and interactive panels supplement and re-present the lives as they were lived by those who resided, prayed and studied on the grounds even claiming possession of the foundational stone lain by

interpretation. Nothing about the ability to speak in Irish, with respect to claims of belonging, is mentioned.

¹²² "Our mission is to maximise the opportunities presented by membership of the EU through the organisation of tailor-made residential programmes at our campus in Leuven, drawing on the expertise and network available to us from this unique location." Available: http://www.leuveninstitute.eu/site/missions/index.php?doc_id=2. The mission statement is also reproduced on placard which is visible upon entry onto the grounds.

King Phillip III¹²³ and claiming that Florence Conry's remains are kept beneath a slab on the grounds. The presence or absence of Conry's body is actually a matter of frequent speculation and I have had to defer to the Reverend Brendan Jennings' writing on the matter:

To mark the place where the remains now finally rested, in the wall on the Gospel side, and only a few feet from the altar, a simple monument was set up, a slab of polished black marble, with a Latin inscription. It is still in situ, and when the college came back into the hands of the Irish Franciscans in 1924, after it had been more than a hundred years out of their possession, and when much work of restoration had to be done both in house and chapel, the present writer, to whom this responsibility had been entrusted, made every effort to ascertain whether any trace of a burial urn, or of any bones, might be found but with no success. It is possible that the remains lie behind the slab, which is solid and heavy, and could only be removed with the greatest difficulty. (Jennings, 1949:91)

Unknown, too, is the status of the documents and archival material which was once held in trust there although the majority is believed to be held in the Michael Ó Cléirigh institute in University College Dublin and the rest is held by the Franciscan Order in Dublin, Ireland.

The position Ireland adopts within 'Europe' - the foundation for its very belonging is often cited as being in Leuven for the reasons outlined above; the building served as a safe haven for migrants in exile in 1608 (following "The Flight of the Earls") and is now a transnational hub as well as a state of the art conference facility which receives money from both the European Union and the Irish government.¹²⁴ The geographical and geo-political entity 'Europe' become conflated, in a sense, temporarily and some commentators have gone as far as to say:

¹²³ The papal bull establishing the foundation of the Irish College is currently in the care of the Michael O Cleirigh Institute for the Study of Irish History and Civilisation, UCD Archives, Belfield, Dublin 4, Ireland and is available here: <http://digital.ucd.ie/get/ivrla:19665/pdf>

¹²⁴ The exact figure is examined below in 5.5.

As Irish people, particularly when travelling to any corner of the globe, we become more and more aware of the clear brand of Irish people and Ireland. Ironically, it was in the Irish College of Louvain¹²⁵, just outside Brussels, where this cultural identity both at home and in exile was first instigated and formed. (O' Connor, 2009: 21)

Whether or not the cultural template of identity was created there is less interesting, to the aims of this work, but what has been achieved in examining the Irish college's history is that of a rupture between the Franciscan's intentions and the college's current role. The section which follows attempts to capitulate the manner in which migration, seen as a similar situation of exile, brings in tow a parenthetical desire to reconnect with an imagined community along the dual lines of heritage and belonging.

5.2. Exile, the past and reconnection: Heritage and lines of belonging.

An examination of heritage can also give us a different perspective from which examinations, which put authenticity front and centre, can become supplemented by works which elect to examine the pliable and flexible relationship that heritage has with both place and with the informal postmodern economy. Kockel (2007) writes:

If we acknowledge that 'authenticity' is less a matter of true or false consciousness than a matter of the historical legitimacy of any associated identity claim, we can revisit the 'invention of tradition' debate and recognise 'heritage' as a fixation of 'tradition', conceived as process. This enables us to grasp that it is not so much tradition that has been invented but rather heritage. Tradition as a process involving cultural actors always includes the possibility of modifying what is being handed down between generations in order to adapt it to a changed historical context. (Kockel, 2007:97)

¹²⁵ O' Connor here uses the French spelling, although it should be noted that the college actually lies in the Flemish-speaking region of Belgium. It is also necessary to note here, given the previous chapter's examination of the role played by Eurocratic elites, that O' Connor's work coincided with the recasting of the vote for the 'Lisbon Treaty' and so the necessity of aligning Ireland and Europe's fate reads as a something of a political act.

While Kockel's view may be unnecessarily charitable to the notion of the invention of tradition we can begin to observe a clear cleavage between the ideas of continuity, either a strand of continuity which is preserved or brought into existence, abroad and that of the centrality of continuity to a community's sense of self back in one's home place. Heritage is invoked here as it is explicitly mentioned in the discourse which the Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe represents about itself and to others.

This is a necessity given the feeling of waylessness encountered by migrants of any kind, according to Wagstaff who contends that:

[E]very migrant is also an exile, whether by choice or by necessity. But the need to reconnect in some way with the past, to re-establish a sense of origin and continuity, survives. The memory of a lost home persists and is part- a large part- of what it means to be human (Wagstaff, 2007:164)

What Wagstaff may be oversimplifying, or dramatically overstating, is the nature of the intention behind acts of migration, their duration and the degree to which the re-establishment of continuity is desired. The Re-establishment of origin, and the legacy of continuity, is not solely the domain of migrants though and is also a necessity of nationalism. While traditions are narrativised, usually-singular, invented phenomenon, the maintenance of a feeling of continuity has tended to take the official dictum of the nation-state as its primary port of call. Mclean writes:

The archival rehabilitation of an ostensibly lost world reveals the state's cultural self-legitimation to be analogous to a feat of necromancy, seeking to transmute the vestiges of a foregone past into a redemptive vision of national persistence and renewal... It is not enough for the nation-state simply to assert the antiquity of its ancestral pedigree; for its claims to be culturally persuasive, it is necessary that these imputed primordial beginnings be reiteratively summoned and deployed in the present. (Mclean, 2004:29)

This is the express function of the Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe at present; the ancestral pedigree itself rests on a curious juxtaposition of presence and absence, of continuity and discontinuity (by that I mean the building's renovation, the

uncertainty as to whether Florence Conry is buried there, no present tradition of printing literature on site and the conspicuous lack of the Irish language on the walls of the building- save for one telling exception, discussed in the very beginning of Chapter 7.). This concern over ancestrality is not localised solely to historical continuity but is instead lived out in a broad variety of daily life as it is encountered in contexts in which the interplay of reterritorialisation and deterritorialisation, and the role they play in the reshaping of the social field, seem to be at odds with one another for primacy.

Keohane and Kuhling (2004) claim that instead of tracing lines of becoming we might observe the centrality of elements which are in concert with one another and other elements which collide with one another:

In the contemporary era of globalisation, such cultural clashes or collisions between old and new, global and local, the principles of traditional community and modern society, continue to characterise Irish culture and identity, and indeed have become amplified. (Keohane and Kuhling, 2004:4)

This amplification has been transposed onto the enduring dualism of roots and routes, given that the establishment of the Irish College of St. Antony's, now the Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe, was created from the spreading of roots by way of the undertaking of the expansion, through mobility, of routes.

5.3. Roots and routes: An anthropological analysis of mobility.

An illustration of the manner in which mobility is constitutive of roots is provided for in Feldman (2001). The piece details how the Israeli Ministry of Education orchestrates trips for young Israelis to travel to Poland in order to foster a dual identification with two national policies, one universal and the other particular; the

former concerns the necessity of resisting racism and its proponents and the second is to inculcate in the students a desire for an autonomous Jewish state, an objective that the young students can help to realise. The ethnographer, having taken part as a tour guide on four of these excursions provides an account which is critical of this insular exchange between self and other, writing:

Students must never leave the sight of the security guards. By living under these tight constraints for a week, students are constantly reminded that as Jews and Israelis in the Diaspora, they are subject to hostile, potentially murderous forces... The itinerary provides no meaningful encounter with contemporary Poles or Diaspora Jews, which might moderate picture of the world outside Israel as the place of Holocaust death. (Feldman, 2001:163).

The intention of mobilising students is to have the students return to their point of departure but without actually experiencing alien elements which would leave the broadening of the mind, or at least the old bromide contends. This is in keeping with Mclean's analysis of the resurrection, through claims of ancestry, of the desires of the nation-state where exposure to difference is limited and the desire for routes taken to closely ally with hegemonic ideology is strong.

Clifford (1997) writes directly to this point when contending that instead of thinking of routes undertaken as being derivations from roots, as somehow departing from them or abandoning them, we might consider the relatedness that routes have upon roots as being constitutive in their very composition:

The new paradigms begin with historical contact, with entanglement at intersecting regional, national and transnational levels. Contact approaches presuppose not sociocultural wholes subsequently brought into relationship, but rather systems already constituted relationally, entering new relations through historical processes of displacement. (Clifford, 1997:7)

The idea that routes might be considered as roots on the move, possibly becoming rhizomatic in construction, as in Friedman (2002), is one which attempts to break free of the indebtedness that routes owe to roots.

Friedman is also critical to the work of Malkki (1995) whose examination of refugees living in camps, he contends, draws a dividing line between the ignoble, chauvinistic (in its classical sense) nationalists who are opposed to a footloose, cosmopolitan people who belong and are integrated wherever they (usually temporary) lay their hat [This is reaffirmed in Gustafson, 2001:668]. His examination concerns the equation of the notion of roots with nation:

The root of all these metaphors is the category of the nation state itself. The latter is represented as a closed unit, whose population is homogenous and whose mode of functioning is dominated by boundedness itself, by territoriality, and thus, by exclusion. The notions of national purity, ethnic absolutism, and all forms of essentialism are reducible from the root metaphor. (Friedman, 2002:25)

Gustafson also speaks about the dual analytical modes into which Routes and Roots can be divided. In summarising a plethora of works concerning transnationalism and cosmopolitanism, Gustafson writes:

[T]his literature tends to depict a globalised world where everybody is on the move, where mobility, in one sense or another, appears as a basic human condition, and where place attachment becomes increasingly precarious... The first perspective values place attachment while often regarding mobility as a threat to a person's affective bonds with place, whereas the second perspective favours mobility and sometimes, explicitly or implicitly, devalues place attachment. (Gustafson, 2001:669)

Gustafson's examinations of his informants' testimony provides an invaluable insight into the manner in which difference is sought out (places that have not become contaminated with consumer-driven and homogenous products) but which remains, in some sense, familiar (that is, as a context which does not resist or resent the non-local).

Rather than being thought of as irreconcilable, the dualism of roots and the routes can be soldered together, as they appear to be in Vanuatu societies in the twin metaphors of the tree and the canoe. The canoe, it must be borne in mind depends

upon the tree's wood for its material existence. Bonnemaïson writes that while travel, by way of canoe, is endorsed as a manner through which to establish identity there is an outer limit to mobility, a point beyond which identity breaks down:

The root-place is always where the founding ancestors first appeared... Mobility, once taken beyond the law of roads and of territorial control, leads into the trap of marginality; those who wander either voluntarily or involuntarily from the paths of alliance are lost. Beyond his home, a man who is not supported by his clan and who strays from his canoe and his roads is no longer anyone. Losing his place he also loses his soul (Bonnemaïson, 1984:128-139)

When mobility ceases when things and places can come into existence, but part of their very placeness is already contingent upon mobility. This is also true in the example of indigenous identity where, against common wisdom, indigeneity is more typified by placelessness than the continuous and immutable possession of a place of one's own. Niezen writes:

Indigenous identities are largely built on the foundations of victimization and grievance, invoked through both collective memory and daily experience. Tracing these identities to their sources, we find that those who call themselves indigenous peoples are at the same time those most commonly the targets of untrammelled ethnic and racial hatred, dispossessed of lands and livelihoods through coercion, impoverished by exclusion from formal economies and deprived, by virtue of their "distinct" status, of the rights and benefits of citizenship within states. Their suffering and the collective identities that derive from it come largely from a tendency on the part of states and corporations to remove them to practice their own subsistence methods and other dimensions of culture, and then to deny them new economic opportunities by invoking, directly or indirectly, their attachment to "traditional" practices. (Niezen, 2003:221)

This transhistorical account of dispossession does not need to, returning to Kockel's examination, mean that questions concerning the legitimacy of the claim to indigeneity be reduced to a kind of illusory, false-consciousness but instead invite us

to approach the matter with a kind of receptivity, rather than dismissal.¹²⁶ More and more, and aided and abetted by the mobilities turn, it is possible to examine the mammoth role played by the forces of mobility over time.

This has led to a revisitation in earnest of the thought of Deleuze and Guattari (1986, 1988) who, instead of having a metaphysics which is grounded, argue about the necessity of acknowledging the multiplicity of the contingencies of time and place and the claims thereto:

Make Rhizomes, not roots, never plant! Don't sow, grow offshoots! Don't be one or multiple, be multiplicities! Run lines, never plot a point!... *Between* things does not designate a localizable relation going from one thing to the other and back again, but a perpendicular direction, a transversal movement that sweeps one *and* the other away, a stream without beginning or end that undermines its banks and picks up speed in the middle. (Deleuze and Guattari, 1984:27-28. Emphasis in Original.)

I have devoted a great deal of attention elsewhere (see 3.8.) examining the limits of thinking of mobility in terms of absolute aqueousness; this is an impossibility as has been shown in the examination concerning fixity and flux which gives rise to the importance of examining moorings, which retain their importance and which is in keeping with the broader mobilities paradigm.¹²⁷ What is important to note here is the resistance which is put in place to efforts to ground, delineate and control specific spaces under the banner of a singular, insular presence. With this in mind, it is possible to move to an examination of the interplay of these diffuse notions, how they coalesce and collect at the site of the modern day Irish College, the Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe.

¹²⁶ I have attempted to put this into practice, in the following chapter, with respect to claims made concerning belonging among the non-Irish, Irish speaking community in Leuven and Brussels.

¹²⁷ This is further examined in Chapter 7.

5.4. “The Irish are now so used to exile that it is part of their heritage”: The Irish College in Leuven.

Just beyond the entrance, down the hall to the left and then to the right of the cloister entrance there is a panel on the right hand side which reads:

In the 9th century, the abbot of Reichenau in Switzerland wrote: ‘The Irish are now so used to exile that it is part of their heritage.’¹²⁸

During a visit on the 10th, February 2013 An Taoiseach (which has been translated as Prime minister) Enda Kenny provided his own spin on the afore-cited quote, probably after having speedily read it during his tour of the premises, but pronounced that “Irish people are now so used to exile that it is part of our genes”; delivered in the declarative, and not attributed to the Abbot of Reichenau, it allowed for the speech which followed to flow seamlessly between an ancient precursor to the operations of the monks and those activities which are currently undertaken at the Irish college:

They also play a vital part continuing the tradition of the early Irish college in promoting Irish culture, an essential part of the noble legacy its founders have left to us.¹²⁹

The furthering and promoting of Irish culture is not undertaken in a manner in keeping with the Franciscans desire to proselytise however; The Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe is the single most expensive venture funded by the Irish taxpayer that exists overseas. This information made the newspapers in the week after the

¹²⁸ This quote appears to be apocryphal but serves its function well in establishing the position occupied, by the Franciscans at least, by members of the Irish community abroad.

¹²⁹ The full speech, save for the comment about exile being something almost culturally endemic to Irish people, can be accessed here: http://www.leuveninstitute.eu/php/newsroom/details.php?doc_id=737. The speech itself contains many direct references to the text borrowed either from the website of the Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe, which details the content of most, but not all, of the multimedia displays which hang in large lightboxes on the walls of the inner cloister.

college was officially (re-)opened by Irish Taoiseach Enda Kenny but failed to receive much traction in any Irish News Media; the sole article I have managed to find ran with the headline “State gives €12m for Irish College facelift”¹³⁰

What happened exactly is of interest here. The Oireachtas¹³¹ report, which was made available to the public, concerns an assessment of the expenditure of the Office of Public works for the year ending 2009. In reviewing a number of line item expenditures one of the deputies present questions the status of the Irish College in Leuven, as it is referred to, asking specifically whether it is held in Irish trust or not. The inquisition ran along the following lines and bespeaks a general confusion, in Ireland at least, as to the exact role played by the Irish College as well as the exact nature of its ownership and its *raison d’etre*. The section which pertains to this work has been reproduced in full and occurred between a deputy minister and the Chairperson of the office of public works:

Deputy Edward O’Keeffe: What is going ahead in Leuven at the present time?

Ms Claire McGrath: The institute there runs educational programmes that are funded on a North-South basis. The construction is complete. The job is finished. The Irish college there offers residential and training courses and other seminars in a European context.

Deputy Edward O’Keeffe: Does the OPW have overall responsibility for the management of it?

Ms Claire McGrath: No.

Deputy Edward O’Keeffe: How is it managed?

¹³⁰ “State gives €12m for Irish College facelift” by Hilary Leech appeared in the Sunday Times newspaper on the 10th of February, 2013, available here:
<http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/ireland/article1211337.ece>

¹³¹ The Irish word Oireachtas means, roughly, Parliament and has its roots in the word airech meaning nobleman.

Ms Claire McGrath: The institute is an independent body. I will revert to the committee with the details. It is a trust.

Deputy Edward O’Keeffe: Is it an Irish trust?

Ms Claire McGrath: Is the Deputy asking if it is registered in Ireland?

Deputy Edward O’Keeffe: Yes.

Ms Claire McGrath: I am not certain.

Deputy Edward O’Keeffe: I would like to know.

Ms Claire McGrath: I will revert to the committee in that regard.¹³²

In response, and by way of answering the many questions asked of the director which was sent at the end of December 2010 and made available to the public in March, 2013. The letter deals with seven items, viewed to have been unsatisfactorily addressed in the Oireachtas meeting; item 5 concerns the Irish College in Leuven¹³³:

The Institute’s mission is to help Ireland, both North and South, to meet the challenges and maximize the opportunities resulting from EU membership. It also actively promotes Irish Culture in mainland Europe... Works to refurbish and extend the College have been ongoing since 2004 with the assistance of grants from the Irish Government and the Northern Irish authorities. The total cost of the project, including fees etc. was €15.854 million to which the Irish government contributed €11.650m. (2009)

The report also alludes to an agreement made with the Irish government in 1984 for the provision of €25,400 which is complemented by the earnings yielded from cultural events, programmes tailor made for (mostly) American students who stay for periods ranging from between 1 and 2 weeks and from accommodation. The remainder of the report outlines the function played by the college on a more day to day basis

¹³² Committee of Public Accounts, Held 02/Dec/2010. For the entire proceedings please see: <http://debates.oireachtas.ie/ACC/2010/12/02/printall.asp>

¹³³ The full text is available:

http://www.oireachtas.ie/documents/committees30thdail/pac/additional_documents/correspondence2011/document12.pdf

concerning its conference and dining facilities, auditorium, attractive ground and 60 bedrooms.

What is unclear from the back and forth, above, is whether the building can be thought of as being a site which is available to the public, due to their having financed it, or not. In practice the entrance to the, presently, Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe is not open to the public and I was often told in interviews and in less formal capacities that it is thought of as being a private enterprise rather than a museum. What further confirms this lack of receptivity to the public, on an operational and everyday basis, is the absence of guided tours, the closure to the public of the bar and restaurant areas (outside of privately catered-for events) and the presence of a heavily secured door next to which there is an intercom which controls entry. This was the primary difficulty encountered in pursuing research in the capacity of the Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe; I had no right to be there day after day. What was required, then, was the implementation of a strategy which would allow me to come into contact with the stakeholders at the LIIE and which would facilitate, aid and abet an understanding of the manner through which their mission of Europeanising their surroundings, as well as maximising the benefits eked out from European Union membership for Ireland, was being attained.

5.5. Not open to the public: Putting my 'self' to good use.

This lack of receptivity to the Irish public notwithstanding Leuven is an integral part of Irish culture for members of the diasporic community in Belgium and so other tactics, which optimised the amount of time that could be spent on the premises, had to be devised and implemented. This was done by reaching out to the Leuven Centre

for Irish Studies and I was soon able to establish a rapport with one of the directors, based on my nationality and interest in the Irish language. The Leuven Centre for Irish Studies maintains an office on the premises of the Irish College grounds. I offered to teach Irish courses, free of charge, to any student Flemish or otherwise, in the hopes that that would provide ingress into the Irish College's premises. I was also inducted as a junior member of the Leuven Centre for Irish Studies shortly thereafter.

One difficulty in undertaking anthropology at a site such as the Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe is that the building is not open to the public and it's expected that if you are in the building you have a purpose there, as expressed previously. This has often lead to embarrassing incidents; on one occasion I had been arranging Irish Classes with the then receptionist (classes which had no bearing upon the day to day workings of the Institute) and it was not too long before I was spotted by a member of staff who insinuated that my business had more to do with flirtation than it had to do with "anything real". I understood well the intention of what was expressed and left. On another occasion, however, I had been invited to celebrate the retirement of a member of staff from the department of Anthropology and was given a similar treatment. At the mid-point of the evening I decided to go speak to the receptionist, and to generally check in, when the same employee as in the previous example took the glass of red wine I had been drinking out of my hand and begin to gesture at me to leave while exhaling. I had to explain that in fact I was well within my rights to be on the premises at which time her face became bright red and I was immediately handed back my wine. I noticed that in her other function, as a sommelier for the evening, she excelled from that point onwards- either to show

penitence for mistaking me for an outsider or to ensure that I was, indeed, among those invited.

I was invited to meet with one of the Directors of the Leuven Centre for Irish Studies in May of 2011 to discuss, at that time, the various events held in the Irish college in an attempt to secure better access. What became clear through the meeting was that there was thought to be a ‘preternatural’ interest in Irish studies, and in the culture generally, among students at the faculty of Letters. I was asked to translate certain sections of the website into Irish and I floated the idea of providing a class to students interested in the Irish language. The idea was well-received and in the summer of 2011 I set about constructing a scheme of work which would attempt to touch upon the Irish language, short films on (or in) the Irish language and finally on various aspects of culture, broadly stated as it was.

The first Irish class took place in the Erasmushuis, MSI building by the faculty of Letters in KU Leuven on a rainy Wednesday afternoon in October of 2012. I stood into the darkened classroom to discover 18 people already seated, quietly, and I asked them if they wouldn’t mind writing out their names, nationalities and email addresses on a slip of paper; it was necessary to see whether there were any nationalities that I might not know on command in Irish and this was indeed the case. The cultural makeup of the group was broad including people from both Belgium and Ireland as well as Egypt, Bulgaria and China. Over time attendance waxed and waned; some classes would just simply be on the topic of discussing certain ‘must-see’ areas in Ireland to prospective holidaymakers, at certain class-members’ insistence. The classes themselves acted as food for thought too where spontaneous meditations about the calibre of Irish writers, emotional contributions on the Great Famine’s impact on

the Irish language as well as interesting constructions (taken in their entirety) from “Google translate” were recited verbatim.

More often than not, and not at my prompting, there was the invariable suggestion of an after-class coffee or pint in the local “Ron Black’s.” Fewer people would be in attendance and it was possible to get to know some class participants on a more personal basis; it was in this way that I came to know Shane. Shane was a man in his late thirties who was required, as part of an Irish Studies programme in Galway, to relocate to another Erasmus-affiliated University for a period of one semester. Shane’s partner had a four year old son, whom he missed dearly, and his partner was conversant in Irish; this was his primary motivation in joining the Irish classes, coupled with the fact that he felt somewhat isolated in Leuven. Shane hails from a part of County Mayo with which I am very familiar and it wasn’t long before after-class drinks turned into early evening drinks. He was a regular at the Irish bar in Leuven, with a specific interest in watching football matches and we would often meet there for further informal conversations about the Irish language.

We became closer and I would often receive emails outlining the times at which certain matches were to be held accompanied by a brief note saying that he would be at “most of them” and that I was welcome to join him, which I did with increasing frequency in November and December of 2011. He was well-liked by the staff of the Irish pub; he was well versed in football knowledge, followed a slightly unconventional team, Liverpool, and was often the subject of well-meaning derision for having the appearance of a Viking¹³⁴. He had eked some comfort out of frequent

¹³⁴ This is especially prophetic as Shane did a stint as an extra in the History Channel’s Television series “Vikings.”

visits to the Irish pub and the only occasion on which I did not see him there was when I found him in a McDonalds, which he referred to as “The Irish Embassy.” One evening I mentioned my research topic to him and he became very effusive on the topic of the Europeanisation of Ireland. He remarked that although he had always noticed the signs, which adorn the roads to and from his hometown, which read “Part financed by the European Union”, he had never paid any heed to them. Citing reasons of a certain lack of commonality among Europeans, he remarked that his stay in Leuven was more akin to a stay in a hotel in that it would be impossible to see any meaningful links being established in and between guests beyond something temporary. Shane had very little time for the notion that travel somehow brought along, in tow, the notion of an expansion of one’s horizons.

I mean, you see, I feel like I am an exile here. My college requires that I go abroad for three months only to go back. I don’t really know why either. I think they think that they’re giving me something that I am actually not getting here... I won’t be returning a different man. (Shane)

Shane rejected the notion of a concurrent relation between travel and the adoption of something resembling a new world-view; it wasn’t especially difficult to see why either. Travelling from Ireland, which for him was not desirable, was something which was thrust upon him. He longed for his partner, they spoke frequently on Skype, and he immersed himself in the closest approximations of Irish cultural simulation possible in Leuven, classes and the Irish pub.

On another evening we got into a conversation on the topic of the European Union and he relayed that although he had often seen the “part-funded by the European Union” signs, which are commonplace along highways in Ireland, it failed to endear him to the project of European integration. On a related note I thought to mention the role played by the Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe, given that their

central goal was to maximise the benefits of European integration to the Irish residents in Leuven, and he told me that he was unaware of its existence at all. He was not alone, and rather than viewing Shane's dilemma as being an anti-cosmopolitan (cosmopolitanism as it is formulated by Molz and Gibson (2007) Nowicka & Rovisco (2009), Thomson and Taylor (2005)) we might instead examine the manner through which the Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe is fulfilling its mission by Europeanising the students who pass through Leuven. The informal networks through which Irish students come into contact with each other, such as the Irish classes

The Leuven institute for Ireland in Europe has no outreach programme to the Irish students who come and stay in Leuven for whatever amount of time. There seems to be little or no mutual awareness of the two operations in Leuven, possibly owing to the limited advertising for Irish-themed events which occur on its grounds. There is also a de facto limitation of the possibility for any interested party to peruse the grounds for the reasons given above. The centrality of the historical importance played by the location has resulted in a lack of ongoing engagement of any kind. The aims and efforts of Europeanisation undertaken by the college, then, might be viewed as having fallen short. One possible reason for this is the site's ambiguous ownership and its quasi-autonomous status. It can hardly be surprising, then, that if one of the missions of the LIIE, to maximise the benefits of EU membership, is to come into existence it will require acknowledging the social processes and pathways by which people attempt to belong.

The classes became a conveyance through which it was possible to come into contact with both Irish students and Flemish students who had an interest in learning the language and so I petitioned the Leuven Centre for Irish Studies to hold a

subsequent series of classes in early 2012. The second wave of classes, beginning September 2013, was commissioned shortly thereafter and little to no preparation was required concerning lesson plans. The classes were held at the same time of the week but this time in a larger lecture theatre. What I hadn't anticipated, however, was the attendance at the second wave of classes; 90 or so people were present at the first lecture and each of the steps leading to the chairs at the back of the auditorium were occupied. Advertisements of the classes had spread throughout Toledo¹³⁵ and by word of mouth to departments outside of the department of letters. I was also sought out by a journalist, working for the KU Leuven-run newspaper the 'Campuskrant' who asked for a meeting to discuss the course's appeal and popularity. I sat with the reporter, outlined my interest in the Irish language and discussed the research question I was investigating as part of my doctoral research. "'Gaeilge for Dummies' classes are a surprise hit" was the tagline that ran in the Campuskrant issue later that month. I was also approached by another journalist that same month and both Het Nieuwsblad and De Standaard ran identical versions of an article entitled: "Stormloop op lessen Iers aan KU Leuven." While the text was published in Dutch, the journalist in question, Isabel van Tenderloo, was kind enough to send me a translated version whose title read: "Big Rush on Irish lessons at KU Leuven". I was also invited to speak on Channel Vier's news-magazine style TV show, "Kruitfabriek¹³⁶", but was unavailable at the time of filming.

¹³⁵ Toledo is described as a Virtual learning environment, and it is the way through which students have access to Lecture materials, submit essays and receive bulletins about any alterations to their assessments. Toledo is also an anagram of "TOetsen en Leren Doeltreffend Ondersteunen" which can be roughly translated as: "Tests and learning effective support."

¹³⁶ The most approximate translation I have found for KruitFabriek is "Powder mill" or "Powder Factory".

The general trend among the pieces written about the courses was the drive and dedication demonstrated by the students, whose efforts were at the foreground of most of the pieces. The desire observable by Flemish students, willing to forego a lunch break in order to commit to learning (in most cases, *yet*) another language, appears at the front and centre of the pieces. With a greater volume of dedicated students, some of whom were Irish, after-class coffees became expanded and went on even longer. I became close with certain ‘die-hards’ who, for reasons other than I had observed the previous year, had a sincere desire to soak up as much Irish Culture as possible. I would receive emails enquiring about certain turns of phrase in Hiberno-English which were thought to have had an Irish etymology¹³⁷, questions about which ‘do-it-yourself’ Irish textbook I would recommend and questions about Irish culture more generally. I was often approached outside of the MSI building by students interested in demonstrating the extent of their Hibernophilia to me as I listened; I remember one student, who I saw on only two occasions remarking, “I am so into Ireland that I have a flag of it over my bed!” The pride with which this statement was uttered is difficult to overstate; it was at one time a strong claim to a common belonging and a testament to the possibility of Irishness as a signifier that has common roots. This is examined cursorily in the next section and at length in the chapter which follows.

¹³⁷ I received a transliterated section from Greta on the meaning of *Banbh*, a word which at first glance has no resemblance to any English word, but which in fact was an affectionate term meaning “piglet” and is something which would be said to a child.

5.6. Yu Ming is ainm dom: The Irish language and belonging.

Yu Ming is ainm dom (2003) is a short film written and directed by Daniel O' Hara in which a young Chinese man becomes bored of his humdrum situation as a shop assistant and sets his sights on globetrotting. While in a local library Yu spins a globe and pressing his finger on a random point, in order that it might stop and tells him where his destiny lies, he lands on the island of Ireland. He sets about reading up on the fabled Irish people and reads that Irish is the first language of Ireland, as enshrined by its constitution, and much of the rest of the film from that point on takes place in Irish. We see Yu practicing the phonetics, acquire the ability to say his own name (a sentence from which the title derives its meaning, Yu Ming is my name) and we observe Yu acting out a scene from Scorsese's often-parodied "Taxi Driver" (1978).

After Yu deems himself to possess the language skills adequate to make himself understood and to find work he sets out to a, largely Anglophone, Ireland. Yu travels to Ireland safely and is able to navigate Ireland easily at first, given that he recognises the Irish-language signposts in certain areas. The reason for the provision of Irish, first, and then its English counterpart second is a statutory requirement; this is outlined in a report by the Irish Department of Transportation's "Traffic signs manual", section 1.1.48 in which we observe that:

It is a statutory requirement that place names on information signs be in both Irish and English, except: For names of destinations in Gaeltacht areas, where the names of places in such areas are in Irish only; and where the spelling of a place name is similar in both languages, in which case only the Irish form of the name should be shown. (DoT, 2010:1).

Yu navigates his way, in this manner, into the centre of Dublin only now his requirement of shelter means that he will have to interact with an hotelier; he arrives at the Isaac Butt hostel, a recognisable Dublin landmark, and present himself to the

attendant. The man acknowledges him, in a heavy Australian accent, by stating: “G’day! How was your flight?” Yu is completely baffled by this and supplicates himself by trying to speak slowly, ashamed of his ostensibly mediocre grasp of the Irish language. Before too long, we see Yu in a situation much akin to that in which we first found him, dejected and alone. Here we observe the confrontation of Irishness as commodity to the situation of an “alien” with the desire to speak Irish being placed below the desires of the Hibernophile, a desire that goes beyond simple commodification and into language learning.

The penultimate scene shows Yu arriving into a pub whereupon he pleads with the barman to allow him to work there, even though he only speaks Irish to a seemingly substandard level. The barman is replete with platitudes for Yu, while also trying to divine this man’s will, and he is the first character we meet who is Irish but who does not understand the language being spoken to him. “Guinness? It’s good! It’s Oir-ish”, the barman enquires as he gesticulates in a flamboyant way. Finally, an older man invites Yu, in fluent Irish, to sit with him. “Suí síos a mhac, agus cheannóidh mé deoch dhuit!” (Sit down young man and I will buy you a drink). The stranger welcomes Yu Ming, and sets about asking him a few questions, the first of which is whereabouts he’s from; Yu responds that he arrived only the previous day from China. The older man is positively baffled and the incredulity on his face is evident as he asks rhetorically: “Agus labhríonn tú *Gaeilge*?” (And you speak *Irish*?) Yu confides that he does, but that he regrets the decision given the fact that no one he has met has been able to understand him. The older man implores the barman, Seán, to fetch him two pints as he delves further into the uncanny curiosity of a man with which he is presented. The older man goes on to say that it wasn’t the standard of his

Irish that was his problem, “labhríonn tusa Gaeilge níos fear nó an chuid is mó daoiní sa tír seo” (You speak Irish better than most of the people in this country”). Yu is upset to hear that Irish people speak English, “from England”, and retorts that he saw Irish on signs to which the old man retorts, “Bhuel, tá an teanga ann ach ní labhríotar í seachas amháin I gcúpla ceantair, maybe” (Well, the language is *there*, but it isn’t spoken, except only in a couple of regions, maybe). This conversation draws to a close as the barman wonders aloud, to a colleague, whether he knew that “aul Paddy” could speak Chinese; the line is an intentional barb at the lack of awareness of the inner workings of the Irish language and it is one which, when teaching, receives a hearty laugh on every single occasion on which it’s shown.

The film closes with a smash cut to a white van driving at speed past a sign which reads simply “An Gaeltacht” (The Gaeltacht). The van pulls up to a small tavern and a few tourists make their way indoors. Yu Ming, now cheerfully working behind the bar, approaches and welcomes them to Connemara and asks: “Conas atá sibh?” (Regional approximation meaning: How are ye?¹³⁸)

Even though I show this short film early on in the course, lesson 1 or 2, it remained a talking point throughout the series of classes. As a ‘floating signifier’, Yu Ming serves the function of showing an Ireland which is porous, in a sense, and which endorses the possibility of an authentic transnational ingratiation in Ireland. It shows a kind of hibernophilia which blends seamlessly, eventually, into the Irish landscape in which it finds itself. I received many emails asking for the exact title and hyperlink for the video too. Despite the frustrations encountered by Yu in the beginning, in the

¹³⁸ The Irish language has a specific form of the ‘you-plural’, which is translated from “Sibh”, and is here translated as ‘Ye’.

booming, anonymous metropolis of Dublin, he eventually finds himself to feel at home in the sunny West of Ireland as an authority figure. He has replaced the publican who, only in the previous scene, attempted to collapse the possible reason for his arrival at the bar that day to wanting to consume something stereotypically “Irish”. Instead, Yu becomes the dispensary for stereotypically Irish-fare, symbolically re-embedding himself in a context which is no longer alien to him.

In the decade since its release, Yu’s plight might be read as something more prophetic; In 2012 the Irish Language Commissioner released a report, for use in schools, entitled: *Language Rights: A Resource for Teachers* in which ‘Yu ming is ainm dom’ features prominently as a resource with which students can become familiar:

At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

- * Understand the importance of language so as to get the full picture or story.
- * The challenges that arise when people don’t understand the primary language of the country. (2012:21)¹³⁹

This challenge is one which is well understood by the Flemish students as well as the students of other nationalities. Yu’s situation of isolation was one which took an even more polemical and political slant recently when, in 2012, the Commissioner for the Irish language reported that a man had been pulled over, for a matter relating to a traffic infraction, and when he spoke to the policeman in question in Irish he was arrested, handcuffed and detained until an Irish language interpreter could be found¹⁴⁰. He was detained after he spoke to the member of the Gardaí in Irish, a right which is

¹³⁹ Interestingly, and in the same text, there is a strong emphasis placed on the celebration and observation of Europe Day (May 9th) as well as the observation of the European Day of Languages (September 26th). (Ibid:57)

in compliance with the official recognition of languages act 2003. This event led the Coimisinéir na Teanga (Irish language Commissioner) to add a subtitle to their annual report of 2012 which read: “Ní Sárbhláin a bhí 2012” (Not a great year was 2012, transl.)

It emerged during the investigation that the Gardaí involved appeared to suggest that those who wished to conduct their business through Irish should be treated in the same way as “foreign nationals”; that concept came into use regularly in the discourse surrounding this matter. (2013:39)

The equation of Irish people with foreign people is Yu Ming’s story told in reverse and which serves as an excellent entry point into examining the linguistic limits of an identity which no longer has a hold over the popular imagination. This was also quite unlike the ‘cultural events’ traditionally held in the Irish College, whose mission is to “promote Irish Culture”.

5.7. Taste and belonging: Representing Irish culture and its transmission.

Culture as it is imagined and broadcast by the Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe, or the manner in which it is articulated and transmitted, is one of a distinctly classical sort. To this end I employ work by Bourdieu (1984[1977]) to outline the ‘taste’ profile that is being articulated and which is displayed in the main auditorium, which in a former age used to be a chapel for worship by the Franciscans. Culture, is not thought to be here of the anthropological sort but instead must be thought of something akin more to a battleground on which discriminatory taste distinctions are structured in an oppositional manner between ‘high’ and ‘low’ culture (this is similar to how it is

¹⁴⁰ The man was found to have infringed upon section 107 of the Road Traffic Acts, 1961-2011

represented during ‘Culture nights’ (Section 4.6.4). High culture, whose composition, is here the primary conveyance through which representations are transmitted at culturally-themed events. These cultural events served as excellent access points but occurred very infrequently over the course of the year and, therefore, had to be supplemented with other activities such as the provision of Irish classes. When an event has been announced it is sent out, via a mail server, to an extended list of Eurocrats and only seldom makes its way to the Irish student population of Leuven; Events are only rarely widely publicised, via mail and on the Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe’s website, and productions, whether music, drama or poetry reading, tend to involve as few people as possible to save on transportation costs. Invited guests also stay in the accommodation that the LIIE offer and after shows it was possible to sit with performers and to discuss their work with them.

The character and manner in which the functions which are envisioned to be performed by the Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe broadly concern Europeanisation, and capitalising upon the benefits thereof, as well as the representation of “Irish culture”. The commodification of Irish cultural fare was also a phenomenon I was able to witness first-hand, in conjunction with a world-wide commodification of Irish roots, and which is examined in the following section.

5.8. Irishfest(ivities): The global Irish diaspora.

“Irishfest 2013” was the tentative title, one which ultimately prevailed, for an event to be held in the Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe and was the brainchild of the Director of the Leuven Centre for Irish Studies. I was invited to speak with the Director shortly after the Irish Classes offered in 2012 had come to an end. The

operational budget for the LCIS was never sufficient to allow for the possibility of classes being remunerated; “Irishfest” was brought into being as a way to remedy this by hosting festivities in the college such that I would receive a small portion of the proceeds from the event. I was receptive to the idea as I was informed that I would be afforded the opportunity to work from the Irish college with two members of staff with whom I was already close. I met with the staff at the Irish college once or twice a week, as well as off-campus, during this time and it was simply enough to announce the staff member’s names, with whom I was planning the event, over the intercom at the entrance in order to gain access.

It was at this time that I began to view the professionalism with which the Leuven Institute’s staff members conducted their business; a list of local businesses (InBev and ACCO), other Irish-themed business (Jack O’ Shea’s Butchers, Stapletons) and other tourism stakeholders (Fáilte Ireland, Belgium) was drawn up and solicitations for any promotional materials were sought. I also received an invitation to meet Fáilte Ireland in their Brussels HQ in Louizalaan and I was given two crates of iPhone covers, tourism posters and “The Gathering” bunting (Fig. 15). I was also advised to give some thought to the “Greening” of the building, as many other global landmarks had been doing as part of a push by the Department of Foreign affairs in Ireland. This was part of a global scheme by which a huge variety of national monuments would be green-lit to commemorate an Irishness that, for the year 2013, had designs upon opening the market to the broadest demographic of Irish-diaspora members possible.

The Embassy network worked closely with Tourism Ireland to expand the ‘Greening’ initiative which achieved unprecedented global profile for Ireland. This year, for the first time ever, there were over 120 ‘Greenings’. The Embassy network assisted or led with 76 of these, including the first-time ‘Greening’ of the Great Wall of China and the Treasury Building in Petra, as

well as the second-time ‘Greenings’ of the Pyramids, the Sphinx and the Statue of Christ the Redeemer in Rio de Janeiro. (DFA, 2014:11)

I spent some time looking for fluorescent green gels, which would be waterproof and could be cut to the size appropriate for the spotlights which shone on the exterior of the building, but in the end there was insufficient time to have them sent from Germany.

As Irishfest was fast approaching and extra meetings were required in order to fully set up the occasion before time. I arranged to sit with Natalie and Declan, while they were eating their lunch at the Irish college, to discuss various logistical arrangements. I entered the Irish college and was told that Natalie and Declan were busy elsewhere but that I could sit in the “staff restaurant” if I wanted. I acquiesced and made my way over to the Ulysses restaurant, in the rear of the building in the old renovated farmhouse, and saw that staff were happily eating off in the wings of the restaurant. I sat and waited patiently. Declan and Natalie arrived not long afterwards and we spoke, on that occasion, in Irish. Declan was a bit annoyed that the event was already receiving a bit of negative traction due to his announcing, jokingly, that there would be paddy-whackery on show. It had received some harsh words on Facebook and the post was deleted soon thereafter. After he had finished speaking though we noticed, and communicated amongst ourselves, that the other staff members of the Irish college were making fun of us; they were using only basic phrases in Irish and intoning them in a derisive manner. I was really surprised, even though I had been told previously that the company I presently sat with were “all there was” of the Irish

language in the college. “Ná bac leóimh” (Don’t mind them).¹⁴¹ This was one of many times on which I was derided or aped for speaking Irish but taking my informants’ advice into account I don’t wish to pay it any mind, although it is examined in the following chapter to some degree. The day on which Irishfest was due to be held was a stressful one and whose preamble is discussed in the section which follows. The importance of this event was not solely that an Irish-language film was being shown in a context in which the Irish language was generally absent, but that this was one of the very-few events organised by outsiders, with the desire of attracting an audience from among the Leuven public, held within the college¹⁴².

5.9. “We don’t want it to be too plastic after all”: Performance and anxiety.

“Not like that, like this- Try this way.” It seemed easy whenever anyone else has tried their hand at it and not just the experienced bartender. “If you cut it just right there should only be really small bubbles on the top. Some you can’t even see almost. This is how the Belgians do it.” I had never paid all that much attention to the skimming off of the head of a beer and realising that it was one of my many tasks for the evening unnerved me. It was helped in no way at all by having Susan and Frank the head bartender and chief groundskeeper and custodial worker, respectively, staring over my shoulders to ensure that I had cut it expertly. “Susan?” a man with a North-Dublin sounding voice boomed from reception, “there’s someone on the phone to

¹⁴¹ The invocation of lampooning a language by employing it in a mocking and superficial manner is something addressed in the chapter which follows.

¹⁴² What I mean here, as has been stated previously, is that plenty of in-services, private conferences and other functions take place in the Irish College with the difference being that ‘Irishfest’ was aimed at the Leuven public at large.

“speak with you.” I got excited by the prospect of a fellow North Dubliner working in the building, whom I had not met before. Susan made her way past the large, polished steel cart on wheels and stepped gracefully over the pipes that connected the two brawny steel canisters full of Stella to the drip tray and spigot. “Keep at that now” she called to me as she walked to the reception to deal with her incoming call. I attempted to make small talk in order to ameliorate the amount of stress I was feeling, which was in no way aided by the fact that I was also consuming each clumsily-poured pintje (25cl of Beer). “Where is he from, do you know? I’m also a Dubliner you see.” Frank smiled. “Charles?” Frank retorted, as he took my first mediocreatly-poured drink from my hand and took it into his own. “Well Charles is from the part of Ireland that is in Holland.” “I see” I replied even though I didn’t at that time. I would only discover later that Charles, while being born in Amsterdam, had family in Ireland and the combination of sounding Irish while speaking Dutch impeccably helped him with the everyday management of the Leuven Institute for Ireland in Belgium. I became intrigued by Charles, half-Irish and half-Dutch, perfectly situated in the Institute for Ireland in Europe and indicative of a kind of European-Irishness that I didn’t encounter very often.

The drip tray was beginning to become mired in foam and suds and Frank suggested we take a break and go on a walk around the grounds. Each wall of the Irish College contains three or four large posters detailing the lives of its original inhabitants, who left Ireland in exile in 1607, whose history is related in English (a hotly-contested topic in the Institute). Each interactive display spoke to the degree to which mobility is ingrained in the Irish psyche, but Frank insisted that there was more to the institute than its history solely. “Yeah, I mean everyone goes straight to

thinking Franciscans, Church, history and don't give all that much thought to what it is now. I mean, the place (the chapel within the Institute for Ireland in Europe- a name which symbolises its transition from the Irish College, whose name it received at a ceremonial event in 1983) has been deconsecrated. I don't think people really know that. I mean this is a modern, fully-outfitted conference centre and hotel. I mean look at all that." Frank pointed to a conference room which was full, teeming almost, with various kinds of veterinary technological equipment which was being stored there in anticipation of a conference scheduled to be taking place the same weekend as St. Patrick's Day. "So there's the modern side and the old side. Don't touch anything. Let's go outside."

After returning in from a thorough examination of Frank's car, during which he waxed lyrical about a great many mechanical and automotive terms which flew over my head, we returned once more to the de facto bar counter which had been assembled by the staff for the night. In the intervening time posters, bunting and a sound system had been set up. The event to be held was the first, of what was hoped to be an annual affair, entitled "Irishfest" which was held to raise money for the Leuven Centre for Irish studies, a non-profit think-tank for all things Irish in Leuven. The title for the evening came from a brainstorming conversation which sought to appeal to a broad audience in anticipation of the St. Patrick's Day weekend of 2013 which fell on a Sunday. It was feared that the students, who spent their weekends at home rather than in Leuven, would probably not be attending any of the festivities. I tried my hand at pouring pintjes once more, allowing the spigot to drain for a full second before sliding the glass, already at a 45 degree angle, into the cascading Stella. "This is coming along." I raised my head believing that Frank had congratulated me

on pouring a passable pintje but in fact he was looking at the decorations and posters. The accoutrements for the evening were provided by Fáilte Ireland (the Belgian branch of the Irish Tourism Authority) and heavily promoted both “The Gathering” as well as Ireland as a tourist destination generally.

I carefully carried the pintje over to Frank and offered it to him feeling myself finally to be something of an artisan. “I still think it’s kind of a shame though. I mean I really wanted to get those gels in time so that we could “green” the lights¹⁴³.” Frank winced slightly, the idea made him uncomfortable and we had spent the days which preceded that one discussing the possibility of ordering gel filters from a company in Germany, having them shipped over, cut into small circles and placed over the lights both on the inside and on the steps up to the Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe. “Now, I don’t know. We don’t want it to be too plastic after all.” He was clearly alluding to the over-“Irishification” of the college, possibly hinting at the cheapening of both its history and present, by both referring to it in a trite manner in “Irishfest” and through the excessive advertisement of it as a tourist destination. I took a moment, examined the flyers and posters of coastal vistas and green fields, cans of Guinness, hand-scrawled signs indicating prices as well as phonetic approximations of Gaelic so that people could try their hand at ordering and listened to the traditional music blaring over the stereo. There was a chance he was right. I don’t think my suit and tails combination worn with a tie of a saccharine hue of green, tied in the middle, helped the matter even a little.

¹⁴³ This is a move which had been led by the Irish Tourism Authority overseas where in the days leading up to St. Patrick’s Day various monuments around the world including the sphinx, the Christ the redeemer statue in Rio De Janeiro and the Sydney Opera house were turned green by using large

What was being displayed was certainly more of an affected, accentuated approximation of what being Irish abroad means and the invocation to plasticity, a false representation which violates culture's allegedly specific, taste-inscribed quality is what I feel was being objected to here. I wish to switch tacks, in the section which follows, from representations of a reified version of Ireland, on evenings devoted to culture, to an examination of a prominent landmark which is not thought to be expressly cultural, in the manner in which Arnold and Bourdieu outline. In examining 'Irishfest' what I have aimed to do was soften the ground and to expand the perimeters, beyond the gates of the Irish college strictly, to displays of non-high culture, which is shared but which is often prey to the reduction to the status of an illusory, false representation of the meaning of Irishness overseas; namely, the Irish pub in Belgium

5.10. The Irish pub in Belgium: Homes-away-from-homes and 'homing'.

Share (2003) provides a postulation, by that point undertheorised, on what the exact composition of a public house- or pub- is by discerning eight features which are common to, but do not totally typify, their present situation: neutral ground, a leveller, a place in which conversation is the main activity, they are accessible, are occupied by regulars and/or familiar faces, low-profile, are playful and, finally, serve as a home-away-from-home. (Share, 2003: 30-34) It is the final feature that I wish to stress and place the emphasis upon due to the very pressing desire among expats to re-discover a home away from home. Pubs are places which bisect the dichotomy of home/work

spotlights and a similar, albeit much stronger, variety of the green gel filters described here. For more

and it is for this reason that they are referred to as ‘third places’. The Irish pubs serve a similar function in Belgium but which possess a few variations on this theme; for instance, the desire to find a place in which to have a conversation varies considerably from the desire to have a conversation entirely in one’s own language. This gives the Irish pub a kind of centrality where linguistic competence, or one’s own inclination or the time requirement in which to acquire that same competence in either French or Dutch, may be lacking.

Among the many charms that Irish pubs are thought to possess, the chief among them is the possibility of conversing in English fluently, both with staff and patrons during any sporting or musical event. The presence of the English-language gives people the feeling that they have found a home away from home. The use of English primarily is enforced through a practice which I have observed countless times; welcomes to the bar are often proffered in advance of any order being placed: “Fine evening! What can I get ye?”, “How are ye? What’re you having?” Establishing English as the language through which the rest of the conversation will be conducted is an interesting semantic practice to ensure that all dealings with bar staff continue in a likewise manner. It is also very frequently the case that bar staff, in their downtime, will speak to regulars in English and will do so in an audible manner.

The informal character of Stapletons, and other Irish pubs of its kind, lent themselves very readily to ethnographic interviews and conversations which took place as I visibly jotted down fieldnotes. The pub, it should be remembered, also bears many similarities to a home-space, given the centrality of the hearth, the sale of food

see:<http://www.irishtimes.com/news/world-monuments-go-green-for-st-patrick-s-day-1.1328928>

and the presence of a social support network, so much so that it can be recaptured as a home-away-from-home, and these features include the language but also the presence of the hearth.

At a basic (reflex) level, the shift is surprising if only because the life-path of a human being moves naturally from "home" to "world," from "hearth" to "cosmos." We grow into a larger world. Not to do so is to lead a stunted life. (Tuan, 1999:2)

Tuan closes the work with a restatement of the, in his view, contradictory composition of something akin to a 'Cosmopolitan Hearth'; the hearth is always subject to change and dynamism which occurs all around it. What typifies the cosmopolite, then, is the view which holds that the things gained exceed the things lost (1999:187-188). The hearth of the third place, which serves as a temporary place by which to rest, is a simulated one though. It is not the hearth of the home but instead is one reproduction of it. The hearth, though, may be a place to which people have no desire to return having been exposed to the cosmos, however, as one informant formulated it:

I like Stapletons, oddly, because you walk in there and you're reminded of two things; wow, this is why I am here and this is why I left. I can't bear it at times. I try to go only if I have people over (from Ireland) and otherwise I wouldn't. I mean why would you, when beer here tastes like... I mean, when it tastes like what it's supposed to taste like! (James)

James brings friends to Stapletons in order to show how the home place has been situated abroad but for that reason solely.

This can, however, become something more than just a kitschy reproduction though, as I was informed, and may in fact become something more akin to the closest approximation of a 'hearth' in Leuven. Once I invited two participants, Nathalie and Declan, on a bike ride of the greater Leuven area. These were areas just beyond comfortable walking distance and which included Castle Arenberg, Kessel-Lo provincie domein (a large national park) and the small adjacent village of Heverlee;

they were very forthcoming both about the many attractive qualities which Leuven seemed to possess and the desire that other staff members of the Leuven institute for Ireland in Europe might experience something similar. The reason for this being, they said, was the limitations encountered in the ‘small circuit’ around which most of their daily lives were structured. This circuit, I was told, extends from the residence of the personnel working in the Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe, their place of work, the next nearest Pub (De Giraf, or the Giraffe, a small pub on an open market square of Oude Markt¹⁴⁴) and then the Irish Pub. This track covers just over one kilometre, approximately, and appears to be the primary route by which the staff of the Irish College orient themselves and serves as the primary frame of reference for Leuven to the Staff at the LIIE. The same asymmetry which is observable among the students attending KU Leuven’s lack of awareness of the Irish College is also observable with respect to the lack of integration on the part of the staff at the LIIE therefore. There is a well-trodden track, to work and back, to the De Giraf and thereafter to the Irish pub and back. For a time, and after having been apprised of this track, it became possible to show up at De Giraf and to be greeted by a cohort of the staff of the Irish college on the terrace, an opportunity of which I frequently availed.

It was on this cycling trip too, after having learned about the limited exposure Irish employees of the LIIE have with Leuven in general, that I began to approximate the overfamiliarity of some with only a few landmarks as being indicative of a kind of certain dejection. When I probed as to why the hinterlands of Leuven might be of interest to other members of staff I was met with a curious response; I was met with a

¹⁴⁴ The “Oude Markt” (or Old Market in Dutch) is a popular nightspot in Leuven and comprises 34 bars along a rectangular terrace which all face one another.

curt: “So that they might hate it less. I mean, less than they do that is.” (Declan) This dejection seems largely to stem from the fact that Stapletons functions, as we have also observed in Shane’s case, as a site which is non-transformative in kind and serves, instead, as an outpost or halfway house of familiarity (both in terms of company, varieties of beer and language). This, in itself, is no bad thing but it certainly disallows the possibility of encountering kinds of Europeanness, articulated in Leuven, in its own terms rather than refracted through an Irishness-tinged lens. The LIIE are, then, falling slightly short of their mission to make abundantly clear to the Irish in Leuven the merits of European belonging; instead, what appears to shine through is the tendency to adopt Stapletons as a conveyance of belonging. This is not say, of course, that ‘Europe’ as a concept-metaphor, is one which becomes removed from the lexicon entirely and the final chapter includes a brief meditation on the manner through which it remains in Irish people’s lexicon but its meaning becomes somewhat more ambiguous. Acts of homing, as described below, should be thought of as occurring to varying degrees of officialdom, as sanctioned by the LIIE or otherwise, and occur as an abreaction to a felt-isolation.

Transnational “homing” or the revisitation of one’s roots occurs both at the institutional level and at the informal level. Examining only one representation of a culture which is thought to be indicative of the entire nation of Ireland is to only place one kind of value upon artistic fare which, in effect, raises one to the level of high-art while ignoring the other; discrimination on the grounds of taste is pertinent to note here. Walsh (2006) analyses, in the instance of British migrants to Dubai, a variety of efforts undertaken to ensure that even though they have expatriated they can still orient themselves towards the national discussion of belonging and what it means to

belong. Although I don't articulate this in the same manner as Walsh, who prefers to locate belonging within belongings, understanding the centrality of supplementing and compensating for one's dislocation in time and space is central to this project's aims.

With the consumption of *Spaced* and other British comedy such as *Ali G* and *Bo Selector* (sic), DVDs that are clearly British in their setting and humor, watching contributes to the maintenance of a particular subsection of British culture and a particular sub-national sense of home... This is especially true for a diasporic culture who recognize their distance in the mediation of the DVD or video but can continue to be involved in dialogue about a national sense of belonging through a nationally produced visual culture (Walsh, 2006:136-137, emphasis in original).

There are certainly plenty of examples of DVD-sharing and film nights among the Irish migrants of the Leuven and Brussels contexts respectively, including *The Wind that Shakes the Barley*, *Father Ted* and (particularly apposite and essential viewing to many given their surroundings) *In Bruges*.

5.11. Concluding remarks.

In closing, this chapter has attempted to provide an examination of the function played by the Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe, as well as Stapletons, in attempting to imbue members of the diaspora with a sense of an ostensible continuity with their home place as well as the manner in which an engagement with a (sub)national culture can proceed. In proposing two different 'cultures' it becomes possible to observe that the LIIE does not possess the monopoly over the postulation of an Irish identity but that the field of Leuven is more fraught than that and extends as far as Flemish students in class situations and even as far as the non-Irish (whose

experiences are examined in the chapter which follows) and who have staked a claim to the language.

One of the most striking findings of my work in Leuven was, and remains to some degree, the seeming disconnection that the Irish abroad have from one another. The lack of student groups at KU Leuven which seek to Irish students specifically, the closed-off, private nature and lack of publicity of the Irish college, and its parenthetical lack of outreach, mean that it is hardly surprising that Stapletons serves as the primary port of call for many Irish in Leuven. What this means, then, is that while the Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe possesses the monopoly over “formal” culture, theatre and poetry readings, the Irish in Leuven also resituate and represent themselves in contexts other than within its confines. These are, as I have analysed in this chapter, makeshift Irish-language classrooms, Flemish bars, Stapletons and the auditorium of the Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe far less often.

The dualisms of roots and routes, continuities and discontinuities and the past and present have also been mapped out onto the context of Leuven. What has been striven for is a critique of an unflinching assertion of an immobile, rooted (in terms of time and space) model of Irishness, thought to be Europeanised, and an account of a site in which common conceptions of Irishness are being challenged and reappropriated; the Irish college is no longer a college in the strict sense, culture is something refined, stable and transmittable but is also something shared and interpretable, and the Irish language is neither dead nor is it spoken solely by Irish people. The final claim, which is given a chapter-length treatment, also concerns many of the themes outlined but under-addressed; namely, perceptions of the Irish community abroad, how the Irish

language is employed and the notion of falsehood which is parenthetically attached to the desire to learn Irish by non-Irish people.

6. Plasticity, simulacra and passing among the Irish Diaspora.

Fíorghael (transl. True Irish) is a short film from director Macdara Vallely which was released in 2005. The film takes place in a psychologist's reception and waiting area and concerns a chatty administrative assistant who greets three patients in English and subsequently returns to a phone conversation she's having in Irish in which she proceeds to humiliate each of the patients. The patients intuitively understand that they are the objects of derision and humiliation without knowing exactly what is being said. They confide with one another that their respective Irish teachers all happened to be "terrible". The next scene takes place in a book shop at which we find each of the patients looking intently for introductory language-learning books in Irish so that they can interpret the barbs and insults being hurled in their direction on a weekly basis. The scene which follows advances the plot six months where we return to the waiting area; the patients are all seated and the receptionist is once more on the phone with an Irish-speaker. This time, however, as the patients are being harangued on the phone they at least have the capacity to understand exactly the manner in which they are being teased. After a time the trio, now a united front of sorts, approach the reception desk. One of the patients interjects:

Ba chomhar go mbeidh náire ort agus muidne a mhasla in áir dteanga, dílis dúchas féin.

(Transl. You should be ashamed of yourself insulting us in our own, true, native language)

There is a quick cut to the exterior of the psychologist's office as we see the secretary being cast out by the trio. Shocked, at first, she throws away all of the trappings of her secretarial demeanour and makes her way down the street and into an alleyway at

which time she is greeted by a shadowy figure asking how she got on. She remarks that she got the “three of them” and is invited to pursue another mission. The latest mission, we are told as the main character reads over the instructions, is the most important one yet. Once she acquiesces she is invited to enter a black Mercedes car whose license plate reads “Fíorghael.”¹⁴⁵

The final scene, set six months later in New York, shows the secretary at work once again but in a brand new office. There are three individuals sitting directly across from her of various races and creeds. They all seem eager for her phone to ring and it is implied that they have acquired enough Irish in the intermittent months so as not to be subject to humiliation once the secretary answers the phone to speak about them in Irish, a position which is similar to the patients in the first act. The film’s message, it would appear, is that there is a difference in scale regarding the need to expose Irish people and non-Irish people alike to the desire to learn their “own” language, through underhanded tactics like humiliation. This chapter takes as its point of departure efforts taken by non-Irish people to learn the language and examines the manner in which their efforts are received, resisted and might be theorised. This chapter also examines the manner in which other claims of belonging, quite apart from the language, have occurred in the United Kingdom in the 1960s and are cast in terms of being indicative of the interlocutor’s having fallen prey to a kind of false-consciousness which yields an illusory form of continuity and belonging. From the previous chapter we carry forward the notion that Irish pubs, because they are

¹⁴⁵ This nomenclature is slightly curious here as “Fíorghael” is translated and appears in the subtitles as “Ultra Irish”. While this is what it says it is not exactly what it means and I have elected to translate it as “True Irish”.

reproductions of hearths, are simulations; the simulation expressly analysed in this section is that of the Irish language by non-Irish people.

This chapter aims at understanding the position of simulacra, here thought of as a copy or approximation of another object, by locating it within the contextual examination of non-Native Irish-speakers in Belgium. We can, through an examination of how Irish is used by the non-Native speaker, call into question and challenge some of the dominant presuppositions concerning authenticity, how it is deployed and the postmodern manner in which it is explored. Ethnographic vignettes are provided from among a small sample of the non-Native Irish-speaking population in Belgium in order to draw out the complexities of notions of falsehood and authenticity. The question of the relation between the Irish community abroad and the Irish community at home is suggested as being one which is allegedly asymmetrical and which often incurs reduction to a state of false consciousness or otherwise disingenuous relation to the slippery concept of ‘Irishness’. This question, and those which are similar in kind, are set against the backdrop of those who are not thought to be Irish *per se*.¹⁴⁶

“Is teanga sar speisialta é- agus bhíonn a lán daoíní *speisialta* é a labhairt”

“Irish is a special language, and it attracts a lot of *special* people” (Informant discussing a Bulgarian man’s ability to speak Irish)¹⁴⁷.

I wish to begin with my own work, to provide a vignette which it is hoped summarises how we might situate and accommodate claims in anthropology which

¹⁴⁶ This work has been published as: O’ Dubhghaill, S. (2014b) “It’s fake – I mean it sounds the same, but it’s fake”: Plasticity, simulation and passing through the Irish Language in Belgium. *Irish Journal of Anthropology*, Vol 17(1) Pps. 46-51, and which won the “Postgraduate Essay Prize” for the year 2013. The present chapter is an extended version of the same article.

stretch credulity or demand overlooking those things upon whose meaning they depend.

6.1. “It’s fake- I mean it sounds the same, but it’s fake.” Irish language use among non-Irish people.

Catalin Milev is an Irish-speaking Bulgarian man in his 40’s who lives in Leuven, Belgium. He is an active member of the Irish language community and is involved in two separate Ciorcail Comhrá (Irish language conversation circles). It was at one such meeting, held monthly in Brussels, which was quite poorly attended that I was invited back to Catalin’s house to drink Lagavulin¹⁴⁸ and to listen to traditional Irish music. Perusing the floor-to-ceiling bookcases filled end to end with Celtic inspired CDs, DVDs and books I was once again struck by Catalin’s affinity with everything Irish. As I turned around to relay this I observed him busying himself at his VCR. “One moment”. All of a sudden I could see a high-budget magazine-style television show on which everyone was speaking Bulgarian. Catalin could be seen in the distance and upon being prompted he began speaking to the interviewer in Bulgarian. One quick lapse dissolve later the scene opened on his three piece band. Catalin began playing his Bazouki and the band’s female vocalist burst into song in the Irish language. I wondered aloud whether she was as fluent a speaker as Catalin. “No- It is fake. I mean it sounds the same but it is fake”.

¹⁴⁷ This, and all translations, are the author’s own and are based on fieldnotes which were written-up promptly after the sentences were uttered.

¹⁴⁸ Lagavulin is a malt Whiskey made on the Island of Islay, Scotland. Even without being a connoisseur I could tell that the bottle was expensive.

Catalin let the music play and we sat. He explained the painstaking rehearsals during which he would write out the lyrics of every song for an entire hour-long repertoire. Each lyric, borrowed from one of his favourite bands, was written out in Irish and Bulgarian (so that the lyricist could capture the emotion being transmitted) and finally in a phonetic approximation so that it could be sang live. The falsehood in the lyrics however could not be discerned by the naked ear and I could even hear Catalin's north Donegal inflection¹⁴⁹ in the songstress's interpretation of the phoneticised lyrics. I had often pried into Catalin's past to discern what it was that had sparked his interest in the language and each time he would respond in terms of a tautology. Tonight was no exception: "No one ever asks: "Why do you love your wife?" You just do. There's not anything more to it than that."

Catalin's proficiency in the Irish language was also treated as a curiosity among the other Brussels and Leuven-based Irish speakers he encountered in the field. Anthropologically-themed questions were often asked of him in relation to the conditions which gave rise to his learning the language. He would, on every occasion, defer the questions and offer some form of rhetorical response in exchange. After one evening of persistent questioning at an Irish language event held at the Irish College in Leuven he expressed his frustration. "It is no weird thing to speak a language. I speak 7 of them. I prefer Irish. I think it sounds like the singing of the angels. It is no weird thing." Catalin's candour did remind me that early in the evening he had been treated as something of a museum oddity and his frustration may have stemmed from

¹⁴⁹ Catalin had been taught how to speak Irish in a Gaeltacht (Irish-speaking region) in Glen Colmcille, Donegal in the North of Ireland.

the fact that on that occasion the questions put to him had largely been in English and were asked by people who could themselves not speak the language.

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

Jackson (2008), in describing the difficulties faced by undocumented Sierra Leonian migrants in London describes a process of 'passing'. What is meant by passing is the seamlessness between self and other which allows for 'passing' to occur. Jackson's ethnography concerns migrants who affect a North-London approximation of the retort: "wha?" to their being accosted. The key to passing in this manner was to mimic the accent of the locals such that your presence was tacitly accepted. As observed previously, passing in the instance of the second generation Irish people in the United Kingdom would often incur being labelled as plastic. This phenomenon is ascribed, in Slattery (2010) as a judgment which is somehow innate to Irish people and which begins at the local level and emanates outward:

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

Slattery's account here is an attempt at a wry transmission of the state of affairs concerning the lack of seamlessness of Irish culture and its receptivity to Others. It is curious that Slattery's more programmatic account of Irishness in 2011 stands in contrast to an earlier examination of the role played both by the notion of simulation to ethnographic examination as well as to the relation that simulation has to the rise in procedures of authentication:

Simulation is the postmodern mode of signification that produces an economy of signs through which we think ourselves in culture and through which we communicate. Obviously the meaning of simulations often escapes us at a conscious level, so there is a need to unpack their cultural values: this is the heuristic strategy... The idea of authenticity belongs to history at the level of history's relation to reality, but it belongs to postmodern experience in terms of authenticating procedures. (Slattery, 2003:146-147)

It is at that very point in the ethnographic process that the author has to resign himself to the fact that his efforts to discover a fully-fledged and authentic capitulation of Dublin, which he is doing for the benefit of some academics-cum-tourists whom he is showing around the area, is doomed to failure. He closes the section, from which the above quote is drawn, with the observation that "[D]ublin cannot be authentic in a naively realist way" (Ibid:147). Slattery's interjection, then, seems both to be that there exists something akin to a safety net which, a priori, allows people make a determination of the kind that you are *not* from Ireland while acknowledging that authenticity has faded into the middle distance but that authenticating procedures still loom large. That being said, I have never seen Catalin as happy, then, on the occasion on which he was mistaken for a 'native', the occasion on which this force of

authentication was not as present as Slattery contends that it is.¹⁵⁰ Returning to the example given previously, as to whether Catalin was attempting to deceive or to pass, there was one occasion upon which I observed the exact manner in which Catalin would appreciate his being represented and it is to this occasion I wish to turn.

6.2. Whereabouts in Donegal are you from? Misattribution and pride.

A friend, having arrived late to conversation who was, herself, completely fluent in Irish joined the table at which myself, Catalin and Emma were all sat. She introduced herself and where she was from to each of us and asked the same of us and we patiently heard from everyone present. Finally, she reached Catalin but having heard his accent her interrogative approached changed slightly. “Is ea. Agus carbh as I nDun na Gall thú?” [“I see, and whereabouts in Donegal are you from?”] Catalin glanced over at me almost immediately and a massive smile overtook his face. The woman who asked the question was immediately concerned that she had insulted him, but as she was trying to apologise Catalin interjected asking everyone what they would like to drink. He was ecstatic, not to have been mistaken, but rather to have passed, without having deceived anyone, as Irish temporarily and to have exceeded narrowly drawn, reductive lines of semblance which are often correlated to legitimacy.

Catalin had become excitable only when he overcame the reduction to plasticity, when he came to occupy a broader, seamless Irishness to which everyone was welcome. Catalin is not alone in attempts of this kind and other efforts, as

¹⁵⁰ Problematising and disembedding the privileged testimony of a ‘native’ anthropologist is also a priority in the wake of the excellent critique in Narayan (1993) in which she asks how ‘native’ is native

mediated through the conveyance of language, assist in the negotiation of the all too sharply drawn contours of Irishness and representation. The contours along which these claims are established and employed have their origins in philosophy and are being actively resisted in cutting-edge literature on the topic of fraudulence in anthropology.

6.3. Philosophy and simulacra.

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

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

Browning, paying homage to the writer he is reviewing, also eludes a standardised definition of Postmodernism. Instead, postmodernism is somewhat broken down into symptoms. Postmodern thought can be said to be that which permits the play of

enough to allow for the elimination of difference in place of a solitary author who serves to represent a given culture.

difference and does not subordinate it to those grand or even meta-narratives which attempt to undo their quality of alterity or to categorise difference as a subset of a broader homogeneity.

Postmodernism, typified here by Baudrillard's work (particularly Baudrillard (1984[1979])), needs to be contextualised rather than being thought of as something *sui generis*, and it is for this reason that we must return to a brief analysis of classical anthropological structuralism. Put concisely, structuralism is here postulated as the study of the existence of culturally meaningful binary opposites in order to elicit their undergirding meaning¹⁵¹. The sensation of hot water makes us aware of cold water and certain prohibitions around food or other types of social convention are indicative of grander patterns of social thought (Douglas, 1980, 1996) We know the discrepancies between colours by liberty of what they are not- Blue is not pink, not black, not yellow etc. Here we enter the domain of thinking along a spectrum, and not exclusively from among diametrically opposed entities as though on a spectrum along which internal differentiation becomes meaningful. Within Baudrillard's argumentation, however, contentions often run in a pattern more indicative of structuralist thought and not-post structuralist thought. For instance, he writes when discussing the binary of the real and imaginary:

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

¹⁵¹ A further exploration of the notion of 'meaningful difference' is espoused in De Saussure's "Course in General Linguistics" (1959) pp. 81-88, and is foundational with respect to the Structuralist movement which Derrida's work (1967) is said to have brought an end to. 'Meaningful difference' remains a useful criterion for analysis in studies of value however (see Graeber, 2001 and Carrier, 2004:439-454).

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

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

We can take simulation as that which cannot be reduced and which defies a characterisation which is conceived of as something in its own right. Simulation, then, cannot be reproduced in a manner which exceeds the reality from which it springs, at least in a manner which would be consequence-free. The Irish pub abroad seems, at first glance, to be an oxymoron for this exact reason. So contingent is simulation upon the representation that it conveys or emulates that the temptation towards reduction is always there; simulation, therefore, cannot be understood to exist per se in the social field. A similar frustration is outlined by Barthes in his *Mythologies* (1972) in which he staunchly insists that even though wrestling is indeed staged, that is simulated, that this in no way invalidates the theatricality and showmanship of the performance; reducing stagecraft to a kind of fictive falsehood is to miss the point of the simulation entirely. Simulation cannot be likened to anything, and, therefore, it intensifies difference and eludes standardization. This final question is addressed in relation to a long overdue response to Derrida's criticism of Levi-Strauss and is followed by an outline of the way in which refiguring the transition from structural to post-structural anthropology might augment our capacity to pursue ethnography.

Let us return, then, to a re-examination of the exact criticism that Derrida levels against the discipline of structural anthropology in *Structure, Sign and Play in the discourses of the Human sciences* (Derrida, 2004 (1967)). Derrida's work is a sustained critique of classical structuralist thought¹⁵² through the prism of one notion (that of incest) which cannot be consigned to either of the structural (and therefore intelligible) binaries of nature or culture. Is incest, therefore, a fully natural phenomenon (existing in nature, not-regulated) or is it a cultural phenomenon (requiring restrictions and punishments for those who practice it)?:

[Lévi-Strauss] begins from his axiom or definition: that which is universal and spontaneous and not dependant on any particular culture or any determinate norm, belongs to nature. Inversely, that which depends upon a system of norms regulating society and therefore is capable of varying from one social structure to another, belongs to culture. [The scandal] which no longer tolerates the nature/culture opposition he has accepted, something which *simultaneously* seems to require the predicates of nature and culture. The scandal is the incest prohibition. The incest prohibition is universal, in the sense that one could call it natural. But it is also a prohibition, a system of norms and interdicts; in this sense one could call it cultural. (Derrida, 2004[1967]:357 Emphasis in Original)

Derrida's observation is here well illustrated and evidenced. Derrida not only mentions that simultaneity (evidenced by the notion that incest is both cultural and natural) is a trend which runs throughout, not only anthropology, but also the social sciences generally. This renders the efforts made in discerning between perspectives, such as displays being of either an authentic or inauthentic composition, a problematic venture.¹⁵³ What remains clear, however, is given the pervasiveness and variety of

¹⁵² The object of his criticism here can be said to be Levi-Strauss's or Mary Douglas's thought and not, say, Roman Jakobson or Roland Barthes.

¹⁵³ A full assessment of Derrida's contribution to the humanities as a whole is detailed in Cohen (2001).

usage of a concept as broad as differentiation, we still retain the position of being able to interpret how difference emerges in empirical capacities:

There are more than enough indications today to suggest that we might perceive that these two interpretations of interpretation- which are absolutely irreconcilable even if we live them simultaneously and reconcile them in an obscure economy- together share the field which we call, in such a problematic fashion, the social sciences (Ibid, 370).

What is important to emphasise is the pivotal role that Derrida's work, even though its unpacking of the presuppositions of structural thought, has played in the construction of poststructural anthropology and it is for this reason that we might examine how post-structural anthropology in its turn has reacted to other, more recent, postmodern philosophy. In order to determine whether simulation and difference, in whatever form they are expressed in the social field, can be related to one another we must turn to empirically-borne out anthropological study.

6.4. Anthropology and simulacra.

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

apply to a simulation of that same context. Might the spectator be tempted to consign themselves, sight unseen, to the place as being guilty of attempting to dupe the public?

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

The simulation, we might postulate, can invite and cater for different interpretations rather than relying solely on a reduction to the original and thereby being viewed as something lesser, as an imposter. Plasquy (2012) has written about the fact that if one were to witness a ritual being enacted by Spanish immigrants in Belgium the onlooker might be tempted to reduce or otherwise consign the phenomenon to an approximation of the original, authentic display which is thought to occur in their homeland. This interpretation homogenises difference and eschews that which is really enacted in the following way:

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

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

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

Here we have arrived at the heart of the matter and have approximated that which anthropologists can better come to understand in order to resolve the constant prefacing of an event as fake, inauthentic, akin to, like or resembling another thing.¹⁵⁴

If any given phenomenon does not have an intention to deceive or to conceal itself somehow then how might it be thought of as being inauthentic? The inverse is equally true and is a feature of the Beijing Silk Market according to Sterling (2013); rather than thinking of consumers who purchase goods which are knock-offs as somehow having been misled we might, instead, think that their decisions might have been undertaken by their own volition, are imbued with agency and with their full awareness:

Customers who come to buy famous brand-name goods are well aware of their "inauthentic" status, yet are eager to buy them in spite of, or perhaps, because of their "authentic inauthenticity", as they know that they are buying fashionable product from which satisfaction is derived. Both vendors and

¹⁵⁴ Foucault reminds us in the *Order of Things* that the temptation to employ analogies is both a finite affair (it will never be tied to anything beyond the realm in which the analogies are drawn) and is indicative of classical thought (Foucault, 1966. Pp 19-49). For an excellent critique of the use of analogy in anthropology see Jackson (1989).

customers are aware of the knock-off status of the goods available at the market, yet the closer the item appears to the “original”, the higher the desirability of the item to the customer. The vendors who are able to convincingly create a feeling of reassurance in the quality of the knock-off are those who are the most successful in their sales techniques. (Sterling, 2013:11-12)

This is a situation which is unthinkable in Baudrillard’s model of the simulacra, and the passive consumption thereof, given the desire and mutual interplay in the reassurances provided as to the quality of the “inauthentic authentic” good. Here, and with this in mind, we can enquire after the reasons behind the importance with which claims, which arise from any given spectator- philosophers and laypeople alike- come to be imbued with meaning. What is actively being resisted, here and by the anthropological literature outlined in this section is the pervasiveness of the claim which is the proposition of the claim of false-consciousness on the part of any actor who is thought to find themselves as lost among a superabundance of signs and meanings. Sterling reminds us that the act of selection from among goods, authentic or otherwise, when occurring *in situ*, is in fact an act which eschews the temptation to conflate certain kinds of consumeristic behaviour with their somehow having been misled. This possibility, which is always present in the field of simulation and authentication, is one which is critiqued in Deleuze who gives primacy to the notion of the desire to differentiate which is acted out by the onlooker and not which cannot be said to take place at the intersubjective level.

Deleuze takes Baudrillard’s notion as his point of departure, namely that differences between simulacra and thing can be discerned at all:

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

Immediately, however, Deleuze turns his attentions to the tenability of this kind of claim and precedes in a manner to problematize Baudrillardian differentiation between likeness and reality. Deleuze replaces the notion of ever having any undifferentiated impartial reality, against which the simulacra can be derived as being something akin to philosophical false-friends, and contends instead that we, being ourselves simulacra, are destined only to select from among them as to which is foundational and which is not. Deleuze attempts to fortify this point by making reference to humans, in their post-lapsarian capacity, as being simulacra. He writes:

The copy is an image endowed with resemblance, the simulacrum is an image without resemblance. The catechism, so much inspired by Platonism, has familiarized us with this notion. God made man in his image and resemblance. Through sin, however, man lost the resemblance while maintaining the image. We have become simulacra. (Ibid, 257)

Deleuze's self-styled Neo-Platonism¹⁵⁵, allows us to think not of the interstices between difference (discerning the pretender from the heir proper) but instead calls into question the monadic structure to something akin to the undifferentiated same in the first place. In order to illustrate this point it may be necessary to return to ethnography before providing in-field observations to demonstrate this hypothesis.

6.5. No Irish, no Blacks and no Dogs: Continuity and discontinuity in migration.

In order to determine whether simulation and difference, when they are expressed in the social field, can be related to one another we must turn to empirically-derived,

¹⁵⁵ Neo-Platonism is thought to be any school of philosophy which takes Plato's notions of ideas and forms as its core but which offers a radically different interpretation; thought to have begun in Plotinus Enneads (Plotinus, 1966), Neo-Platonism was at its most popular during the Renaissance, see Cassirer, Kristeller & Randall (1948).

anthropological study upon the Irish abroad specifically; specifically, the experiences of the Irish in the United Kingdom which were documented by Mary Douglas.

Mary Douglas was able to view this phenomenon first-hand and it is one to which she devoted an article-length analysis entitled *The Bog Irish* (Douglas, 1966) in which she outlined an etic view of the necessity for community among Irish émigrés in the United Kingdom:

[Irish emigrants in London, ed.] If they have friends and kin to find them lodgings, their sense of exile is softened by a sense of continuity, the Irish newspapers sold outside Church after Mass, the weekly dances in the parish hall. There is a sense of belonging. If no such welcome is arranged, they are likely to see on the doors of lodging houses: 'No Irish, no coloured' (Douglas, 1996:39)

Douglas' fears are well-founded and at the time of writing seem to have been somewhat commonplace. The differentiation that is maintained between the English and its Others is long-standing but for the purposes of illustration, and in attempting to trace a commonality in and between the manner in which they were represented, we must turn to the work being published prior to this time and which appeared in *Harper's Weekly: A Journal of Civilization*. As the title of the publication aptly suggests, Harper's appears to have been interested in discerning from among the civilized and the non-civilized through the, then-popular, method of assessing cranial depth, facial types and skin tone which were thought to suggest something about individual's character.

Even by the 1960s traces of that self-same discrimination, which have become codified, are still in evidence whereby differentiation becomes mapped onto a rejection of an otherness which has come to occupy discrete locations in England. Douglas' pronouncement, then, is to establish a community within this climate that can assist more recently arrived migrants to ameliorate their sense of felt exile.

Even within this separation from home place and abroad, though, an internal differentiation begins to appear. The figure of the Irish individual who remained in Ireland occupies the central position from which migrants begin to be differentiated from, by dint of their having migrated. This is a task to which Boas devoted a great deal of critical thought. This is particularly in evidence with his magnum opus *Race, Culture and Language* (1940) the primary task of which was the examination of broad cultural traits as well as the independent genesis of culture-specific phenomena. A teleological, developmentally-inspired structured relativism fell to the wayside and the broader conceptualisation that culture had always been in effect, becoming suffused and diffused globally, came to the fore. In a very Boas-inspired piece Ralph Linton wrote of the 100% American (Linton, 1937) who goes about his morning unaware of the concatenation of alien forces at play in the processing of his food, in the pioneering of his furniture and in the (re)invention of his very language. At the close of the essay we have the narrator pronounce, almost expressly rejecting the cultural means which have shaped his life, "I am 100% American." The notion of a forgetting, which allows cut-and-dry statements of this kind to have sway, can be seen as having happened to migrants who, having left Ireland, entered into a pejorative relationship with the people who remained at 'home'. These migrants, over the course of the next generation, came to be known colloquially as 'Plastic Paddies' a pejorative term pointing to their loss of connection with their home place. Mobility and migration become viewed in terms of loss, the separation from the original requiring linguistic denotation in a pejorative manner.

I wish to turn now to second generation Irish immigrant families in the UK. As members of their diaspora these immigrants are confronted with the label of 'plastic

paddy'¹⁵⁶. Here the label of plasticity is something which can be reappropriated and about which second generation Irish immigrants can become proud, as in Marc Scully (2009):

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

Similar problematics of discerning an undifferentiated cultural identity, vis-à-vis plasticity, among the Irish diaspora in the UK are also examined in Mac an Ghail and Haywood (2003) and Hickman, Morgan et al. (2005) and can serve both to suppress difference and to disavow the possibility of an authenticity which is also related to mobility, as demonstrated in the in Plasquy (2012), above. This is troublesome to anthropologists not least because it is a tactic employed to ostracise, by ignoring the imagined nature of these communities (Anderson, 1983) but also that it ignores that migrant communities rather than being a splinter of Irish society, play a more constitutive role in its active construction.¹⁵⁷

The section which follows explores the manners in which an affinity for culture is internally layered and considers pretence and language-use. Applying this mode of differentiation to the practice of a language will be illustrated by examining a vignette (which is thought to demonstrate this latent difficulty) which is examined in the following section.

¹⁵⁶ I am aware here that Paddy, to connote a person of Irish provenance generally has a male connotation, as discussed in Hickman and Bronwen (1995) I employ it here to connote both sexes; the connotation of plasticity as fraudulence is here what is meant to be emphasised.

¹⁵⁷ The interplay in the construction of the meaning of Irish society has been investigated in the introduction with reference to the work of Wulff (2007).

6.6. The limits of pretence: “You can’t pretend to speak a language!”

Time was beginning to get away from us. The ground just outside of the bicycle garage became bright and sunlit and then grey alternately with increasing frequency and frustration was setting in. Joseph tapped his foot slightly as an obviously overworked mechanic was readjusting his rental bike. He had tried to deal with the attendant in English at first but his heavy Northern Irish accent and the pace at which he had spoken had made things difficult. In an effort to expedite the situation Joseph had switched to French; having lived in Brussels for three year, Joseph is fluent and it was the ease and rapidity with which he had acquired the language that had reignited his interest in learning Irish in the first place, which is how we had met. His endeavours to speak in French though, had caused a situation of stress to develop into something a bit more political. The attendant stopped, inhaled audibly and asked him to make another attempt, in English, but this time to speak “sloowly”, which had been emphasised. Joseph then withdrew his identity card and the fee for the bike rental and waited patiently adding only monosyllabic words when prompted to. By the time the transaction was complete Joseph was looking weary and the leisurely Saturday cycle was more necessary than ever.

We made sufficient time to arrive at our destination, Castle Arenberg, while the sun still shone. The previous encounter regarding the use of French remained the primary topic for some time afterward. “It is a national language though. What if I didn’t speak any English?” This conversation quickly evolved into a consideration of the difficulty that would be encountered in Ireland, given its deficiencies regarding

multilingualism.¹⁵⁸ The conversation quickly grew into a larger consideration of the relationship between language and culture and I was delighted that it had arisen organically.

I interjected only occasionally and what followed was a fascinating parsing out, in real time, of the various aspects of culture which are accessible and those that are less accessible. What I felt was happening was that Joseph was attempting to posit a reason for Ireland's low uptake of languages generally and of the Irish language specifically. "I mean some culture, music and GAA and drinking- they don't need anything from you. They are like culture lite."

A rain shower interrupted our conversation and we were required to take shelter in a café. It was difficult to organically bring the topic back around to an examination of the language and the role it plays in the composition of culture and so for a time we just listed off some aspects of how our respective lives were. Upon returning from the bathroom though I could see that Joseph's mind had wandered back to our previous topic of conversation. "I think this is it. So, say we were out and you said to someone: I'm a doctor and someone said: Prove it. You couldn't *really* but you could still pretend. You could say something you'd heard on House¹⁵⁹ or whatever. All you need is enough. You can't do that with language. You can't pretend to speak a language. Can you speak this language? Prove it! Ah I can't actually. Y'know?"

¹⁵⁸ These deficiencies are well noted and recently made headlines, which were more or less variations on the theme of: all a broad permutation "Lack of language skills hurts our employment chance" Published 15/10/2013 and written by Sarah McCabe. The piece also drew attention to the alarming figure that while half of all students in the EU study two or more languages among Irish students that figure is closer to 8%.

¹⁵⁹ House MD was a serialised medical drama which ran from 2004-2012 and which relied quite heavily on complicated medical-jargon for the purposes of storytelling.

The idea here is that the command of a language is contingent upon what Foucault refers to as the paradox of subjectification (Foucault, 1994); that is, that you have to slavishly commit yourself to the task of its acquisition in order to obtain a mastery thereof, is here recapitulated. What is really at work in Joseph's narrative is the contention of pretence or of a facile relationship to a culture over and above a kind of learned habitual mastery of one aspect. Performing a false Irishness, by way of resituating the register through which the Irish language is understood is something which certainly does occur; given that the language being simulated is not widely spoken, therefore, the Irish person who engages in this kind of activity might be thought of as also simulating the language. This is demonstrated in the section which follows.

6.7. The use of Irish at home and abroad: Do something Irish!

The requirement to learn Irish among the Irish themselves is one which is largely absent, though, which can be evidenced by referring to popular media in which Irish tourists attempt to pass off their lacklustre extent of Irish as something poetic, beautiful and rhapsodising. This counterfeiting is also deeply ingrained in encounters with the Other and which is curiously portrayed in an advertisement for Carlsberg beer. The advertisement is notable primarily because it plays out in almost the exact opposite manner than *Yu Ming is ainm dom* does. The advert begins with two Irish men entering a night club in what, by representing alien landscapes and unusual scenery, but which turns out to be Rio de Janeiro. By asking for their order in English, with an Irish lilt, they are revealed to be non-locals and the barman asks where they are from. The pair answer that they are from Ireland and the barman immediately puts

them to the test by asking/telling them to do something Irish. Before long the attentions of the bar are cast upon them as the publican pleads, somewhat aggressively, with them to perform an array of stereotypically Irish things; someone yells: What about Irish singing? A woman who closes in on the trio speaks in a monotone in the declarative tense: “Dance!” What follows is a ploy by the central character to perform his Irishness; with amorous intentions it is impossible to dance or sing without the possibility of making a spectacle of one’s self and so the trio decide to elect to pick an option of their own construction. “An bhfuil cead agam dul go dtí an leithreas?” (Transl. Can go to the toilet?) He receives a confused look by the barman.

Very quickly, and to ease the tension, another man interjects that he is reciting a poem. He continues by speaking a series of words which are some of the most basic tenets of the Irish language: Agus madra rua. Is maith liom caca milis. Agus Sharon Ní Bheoláin! Tá geansaí orm. Tá scamall sa spéir. Tabhair dom an caca milis! (Fox, I like Cake and Sharon Ní Bheoláin [an Irish news anchor]. There are clouds in the sky. Give me the delicious cake.) Having succeeded, by way of a series of nonsense words the trio congratulate themselves on having replicated a sufficiently alien language, by way of recitation, and are applauded by all and sundry. The final shot is of one of the man who seems to have become splintered from the group and recites more verses of the “poem” to a woman; “Ciúnas bóthar cailín bainne”, he whispers the translation of which is roughly: “Quiet, road, girl, milk.”

This advertisement is also alluded to by Kelly-Holmes (2010) in which it is contrasted against older, Irish language based ads. What emerges, it is argued, is that in the Carlsberg ad:

[F]eatured three young Irish men on holidays in Rio de Janeiro and the message of the ad [is, ed.] that speaking Irish makes one attractive in international tourist destinations. (Kelly-Holmes, 2010:76)

Curiously, though, the calibre of spoken Irish goes unquestioned and what emerges as interesting is the clear tie between Irishness and desirability. Another commentator, on an Irish-language interest blog who goes by the name of An ‘Spailpín fánach’ (or “The wandering day-labourer”), inverts this interpretation by claiming that the ad has more to do with a kind of cultural condescension:

[T]hat ad sums up everything the nation as a whole thinks about the first language right now. We like the idea of Irish, the idea of it being there, but is has no semantic meaning for us. It means nothing. Such words we have are only those we remember from school, in brief incoherent snatches. We like the language, in the same way we like that old fool of a dog that always chases parked cars, but fundamentally it’s a joke, not something to be taken seriously. “Ciúnas bóthar cailín bainne.” “Quiet road girl milk.” Gibberish. We think Irish is gibberish, and its only purpose is to give us another reason look down on foreigners, something we love doing all the time.¹⁶⁰

Further reinforcement of the element of passing oneself off as being able to speak Irish is also something which is thought to derive a lot of pleasure in the spectator; this is evidenced by the claim that the type of humour employed in this ad was found to be among the most appealing to youth, according to youth research into alcohol and advertising (Hope, 2009) in which the “Irish Language Ad”, created by London-based advertising agency Saatchi and Saatchi, is thought to typify the most desirable style of behaviour.

While pride can be elicited by those who attempt to speak the language and pass, the dynamic cuts both ways which means that pretending to speak a language and succeeding by way of gibberish is also something which is thought to be

commendable. This notion serves to muddy the waters of authenticating procedures by highlighting the appropriability of the language for the purposes of identification by anyone, especially given its rapid decline. Here, revisiting the notion espoused in the Deleuzian model of the simulacra, I contend that with the Irish language it should be contended that the resemblance to the language has been lost while the imagistic element remains; that is, that proficiency in the language is no longer required and while the impression of the Irish language remains, in some fashion, the stronger representative tie (in this case a kind of fluency) is lost. This occurs, as we have seen, from within and from without.

6.8. Passing, pride and dejection: Simulation and language acquisition:

There is always a sense of pride in passing and, therefore, of belonging, whether this is achieved through cunning trickery or by way of accidental attribution and it occurs both within and beyond the Irish diaspora. Jan was a textbook example of exactly this phenomenon. A 24 year-old law student at KU Leuven we crossed paths through his enrolment in the Irish classes. He was receptive to the project and spoke directly to this point during a formal interview which became side-tracked onto the topic of his passing for a Scottish person during his Erasmus trip to Scotland. He detailed an occasion on which, while waiting in a queue to use the bathroom, he got talking to a few locals and the pace, pattern and the use of idioms didn't change in any identifiable way even after Jan had uttered a few sentences in response; rather than

¹⁶⁰ See: "Quiet, Road, Milk, Girl" published March, 5th 2008. The full article is available at: <http://spailpin.blogspot.be/2008/03/quiet-road-girl-milk-what-carlsberg-ad.html> and was last accessed on October 8th, 2013.

betraying his alterity his command of the language, informed by his stay abroad, allowed for him to pass. It was only much later that someone retorted to him, in a jovial manner that: “I thought you were Scottish bruv!”

Later in our interview Jan directed the conversation to the necessity of mobility to one’s moral worldview, “we have a duty to see the world and to take it as seriously as we can” and to the idea that in order to achieve citizenship in the world is to live in a world in which the difference between citizenships and the various forms of belongings which relate thereto is diminished greatly so that more and more people can more easily pass. This coming to pass will allow for a fully-fledged cosmopolitanism that even though it retains its own difference, a difference that Jan thinks as citizens of the world we must bear witness, but which because their identity depends upon difference, is wary of counterfeiture. He also alluded to his self-identification as being that of a “linguistic hipster”- by that he explained that while Irish may not be useful to help in achieving his ends, it was certainly not spoken by many people, it was something of a badge of honour precisely because of its inaccessibility.

Each gambit made at passing, whether intentional or otherwise, does invariably have an element of risk to it; while the intention to deceive may not be there, the question of duplicity still looms large. An interesting example of the inner workings of passing, and its parenthetical riskiness, can be observed by examining the experiences of Bert. Bert is a young man, 23, who is a law student at the KU Leuven. He had been told that Irish classes¹⁶¹ were being offered in Leuven and he wrote me

¹⁶¹ The Irish classes referred to here have been examined at length in Chapter 4.

an email to enquire as to whether the class was still in session; the semester had ended at that point though and the classes had finished for the year, but I extended him an invitation to join me for a cup of tea and a chat to discuss, as he had put it in his email, “all things Irish”.

What was most striking upon meeting Bert for the first time was his accent; he spoke in what can only be described as a kind of British-English style of ‘Received Pronunciation’. Agha (2003) refers to ‘received pronunciation’, and this kind of accent, as being a stereotypical pronunciation of English which imbues the speaker with a kind of presupposed semiotic capital and importance. While other Anglophones in Belgium had the remnants or slight lilt of the context in which they acquired English, more or less American, more or less Australian, Bert spoke exactly like a BBC-news presenter. On our walk it became clear that Bert was an Anglophile, feverishly devouring literary classics as well as being well-versed in more modern televisual representations (Doctor Who, Broadchurch and others). While it might be more convenient to label Bert as an anglophile, rather than a hibernophile, getting to know more about him over the months which followed indicated that there was more to him than that.

One weekday afternoon Bert decided to meet me at my office instead of right outside the building in which I worked and interjected into the working day by knocking on the door. He let himself in and introduced himself in English to my colleague, with whom I shared an office, and enquired after her name. She responded and asked him whether he was also Irish; Bert blushed and leaned forward, “many, many thanks but no I am actually not”. He began to chat in Flemish to her as I packed away my belongings. We walked through St. Donatus Park in Leuven on our way to

the coffee shop and he greeted friends he recognised in Flemish as we walked. The fact that he was grateful to be mistaken as being Irish stuck with me and I decided to ask him more.

I will go out on a night here in Leuven and pretend to be Scottish. Like (affects a near-perfect Scottish impression). Halloa! I'm from Edinburgh- Where do ya hail from yerself? I mean people want to talk to you. I don't let it go too far or anything. I even once met someone on Parijsstraat who was from Scotland and dropped it straight away, but she smiled and we kept on talking. I don't want people to think I'm from Scotland I just don't want them to think I'm not from there either; keeping people guessing can be jolly good fun! (Bert)

Here the intention to deceive clearly bears no malicious intention and dialogue, and not deceit, is the most desirable outcome. Bert, like Jan, only desires to suspend the reduction by way of difference through simulation- to render the act of differentiation suspect to the act of deferring or divining a difference which isn't immediately on display. Howe speaks directly to the risks involved in this kind of outcome-driven engagement:

Regarding risk, shamanic séances are, so to speak, at the extreme end of the scale. Leaders and audience have licence to invent - indeed, this is almost required - so risk is inevitable... rituals are staged to achieve an end, so there is always something at stake in performances. Because the outcome cannot be known in advance, success and failure (however these may be measured: instrumentally, aesthetically, evocatively, morally, etc.) are contingent. Ritual is therefore inherently risky. (Howe, 2000:67)

Again, while Howe's reminder that rituals always bear within themselves the possibility of failure- either of performance or outcome- it must be noticed here that the stakes are lower in acts of passing, given that because they are not directed towards intentionally deceiving those at whom they are directed. That said, the stakes still remain, and the possibility of 'failing' looms large, and are outlined in the section which follows.

6.9. The Irish and the ‘properly Irish’: He’s not Irish. Just listen to him!

Clarifying the stakes, by way of the possibility of an undergirding touchstone remains a concern, which would render detecting efforts made at passing among the Irish and non-Irish community abroad possible; this was often confused, even after describing the work’s aims in full, or thought to be the express concern in my work. This concern expressly and is the most latent expression of the desire for a litmus test by which the authentic might be severed from the inauthentic and is the subject of the vignette, drawn from fieldnotes and conversations, which follows.

I met Emma at an event held by the European Movement International, which at that time had only one base of operation in Ireland and which has since set up another office in Brussels called, simply, EM Brussels. The event was held in Kitty O’ Shea’s and was arranged as a meet-and-greet, ‘networking event’ at which they also launched the new volume of the *Green Book* (see 4.6.6.). I spent the early part of the evening making small talk with some frenetic young professionals working at various echelons in the European Institutions and received many business cards thrust directly into my palm. Kitty O’ Shea’s was bustling and filled to capacity and the only area which remained free was an area off to one side in the wings. I moved away to one side after saying goodbye to a Viennese blogger and heard my name being called. Máire was sitting off to one side with a friend and the pair were reviewing some of the business cards they had received as well as complaining about the noise. I sat down and was introduced to Emma, to some relief from Aoife who, at the end of that month, was scheduled to return home after a 12-month stint in the Faculty of Law of KU Leuven.

Emma and I chatted about life in Leuven and once the chatter had died down and the liaising slowed and then stopped it was possible to outline the project to her in

relative peace. She expressed an interest in the research question and we exchanged numbers. We met a number of times over the two months which followed during which time we were able to get to know one another. I became familiar with the eclectic group of Erasmus students with whom she spent time and we both attended football and rugby matches in Stapletons at her invitation. We casually chatted during which time I made mention of a Primark (a popular clothes retailer in Ireland and elsewhere) situated in Liege and she mentioned that she had been looking for an excuse to travel to Liege and we made an arrangement to travel out that Sunday.

While the trip itself was enjoyable, but unremarkable, we spoke about upcoming prospects, her love-life and the quality of Liege's landmarks but it was the return journey's conversation that really stood out. We had boarded the wrong train bound for Leuven (an ICE train- an intercity train rather than an inter-regional IC train) and after being scolded by the ticket inspector our topic turned to the basic components of Irishness. Seated in the interstices of the carriages on either side Emma began to outline a wide permutation of situations, each of which concluded with the question of whether what she had outlined would qualify the fictive person she had outlined as being Irish. It began with questions of parentage; "say someone's mam is Irish but their dad is from somewhere else but they live in Ireland- does that make them Irish?" The next question concerned migration; "say both parents are Irish and their child was born in Ireland and they moved away shortly after- does that make them Irish?" Other questions concerned language acquisition, knowledge or engagement with various Irish and non-Irish sports and questions of returning emigrants who settle but have borne children abroad. I attempted, in each instance, to enter into dialogue about the question and to parse out the individual components of what would allow us to

consider someone to be Irish or not. She was able to cite a number of instances in which someone had thought themselves to be Irish even though others had resisted that interpretation. Ultimately, and as our train pulled into the station, she confided in me that she had presumed that my work would serve as a litmus test for whether someone could rightly be considered ‘properly Irish’ or not and she wished me the best of luck with it.

Another occasion on which the grounds for qualifying someone as being ‘properly’ or ‘improperly’ Irish occurred around one year later. I was fortunate enough on one occasion to bear witness to this process as it unfolded; in February, 2014, I was sitting outside of a pub, at which an Irish person worked but which is not generally thought to be Irish, and after I had finished speaking over the phone to a friend in English a stranger tried to spark up a conversation. He had a strong Australian lilt in his accent and began telling me about his girlfriend for whom he was waiting. He then moved on to the topic of my accent and wanted to know, specifically, where I hailed from in Ireland and I obliged. He then told me, proudly, that he was also from Dublin having been born in the Coombe Hospital. As he relayed this story, though, the Irish employee came over, removed some glasses, and proceeded to disagree. He looked at me: “He’s not Irish. He’s not. Just listen to him.” I was caught slightly off guard and my conversation partner had suddenly become sullen and dejected. I remained silent for a moment; “We’re always joking like that”, he eventually responded in a hushed voice. A feeling of dejection was palpable and I had also, during my fieldwork stay, been privy to some efforts which are taken, which fly below the radar of fully passing, which include the self-designation of

‘hibernophile’ rather than entertaining ‘false’ notions of Irishness. This is illustrated in the examination which follows.

I met Niels through another participant, a native Irish speaker, and over time he and I would come to spend long hours together over lunch and the requisite coffee thereafter. He was a young KU Leuven student of law, of about 25, who would stay in Keizerberg Abbey while he carried out his studies. He was also incredibly busy, involved in various programmes such as the model UN, the model EU and young Fine Gael¹⁶² who were situated in Brussels. From our very first meeting it became apparent that he was very devoted to the Irish language, as well as to Scot’s Gaelic which he had travelled to Scotland to study in 2006. He was a language enthusiast and spoke English, French and Dutch fluently too. When I enquired as to how he had come to learn Irish he would detail his elaborate family history, his mother who was from the Phillipines, his father who was a Belgian native and his uncle who lived in Ireland had all fostered his desire to acquire many different languages. After providing his kinship map as a kind of cosmopolite credential he mentioned his frequent visits to Donegal and the various studies he had undertaken to learn to speak Irish as proficiently as possible. He became a frequent contributor in the Irish classes offered in KU Leuven and his insight into the Northern Irish dialect was of great assistance in providing a broader oversight of the differences between dialects that can be seen in Ireland.

However, this desire to contribute to classwork unnerved some other students and he was labelled as having the desire to be more Irish than the Irish themselves

¹⁶² Fine Gael are Ireland’s centre-right political party and the Young Fine Gael are the sub branch of the political party which attempt to activate the youth vote. Their goal is to promote Ireland and to foster ties among Brussels-based Eurocrats. In keeping with a ‘young’ incarnation of a bigger political

which was a term coined at the end of the 18th century to deride the efforts of assimilation made by the Normans in the 12th Century. This turn of phrase is also employed against members of the Irish community in North America as though being more Irish is less than being a kind of Irish which requires no augmentation, supplementation or diminution of any kind. After one Irish class we decided to go for lunch in a student canteen and I had the opportunity to ask him whether he thought of himself as being Irish.

Well, no- Not because I don't want to. I don't think people see would let it be that way. I am... I suppose I am a hibernophile who is interested in the language. I was even interviewed once for TV by TG4 for a programme. They thought, like you do I think, that a non-Irish Irish speaker is a rare commodity indeed. I mean I speak more Irish than most Irish [people] but that doesn't enter into it somehow. (Niels)

It was possible to observe the emission of pride as a result of passing and acknowledgment; on March 1st, 2014, I was once again invited to celebrate the official opening of "Seachtain na Gaeilge" in Brussels (please note that a full exploration of how Seachtain na Gaeilge came to be celebrated in Brussels can be found in chapter 4.6.3.). I was with Catalin and Claire as the ambassador extended his thanks to everyone in the audience for the efforts made throughout the year to keep Irish alive, "as a living language"; furthermore, and for the first time, he acknowledged the non-native Irish speakers in Belgium and at that very event who had gone to great lengths to give Irish their support. Claire was delighted:

I think that was the first time, or maybe I didn't hear it last time, but I think that was the first time they've ever thanked people like me and Catalin. I have to tell you that I've always felt like a kind of spy at these things. They usually address just Irish people, like there're only Irish people here and that the only

party, their web presence seems to be restricted to Facebook; See:
<https://www.facebook.com/yfginternational>

people who are interested in Irish are the Irish. I'm really glad they mentioned that. (Claire)

Claire felt as though the limits of the language had become something more than an ethnic marker and that, because it now included her, was something about which she could be proud.

6.10. Concluding remarks.

It can be claimed that what had occurred was that Catalin, and many others like him, came to occupy the same discursive space, or more accurately the same linguistic habitus (Bourdieu, 1993:78-90), that the Irish diaspora in Belgium also occupied. Claire too had felt pride at having been invited into the fold while others remain sceptical as to this possibility, as in the testimony of Niels. Others still, where they see Irishness expressed lexically as something resembling a claim to belonging feel the overarching need to intervene and authenticate it, either so that the person who has made the infraction knows or in the design of a clear-cut, yes/no, one which I have failed to postulate here.

Catalin's narrative can also be enlightening to the anthropology of Ireland, or anthropology Ireland (Wilson and Donnan, 2006) exactly because, not in spite of the fact, that he himself is not Irish. It might be instructive to recall Taylor's (1996) pronouncement:

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

The risk which is ran in separating the inauthentic from the authentic, in demystifying difference and making it accountable to the same is one which is remote to anthropology. In critiquing Baudrillard it is possible to observe that only a

postmodernism that does not rely on the argumentative formulae of its forebears (structuralist critiques) can account for phenomenon which occur in that age (i.e. the postmodern present). The idea or desire for a litmus test, or a sheer negation of a person's claim to Irishness arises from a perceived inauthenticity which reduces the speaker to a position of an illusory or fabricated misunderstanding of themselves, which is thought to require correction but in reality incurs dejection. The reduction of any narrative to a simulated, false-consciousness brings about feelings of dejection; this is akin to the example outlined previously of the perceived inauthenticity of a good purchased at a stall in China being necessarily linked to the consumer having been duped. The conflation of the simulated to the same brings about the possibility of acceptance, new relations to Irishness being made possible and imbues the narrator with a kind of pride. What is required, then, and what has been outlined here is a construction by which the, seemingly oxymoronic term. The non-Irish, Irish-speaking community, can be viewed as having constructed something new for themselves.

Many anthropologists (Bruner, 1994; Craciun, 2012; Plasquy, 2012) have managed to nuance anthropology such that a space becomes available in which questions about simulacra, simulation and authenticity can be posited anew. For my part I have submitted Catalin's narrative which takes place upon the backdrop of a diaspora which, in the United Kingdom at least, is preoccupied with questions of belonging by way of the perceived authenticity of their claim to a solitary Irishness. Catalin, and others like him, can invite us to ruminate on the topic of the limits of Irishness such that we can encounter strains of it elsewhere which defy our reductive gaze but which are simulated in our presence and which are attempting to defy the efforts of the reductive gaze and to carve out a space which altogether different.

Having examined the manner in which the non-Irish serve as conveyances through which broader conceptualisations of belonging can be contextualised and understood, the chapter which follows address the theorisation of the very space in which these conceptualisations of belonging are thought to occur. This is achieved by plumbing the depths of the modes in which 'Europe' as a metonymical construction, as an assemblages of signs, might be understood.

7. Europe is not a place: Recovering memory in a non-lieu de memoire

Na Gaeil I gcéin are a small, informal group based in Brussels of Irish translators and teachers of Irish in the European Schools who were very seldom in attendance at the Ciorcal Comhrá described in chapter 4. They meet once a month or so and arrange invitations to travel to various important historical sites in Belgium and organise Irish-language reading groups. I heard about their existence in 2013 and was invited, almost immediately thereafter, to give a tour of the grounds of the Irish College. Their devotion to the Irish language is sincere and serves to demonstrate the commitment to the language which remains in Brussels. During a conversation, which took place during the official opening of the Seachtain na Gaeilge in Brussels, I heard from three of the members that their repeated efforts to translate the multimedia displays shown on the grounds into Irish had fallen on deaf ears. Their offers of Irish translations, submitted by email with full translations into Irish of each of the pieces, were rejected on the grounds that if any other language, besides English, were to be displayed then there would be an additional requirement to translate the posters into Dutch, French and German. This frustration with the administration of the Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe had also made their being offered a tour of the grounds an unlikely thing.

One of the people in charge, Cáit, spoke to me about the possibility of visiting the Leuven Institute for Ireland and Europe while there and I reached out to two participants to assist me in giving the tour. I am incredibly grateful to Declan and Natalie who were able to give a tour of the inner workings of the building and who

gave history and access to hitherto unvisited areas.¹⁶³ What stood out the most from among them was the arrangement which was right across from the panel which outlines the Leuven Institute's task of Europeanising the Irish abroad, see figure 19.

Natalie discussed the piece below:

You look at it and it's all over the place. You're trying to make out what's what, and you see an I-R-E-L-A-N-D; there's more there though. You look again and you can see É-I-R-E¹⁶⁴. If you keep looking you can make out A-N E-O-I-R-A-I-P¹⁶⁵ and E-U-R-O-P-E too. It depends on how you look at it really.¹⁶⁶

What was so excellently expressed was the possibility that arriving at the assembly of letters that there was no primacy given to one over the others and Natalie was quick to point out that, in fact, this is one of the very, very few areas of the Leuven Institute that actually has any attestation in Irish.

As the tour was coming to an end I did not have time to check whether this artwork was attributed to anyone or whether there was anything written about it as a thinkpiece. I had occasion to return to the Irish College in January, 2014 and was unable to get any additional information from any of the secretariat working there at that time. What Natalie referred to is that the model is volitional; the primacy of one representation or concept-metaphor here does not eliminate the others. Once a word has been discerned, from among those letters presented, a plethora of unexamined letters remain as an excess. Examinations of Europeanisation function in exactly this

¹⁶³ Their guidance that day, and on the days prior to and preceding the one on which this event took place allowed the groundwork to be laid on which chapter 5 has been constructed.

¹⁶⁴ Ireland in Irish in the nominative case.

¹⁶⁵ Europe in Irish, but in keeping with the context in which it is displayed means something more akin to 'Europe' as I have formulated it in this work.

¹⁶⁶ Another participant remarked that this work reminded them of the work of Gavin Murphy but attempts to contact him regarding this matter and his possible ownership of this work were fruitless in the period during which this piece was written.

way; perhaps a European belonging as it has been formulated herein will not come at the expense of any other individual element but instead will forever exist as something which orbits, but remains possible within, models of a more nationalist bent¹⁶⁷. I view this display as something which is akin to a talisman or orientation within currently prevailing discourses and which eschews a kind of us and them, sovereign Ireland as opposed to a bureaucratic, alien or continental ‘Europe’ binary and in so doing allows Europe to become an object of thought proper.

That Europe is not a place, and that either non-Europe or a deeper union among peoples might become a place, was most clearly observed on the day on which the tour took place. This chapter examines the idea, first, that the world is something ordered and analysable and proceeds to examine the interrelationship between place, non-place and the symbolic efforts to reproduce place in a locale thought to be unfamiliar to those who arrive there; namely, continental Europe. This is a process which is similar to the age-old anthropological adage of the way through which the strange is made familiar. In what I have observed, this appeared to be possible only through a renewed engagement with the characters, the individual letters, from which we can build a meaning to give to a place as vast as ‘Europe’.

This chapter attempts to posit an answer to how it is that we might meaningfully discuss an anthropological notion as vast as that which ‘Europe’ and Europe has come to occupy in discourse, ethnography and daily life. The notion of non-place is the first instrument through which a conceptual metaphor like ‘Europeanness’ can be embedded into social life. Finding the notion of non-place to have been misapplied in

¹⁶⁷ This is a topic which has been addressed in chapter 2.

some instances I intend to provide further contextual depth by coupling it with Nora's (1989) notion of 'lieu de mémoire' in order to arrive at a position from which it might be possible to discuss 'Europe' in a manner which is amenable to anthropological theorisation. What is presented herein, then, is an examination which is largely theoretical in nature, and only tangentially ethnographic, but which is intended to serve as the point of departure for any future work which has the examination of subjective attitudes to European integration at its core. To begin, I examine the manner in which place, at the grandest scale conceivable, has been represented as something that it is possible to systematise and categorise before moving onto more anthropologically-sensitive accounts of place and non-place.¹⁶⁸

In understanding an effort of this kind, what is sought is the grounding of 'Europe' in place such that the concept-metaphor of Europe-as-place might be expressed in more anthropologically sensitive terms. This chapter begins in earnest with a prolegomena which derived from in field encounters concerning the lack of clarity governing the kind of site 'Europe' is thought to be and whether it might be thought to be a place at all.

7.1. Europe, or whatever that even is: Ethnographic inroads.

That Europe is not a place, from which no clearly established belonging can emerge, is a finding which is strongly transmitted when spoken about with informants. This section attempts to sketch, preliminarily and tentatively, what the inclusion of the

¹⁶⁸ A previous incarnation of the current work was presented at the AAI annual conference entitled: Memory and Recovery in IT Sligo on the 15th February 2014. I am thankful to the conference

subjective dimension of non-place would entail and a broader analysis of the composition of non-places follows. Emma, when asked about whether she identified with Europe in any way remarked:

I think that they (I believe Emma was referring to the European Commission here) may want us to identify with Europe, whatever that even is, but that they are failing. (Emma, 25, Student)

When speaking to Emma the lack of a particular, clearly discernible sense of belonging is capitulated as being a failure, rather than as an outcome, of the superabundance and wide available of different identities. The uncertainty, even as to the direct register of those interested in espousing a pro-European argument, is also telling. This is similar, in a sense, to Llobera's (2003) contention that 'Europe' is an idea and those who propose it as being a valid one are often unknown to the public at large. Aideen also perceived of the wide variety of signifiers as being impossible to consolidate. Her exact phrasing speaks directly to this impossibility:

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

Traveling from place to place is often framed in terms of a liminal transition, as it is in Craith (2009), but from my informants we see a broader acknowledgment that, rather than being thought of as incurring a change in status nothing definitive occurs.

This has been observed previously where a lack of engagement by the stakeholders of European identity in Leuven, the LIIE, have underperformed in ensuring that the possibilities of a north-south Ireland, and a united Europe, are

convenors for their invitation to present as well as to those present at the presentation; their insights and criticisms have been synthesised into the present version.

realisable entities. Other possibilities which might entail less of a considerable augmentation of one's own perspective is the history of travel one has undergone:

C: Bhfuel, bhí mé ag taisteal ó áit go h-áit nuair a bhí mé óg- Le mo thuismothoirí, *so* den chúis sin ní measaim go bhfuil mé chosúil le gach duine eile a bhfeith tusa ag labhairt le. Bhí me compórdach le daoíní idirnáisúnta roimhe sin. Thosaigh sé ón t-ám sin. Den chúis sin ní raibh mé ag iarraidh bhfeith I measc daoíní eireannach an tám go léir-

C: Well- I was travelling from place to place from when I was young- With my parents. So for that reason I don't reckon I'm like other people you'd be speaking to. I was comfortable with international people well before that. It started from that time. For that reason I tried here to not be in the mix (lit. Ed.) of Irish people the whole time. (Christopher)

Traveling through 'Europe' does not incur a change in identity or result in a change of status either for the reason of having had exposure to international contexts prior to the awareness of European similarity perhaps or felt self-perceptions of exile. What remains to be explored, in the sections which follow, is an examination of the exact way in which Europe is experienced as a non-place (as it is written about by Augé) a topic to which I wish to turn next, first empirically and theoretically thereafter.

Given this work's emphasis on the manner in which concept-metaphors are shared and operationalised, it might be necessary to turn from examples in which the metonymical association of 'Europe' to Europe to an analysis of Europe as a non-place; what follows is an examination of two instances in which Europe becomes an appropriable thing and the manner in which Irish people have been exposed to it or encountered it has altered the manner in which they relate to their country of origin.

I met James at a mutual friend's wedding which I attended in November of 2012. Prior to my arrival I had been informed by the groom to be on the lookout for him given that James had ambitions to undertake a Master's degree in philosophy at KU Leuven and he had many questions. Not long into the proceedings we met at the

bar and began asking the type of questions I myself had prior to enrolling at KU Leuven; what is the calibre of English in Leuven, generally? What are the living conditions and how much is rent? What kinds of cuisine and beer-culture does Belgium have? I tried as best I could to offer a response to each question proffered without resorting to an: “it depends” response and he seemed satisfied with the information I had given and bought me a beer.

In September of the following year I was informed that he had, indeed, been accepted and was currently residing in a hostel which was around the corner from my own house. We met and I gave him a tour around Leuven. He seemed to get the lie of the land quite quickly and we visited a variety of apartments that same day. After he had found a place to live and his courses had begun I saw him less often. Periodically I would hear from him, lamenting that he had to return to Ireland in order to work in an accountancy firm to make ends-meet. His increasingly infrequent encounters with his hometown though began to take on a less than desirable quality; he remarked that he hated dreading the possibility of being stabbed just for “existing” and that he began to feel as though his requests for Belgian beers singled him out as being a “snob”.

His trips to various locations became more frequent as his trips to Ireland became increasingly less frequent. He travelled to the Czech Republic, Holland and France and between travel and work it became more difficult to find opportunities to sit together that suited both of our schedules. Thankfully, in March of 2014 on the occasion of his birthday, we managed to find the time to sit together and he acquiesced to being interviewed; “I owe you at least that”. My interest at that time was to discern whether his experiences of life in Belgium had caused him to re-assess the relationship he had with ‘home’ and he responded that it certainly had:

I know this is your wheelhouse, but I do I think feel more European after having been here [There was a curious intonation employed by James here to connote both Leuven and 'Europe', Ed]. It's something that's not available to feel in Ireland but it's something that's here and it more distinct than just international. Whatever about being European, but there's a commonality here, a connection between places, that's not available at home. (James)

The difference between the Irish and whatever, tentatively, we might call a European belonging occurs along an axis of attitude. This is also something which had been alluded to by a previous informant, another student in Leuven, with regards to the amount of ambition and drive his fellow Erasmus students had in comparison to the students with which he had studied in Galway, Ireland. Ciarán and I crossed path when in a pub, speaking to family members, he introduced himself asking whether we were Irish and whether he could join. Before long we realised that we had a few friends in common, which is a common conversation when encountering other Irish people abroad¹⁶⁹. Ciarán described his encounters among his fellow Erasmus students in the following way:

Now I've met all these people who have all these different ambitions, and not just Galway people talking about Galway thing having the craic, these people actually have real things. They're doing things. I don't think Ireland has as much ambition as other European countries. So it's really encouraging... We're so: "I did nothing, fell backwards into it!" and we say "I also fell into it" and he's like: "I applied for this because I wanna do this", and it's quite shocking. And you think: I should be saying this too! (Ciarán)

Where there has been confusion, in the conducting of research with respect to a notion as multifaceted and complex as 'Europe', I have wished here to offer an ethnographic rejoinder to its purported lack of significance or irretrievable semantic meaning. By placing 'Europe', but theorising the manner in which we think that that place

¹⁶⁹ In another instance, an informant, Maeve, told me that she had gone to Stapletons Irish pub in Leuven once for a drink and a man had identified her correctly and the town she was born in and asked

manifests itself, we might prescribe for future work a framework which acts as a point of departure in examining intra-EU mobility. The constraints here allow only for a signpost to be placed which might serve as a mooring for future work on the relationship between nationality, subjectivity and mobility to take place.

7.2. Placing objects and objectifying place: Thought and the Universal.

Borges writes, in *The Analytic language of John Wilkins* (1993[1942]) about the titular philosophical figure writing in the 17th century whose 20-line biography has been omitted in the publication of a new encyclopaedia and whose work the author has re-discovered in Brussels; the author's problem, with the publication of the encyclopaedia, appears to be that they have committed a grave error in not including more work which concerned his effort at describing an analytic language whose purpose was to subdivide the universe into more manageable elements. These discrete, universal-signifiers would be built from the ground up by individual, meaning-imbued phonemes. In parsing out the "ambiguities, redundancies, deficiencies", which are thought to be found in daily life outside of the limits of this strict language, the universe would come to be something knowable and quantifiable. Borges calls to mind a text entitled the *Celestial Encyclopaedia of Benevolent Knowledge* which shows that operations of this sort can be seen as already being underway in other cultures to delimit the thinkable, thus rendering the Universe as

how her father was by using his first name. She commented that Ireland is so small and that it took her coming to Leuven to really realise the full extent of its "tininess".

something static and, ultimately, as something which is examinable given the right lexicon ¹⁷⁰. He writes:

In its remote pages it is written that the animals are divided into: (a) belonging to the emperor, (b) embalmed, (c) tame, (d) sucking pigs, (e) sirens, (f) fabulous, (g) stray dogs, (h) included in the present classification, (i) frenzied, (j) innumerable, (k) drawn with a very fine camelhair brush, (l) et cetera, (m) having just broken the water pitcher, (n) that from a long way off look like flies. (Borges, 1993[1942]:3)

The curious character of the list is taken to be largely indicative of a conceit that the world, the universe even, is theorisable with respect to a kind of table upon which vast and diffusely irreducible phenomenon can exist alongside one another. Borges goes on to state the simple reason for the impossibility of this enterprise; namely, that we do not know the composition of the universe and that the universe is such a thing that it cannot be reduced:

[I]t is clear that there is no classification of the Universe not being arbitrary and full of conjectures. The reason for this is very simple: we do not know what thing the universe is. (Borges, 1993[1942]:4)

That the world might be thought of as something reducible to a finite, hitherto untheorised (ethno)logical space is an idea which is taken up by Foucault, in writing about the exact section outlined above, and about which he writes:

The monstrous quality that runs through Borges's enumeration consists, on the contrary, is the fact that the common ground on which such meetings are possible has itself been destroyed. What is impossible is not the propinquity of the things listed, but the very site on which their propinquity would be possible... Where else could they be juxtaposed except in the non-place of language? (Foucault, 2002[1966]:xviii)

¹⁷⁰ Borges appears here to be receptive to the irreducible quality inherent in the anthropological pursuit. This is attested to by Fred Murdock, the central character of another of Borges' works entitled *The Ethnographer*, who works among the Amerindians and came to be aware of their mentality and lifestyle. He is portrayed as having, in a sense, gone native. "Now that I possess the secret I could tell it a hundred different and even contradictory ways. I don't how to tell you this, but the secret is beautiful and science, *our* science, seems mere frivolity to me now." (Borges, 1998:325. Emphasis in original)

The desire for a universalist, pan-cultural grid from which a true cross-cultural comparative frame of reference might be viewed as, certainly, a desire among early-modern anthropologists (Tylor (1958[1871]) and Frazer (2000[1922]) particularly) who took the notion as an origin point from which a supplementation of other cultures could become possible; this appears to be the desire, certainly in Boas (1983[1932]), on which I have written below. The impossibility, or the pure conceit of this notion, is one which Foucault (2002[1966]) reduces to having occurred not on the plane of a solid metaphysical entity, which has itself been destroyed, but in the ephemera of non-Place, a notion which itself receives no critical scrutiny by Foucault. Put otherwise, the characterisation in Foucault of the possibility of constructing a ‘table’ on which every individual feature of a given object, social or otherwise, can be placed, problem-free, alongside a mass of contradictory and juxtapository information is said to be possible only with respect to language.

By 1932, Boas had already developed a counterpoint to the notion that anthropology would have ambitions of universalism, the kind of which have been demonstrated above, when outlining *The aims of anthropological research*; instead, he sought to emphasise a certain degree of integration having been present throughout all time and that the artificial drawing of distinction between things, or societies in terms of their orthogenetic structure or the “complexity” of their society, is something which was foreign to anthropology:

The causal conditions of cultural happenings lie always in the interaction between individuals and society, and no classificatory study of societies will solve this problem... In short the material of anthropology is such that it needs must be a historical science, one of the sciences the interest of which centres in the attempt to understand the individual phenomena rather than in the establishing of general laws which, on account of the complexity of the material will be necessarily vague and, we might almost say, so self-evident that they are of little help to a real understanding (Boas, 1983[1932]:612)

Boas' prevailing notion here is that the interactivity in and between people is more the stuff of anthropology than the desire for a classificatory, ordered structure into which particularism must work to insert itself; classification, where it is placed on top of diffusion, will lead invariably to a facile, circumspect account being proffered of culture which does not facilitate a real transmission of the complexity of the material from which it draws.

This expression of the desire to stop looking for a classificatory model is one which is overlooked in Foucault's final analysis of the *Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. His characterisation concerns the occupation of a dangerous intermediary in the space of knowledge, by the human sciences, which is thought to be subject to the undertakings of duplicitous, paradoxical efforts at understanding man, who is both the subject and object of knowledge. While Foucault attempts to apply reasons for the sustained validity in the disciplines of ethnology and psychoanalysis, his final proclamation is the one which is most problematic for anthropology specifically:

As the archaeology of our thought easily shows, man is an invention of recent date. And one perhaps nearing its end. If those arrangements were to disappear as they appeared, if some event of which we can at the moment do no more than sense the possibility... were to cause them to crumble, as the ground of Classical thought did, at the end of the eighteenth century, then one can certainly wager that man would be erased, like a face drawn in sand at the edge of the sea. (Foucault, 2002[1966]:422)

Rather than consigning this analysis's final chapter to the fact that empirical research has already had its death knell rung by Foucault, given its finite duration, I will revert to the Boasian notion that the interaction between the sand and the ocean may be more indicative of the state of play, and parenthetical role of fluidity and fixity, in the composition of subjecthood. The architecture which is most conducive to theorizing an epistemological and ontological conceptual metaphor as broad as that of Europe is

the very same as the one proposed in Foucault; namely, the juxtapository and contradictory location of the non-Place.

Postil (2002) remarks, in a related manner, that although there may not be a way to stratify the Universe, such that it would be possible to make sense of every aspect of it, it has been possible to do this with respect to the abstraction of time by way of CCT (Clock and Calendar time), a concept he denotes as being the Western world's greatest export. Time, as well as place, have become principles by which allegations of so-called primitiveness become housed, the first is thought to be a violation of the principles of contemporaneity¹⁷¹, and the second relates more to indigeneity and processes by which indigenous populations become forced into exile. Time, for Postil, as it relates to the transmission of particular programmes (Radio and television), is the conduit by which the Iban of West-Central Borneo structure their daily life:

Besides structuring women's daily lives and synchronizing them with those of other women, men and children (both locally and throughout Sarawak's sole time-zone), radio provides listeners with a source of (auto)biographical and historical reflection, for instance on the fate of Iban traditions such as pop music gains airtime and television attracts ever-larger audiences. (Postil, 2002:261)

Time and place, taken erroneously to be constants, are instead vehicles through which they themselves come to be reflected upon. Treating the dimensions of time and space as constants is an erroneous venture, where the measure and scale of the compression of time and space is concerned; this is an error that has been made frequently with respect to those who examine the work of Marc Augé.

¹⁷¹ Postil cites Fabian's work (1983) to this effect.

7.3. Place, non-place and interplay: (Mis)attribution and (non)place.

Perhaps it is due to an overly citation-happy or to fad-driven practitioners in academic circles but non-places, when employed as a method through which to analyse various sites which are typified more by mobility than they are by stasis, seem to have fallen out of favour in recent years. I claim that a possible reason for this can be found through a tendency to misappropriate Augé's (2002[1995]) introduction to the condition of supermodernity, a misreading that seems to be both too narrow and broad in its scope. At the outset, then, it will be necessary to examine the manner in which non-places have been misapplied or mishandled and, through this, postulated as being something more akin to 'terra nullius'.¹⁷² Prior to examining non-place as something *sui generis*, it might be necessary to determine what place is, broadly understood to be, so that its antithesis can be examined¹⁷³. To this end I employ Casey's (1996) work:

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

What is implied in the former section of the quote above concerns the dual notions that any given area is a space but that in order to be imbued with a social meaning of any kind, place has to veer off from space and come to possess a meaning and an identity to which the neophyte entrant must become aware over time. This is a feature

¹⁷² Brogden (2011) has addressed an entire doctoral thesis-length work to the exploration of the differences between urban wastelands and non-places in the strictest sense.

¹⁷³ Space constraints mean that only a sketch of those meanings associated with place can be provided here. For a more place-dedicated examination see: Basso and Feld, 1996, Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga (2003) and for a more cursory overview see Cresswell (2004).

similar to discerning from among the emboldened letters, given in the prologue of this chapter.

The not unimportant difference between the two, to which Casey directly refers, is the immediacy or primacy to the native's eyes that place has conventionally occupied in anthropological scholarship. Basso (1996) in examining the Navajo Indians discusses the manner in which place-names and story-telling give rise to the metacommunicative ability to chastise (albeit indirectly) certain members of the group in order for them to re-examine their actions and try harder to act "properly":

[T]hese premises are grounded in an unformalized native model of Western Apache storytelling which holds that oral narratives have the power to establish enduring bonds between individuals and features of the natural landscape, and that as a direct consequence of such bonds, persons who have acted improperly will be moved to reflect critically on their misconduct and resolved to improve it. (Basso, 1996:40)

Place, then, has become codified in such a way that it can be imbued with didactic and pedagogical messages because of its primacy and interrelation with thought. It would be unimaginable, then, to construe their relation with place as something separate, or geographically distinct, from the manner in which they perceive and relate to their surroundings.

However, how is it that we might deal with an entity which does not have clear geographical boundaries or a clearly self-identifying populace and which is imagined and can come to occupy as central a role as that outlined above? Europe is not a place, this chapter contends, and because it exists between places and is made manifest by acts of mobility, and parenthetical shifts in affiliation, the context in which the project of Europeanisation is said to occur is that of the non-place and I hope to demonstrate why this is.

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

Augé writes:

If a place can be defined as relational, historical and concerned with identity, then a space which cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity will be a non-place...Place and non-place are rather like opposed polarities: the first is never completely erased, the second never totally completed; they are like palimpsests on which the scrambled game of identity and relations is ceaselessly rewritten (Augé, 2002[1995]), 63-64)

They are "ceaselessly re-written" from which we can infer that the interplay between place and non-place observes a kind of mobile conceptual interplay. This is the charge that should be led against Foucault's rejection of empiricity (2002[1966]). Rather than the 'face of man' being overcome by the tide, the empirical field itself is one which is thought to be constantly rewritten. The desire for a Universalist touchstone, or metaphysical bedrock, has now become re-scaled against the backdrop of areas larger in scope than ethnic enclaves, kin-ties or regions. Non-places do not exist as such and in what follows I attempt to define the context in which Augé puts them forward as being a lens through which to examine social phenomenon at large; namely, in the context of the age of supermodernity, as well as to examine those occasions on which the idea is cited, which are critiqued here as resting upon a fundamentally skewed model of non-place.

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

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

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

7.4. Show me the money: European currency and place.

I wish to turn now to the example of the common currency of the European Monetary Union as being indicative of both the affiliation of European public to 'Europe' and also as deriving its very meaning from being a non-place. The architecture displayed on the Euro banknotes (fig. 20) derives from a fusion of historical epochs but do not, themselves, belong to any one location or period of time. Shore (2000) has commented that this lack of identifiability is both curious and perfectly understandable:

The most striking aspects of the euro banknotes... is the conspicuous absence of people, portraits or identifiable places. Instead, the notes present a series of abstract architectural features such as doorways, arches, windows and bridges-

none of which are supposed to represent an existing monument¹⁷⁴ (Shore, 2000:112)

The clear intention behind not expressing any already-existing monument in Europe stems from the concern over delimiting the possible dimensions of a European identity and which resonates with Bauman's contention (2000), examined in the introduction; what I mean is that the architecture might give the impression of being more Nordic in style than Mediterranean would represent a clear bias in terms of spatial orientation. This lack of distinction-drawing is further muddled by the inclusion of generic structures from different countries as well as historical epochs:

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

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

[S]ome places (places of meeting and exchange) can be constituted in what for outsiders remains a non-place. (Augé, 2002[1995]:vii)

The constitution of place versus non-place is mediated through mobility, as its condition of possibility, which is to say that no one can re-appropriate spaces, which

¹⁷⁴ Shore (2000) devotes an entire chapter to the exploration of the relationship between European governance and the various endeavours taken to symbolise an ambiguous, not yet fully realised

are non-places to them, without encountering otherness. This is broader than the standard message which is conventionally derived from Augé's work (which usually dwells on the notion that airports are sites which are typified more by movement than they are by stasis) and allows for an examination of the ambiguity which is evident in space/place-making claims. Transnationalism, and studies which are thought to be of a transnational kind also do not need to take place as a homeostatic point of departure either:

[T]ransnationalism enables us to consider what it means to live in an interconnected, topologically complex world without resorting to overly abstract or grand narratives of global transformation to describe that connectivity. (Conradson and Latham, 2005:227)

Transnationalism, rather than conflating and providing a fixist account of place, lends a lens through which the importance of the interconnectedness of place can be acknowledged without having to resort to a kind of a reductive act of placement; the section which follows examines work that has taken the non-place as its point of theoretical departure and which are critiqued in terms of the term's applicability and the insights yielded therefrom. There is also the issue of overlooking the centrality of the necessity *not* to fix non-place, in a manner similar to place, and is one which is not only a slightly contradictory effort but which is not in keeping with its original formation.

populous (Shore, 2000: 87-123).

7.5. Non-places and non-non-places.

Before implementing and exploring what is meant by non-places in practice, and bearing Foucault's intention in mind, it might be helpful to examine various instances in which the notion of non-place has been used as something of a straw-man argument or simply as a jumping-off point upon the backs of which more, allegedly nuanced, arguments can be posited. Peter Adey's work on Airports, *If Mobility is Everything Then it is Nothing: Towards a Relational Politics of (Im)mobilities* (2006) seems particularly well-suited, even as something of a cookie-cutter analysis, to the ethnographic application of the notion of non-place given that Augé cites airports chiefly among the archetypes of non-places. Adey, however, resists the propensity to reduce the various processes which occur at an airport to being those of a mobile space exclusively; Adey's concern is that the partly-fixist character of the airport as a mooring, upon which the mobile conveyances of airplanes depend (see also Hannam, Sheller, and Urry, 2006), will be overlooked. Adey writes:

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

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

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

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

The concern here seems to be that through the adoption of a (postmodern) lens we allow less attention to be paid to agency, given that people no longer possess the power to anchor themselves in the present¹⁷⁵. Thinkers who are branded as postmodern¹⁷⁶, among whom I would include Foucault, might be thought of as having brought about this climate of pessimism. However, I wish once more to stress the “ceaselessly rewritten” quality of supermodern engagement; instead of having a monadic identity, the conditions for many identities burst forth. The non-place allows for attempts to be made at the ascription of meaning and we should tread carefully in assuming that all people who spend most of their lives in non-places feel powerless with respect to their surroundings or feel themselves to have become unmoored.

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

This road is a complete antithesis to non-places; not only does it encapsulate social significance and is it integrated in the entire ongoing sociocultural transformation but it also emerges as the ideal place where an anthropologists can perceive, study, and even touch the various dynamic transnational and

¹⁷⁵ Memory also does not assist in grounding individuals in the present and it is for this reason that it needs to be commemorated. This is a notion which is explored in Hocking (2011).

¹⁷⁶ These postmodern philosophers, even though they are broad in composition and male, usually include or concern the thinking of Jacques Derrida, Jean-Francois Lyotard, Jean Baudrillard, Michel Foucault and Gilles Deleuze. Where employing these thinkers I have endeavoured to eschew the term postmodernism due to its seeming ubiquity and lack of theoretical purchase. However, others have found it useful in diagnosing a particular strain of thought believed to be in effect from, roughly, the middle of the twentieth century onwards: Gratton & Manoussakis (2007), Katz (2000), Malpas (2005) and Sim (2005).

fluid sociocultural formations, literally in the making, from both below and above. (Dalakoglou, 2010:146)

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

7.6. Coming to dwell in what is gone: Memorialising the non-place.

If 'Europe' is a non-place, how is it that a European identity or form of belonging come to take hold at all? Are those people who reject certain claims, concerning the Irishness of the non-Irish for instance, not overlooking the supermodern tendency that non-places possess with respect to their rewriting themselves? Coupling non-places with an anthropological consideration of the workings of collective memory might be necessary, then, to moor non-places to subjectivity and to memory. I wish now, in this

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

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

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

Non-places like airports, hotels and highways are simply variations on a theme which are duplicated time and time again, whereas places would have to do away with the aura they possess if they were to become non-places, the latter claim of which I aim to critique and disembed. In the previous chapter I have examined the lines along which the claims of belonging are posited and fraught with counterclaims, which rest on authentication and which require that the individual pass, becoming either proud or dejected in the process. Here, I aim to ground examinations of authenticity, as well as the fear of reproduction that goes in tow, in the work of Pierre Nora and Walter Benjamin.

Through the consecration of memory we can come to inhabit that which has gone. This has been examined previously with respect to the Irish College which is still closely associated with the historical memories of the work of the Franciscans and its close association with the Irish language. In the 21st century the function of the Irish College has moved closer to functioning as a site of exchange and as a conference centre; however, the concern with the erasure of the meanings, with which the building was formerly imbued, means that they must become consecrated somehow. This is the manner in which Nora (1989) contends that it is out of the concern for something, which is becoming jeopardised, that we attempt to memorialise it. He writes:

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

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

Just as there are imagined communities, in the sense outlined in Anderson (1983), so too can we contend that sites in which memories have been aggregated and

construed are maintained in a manner which is artificial.¹⁷⁷ They are artificially constructed, literally and post facto, and their intention is to withstand as a lasting memory which derives from a community desiring that that be so and as a kind of active consciousness. Nora contends that it is this operation which allows collective memory to come into existence but which also exposes it to danger:

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

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

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

The past becomes a jumping off point rather than the exact point at which origin myths root themselves. The idea that the past allows for a place to have an identity is what is put across by Nora, but it is sufficient here only to note that it is precisely because the past is vulnerable, to revisionism or to forgetting, that the manner in which people relate to their Irishness is vulnerable too. This vulnerability may ignite the desire to ensure that imposters do not co-opt the authenticity and sacredness of memory. This is a lamentation of a similar sort to that alluded to above, namely that

¹⁷⁷ Artificiality and heritage has been discussed in the fifth chapter on Leuven in relation to the work of Ullrich Kockel.

were we able to live within memory or live through place we would not need to designate it linguistically, post-factually or otherwise.

I have written (in chapter 4) that the early impediments to European integration, at the level of the social at least, were originally economic in composition and which then evolved into broader concerns following the ‘Celtic Tiger’. It is for this reason, the self-perception of insularity and remoteness (which originally manifested itself in terms of economic difference) that Kearney writes against an exclusively nation-first perspective by acknowledging not Ireland’s susceptiveness to European influences but, instead, its internationalisation:

The internationalization of Irish identity is not only a matter of the extended Irish family abroad. It bears more generally on the self-understanding of the Irish as an island community. Being surrounded by water has always been viewed in one of two ways: as an insulating device against alien influences or as an open exchange with other peoples and places... For as long as Irish people think of themselves as Celtic Crusoes¹⁷⁸ on a sequestered island, they ignore not only their own diaspora but the basic cultural truth that cultural creation comes from hybridization not purity, contamination not immunity, polyphony not monologue. (Kearney, 1997:81)

This temptation to feel oneself to be part a pure, undifferentiated land, from whom a significant portion have left in a vast array of different circumstances, can also be viewed in the dis-ease with which some people have approached as the (im)possibility of identifying as a European. This uncontaminated island is also one which can, and does, represent itself outwardly as being backward given the lack of industrial

¹⁷⁸ “Celtic Crusoes” seems to be an allusion to a lecture on Daniel Defoe’s “Robinson Crusoe” given by James Joyce in 1912 in Trieste, France which posited that Crusoe is the true symbol of British conquest and of the colonial enterprise generally. It is in this same series of lectures that Joyce refers to his personal mission as follows; he sought to: “Hibernicise European, Europeanise Ireland!” This quote has been reproduced many times, usually being attributed back to Kearney’s work, referenced here, but I have been unable to locate it in context and can, therefore, only refer to it in passing. Its semi-apocryphal status has not impeded its use, however, and this sentiment verbatim and attribution to Joyce recently appeared in a speech by Irish President, Michael D. Higgins, given on the 21st,

development in many areas, as a direct consequence of colonial rule. This view, from uncontainment, is of the self-same sort as those chided within the introductory section where belonging becomes that through which elements are fixed, authenticated and reified. This requires the re-examination of the role played by mobility in the composition of place.

7.7. Going places: When does place become connected to other places?

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

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

And so, because the time of the industrial revolution began to bring discrete areas into new relations of proximity to one another this became possible at the expense, or so-called conceptualised expense, of the sacred, idiosyncratic properties with which place had come to be imbued. We might argue then, contra Casey, that there is a porousness which allows us to acclimatise to a place, although not fully, given that the place has

November 2013 (<http://www.president.ie/speeches/remarks-by-president-michael-d-higgins-at-the-st-columbanus-day-lunch-belfast-city-hall/>)

an always-already relation to places beyond itself; arguing otherwise is akin to contending that there is an irreducible uniqueness to every place as it is conceived of by the people who reside therein and which resists outside influences, even the very conveyances which can bring outsiders thereto¹⁷⁹. Commemoration of a kind of organic community memory works in much the same way, given that it is not immanent, and it must insist upon its own acknowledgment and re-acknowledgment. Put otherwise, commemoration is always a kind of reproduction.

Given that Benjamin claims that “[T]he presence of the original is the prerequisite to the concept of authenticity” (Benjamin, [1955] 1999; 214) we can analyse the nearness of place- as a lens through which identity is observed for instance- as having *always* been subject to reproducibility, or at least in jeopardy of being so.¹⁸⁰ That place might be phenomenologically thought of as being an orientation toward the world also rests on certain notions that its aura has replaced place’s own irreproducibility.¹⁸¹ Benjamin speaks directly to this concern:

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

Each reproduction of an identity, not derived from the authenticity from which it draws its legitimacy, endangers it in a manner examined in relation to Nora, above.

¹⁷⁹ This is a point that I have examined at length in Chapter 3.

¹⁸⁰ To Benjamin’s quote I wish to add the manner in which the imaginary retains an impression of the original as being equally important. For accounts on the maintenance of the imaginary impression of place to the original see Salazar & Graburn (2014) and Wulff (2007).

¹⁸¹ This is a point about which Adorno also writes: “Home will only come to be when it has freed itself from such particularity, when home has negated itself as universal. The feeling of shelteredness makes itself at home with itself, and offers a holiday resort in place of life.” (Adorno, 2003:20) Home, like

Furthermore, the aura of a place is found where it attempts to consolidate diffuse aspects- classifying them, either as authentic or otherwise- and having exclusive domain over them. Whereas the potential of mechanical industry to reproduce a carbon-copy of an original artwork- thereby calling its aura and significance into question- is of concern to Benjamin, the concern outlined here is that of the primacy given to place over what is thought to be its pale imitator, namely non-place. The problem here is, and once again turning to social geographer Tim Cresswell, that this transformation may already be well underway even by the time an anthropologist enters the fray:

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

While this is certainly a common sentiment, this pervasive feeling of the thinning out, or dilution, of place is no bad thing and is something that anthropologists need to contextualise with reference to our informants' conceptions of their surroundings. This also extends as far as the provisioning or privileging of particular informant's opinions who believe they derive their authority from the non-diluted, non-porous composition of their 'home'.

place, cannot be universal then as it would come to represent the supermodern excess of signifiers which would cause the occupants of that place to resist the reconstitution of place into non-place.

The fusion of *Lieux de memoire*, or realms of memory¹⁸², to Non-Lieux is also necessary because of the lack of subjective and intersubjective commentary concerning their composition. It has been necessary to include criticism for this very reason. Augé, as mentioned previously, does not include any statements derived from ethnographic fieldwork concerning the validity of the model of non-place, or of the relation of practices of memorialisation to non-places in his work, as O' Beirne (2006) points out:

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

The section which opened this examination has aimed to redress this imbalance, even though a lot of the theoretical heavy-lifting required in addressing a topic as vast as 'Europe' has prevented an extended examination from taking place. What has been proposed here is an understanding of Europe as place that lies at the crossroads of 'non-place' and 'lieu de mémoire' and which serves as a lens through which 'Europe' can be discussed intersubjectively. What is hoped is that this might serve as a platform by which the imaginaries that are associated with place might come to be analysed which uses the 'non-lieu de mémoire' as its originary point.

7.8. Concluding remarks.

I have explored the manner in which non-places have been (mis)applied and (mis)understood as well as attempted to sketch what the features of *Lieux de*

¹⁸² This notion is very seldom alluded to in English, save for Nora (1996) in which they are referred to as 'Realms of Memory'.

Memoires look like. The manner in which the subjectification of the European Union requires mobility and memory to activate its citizens and the contention that European memory is no more artificially (re)produced than any other discourse of memory are key components to this argument. We have examined the complicated manner through which this subjectification, by way of a non-place of memory, occurs in the instance of one European population as they undergo intra-European travel and have suggested why it might better be understood in relation to the fusion of two broader epistemological conceptions of space.

This chapter, then, has been an attempt to fuse some of the diffuse aspects addressed elsewhere into one. It is here in the commemoration of the memorial of a non-place, in this juxtapository site, that the exact manner in which the Irish might be thought of as being European. It is here that efforts made to celebrate elements of Irish common memory and the European project (examined in chapter 4) and elements of the Hibernicisation of Europe in history (as examined in chapter 5) come into view and coalesce in a manner in keeping with the description offered at the outset by Foucault. If the model of the non-Lieu de memoire is a valid one then the anthropological exercise of involving other communities and member states can be undertaken in earnest with this notion as their common point of access; what is meant here is an examination of the dual processes of one nation's effect on Europe, and vice versa, and whose appropriation will facilitate future work of this sort.

This work has also attempted to bring into existence a view on anthropological critique which traces a line through Foucault to present-day mishandlings of anthropological intellectual property. What retains its necessity, departing from Foucault's concern that the empirical landscape is subject to liquid forces, is an

anthropologically sensitive account of the spaces, places and non-places occupied by people no matter their level (or lack) of complexity.

8. The Irish abroad and European belonging; avenues for further research.

What has been provided herein has been an extended examination of the manner in which the 'Irish community' in Belgium might be thought of as being European or as having become European through prosperity or over time. Through this investigation it has also been possible to examine inter-related areas, concerning the use of the Irish language among the non-Irish Irish community as well as in offering an hypothesis or conveyance through which Europe as imagined, non-place might be examined in future work. One of the central intentions of this work has been to critique the provision of possible answers to the question of how the Irish are European, one which takes the present state of affairs to be indicative of this phenomenon and which concerns Ireland's membership in the European Union as self-evident truth and one which takes a historical viewpoint as its basis and moves backwards. Both answers have their issues; the first is problematized with respect to the only very recent commonality which was unthinkable without the Miracle of the boom economy in Ireland of the mid 1990's and the second with respect to the discontinuity evidenced in the history of the Irish College in Leuven over time, rendering Irish belonging in Europe as nothing even resembling a contiguous, unbroken historical line and the second is. By way of conclusion I hope to restate why this is, and remains, the case.

In the immediate aftermath of the events described in the preface, that is of the encounter with an academic who asked me to account for the reasons by which the Irish are proud of their identity, I set about tracking down as much literature as possible concerning the dual interplay between Ireland and 'Europe' with the desire of

eventually examining to what extent they were observable empirically. The examination of the literature available took as its point of departure the manner in which mobility is sewn into the manifold experiences of migration, identity, capitulations of belonging as well as outlining the possible horizons, beyond those put forward by nation-state interests, and upon which the rise of new subjectivities are thought to occur. Only a century ago it was thought possible only to study the Irish community in situ, and operating as an equilibrium-ensuring whole, according to the Structural functionalists of the age. At the time of writing it has been possible to examine both the people who are thought to comprise an Irish community (at 'home' or abroad) and those who are not thought of in that way; this means, in effect, that the term Irish community as such is losing some of its explanatory power. The reason for this decreasing requirement to ground people to territories has been analysed here with respect to the meanings attached to a footloose Irishness and an ambiguous, non-immanent 'Europeanness'.

The method(ology) employed by this work has also attempted to resituate mobility, such that it came to occupy the core of this project, by examining the techniques employed in the present work as well as by examining the epistemological, ethical and ethnographical suppositions that they carry in tow. Chapter 3 is an attempt to outline the methods which had ambitions to classify and fix in space and time those diffuse, multi-faceted aspects of cultures on the move and have been critiqued; in their place have been posited interdisciplinary, pliable models which have been deployed in a manner which acknowledges the increasingly aqueous composition of the social field.

Chapter 4 has examined the lived landscape of the Irish diaspora in Brussels and has mainly charted the Europeanisation of individual's national identity with respect to the European Union. One of the facets examined is the degree to which the assertion by Favell (2008), that it is easier for transnational migrants living in Europe to see the immediate benefit of Europeanisation for their home country, is situated within the discourse of the Brussels contingent of the Irish diaspora. The relative novelty of considering the Irish to be European, on equal economic footing at least, is such that a broadly Eurosceptical viewpoint has come into view and which is being combatted at various levels, and in the various municipalities, of Brussels. The section of the research question which this chapter has attempted to address is "How are the Europeans Irish, and how do they belong in Brussels?" and in tracing the historical, economical dimensions of Ireland's growth over 40 year period since its adjustment through the ethnographic lens we see the remnants of a desire to remain restricted, not insular exactly, and the codification and negotiation of Irishness in the capital of 'Europe' remains one to whose belonging remains subject to tumult and the vicissitudes of change.

The vignette which acted as the guiding pin for this consideration of a good friend critiquing the desire for allegedly inauthentic fare from Ireland while in Belgium, lead to the asking of the manner through which the Irish became European, and which came from a concern over taste originally. The manner through which these tastes became representations, more or less accurate, more or less important, became the bedrock from which a ritual calendar detailing annually-held and often well-attended gatherings took place and were, thereafter, analysed. The desire and

receptivity to supplement one's identity, and the condition of that possibility, was found to be in effect in Brussels and its hinterland, although less so for the latter.

Chapter 5 has examined the Irish diaspora by first historicizing them and by examining the milieu of Leuven, arrival site of the Irish Franciscan exiles in 1607 and current site of the Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe (LIIE), and then by contextualising them with respect to how culture is broadcast from the site to the 'community' at large. The curious contention that Ireland's cultural identity was in fact created in Leuven, due to the presence of the first Irish catholic printing press churning out the first Irish language dictionary, the site of the Irish college in Leuven has been examined through the dual anthropological lenses of roots and routes as well as ethnographically. The interplay between roots and routes, and the legitimacy and extent to which one is believed to give rise to the other, is a concept-metaphor whose depths have been plumbed and whose intricacies have been laid out and examined. The component of the research question to which this section is addressed is: "How were the Irish to have become Europeans?" and from the examination of the historical, cultural background of the Irish College what comes into view is the representation of the past in a consumer-driven present; the hibernophilia and the desire for the consumption of Irish-themed goods (among which I would include the language) is something which binds people from different walks of life together and which allows for the possibility of the creation of homes-away-from-homes.

The powerhouse of Europeanisation, the LIIE, has been found wanting with respect to its desire to reach out to Irish people and to become an active agent in achieving its mission of Europeanising the Irish in Leuven. While the possibility of supplementing or augmenting one's identity has been viewed as being possible in

Brussels- this is the manner through which the Irish became European in recent history- fewer opportunities exist in Leuven which cause home-away-from-home places, such as the Irish pub, to thrive. That the Irish are European historically seems to act as sufficient criterion for their sustained engagement with the title of Irish college even though its continued, non-symbolic legacy, has little or no bearing on the management of what is essentially a thoroughly contemporary-looking conference centre.

Chapter 6 has analysed an under-examined and marginally-occupied group of individuals which has afforded the author an opportunity to rethink the linguistic position adopted by non-Irish Irish speakers and their relation to the Irish community in Belgium. This seemingly paradoxical nomenclature points to the difficulty in prescribing a belonging to those people who speak the language of that nationality (a problem often framed in terms of failed integration, which is a battle which occurs on the field of linguistic practices). While not a linguistic anthropological account of the Irish language, its usage and its invocation by any means, has been employed as the context and vehicle through which questions about belonging, hibernophilia, the simulation of belonging and the limits of identity have been posed. The component which this chapter attempted to address is: “How Irish are the Irish?” and in so asking has highlighted the asymmetrical relationship between the Irish community at home and the Irish community abroad whose hibernophilia is thought to comprise of more than just the desire to mediate and ameliorate feelings of loss or distance and instead is oriented towards a genuine desire to feel proud, and not dejected, with the efforts made at establishing a ‘community’ within a ‘community’ in Belgium.

The composition of the brand of Irishness, from the perspective of the non-Irish, has been viewed as an exclusive one in which exclusion takes place. This exclusionary rejection, or the possibility thereof, has brought about the felt necessity of performative boundary blurring though efforts made at passing-as-Irish. The possibility of passing brings about positive feelings of pride or can lead to a feeling of having been rejected and navigating this tightrope is often a penurious one. The concern over pretence was also analysed with respect to the desire for a litmus test to come into existence such that the true Irish person can be divided from the false one. Given my analysis of the non-Irish, as well as my personal hope, I believe this to be not only uncharitable and ignorant but also a profound impossibility.

Chapter 7 has considered the theorisation of a 'European' public space, a highly-fraught term which apart from being hotly-contested seldom attempts to think Europe from within. An attempt to offer a corrective has been made here with respect to theorising Europe as a non-place. (Augé, 2002). This theory has been posited by way of a talisman observed in the Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe. What has been striven for is a manner through which prospective projects, interested in the way through which a given communities relationship with respect to the European Union, might employ understandings of place and non-place to tease out the contextual specificities of the circumstances in which Europeanness is thought to exist. The component of the research question which is thought to have been responded to here is the question of "How European is Europe?" and which has taken place along the contentious lines of place's relation to other places and the role played by mobility in the co-construction of belonging.

It has also been necessary to include here a final word on the full ambiguity with which 'Europe' continues to be treated. Given that place is thought to circumscribe an identity of sorts to its inhabitants- a holdover perhaps from Structural-functionalist account in which this circumscription was a given- this cannot be said of non-places and the spectral, partial and unidentifiable composition of the meaning of 'Europe' is hardly surprising. A lenticular which is more charitable to mobilities, becoming and conceptual messiness (such as the kind examined in Law, 2004) has been required, therefore, as a possible point of departure for future work and this has been posited as one of the works original contributions to the study of anthropology.

In closing, and for a final time, I wish to turn to the work of Gilles Deleuze, whose work I have spent a great deal of effort salvaging in anthropology's name:

That England is populated will always come as a surprise; humans can live on an island only by forgetting what an island represents... It is no longer the island that is separated from the continent, it is humans who find themselves separated from the world when on an island. It is no longer the island that is created from the bowels of the earth through the liquid depths, it is humans who create the world anew from the island and on the waters. (Deleuze, 2004:9)

The island of Ireland, with its population of 6.2 million, still retains a strong dominion in the realm of authentication over its worldwide community whose composition is over ten times that high. What this has meant is that efforts taken in any fields, European integration, Irish language acquisition, the consumption of Irish-related consumer goods, a strong relation with a historical past and the aqueous interplay of mobility and place which has occurred for time immemorial all seem to fall prey to a forgetting and have to be retrieved. This retrieval, or reconstruction, occur at every level in the context of Belgium. Only when multiplicitous interplay are

acknowledged, at the many scales to which this work has attempted to speak, might Ireland be considered as anything other than that which it attempts to retain a dominion over. This would be the key for a solidarity which is not simply 'Europe'-wide but which could occur along the lines of affinity-based co-relations which occur in places and non-places alike and which facilitate new becomings.

Appendix 1: Figures and Illustrations.

Figure 1: Brussels, Capital of Europe:



Photo Credit: R. Lynagh, reproduced with permission.

Figure 2: Migration in Ireland as of September 15, 2011:

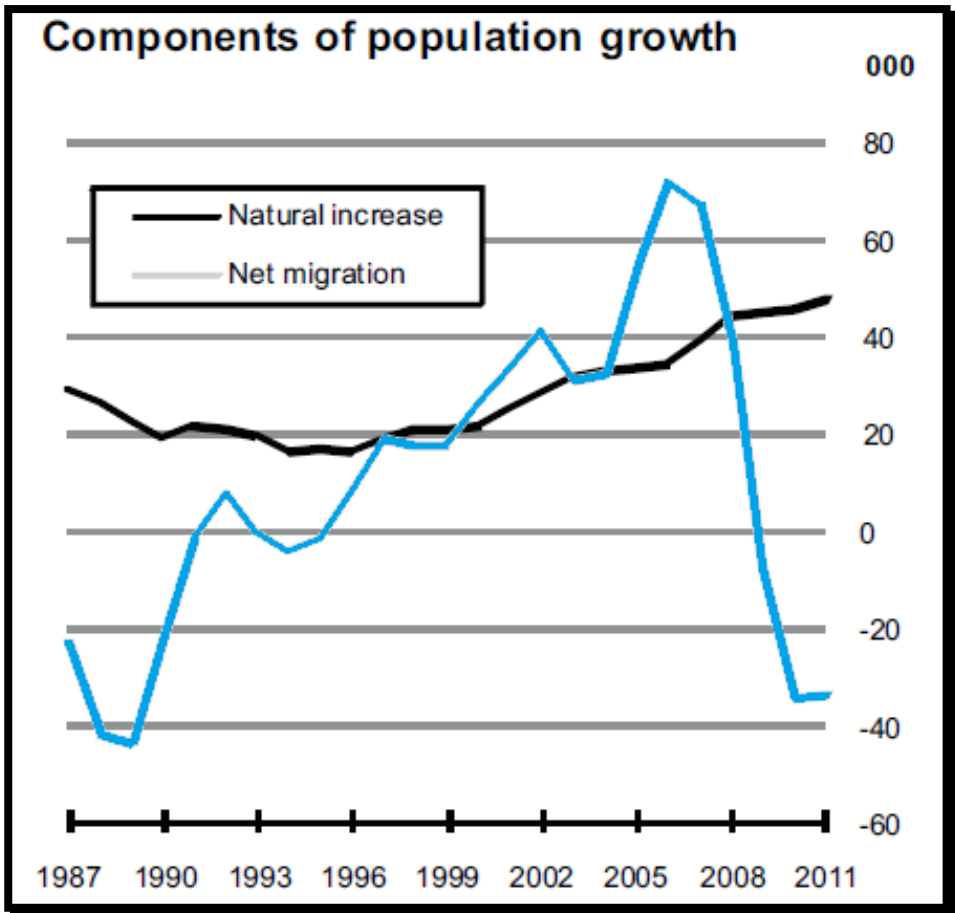


Photo Credit: CSO: Central Statistical Office (2013). *Population and Migration Estimates*.

April 2013. ISSN 2009-5226. Net Migration has here been re-coloured blue to clarify the graph.

Figure 3: The Global Irish Community:



Photo Credit: This illustration has been reproduced from: www.thegatheringireland.com which is run and managed by Fáilte Ireland who remain the images copyright owner. Reproduced with permission.

Figure 4: Kissing the Blarney Stone:



Photo Credit: Brian Rosner [CC BY 2.0 <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0>], via Wikimedia Commons. Available: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AKiss_the_Blarney_Stone.jpg

Figure 5: Observer to participant:



Photo Credit: Lieve Boussauw

Figure 6: Becoming-Spectacle



Photo Credit: Lieve Boussauw.

Figure 7: The Appeal to Solidarity:

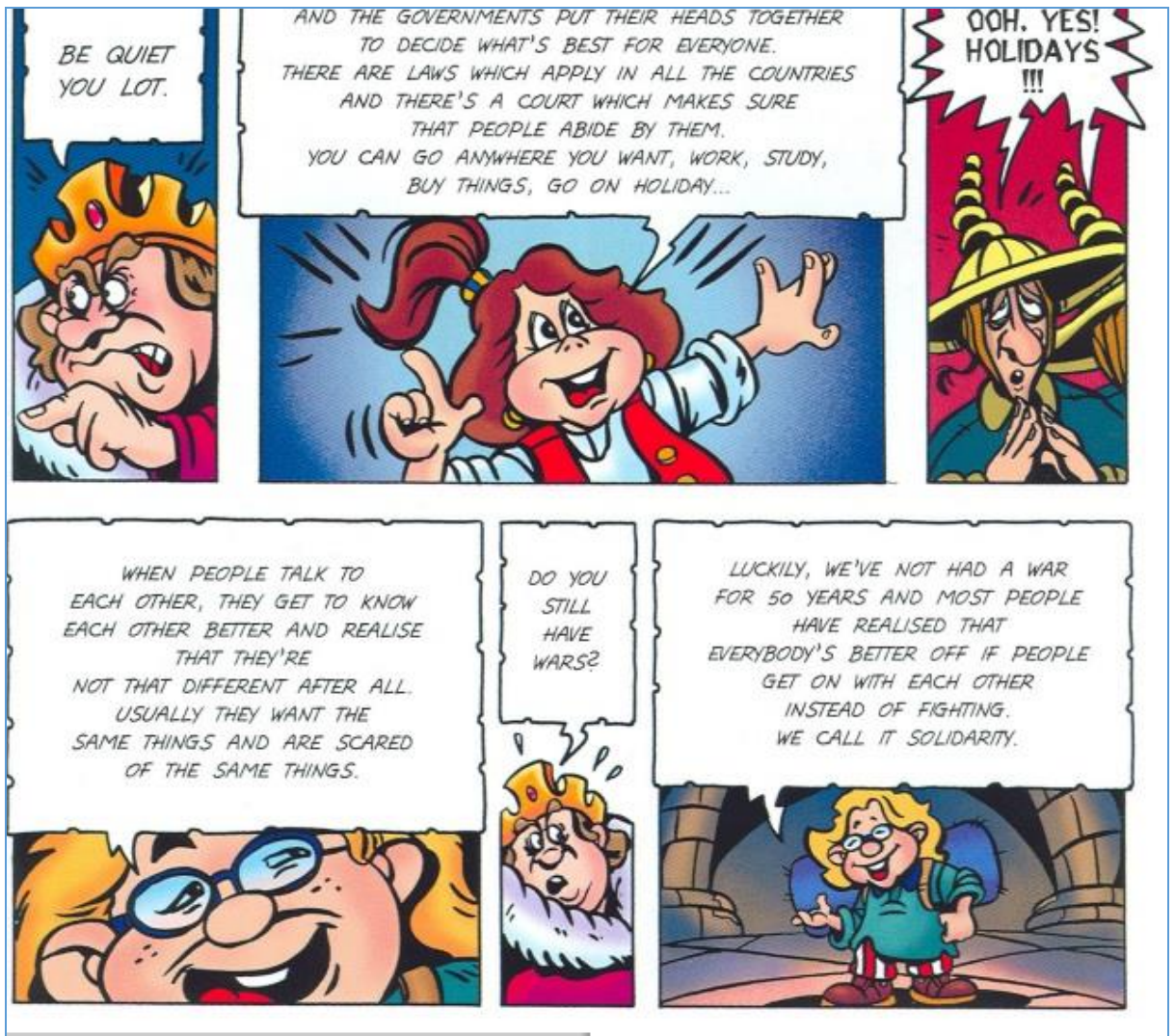


Photo Credit: EUCom (1998:15)

Figure 8: Mannekin Pis in Irish Garb.



Photo Credit: This photo has been reproduced from Minister Paschal Donohue's twitter feed (@paschal) on 16 March, 2014. Reproduced with permission.

Figure 9: Irish for a day.



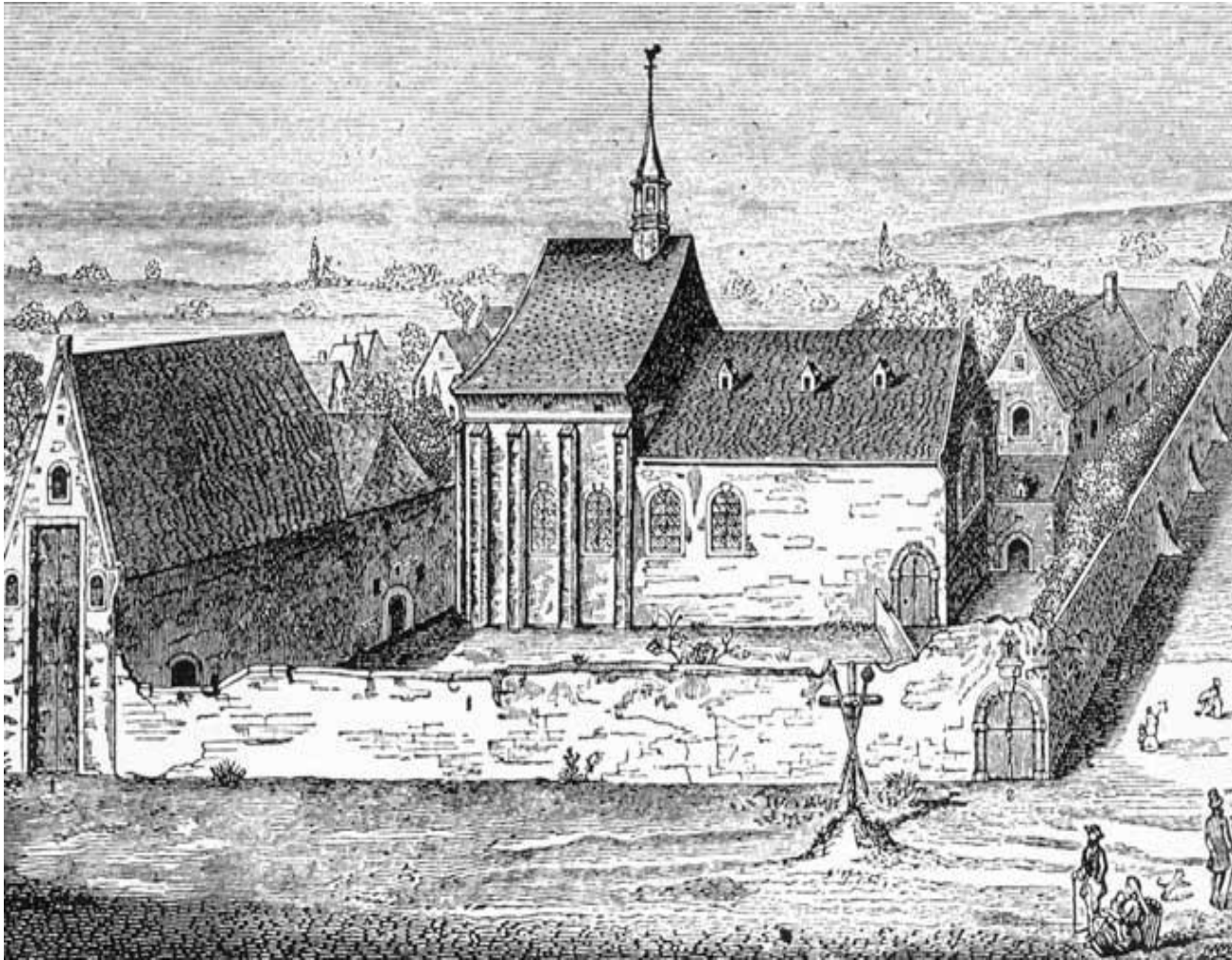
Photograph Credit: Author's own work.

Figure 10: Our Roots run deeper:



Photograph Credit: Photograph by Author, Copyright owned and held by Fíbín

Figure 11: St. Antony's of Leuven:



By William Oldham [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons. Available:
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:St._Anthony%27s_College,_Leuven,_by_William_Oldham.png?uselang=en-gb.

Figure 12: For the glory of God and the honour or Ireland.



Photo Credit: By A O' Duibh. (Own work (own photo)) [FAL], via Wikimedia Commons. Available: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Col%C3%A1iste_na_nGael.Lov%C3%A1in.jpg

Figure 13: The Leuven Institute for Ireland in Europe:



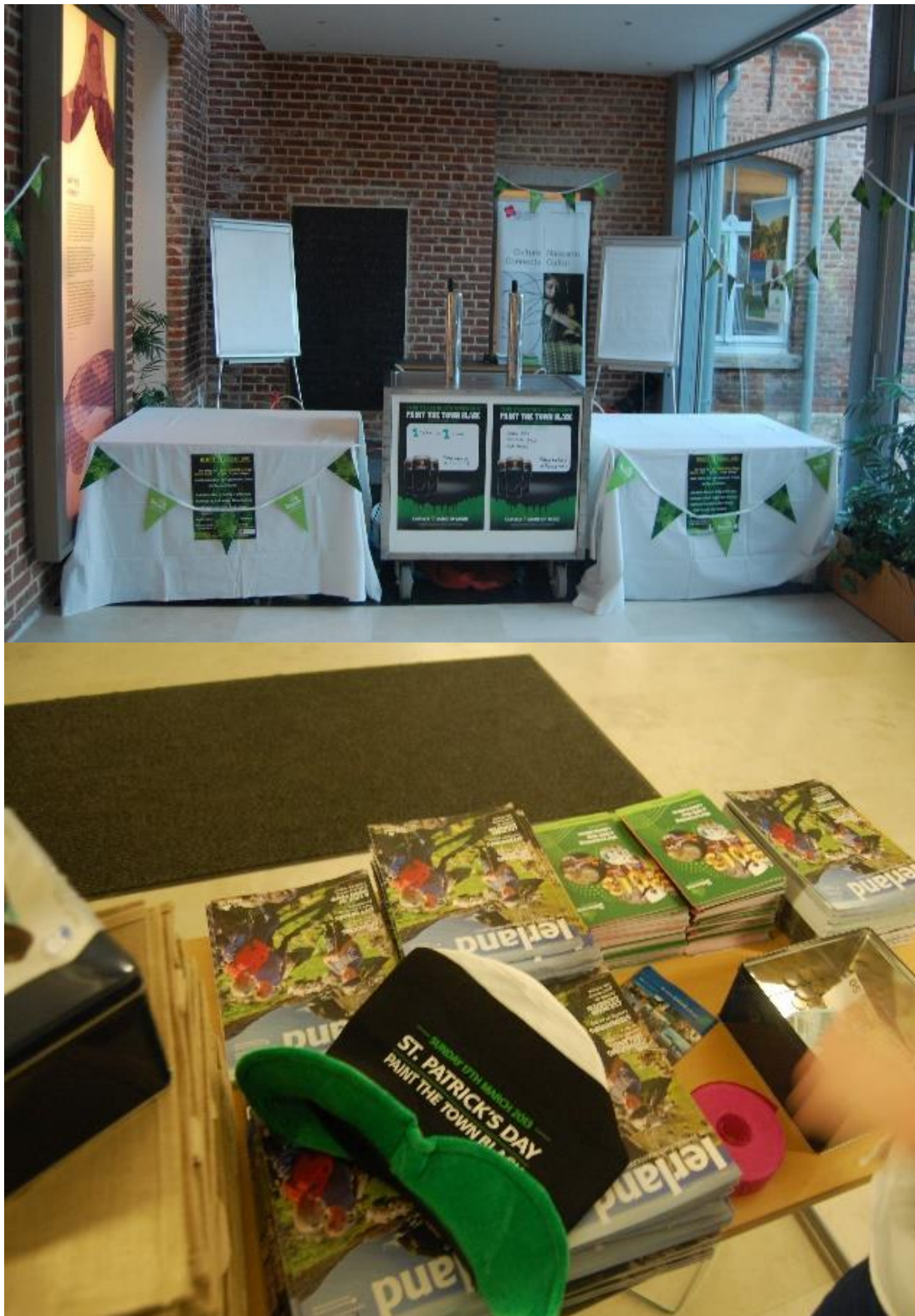
Photo Credit: By Soti (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons. Available: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Iers_College_in_Leuven.png

Figure 14: An bhfuil tusa ag labhairt liomsa?:



Photo Credit: O' Hara D. (2003) *Yu Ming is ainm dom*. Dough Productions: Dublin.

Figure 15: Irishfest preparations:



Photograph Credit: Author's own work.

Figure 16: The Anglo-Teutonic and others:



The Iberians are believed to have been originally an African race, who thousands of years ago spread themselves through Spain and Western Europe. Their remains are found in the barrows, or burying places, in sundry parts of these countries. The skulls are of the prognathous type. They came to Ireland, and mixed with the natives of the South and West, who themselves are supposed to have been of a low type and descendants of savages of the Stone Age, who, in consequence of isolation from the rest of the world, had never been out-competed in the healthy struggle of life, and thus made way, according to the laws of nature, for superior races.

Photo Credit: By H. Strickland Constable [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons.

Available:

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Scientific_racism_irish.jpg?uselang=en-gb

Figure 17: Do something Irish!:



Photo Credit: *Irish Tourists in Brazil* (2008) Saatchi & Saatchi: London.

Figure 18: Europe and Ireland:



Photograph Credit: Author's own work.

Figure 19: Architectural Representations of European Places:



Photo Credit: European Central Bank (ECB, 2013).

Bibliography:

- Aalen, F. A. & Brody, H. (1969). *Gola: The life and last days of an island community*. Dublin: Mercier Press.
- Abeles, M., Bellier, I., & McDonald, M. (1993). *Approche anthropologique de la Commission Européenne*. Bruxelles: Rapport miméo, Commission Européenne.
- Abélès, M. (2004). *Identity and borders: An anthropological approach to EU institutions*. Milwaukee: Twenty-First Century Papers: On-line Working Papers from the Center for 21st Century Studies. University of Wisconsin: Available in Full: <http://www.21st.uwm.edu> *ISSN 1545-6161
- Adey, P. (2006). If mobility is everything then it is nothing: Towards a relational politics of (im)mobilities. *Mobilities* 1(1), 75-94.
- Adonnino, P. (1985). A People's Europe- Reports from the ad hoc committee. *Bulletin of the European Communities*, 4(2), 12-16.
- Adorno, T. (2003). *The jargon of authenticity*. Transl. Tarnowski, K. & Will, F. London: Routledge.
- Alexandros Z. B. (2010). Building Europe: The cultural politics of European Integration [Review] *Royal Institute of International Affairs*, 77(2).
- Alonso, A. M. (1994). The politics of space, time and substance: State formation, nationalism and ethnicity. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 23, 379-405.
- American Anthropological Association (2012). *Statement on ethics: Principles of professional responsibilities*. Arlington, VA: American Anthropological Association.
- Amit, V. & Rapport, N. (2002). *The trouble with community: Anthropological reflections on movement, identity and collectivity*. London: Pluto Press.
- An Coimisinéir Teanga (2013). *Tuarascáil Bhliantúil* (Annual report, Transl.). An Spidéal, Co. na Gaillimhe, Éire.
- Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Anderson, J, O' Dowd, L., & Wilson, T. M. (eds.) (2003). *Culture and cooperation in Europe's borderlands*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi.
- Anderson, P. (2009). *The new, old world*. London: Verso.
- Anon. (2011). *Europe and you: A snapshot of EU achievements*. Luxembourg: Publication Office of the European Union.
- Appadurai, A. (1988). Putting hierarchy in its place. *Cultural Anthropology*, 3(1), 36-49.

- _____ (1996). Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy. *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Applegate, C. (1999). A Europe of regions: Reflections on the historiography of sub-national places in modern times. *The American Historical Review*, 104(4), 1157-1182.
- Aradau, C. Huysmans, J., & Squire, V. (2010). Acts of European citizenship: A political sociology of mobility. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 48(4), 945-965.
- Arensberg, C. (1959[1939]). *The Irish countryman: An anthropological study*. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith Press.
- Arensberg, C. & Kimball, S. (1940). *Family and community in Ireland*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Arnold, M. (1993). *Culture and anarchy and other writings*. Collini, S. (Eds.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Aron, R. (1972). *Progress and disillusion: The dialectics of modern society*. Middlesex: Penguin Books.
- Asad, T., Fernandez, J. W., Herzfeld, M., Lass, A., Carol, S., Schneider, J., Verdery, K., et al. (1997). Provocations of European ethnology. *American Anthropologist*, 99(4), 713-730.
- Asher, A. D. (2005). *Bridging the divide? Ethnic identity and transnational consumption in a "European city"*. Illinois: University of Illinois EUC Working Paper, 5(1).
- Astuti, R., Parry, J., & Stafford, C. (Eds.). (2007). *Questions of anthropology*. Oxford: Berg Publishers.
- Augé, M. (2002[1995]) *Non-places: Introduction to an anthropology of Supermodernity*. London: Verso Press.
- Augusteijn, J. (2004). Ireland and Europe: A Dutch Perspective. *Radharc*, Vol. 5(7), 265-286
- Baiocchi, G. & Conner, B. T. (2008) The ethnos in the polis: Political ethnography as a mode of enquiry *Sociology Compass* 2(1), 139-155
- Baker, L. D. (2010). *Anthropology and the racial politics of culture*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Bakewell, O. & H. de Haas (2007) African migrations: Continuities, discontinuities and recent transformations, in L. de Haan, U. Engel, & P. Chabal (eds) *African alternatives*. Leiden: Brill. 95-118.
- Balibar, É. (2003). Europe, an "unimagined" frontier of democracy. *Diacritics*, 33(3-4), 36-44.

- Ban, C. (2007). *Enlarging Europe: Eastern Europeans in the European Commission*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of NISPAcee, Kiev, Ukraine.
- _____ (2008). *The Making of the New Eurocrats: Self-selection, Selection, and Socialization of European Commission Staff from the New Member States*, paper prepared for the conference on l'Europe: Objet, agent et enjeu de socialisation, Ecole Normale Supérieure, Lettres et Sciences Humaines, Lyon, France.
- Barnard, A. (2004). *History and theory in anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Barthes, R. ([1964] 1967). *Elements of semiology* (trans. Lavers, A. & Smith, C.). London: Jonathan Cape.
- _____ (1972) *Mythologies*. Transl. by Lavers, A., Farrar, Strauss & Giroux, Paris.
- Barton, D., & Papen, U. (Eds.). (2010). *The anthropology of writing: Understanding textually-mediated worlds*. London: Continuum Publishers.
- Bartley, B. & Kitchin, R. (Eds.). (2007) *Understanding contemporary Ireland*. London: Pluto Press.
- Basso, K. (1996). *Wisdom sits in places*. Albuquerque: Univ. New Mexico Press.
- Basso, K. & Feld, S. (eds.) (1996). *Senses of place*. Sante Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press.
- Baudrillard, J. (1999) *Jean Baudrillard, Selected writings*. Stamford: Stamford University Press
- Bauböck, R. (1997) *Citizenship and national identities in the European Union*. (<http://www.jeanmonnetprogram.org/papers/97/97-04-.html>).
- Bauböck, R., & Faist, T. (Eds.). (2010). *Diaspora and transnationalism: Concepts, theories and methods*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Bauman, Z. (2000). *Liquid modernity*. Massachusetts: Polity Press.
- _____ (2004). *Europe - An unfinished adventure*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Beattie, J. (1964). *Other cultures: Aims, methods and achievements in social anthropology*. London: Routledge.
- Beidelman, T. O., & Herzfeld, M. (1995). Review: Bureaucracy and the public: Accenting the negative: The social production of indifference: Exploring the symbolic roots of Western bureaucracy. *Current Anthropology*, 36(3), 533-534.
- Bellier, Irène (2002). The expatriate identity in the European capital of Brussels, *KOLOR, Journal on Moving Communities*, 2, 77-93.
- Bellier, I. & Wilson, T. M. (2000). Building, imagining and experiencing Europe: Institutions and identities in the European Union, in Bellier, I. & Wilson, T.

- (Eds). *The Anthropology of European Union. Building, Imagining and Experiencing the New Europe*. Oxford: Berg. 53-73.
- Benjamin W. (1999[1969]) *Illuminations*, trans. by H. Zohn, ed. with intro. by Arendt H., NY: Pimlico.
- Berg, B. L. (1989 [2001]). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences* (Fourth.). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Bew, P. (2007). *Ireland: The politics of enmity 1789-2006*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bhabha, H. K. (Ed.). (1990). *Nation and narration*. London: Routledge.
- Biehl, J & Locke, P. (2010). Deleuze and the anthropology of becoming. *Current Anthropology*, 50(3): 317-351, (with comments and a reply).
- Blanning, T. C. W. (Ed.). (1996 [2000]). *The Oxford history of modern Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Boas, F. (1896) The limitations of the comparative method of anthropology. *Science*, 4(103), 901-908.
- _____ (1983[1932]) The aims of anthropological research. *Science*, Vol. 76, 605-613.
- _____ (1995[1940]) *Race, language and culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bof, A., & Peters, P. (2000). Elite cultures. *Anthropology Today*, 16(2), 24-25.
- Bolaffi, G., Bracalenti, R., Braham, P., & Gindro, S. (2003). *Dictionary of race, ethnicity & culture*. London: Sage Publications.
- Boland, E. (2012) The emigrant Irish, in Benson, G., Chernaik, J. & Herbert, C. (Eds.) *World: Poems on the Underground*. London: Underground Companies.
- Bonnemaison, J. (1984) The tree and the canoe: Roots and mobility in Vanuatu societies. *Pacific Viewpoint*, 25(2), 117-151.
- Borneman, J., & Fowler, N. (1997). Europeanization. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 26, 487-514.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984[1977]) *Distinction: A social critique of taste*. London: Routledge.
- _____ (1993) *Sociology in question*. London: Sage Publications.
- Bourke, A. (1993) More in anger than in sorrow: Irish women's lament poetry, in Radner, J (eds.) *Feminist Messages: Coding in Women's folk Cultures*. Illinois: University of Illinois Press. 160-182
- _____ (1998) The baby and the bathwater: Cultural loss in the nineteenth-Century Ireland, in Foley, T. and Ryder, S. (Eds.) *Ideology and Ireland in the nineteenth century*, 79-92. Dublin, Ireland: Four Courts Press.
- _____ (1999) The Virtual Reality of Irish Legend, *Eire-Ireland*, 31(1 /2), 7-25.

- Boss, M., & Maher, E. (Eds.). (2003). Derrida, Heaney, Yeats and the Hauntological redefinition of Irishness. *Engaging modernity: readings of Irish politics, culture and literature at the turn of the century*. Dublin, Ireland: Veritas, 220-234
- Bowker, J. (1893). St. Patrick's day. *The Irish Monthly*, 21 (237), 126-127.
- Boyer, D. (2005). Welcome to the new Europe. *American Ethnologist*, 32(4), 521-523.
- Breathnach, B. (1985) The pipers of Kerry. *Irish Folk Music Studies/ Éigse Cheol Tíre*, Vol. 4, 33-56.
- Brewster, S., Crossman, V., Becket, F., & Alderson, D. (Eds.). (1999). *Ireland in proximity: History, gender and space*. London: Routledge.
- Brody, H. (1973) *Inishkillane: Change and decline in the West of Ireland*. London: Norman and Hobhouse.
- Brody, K. (1982) Yankee City and the Bicentennial: Warner's study of symbolic activity in a contemporary setting. *Sociological Inquiry*, Vol 52(4), 259–273.
- Brogden, J. (2011) *Terra Nullius: Encountering the Non-Place*. Doctoral Thesis presented to the School of Fine Art, History of Art and Cultural Studies, The University of Leeds.
- Brown, M. F. (1996). On resisting resistance. *American Anthropologist*, 98(4), 729–735.
- Brown, T. (2010). "Saying No". *An analysis of the Irish opposition to the Lisbon treaty*. Dublin, Ireland: The Institute of International and European Affairs.
- Browning, G. (2000) *Lyotard and the end of grand-narratives*. Wales: University of Wales Press.
- Bruner, E. M. (1994). Abraham Lincoln as authentic reproduction : A critique of Postmodernism. *American Anthropologist*, 96(2), 397-415.
- Bruun Jensen, C., & Rodje, K. (Eds.) (2010). *Deleuzian intersections: Science, technology, anthropology*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Bryant, L., Srnicek, N., & Harman, G. (2011). *The speculative turn: Continental materialism and realism*. Melbourne, Australia: Re.press.
- Campbell, H. M. (Ed.). (2011). *A history of Western Civilization. Advances in democracy: From the French Revolution to the present-day European Union*. London: Britannica Educational Publishing.
- Canevacci, M. (Eds.) (2012). *Polyphonic anthropology – theoretical and empirical cross-cultural fieldwork*. Croatia: Janeza Trdine.
- Canguilhem, G. (2012). *Writings on medicine*. Transl. and introduction by Geroulanos, S. & Meyers, T. New York: Fordham University Press.
- Carrier, J. G. (Ed.). (2005). *A handbook of economic anthropology*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

- Casey, E. (1996). How to get from space to a place in a fairly short stretch of time: A phenomenological prolegomena, in Basso, K. & Feld, S. Eds. *Senses of Place. School of American Research*. Sante Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press. 13-52.
- Cassirer, E, Kristeller, P. & Randall, J. (Eds.) (1948). *The Renaissance philosophy of man*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Cashman, R. (2008). Visions of Irish nationalism. *Journal of Folklore Research*, 45(3), 361-381.
- Castle, G. (2007). *The blackwell guide to literary theory*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- CEC (1988). *A People's Europe*. COM (88) 331/final. Brussels, Belgium: Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, 1-38.
- Chambers, I., & Curti, L. (Eds.). (1996). *The post-Colonial question: Common skies, divided horizons*. London: Routledge.
- Checkel, J. T., & Katzenstein, P. J. (Eds.) (2009). *European identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chríost, D. M. G. (2005). *The Irish language in Ireland: From Góidel to globalisation*. London: Routledge.
- Cini, M. & Perez-Solorzano Borrigan, N. (2010). *European Union politics, Third edition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Clancy, M. (2009). *Brand new Ireland? Tourism, development and national identity in the Irish Republic*. Surrey, England: Ashgate.
- Clifford, J. (1981). On ethnographic surrealism. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 23(4), 539-564.
- _____ (1983). On ethnographic authority. *Representations*, 1(2), 118-146.
- _____ (1994). Diasporas. *Current Anthropology*, 9(3), 302-338.
- _____ (1997). *Routes: travel and translation in the late twentieth Century*. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press.
- _____ (2003). *On the edges of anthropology (Interviews)*. Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press.
- Clifford, J., & G. Marcus., (eds.), (1986). *Writing culture: The poetics and politics of ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cohane, M. and Goldstein, K. (1996). Folksongs and the ethnography of singing, in Patrick Kennedy's 'The banks of the Boro' *The Journal of American Folklore*, 109(434), 425-436.
- Cohen, D., & O' Connor, M. (2004). *Comparison and history: Europe in cross-national perspectives*. New York: Routledge.

- Cohen, R. (1997). *Global diasporas: An introduction*. London: UCL Press.
- Cohen, R. & Kennedy, P. (2000). *Global sociology*. Hampshire: Palgrave.
- Cohen, T. (Ed.). (2001). *Jacques Derrida and the humanities: A critical reader*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Coleman, S. (2004). The nation, the state, and the neighbors: Personation in Irish-language discourse. *Language & Communication*, 24, 381–411
- Coulter, C. & Coleman, S. (Eds.) (2003). *The end of Irish history? Critical reflections on the Celtic Tiger*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Council, P. (2008). The European pact on immigration on the control of illegal Immigration. *Population and Development Review*, 34(4), 805-807.
- Crabtree, A. (2003). *Designing collaborative systems: A practical guide to ethnography*. London: Springer Press.
- Cresswell, T. (1997). Imagining the nomad: Mobility and the postmodern primitive, in *Space and social theory: Interpreting modernity and postmodernity*. Benko, G. & Stohnmayer, U. (Eds.) 360-379. Oxford: Blackwell.
- _____ (2004). *Place: A short introduction*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- _____ (2006). *On the move: Mobility in the modern Western world*. New York: Routledge.
- Cronin, M. & Adair, D. (2002). *The wearing of the green. A history of St Patrick's Day*. London: Routledge
- Cronin, M. (2006). *Irish history for dummies*. West Sussex, England: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Cronin, M. (2008). Minding Ourselves : A New Face for Irish Studies, *Field Day Publications*, 4, 174-185.
- CSO: Central Statistical Office (2013). *Population and migration estimates*. April 2013. ISSN 2009-5226
- Csordas, T. (1995). *Embodiment and experience: The existential ground of culture and self*. (Cambridge Studies in Medical Anthropology) Massachusetts: Cambridge Press.
- Curtin, B. (1965). Dominic O' Daly: An Irish diplomat. *Studia Hibernica*, (5), 98-112.
- Cybian, S. (2009). Book reviews: Misunderstanding Europe. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 47(5), 1129-1146. Retrieved from <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/22508853> (04/04/2011)
- Dalakoglou, D. (2010). The road: An ethnography of the Albanian–Greek cross-border motorway. *American Ethnologist* 37(1): 132-149.

- Das, V. (1998). Wittgenstein and anthropology. *Annual review of anthropology*, 27, 171-195.
- Davis, R. M. (2009). *A politics of understanding: The international thought of Raymond Aron*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
- De Jager, T. T. (2009). *Imagining the European Union: A geo-historical overview of dominant metaphors on the EU's political geography*. Master's Thesis Human Geography submitted to the University of Nijmegen, December 2009.
- De Soto, H. G. (1998). Reading the fool's mirror: reconstituting identity against national and transnational political practices. *American Ethnologist*, 25(3), 471-488.
- Debomy, D. (2011). *The citizens of Europe and the European Union in the current crisis*. Paris, France: Notre Europe: Jean-Jaures Foundation Publishers.
- Delanty, G. (Eds.). (2006). *Handbook of contemporary European social theory*. London: Routledge.
- _____ (2009). *The cosmopolitan imagination: The renewal of critical social theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Deleuze, G. (1990). *The logic of sense*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Deleuze, G. (2004). *Desert islands and other texts*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
- Deleuze, G., Smith, D. & Greco, M. A. (1997). Literature and life. *Critical Inquiry*, 23(2), 225-230
- Deleuze, G. & Guattari, F. (1986). *Kafka: toward a minor literature*. Translated by D. Polan. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.
- _____ (1988). *Thousand plateaus*. Translated by Massumi, B. London: Continuum Press.
- Demoissier, M. (2007). *The European puzzle: The political structuring of cultural identities at a time of transitions*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- _____ (2012). *What can anthropology bring to the debate on identity?* Presented to the Kick-Off conference of the FREE project at ESSCA School of management in Angers, France. (20th, April 2012) Available: [http://www.free-project.eu/documents/free/Working%20Papers/Anthropology%20and%20the%20debate%20on%20identity%20\(M%20Demossier\).pdf](http://www.free-project.eu/documents/free/Working%20Papers/Anthropology%20and%20the%20debate%20on%20identity%20(M%20Demossier).pdf)
- Derrida, J. (1967). *Writing and difference*. (A. Bass, Ed.). London: Routledge.
- _____ (1973). *Speech and phenomena and other essays on Husserl's theory of signs*. Transl. Allison, D. & Garver, N. Illinois: Northwestern University Press,
- _____ (1982). *Margins of philosophy*. Brighton, Sussex: Harvester Press Limited.
- _____ (2000). Hostipitality. *Angelaki*, 5(3), 3-18.

- Detmer, D. (1988). *Freedom as a value: A critique of the ethical theory of Jean-Paul Sartre*. La Salle, Illinois: Open Court.
- Deutsch, K., Burrell, S., Kann, R., Lichterman, M., Lindgren, R., Loewenheim, F. & von Wagenen, R. (1957). *Political community and the North Atlantic area*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Descola, P. (2014) Modes of being and forms of predication. *Hau: Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, 4(1): 271–280.
- Dewalt, K. & Dewalt, B. R. (2002). *Participant observation: A guide for fieldworkers*. California: Altamira Press.
- De Saussure, F. (1959). *Course in general linguistics*. (C. Bally & A. Sechehaye, Eds). New York: Philosophical Library.
- Dineen, D. A. (1992). Europeanisation of Irish universities. *Higher Education*, 24(3), 391-411.
- Donnan, H. (1986). Anthropology and its application by anthropologists in Ireland. *Anthropology Today*, 2(5), 22-23.
- Douglas, M. (1980) *Purity and danger: An analysis of concepts of pollution and Taboo*. London: Routledge.
- _____ (1996) *Natural symbols: Explorations in cosmology*. London: Routledge.
- Downing, D. (2011). Narrative exchange as knowledge transfer: The Rhetorical construction of opposition to GM Crops in SW England. *Anthropology Matters*, 13(1), 1-12.
- Drakakis-Smith, A. (2007) Nomadism a moving myth? Policies of exclusion and the gypsy/traveller response. *Mobilities*, 2(3), 463-487.
- Dreyfus, H. L., & Wrathall, M. A. (Eds.). (2006). *A companion to phenomenology and existentialism: Blackwell companions to philosophy*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Duff, A., Pinder, J., & Pryce, R. (Eds.). (1994). *Maastricht and beyond: Building the European Union*. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis.
- Duignan, B. (Ed.). (2011). *Thinkers and theories in ethics*. New York: Britannica Educational Publishing.
- Duranti, A. (Eds.) (2004). *A companion to linguistic anthropology*. Oxford: Blackwell publishing.
- Durkalec, K. (2007). European Parliament after Lisbon treaty – are we finally represented enough? *The Space*, 1, 33-41.
- D’Andrade, R. (1995). Objectivity and militancy: A debate. 1: Moral models in anthropology. *Current Anthropology*, 36(3).
- _____ (2000). The sad story of anthropology 1950-1999. *Cross-Cultural Research*, 34(3), 219-232.

- Easthope, H. (2009) Fixed identities in a mobile world? The relationship between mobility, place, and identity. *Identities: global studies in culture and power* 16(1), 61-82.
- Edgar, A., & Sedgwick, P. (2002). *Cultural theory: The key thinkers*. London: Routledge.
- Egenhoffer, C., Kurpas, S., & Van Schaik, L. (2009). *The ever-changing Union: An introduction to the history, institutions and decision-making processes of the European-Union*. Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS).
- Eriksen, T.H., (2007). *Globalization: The Key concepts*. Oxford: Berg.
- Eriksen, T. H., & Nielsen, F. S. (2001). *A history of anthropology*. London: Pluto Press.
- EUCOM (2001). *European governance - A white paper. COM (2001) 428 final, 25 July 2001*. Available online: <http://aei.pitt.edu/1188/>
- EUCOM (2009). *Anthropological perspectives in a changing Europe: "bringing people in" seminar*. Available online: <http://bookshop.europa.eu/en/anthropological-perspectives-in-a-changing-europe-pbKI8009957/>
- EUCOM (2013) *European year of the Citizen: Ex-ante evaluation*. SEC(2011) 996 final. Brussels, Belgium.
- European Central Bank: *Banknotes and coins*, BC.001 07/13. Available at: http://www.ecb.europa.eu/ecb/educational/facts/euro/html/bc_001.en.html
- Eurostat (2012). *Eurostat supplementary table for the financial crisis: Background note*. October 2012.
- Fabian, J. (1983). *Time and the other: How anthropology makes its objects*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- _____ (2001). *Anthropology with an attitude: Critical essays*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Farat. (2010). Negotiating Europe/Avrupa: Prelude for an anthropological approach to Turkish Europeanization and the cultures of EU lobbying in Brussels. *European Journal of Turkish Studies* 9. Online since 02 December 2009, URL: Accessed 16th January, 2010: <http://ejts.revues.org/index3794.html>
- Farmer, P. (2003). *Pathologies of power: Health, human rights and the war on the poor*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Faubion, J. D. (2011a). *An anthropology of ethics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- _____ (2011b). Review: Doesn't it make you wonder? *Contemporary Sociology*, 23(5), 641-643.

- Feldman, G. (2011). Development in theory: A performative approach to migrants, minorities and the European nation State. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 78(1), 213-246.
- Fennessy, I. (2000). Guardians and staff of St Anthony's College, Louvain, 1607-1999, *Collectanea Hibernica*, No. 42, 215-241.
- Feldman, J. (2001). "Roots in destruction": The Jewish past as portrayed in Israeli youth voyages to Poland, in H. Goldberg (Eds.) *The life of Judaism*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 156-171.
- Field, L., & Fox, R. G. (Eds.). (2007). *Anthropology, put to work*. Oxford: Berg Publishers.
- Fischer, M. (2014). The lightness of existence and the origami of "French" anthropology Latour, Descola, Viveiros de Castro, Meillassoux, and their so-called ontological turn. *Hau: Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, 4(1), 331-355.
- Fitzgerald, G. (2005). *Ireland in the world: Further reflections*. Dublin: Liberties press
- Flannery, E. (2007). Irish cultural studies and postcolonial theory. *Postcolonial Text*, 3(3).
- Flick, U. (1997). The episodic interview: Small scale narratives as approach to relevant experiences. *LSE Methodology Institute Discussion Papers- Qualitative Series*.
- Fligstein, N. (2008). *Euro-Clash: The EU, European identity and the future of Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fludernik, M. (2007). Identity/Alterity, in Herman, D. (Eds.) *The Cambridge companion to narrative*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (1998). Habermas and Foucault: Thinkers for civil society? *British Journal of Sociology*, 49(2), 210-233.
- Follis, K. (2012). *Building fortress Europe: The Polish-Ukrainian frontier*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Fontaine, P. (2010). *Europe in 12 lessons*. Brussels: European Commission Directorate for Communication Publications.
- Foster, R. F. (2001). *The Irish story: Telling tales and making it up in Ireland*. London: Penguin Press.
- Foucault, M. (1984). *Politics, philosophy and culture: Interviews and other writings: 1977-1984*. London: Routledge.
- _____ (1986). Of other spaces. *Diacritics*, 16(1), 22-27.
- _____ (1994). The subject and power, in J. Faubion (Eds.) *Michel Foucault*. 326-348. New York: The New Press.
- _____ (2001). *Fearless speech*. (J. Pearson, Ed.). Los Angeles: Semiotext(e).

- _____ (2002). *The order of things: An archaeology of the human sciences*. London: Routledge Classics.
- Fraser, N. (1990). Rethinking the public Sphere : A contribution to the critique of actually existing democracy. *Social Text*, 25/26(25), 56-80.
- Frazer, J. (2000[1922]). *The golden bough: A study in magic and religion*. New York: MacMillan.
- Freeman, D. (1983). *Margaret Mead and Samoa: The making and unmaking of an anthropological myth*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Frello, B. (2008). Towards a discursive analytics of movement: On the making and unmaking of movement as an object of knowledge. *Mobilities* 3(1), 25-50.
- Friedman, J. (2002) From roots to routes: Tropes for trippers. *Anthropological Theory* 2(1), 21-36.
- Fromm, E. (1947 [2003]) *Man for himself: An inquiry into the psychology of ethics*. Foreword by Funk, R. New York: Routledge publishers.
- Gamble, A., & Lane, D. (Eds.). (2009). *The European Union and world politics: Consensus and division*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Geary, M. (2007) *A historical analysis of the constitutional implications of Ireland's membership of the European Economic Community, 1961-1973*. Delivered at the Irish Legal History Conference, Dublin.
- Geertz, C. (1973[2000]) *Interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books.
- _____ (1975). Common Sense as a Cultural System. *The Antioch Review*, 33(1), 5-26.
- Gellner E. (1970). Concepts and society, in Wilson, B. R. (Eds.) *Rationality*. Oxford: Blackwell. 18–49
- _____ (1983) *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- _____ (1993) The Mightier Pen: The Double Standards of Inside-Out Colonialism, in *Times Literary Supplement*.3-4
- Ghosh, A. (2010). The Global Reservation : Notes toward an Ethnography of International Peacekeeping. *Cultural Anthropology* 9(3), 412-422.
- Gibbon, P. (1973). Arensberg and Kimball revisited. *Economy and Society*, 2(4), 479-498.
- Gille, Z., & O Riain, S. (2002). Global ethnography. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 28, 271-295.
- Gilmore, D. D. (1982). Anthropology of the Mediterranean. *Annual review of anthropology*, 11, 175–205.

- Gkotsaridis, E. (2006). *Trials of Irish History: Genesis and Evolution of a reappraisal*. London: Routledge.
- Glaser, Barney G. & Strauss, A. L. (1999[1967]). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. New Brunswick, USA: Aldine Transaction Publishing.
- Glassie, H. (1982). *Passing the time in Ballymenone: Culture and history of an Ulster community*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- _____ (1994). On identity. *The Journal of American Folklore*, 107(424), 238-241.
- Gordon, R. S. C. (Eds.) (2007). *The Cambridge companion to Primo Levi*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gorton, W. A. (2006). *Karl Popper and the social sciences*. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press.
- Goulet, J.-G. A., & Granville Miller, B. (Eds.). (2007). *Extraordinary anthropology: Transformation in the field*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Gracia, A., & Albisu, L. M. (2001). Food consumption in the European Union: Main determinants and country differences. *Agribusiness*, 17(4), 469-488.
- Gratton, P., & Manoussakis, J. P. (Eds.). (2007). *Traversing the imaginary: Richard Kearney and the postmodern challenge*. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press.
- Gray, P. A. (2006). "The last kulak" and other stories of post-privatization life in Chukotka's tundra. *Nomadic Peoples*, 10(2), 1-29.
- Grillo, R. (Eds.) (2008). *The family in question: Immigrant and ethnic minorities in multicultural Europe*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Guibernau, M. & Rex, J. (Eds.) (1997). *The ethnicity reader: Nationalism, multiculturalism and migration*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Guibernau, M. (2004). Anthony D. Smith on nations and national identity: a critical assessment. *Nations and Nationalism*, 10(1/2), 125-141.
- Gupta, A. (1995). Blurred boundaries: The discourse of corruption, the culture of politics and the imagined state. *American Ethnologist*, 22(2), 375-402.
- Gupta, A., & Ferguson, J. (1992). Beyond "culture": Space, identity, and the politics of Difference. *Cultural Anthropology*, 7(1), 6-23.
- Gustafson, P. (2001) Roots and routes: Exploring the relationship between place attachment and mobility. *Environment and Behaviour* 33(5), 667-686.
- Gutting, G. (Ed.). (2005a). *Continental philosophy of science*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- _____ (Ed.). (2005b). *The Cambridge companion to Foucault*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Habermas, J., & Derrida, J. (2003). February 15, or what binds Europeans together : A plea for a common foreign policy, beginning in the core of Europe. *Constellations*, 10(3), 291-297.
- Hachey, T. E. (2002). The rhetoric and reality of Irish neutrality. *New Hibernia Review*, 6(4), 26-43.
- Hale, B., & Wright, C. (Eds.). (1998). *The Blackwell companion to the philosophy of language*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Hale, H. E. (2008). *The foundations of ethnic politics: Separatism of states and nations in Eurasia and the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hall, S. (1990). Cultural identity and diaspora, in J. Rutherford (Ed.), *Identity: community, culture, difference*. London: Lawrence & Wishart. 222-237
- Haller, D., & Shore, C. (Eds.). (2005). *Corruption: Anthropological perspectives*. London: Pluto Press.
- Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P. (1995) *Ethnography: Principles in Practice, (Second Edition)* London: Routledge.
- Hannam, K., Sheller, M. & Urry, U. (2006) Editorial: Mobilities, immobilities and moorings. *Mobilities* 1(1), 1-22.
- Hand, P. (2005). "This is not a place for delicate or nervous or impatient diplomats": the Irish legation in Perón's Argentina (1948-55). *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, 16, 175-192.
- Hannerz, U. (2007). *Changing Europe, changing anthropology*. Presented at the 1st International Anthropology Conference of the Anthropology Association, Turkey Istanbul, May 25-27, 2007
- Harvey, P. (2011). Comment: Knowledge transfer – risks and possibilities. *Anthropology Matters*, 13(1), 1-5.
- Hastrup, K. & Elsass, P. (1990) Anthropological advocacy: A contradiction in terms? *Current Anthropology*, 31(3), 301-311.
- Hazan, H. (1995) The ethnographer's textual presence: On three forms of anthropological authorship. *Current Anthropology*, 10(3), 395-406.
- Heidegger, M. (2005). *Introduction to phenomenological research*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- Heine, M. (2000). A portrait of anthropology as a young discipline. *Lambda Alpha Journal*, 30, 20-27.
- Hellstrom, A. (2003). Beyond space: Border making in European integration, the case of Ireland. *Geografiska Annaler*, 85(3), 123-135.
- Hellstrom, A. (2006). *Bringing Europe down to earth*. Lund: Lunds Universitet.
- Herman, D. (Ed.). (2007). *The Cambridge companion to narrative*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Heyman, J. M. (1995). Putting power in the anthropology of bureaucracy : The immigration and naturalization service at the Mexico-United States border. *Current Anthropology*, 36(2), 261-287.
- Hickey, L., & Stewart, M. (Eds.). (2005). *Politeness in Europe*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters LTD.
- Hickey, R. (2007). *Irish-English: History and present-day forms*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hickman, M. & Bronwen, W. (1995) Deconstructing whiteness: Irish women in Britain. *Feminist Review*, 50, 5-19.
- Hickman, M. J., Morgan, S., Bronwen, W., & Bradley, J. (2005). The limitations of whiteness and the boundaries of Englishness: Second-generation Irish identifications and positionings in multiethnic Britain. *Ethnicities*, 5(2), 160–182.
- Hobsbawm, E. (1994). *Age of extremes: The short Twentieth Century: 1914-1991*. London: Abacus Publishing.
- Hocking, B. (2011). ‘Transforming the stone’: Reimagining Derry’s Diamond War Memorial in the new ‘post-conflict’ Northern Ireland. *Irish Journal of Anthropology*. 14(2), 19-25.
- Hoffman, S. (1964). De Gaulle, Europe, and the Atlantic Alliance. *International Organization*. 18(1), 1-28.
- Holt, M. P. (Ed.). (2006). *A social and cultural History: Alcohol*. Oxford: Berg Publishers.
- Hope, A. (2009). *Get ‘em young: Mapping young people’s exposure to alcohol marketing in Ireland*. Dublin: National Youth Council of Ireland.
- Hourican, E. (2007). The Irish in Brussels. *The Dubliner Magazine*. Available online: http://www.thedubliner.ie/the_dubliner_magazine/2007/04/the_irish_in_be.html
- Houtum, H.J. van & Pijpers, R.A.H. (2007). The European Union as a gated community: The two-faced border and immigration regime of the EU. *Antipode*, 39(2), 291-309.
- House, G. I. (2004). Ireland and Europe: A Dutch perspective. *Radharc*, 5-7, 265-286.
- Howe, L. (2000). Risk, ritual and performance, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*. 6(1), 63-79
- Hughes-Freeland, F., & Crain, M. M. (Eds.). (1998). *Recasting ritual: Performance, media, identity*. London: Routledge.
- Hume, L., & Mulcock, J. (Eds.). (2004). *Anthropologists in the field: Cases in participant observation*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Ignatiev, N. (1995). *How the Irish Became White*. New York: Routledge.

- Inda, J. X. (2005). *Anthropologies of modernity: Foucault, governmentality and life politics*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Jackson, M. (1989). *Path toward a clearing: Radical empiricism and ethnographic inquiry*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- _____ (1996). *Things As they are: New directions in phenomenological anthropology*. Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- _____ (1998). *Minima Moralia: Intersubjectivity and the anthropological project*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- _____ (2005). *Existential anthropology: Events, exigencies, and effects*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- _____ (2012). *Lifeworlds: Essays in existential anthropology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Jameson, F., & Miyoshi, M. (Eds.). (1998). *The cultures of Globalisation*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.
- Janoschka, M. (2010). Between mobility and mobilization – lifestyle migration and the practice of European identity in political struggles. *The Sociological Review*, 58, 270–290.
- Jenkins, R. (2002). Imagined but not imaginary: Ethnicity and nationalism in the modern world, in MacClancy, J. (Eds.) *Exotic no more: Anthropology on the front lines*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 114-128.
- Jennings, B. (1949). Florence Conry, Archbishop of Tuam: His death, and the transfer of his remains. *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, 23(3/4), 83-92
- Johnson, C. H., Sabeen, W. Teuscher, S. & Trivellato, F.(eds.) (2011). *Transregional and transnational families in Europe and beyond: Experiences since the Middle Ages*. Oxford and New York: Berghahn books.
- Jones, G., & Roffe, J. (2009). *Deleuze's philosophical lineage*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Jones, S. (1997). *The archaeology of ethnicity*. Abingdon, UK: Taylor & Francis.
- Kanth, R. K. (1997). *Breaking with the Enlightenment: The twilight of history and the rediscovery of Utopia*. New Jersey: Humanities Press.
- Kates, J. (2005). *Essential history: Jacques Derrida and the development of Deconstruction*. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press.
- Katz, A. (2000). *Postmodernism and the politics of "culture."* Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Kapoor, I. (2004). Hyper-self-reflective development? Spivak on representing the Third World 'other' *Third World Quarterly*, 25(4), 627-647.

- Kaufmann, V., Bergman, M. & Joye, D. (2004). Motility: Mobility as capital. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 28(4), 745-756.
- Kearney, M. (1995). The local and the global: The anthropology of globalization and transnationalism, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 1-27.
- Kelly-Holmes, H. (2010) Language trends: Reflexivity in commercial language policies and practices, in Wei, L. (2010) *Applied Linguistics Review*, 1. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton publishers. 67–84.
- Kennedy, M. (1999). “In spite of all the year’s impediments”: The early years of the diplomatic service. *History Ireland*, 7(1), 18-21.
- Kenny, K. (2001). Race, labor, and nativism: A response to Dale T. Knobel. *Radharc*, 2, 27-33.
- Keogh, D. (1997). “The diplomacy of ‘dignified Calm: An analysis of Ireland’s application for membership of the EEC, 1961-1963.” *Chronicon*, 1(4), 1-68.
- Keohane, K. & Kuhling, C. (2004). *Collision culture: Transformations in everyday life in Ireland*. Dublin: The Liffey Press.
- Kesselring, S. (2006). Pioneering mobilities: New patterns of movement and motility in a mobile world. *Environment and Planning A*, 38(2), 269-279.
- Kilberd, D. (1984) Inventing Irelands. *The Crane Beg*, 8, 11-23
- Kockel, U. (2007) Heritage versus tradition: Cultural resources for a new Europe?, in Demoissier, M. (Eds.) (2007). *The European Puzzle. The political structuring of cultural identities at a time of transition*. New York: Berghahn Books. 85-101.
- Kotlowski, D. J. (Eds.). (2000). *The European Union: From Jean Monnet to the Euro*. Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Krohn-Hansen, C., & Nustad, K. G. (Eds.) (2005). *State formation: Anthropological perspectives*. London: Pluto Press.
- Kuhling, C. & Keohane, K. (2007) *Cosmopolitan Ireland: Globalization and quality of life*. London: Pluto Press.
- Kuper, A. (Eds.) (1992) *Conceptualising society*. New York: Routledge.
- Kuper, A., & Kuper, J. (Eds.) (2003). *The social science encyclopaedia (2nd ed.)*. London: Routledge.
- Kurtz, D. V. (2001). *Political anthropology: Power and paradigms*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Laffan, B. & O' Mohony, J. (2008) *Ireland and the European Union*. London: Macmillan.
- Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. (1980) *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Lannoo, K. (2011). The EU's response to the financial crisis – A mid-term review. *CEPS Policy Brief*, (241), 1-11.
- Larres, K. (Ed.). (2009). *A companion to Europe since 1945*. Massachusetts: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Lassiter, L. E. (2001). From “reading over the shoulders of natives” to “reading alongside natives” literally: Toward a collaborative and reciprocal ethnography. *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 57(2), 137-149.
- Lazarus, N. (1999). *Nationalism and cultural practice in the Postcolonial World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lele, V. (2008). “Demographic modernity” in Ireland : A cultural analysis of citizenship, migration, and fertility. *The Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Europe*, 8 (1).
- Leman, J. (1997). Undocumented migrants in Brussels: Diversity and the anthropology of illegality. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 23(1), 25-41.
- _____ (2003). Muslims and Christians: The urgency of dialogue and collective engagement: An anthropological approach. *Kolor: A Journal of Moving Communities*, 3(1), 77-90.
- Leman, J., & Janssens, S. (2010). The Bulgarian “P” connection in Belgium : Former security agents sprawling a (human)trafficking and smuggling business. *IMMRC*, (1), 1-12.
- Leman, J., Stallaert, C., Choi, P., & Lechkar, I. (2010). Crossing boundaries: Ethnicity and Islamic conversion in Belgium. *Ethnoculture*, 2, 27-44.
- Lentin, R., & Mcveigh, R. (2006). Irishness and racism – Towards an E-Reader. *Translocations*, 1(1), 22-40.
- Leonard, D. (2005). *Guide to the European Union: The definitive guide to all aspects of the EU (9th Edition)*. London: Profile Books Ltd.
- Levinas, E. (1961 [1999]). *Totality and Infinity: An essay on exteriority (2nd ed.)*. The Hague, Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.
- Lewellen, T. C. (2003). *Political anthropology: An introduction (Third Edit.)*. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publications.
- Lewis, H. (1998). The misrepresentation of anthropology and its consequences. *American Anthropologist*, 100(3), 716-731.
- Lewis, R. (2008). New Europeans, new identities: Reflections on Europe's dilemma. *IES Working Papers*, 1, 1-32.
- Lindquist, J. A. (2009). *The anxieties of mobility: Migration and tourism in the Indonesian borderlands*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

- Llobera, J. R. (2001), "What unites Europeans?", in: Guibernau, M. (2001) *Governing European diversity*. London: Sage Publications in association with The Open University, 169-194.
- Low, S. & Lawrence-Zúñiga D. (Eds) (2003). *The Anthropology of space and place: Locating culture*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Luborsky, Mark R. (1987) Analysis of multiple life history narratives. *Ethos*, 15(4), 366-381.
- Lyotard, J. F. (1984[1979]) *The postmodern condition: A report on knowledge*, trans. Bennington, G. and Massumi, B. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Mac Aoidh, T. (1978). Thoughts for St. Patrick's Day. *The Furrow*, 29(3), 154-160.
- Mac Craith, M. (2007). Printing in the vernacular: The Louvain Project. *History Ireland* 15(4), 27-31.
- MacCannell, D. (1999). *The tourist: A new theory of the leisure class*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.
- MacCormick, N. (1997). Democracy, subsidiarity and citizenship in the "European commonwealth." *Law and Philosophy*, 16(4), 331-356.
- Macdonald, S. (Eds.) (1993) *Inside European identities: Ethnography in Western Europe*. Basingstoke; United Kingdom: Berg Publishers
- MacDonald, M.: (2004) "Debating the EU: A Response to Shore and Abeles" *Anthropology Today*, 20(3), 24
- Maguire, M. (2004) *Differently Irish: A cultural history exploring 25 years of Vietnamese-Irish identity*. Dublin: Woodfield Press.
- Maguire, M., Shore, C., & Wright, S. (2001). Audit culture and anthropology, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*. 7(4), 759-763.
- Malinowski, B. (1916). Baloma: The spirits of the dead in the Trobriand Islands. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 46, 353-430.
- _____ (1922 [1984]) *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. Illinois: Waveland Press.
- _____ (1939) The group and the individual in functional analysis. *American Journal of Sociology*, 44(6), 938-964.
- Malkki, L. (1992) National geographic: The rooting of peoples and the territorialization of national identity among scholars and refugees. *Cultural Anthropology*, 7(1), 24-44.
- _____ (1995) Refugees and exile: From "refugee studies" to the national order of things. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 24, 495-523.
- Malkki, L. H. (1996). Speechless emissaries: Refugees, humanitarianism, and dehistoricization. *Cultural Anthropology*, 11(3), 377-404.

- Malpas, S. (2005). *The postmodern*. London: Routledge.
- Marcus, G. E. (1989). The unseen problem world of wealth for the rich: Toward an ethnography of complex connections. *Ethos*, 17(1), 114-123.
- _____ (1995). Ethnography in/of the world system: The emergence of multi-sited ethnography. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 24, 95-117
- _____ (2005) Social thought & commentary: The passion of anthropology in the U.S., circa 2004. *Anthropology Quarterly*, 78(3), 673-695.
- Markey, A. (2005). Revisionisms and the story of Ireland: From Sean O' Faolain to Roy Foster. *Estudios Irlandeses*, 10, 91-101.
- Plecadite, C. & Nagy, R. (n.d.) *Anthropology of Pubs: the Identity Role of a Pub*, 1-16. Available in full:
<http://www.ccrit.ro/Pdf/ResearchReports/ResearchReportRalucaNagyCristinaP.pdf>
- McDonald, M. (1996). "Unity in diversity": Some tensions in the construction of Europe. *Social Anthropology*, 4(1), 47-60.
- _____ (2004). Debating the EU: A Response to Shore and Abeles, AT20 (2). *Anthropology Today*, 20(3), 24.
- _____ (2005). EU policy and destiny: A challenge for anthropology. *Anthropology Today*, 21(1) 3-4.
- McDonald, M., Cohen, A. P., Frankenberg, R. J., Grillo, R. D., San Román, T., Shokeid, M., & Weingrod, A. (1986). Celtic Ethnic Kinship and the Problem of Being English [and Comments and Replies]. *Current Anthropology*, 27(4), 333-347.
- McClean, S. (2004) *The Event and its terrors: Ireland, famine, modernity*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- _____ (2011) Black goo: Forceful encounters with matter in Europe's muddy margins. *Cultural Anthropology*, 26(4), 589-619.
- McClean, S., & Coleman, S. (Eds.). (2007). Engaging anthropological explorations in creativity. *Irish Journal of Anthropology*, 10, 1-69.
- McWilliams, D. (2002). *The pope's children: The Irish economic triumph and the rise of Ireland's new elite*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons LTD.
- Mac an Ghaill, M. and Haywood, C. (2003) Young (Male) Irish postcolonial ethnicities expanding the nation and Irishness. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 6(3), 386-403
- Meagher, T. J. (1985). "Why should we care for a little trouble or a walk through the mud": St. Patrick's and Columbus Day parades in Worcester, Massachusetts, 1845-1915, *The New England Quarterly*. 58(1), 5-26.
- Meillassoux, Q. (2008). *After finitude: An essay on the necessity of contingency*. New York: Continuum.

- Melnick, A. (2009). *Kant's theory of the self*. New York: Routledge.
- Metcalf, P. (2002) *They lie, we lie: Getting on with anthropology*. New York: Routledge Press.
- Metcalf, P. (2005). *Anthropology: The basics*. London: Routledge.
- Meyvis, L. (2000). A rediscovery: The history and future of the Irish College. *Campuskrant International*, (November), 8.
- Miller, P., & Rose, N. (1988). The Tavistock programme - The government of subjectivity and social Life. *Sociology*, 22(2), 171-192.
- _____ (2007). Production, identity, and democracy. *Theory and Society*, 24(3), 427-467.
- Mills, S. (2003). *Michel Foucault*. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis.
- Molz, J. & Gibson, S. (2007) (Eds.) *Mobilizing hospitality: The ethics of social relations in a mobile world*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Montgomery, H. (2001) *Modern Babylon: Prostituting children in Thailand*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Monforte, P. (2014) *Europeanising contention: The protest against 'Fortress Europe' in France and Germany*. Berghahn: New York.
- Moore, H. L. (2004) Global anxieties: concept-metaphors and pre-theoretical commitments in anthropology. *Anthropological Theory*, 4(1): 71-88.
- Moore, H. L & Sanders, T. (2006) *Anthropology in Theory: Issues in Epistemology*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Moran, D. (Ed.). (2008). *The routledge companion to Twentieth Century Philosophy*. London: Routledge & Taylor & Francis.
- Morokvasic, M. (2004). 'Settled in mobility': Engendering post-wall migration in Europe. *Feminist Review* 77, 7-25.
- Murphy, D. (1893). The College of the Irish Franciscans at Louvain. *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 3(3), 237-250.
- Murphy, W. (2008). Between change and tradition: The politics and writings of Garret FitzGerald. *Éire-Ireland*, 43(1-2), 154-178.
- Murphy-Lejeune, E. (2002). *Student mobility and narrative in Europe: The new strangers*. London: Routledge.
- Nagy, R., Maclean, N, & O' Sullivan, D. (2013). More than just a football club, in the heart of Brussels, in Korpela, M., & Dervin, F. (Eds.) *Cocoon Communities: Togetherness in the 21st Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 123-142
- Narayan, K. (1993). How native is a "native" anthropologist? *American Anthropologist*, 95(3), 671-686.

- Nash, D. (Ed.). (2007). *The study of tourism anthropological and sociological beginnings*. Oxford, UK: Elsevier Publishing.
- Naurin, D., & Wallace, H. (Eds.). (2008). *Unveiling the council of the European Union: Games governments play in Brussels*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Negra, D. (2006). *The Irish in us: Irishness, performativity, and popular culture*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- _____ (2010). Consuming Ireland: Lucky Charms cereal, Irish spring soap and 1-800 shamrock. *Cultural Studies*, 14(1), 76-97.
- Nic Craith, M. (2004). Culture and citizenship in Europe: Questions for anthropologists. *Social Anthropology*, 12(4), 289-300.
- _____ (2009). Writing Europe: A dialogue of 'liminal Europeans' *Social Anthropology/Anthropologie Sociale*, 17(2), 198-208.
- Nicolaïdis, K. (2004). "We, the peoples of Europe..." *Foreign Affairs*, 83(6), 97-110.
- Niemann, N. (2013). *Vanishing Ireland*. Available here: <http://www.vanishing-ireland.com>.
- Niezen, R. (2003). *The origins of Indigenism: Human rights and the politics of identity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Nora, P. (1989). Between memory and history: Les Lieux de Memoire. *Representations*, 26, 7-24.
- _ (Eds.) (1996). *Realms of memory: Rethinking the French past*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Nowicka, M. (2007). Mobile locations: Construction of home in a group of mobile transnational professionals. *Global Networks* 7(1), 69-86.
- Nowicka, M., & Rovisco, M. (2009) (Eds.) *Cosmopolitanism in practice*. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Noyes, J. (2000). Nomadic fantasies. Producing landscapes of mobility in German South-West Africa. *Ecumene*, 7(1), 47-66.
- Nugent, D., & Vincent, J. (Eds.). (2004[2007]). *A companion to the anthropology of politics*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Orr, L. (Eds.). (2008). *Joyce, imperialism and postcolonialism*. New York: Syracuse University Press.
- O' Beirne, E. (2006). Mapping the Non-lieu in Marc Augé's writings. *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 42(1), 38-50.
- O'Connor, T. (2002). 'Perfidious Machiavellian friar': Florence Conry's Campaign for a Catholic restoration in Ireland, 1592-1616. *Seanchas Ardmhacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society*, 19(1), 91-105

- O' Conner, T. (2010). Irish Franciscan networks at home and abroad, 1607–1640., in Worthington, D. (Eds.) *British and Irish Emigrants and Exiles in Europe, 1603-1688*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 279-297.
- Ó Crualaíoch, G. (1993). The production and consumption of sacred substances in Irish funerary tradition. *Etiainen*. Vol 2, 39-51.
- O' Dubhghaill, S. (2008). The Gozitans are happily depressed: Narratives concerning the Gozitan mindset, past and present. *Omertaa Journal for Applied Anthropology*.
- _____ (2012). Reduction and representation: The function(s) of understanding and comparison in, and between, Anthropology and Literature. *Compasso: The Journal of Comparative Research in Anthropology and Sociology*, 3(2). ISSN 2068 – 0317
- _____ (2013). Review: Johnson, C. H., Sabeau, W. Teuscher, S. & Trivellato, F.(eds.) (2011). *Transregional and Transnational Families in Europe and Beyond: Experiences since the Middle Ages*. *Social Anthropology*, 21(3), 413-414.
- _____ (2014a). Europe is not a place: Recovering memory in a non-Lieu de Memoire. *Irish Journal of Anthropology*, 17(1), 6-13.
- _____ (2014b). “It’s fake – I mean it sounds the same, but it’s fake”: Plasticity, simulation and passing through the Irish Language in Belgium. *Irish Journal of Anthropology*, 17(1), 46-51.
- O' Hare, P. (2007). Getting down to writing up: navigating from the field to the desk and the (re)presentation of fieldwork. *Anthropology Matters*, 9(2), 1-9.
- O' Hearn, D. (1998). *Inside the Celtic Tiger. The Irish economy and the Asian model*. London: Pluto Press.
- Ó' Hógáin, D. (1979). The visionary voice: A survey of popular attitudes to poetry and the Irish tradition. *Irish University Review*, 9, 44-61.
- Ó Ríain, S. (2001). *The EU and the Irish language: Identity and linguistic difference*. Given at a symposium entitled “Language and Politics” at Queen’s University, Belfast held 23-25 August, 2001.
- O' Rourke, B. (2011) *Galician and Irish in the European context: Attitudes towards weak and strong minority languages*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Paine, R. (1989) On authorial authority. *Culture* IX(2), 39-47
- Papadakis, Y., Peristianis, N., & Welz, G. (Eds.). (2006). *Divided Cyprus: Modernity, history and an island in conflict*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Papastergiadis, N. (2000). *The turbulence of migration: Globalization, deterritorialization and hybridity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Patton, M. (2007). *Science, politics and business in the work of Sir John Lubbock: A man of universal mind*. Hampshire: Ashgate.

- Patton, P. (Eds.) (1996). *Deleuze: A critical reader*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Pawluch, D., Shaffir, W., & Miall, C. (Eds.). (2005). *Doing ethnography: Studying everyday life*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press.
- Peacock, J. (2002) *The anthropological lens: Harsh light, soft focus*. (Second Edition) London: Cambridge University Press.
- Petersson, B., & Tyler, K. (2008). *Majority cultures and the everyday politics of ethnic difference: Whose house is this?* Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Petrey, S. (1990). *Speech acts and literary theory*. New York: Routledge.
- Pfaffenberger, B. (1992). Anthropology of technology. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 21, 491-516.
- Pierik, R., & Werner, W. (Eds.). (2010). *Cosmopolitanism in context: Perspectives from international law and political theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Plasquy, E. (2012) From shop to chapel: The changing emotional efficacy of the statue of the virgin Mary of El Rocío within a Spanish community in Belgium, in Svasek, M. (Eds.) (2012) *Moving subjects, moving objects: Transnationalism, cultural production and emotions*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Plotinus. (1966) *The Enneads, in seven volumes* (transl. Armstrong, A.) Harvard: Harvard University Press.
- Pratt, J. (2003). *Class, nation and identity: The anthropology of political movements*. London: Pluto Press.
- Quinn, E M. (2001). Not quite dyed in the wool: Weaving selfhood in Ireland. *Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Europe*, 1(2), 28-42.
- Quinn, E. M. (2004). Toasters and boasters: John D. Crimmins's St. Patrick's Day (1902). *New Hibernia Review*, 8(3), 18-30.
- Rabinow, P. (1996). *Essays on the anthropology of reason*. Leonardo (Vol. 31). Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- _____ (2008). *Marking time: On the anthropology of the contemporary*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Rabinow, P., & Rose, N. (2006). Biopower today. *BioSocieties*, 1(2), 195-217.
- Rabinow, P., Marcus, G. E., Faubion, J. D., & Rees, T. (2008). *Designs for an anthropology of the contemporary*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Rapport, N. (1999) The narrative as fieldwork technique: Processual ethnography for a world in motion, in Amit, V. Eds. (1999) *Constructing the field: Ethnographic fieldwork in the contemporary world*. London: Routledge. 71-95
- Rapport, N., & Overing, J. (2000). *Social and cultural anthropology: The key concepts*. London: Routledge.

- Recchi, E. (2008). Cross-state mobility in the EU: Trends, puzzles and consequences." *European Societies*, 10(2), 197-224.
- Reidy, T. (2009). Blissful union? Fine Gael and the European Union. *Irish Political Studies*, 24(4), 511-525.
- Reinelt, J. (2001). Performing Europe: Identity formation for a "new" Europe. *Theatre Journal*, 53(3), 365-387.
- Riain, S. (2000). States and markets in an era of Globalization. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 187-213.
- Ribes-iñesta, E. (2003). What is defined in operational definitions? The case of operant psychology. *Behaviour and Philosophy*, 31, 111-126.
- Ribiero, G. L., & Escobar, A. (Eds.). (2002). *World anthropologies: Disciplinary transformations within systems of power*. New York: Berg Publishers.
- Risse, T. (2010). *A community of Europeans? Transnational identities and the public*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Rockefeller, S. A. (2011). 'Flow'. *Current Anthropology*, 52(4), 557-578.
- Roffe, J. (2004). *Understanding Derrida*. New York: Continuum Press.
- Rohrschneider, R. (2002). The democracy deficit and mass Support for an EU-wide government. *American Journal of Political Science*, 46(2), 463-475.
- Rothenberg, M. A. (2010). *The excessive subject: A new theory of social change*. Cambridge, UK: Polity
- Rosenberg, A. (2008). *Philosophy of social science (3rd ed.)*. United States of America: Westview Press.
- Roy, J., & Kanner, A. (2006). *Historical dictionary of the European Union*. Lanham: The Scarecrow Press.
- Rush, F. (Ed.). (2004). *Cambridge companion to critical theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sahlins, M. (1999). Two or three things I know about culture. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 5(3), 399-421.
- Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. London, UK: Penguin Books.
- Salazar, C. (2003). Demographic growth and the "cultural factor" in Ireland: rethinking the relationship between structure and event. *History and Anthropology*, 14(3), 271-281.
- Salazar, N. B. (2003). *Keywords: Glocalization*. Philadelphia: Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania.
- _____ (2013) 'Anthropology', in P. Adey, D. Bissell, K. Hannam, P. Merriman and M. Sheller (eds.), *The Routledge handbook of mobilities*. London: Routledge. 55-63.

- Salazar, N. B. and Glick Schiller, N., (Eds.) (2014a) *Regimes of mobility: Imaginaries and relationalities of power*. London: Routledge.
- Salazar, N. B. & Graburn, N. (Eds.) (2014b). *Tourism imaginaries: Anthropological approaches*. Oxford: Berghahn.
- Sartre, J.-P. (1989). Existentialism Is a humanism, in W. Kaufman (Ed.), *Existentialism from Dostoyevsky to Sartre*. New York: World Publishing Company. 1-25
- Sanjek, R. (Eds.) (1990) *Fieldnotes: The makings of anthropology*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Sassen, S. (1999.) *Guests and Aliens*. New York: New Press
- Scheper-Hughes, N. (1980). *Saints, scholars and schizophrenics: Mental illness in rural Ireland*. California: University of California Press.
- _____ (1992). *Death without weeping: The violence of everyday life in Brazil*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press.
- _____ (1995). The primacy of the ethical: Propositions for a militant anthropology. *Current Anthropology*, 36(3).
- _____ (2000). Ire in Ireland. *Ethnography*, 1(1), 117-140.
- Schneider, C. (2009) *Conflict, negotiation and European Union enlargement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schneider, M. A. (1987). Culture-as-text in the work of Clifford Geertz. *Theory and Society*, 16(6), 809-839.
- Schumaker, L. (2001). *Africanising anthropology: Fieldwork, networks and the making of cultural knowledge in Central Africa*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Schutz, A. (2011). *Collected Papers V. Phenomenology and the social sciences*. (L. Embree, Ed.). Dordrecht, Heidelberg: Springer Press.
- Scully, M. (2009). 'Plastic and proud'? Discourses of authenticity among the second generation Irish in England. *Psychology & Society*, 2(2), 124-135.
- Sedley, D. (2013) *Plato's Cratylus*: The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy in Zalta E. N. (Eds.), forthcoming URL = <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2013/entries/plato-cratylus/> accessed on 21/06/13
- Share, P. (2003) 'A Genuine 'Third Place?' Towards an Understanding of the Pub in Contemporary Irish Society. 30th SAI Annual Conference, Cavan, Ireland.
- Shore, C. (1993) "Inventing the 'people's Europe': Critical approaches to European community 'cultural policy'". *Man*, 28(4), 779-800
- _____ (1996) Anthropology's identity Crisis: The politics of public Image *Anthropology Today*, 12(2), 2-5.

- _____ (2000), *Building Europe - The cultural politics of European integration*. New York: Routledge.
- _____ (2001a) *Democracy in crisis: The White Paper on European Governance*. Bruges Group Occasional Paper 44, 2001.
- _____ (2001b) *European Union and the politics of culture*. Bruges Group Occasional Paper 43.
<http://www.brugesgroup.com/mediacentre/index.live?article=13#author>,
 accessed 2005-08-15)
- _____ (2004), Whither European citizenship? Eros and Civilization revisited. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 7(1), 27-44.
- _____ (2005). All in the translation: Interpreting the EU constitution. *Sites*, New Series, 2(2).
- _____ (2006), "'In Uno plures" (?) EU cultural policy and the governance of Europe". *Cultural Analysis*, 5, 7-26.
- Shore, C., & Abeles, M. (2004). Debating the European Union: An interview with Cris Shore and Marc Abeles. *Anthropology Today*, 20(2), 10-14.
- Shore, C., & Black, A. (1992). The European communities and the construction of Europe. *Anthropology Today*, 8(3), 10-11.
- Shore, C. & Black, A. (1994) Citizen's Europe and the construction of a European identity, in Goddard, G., Llobera, J. & Shore, C. (Eds.) (1994) *The Anthropology of Europe: Identity and Boundaries in conflict*. Oxford: Bloomsbury Academic Publishers.
- Shore, C., & Nugent, S. (Eds.) (2002). *Elite cultures: Anthropological perspectives*. London: Routledge.
- Sigalas, E. (2010) Cross-border mobility and European identity: The effectiveness of intergroup contact during the ERASMUS year abroad. *European Union Politics* 11(2), 241-265.
- Silvesti, M. (2009). *Ireland and India: Nationalism, empire and memory*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Sim, S. (Eds.) (2005). *The routledge companion to postmodernism*. London: Routledge.
- Slattery, D. (2003) Fear and loathing in lost ages: journey through postmodern Dublin, in Coulter, C. & Coleman, S. (Eds.) (2003) *The End of Irish History? Critical Reflections on the Celtic Tiger*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. 139-154.
- _____ (2011). *How to be Irish: Uncovering the curiosities of Irish behaviour*. Dublin: Orpen Press.
- Smith, A. D. (1990) Towards a global culture? *Theory Culture Society*, 7, 171-191.

- _____ (1992) National identity and the idea of European unity. *International Affairs*, 68(1), 55-76.
- _____ (2002). 'When is a nation?', *Geopolitics*, 7(2): 5-32.
- _____ (2009). *Ethno-Symbolism and nationalism: A cultural approach*. London: Routledge.
- Smith, A. L. (1994). Colonialism and the poisoning of Europe: Towards an anthropology of colonists. *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 50(4), 383-393.
- _____ (2006). *Colonial memory and postcolonial Europe: Maltese settlers in Algeria and France*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- Stewart, K. (1996). An Occupied Place, in Basso, K. and Feld, S. (Eds.) (1996) *Senses of Place*. Sante Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press.
- Steylaerts, V., & O' Dubhghaill, S. (2011). CouchSurfing and authenticity: Notes towards an understanding of an emerging phenomenon, *Hospitality & Society* 1(3), 261-278
- Stalford, H., Currie, S., & Velluti, S. (Eds.). (2009). *Gender and migration in 21st Century Europe*. Surrey: Ashgate.
- Stearns, P. N., Moss, K., Journal, S., & Autumn, N. (2011). Formation of Irish-American identity, 1845-1875, *Journal of Social History*, 29(1), 125-148.
- Stewart, P. J., & Strathern, A. (Eds.). (2003). *Landscape, memory and history: Anthropological Perspectives*. London: Pluto Press.
- Taras, R. (2009). *Europe old and new: Transnationalism, belonging, xenophobia*. Lanham: Bowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Tarrant, A., & Kelemen, R. D. (2007). *Building the Eurocracy: The politics of EU agencies and networks*. Paper Prepared for the Biennial European Union Studies Association Convention, Montréal, Canada, 16-19 May 2007.
- Taylor, C. (2004). *Modern social imaginaries*. North Carolina: Duke University Press.
- Taylor, L. J. (1989). Bás In Eirinn: Cultural constructions of death in Ireland. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 62(4), 175-187.
- _____ (1996). There are two things that people don't like to hear about themselves: The anthropology of Ireland and the Irish view of anthropology. *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 95(1), 213-226.
- Teichler, U. (2012). International student mobility in Europe in the context of the Bologna process. *Journal of International Education and Leadership* 2(1), 1-13.
- Thedvall, R. (2007). *The EU's nomads: National Eurocrats in European policymaking*. Paper presented at the 10th EUSA Conference in Montreal, Canada, 17-19 May, 2007.

- Thomson, R., & Taylor, R. (2005). Between cosmopolitanism and the locals: Mobility as a resource in the transition to adulthood. *Young*, 13(4), 327-342.
- Todorov, T. (2001). *Life in common: An essay in general anthropology*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Turner, S. P., & Roth, P. A. (Eds.). (2003). *The Blackwell guide to the philosophy of the social sciences*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Turner, V. (1982). *Liminal to liminoid in play, flow and ritual: An essay in comparative symbology. From ritual to theatre*. Baltimore, Maryland: John Hopkins Press.
- Tylor, E. B. (1958[1871]). *Primitive culture: Researches into the development of mythology, philosophy, religion, language, art and custom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Urry, J. (2000). *Sociology beyond societies*. London: Routledge.
- _____ (2003). *Global complexity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- _____ (2007). *Mobilities*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Vermeulen, H. F., & Roldán, A. A. (Eds.) (1995). *Fieldwork and footnotes: Studies in the history of European anthropology*. London: Routledge.
- Vertovec, S. (1999). Conceiving and researching transnationalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(2), 37-41.
- Verstraete, G. (2010) *Tracking Europe: Mobility, diaspora, and the politics of location*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Vesperini, M. D. (2009). *Anthropology off the shelf*. Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Vincent, J. (1978). Political anthropology: Manipulative strategies. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 7, 175-194.
- Wagstaff, P. (2007). Remapping regionalism, in Demoissier, M. Eds. (2007) *The European Puzzle. The political structuring of cultural identities at a time of transition*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Watson, C. W. (1999). *Being there: Fieldwork in anthropology*. London, UK: Pluto Press.
- Watts, D. (2008). *The European Union*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Weber, M. (1922 [1977]). *Economy and society: An outline of interpretive sociology*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.
- Weber, M., Parsons, T., Giddens, A., & Hyman, B. U. (2001). *The Protestant ethic and the spirit of Capitalism*. Virginia: American Studies Press
- Wedel, J. R., Shore, C., Feldman, G., & Lathrop, S. (2005). Towards an anthropology of public policy. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 600, 30-51.

- Weil, S. (2001[1952]) *The need for roots: prelude towards a declaration of duties towards mankind*. London: Routledge.
- Westheimer, J., & Kahne, J. (2004a). What kind of citizen? *American Educational Research*, 41(2, Summer), 237-269.
- _____ (2004b). Educating the “good” citizen : Political choices and pedagogical goals. *Political Science & Politics*, 38(2).
- Williams, B. F. (1989). A class act: Anthropology and the race to nation across ethnic terrain. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 18(1), 401-444.
- Williams, R. (1960). *Culture and society: 1780-1950*. New York: Anchor Books.
- _____ (1985). *Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wittgenstein, L. (1951 [1973]). *Philosophical investigations*. London: Pearson Press.
- _____ (1991). *On certainty*. New York: Wiley-Blackwell Press
- Wilson, R. A. (2004). The trouble with truth: Anthropology’s epistemological hypochondria. *Anthropology Today*, 20(5), 14-17.
- Wilson, S. M., & Peterson, L. C. (2002). The anthropology of online communities. *Annual review of anthropology*, 31(1), 449-467.
- Wilson, T. M. (1994). A question of identity, *Fortnight*, 324, 4-7.
- Wilson, T. M. (Eds.). (2005). *Drinking cultures: Alcohol and identity*. Oxford, UK: Berg Publishers.
- Wilson, T. M. and Donnan, H. (2006) *The anthropology of Ireland*. Oxford, UK: Berg Publishers.
- Wilson, T. M. & Donnan, H. (Eds.) (2006a) *Culture and power at the edges of the state: National support and subversion in European border regions*. Munich: LIT Verlag.
- Wright, S. (1998). The politicization of “culture.” *Anthropology Matters*, 14(1), 7-15.
- Wulff, H. (2007). Longing for the land: Emotions, memory and nature in Irish travel advertisements. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 14(4), 527-544.
- Xavier Inda, J., & Rosaldo, R. (Eds.). (2002). *The Anthropology of globalization: A reader*. Boston: Wiley-Blackwell publishers.
- Young, R. E., & Juan, S. (1985). Freeman’s Margaret Mead myth: The ideological virginity of anthropologists. *Journal of Sociology*, 21(1), 64-81.

Summary:

This work examines the experiences and mobility of the Irish community, an ambiguous catch-all term, in Belgium. The Irish people are thought to be well acquainted with emigration, particularly during the Great Irish Famine (1845-1851), but less is known about where these emigré's land and of the kinds of lives they lead after their departure from Ireland. This work seeks to redress this imbalance by focussing on the dual manners through which Europe is thought to have been influenced by the emigré's as well as the manner through which the specific circumstances of their host countries caused their composition to change over time. The often cited success story of the Irish in America, as well as of their 40 million strong diaspora, seems to be the only one written about and observing the manner in which the Irish in Belgium encounter foreign languages, including their own, foreign landscapes and peoples is the present work's point of departure.

There are two groups whose experiences are specifically focussed upon; the Irish in Brussels are examined first in order to understand the way that they experience Europe (which is closely aligned with the project of European Union integration). This is aided and abetted by the common association of Brussels with the European institutions housed there. The second group concerns the historically embedded Irish college, founded 1608, and concerns the historical component of Irish identity and how it has oriented itself over time in its new-found landscape. The two are complementary, the latter as a historical touchstone for understanding the Irish abroad over time and the former for giving insight into the process of Irish Europeanisation since their accession in 1973.

One unexpected group who featured prominently during the research was the hibernophiles, who identify very strongly with Ireland and many of whom can even speak the language, who live and work in Belgium. Their experiences are invaluable to understanding the ethnic composition of the Irish in Belgium. The final section deals with the manner in which we might treat the very concept of Europe in future works- such that any anthropologists might adopt it in order to examine the ways through which different ethnic enclaves encounter and interpret Europeanisation.

Resumé:

Ce travail examine les expériences et la mobilité de la communauté irlandaise, un fourre-tout ambigu terme, en Belgique. Les Irlandais sont censés bien connaître l'émigration, en particulier pendant la Grande Famine irlandaise (1845-1851), mais on en sait moins sur l'endroit où la terre de ces émigrés et des types de vie qu'ils mènent après leur départ de l'Irlande. Ce travail vise à corriger ce déséquilibre en mettant l'accent sur les deux manières par lesquelles l'Europe est pensée pour avoir été influencé par ainsi que la manière de l'émigré à travers lequel les circonstances particulières de leur pays d'accueil ont causé leur composition changer au fil du temps. Le succès souvent cité des Irlandais en Amérique, ainsi que de leur 40 millions de forte diaspora, semble être le seul écrit sur et en observant la manière dont rencontrer les Irlandais en Belgique langues étrangères, y compris leurs propres paysages étrangers et peuples est le point de départ de ce travail.

Il ya deux groupes dont les expériences sont spécifiquement axés sur; les Irlandais à Bruxelles sont examinés en premier afin de comprendre la façon dont ils vivent l'Europe (qui est étroitement aligné sur le projet d'intégration de l'Union européenne). Ce climat est favorisé et encouragé par l'association commune de Bruxelles avec les institutions européennes qui y sont logés. Le deuxième groupe concerne le collège irlandais historiquement intégrée, fondée 1608, et concerne la composante historique de l'identité irlandaise et comment elle s'est orientée au fil du temps dans son paysage retrouvée. Les deux sont complémentaires, ce dernier comme une pierre de touche historique pour comprendre les Irlandais à l'étranger au fil du

temps et de l'ancien pour donner un aperçu du processus d'européanisation irlandais depuis leur adhésion en 1973.

Un groupe inattendu qui figurait en bonne place lors de la recherche était les hibernophiles, qui s'identifient très fortement avec l'Irlande et beaucoup d'entre eux peuvent même parler la langue, qui vivent et travaillent en Belgique. Leurs expériences sont précieuses pour la compréhension de la composition ethnique des Irlandais en Belgique. La dernière partie traite de la manière dont nous pourrions traiter le concept même de l'Europe à l'avenir œuvres tels que les anthropologues pourraient adopter afin d'examiner les moyens par lesquels différentes enclaves ethniques rencontrent et interpréter européanisation.

Samenvatting:

Dit werk onderzoekt de ervaringen en de mobiliteit van de Ierse gemeenschap, een ambigu containerbegrip, in België. Over de Ierse bevolking wordt vaak gedacht in termen van haar bekendheid met emigratie, vooral ten tijde van de Grote Ierse Hongersnood (1845-1851). Minder gekend is echter waar deze emigranten terecht komen en welk soort van leven zij leiden na hun vertrek uit Ierland. Dit werk wil dit onevenwicht herstellen door te focussen op de dubbele manier waarop Europe enerzijds gedacht wordt beïnvloed te zijn door haar emigranten alsook hoe de specifieke omstandigheden in het gastland de samenstelling van emigrantengroepen heeft veranderd doorheen de tijd. Het vaak gerefereerde succesverhaal van de Ieren in Amerika, en hun 40 miljoen sterke diaspora, lijkt ook het enige geschreven te zijn. Deze vaststelling en de manier waarop Ieren in België omgaan met taal, waaronder hun eigen taal, de buitenlandse omgeving en bevolking is het uitgangspunt van dit onderzoek.

De focus ligt meer specifiek op de ervaringen van twee groepen; in de eerste plaats richt het onderzoek zich op de Ieren in Brussel en de manier waarop zij Europa ervaren (dit ligt in eenzelfde lijn als het integratieproject van de Europese Unie). Dit wordt bevorderd en ondersteund door de algemene associatie van Brussel met de Europese instellingen die daar ondergebracht zijn. De tweede groep betreft het historisch ingebed Iers college dat opgericht werd in 1608. Dit laatste raakt de historische component van de Ierse identiteit en hoe deze zich doorheen de tijd in het nieuwe landschap heeft geheroriënteerd. Beide aspecten zijn complementair, de laatstgenoemde als historische toetssteen voor een beter begrijpen van de Ierse

gemeenschap in het buitenland doorheen de tijd. Het eerstgenoemde geeft dan weer inzicht in het proces van Ierse vereuropeanisering sinds hun toetreding in 1973.

Een onverwachtse groep die prominent naar voor kwam in het onderzoek waren de liefhebbers van de Ierse cultuur die wonen en werken in België, maar die zich sterk identificeerden met Ierland en waarvan velen zelfs de Ierse taal machtig zijn. Hun ervaringen zijn van onschatbare waarde om tot een beter begrip te komen van de etnische samenstelling van de Ieren in België. Het laatste onderdeel handelt dan ook over de wijze waarop we het concept Europa zelf kunnen hanteren in toekomstig werk. Het stelt voorop hoe menig antropoloog het concept zou kunnen opnemen om verder onderzoek te bewerkstelligen naar de manier waarop verschillende etnische enclaves europeanisering beleven en interpreteren.

**DOCTORATEN IN DE SOCIALE WETENSCHAPPEN
EN
DOCTORATEN IN DE SOCIALE EN CULTURELE ANTROPOLOGIE**

I. REEKS VAN DOCTORATEN IN DE SOCIALE WETENSCHAPPEN ⁽¹⁾

1. CLAEYS, U., *De sociale mobiliteit van de universitair afgestudeerden te Leuven. Het universitair onderwijs als mobiliteitskanaal*, 1971, 2 delen 398 blz.
2. VANHESTE, G., *Literatuur en revolutie*, 1971, 2 delen, 500 blz.
3. DELANGHE, L., *Differentiële sterfte in België. Een sociaal-demografische analyse*, 1971, 3 delen, 773 blz.
4. BEGHIN, P., *Geleide verandering in een Afrikaanse samenleving. De Bushi in de koloniale periode*, 1971, 316 blz.
5. BENOIT, A., *Changing the education system. A Colombian case-study*, 1972, 382 blz.
6. DEFEVER, M., *De huisartssituatie in België*, 1972, 374 blz.
7. LAUWERS, J., *Kritische studie van de secularisatietheorieën in de sociologie*, 1972, 364 blz.
8. GHOOS, A., *Sociologisch onderzoek naar de gevolgen van industrialisering in een rekonversiegebied*, 1972, 256 blz. + bijlagen.
9. SLEDSSENS, G., *Mariage et vie conjugale du moniteur rwandais. Enquête sociologique par interview dirigée parmi les moniteurs mariés rwandais*, 1972, 2 delen, 549 blz.
10. TSAI, C., *La chambre de commerce internationale. Un groupe de pression international. Son action et son rôle dans l'élaboration, la conclusion et l'application des conventions internationales établies au sein des organisations intergouvernementales à vocation mondiale (1945-1969)*, 1972, 442 blz.
11. DEPRE, R., *De topambtenaren van de ministeries in België. Een bestuurssociologisch onderzoek*, 1973, 2 delen, 423 blz. + bijlagen.
12. VAN DER BIESEN, W., *De verkiezingspropaganda in de democratische maatschappij. Een literatuurkritische studie en een inhoudsanalyse van de verkiezingscampagne van 1958 in de katholieke pers en in de propagandapublikaties van de C.V.P.*, 1973, 434 blz.
13. BANGO, J., *Changements dans les communautés villageoises de l'Europe de l'Est. Exemple : la Hongarie*, 1973, 434 blz.
14. VAN PELT, H., *De omroep in revisie. Structurering en ontwikkelingsmogelijkheden van het radio- en televisiebestel in Nederland en België. Een vergelijkende studie*, Leuven, Acco, 1973, 398 blz.
15. MARTENS, A., *25 jaar wegwerparbeiders. Het Belgisch immigratiebeleid na 1945*, 1973, 319 blz.
16. BILLET, M., *Het verenigingsleven in Vlaanderen. Een sociologische typologieformulering en hypothesetoetsing*, 1973, 695 blz. + bijlagen.
17. BRUYNOOGHE, R., *De sociale structurering van de gezinsverplegingssituatie vanuit kostgezinnen en patiënten*, 1973, 205 blz. + bijlagen.
18. BUNDERVOET, J., *Het doorstromingsprobleem in de hedendaagse vakbeweging. Kritische literatuurstudie en verkennend onderzoek in de Belgische vakbonden*, 1973, 420 blz. + bijlagen.
19. GEVERS, P., *Ondernemingsraden, randverschijnselen in de Belgische industriële democratiseringsbeweging. Een sociologische studie*, 1973, 314 blz.

⁽¹⁾ EEN EERSTE SERIE DOCTORATEN VORMT DE REEKS VAN DE SCHOOL VOOR POLITIEKE EN SOCIALE WETENSCHAPPEN (NRS. 1 TOT EN MET 185). DE INTEGRALE LIJST KAN WORDEN GEVONDEN IN NADIEN GEPUBLICEERDE DOCTORATEN, ZOALS G. DOOGHE, "DE STRUCTUUR VAN HET GEZIN EN DE SOCIALE RELATIES VAN DE BEJAARDEN". ANTWERPEN, DE NEDERLANDSE BOEKHANDEL, 1970, 290 BLZ.
EEN TWEDE SERIE DOCTORATEN IS VERMELD IN DE "NIEUWE REEKS VAN DE FACULTEIT DER ECONOMISCHE EN SOCIALE WETENSCHAPPEN". DE INTEGRALE LIJST KAN WORDEN GEVONDEN IN O.M. M. PEETERS, "GODSDIENST EN TOLERANTIE IN HET SOCIALISTISCH DENKEN". EEN HISTORISCH-DOCTRINAIRE STUDIE, 1970, 2 DELEN, 568 BLZ.

20. MBELA, H., *L'intégration de l'éducation permanente dans les objectifs socio-économiques de développement. Analyse de quelques politiques éducationnelles en vue du développement du milieu rural traditionnel en Afrique noire francophone*, 1974, 250 blz.
21. CROLLEN, L., *Small powers in international systems*, 1974, 250 blz.
22. VAN HASSEL, H., *Het ministerieel kabinet. Peilen naar een sociologische duiding*, 1974, 460 blz. + bijlagen.
23. MARCK, P., *Public relations voor de landbouw in de Europese Economische Gemeenschap*, 1974, 384 blz.
24. LAMBRECHTS, E., *Vrouwenarbeid in België. Een analyse van het tewerkstellingsbeleid inzake vrouwelijke arbeidskrachten sinds 1930*, 1975, 260 blz.
25. LEMMEN, M.H.W., *Rationaliteit bij Max Weber. Een godsdienstsociologische studie*, 1975, 2 delen, 354 blz.
26. BOON, G., *Ontstaan, ontwikkeling en werking van de radio-omroep in Zaïre tijdens het Belgisch Koloniale Bewind (1937-1960)*, 1975, 2 delen, 617 blz.
27. WUYTS, H., *De participatie van de burgers in de besluitvorming op het gebied van de gemeentelijke plannen van aanleg. Analyse toegespitst op het Nederlandstalige deel van België*, 1975, 200 blz. + bijlage.
28. VERRIEST, F., *Joris Helleputte en het corporatisme*, 1975, 2 delen, 404 blz.
29. DELMARTINO, F., *Schaalvergroting en bestuurskracht. Een beleidsanalytische benadering van de herstructurering van de lokale besturen*, 1975, 3 delen, 433 blz. + bijlagen.
30. BILLIET, J., *Secularisering en verzuiling in het Belgisch onderwijs*, 1975, 3 delen, 433 blz. + bijlagen.
31. DEVISCH, R., *L'institution rituelle Khita chez les Yaka au Kwaango du Nord. Une analyse sémiologique*, 1976, 3 volumes.
32. LAMMERTYN, F., *Arbeidsbemiddeling en werkloosheid. Een sociologische verkenning van het optreden van de diensten voor openbare arbeidsbemiddeling van de R.V.A.*, 1976, 406 blz.
33. GOVAERTS, F., *Zwitserland en de E.E.G. Een case-study inzake Europese integratie*, 1976, 337 blz.
34. JACOBS, T., *Het uit de echt scheiden. Een typologiserend onderzoek, aan de hand van de analyse van rechtsplegingsdossiers in echtscheiding*. 1976, 333 blz. + bijlage.
35. KIM DAI WON, *Au delà de l'institutionnalisation des rapports professionnels. Analyse du mouvement spontané ouvrier belge*. 1977, 282 blz.
36. COLSON, F., *Sociale indicatoren van enkele aspecten van bevolkingsgroei*. 1977, 341 blz. + bijlagen.
37. BAECK, A., *Het professionaliseringsproces van de Nederlandse huisarts*. 1978, 721 blz. + bibliografie.
38. VLOEBERGHES, D., *Feedback, communicatie en organisatie. Onderzoek naar de betekenis en de toepassing van het begrip "feedback" in de communicatiewetenschap en de organisatie-theorieën*. 1978, 326 blz.
39. DIERICKX, G., *De ideologische factor in de Belgische politieke besluitvorming*. 1978, 609 blz. + bijvoegsels.
40. VAN DE KERCKHOVE, J., *Sociologie. Maatschappelijke relevantie en arbeidersemancipatie*. 1978, 551 blz.
41. DE MEYER A., *De populaire muziekindustrie. Een terreinverkennde studie*. 1979, 578 blz.
42. UDDIN, M., *Some Social Factors influencing Age at Death in the situation of Bangladesh*. 1979, 316 blz. + bijlagen.
43. MEULEMANS, E., *De ethische problematiek van het lijden aan het leven en aan het samen-leven in het oeuvre van Albert Camus. De mogelijke levensstijlen van luciditeit, menselijkheid en solidariteit*. 1979, 413 blz.
44. HUYPENS, J., *De plaatselijke nieuwsfabriek. Regionaal nieuws. Analyse van inhoud en structuur in de krant*. 494 blz.
45. CEULEMANS, M.J., *Women and Mass Media: a feminist perspective. A review of the research to date the image and status of women in American mass media*. 1980, 541 blz. + bijlagen.
46. VANDEKERCKHOVE, L., *Gemaakt van asse. Een sociologische studie van de westerse somatische cultuur*. 1980, 383 blz.
47. MIN, J.K., *Political Development in Korea, 1945-1972*. 1980, 2 delen, 466 blz.
48. MASUI, M., *Ongehuwd moeder. Sociologische analyse van een wordingsproces*. 1980, 257 blz.

49. LEDOUX, M., *Op zoek naar de rest ...; Genealogische lezing van het psychiatrisch discours*. 1981, 511 blz.
50. VEYS, D., *De generatie-sterftetafels in België*. 1981, 3 delen, 326 blz. + bijlagen.
51. TACQ, J., *Kausaliteit in sociologisch onderzoek. Een beoordeling van de zgn. 'causal modeling'-technieken in het licht van verschillende wijsgerige opvattingen over kausaliteit*. 1981, 337 blz.
52. NKUNDABAGENZI, F., *Le système politique et son environnement. Contribution à l'étude de leur interaction à partir du cas des pays est-africains : le Kenya et la Tanzanie*. 1981, 348 blz.
53. GOOSSENS, L., *Het sociaal huisvestingsbeleid in België. Een historisch-sociologische analyse van de maatschappelijke probleembehandeling op het gebied van het wonen*. 1982, 3 delen.
54. SCHEPERS, R., *De opkomst van het Belgisch medisch beroep. De evolutie van de wetgeving en de beroepsorganisatie in de 19de eeuw*. 1983, 553 blz.
55. VANSTEENKISTE, J., *Bejaardzijn als maatschappelijk gebeuren*. 1983, 166 blz.
56. MATTHIJS, K., *Zelfmoord en zelfmoordpoging*. 1983, 3 delen, 464 blz.
57. CHUNG-WON, Choue, *Peaceful Unification of Korea. Towards Korean Integration*. 1984, 338 blz.
58. PEETERS, R., *Ziekte en gezondheid bij Marokkaanse immigranten*. 1983, 349 blz.
59. HESLING, W., *Retorica en film. Een onderzoek naar de structuur en functie van klassieke overtuigingsstrategieën in fictionele, audiovisuele teksten*. 1985, 515 blz.
60. WELLEN, J., *Van probleem tot hulpverlening. Een exploratie van de betrekkingen tussen huisartsen en ambulante geestelijke gezondheidszorg in Vlaanderen*. 1984, 476 blz.
61. LOOSVELDT, G., *De effecten van een interviewtraining op de kwaliteit van gegevens bekomen via het survey-interview*. 1985, 311 blz. + bijlagen.
62. FOETS, M., *Ziekte en gezondheidsgedrag : de ontwikkeling van de sociologische theorievorming en van het sociologisch onderzoek*. 1985, 339 blz.
63. BRANCKAERTS, J., *Zelfhulporganisaties. Literatuuranalyse en explorerend onderzoek in Vlaanderen*. 1985.
64. DE GROOFF, D., *De elektronische krant. Een onderzoek naar de mogelijkheden van nieuwsverspreiding via elektronische tekstmedia en naar de mogelijke gevolgen daarvan voor de krant als bedrijf en als massamedium*. 1986, 568 blz.
65. VERMEULEN, D., *De maatschappelijke beheersingsprocessen inzake de sociaal-culturele sector in Vlaanderen. Een sociologische studie van de "verzuiling", de professionalisering en het overheidsbeleid*. 1983, 447 blz.
66. OTSHOMANPITA, Alok, *Administration locale et développement au Zaïre. Critiques et perspectives de l'organisation politico-administrative à partir du cas de la zone de Lodja*. 1988, 507 blz.
67. SERVAES, J., *Communicatie en ontwikkeling. Een verkennende literatuurstudie naar de mogelijkheden van een communicatiebeleid voor ontwikkelingslanden*. 1987, 364 blz.
68. HELLEMANS, G., *Verzuiling. Een historische en vergelijkende analyse*. 1989, 302 blz.

II. NIEUWE REEKS VAN DOCTORATEN IN DE SOCIALE WETENSCHAPPEN EN IN DE SOCIALE EN CULTURELE ANTROPOLOGIE

1. LIU BOLONG, *Western Europe - China. A comparative analysis of the foreign policies of the European Community, Great Britain and Belgium towards China (1970-1986)*. Leuven, Departement Politieke Wetenschappen, 1988, 335 blz.
2. EERDEKENS, J., *Chronische ziekte en rolverandering. Een sociologisch onderzoek bij M.S.-patiënten*. Leuven, Acco, 1989, 164 blz. + bijlagen.
3. HOUBEN, P., *Formele beslissingsmodellen en speltheorie met toepassingen en onderzoek naar activiteiten en uitgaven van locale welzijnsinstellingen en coalities*. Leuven, Departement Sociologie, 1988, 631 blz. (5 delen).
4. HOOGHE, L., *Separatisme. Conflict tussen twee projecten voor natievorming. Een onderzoek op basis van drie succesvolle separatismen*. Leuven, Departement Politieke Wetenschappen, 1989, 451 blz. + bijlagen.

5. SWYNGEDOUW, M., *De keuze van de kiezer. Naar een verbetering van de schattingen van verschuivingen en partijvoorkeur bij opeenvolgende verkiezingen en peilingen.* Leuven, Sociologisch Onderzoeksinstituut, 1989, 333 blz.
6. BOUCKAERT, G., *Productiviteit in de overheid.* Leuven, Vervolmakingscentrum voor Overheidsbeleid en Bestuur, 1990, 394 blz.
7. RUEBENS, M., *Sociologie van het alledaagse leven.* Leuven, Acco, 1990, 266 blz.
8. HONDEGHEM, A., *De loopbaan van de ambtenaar. Tussen droom en werkelijkheid.* Leuven, Vervolmakingscentrum voor Overheidsbeleid en Bestuur, 1990, 498 blz. + bijlage.
9. WINNUBST, M., *Wetenschapspopularisering in Vlaanderen. Profiel, zelfbeeld en werkwijze van de Vlaamse wetenschapsjournalist.* Leuven, Departement Communicatiewetenschap, 1990.
10. LAERMANS, R., *In de greep van de "moderne tijd". Modernisering en verzuiling, individualisering en het naoorlogse publieke discours van de ACW-vormingsorganisaties : een proeve tot cultuursociologische duiding.* Leuven, Garant, 1992.
11. LUYTEN, D., *OCMW en Armenzorg. Een sociologische studie van de sociale grenzen van het recht op bijstand.* Leuven, S.O.I. Departement Sociologie, 1993, 487 blz.
12. VAN DONINCK, B., *De landbouwcoöperatie in Zimbabwe. Bouwsteen van een nieuwe samenleving ?* Grimbergen, vzw Belgium-Zimbabwe Friendship Association, 1993. 331 blz.
13. OPDEBEECK, S., *Afhankelijkheid en het beëindigen van partnergeweld.* Leuven, Garant, 1993. 299 blz. + bijlagen.
14. DELHAYE, C., *Mode geleefd en gedragen.* Leuven, Acco, 1993, 228 blz.
15. MADDENS, B., *Kiesgedrag en partijstrategie.* Leuven, Departement Politieke Wetenschappen, Afdeling Politologie, K.U.Leuven, 1994, 453 blz.
16. DE WIT, H., *Cijfers en hun achterliggende realiteit. De MTMM-kwaliteitsparameters op hun kwaliteit onderzocht.* Leuven, Departement Sociologie, K.U.Leuven, 1994, 241 blz.
17. DEVELTERE, P., *Co-operation and development with special reference to the experience of the Commonwealth Caribbean.* Leuven, Acco, 1994, 241 blz.
18. WALGRAVE, S., *Tussen loyaliteit en selectiviteit. Een sociologisch onderzoek naar de ambivalente verhouding tussen nieuwe sociale bewegingen en groene partij in Vlaanderen.* Leuven, Garant, 1994, 361 blz.
19. CASIER, T., *Over oude en nieuwe mythen. Ideologische achtergronden en repercussies van de politieke omwentelingen in Centraal- en Oost-Europa sinds 1985.* Leuven, Departement Politieke Wetenschappen, K.U.Leuven, 1994, 365 blz.
20. DE RYNCK, F., *Streekontwikkeling in Vlaanderen. Besturingsverhoudingen en beleidsnetwerken in bovenlokale ruimtes.* Leuven, Departement Politieke Wetenschappen, Afdeling Bestuurswetenschap, K.U.Leuven, 1995, 432 blz.
21. DEVOS, G., *De flexibilisering van het secundair onderwijs in Vlaanderen. Een organisatie-sociologische studie van macht en institutionalisering.* Leuven, Acco, 1995, 447 blz.
22. VAN TRIER, W., *Everyone A King? An investigation into the meaning and significance of the debate on basic incomes with special references to three episodes from the British inter-War experience.* Leuven, Departement Sociologie, K.U.Leuven, 1995, vi+501 blz.
23. SELS, L., *De overheid viert de teugels. De effecten op organisatie en personeelsbeleid in de autonome overheidsbedrijven.* Leuven, Acco, 1995, 454 blz.
24. HONG, K.J., *The C.S.C.E. Security Regime Formation: From Helsinki to Budapest.* Leuven, Acco, 1996, 350 blz.
25. RAMEZANZADEH, A., *Internal and international dynamics of ethnic conflict. The Case of Iran.* Leuven, Acco, 1996, 273 blz.
26. HUYSMANS, J., *Making/Unmaking European Disorder. Meta-Theoretical, Theoretical and Empirical Questions of Military Stability after the Cold War.* Leuven, Acco, 1996, 250 blz.
27. VAN DEN BULCK J., *Kijkbuiskennis. De rol van televisie in de sociale en cognitieve constructie van de realiteit.* Leuven, Acco, 1996, 242 blz.
28. JEMADU Aleksius, *Sustainable Forest Management in the Context of Multi-level and Multi-actor Policy Processes.* Leuven, Departement Politieke Wetenschappen, Afdeling Bestuur en Overheidsmanagement, K.U.Leuven, 1996, 310 blz.
29. HENDRAWAN Sanerya, *Reform and Modernization of State Enterprises. The Case of Indonesia.* Leuven, Departement Politieke Wetenschappen, Afdeling Bestuur en Overheidsmanagement, K.U.Leuven, 1996, 372 blz.

30. MUIJS Roland Daniël, *Self, School and Media: A Longitudinal Study of Media Use, Self-Concept, School Achievement and Peer Relations among Primary School Children*. Leuven, Departement Communicatiewetenschap, K.U.Leuven, 1997, 316 blz.
31. WAEGE Hans, *Vertogen over de relatie tussen individu en gemeenschap*. Leuven, Acco, 1997, 382 blz.
32. FIERS Stefaan, *Partijvoorzitters in België of 'Le parti, c'est moi'?* Leuven, Acco, 1998, 419 blz.
33. SAMOY Erik, *Ongeschied of ongewenst? Een halve eeuw arbeidsmarktbeleid voor gehandicapten*. Leuven, Departement Sociologie, K.U.Leuven, 1998, 640 blz.
34. KEUKELEIRE Stephan, *Het Gemeenschappelijk Buitenlands en Veiligheidsbeleid (GBVB): het buitenlands beleid van de Europese Unie op een dwaalspoor*. Leuven, Departement Politieke Wetenschappen, Afdeling Internationale Betrekkingen, K.U.Leuven, 1998, 452 blz.
35. VERLINDEN Ann, *Het ongewone alledaagse: over zwarte katten, horoscopen, miraculeuze genezingen en andere geloofselementen en praktijken. Een sociologie van het zogenaamde bijgeloof*. Leuven, Departement Sociologie, K.U.Leuven, 1999, 387 blz. + bijlagen.
36. CARTON Ann, *Een interviewernetwerk: uitwerking van een evaluatieprocedure voor interviewers*. Leuven, Departement Sociologie, 1999, 379 blz. + bijlagen.
37. WANG Wan-Li, *Understanding Taiwan-EU Relations: An Analysis of the Years from 1958 to 1998*. Leuven, Departement Politieke Wetenschappen, Afdeling Internationale Betrekkingen, K.U.Leuven, 1999, 326 blz. + bijlagen.
38. WALRAVE Michel, *Direct Marketing en Privacy. De verhouding tussen direct marketingscommunicatie en de bescherming van de informatieve en de relationele privacy van consumenten*. Leuven, Departement Communicatiewetenschap, K.U.Leuven, 1999, 480 blz. + bijlagen.
39. KOCHUYT Thierry, *Over een ondercultuur. Een cultuursociologische studie naar de relatieve deprivatie van arme gezinnen*. Leuven, Departement Sociologie, K.U.Leuven, 1999, 386 blz. + bijlagen.
40. WETS Johan, *Waarom onderweg? Een analyse van de oorzaken van grootschalige migratie- en vluchtelingenstromen*. Leuven, Departement Politieke Wetenschappen, Afdeling Internationale Betrekkingen, K.U.Leuven, 1999, 321 blz. + bijlagen.
41. VAN HOOTEGEM Geert, *De draaglijke traagheid van het management. Productie- en Personeelsbeleid in de industrie*. Leuven, Departement Sociologie, K.U.Leuven, 1999, 471 blz. + bijlagen.
42. VANDEBOSCH Heidi, *Een geboeid publiek? Het gebruik van massamedia door gedetineerden*. Leuven, Departement Communicatiewetenschap, K.U.Leuven, 1999, 375 blz. + bijlagen.
43. VAN HOVE Hildegard, *De weg naar binnen. Spiritualiteit en zelfontplooiing*. Leuven, Departement Sociologie, K.U.Leuven, 2000, 369 blz. + bijlagen.
44. HUYS Rik, *Uit de band? De structuur van arbeidsverdeling in de Belgische autoassemblagebedrijven*. Leuven, Departement Sociologie, K.U.Leuven, 2000, 464 blz. + bijlagen.
45. VAN RUYSEVELDT Joris, *Het belang van overleg. Voorwaarden voor macroresponsieve CAO-onderhandelingen in de marktsector*. Leuven, Departement Sociologie, K.U.Leuven, 2000, 349 blz. + bijlagen.
46. DEPAUW Sam, *Cohesie in de parlamentsfracties van de regeringsmeerderheid. Een vergelijkend onderzoek in België, Frankrijk en het Verenigd Koninkrijk (1987-97)*. Leuven, Departement Politieke Wetenschappen, K.U.Leuven, 2000, 510 blz. + bijlagen.
47. BEYERS Jan, *Het maatschappelijk draagvlak van het Europees beleid en het einde van de permissieve consensus. Een empirisch onderzoek over politiek handelen in een meerlagig politiek stelsel*. Leuven, Departement Politieke Wetenschappen, K.U.Leuven, 2000, 269 blz. + bijlagen.
48. VAN DEN BULCK Hilde, *De rol van de publieke omroep in het project van de moderniteit. Een analyse van de bijdrage van de Vlaamse publieke televisie tot de creatie van een nationale cultuur en identiteit (1953-1973)*. Leuven, Departement Communicatiewetenschap, K.U.Leuven, 2000, 329 blz. + bijlagen.
49. STEEN Trui, *Krachtlijnen voor een nieuw personeelsbeleid in de Vlaamse gemeenten. Een studie naar de sturing en implementatie van veranderingsprocessen bij de overheid*. Leuven, Departement Politieke Wetenschappen, K.U.Leuven, 2000, 340 blz. + bijlagen.
50. PICKERY Jan, *Applications of Multilevel Analysis in Survey Data Quality Research. Random Coefficient Models for Respondent and Interviewer Effects*. Leuven, Departement Sociologie, K.U.Leuven, 2000, 200 blz. + bijlagen.

51. DECLERCQ Aniana (Anja), *De complexe zoektocht tussen orde en chaos. Een sociologische studie naar de differentiatie in de institutionele zorgregimes voor dementerende ouderen.* Leuven, Departement Sociologie, K.U.Leuven, 2000, 260 blz. + bijlagen.
52. VERSCHRAEGEN Gert, *De maatschappij zonder eigenschappen. Systeemtheorie, sociale differentiatie en moraal.* Leuven, Departement Sociologie, K.U.Leuven, 2000, 256 blz. + bijlagen.
53. DWIKARDANA Sapta, *The Political Economy of Development and Industrial Relations in Indonesia under the New Order Government.* Leuven, Departement Sociologie, K.U.Leuven, 2001, 315 blz. + bijlagen.
54. SAUER Tom, *Nuclear Inertia. US Nuclear Weapons Policy after the Cold War (1990-2000).* Leuven, Departement Politieke Wetenschappen, K.U.Leuven, 2001, 358 blz. + bijlagen.
55. HAJNAL Istvan, *Classificatie in de sociale wetenschappen. Een evaluatie van de nauwkeurigheid van een aantal clusteranalysemethoden door middel van simulaties.* Leuven, Departement Sociologie, K.U.Leuven, 2001, 340 blz. + bijlagen.
56. VAN MEERBEECK Anne, *Het doopsel: een familieritueel. Een sociologische analyse van de betekenissen van dopen in Vlaanderen.* Leuven, Departement Sociologie, K.U.Leuven, 2001, 338 blz. + bijlagen.
57. DE PRINS Peggy, *Zorgen om zorg(arbeid). Een vergelijkend onderzoek naar oorzaken van stress en maatzorg in Vlaamse rusthuizen.* Leuven, Departement Sociologie, K.U.Leuven, 2001, 363 blz. + bijlagen.
58. VAN BAVEL Jan, *Demografische reproductie en sociale evolutie: geboortebeperving in Leuven 1840-1910.* Leuven, Departement Sociologie, K.U.Leuven, 2001, 362 blz. + bijlagen.
59. PRINSLOO Riana, *Subnationalism in a Cleavaged Society with Reference to the Flemish Movement since 1945.* Leuven, Departement Politieke Wetenschappen, K.U.Leuven, 2001, 265 blz. + bijlagen.
60. DE LA HAYE Jos, *Missed Opportunities in Conflict Management. The Case of Bosnia-Herzegovina (1987-1996).* Leuven, Departement Politieke Wetenschappen, K.U.Leuven, 2001, 283 blz. + bijlagen.
61. ROMMEL Ward, *Heeft de sociologie nood aan Darwin? Op zoek naar de verhouding tussen evolutiepsychologie en sociologie.* Leuven, Departement Sociologie, K.U.Leuven, 2002, 287 blz. + bijlagen.
62. VERVLIET Chris, *Vergelijking tussen Duits en Belgisch federalisme, ter toetsing van een neofunctionalistisch verklaringsmodel voor bevoegdheidsverschuivingen tussen nationale en subnationale overheden: een analyse in het economisch beleidsdomein.* Leuven, Departement Politieke Wetenschappen, K.U.Leuven, 2002, 265 blz. + bijlagen.
63. DHOEST Alexander, *De verbeelde gemeenschap: Vlaamse tv-fictie en de constructie van een nationale identiteit.* Leuven, Departement Communicatiewetenschap, K.U.Leuven, 2002, 384 blz. + bijlagen.
64. VAN REETH Wouter, *The Bearable Lightness of Budgeting. The Uneven Implementation of Performance Oriented Budget Reform Across Agencies.* Leuven, Departement Politieke Wetenschappen, K.U.Leuven, 2002, 380 blz. + bijlagen.
65. CAMBRÉ Bart, *De relatie tussen religiositeit en ethnocentrisme. Een contextuele benadering met cross-culturele data.* Leuven, Departement Sociologie, K.U.Leuven, 2002, 257 blz. + bijlagen.
66. SCHEERS Joris, *Koffie en het aroma van de stad. Tropische (re-)productiestructuren in ruimtelijk perspectief. Casus centrale kustvlakte van Ecuador.* Leuven, Departement Sociologie, K.U.Leuven, 2002, 294 blz. + bijlagen.
67. VAN ROMPAEY Veerle, *Media on / Family off? An integrated quantitative and qualitative investigation into the implications of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) for family life.* Leuven, Departement Communicatiewetenschap, K.U.Leuven, 2002, 232 blz. + bijlagen.
68. VERMEERSCH Peter, *Roma and the Politics of Ethnicity in Central Europe. A Comparative Study of Ethnic Minority Mobilisation in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia in the 1990s.* Leuven, Departement Politieke Wetenschappen, K.U.Leuven, 2002, 317 blz. + bijlagen.
69. GIELEN Pascal, *Pleidooi voor een symmetrische kunstsociologie. Een sociologische analyse van artistieke selectieprocessen in de sectoren van de hedendaagse dans en de beeldende kunst in Vlaanderen.* Leuven, Departement Sociologie, K.U.Leuven, 2002, 355 blz. + bijlagen.
70. VERHOEST Koen, *Resultaatgericht verzelfstandigen. Een analyse vanuit een verruimd principaal-agent perspectief.* Leuven, Departement Politieke Wetenschappen, K.U.Leuven, 2002, 352 blz. + bijlagen.
71. LEFÈVRE Pascal, *Willy Vandersteens Suske en Wiske in de krant (1945-1971). Een theoretisch kader voor een vormelijke analyse van strips.* Leuven, Departement Communicatiewetenschap, K.U.Leuven, 2003, 186 blz. (A3) + bijlagen.
72. WELKENHUYSEN-GYBELS Jerry, *The Detection of Differential Item Functioning in Likert Score Items.* Leuven, Departement Sociologie, K.U.Leuven, 2003, 222 blz. + bijlagen.

73. VAN DE PUTTE Bart, *Het belang van de toegeschreven positie in een moderniserende wereld. Partnerkeuze in 19de-eeuwse Vlaamse steden (Leuven, Aalst en Gent)*. Leuven, Departement Sociologie, K.U.Leuven, 2003, 425 blz. + bijlagen.
74. HUSTINX Lesley, *Reflexive modernity and styles of volunteering: The case of the Flemish Red Cross volunteers*. Leuven, Departement Sociologie, K.U.Leuven, 2003, 363 blz. + bijlagen.
75. BEKE Wouter, *De Christelijke Volkspartij tussen 1945 en 1968. Breuklijnen en pacificatiemechanismen in een catch-allpartij*. Leuven, Departement Politieke Wetenschappen, K.U.Leuven, 2004, 423 blz. + bijlagen.
76. WAYENBERG Ellen, *Vernieuwingen in de Vlaamse centrale - lokale verhoudingen: op weg naar partnerschap? Een kwalitatieve studie van de totstandkoming en uitvoering van het sociale impulsbeleid*. Leuven, Departement Politieke Wetenschappen, K.U.Leuven, 2004, 449 blz. + bijlagen.
77. MAESSCHALCK Jeroen, *Towards a Public Administration Theory on Public Servants' Ethics. A Comparative Study*. Leuven, Departement Politieke Wetenschappen, K.U.Leuven, 2004, 374 blz. + bijlagen.
78. VAN HOYWEGHEN Ine, *Making Risks. Travels in Life Insurance and Genetics*. Leuven, Departement Sociologie, K.U.Leuven, 2004, 248 blz. + bijlagen.
79. VAN DE WALLE Steven, *Perceptions of Administrative Performance: The Key to Trust in Government?* Leuven, Departement Politieke Wetenschappen, K.U.Leuven, 2004, 261 blz. + bijlagen.
80. WAUTERS Bram, *Verkiezingen in organisaties*. Leuven, Departement Politieke Wetenschappen, K.U.Leuven, 2004, 707 blz. + bijlagen.
81. VANDERLEYDEN Lieve, *Het Belgische/Vlaamse ouderenbeleid in de periode 1970-1999 gewikt en gewogen*. Leuven, Departement Sociologie, K.U.Leuven, 2004, 386 blz. + bijlagen.
82. HERMANS Koen, *De actieve welvaartsstaat in werking. Een sociologische studie naar de implementatie van het activeringsbeleid op de werkvloer van de Vlaamse OCMW's*. Leuven, Departement Sociologie, K.U.Leuven, 2005, 300 blz. + bijlagen.
83. BEVIGLIA ZAMPETTI Americo, *The Notion of 'Fairness' in International Trade Relations: the US Perspective*. Leuven, Departement Politieke Wetenschappen, K.U.Leuven, 2005, 253 blz. + bijlagen.
84. ENGELLEN Leen, *De verbeelding van de Eerste Wereldoorlog in de Belgische speelfilm (1913-1939)*. Leuven, Departement Communicatiewetenschap, K.U.Leuven, 2005, 290 blz. + bijlagen.
85. VANDER WEYDEN Patrick, *Effecten van kiessystemen op partijsystemen in nieuwe democratieën*. Leuven, Departement Sociologie, K.U.Leuven/K.U.Brussel, 2005, 320 blz. + bijlagen.
86. VAN HECKE Steven, *Christen-democraten en conservatieven in de Europese Volkspartij. Ideologische verschillen, nationale tegenstellingen en transnationale conflicten*. Leuven, Departement Politieke Wetenschappen, K.U.Leuven, 2005, 306 blz. + bijlagen.
87. VAN DEN VONDER Kurt, *"The Front Page" in Hollywood. Een geïntegreerde historisch-poëtische analyse*. Leuven, Departement Communicatiewetenschap, K.U.Leuven, 2005, 517 blz. + bijlagen.
88. VAN DEN TROOST Ann, *Marriage in Motion. A Study on the Social Context and Processes of Marital Satisfaction*. Leuven, Departement Sociologie, K.U.Leuven/R.U.Nijmegen, Nederland, 2005, 319 blz. + bijlagen.
89. ERTUGAL Ebru, *Prospects for regional governance in Turkey on the road to EU membership: Comparison of three regions*. Leuven, Departement Politieke Wetenschappen, K.U.Leuven, 2005, 384 blz. + bijlagen.
90. BENIJTS Tim, *De keuze van beleidsinstrumenten. Een vergelijkend onderzoek naar duurzaam sparen en beleggen in België en Nederland*. Leuven, Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor de Overheid [IO], K.U.Leuven, 2005, 501 blz. + bijlagen
91. MOLLICA Marcello, *The Management of Death and the Dynamics of an Ethnic Conflict: The Case of the 1980-81 Irish National Liberation Army (INLA) Hunger Strikes in Northern Ireland*. Leuven, Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], K.U.Leuven, 2005, 168 blz. + bijlagen
92. HEERWEGH Dirk, *Web surveys. Explaining and reducing unit nonresponse, item nonresponse and partial nonresponse*. Leuven, Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologie [CeSO], K.U.Leuven, 2005, 350 blz. + bijlagen
93. GELDERS David (Dave), *Communicatie over nog niet aanvaard beleid: een uitdaging voor de overheid?* Leuven, Onderzoekseenheid: School voor Massacommunicatieresearch [SMC], K.U.Leuven, 2005, (Boekdeel 1 en 2) 502 blz. + bijlagenboek
94. PUT Vital, *Normen in performance audits van rekenkamers. Een casestudie bij de Algemene Rekenkamer en het National Audit Office*. Leuven, Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor de Overheid [IO], K.U.Leuven, 2005, 209 blz. + bijlagen

95. MINNEBO Jurgen, *Trauma recovery in victims of crime: the role of television use*. Leuven, Onderzoekseenheid: School voor Massacommunicatieresearch [SMC], K.U.Leuven, 2006, 187 blz. + bijlagen
96. VAN DOOREN Wouter, *Performance Measurement in the Flemish Public Sector: A Supply and Demand Approach*. Leuven, Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor de Overheid [IO], K.U.Leuven, 2006, 245 blz. + bijlagen
97. GIJSELINCKX Caroline, *Kritisch Realisme en Sociologisch Onderzoek. Een analyse aan de hand van studies naar socialisatie in multi-etnische samenlevingen*. Leuven, Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologie [CeSO], K.U.Leuven, 2006, 305 blz. + bijlagen
98. ACKAERT Johan, *De burgemeestersfunctie in België. Analyse van haar legitimering en van de bestaande rolpatronen en conflicten*. Leuven, Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor de Overheid [IO], K.U.Leuven, 2006, 289 blz. + bijlagen
99. VLEMINCKX Koen, *Towards a New Certainty: A Study into the Recalibration of the Northern-Tier Conservative Welfare States from an Active Citizens Perspective*. Leuven, Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologie [CeSO], K.U.Leuven, 2006, 381 blz. + bijlagen
100. VIZI Balázs, *Hungarian Minority Policy and European Union Membership. An Interpretation of Minority Protection Conditionality in EU Enlargement*. Leuven, Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], K.U.Leuven, 2006, 227 blz. + bijlagen
101. GEERARDYN Aagje, *Het goede doel als thema in de externe communicatie. Bedrijfscommunicatie met een sociaal gezicht?* Leuven, Onderzoekseenheid: School voor Massacommunicatieresearch [SMC], K.U.Leuven, 2006, 272 blz. + bijlagen
102. VANCOPPENOLLE Diederik, *De ambtelijke beleidsvormingsrol verkend en getoetst in meervoudig vergelijkend perspectief. Een two-level analyse van de rol van Vlaamse ambtenaren in de Vlaamse beleidsvorming*. Leuven, Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor de Overheid [IO], K.U.Leuven, 2006, 331 blz. + bijlagenboek
103. DOM Leen, *Ouders en scholen: partnerschap of (ongelijke) strijd? Een kwalitatief onderzoek naar de relatie tussen ouders en scholen in het lager onderwijs*. Leuven, Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], K.U.Leuven, 2006, 372 blz. + bijlagen
104. NOPPE Jo, *Van kiesprogramma tot regeerakkoord. De beleidsonderhandelingen tussen de politieke partijen bij de vorming van de Belgische federale regering in 1991-1992 en in 2003*. Leuven, Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Politicologie [CePO], K.U.Leuven, 2006, 364 blz. + bijlagen
105. YASUTOMI Atsushi, *Alliance Enlargement: An Analysis of the NATO Experience*. Leuven, Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], K.U.Leuven, 2006, 294 blz. + bijlagen
106. VENTURINI Gian Lorenzo, *Poor Children in Europe. An Analytical Approach to the Study of Poverty in the European Union 1994-2000*. Dipartimento di Scienze Sociali, Università degli studi di Torino, Torino (Italië) / Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], K.U.Leuven, 2006, 192 blz. + bijlagen
107. EGGERMONT Steven, *The impact of television viewing on adolescents' sexual socialization*. Onderzoekseenheid: School voor Massacommunicatieresearch [SMC], K.U.Leuven, 2006, 244 blz. + bijlagen
108. STRUYVEN Ludovicus, *Hervormingen tussen drang en dwang. Een sociologisch onderzoek naar de komst en de gevolgen van marktwerking op het terrein van arbeidsbemiddeling*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], K.U.Leuven, 2006, 323 blz. + bijlagen
109. BROOS Agnetha, *De digitale kloof in de computergeneratie: ICT-exclusie bij adolescenten*. School voor Massacommunicatieresearch [SMC], K.U.Leuven, 2006, 215 blz. + bijlagen
110. PASPALANOVA Mila, *Undocumented and Legal Eastern European Immigrants in Brussels*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], K.U.Leuven/K.U.Brussel, 2006, 383 blz. + bijlagen
111. CHUN Kwang Ho, *Democratic Peace Building in East Asia in Post-Cold War Era. A Comparative Study*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], K.U.Leuven, 2006, 297 blz. + bijlagen
112. VERSCHUERE Bram, *Autonomy & Control in Arm's Length Public Agencies: Exploring the Determinants of Policy Autonomy*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor de Overheid [IO], K.U.Leuven, 2006, 363 blz. + bijlagenboek
113. VAN MIERLO Jan, *De rol van televisie in de cultivatie van percepties en attitudes in verband met geneeskunde en gezondheid*. Onderzoekseenheid: School voor Massa-communicatieresearch [SMC], K.U.Leuven, 2007, 363 blz. + bijlagen
114. VENCATO Maria Francesca, *The Development Policy of the CEECs: the EU Political Rationale between the Fight Against Poverty and the Near Abroad*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], K.U.Leuven, 2007, 276 blz. + bijlagen

115. GUTSCHOVEN Klaas, *Gezondheidsempowerment en de paradigmaverschuiving in de gezondheidszorg: de rol van het Internet*. Onderzoekseenheid: School voor Massa-communicatieresearch [SMC], K.U.Leuven, 2007, 330 blz. + bijlagen
116. OKEMWA James, *Political Leadership and Democratization in the Horn of Africa (1990-2000)* Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], K.U.Leuven, 2007, 268 blz. + bijlagen
117. DE COCK Rozane, *Trieste Vedetten? Assisenverslaggeving in Vlaamse kranten*. Onderzoekseenheid: School voor Massa-communicatieresearch [SMC], K.U.Leuven, 2007, 257 blz. + bijlagen
118. MALLIET Steven, *The Challenge of Videogames to Media Effect Theory*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Mediacultuur en communicatietechnologie [CMC], K.U.Leuven, 2007, 187 blz. + bijlagen
119. VANDECASTEELE Leen, *Dynamic Inequalities. The Impact of Social Stratification Determinants on Poverty Dynamics in Europe*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], K.U.Leuven, 2007, 246 blz. + bijlagen
120. DONOSO Veronica, *Adolescents and the Internet: Implications for Home, School and Social Life*. Onderzoekseenheid: School voor Massa-communicatieresearch [SMC], K.U.Leuven, 2007, 264 blz. + bijlagen
121. DOBRE Ana Maria, *Europeanisation From A Neo-Institutionalist Perspective: Experiencing Territorial Politics in Spain and Romania*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], K.U.Leuven, 2007, 455 blz. + bijlagen
122. DE WIT Kurt, *Universiteiten in Europa in de 21e eeuw. Netwerken in een veranderende samenleving*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], K.U.Leuven, 2007, 362 blz. + bijlagen
123. CORTVRIENDT Dieter, *The Becoming of a Global World: Technology / Networks / Power / Life*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], K.U.Leuven, 2008, 346 blz. + bijlagen
124. VANDER STICHELE Alexander, *De culturele alleseter? Een kwantitatief en kwalitatief onderzoek naar 'culturele omnivoriteit' in Vlaanderen*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], K.U.Leuven, 2008, 414 blz. + bijlagen(boek)
125. LIU HUANG Li-chuan, *A Biographical Study of Chinese Restaurant People in Belgium: Strategies for Localisation*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], K.U.Leuven, 2008, 365 blz. + bijlagen
126. DEVILLÉ Aleidis, *Schuilen in de schaduw. Een sociologisch onderzoek naar de sociale constructie van verblijfsillegaliteit*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], K.U.Leuven, 2008, 469 blz. + bijlagen
127. FABRE Elodie, *Party Organisation in a multi-level setting: Spain and the United Kingdom*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Politicologie [CePO], K.U.Leuven, 2008, 282 blz. + bijlagen
128. PELGRIMS Christophe, *Politieke actoren en bestuurlijke hervormingen. Een stakeholder benadering van Beter Bestuurlijk Beleid en Copernicus*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor de Overheid [IO], K.U.Leuven, 2008, 374 blz. + bijlagen
129. DEBELS Annelies, *Flexibility and Insecurity. The Impact of European Variants of Labour Market Flexibility on Employment, Income and Poverty Dynamics*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], K.U.Leuven, 2008, 366 blz. + bijlagen
130. VANDENABEELE Wouter, *Towards a public administration theory of public service motivation*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor de Overheid [IO], K.U.Leuven, 2008, 306 blz. + bijlagen
131. DELREUX Tom, *The European union negotiates multilateral environmental agreements: an analysis of the internal decision-making process*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], K.U.Leuven, 2008, 306 blz. + bijlagen
132. HERTOEG Katrien, *Religious Peacebuilding: Resources and Obstacles in the Russian Orthodox Church for Sustainable Peacebuilding in Chechnya*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], K.U.Leuven, 2008, 515 blz. + bijlagen
133. PYPE Katrien, *The Making of the Pentecostal Melodrama. Mimesis, Agency and Power in Kinshasa's Media World (DR Congo)*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Antropologie in Afrika [IARA], K.U.Leuven, 2008, 401 blz. + bijlagen + dvd
134. VERPOEST Lien, *State Isomorphism in the Slavic Core of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). A Comparative Study of Postcommunist Geopolitical Pluralism in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], K.U.Leuven, 2008, 412 blz. + bijlagen
135. VOETS Joris, *Intergovernmental relations in multi-level arrangements: Collaborative public management in Flanders*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor de Overheid [IO], K.U.Leuven, 2008, 260 blz. + bijlagen
136. LAENEN Ria, *Russia's 'Near Abroad' Policy and Its Compatriots (1991-2001). A Former Empire In Search for a New Identity*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], K.U.Leuven, 2008, 293 blz. + bijlagen

137. PEDZIWIATR Konrad Tomasz, *The New Muslim Elites in European Cities: Religion and Active Social Citizenship Amongst Young Organized Muslims in Brussels and London*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], K.U.Leuven, 2008, 483 blz. + bijlagen
138. DE WEERDT Yve, *Jobkenmerken en collectieve deprivatie als verklaring voor de band tussen de sociale klasse en de economische attitudes van werknemers in Vlaanderen*. Onderzoekseenheden: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO] en Onderzoeksgroep Arbeids-, Organisatie- en Personeelspsychologie, K.U.Leuven, 2008, 155 blz. + bijlagen
139. FADIL Nadia, *Submitting to God, submitting to the Self. Secular and religious trajectories of second generation Maghrebi in Belgium*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], K.U.Leuven, 2008, 370 blz. + bijlagen
140. BEUSELINCK Eva, *Shifting public sector coordination and the underlying drivers of change: a neo-institutional perspective*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor de Overheid [IO], K.U.Leuven, 2008, 283 blz. + bijlagen
141. MARIS Ulrike, *Newspaper Representations of Food Safety in Flanders, The Netherlands and The United Kingdom. Conceptualizations of and Within a 'Risk Society'*. Onderzoekseenheid: School voor Massa-communicatieresearch [SMC], K.U.Leuven, 2008, 159 blz. + bijlagen
142. WEEKERS Karolien, *Het systeem van partij- en campagnefinanciering in België: een analyse vanuit vergelijkend perspectief*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Politicologie [CePO], K.U.Leuven, 2008, 248 blz. + bijlagen
143. DRIESKENS Edith, *National or European Agents? An Exploration into the Representation Behaviour of the EU Member States at the UN Security Council*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], K.U.Leuven, 2008, 221 blz. + bijlagen
144. DELARUE Anne, *Teamwerk: de stress getemd? Een multilevelonderzoek naar het effect van organisatieontwerp en teamwerk op het welbevinden bij werknemers in de metaalindustrie*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], K.U.Leuven, 2009, 454 blz. + bijlagen
145. MROZOWICKI Adam, *Coping with Social Change. Life strategies of workers in Poland after the end of state socialism*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], K.U.Leuven, 2009, 383 blz. + bijlagen
146. LIBBRECHT Liselotte, *The profile of state-wide parties in regional elections. A study of party manifestos: the case of Spain*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Politicologie [CePO], K.U.Leuven, 2009, 293 blz. + bijlagen
147. SOENEN Ruth, *De connecties van korte contacten. Een etnografie en antropologische reflectie betreffende transacties, horizontale bewegingen, stedelijke relaties en kritische indicatoren*. Onderzoekseenheid: Interculturalism, Migration and Minorities Research Centre [IMMRC], K.U.Leuven, 2009, 231 blz. + bijlagen
148. GEERTS David, *Sociability Heuristics for Interactive TV. Supporting the Social Uses of Television*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Mediacultuur en Communicatietechnologie [CMC], K.U.Leuven, 2009, 201 blz. + bijlagen
149. NEEFS Hans, *Between sin and disease. A historical-sociological study of the prevention of syphilis and AIDS in Belgium (1880-2000)*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], K.U.Leuven, 2009, 398 blz. + bijlagen
150. BROUCKER Bruno, *Externe opleidingen in overheidsmanagement en de transfer van verworven kennis. Casestudie van de federale overheid*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor de Overheid [IO], K.U.Leuven, 2009, 278 blz. + bijlagen
151. KASZA Artur, *Policy Networks and the Regional Development Strategies in Poland. Comparative case studies from three regions*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], K.U.Leuven, 2009, 485 blz. + bijlagen
152. BEULLENS Kathleen, *Stuurloos? Een onderzoek naar het verband tussen mediagebruik en risicogedrag in het verkeer bij jongeren*. Onderzoekseenheid: School voor Massacommunicatieresearch [SMC], K.U.Leuven, 2009, 271 blz. + bijlagen
153. OPGENHAFFEN Michaël, *Multimedia, Interactivity, and Hypertext in Online News: Effect on News Processing and Objective and Subjective Knowledge*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Mediacultuur en Communicatietechnologie [CMC], K.U.Leuven, 2009, 233 blz. + bijlagen
154. MEULEMAN Bart, *The influence of macro-sociological factors on attitudes toward immigration in Europe. A cross-cultural and contextual approach*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], K.U.Leuven, 2009, 276 blz. + bijlagen
155. TRAPPERS Ann, *Relations, Reputations, Regulations: An Anthropological Study of the Integration of Romanian Immigrants in Brussels, Lisbon and Stockholm*. Onderzoekseenheid: Interculturalism, Migration and Minorities Research Centre [IMMRC], K.U.Leuven, 2009, 228 blz. + bijlagen
156. QUINTELIER Ellen, *Political participation in late adolescence. Political socialization patterns in the Belgian Political Panel Survey*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Politicologie [CePO], K.U.Leuven, 2009, 288 blz. + bijlagen

157. REESKENS Tim, *Ethnic and Cultural Diversity, Integration Policies and Social Cohesion in Europe. A Comparative Analysis of the Relation between Cultural Diversity and Generalized Trust in Europe*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Politicologie [CePO], K.U.Leuven, 2009, 298 blz. + bijlagen
158. DOSSCHE Dorien, *How the research method affects cultivation outcomes*. Onderzoekseenheid: School voor Massacommunicatieresearch [SMC], K.U.Leuven, 2010, 254 blz. + bijlagen
159. DEJAEGERE Yves, *The Political Socialization of Adolescents. An Exploration of Citizenship among Sixteen to Eighteen Year Old Belgians*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Politicologie [CePO], K.U.Leuven, 2010, 240 blz. + bijlagen
160. GRYP Stijn, *Flexibiliteit in bedrijf - Balanceren tussen contractuele en functionele flexibiliteit*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], K.U.Leuven, 2010, 377 blz. + bijlagen
161. SONCK Nathalie, *Opinion formation: the measurement of opinions and the impact of the media*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], K.U.Leuven, 2010, 420 blz. + bijlagen
162. VISSERS Sara, *Internet and Political Mobilization. The Effects of Internet on Political Participation and Political Equality*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Politicologie [CePO], K.U.Leuven, 2010, 374 blz. + bijlagen
163. PLANCKE Carine, « J'irai avec toi » : désirs et dynamiques du maternel dans les chants et les danses punu (Congo-Brazzaville). Onderzoekseenheden: Instituut voor Antropologie in Afrika [IARA], K.U.Leuven / Laboratoire d'Anthropologie Sociale [LAS, Parijs], EHESS, 2010, 398 blz. + bijlagenboek + DVD + CD
164. CLAES Ellen, *Schools and Citizenship Education. A Comparative Investigation of Socialization Effects of Citizenship Education on Adolescents*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Politicologie [CePO], K.U.Leuven, 2010, 331 blz. + bijlagen
165. LEMAL Marijke, *"It could happen to you." Television and health risk perception*. Onderzoekseenheid: School voor Massacommunicatieresearch [SMC], K.U.Leuven, 2010, 316 blz. + bijlagen
166. LAMLE Nankap Elias, *Laughter and conflicts. An anthropological exploration into the role of joking relationships in conflict mediation in Nigeria: A case study of Funyallang in Tarokland*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Antropologie in Afrika [IARA], K.U.Leuven, 2010, 250 blz. + bijlagen
167. DOGRUEL Fulya, *Social Transition Across Multiple Boundaries: The Case of Antakya on The Turkish-Syrian Border*. Onderzoekseenheid: Interculturalism, Migration and Minorities Research Centre [IMMRC], K.U.Leuven, 2010, 270 blz. + bijlagen
168. JANSOVA Eva, *Minimum Income Schemes in Central and Eastern Europe*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], K.U.Leuven, 2010, 195 blz. + bijlagen
169. IYAKA Buntine (François-Xavier), *Les Politiques des Réformes Administratives en République Démocratique du Congo (1990-2010)*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor de Overheid [IO], K.U.Leuven, 2010, 269 blz. + bijlagen
170. MAENEN Seth, *Organizations in the Offshore Movement. A Comparative Study on Cross-Border Software Development and Maintenance Projects*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], K.U.Leuven, 2010, 296 blz. + bijlagen
171. FERRARO Gianluca *Domestic Implementation of International Regimes in Developing Countries. The Case of Marine Fisheries in P.R. China*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor de Overheid [IO], K.U.Leuven, 2010, 252 blz. + bijlagen
172. van SCHAİK Louise, *Is the Sum More than Its Parts? A Comparative Case Study on the Relationship between EU Unity and its Effectiveness in International Negotiations*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], K.U.Leuven, 2010, 219 blz. + bijlagen
173. SCHUNZ Simon, *European Union foreign policy and its effects - a longitudinal study of the EU's influence on the United Nations climate change regime (1991-2009)*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], K.U.Leuven, 2010, 415 blz. + bijlagen
174. KHEGAI Janna, *Shaping the institutions of presidency in the post-Soviet states of Central Asia: a comparative study of three countries.* Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], K.U.Leuven, 2010, 193 blz. + bijlagen
175. HARTUNG Anne, *Structural Integration of Immigrants and the Second Generation in Europe: A Study of Unemployment Durations and Job Destinations in Luxembourg, Belgium and Germany*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], K.U.Leuven, 2010, 285 blz. + bijlagen
176. STERLING Sara, *Becoming Chinese: Ethnic Chinese-Venezuelan Education Migrants and the Construction of Chineseness*. Onderzoekseenheid: Interculturalism, Migration and Minorities Research Centre [IMMRC], K.U.Leuven, 2010, 225 blz. + bijlagen

177. CUVELIER Jeroen, *Men, mines and masculinities in Katanga: the lives and practices of artisanal miners in Lwambo (Katanga province, DR Congo)*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Antropologie in Afrika [IARA], K.U.Leuven, 2011, 302 blz. + bijlagen
178. DEWACHTER Sara, *Civil Society Participation in the Honduran Poverty Reduction Strategy: Who takes a seat at the pro-poor table?* Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], K.U.Leuven, 2011, 360 blz. + bijlagen
179. ZAMAN Bieke, *Laddering method with preschoolers. Understanding preschoolers' user experience with digital media*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Mediacultuur en Communicatietechnologie [CMC], K.U.Leuven, 2011, 222 blz. + bijlagen
180. SULLE Andrew, *Agencification of Public Service Management in Tanzania: The Causes and Control of Executive Agencies*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor de Overheid [IO], K.U.Leuven, 2011, 473 blz. + bijlagen
181. KOEMAN Joyce, *Tussen commercie en cultuur: Reclamepercepties van autochtone en allochtone jongeren in Vlaanderen*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Mediacultuur en Communicatietechnologie [CMC], K.U.Leuven, 2011, 231 blz. + bijlagen
182. GONZALEZ GARIBAY Montserrat, *Turtles and teamsters at the GATT/WTO. An analysis of the developing countries' trade-labor and trade-environment policies during the 1990s*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], K.U.Leuven, 2011, 403 blz. + bijlagen
183. VANDEN ABEELE Veronika, *Motives for Motion-based Play. Less flow, more fun*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Mediacultuur en Communicatietechnologie [CMC], K.U.Leuven, 2011, 227 blz. + bijlagen
184. MARIEN Sofie, *Political Trust. An Empirical Investigation of the Causes and Consequences of Trust in Political Institutions in Europe*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Politicologie [CePO], K.U.Leuven, 2011, 211 blz. + bijlagen
185. JANSSENS Kim, *Living in a material world: The effect of advertising on materialism*. Onderzoekseenheid: School voor Massacommunicatieresearch [SMC], K.U.Leuven, 2011, 197 blz. + bijlagen
186. DE SCHUTTER Bob, *De betekenis van digitale spellen voor een ouder publiek*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Mediacultuur en Communicatietechnologie [CMC], K.U.Leuven, 2011, 339 blz. + bijlagen
187. MARX Axel, *Global Governance and Certification. Assessing the Impact of Non-State Market Governance*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], K.U.Leuven, 2011, 140 blz. + bijlagen
188. HESTERS Delphine, *Identity, culture talk & culture. Bridging cultural sociology and integration research - a study on second generation Moroccan and native Belgian residents of Brussels and Antwerp*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], K.U.Leuven, 2011, 440 blz. + bijlagen
189. AL-FATTAL Rouba, *Transatlantic Trends of Democracy Promotion in the Mediterranean: A Comparative Study of EU, US and Canada Electoral Assistance in the Palestinian Territories (1995-2010)*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], K.U.Leuven, 2011, 369 blz. + bijlagen
190. MASUY Amandine, *How does elderly family care evolve over time? An analysis of the care provided to the elderly by their spouse and children in the Panel Study of Belgian Households 1992-2002*. Onderzoekseenheden: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], K.U.Leuven / Institute of Analysis of Change in Contemporary and Historical Societies [IACCHOS], Universit  Catholique de Louvain, 2011, 421 blz. + bijlagen
191. BOUTELIGIER Sofie, *Global Cities and Networks for Global Environmental Governance*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], K.U.Leuven, 2011, 263 blz. + bijlagen
192. GÖKSEL Asuman, *Domestic Change in Turkey: An Analysis of the Extent and Direction of Turkish Social Policy Adaptation to the Pressures of European Integration in the 2000s*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], K.U.Leuven, 2011, 429 blz. + bijlagen
193. HAPPAERTS Sander, *Sustainable development between international and domestic forces. A comparative analysis of subnational policies*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], K.U.Leuven, 2011, 334 blz. + bijlagen
194. VANHOUTTE Bram, *Social Capital and Well-Being in Belgium (Flanders). Identifying the Role of Networks and Context*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Politicologie [CePO], K.U.Leuven, 2011, 165 blz. + bijlagen
195. VANHEE Dieter, *Bevoegdheidsoverdrachten in België: een analyse van de vijfde staatsvorming van 2001*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor de Overheid [IO], K.U.Leuven, 2011, 269 blz. + bijlagen
196. DE VUYSERE Wilfried, *Neither War nor Peace. Civil-Military Cooperation in Complex Peace Operations*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], KU Leuven, 2012, 594 blz. + bijlagen

197. TOUQUET Heleen, *Escaping ethnopolis: postethnic mobilization in Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], KU Leuven, 2012, 301 blz. + bijlagen
198. ABTS Koenraad, *Maatschappelijk onbehagen en etnopopulisme. Burgers, ressentiment, vreemdelingen, politiek en extreem rechts*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], KU Leuven, 2012, 1066 blz. + bijlagen
199. VAN DEN BRANDE Karoline, *Multi-Level Interactions for Sustainable Development. The Involvement of Flanders in Global and European Decision-Making*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], KU Leuven, 2012, 427 blz. + bijlagen
200. VANDELANOITTE Pascal, *Het spectrum van het verleden. Een visie op de geschiedenis in vier Europese arthousefilms (1965-1975)*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Mediacultuur en Communicatietechnologie [CMC], KU Leuven, 2012, 341 blz. + bijlagen
201. JUSTAERT Arnout, *The European Union in the Congolese Police Reform: Governance, Coordination and Alignment?*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], KU Leuven, 2012, 247 blz. + bijlagen
202. LECHKAR Iman, *Striving and Stumbling in the Name of Allah. Neo-Sunnis and Neo-Shi'ites in a Belgian Context*. Onderzoekseenheid: Interculturalism, Migration and Minorities Research Centre [IMMRC], KU Leuven, 2012, 233 blz. + bijlagen
203. CHOI Priscilla, *How do Muslims convert to Evangelical Christianity? Case studies of Moroccans and Iranians in multicultural Brussels*. Onderzoekseenheid: Interculturalism, Migration and Minorities Research Centre [IMMRC], KU Leuven, 2012, 224 blz. + bijlagen
204. BIRCAN Tuba, *Community Structure and Ethnocentrism. A Multilevel Approach: A case Study of Flanders (Belgium)*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Politicologie [CePO], KU Leuven, 2012, 221 blz. + bijlagen
205. DESSERS Ezra, *Spatial Data Infrastructures at work. A comparative case study on the spatial enablement of public sector processes*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], KU Leuven, 2012, 314 blz. + bijlagen
206. PLASQUY Eddy, *La Romería del Rocío: van een lokale celebratie naar een celebratie van lokaliteit. Transformaties en betekenisverschuivingen van een lokale collectieve bedevaart in Andalusië*. Onderzoekseenheid: Institute for Anthropological Research in Africa [IARA], KU Leuven, 2012, 305 blz. + bijlagen
207. BLECKMANN Laura E., *Colonial Trajectories and Moving Memories: Performing Past and Identity in Southern Kaoko (Namibia)*. Onderzoekseenheid: Institute for Anthropological Research in Africa [IARA], KU Leuven, 2012, 394 blz. + bijlagen
208. VAN CRAEN Maarten, *The impact of social-cultural integration on ethnic minority group members' attitudes towards society*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Politicologie [CePO], KU Leuven, 2012, 248 blz. + bijlagen
209. CHANG Pei-Fei, *The European Union in the Congolese Police Reform: Governance, Coordination and Alignment?*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], KU Leuven, 2012, 403 blz. + bijlagen
210. VAN DAMME Jan, *Interactief beleid. Een analyse van organisatie en resultaten van interactieve planning in twee Vlaamse 'hot spots'*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor de Overheid [IO], KU Leuven, 2012, 256 blz. + bijlagen
211. KEUNEN Gert, *Alternatieve mainstream: een cultuursociologisch onderzoek naar selectielogica's in het Vlaamse popmuziekcircuit*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], KU Leuven, 2012, 292 blz. + bijlagen
212. FUNK DECKARD Julianne, *'Invisible' Believers for Peace: Religion and Peacebuilding in Postwar Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], KU Leuven, 2012, 210 blz. + bijlagen
213. YILDIRIM Esmâ, *The Triple Challenge: Becoming a Citizen and a Female Pious Muslim. Turkish Muslims and Faith Based Organizations at Work in Belgium..* Onderzoekseenheid: Interculturalism, Migration and Minorities Research Centre [IMMRC], KU Leuven, 2012, 322 blz. + bijlagen
214. ROMMEL Jan, *Organisation and Management of Regulation. Autonomy and Coordination in a Multi-Actor Setting*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor de Overheid [IO], KU Leuven, 2012, 235 blz. + bijlagen
215. TROUPIN Steve, *Professionalizing Public Administration(s)? The Cases of Performance Audit in Canada and the Netherlands*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor de Overheid [IO], KU Leuven, 2012, 528 blz. + bijlagen
216. GEENEN Kristien, *The pursuit of pleasure in a war-weary city, Butembo, North Kivu, DRC*. Onderzoekseenheid: Institute for Anthropological Research in Africa [IARA], KU Leuven, 2012, 262 blz. + bijlagen
217. DEMUZERE Sara, *Verklarende factoren van de implementatie van kwaliteitsmanagementtechnieken. Een studie binnen de Vlaamse overheid*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor de Overheid [IO], KU Leuven, 2012, 222 blz. + bijlagen

218. EL SGHIAR Hatim, *Identificatie, mediagebruik en televisienieuws. Exploratief onderzoek bij gezinnen met Marokkaanse en Turkse voorouders in Vlaanderen*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Mediastudies [IMS], KU Leuven, 2012, 418 blz. + bijlagen
219. WEETS Katrien, *Van decreet tot praktijk? Een onderzoek naar de invoering van elementen van prestatiebegroting in Vlaamse gemeenten*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor de Overheid [IO], KU Leuven, 2012, 343 blz. + bijlagenbundel
220. MAES Guido, *Verborgten krachten in de organisatie: een politiek model van organisatieverandering*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], KU Leuven, 2012, 304 blz. + bijlagen
221. VANDEN ABEELE Mariek (Maria), *Me, Myself and my Mobile: Status, Identity and Belongingness in the Mobile Youth Culture*. Onderzoekseenheid: School voor Massacommunicatieresearch [SMC], KU Leuven, 2012, 242 blz. + bijlagen
222. RAMIOUL Monique, *The map is not the territory: the role of knowledge in spatial restructuring processes*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], KU Leuven, 2012, 210 blz. + bijlagen
223. CUSTERS Kathleen, *Television and the cultivation of fear of crime: Unravelling the black box*. Onderzoekseenheid: School voor Massacommunicatieresearch [SMC], KU Leuven, 2012, 216 blz. + bijlagen
224. PEELS Rafael, *Facing the paradigm of non-state actor involvement: the EU-Andean region negotiation process*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], KU Leuven, 2012, 239 blz. + bijlagen
225. DIRIKX Astrid, *Good Cop - Bad Cop, Fair Cop - Dirty Cop. Het verband tussen mediagebruik en de houding van jongeren ten aanzien van de politie*. Onderzoekseenheid: School voor Massacommunicatieresearch [SMC], KU Leuven, 2012, 408 blz. + bijlagen
226. VANLANGENAKKER Ine, *Uitstroom in het regionale parlement en het leven na het mandaat. Een verkennend onderzoek in Catalonië, Saksen, Schotland, Vlaanderen en Wallonië*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Politicologie [CePO], KU Leuven, 2012, 255 blz. + bijlagen
227. ZHAO Li, *New Co-operative Development in China: An Institutional Approach*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], KU Leuven, 2012, 256 blz. + bijlagen
228. LAMOTE Frederik, *Small City, Global Scopes: An Ethnography of Urban Change in Techiman, Ghana*. Onderzoekseenheid: Institute for Anthropological Research in Africa [IARA], KU Leuven, 2012, 261 blz. + bijlagen
229. SEYREK Demir Murat, *Role of the NGOs in the Integration of Turkey to the European Union*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Politicologie [CePO], KU Leuven, 2012, 313 blz. + bijlagen
230. VANDEZANDE Mattijs, *Born to die. Death clustering and the intergenerational transmission of infant mortality, the Antwerp district, 1846-1905*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], KU Leuven, 2012, 179 blz. + bijlagen
231. KUHK Annette, *Means for Change in Urban Policies - Application of the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) to analyse Policy Change and Learning in the field of Urban Policies in Brussels and particularly in the subset of the European Quarter*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor de Overheid [IO], KU Leuven, 2013, 282 blz. + bijlagen
232. VERLEDEN Frederik, *De 'vertegenwoordigers van de Natie' in partijdienst. De verhouding tussen de Belgische politieke partijen en hun parlementsleden (1918-1970)*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Politicologie [CePO], KU Leuven, 2013, 377 blz. + bijlagen
233. DELBEKE Karlien, *Analyzing 'Organizational justice'. An explorative study on the specification and differentiation of concepts in the social sciences*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor de Overheid [IO], KU Leuven, 2013, 274 blz. + bijlagen
234. PLATTEAU Eva, *Generations in organizations. Ageing workforce and personnel policy as context for intergenerational conflict in local government*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor de Overheid [IO], KU Leuven, 2013, 322 blz. + bijlagen
235. DE JONG Sijbren, *The EU's External Natural Gas Policy – Caught Between National Priorities and Supranationalism*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], KU Leuven, 2013, 234 blz. + bijlagen
236. YANASMAYAN Zeynep, *Turkey entangled with Europe? A qualitative exploration of mobility and citizenship accounts of highly educated migrants from Turkey*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], KU Leuven, 2013, 346 blz. + bijlagen
237. GOURDIN Gregory, *De evolutie van de verhouding tussen ziekenhuisartsen en ziekenhuismanagement in België sinds de Besluitwet van 28 december 1944*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], KU Leuven, 2013, 271 blz. + bijlagen
238. VANNIEUWENHUYZE Jorre, *Mixed-mode Data Collection: Basic Concepts and Analysis of Mode Effects*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], KU Leuven, 2013, 214 blz. + bijlagen

239. RENDERS Frank, *Ruimte maken voor het andere: Auto-etnografische verhalen en zelfreflecties over het leven in een Vlaamse instelling voor personen met een verstandelijke handicap*. Onderzoekseenheid: Interculturalism, Migration and Minorities Research Centre [IMMRC], KU Leuven, 2013, 248 blz. + bijlagen
240. VANCAUWENBERGHE Glenn, *Coördinatie binnen de Geografische Data Infrastructuur: Een analyse van de uitwisseling en het gebruik van geografische informatie in Vlaanderen..* Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor de Overheid [IO], KU Leuven, 2013, 236 blz. + bijlagen
241. HENDRIKS Thomas, *Work in the Rainforest: Labour, Race and Desire in a Congolese Logging Camp*. Onderzoekseenheid: Institute for Anthropological Research in Africa [IARA], KU Leuven, 2013, 351 blz. + bijlagen
242. BERGHMAN Michaël, *Context with a capital C. On the symbolic contextualization of artistic artefacts*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], KU Leuven, 2013, 313 blz. + bijlagen
243. IKIZER Ihsan, *Social Inclusion and Local Authorities. Analysing the Implementation of EU Social Inclusion Principles by Local Authorities in Europe*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], KU Leuven, 2013, 301 blz. + bijlagen
244. GILLEIR Christien, *Combineren in je eentje. Arbeid en gezin bij werkende alleenstaande ouders in Vlaanderen*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], KU Leuven, 2013, 250 blz. + bijlagen
245. BEULLENS Koen, *The use of paradata to assess survey representativity. Cracks in the nonresponse paradigm*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], KU Leuven, 2013, 216 blz. + bijlagen
246. VANDEBOSCH Laura, *Self-objectification and sexual effects of the media: an exploratory study in adolescence*. Onderzoekseenheid: School voor Massacommunicatieresearch [SMC], KU Leuven, 2013, 238 blz. + bijlagen
247. RIBBENS Wannes, *In search of the player. Perceived game realism and playing styles in digital game effects*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Mediastudies [IMS], KU Leuven, 2013, 346 blz. + bijlagen
248. ROOS Hannelore, *Ruimte maken voor het andere: Auto-etnografische verhalen en zelfreflecties over het leven in een Vlaamse instelling voor personen met een verstandelijke handicap*. Onderzoekseenheid: Interculturalism, Migration and Minorities Research Centre [IMMRC], KU Leuven, 2013, 349 blz. + bijlagen
249. VANASSCHE Sofie, *Stepfamily configurations and trajectories following parental divorce: A quantitative study on stepfamily situations, stepfamily relationships and the wellbeing of children*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], KU Leuven, 2013, 274 blz. + bijlagen
250. SODERMANS An Katrien, *Parenting apart together. Studies on joint physical custody arrangements in Flanders*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], KU Leuven, 2013, 224 blz. + bijlagen
251. LAPPIN Richard, *Post-Conflict Democracy Assistance: An Exploration of the Capabilities-Expectations Gap in Liberia, 1996-2001 & 2003-2008*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Internationaal en Europees Beleid [IIEB], KU Leuven, 2013, 348 blz. + bijlagen
252. VAN LOO Sofie, *Artistieke verbeelding en inpassing in de kunstwereld in het begin van de 21e eeuw. Taboe, neutralisatie en realisatie*. Onderzoekseenheid: Interculturalism, Migration and Minorities Research Centre [IMMRC], KU Leuven, 2013, 399 blz. + bijlagen
253. GEERAERT Arnout, *A Principal-Agent perspective on good governance in international sports. The European Union as ex-post control mechanism*. Onderzoekseenheid: Leuven International and European Studies [LINES], KU Leuven, 2013, 190 blz. + bijlagen
254. VANDEKERKHOF Renaat, *Van discours tot counterdiscours: een thematisch-stilistische analyse van vier Britse working-class films (1995-2000). Trainspotting (1996), Brassed Off (1996), The Full Monty (1997), Billy Elliot (2000)*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Mediastudies [IMS], KU Leuven, 2014, 353 blz. + bijlagen
255. MARIANO Esmeralda, *Understanding experiences of reproductive inability in various medical systems in Southern Mozambique*. Onderzoekseenheid: Institute for Anthropological Research in Africa [IARA], KU Leuven, 2014, 247 blz. + bijlagen
256. PATTYN Valérie, *Policy evaluation (in)activity unravelled. A configurational analysis of the incidence, number, locus and quality of policy evaluations in the Flemish public sector*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor de Overheid [IO], KU Leuven, 2014, 320 blz. + bijlagen
257. WYNEN Jan, *Comparing and explaining the effects of organizational autonomy in the public sector*. Onderzoekseenheden: Instituut voor de Overheid [IO], KU Leuven / Management & Bestuur, Universiteit Antwerpen, 2014, 272 blz. + bijlagen
258. COVRE SUSSAI SOARES Maira, *Cohabitation in Latin America: a comparative perspective*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], KU Leuven, 2014, 242 blz. + bijlagen

259. ADRIAENSEN Johan, *Politics without Principals: National Trade Administrations and EU Trade Policy*. Onderzoekseenheid: Leuven International and European Studies [LINES], KU Leuven, 2014, 185 blz. + bijlagen
260. BEKALU Mesfin A., *Communication inequality, urbanity versus rurality and HIV/AIDS cognitive and affective outcomes: an exploratory study*. Onderzoekseenheid: School voor Massacommunicatieresearch [SMC], KU Leuven, 2014, 134 blz. + bijlagen
261. DE SPIEGELAERE Stan, *The Employment Relationship and Innovative Work Behaviour*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], KU Leuven, 2014, 186 blz. + bijlagen
262. VERCRUYSSSE TOM, *The Dark Ages Imaginary in European Films*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Mediastudies [IMS], KU Leuven, 2014, 333 blz. + bijlagen
263. DOMECKA Markieta, *Maneuvering between Opportunities and Constraints. Polish Business People in the Time of Transformation*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], KU Leuven, 2014, 305 blz. + bijlagen
264. OFEK Yuval, *The Missing Linkage: Building Effective Governance for Joint and Network Evaluation*. Onderzoekseenheden: Instituut voor de Overheid [IO], KU Leuven, 2014, 463 blz. + bijlagen
265. HEYLEN Kristof, *Housing affordability and the effect of housing subsidies*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], KU Leuven, 2014, 138 blz. + bijlagen
266. VANDEWIELE Wim, *Contemplatieve abdijgemeenschappen in de 21ste eeuw. Een etnografische studie naar het hedendaagse contemplatieve gemeenschapsleven*. Onderzoekseenheid: Interculturalism, Migration and Minorities Research Centre [IMMRC], KU Leuven, 2014, 219 blz. + bijlagen
267. BOTTERMAN Sarah, *An empirical multilevel study of the relation between community level social cohesion indicators and individual social capital in Flanders, Belgium*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Politicologie [CePO], KU Leuven, 2015, 190 blz. + bijlagen
268. BELIS David, *The Socialization Potential of the Clean Development Mechanism in EU-China and EU-Vietnam Climate Relations*. Onderzoekseenheid: Leuven International and European Studies [LINES], KU Leuven, 2015, 119 blz. + bijlagen
269. ROMMENS Thijs, *Structuring opportunities for NGOs? The European Union's promotion of democratic governance in Georgia*. Onderzoekseenheid: Leuven International and European Studies [LINES], KU Leuven, 2015, 296 blz. + bijlagen
270. VAN DE PEER Aurélie, *Geknipt voor het moderne: beoordelingscriteria, tijdspolitiek en materialiteit in geschreven modejournalistiek*. Vakgroep Wijsbegeerte en Moraalwetenschap, Universiteit Gent / Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek [CeSO], KU Leuven, 2015, 303 blz. + bijlagen
271. DAN Sorin, *Governed or self-governed? The challenge of coordination in European public hospital systems*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor de Overheid [IO], KU Leuven, 2015, 243 blz. + bijlagen
272. PEUMANS Wim, *Unlocking the closet - Same-sex desire among Muslim men and women in Belgium*. Onderzoekseenheid: Interculturalism, Migration and Minorities Research Centre [IMMRC], KU Leuven, 2015, 225 blz. + bijlagen
273. DASSONNEVILLE Ruth, *Stability and Change in Voting Behaviour. Macro and Micro Determinants of Electoral Volatility*. Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Politicologie [CePO], KU Leuven, 2015, 307 blz. + bijlagen
274. VAN CAUWENBERGE Anna, *The quest for young eyes. Aandacht voor nieuws bij jonge mensen in de Lage Landen*. Onderzoekseenheid: Instituut voor Mediastudies [IMS], KU Leuven / Faculteit der Sociale Wetenschappen, Radboud Universiteit Leuven, 2015, 167 blz. + bijlagen

ooOoo