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McIvor, Charlotte Ann

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The New Interculturalism: Race, Gender and Immigration

in post-Celtic Tiger Ireland

by

Charlotte McIvor

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor in Philosophy

in

Performance Studies

and the Designated Emphasis

in

Women, Gender and Sexuality

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Peter Glazer, co-chair

Professor Shannon Steen, co-chair

Professor Paola Bacchetta

Professor Eric Falci

Spring 2011

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Abstract

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"There are wonders that I want to perform" says the name of Ireland's first African-Irish theatre company, Arambe Productions, which derives from the Nigerian saying *ara m be ti mo fe da.* The company performs stories of the African-Irish community, yet their dramatizations ponder a larger reality of an Ireland that has gone from a country of emigrants to a nation re-shaped by inward-migration. The sudden shifts brought on by the mid-1990s Celtic Tiger economic boom and unprecedented immigration have plunged the Irish population at large into a state of wondering. What does it mean that the non-Irish born population residing in the Republic grew from less than 5% to more than 12% in a little over a decade? How will Ireland model a vision of *inter*culturalism that avoids the failures of multiculturalism in Western Europe and the U.S.? How have race and gender created a hierarchy amongst migrant communities and subjects? Through performance, Arambe Productions transforms such wondering into a process of "working together," signaling a second meaning of the company's name: *harambee* in Swahili means "work together." The company's collective labors aim to create a post-Celtic Tiger intercultural vision of Irish identity and belonging. But can this vision be performed into existence?

My dissertation project, "Performing the 'New Irish': Race, Gender, and Interculturalism in the Post-Celtic Tiger Nation," argues that performance is at the center of conceptualizing interculturalism as social policy, philosophy and aspiration in contemporary Ireland. While some might see interculturalism as referring to two cultures meeting in the moment of performance, I argue, rather, that in Ireland today, the term refers to the process of inventing a new pluralistic Irish identity, one that accommodates

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Irish-born as well as migrant communities. Irish interculturalism connotes practical policy measures regarding integration, access to social benefits and services, and public eduction about racism, but it also translates into cultural initiatives that stress the arts as a zone of contact between diverse populations.

My research examines theatres, public festivals and arts/social organizations that make use of performance to theorize interculturalism as embodied practice. Theatre companies like Arambe, Camino de Orula Productions, Calypso Productions, and NGOs like Spirasi, Migrant Rights Centre Ireland, and the Forum on Migration and Communication bid for cultural recognition of minority groups through performance, arts, and media activism. These efforts are endorsed by diverse governmental and non-governmental bodies, which range from the Office of the Minister of Integration, the now-defunct National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism, to the Irish government Task Force on Active Citizenship. The diverse sponsors and forums for these projects, however, generate tension between state-managed visions for interculturalism and the goals of community-based or non-governmental groups advocating for an interculturalism from below which remains critical of the Irish state's treatment of minority groups and management of inward-migration more generally.

My investigation of the interplay between social and aesthetic theories of interculturalism exposes the embodied challenges of analyzing relationships between the Irish state, minority communities and the nation at large. Using ethnographic methods, I position performance as the crucible in which Irish theories of interculturalism are tested and reimagined through the work of bodies who must bear the labor of social change. I trace the struggles to craft an analytical language around race and ethnicity in Ireland frames these projects, and how the intersection of gender with these former categories complicates this task. My sites range from the Abbey Theatre stage to the Migrant Rights Center's photography exhibit by domestic workers and the Dublin St. Patrick's Festival Parade in order to capture the diversity of venues in which performing bodies are called upon to embody post-Celtic Tiger social change. My case studies interrogate whether these projects have the power to push against material limits of social access, paths to citizenship and racism/discrimination and reveal that these performances frequently reinscribe relationships of power between minority and Irish-born communities by falling back on top-down models of interculturalism. Perhaps it is through the reiterative power of performance that the wonders of an egalitarian Irish interculturalism can come into being, but these moving bodies must first be situated in broader matrixes of power which index the role of race and gender in shaping the future of post-Celtic Tiger Irish identities.

Dedicated to my parents, Richard McIvor and Mary Anne Cochrane-McIvor,
and my husband, partner and best friend, Ramin Haghjoo

Contents

Chapter One
Performing the "New Irish":
Interculturalism as the Embodied Future of the Irish Nation

In 2007, Bisi Adigun and Roddy Doyle's *Playboy of the Western World: A New Version* premiered at the Abbey, Ireland's national theatre, to mark the 100th anniversary of the play's premiere.[1] Following unprecedented immigration during the Celtic Tiger economic boom, Adigun and Doyle's *Playboy* casts a critical eye on contemporary Irish issues of race, racism, immigration and national belonging by staging an encounter between a Nigerian asylum seeker and a bar full of Irish-born gangsters. Adigun claims their new version as intercultural, arguing it represents "a perfect synergy of creativity rooted in two distinct cultures."[2] In addition to the mixture of Irish and Nigerian references throughout the play, Adigun highlights the significance of the collaboration between himself- an immigrant and the founder of Ireland's first African-Irish theatre company, Arambe Productions- and Doyle, one of Ireland's most famous contemporary novelists, in the space of none other than the Abbey for *Playboy's* 100th anniversary. According to Adigun, the moment of this production arguably represents the founding of a new phase of Irish history, one marked by the synergy of intercultural collaboration, rather than continued obsession with the nationalist history of modern Ireland, which excludes those beyond the purview of the white Irish-born (Catholic) state. For Adigun, intercultural synergy begins in the theatre, but in contemporary Ireland, interculturalism has in fact become the key term of Irish state and social policy directed towards the management of immigration and the reinvention of national identity post-Celtic Tiger for both white Irish-born and minority ethnic[3] groups.

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[1] Adigun is the founder of Ireland's first African-Irish theatre company, Arambe Productions, while Doyle was one of the first authors in Ireland to directly address post-Celtic Tiger social change through his work penning short stories for Ireland's first multicultural newspaper, *Metro Eireann,* after seeking out the Nigerian journalists, Abel Ubga and Chinedu Onyejelem, who started the paper. For more information about this collaboration with *Metro Éireann*, and Doyle's stories, see Roddy Doyle, *The Deportees and Other Short Stories,* (New York: Penguin, 2005), and Maureen T. Reddy, "Reading and Writing Race in Ireland: Roddy Doyle and Metro Éireann," *Irish University Review: A Journal of Irish Studies,* Vol. 35: Issue 2, (September 2005): 374-389.

[2] Ibid.

[3] I use the term "minority ethnic" here to refer to these communities following Deepa Mann-Kler:

> Traditionally the term ethnic minority has and is still being used. However, it creates the impression that 'ethnic' is a terms applied only to minority groups within a given society. However, all people-Black or white- belong to an ethnic group. The smaller ethnic groups are then denoted to the prefix 'minority' and the larger ethnic groups by the term 'majority' (64).

Using the term "minority ethnic" in an Irish context insures that Irishness itself remains visible as an ethnicity constantly under revision and renders explicit the ways in which debates over the ethnicity and race of minority communities have framed debates over national belonging post-Celtic Tiger. This terminology is also reflected in *Planning for Diversity: The National Action Plan Against Racism-2005-2008* developed by the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform.
Deepa Mann-Kler, "Identity and Racism in Northern Ireland," in *Racism and Anti-Racism in Ireland,* eds. Ronit Lentin and Robbie McVeigh, (Belfast: Beyond the Pale, 2002).

This dissertation argues that theatre and performance are at the center of theorizing interculturalism as state policy, aesthetic theory and aspiration in contemporary Ireland. Theories of interculturalism as aesthetic encounters and collaborations in the field of theatre and performance studies overlap with the goals of what I will call Irish *social* interculturalism. Erika Fischer-Lichte suggests that "[t]he intercultural production in contemporary theatre is…not uniquely to be interpreted as an aesthetic indicator of a potential social change in the existing culture. It functions far more as the place of execution and instrument of such cultural change."[4] Ireland's official state policies of interculturalism crafted as a response to inward-migration echo Fischer-Lichte's claim that the *process* of interculturalism itself, whether through theatrical/artistic production, official government policy, social programming or interactions ranging from planned to casual encounters, can function as "the place of execution and instrument of…cultural change." In this introduction, I will lay out the convergences between aesthetic and social discourses of interculturalism in contemporary Ireland, and begin to investigate Irish genealogies of the arts as social intervention. My work troubles boundaries between professional, semi-professional and community arts practice in order to perform the fullest possible investigation of the role of the arts in negotiating social change in contemporary Ireland. Furthermore, this approach demonstrates the enmeshment of theatre and other art forms in the workings of the Irish state. Finally, I will situate this project in terms of broader social and political discourses of race, gender, ethnicity, nation and citizenship post-Celtic Tiger.

In the Eye of the Tiger

The Celtic Tiger[5] transformed a nation struggling with economic underdevelopment and poverty from a country of emigrants to a nation re-shaped by immigration. Economic prosperity brought unprecedented immigration, suddenly, or so it seemed, challenging the boundaries of contemporary Irish national identities. The Celtic Tiger period is usually marked from 1994 to roughly 2007, when economic growth had completely slowed before Ireland became the first country to slip into recession in the European Union in 2008.[6] Michael Hennigan mused:

> [The] forecast of a recession in 2008 by the Economic and Social Research
> Institute (ESRI), coming in the aftermath of the Lisbon Treaty rejection, is a deep

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[4] Erika Fischer-Lichte, "Staging the Foreign as Cultural Transformation," in *The Dramatic Touch of Difference: Theatre, Own and Foreign,* eds. Erika Fischer-Lichte, Josephine Riley and Michael Gissenwehrer, (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag Tübingen, 1990), 287.

[5] The name given to the economic boom is adapted from the "Asian Tiger" economies (Taiwan, Singapore, South Korea and Hong Kong) and refers to rapid and consistent growth in an economy and its levels of industrialization. The term was first used in a 1994 report for by Kevin Gardiner for Morgan Stanley entitled "Ireland: Ireland and the EMU: A Tiger By the Tail."

[6] There are multiple measures through which to assess slows in economic growth. Fintan O'Toole, for example, argues instead that the Celtic Tiger ended in 2002 due to "Ireland's total share of the world's trade in goods" starting to decline, so that while "there was a steady rise in the export of services (especially of financial services), it was more than offset by the fall in the share of trade in tangible merchandise" (22). Fintan O'Toole, *Ship of Fools: How Stupidity and Corruption Sank the Celtic Tiger,* (New York: Public Affairs, 2010), 22.

psychological blow to Ireland Inc., on the world business stage. The confluence of an inevitable bursting of a housing property bubble with the international credit crisis and both the UK and US economies on the brink of recessions, together with rising inflation that will result in interest rate hikes, is the perfect storm.[7]

In 2009, the International Monetary Fund dubbed Ireland's recession "the worst in the developed world."[8] This dissertation uses the term "post-Celtic Tiger" to describe all events during and after the economic boom due to the paradigm shifts brought on by the boom in not only the economy but Irish society and national identity at large.

In keeping with this timeline, the project will cover 1994-2009, marking the beginning of the boom and ending with the year that Tiger-related net-migration reversed,[9] returning Ireland to its long-held identity as a country of emigrants. 1996 marked the year that Ireland became a country of net immigration. This period marked a monumental shift because apart from a brief period in the 1970s, "when, for the first time in Irish history, net migration to Ireland was positive, outflows continued to exceed inflows until the early 1990s."[10] This population growth was largely due to the growth of "new" communities within Ireland as a response to labor shortages and a desire to take part in Ireland's newfound prosperity.

During the height of the Celtic Tiger, the non-Irish born population residing in the Republic, often called the "New Irish," grew from approximately "5.7% of Ireland's population of just under 4 million" in 2002 to "2006 Census figures show[ing] that over 10% of the population are newcomers [which] represents an astonishing increase of 87% over the four year period."[11] The Central Statistics Office published a study in 2008, *Census 2006: Non-Irish Nationals Living in Ireland,* which was the first of its kind, and listed UK nationals, Poles, Lithuanians, Nigerians, Latvians, US nationals, Chinese, Germans, Filipinos, and the French as the largest minority ethnic communities in Ireland in descending order.[12] This growth in minority ethnic communities was accompanied by a marked rise in asylum applications, from just 39 applications in 1993 to peaking at more than 12,000 in 2002. All in all, there are 188 different nationalities living in the Republic today.

[7] Michael Hennigan, "It may be like a Feast and a Famine as Celtic Tiger declared dead but all is not lost," *Finfacts: Ireland's Business and Finances Portal,* June 24, 2008, accessed April 13, 2011, http://www.finfacts.ie/irishfinancenews/article_1013998.shtml.

[8] "Ireland faces 'worst recession,'" *BBC News,* June 25, 2009, accessed February 26, 2011, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/8118176.stm.

[9] In 1996, Ireland reported net-migration for the first time since "". By 2009, however, this trend had reversed, and emigration continues to outpace inward-migration. Central Statistics Office, "Annual Population and Migration Estimates: April 2010," September 2010, Accessed February 28, 2011, http://www.cso.ie/releasespublications/documents/population/current/popmig.pdf .

[10] Martin Ruhs, "Ireland: From Rapid Immigration to Recession," *Country Profiles: Migration Information Source*, accessed February 26, 2011, http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?ID=740.

[11] Mary White, TD, "Office of the Minister of State for Integration," accessed October 21, 2010, http://www.integration.ie/#more.

[12] UK nationals had a huge lead (112,548) over the next largest group, the Poles (63,276). Other numerically significant groups with more than 4,000 members listed included: Indian, Slovaks, Romanians, Italians, Spaniards, South Africans, Czech, Pakistanis, Russians, and Brazilians. Central Statistics Office/An Phríomh-Oifig Staidrimh, *Census 2006: Non-Irish Nationals Living in Ireland*, (Dublin, Ireland: Stationary Office, 2008), 24-65.

These shifts did not happen without controversy. The passage of the
 2004 Citizenship Referendum and Twenty-Seventh Amendment to the Constitution was
marked a landmark event intensified links between race, ethnicity, gender and the
parameters of belonging within the Irish state by withdrawing automatic rights to
citizenship for all children born in Ireland. As J.M. Mancini and Graham Finlay argue,
"By tying the future citizenry more firmly to the citizenry at the time of the
referendum…the amendment…worked to limit temporal and ethnic change in the
composition of 'the Irish nation.'"[13] Continuing debates over race, ethnicity and gender
determine claims to contemporary Irish identity and citizenship not only for immigrants,
or the "new Irish," but for Irish-born residents of the nation at large. Thus, I will focus
most explicitly on projects and productions mounted between 2004 and 2009 in order to
explore the impact of the lead-up to the Citizenship Referendum and its aftermath on
shaping the limits of the Irish intercultural imagination.

In this context, Adigun and Doyle's symbolic gesture of re-visiting Synge's
canonical play reworks Irish theatre literally from the inside: inside its canon and inside
the walls of the National Theatre.[14] *Playboy of the Western World: A New Version*
attracted significant press when staged at the Abbey in 2007 and was brought back in
2008-2009 by popular demand. This success was interrupted, however, by a protracted
legal battle initiated by Adigun and his company Arambe Productions over the rights of
the Abbey and Doyle to produce the play in 2007 and 2008-2009.

Adigun contends the version produced did not carry his consent and that he was
not properly financially compensated. There have been to date three "sets of proceedings
arising from the stagings of the modern *Playboy*."[15] Mary Carolan of *The Irish Times*
reports: "Adigun claims the Abbey, against his wishes and in conjunction with Doyle,
remounted a distorted version of it on its stage between December 2008 and January
2009, which was directed by Fay."[16] This matter has yet to be resolved, and the Abbey
and Doyle have repeatedly refused to comment. Fintan O'Toole argues that: "such
conflicts can never be fully resolved, because theatre is too unstable a form to be entirely
controlled and owned by anyone."[17] However, the thorny fall-out from Adigun and
Doyle's adaptation dramatizes the difficulties of staging the "New Irish" experience in a
landscape of uneven power dynamics and loaded histories. The conflict surrounding this

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[13] J.M. Mancini and Graham Finlay, "'Citizenship Matters': Lessons from the Irish Citizenship
Referendum," *American Quarterly,* 60, no. 3, (September 2008): 581.

[14] Before the premiere of 2007's *Playboy* at the National Theatre*,* only Donal O'Kelley's 1994 *Asylum!
Asylum!* had explicitly addressed contemporary post-Celtic Tiger minority experiences on either the Abbey
or Peacock stages. This production will be addressed in detail in Chapter 2. Looking towards the future,
however, current Abbey artistic director Fiach Mac Conghail is vocally committed to increasing diversity
on the National Theatre's stages. He notes: "Almost half of the people we have working in the front-of-
the-house staff are immigrants. But that experience hasn't been reflected on our stage yet." When asked
about discovering the next Sean O'Casey, Mac Conghail responded: "I wouldn't be surprised if that person
was Polish or Nigerian."
Kevin Cullen, "Staging a turnaround in Dublin," *The Boston Globe,* April 15, 2007, Accessed May 4, 2010,
http://www.boston.com/ae/theater_arts/articles/2007/04/15/staging_a_turnaround_in_dublin/.

[15] Mary Carolan, "Copyright breach claim over modern production of *Playboy* at Abbey," *The Irish Times,*
May 18, 2010, 4.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Fintan O'Toole, "Theatre has nothing to declare but an innate uncertainty," *The Irish Times,* May 22,
2010, 9.

production can perhaps be unraveled through turning to the authors' use of "interculturalism" to describe the aims of this production.

Adigun argues the new version of *Playboy* was intercultural in the sense that it represented "a perfect synergy of creativity rooted in two distinct cultures."[18] Yet, the legal battles surrounding the production suggest that "synergy" was not achieved in the working relationship, nor in the material conditions of the production regarding who could claim legal ownership and make final decisions about what went on the stage in terms of dialogue, staging or action. Adigun's assertion that this production joined two "distinct" cultures can perhaps be challenged, but it nevertheless captures the "distinct" social and economic stratifications that exist between white Irish-born individuals and Africans of diverse national backgrounds living in Ireland. The aspirations of interculturalism as used by Adigun claim a utopic "synergy," but the practical realities of this artistic collaboration deflate the term.

In post-Celtic Tiger Ireland, however, the term interculturalism does not exclusively connote an aesthetic strategy where, as in Adigun and Doyle's production, two "distinct cultures" (Nigerian and Irish) are joined, in Patrice Pavis's words, creating "hybrid forms drawing upon a more or less conscious and voluntary mixing of performance traditions traceable to distinct cultural areas."[19] Rather, interculturalism represents the term that has been adopted throughout Irish society by the state, NGOs, activist groups and others[20] to describe the process of inventing a new pluralistic Irish identity, one that accommodates Irish-born as well as minority ethnic communities. This rhetorical use of "interculturalism" represents a calculated reaction against "multiculturalism" as it has been used in other national contexts. The Migrant Rights Centre Ireland, for example, argues that multicultural discourse fails to acknowledge the "need to change the attitudes and practices of the majority population" while interculturalism implies a process to provide "inclusion of ethnic minority groups by design and planning, not as a default or add-on."[21]

Interculturalism in Ireland is state policy, the preferred managerial strategy and rhetorical umbrella for addressing the practicalities and issues related to Ireland's expanded immigrant population. Therefore, "interculturalism" as used in contemporary Ireland describes practices aimed at using the occasion of immigration to work towards mainstreaming services for new and pre-existing minority communities, addressing root causes of poverty and exclusion such as racism and environmental factors, increasing awareness of diversity amongst the Irish population through media, arts, and sport events, and equalizing participation in civic and social activities. Thus, the injunction to change is ideally not only directed at immigrants and other minorities, but towards the white

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[18] Ibid.

[19] Patrice Pavis, "Introduction: Towards a Theory of Interculturalism in Theatre?," in *The Intercultural Performance Reader,* edited by Patrice Pavis, (New York and London: Routledge, 1996), 8.

[20] There is enormous diversity in the types of public and private partnerships that fund the work of various organizations working through state agencies (Reception and Integration Agency; Irish Immigration and Naturalisation Service); NGOs such as the Migrants Rights Centre Ireland (discussed at length in Chapter 5).

[21] Migrant Rights Centre Ireland, *Realising Integration: Creating the Conditions for the Economic, Social, Political and Cultural Inclusion of Migrant Workers and Their Families in Ireland,* (Dublin: Migrant Rights Centre Ireland, 2006), 9-10.

Irish-born majority as a whole. Finally, most significantly to this project, Irish social interculturalism is repeatedly translated into cultural initiatives that stress the arts as a zone of contact between diverse populations.

Social and Aesthetic Interculturalisms

The use of "interculturalism" as a keyword of Irish government, social and arts policy comes at a moment when the term has begun to attract renewed attention in theatre and performance studies at large. Ric Knowles argues:

> [i]nterculturalism is an urgent topic in the twenty-first century. As cities and nations move beyond the monochromatic, as human traffic between nations and cultures (both willing and unwilling) increases, as hybridity and syncretism (the merging of forms) become increasingly characteristic of cultural production everywhere, and as nineteenth-century nationalism gives way to twenty-first century *trans*nationalism, it becomes imperative that the ways in which cultural exchange is performed be critically re-examined.[22]

As Knowles argues, interculturalism is "not new" although "its theorization in the western academy" dates only from the "1970s or 1980s"[23] with most major theoretical works appearing in the 1990s. Theories of intercultural performance emerging at this time responded to the work of Western artists Peter Brook, Eugenio Barba, Jerzy Grotowski, Ariane Mnouchkine and Robert Wilson as well as non-Western practitioners including Tadashi Suzuki, Habib Tanvir, Girish Karnard, William Sun and Faye Fei. These experiments and aesthetic practices extended the work of theatrical modernism as through the injunctions of Antonin Artaud, W.B. Yeats, Edward Gordon Craig and others to turn to non-Western theatre for inspiration. Yeats himself put it thus: "Europe is very old and has seen many arts run through the circle and has learned the fruit of every flower and known what this fruit sends up, and it is now time to copy the East and live deliberately."[24] Yeats, as well as Padraic Colum and Ulick O'Connor, drew on the Japanese Noh theatre for inspiration through a series of Noh-inspired plays that blended Irish mythology, nationalist discourse, Japanese aesthetics and Christian theology.[25] As late as the 1990s, problematic discourses of the "Orient" were used to defend intercultural performance as Mnouchkine repeatedly quoted Artaud's assertion that the "theatre is Oriental" and claimed that "[f]rom Asia comes what is specific to theatre."[26]

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[22] Ric Knowles, *Theatre & Interculturalism,* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 3.
[23] Ibid, 6.
[24] W.B. Yeats, *Essays and Introductions,* (New York: Macmillan, 1961), 228.
[25] Yeats's Noh plays included *At the Hawk's Well, Calvary, The Dreaming of the Bones* and *The Only Jealousy of Emer.* Colum wrote five Noh plays including *Glendalough* and *Monasterboice.* O'Connor's plays premiered in 1978 at the Dublin International Theatre Festival as a cycle including *The Grand Inquisitor, Submarine,* and *Deirdre* before being produced in New York at Open Eye two years later.
[26] Ariane Mnouchkine, "The Theatre is Oriental," in *The Intercultural Performance Reader,* 97.

The most triumphalist accounts of this disparate body of work in the 1990s in the context of the Western academy[27] claimed that "intercultural performance opens up the possibility of disintegrating an old, and constituting a new theatre"[28] through joining up elements from multiple performance traditions. Erika Fischer-Lichte elaborated that:

> The idea underlying the intercultural trend in theatre across the world today is that the path of permanent mediation between…cultures…will gradually lead to the creation of a world culture in which different cultures not only take part, but also respect the unique characteristics of each culture and allow each culture its authority.[29]

Therefore, these utopic aspirations of intercultural performance speak directly to the contemporary Irish context where interculturalism represents an ideal process in which minority ethnic communities can transform the meaning of the Irish nation without losing their own identities or entirely displacing "Irish" culture.

Critiques of interculturalism, however, have complicated this goal by calling into question how histories of colonialism inflect these exchanges as well as the actual depth of engagement by practitioners with "foreign" theatre practices and the material economies in which these performances circulate, as in the international festival circuit. Julie Holledge and Joanne Tompkins claim for example that interculturalism "risks fixing on easy cultural markers or signs of cultural difference as a shorthand that precludes research or cultural understanding."[30] Coco Fusco links the "origins of intercultural performance in the West" to exhibitions of colonized peoples by Europeans arguing that these "displays were living expressions of colonial fantasies and helped to forge a special place in the European and Euro-American imagination for non-white peoples and their cultures."[31] This "special" place is, of course, one of exoticization and exploitation. Rustom Bharucha's assessment of Peter Brook's *Mahabharata* as "an appropriation…within an orientalist framework of representation"[32] perhaps looms largest in this body of critique. Pointing to the Indian state's endorsement of Brook's *Mahabharata* "as part of its propagation of 'festival culture' in the world," he insists that "interculturalism is not some utopic return to a prenational state of cultural/human

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[27] The most prominent scholars of intercultural theatre and performance in the 1990s as Richard Schechner, Bonnie Marranca, and Erika Fischer-Lichte were based in the U.S., Canada, and Europe (Germany and France) although there were a number of key contributions from South Asian, Asian and African scholars writing from their nation of origin or in the context of diaspora: Gautum Dasgupta, Chidananda Dasgupta and Rustom Bharucha (West Bengal, India), Tadashi Suzuki (Japan) and Biodun Jeyifo (Nigeria).

[28] Erika Fischer-Lichte, Josephine Riley, and Michael Gissenwehrer, eds., "Preface," *The Dramatic Touch of Difference: Theatre, Own and Foreign,* eds. Erika Fischer-Lichte, Josephine Riley and Michael Gissenwehrer, (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag Tübingen, 1990), 5.

[29] Erika Fischer-Lichte, "Interculturalism in Contemporary Theatre," in *The Intercultural Performance Reader,* ed. Patrice Pavis, (London: Routledge, 1996), 38.

[30] Julie Holledge and Joanne Tompkins, *Women's Intercultural Performance,* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 12

[31] Coco Fusco, "The Other History of Intercultural Performance," *The Drama Review* 38, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 149.

[32] Rustom Bharucha, "Somebody's Other: Disorientations in the Cultural Politics of Our Times," in *The Intercultural Performance Reader,* 199.

togetherness…interculturalism is embedded within and transmitted through government bodies and states."[33]   Therefore, it cannot promise "breezy utopian universalism"[34] but must acknowledge and negotiate the material and social relations indexed through its practice.

Genealogies of theorizing "interculturalism" in theatre and performance studies actually far outweigh critical discourse regarding the concept in the social sciences or humanities at large. While the European Union has more recently adopted concepts of "intercultural dialogue"[35] into its language and practice, even sponsoring the "European Year of Intercultural Dialogue" in 2008, Ireland is the only nation in the E.U. to have adopted interculturalism as a primary frame for state and social policy. Thus, studying the interplay between social and aesthetic discourses of interculturalism in contemporary Ireland challenges how theatre and performance studies has conceived of intercultural performance as an endeavor that while mediated by state and market forces nevertheless operates as a framework outside direct state control. Rustom Bharucha, for example, draws a major distinction between interculturalism as "a voluntarist intervention circumscribed by the agencies of the State and the market" and multiculturalism as it is "increasingly identified with "the official cultural policies of Western democracies like Australia, Canada and Britain."[36] He therefore argues that "while the governments of these countries can formulate multicultural policies, none of them can presume to have an intercultural policy: the 'inter' will invariably lie outside of the control of the state."[37] Ireland's adoption of interculturalism as managerial state policy however nullifies Bharucha's claim that the "inter will invariably lie outside of the control of the state," despite its inevitable broader embeddedness within "government bodies and states."[38] In post-Celtic Tiger Ireland, "interculturalism" is directly *within* the control of the state, even as it professes to also remain outside.[39] Therefore, the aspirations of Irish social interculturalism must be understood directly in relationship to the role of interculturalism

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[33] Ibid.

[34] Rustom Bharucha, *The Politics of Cultural Practice: Thinking Through Theatre in An Age of Globalization,* (Hanover and London: Wesleyan University Press, 2000), 31.

[35] In 2006, the European Union claimed to have "been promoting intercultural dialogue for many years - both within the EU and beyond, i.e. with countries which are not members of the Union" ("Intercultural Dialogue") before sponsoring the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue (EYID) two years later. However, a survey conducted during the EYID showed that 36% of people "could not attribute any particular meaning" ("Intercultural Dialogue in Europe") to intercultural dialogue as a term. Several studies and publications related to intercultural dialogue have followed the EYID including the 2008 report for the European Commission *Sharing Diversity: National Approaches to Intercultural Dialogue in Europe.* European Commission, "Intercultural Dialogue," accessed February 6, 2011, http://ec.europa.eu/culture/portal/action/dialogue/dial_en.htm. The Gallup Organization, *Intercultural Dialogue in Europe*, Accessed February 6 2011, http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/flash/fl_217_sum_en.pdf.

[36] Ibid., 33.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Bharucha, "Somebody's Other: Disorientations in the Cultural Politics of Our Times," 199.

[39] Bharucha actually uses the term "intraculturalism" throughout his work to describe "intracultural dynamics between and across specific communities and regions *within* the boundaries of the nation-state" (*The Politics of Cultural Practice,* 6). This would be the more appropriate term for use in an Irish context as well to describe the work addressed within this project but I stay with interculturalism due to its official use in contemporary Ireland.

as state policy. Ultimately, Irish social interculturalism explicitly strives to translate the most utopic goals of intercultural theatre and performance, offering "a site for the continuing renegotiation of cultural values and the reconstitution of individual and community identities and subject positions"[40] into the future of the Irish nation.

Irish social interculturalism imagines creating a series of dynamic interactions between minority and majority ethnic communities that can transform paradigms of Irish belonging without requiring assimilation, marginalizing minority ethnic groups, or dismantling "Irishness" as currently understood. In other words, no one loses anything through this transformation, everyone gains something, and a new Ireland comes into being which is capable of holding and representing every individual contained within its border. If this goal sounds impossible, it is because it probably is. Therefore, turning to theatre and performance to assess the project of Irish social interculturalism makes use of a body of theory that has long worked to attend to the complexities of performative intercultural encounters striving for the utopic, but usually landing somewhere short of the mark.

Furthermore, most significantly, theatre, performance and the arts[41] more broadly function as central to plans for the practical attainment of interculturalism as a network of social relations between the white Irish-born majority and minority ethnic communities. In post-Celtic Tiger Ireland, theatre companies including Arambe Productions, Camino de Orula Productions, Calypso Productions,[42] and NGOs such as Spirasi, Migrant Rights Centre Ireland, and the Forum on Migration and Communication have bid for cultural recognition of minority ethnic groups through performance, arts, and media activism. These efforts have been endorsed by diverse governmental and non-governmental bodies which include the Arts Council, the Office of the Minister of Integration, the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism, and the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform.[43] Mary White, T.D., then Minister of State for Equality, Integration and Human Rights, proclaimed in September 2010 at the launch of the Art Council's *Cultural Diversity and Arts* report, "I strongly believe that intercultural awareness, understanding and interaction can be promoted and positively influenced through the arts - whether it is through creation, participation or appreciation."[44]

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[40] Ric Knowles, *Theatre & Interculturalism,* 5.

[41] I define the arts in this project following Daniel Jewesbury, Jagtar Singh and Sarah Tucker in the Arts Councils *Cultural Diversity and the Arts* report who quote the *Arts Act 2003* to define this term as*:* 'any creative or interpretative expression (whether traditional or contemporary) in whatever form, and includes, in particular, visual arts, theatre, literature, music, dance, opera, film, circus and architecture, and includes any medium when used for those purposes."

[42] Calypso Productions finished its work in 2008 after failing to receive continuing funding from the Arts Council.

[43] These bodies draw on the advice of experts inside and outside official Irish government agencies to guide their support and research into the endeavors addressed in this dissertation. For example, the Arts Council is "the national agency for developing, funding and promoting the arts in Ireland" but their research utilizes the work of professional artists and academics amongst other non-governmental actors. Arts Council/ An Chomhairle Ealaíon, "About Us," accessed October 21, 2010, http://www.artscouncil.ie/en/intro/about_us.aspx.

[44] Arts Council/ An Chomhairle Ealaíon, "The Arts Council Announces New Policy on Cultural Diversity," September 23, 2010, accessed February 18, 2011, http://www.artscouncil.ie/en/media.aspx?page=2&article=ae7543a0-4f02-46cf-a6a3-49f37266e5b6.

Government documents that explicitly reference the arts as a means of practicing interculturalism include the 2005 *National Action Plan Against Racism,* the Office of the Minister of Integration's 2007 *Statement on Integration Strategy and Diversity Management,* and most recently, the Art Council's 2010 report *Cultural Diversity and the Arts Research Project: Towards the Development of an Arts Council Policy and Action Plan.* The arts are identified here as in the words of the National Action Plan Against Racism as a site through which to "promote interaction [between majority and minority communities] and understanding of cultural diversity."[45] These repeated references in state-generated documents and by prominent officials reveal an intimate relationship between the arts and the work of the state in relationship to implementing policies of interculturalism.

In this project, I thus explore theatre and performance as a mode through which new immigrants, minority ethnic communities and the white Irish-born majority engage in the "process" of interculturalism. As Phillip Zarrilli argues, "Performance as a mode of cultural action is not a simple reflection of some essentialized, fixed attributes of a static monolithic culture but an arena for the constant process of renegotiating experiences and meanings that constitute culture."[46] Embodiment and person-to-person contact are crucial to this post-Celtic Tiger vision of the arts and performance practice is a key site for "renegotiating experiences and meanings that constitute culture" in contemporary Ireland. How then do new immigrants and minority ethnic communities use performance to gain access to public space and narratives of Irish cultural belonging in practice?

Methodology and Positionality

Through my use of ethnographic methods, I track the role of performance as a crucible in which Irish theories of interculturalism are tested and reimagined through the work of bodies who must bear the labor of social change. I move throughout this project between the documentation of individual artistic processes, interviews with artists, archival research, and analysis of live performance. I have been a participant and collaborator as well as researcher in this process, working as a volunteer artist and group facilitator with City Fusion for the Dublin St. Patrick's Festival (Chapter Six), serving on the organizing committee of an interdisciplinary International Women's Day program in 2009 at Dublin's Lantern Intercultural Center and coordinating the display of the Domestic Worker Support Group's photography project "Opening Doors" for the event (Chapter Five), as well as participating in Upstate Theatre Project's Louth International Theatre Project from January-May 2009 (Chapter Four). In addition to these intensive experiences, I contributed my body as well as mind to workshops and planning sessions including the Intercultural Actor's Workshop at the Lantern Centre from January-March 2009 and M.A.R.D.I's (Making A Real Difference Ireland) training and strategizing session on anti-racism and the arts in the European Union with representatives from Turkey, Malta, and the UK in Bundoran in February 2009. I myself came to this project

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[45] Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, *Planning for Diversity: The National Action Plan Against Racism,* 34.
[46] Phillip Zarrilli, "For Whom Is the King a King: Issues of Intercultural Production, Perception and Reception in a Kathakali *King Lear*," in *Critical Theory and Performance,* ed. Janelle Reinelt and Joseph Roach, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 16.

with a background in theatre education and as a teaching artist in the U.S. Thus, even while I seek to problematize celebratory discourses of the arts as social liberation, I share a deep commitment to the role of the arts and arts education in professional and community settings.

I also brought a more personal history with me to Ireland. My father, Richard McIvor, was born in Dundalk, lived in Drogheda as a teen and moved to Dublin before emigrating to the U.S. to marry my mother, Mary Anne Cochrane, in 1981. He met my mother in Philadelphia while working a summer job due to a lack of employment opportunities in Ireland at the time. He and his best friend, Tom, also from Dundalk, then both emigrated for love. My father married my mother, and Tom married my mother's sister, Bernadette Cochrane. The three cities in which my father lived became major landmarks of my research quite accidentally, as Upstate Theatre Project, one of my major sites, was based in Dundalk and Drogheda, and the majority of the projects engaged here were based in Dublin.

Apart from my father's accent, his whiteness and education permitted him to assimilate quickly into the U.S. in the early-mid 1980s. The day he went through his U.S. naturalization ceremony in 1985, he remembers being the only white European being sworn in amongst a group of Asians and Africans. He spoke of "the blue-blood white daughters"[47] of the Daughters of the American Revolution serving sandwiches to the new U.S. citizens afterwards. He remembers: "One blue-rinse lady [saying] to another: 'I hope that crowd leaves us some of the sandwiches and treats.' Other Main-Liner: 'That's ok, I put a few plates aside for us beforehand.' One can always say something about the perfidy of those (formerly) in power."[48] Through this memory, my father marks his outsider status as a newly naturalized U.S. citizen (part of that crowd) but also the exceptionalism of his own whiteness (the only white European) while also voicing his own subtle critique of white supremacy in the U.S. ("One can always say something about the perfidy of those (formerly) in power"). The pictures that survive from this day show me, my grandmother and my mother, who was pregnant with my brother, Eamon, posing with my father and his naturalization certificate, testifying to our shared identity as a heterosexual family, an integral unit of the nation that was now completely legalized in the eyes of the U.S. law [Figure 1.1]. Barely three years old, I wave the U.S. flag in both pictures, performing my nationalistic endorsement of my father's new citizenship without any understanding of the symbolic undertones of my actions.

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[47] Richard McIvor, e-mail message to author, April 5, 2011.
[48] Ibid.

Figure 1.1
The author with her father (Richard McIvor), mother (Mary Anne Cochrane-McIvor and grandmother (Ann Cochrane)
Photographs: Ann Cochrane and Mary Anne Cochrane McIvor

My father argues:

> Becoming part of this country (naturalized in the larger sense) was always big for me. It was very striking the teenagers from Northern Ireland who would throw stones at the enemy from the other community would have fun together happily when brought to this country for the summer. I like it here that people can become part of this society through their participation and efforts without the prejudicial labels that they had in their home communities.[49]

The earnest faith that my father invests in naturalization derives from his experiences coming of age at the height of the Troubles in Ireland, and feeling that this history could be personally dissolved for him in the U.S., yet he does not ultimately address how his ability to assimilate "without the prejudicial labels" he may have had in his own country becomes possibly largely through his whiteness and (middle-)class privilege, a luxury not always available to the Irish in U.S., but certainly so in 1985.

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[49] Ibid.

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My father was lucky enough to be the only one from his family to emigrate during a decade when once again thousands left Ireland in search of better and sustainable opportunities. The Ireland I returned to in this project is very different from the one that he left, although we have kept in close touch with family all along. The currency is different, the economic situation was temporarily different, and the demographics have shifted.   But in the midst of my research, as the economic situation worsened, emigration for young Irish workers came forcefully back on the agenda, and perhaps I came full circle to living in an Ireland that once again reflected my father's past experiences of uncertainty, unemployment and economic anxiety.   The return to emigration for young Irish workers may seem like a familiar replay of the past, but contemporary Ireland has been in the words of Yeats, "changed, changed utterly"[50] by the upheaval of the Celtic Tiger. For example, despite initial claims that the "New Irish" would leave following the downfall of the economy, this has not necessarily come to pass. As David McKittrick from *The Guardian* observes, a large proportion" of those leaving "are young Irish males who, with unemployment running at more than 13 per cent, see little prospect of obtaining work."[51]

My privileged status as a white American woman and the daughter of an Irish emigrant positions me in this project as someone not entirely outside or other to Irish society, but not quite comfortable with claiming to be perched between "inside" and "outside." I could move without notice on Irish streets, stayed exclusively in the homes of family members, and made multiple research contacts through my family network. Colleagues, strangers or people I met through my research often remarked that I was closer to Irish than those other Americans coming over to seek their family trees because I was first-generation. Yet, one dark and stormy night, as I sat in my deceased grandmother's childhood home for a family wake far out in the country, one of my distant cousins asked if I had come back to study "them." With this quip, he marked decisively both my own distance from being "Irish" as well as multiple histories of anthropology as colonization.

Furthermore, I probably did not meet members from the 188 different nationalities currently living in Ireland during my research, but I met many individuals, Irish-born, long resident or recently arrived, who represented a range of circumstances and subject positions not capable of being categorized only by reference to their "culture" of origin.   I worked with individuals ranging from those currently seeking asylum to those in positions of administrative and political power. This project would not be possible without their generosity of time and insight, but this project would also not be possible without my own privilege as a white middle-class U.S. academic as my economic situation frequently stood in sharp contrast to those whom I was working with and writing about. Nevertheless, I have pursued this methodology of entering physically into conversations and processes in order to strive towards representing the complexity of interculturalism as a negotiated aesthetic and social strategy in Ireland today despite the inadequacy of my own perspective as a participant observer. As I doubt the existence of

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[50] W.B. Yeats, "Easter 1916," in *Yeats's Poetry, Drama and Prose,* ed. James Pethica, (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company: 2000), 73.

[51] David McKittrick, "More migrants quitting Ireland than any EU state," *The Independent,* July 29, 2010, accessed February 8, 2011, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/more-migrants-quitting-ireland-than-any-eu-state-2038004.html.

a stable post-Celtic Tiger interculturalism, I trace the messy and ambivalent processes that constitute this term's continuing reinvention from my partial and inherently biased position. I follow this path in the hopes of continuing to break down the binary between process and product that continues to characterize Irish theatre and performance studies. I seek also to understand the role of process in determining the precise meanings of social and aesthetic interculturalisms in contemporary Ireland. This rules out the option of only considering dramatic texts or individual performances representing the culmination of a process. As theories of Irish social and aesthetic interculturalism continue to gestate, the acts of definition and redefinition that interest me occur not only onstage, in the gallery space or through text or images. Rather, I seek to hear what artists, participants, activists, politicians, and others have to say about the work and their own part in defining Irish aspirations for interculturalism post-Celtic Tiger in the theatre and beyond. In Trinh T. Minh-Ha's words, I aim to take the risk of "speaking nearby" rather than "for" in order to expand evaluative criteria for both Irish theatre and performance and discourses of Irish interculturalism more generally.   As Minh-Ha elaborates, "speaking nearby" is:

> …a speaking that does not objectify, does not point to an object as if it is distant from the speaking subject or absent from the speaking place. A speaking that reflects on itself and can come very close to a subject without, however, seizing or claiming it. A speaking in brief, whose closures are only moments of transition opening up to other possible moments of transition.[52]

My objective to avoid "objectification" will not entirely succeed in these pages, but I make no claim to speak for all who are represented here in anecdotes, performance reviews and even direct quotations. I have shaped what has come across my path as I seek to understand the "moment of transition" that characterizes life in contemporary Ireland after the Celtic Tiger.

In order to do so, I draw from methodological frameworks for the study of intercultural performance by Patrice Pavis, Jacqueline Lo and Helen Gilbert among others. Pavis's seminal hourglass metaphor works to make possible an analysis of the experiences of the "author, adaptor, translator, director, actor, and finally spectator,"[53] a range of perspectives I engage through my work as well.   He represents this hourglass as a

> cascade of interventions by a series of filters or an hourglass whose upper bowl, the source culture, empties into the lower one, passing through a series of screens or filters and only arriving at the recipient as fragments of the source culture, (1) and (2), thoroughly reworked by operations (3) to (8). We thus assume the position of the audience (10) receiving a foreign culture that has gone through a series of operations and transformations, which facilitate its transfer and adaption.[54]

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[52] Nancy N. Chen, " 'Speaking Nearby': A Conversation with Trinh T. Minh-Ha," *Visual Anthropology Review* 8, no. 1 (Spring 1992): 87.
[53] Patrice Pavis, *Theatre at the Crossroads of Culture,* trans. Loren Kruger, (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 179.
[54] Ibid., 179.

The source culture passes a series of stages in the hourglass model of "intellectual exchange" to the target culture which range from:

    (1) cultural modeling (*modélisations*), sociological, anthropological codification, etc.
    (2) artistic modeling
    (3) perspective of the adaptors
    (4) work of adaptation
    (5) preparatory work by actors
    (6) choice of a theatrical form
    (7) theatrical representation of the culture
    (8) reception-adapters
    (9) readability
  (10) reception in the target culture
        a. artistic modeling
        b. sociological and anthropological modeling
        c. cultural modeling
  (11)   Given and anticipated consequences[55]

The content of the interactions and effects of each stage of the process will necessarily differ widely between projects suggesting that projects can never be assessed according to the same precise criteria. In other words, the "readability" of a piece may succeed in performance for both collaborators, but the "preparatory work" or "reception" might raise multiple issues. Therefore, a work of intercultural performance must be analyzed at multiple junctures, rather than just in terms of the final product.

      As Jacqueline Lo and Helen Gilbert note, however, Pavis's hourglass "assumes a one-way cultural flow based on a hierarchy of privilege" and cannot account for "blockage, collisions and retroaction as sites of either intervention or resistance."[56] This infrastructure for unidirectional traffic indeed gets set up through the very concept of a "target" culture: the idea that one culture is the receiver of goods, of the hybrid result of the collaboration, such as through the production of a play on national soil, while the other collaborator (and only one "other" is assumed) provides the raw material through their difference to make "culture" *inter*cultural in nature. Lo and Gilbert thus ultimately conclude the "hourglass model is premised on aesthetics rather than on politics."[57] Adopting his steps, they propose a revision of his hourglass as inspired by a "toy we used to play with as a child in both Malaysia and Australia" which:

> consisted of a piece of elastic strung through the middle of a plastic disc. The elastic string is held at each end with the disc supported in the center. By rotating the hands in a circular motion, the disc is rotated outward. Once the disc is rotating, the elastic is alternately tightened and released to continue the spinning

[55] Ibid., 180.
[56] Helen Gilbert and Jacqueline Lo, "Toward a Topography of Cross-Cultural Theatre Praxis," *The Drama Review* 46, no. 3 (2002): 42-43.
[57] Ibid., 43.

of the disc. The disc moves in either direction along the string depending on whether the tension is generated by the right or left hand.[58]

Lo and Gilbert's metaphor of the spinning disc assumes that pressure and influence are exerted from both sides of the collaboration, and furthermore, that both "cultures" will be changed in the process, rather than focusing on the target culture supplementing their own cultural resources through receiving usable "fragments of the source culture"[59] for their exclusive consumption.

> Both partners are considered cultural sources while the target culture is positioned along the continuum between them. The location of the target culture is not fixed, its position remains fluid and, depending on where and how the exchange process takes place, shifts along the continuum. For instance, if the performance takes place in the domain of source culture B, then the position of the target culture moves closer to source B's end of the continuum. This fluidity not only foregrounds the dialogic nature of intercultural exchange but also takes into account the possibility of power disparity in the partnership.[60]

This model represents the aspirations of Irish social interculturalism: that both parties will participate actively and be transformed by the process. Lo and Gilbert's model presents interculturalism as an ongoing project that must be kept in motion in order to have meaning. While the sands of Pavis's hourglass complete their descent downward, even if to be some day flipped again, they remain trapped at various points as evidence of a process that has been previously completed. Lo and Gilbert's spinning toy, however, embodies a delicate balance of power which needs constant participation from both ends to generate meaning in motion, never remaining stable from one moment to the next. Likewise, this project will report from the point of view of the delicate and engaged motion of Irish interculturalism both forward and back, and should not be understood as *defining* this term, but investigating its continued reinvention. Yet, even Lo and Gilbert's model assumes a bi-directional collaboration-only *two* "cultures" coming into contact-and the sites explored through this project will push their model to consider what happens when more than two cultures come into contact with one another, even as the power stays tilted in the direction of the majority ethnic group.

My methodology challenges conventional approaches to Irish theatre studies and constitutes another key intervention of this project. Although new works consider broader genres of Irish theatre and performance and increasingly incorporate artists' points of view such as Bernadette Sweeney's *Performing the Body in Irish Theatre,* Fintan Walsh's *Queer Notions: New Plays and Performances from Ireland* and Christie Fox's *Breaking Forms: The Shift to Performance in Late Twentieth-Century Irish Drama,* only Fox's book employs any sort of ethnographic methodology through her work with Galway-based street theatre company Macnas. The wider field remains characterized by historical and archival approaches which, while creating a body of rigorous and deep

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[58] Ibid., 44.
[59] Pavis, 180.
[60] Lo and Gilbert, 44.

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scholarship on the modern Irish theatre, have routinely marginalized or completely erased the community arts and non-mainstream experimental work as well as failed to consider related artistic genres such as public art and installation. As I explore later in this chapter, this field has also been slow to respond to immigration post-Celtic Tiger, with Loredad Salis's slim 62 page *Stage Migrants: Representation of the Migrant Other in Modern Irish Drama* representing the only book length study of interculturalism and the representation of immigrants in the contemporary Irish theatre.

Too often, artistic contribution to the Irish arts is measured only through the production of acclaimed literary works, plays, films or major works in other media. The lack of critical attention given to community(-based) projects or groups certainly reflects the difficulty of documenting ephemeral work, but it also expresses the belief that cultural change and innovation do not emerge out of these spaces until there is something substantial to show for it which can be accepted by the critical mainstream. However, this approach misses an opportunity to explore not only how the arts document social change, but how they create it, not in the sense of activism necessarily, but rather in the sense of tracing the role of the arts in maintaining and creating communities and groups, inside or outside of official spaces.

I move from the professional theatre to community arts projects and festival street performance in order to trace the multiple ways discourses of Irish social and aesthetic interculturalism become animated and transformed through moving bodies. The range of my sites, from professional arts organizations to NGOs to community-based groups, permits me to test the following hypothesis: "The predominant context of intercultural dialogue is the voluntarism and autonomy of non-governmental agencies and minority-led organisations."[61] However, the "autonomy" of the work of non-governmental and minority-led organizations is not automatic, and both the projects explored by this dissertation and official literature addressing interculturalism and the arts in Ireland today are enmeshed in governmental, non-governmental and community or minority-led systems of support.

The recent report *Cultural Diversity and the Arts,* for example, was jointly commissioned by "the Arts Council in partnership with the Office of the Minister of Integration/National Action Plan Against Racism and coordinated by Create, the National Development Agency for the Collaborative Arts."[62] *The National Action Plan Against Racism (2005-2008)* had been prepared by the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, a department which also houses the Office of the Minister of Integration, a unit that grew out of the Reception and Integration Agency, and had previously dealt only with asylum seekers before a late 1990s growth in these applications.[63] This was a government plan aimed at providing "strategic direction to combat racism and to develop a more inclusive, intercultural society based on a commitment to inclusion by design, not as an add-on or afterthought and based on policies that promote interaction, equality of

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[61] Ibid, 19.

[62] Arts Council/ An Chomhairle Ealaíon, *Cultural Diversity and the Arts-Policy and Strategy*, 2, Accessed October 21, 2010, http://www.artscouncil.ie/Publications/CulturalDiversityPolicyStrategy2010.doc.

[63] Reception and Integration Agency, "Function of the Agency," Accessed October 21, 2010, http://www.ria.gov.ie/functions_of_the_agency/.

opportunity, understanding and respect."[64]   Thus, the varied sponsors and forums for arts projects aimed at interculturalism and integration, ranging from state actors and venues to minority-led activist groups, potentially generate tension between state-managed visions for interculturalism and the goals of community-based or non-governmental groups. These latter groups frequently struggle for the space to advocate for an interculturalism which remains critical of the Irish state's treatment of minority ethnic groups and management of inward-migration.   Ultimately, my methodological approach seeks to understand how state level policy regarding interculturalism is implemented and experienced down through the community level vis-à-vis participation in the arts.

This project focuses explicitly on the Republic of Ireland exclusively while making necessary references to the North throughout and should be understood as an investigation of these issues confined to the South of Ireland, despite the relevance of these themes in a Northern context. Furthermore, my sites are concentrated most strongly in Dublin, with some attention to Drogheda, Cork and their surrounding areas. This limited scope responds to the initial heavy concentration of immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees in Dublin, a spatial arrangement that exacerbated reports of an "influx" of immigrants coming to Ireland.   The project's expansion to Drogheda and Cork was motivated by the specific projects from these sites, but also provides an opportunity to reflect on other themes related to these locations and their significance in debates over inward-migration.   For example, Mosney, one of the most notorious and well-documented accommodation centres for asylum seekers, is located outside of Drogheda.

Spectrum, the journal for the now-defunct National Consultative Committee for Racism and Interculturalism, argued in January 2008 that: "The role of the arts in promoting intercultural dialogue is widely acknowledged as a key mechanism for promoting interaction, understanding and collaboration."[65] Yet, the precise workings of the arts as mechanism for intercultural dialogue has scarcely been explored or theorized, but is rather frequently accepted *a priori*, as participation in the arts implies at least minimal contact or exposure between "diverse" populations.

As this project will explore, both social and aesthetic interculturalism in post-Celtic Tiger Ireland are complex and ambivalent processes of negotiation. Yet, Knowles ultimately defends interculturalism's potential as a term in a broader context because "it seems to me important to focus on the contested, unsettling, and often unequal spaces *between* cultures, spaces that can function in performance as sites of negotiation."[66] Lo and Gilbert too insist upon the:

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[64] Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, *Planning for Diversity: The National Action Plan Against Racism*, 27.
[65] National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism, "Special Edition: Ireland's Strategy for the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue," *Spectrum: The Journal for the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism*, Issue 16: January 2008, 15.
[66] Knowles, *Theatre & Interculturalism,* 4.

rhizomatic potential of interculturalism- its ability to make multiple connections and disconnections between cultural spaces and to create representations that are unbounded and open, and potentially resistant to imperialist forms of closure.[67]

For Knowles, shifting geopolitical realities of migration and the diasporic cultures it creates demand a more complex vocabulary of interculturalism which interrogates how this mode of performance can "function[…] if approached 'from below' rather than from the position of privilege…how inequities in the cultural mix can be dissolved and solidarities forged across difference."[68] The Irish government indeed strives to create those "solidarities across difference" but their aims are too frequently interrupted by the practical extensions of their own policies.

Knowles' hope for an interculturalism "'from below'" must compete in the Republic of Ireland with the challenges of navigating top-down state investment in this term, both imaginative and material, as well as shrinking funding for intercultural and anti-racist projects in the contemporary financial climate. The terms by which "interaction, understanding and collaboration" are promoted in the projects examined in my dissertation form the crux of my analysis and reveal the conflict between interculturalisms from "above" and "below." These conflicts expose both the possibilities and shortcomings of Ireland's relationship to interculturalism as a set of social and political policies, as I track the embodied terms of these negotiations. I trouble the binary of "above" and "below" to map the tensions of a broad spectrum of work that is led at the highest levels by state departments and offices such as the Office of the Minister for Integration or the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform and at more grassroots-levels by groups such as Arambe Productions.

Community, Identity and Irish Arts: Policy and Transformation

Due to the lack of a substantial body of work on performance, immigration and minority ethnic artists in contemporary Irish theatre studies, there have been persistent calls to expand this area of work. Jason King, one of the most outspoken critics of the Irish theatre's treatment of immigration and minority ethnic individuals, argues:

Recent Irish theatre criticism has grappled with the impact of globalisation on the development of Irish theatrical forms, and questioned the adequacy of postcolonial theory to provide an interpretive framework that situates Irish drama in relationship to contemporary social reality. But there has been surprisingly little discussion to date about the emergence of intercultural theatre in Ireland, or about the capacity of Irish theatre to reflect the experiences of those immigrants most adversely affected by the socio-economic processes of globalisation. Indeed, few Irish theatre scholars have engaged with the theoretical perspectives on intercultural theatre.[69]

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[67] Lo and Gilbert, 47.
[68] Ibid., 6.
[69] Jason King, "Black St. Patrick Revisited: Calypso's 'Tower of Babel' and Culture Ireland as global networks," in *Performing Global Networks,* edited by Karen Fricker and Ronit Lentin, (UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), 41-42.

Indeed, when addressed at all, the tone of criticism regarding intercultural theatre in Ireland today has consistently been "to come." Mary Trotter observes, "The impact of these new voices in Irish theatre are just beginning to be felt, but promise a new wave of Irish theatre on the new horizon."[70] However, actor and playwright George Seremba expresses frustration at this sentiment:

> If there is a question that is so urgent as immigration in this country, you would think that Irish theatre would adjust to reflect that in some way. And yet we have a situation where even the theatre looks as if it is just paying lip service to it, as opposed to taking the leap and letting these new immigrants tell their own stories on the Irish stage…So they have been themselves as slow as the society in general, when they should be the first ones to make positive social change happen.[71]

Seremba argues that "positive social change" can be made through the work of performance, theatre in particular, but critiques the hesitation of this particular artistic community. Seremba's assertion that "they," the Irish theatre, should be the first ones to make positive social change happen" does not simply reflect a utopic view of theatre's potential as a public forum, but rather directly references the transformative role of theatre in Ireland's modern history vis-à-vis the Literary Revival and the Abbey Theatre in particular.

In the early 20th century battle for Irish independence, politics and the arts consciously occupied shared space despite frequent tension, as in the 1907 *Playboy* riots. As Bill McDonnell argues, "Before it was enacted the 1916 Easter Rising in Ireland was first imagined, in poetry, prose, and above all, in drama…the Irish…were the first subalterns to recognize the symbiosis between political struggle and cultural renewal."[72] The link between politics and the arts in the Irish theatre in particular is arguably the field's greatest preoccupation, although arguably the bulk of scholarly energy has consistently been directed to the early-mid 20th century period, as well as revolving almost entirely around playwrights produced at the Abbey up through the present.[73] Yet,

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[70] Mary Trotter, *Modern Irish Theater*, (UK: Polity, 2008), 187.

[71] Jason King, "Canadian, Irish and Ugandan Theatre Links: An Interview with George Seremba," *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies* 31, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 121.

[72] Bill McDonnell, *Theatres of the Troubles: Theatre, Resistance and Liberation in Ireland,* (UK: University of Exeter Press, 2008), 3-4.

[73] Major works in Irish theatre studies in the last 10-15 years overwhelmingly deal with the late 19th through mid 20th century, the origins of the Literary Revival and the Abbey Theatre up through the present. See Adrian Frazier, *Behind the Scenes: Yeats, Horniman and the Struggle for the Abbey Theatre,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Nicholas Grene, *The Politics of Irish Drama: Plays in Context from Boucicault to Friel,* (Cambridge, U.K; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999); John P. Harrington, *The Irish Play on the New York Stage: 1874-1966,* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1997); P.J. Matthews, *Revival: The Abbey Theatre, Sinn Féin, The Gaelic League, and the Co-operative Movement,* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press/Field Day, 2003); Ben Levitas, *The Theatre of Nation: Irish Drama and Cultural Nationalism: 1890-1916,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002); Christopher Morash, *A History of Irish Theatre: 1601-2000,* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Lionel Pilkington, *Theatre and the State in Twentieth-Century Ireland:*

this is not the only moment in modern and contemporary Irish history where theatre and the arts have played a significant role in actively negotiating political events. Less remarked upon in Irish theatre studies is the history of community arts in the Republic and the North beginning in the late 1970s, which yielded enormous activity in the visual and performing arts, frequently resulting in cross-disciplinary work. The growth of this field of work responded directly to sectarian conflict and poverty and drug issues on the island of Ireland at large, serving divided communities, encouraging cross-community work and working in at-risk neighborhoods. Sandy Fitzgerald argues:

> … the unprecedented growth in creative activity and cultural development within the thirty-two counties of Ireland is heavily indebted to community arts, spanning, as it does, an exhausting array of activity including arts centers, festivals, youth projects, disability projects, community training programmes, artist in residence schemes, prison workshops and school programmes.[74]

The introduction of the arts into neighborhood settings through the community arts movement in Ireland was intended to revitalize communities, provide a setting for dialogue and interaction between communities in conflict (at this time, perceived as Catholics and Protestants primarily), give a voice to disenfranchised individuals in inner-city neighborhoods struggling with drug abuse and poverty, increase access to and participation in the arts, and even provide training in some practical job skills. As Ollie Breslin, community arts practitioner and current artistic director of Waterford Youth Theatre, observes:

> Unemployment to me [was] the key.   At that time unemployment was huge and I think that was really a big part of why a lot of these things happened because there was a radical side to the arts. I suppose people were fed up with the system and wanted to make a statement against the system and manifest it in some way.[75]

In fact, in 1980s Dublin in particular, a lot of workers came to community arts practice through temporary or Community Employment Schemes run by the Irish government. These schemes aimed to reverse the trend of high unemployment among young adults, as well other long-term unemployed persons.[76]   Before working through these schemes, many artists still working today had never encountered the arts.[77]

Cultivating the People, (London; New York: Routledge, 2001); Mary Trotter, *Ireland's National Theaters: Political Performance and the Origins of the Irish Dramatic Movement,* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2001); Susan Cannon Harris, *Gender and Modern Irish Drama,* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002); Robert Welch, *The Abbey Theatre, 1899-1999: Form and Pressure,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999);
[74] Sandy Fitzgerald, "Introduction," in *An Outburst of Frankness: Community Arts in Ireland- A Reader,* edited by Sandy Fitzgerald, (Dublin: TASC at New Island, 2004), 1.
[75] "Community Arts Forum 1, Cork, 13 October 2003," in *An Outburst of Frankness,* 11.
[76] Community Employment Schemes are run through FÁS, the Republic of Ireland's training and employment authority. These programs are "designed to help people who are long-term unemployed and other disadvantaged people to get back to work by offering part-time and temporary placements in jobs based within local communities." Citizens Information: Public Service Information, "Community Employment Scheme," accessed February 21, 2010,

In the context of the Dublin theatre scene, as well as other regional contexts in the South such as Waterford and Galway, the range and energy of activity in community arts practice from the 1970s onward was matched by experimentation with performance in the streets and fringe theatre spaces. This work involved artists such as Raymond Keane, Donal O'Kelly, Peter Sheridan, Annie Kilmartin, Charlie O'Neill, Thom McGinty, Fiona Nolan, and many others who were also participants in the community arts and social protest movements at the time. This period of experimentation culled from mime, burlesque and street theatre performance techniques. These experiments addressed subjects such as nuclear proliferation, poverty, unemployment, and women's rights in political performances and demonstrations. Many of these practitioners, including now famed filmmaker, director and novelist Peter Sheridan as well as Raymond Keane, who founded the groundbreaking physical theatre clowning company Barrabas, went on to have substantial and acclaimed careers in the Irish arts, drawing direct connections between community arts, experimental performance and the mainstream arts scene. Furthermore, over time, some of these artists, such as Keane and O'Kelly, shifted their focus to commenting on and creating work about the growth of minority ethnic communities in Ireland, and the relationship of these shifts to changing formations of Irish identity.   Hence, links emerge between the formation of community arts in response to sectarian conflict and other issues related to economic and social justice of the 70s and 80s and the rapidly shifting social demographics of post-Celtic Tiger Ireland.

When Seremba calls upon the theatre and the arts at large to not only reflect social change, but to make it, he calls upon an Irish history of engaged arts practice that does not end with the early work of the Abbey theatre. Fitzgerald forcefully claims that "arts commentators rarely mention community arts, and when they do, damn with faint praise, condescension or outright hostility."[78] Few major works or edited volumes have dealt with this area of practice, with David Grant's 1994 *Playing the Wild Card: A Survey of Community Drama and Smaller-scale Theatre from Community Relations Perspective,* Fitzgerald's own 2004 edited volume, *An Outburst of Frankness: Community Arts in Ireland-A Reader* and Bill McDonnell's 2008 *Theatres of the Troubles: Theatre, Resistance and Liberation in Ireland,* the first "study of the role of Republican and Loyalist popular theatres during the Troubles,"[79] serving as isolated examples. In addition, the origins of Northern Ireland's all-female Charabanc Theatre Company as a collaborative and community-based group,[80] has been the subject of some scholarly

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http://www.citizensinformation.ie/categories/employment/unemployment-and-redundancy/employment-support-schemes/community_employment_scheme.
[77] Support for arts-based programs through temporary or Community Employment Schemes was enormously substantial at this time. Sandy Fitzgerald observes, "there was time when the FÁS grants to the arts far outweighed the total Arts Council budget and these grants were almost exclusively for community arts projects because of their intrinsic social and community perspective" ("The Beginnings of Community Arts and the Irish Republic," *An Outburst of Frankness,* 77).   Yet, while some Community Employment/FÁS Schemes related to arts are still in operation today, the non-permanent nature of this employment did not lead to sustainable practice in many of the programs that were started in the Republic under these auspices, although many artists continued their work independently.
[78] Fitzgerald, "Introduction," 1.
[79] McDonnell, *Theatres of the Troubles*.
[80] Belfast-based performance ensemble Charabanc, which was in existence from 1983-1995 and frequently critically acclaimed, provides an index of these difficulties. The company was originally composed of

attention. However, only *An Outburst of Frankness* addresses community arts work in the South of Ireland in any detail. This critical silence derives from the ephemeral nature of this body of work, questions about the value of emphasizing process over product and reservations about the "artistic quality" of work that results from these projects.

However, while these debates will necessarily be part of the work of this dissertation, I am more interested in how considering community arts as constitutive of modern and contemporary Irish performance histories expands our understanding of the role of the arts in Irish society at large and provides a context for analyzing the contemporary emphasis put on the arts and particularly community participation as a constitutive element of forging Irish interculturalisms.   The history of community arts on the island of Ireland represents interplay between professional, semi-professional and community-based arts histories and provides the framework for how I will address the role of performance in post-Celtic Tiger Ireland. The networks of arts centers and projects referenced by Fitzgerald above use the arts as a direct mode of social empowerment, education, and community building, as well as providing space to bring professional arts and artists into communities removed from major Irish urban centers. Thus, since the late 1970s, as Fitzgerald identifies, arts at the community level have taken on a hugely expanded role in Irish life through the creation of multiple regional arts centers as one prominent example, and this trajectory is the direct antecedent to demands made on the arts vis-à-vis interculturalism post-Celtic Tiger.

Arts Policy Post-Tiger

The Celtic Tiger period as a whole served as a time of reorganization, redefinition and expansion for the role of the Irish arts, including community arts. Understanding these shifts is key to assessing the meaning of the role of the arts in discourses of interculturalism.   As Áine Shiels and Joshua Edelman note, "The onset of Ireland's recent economic growth…coincided with profound developments in the cultural politics of the country" including the arts gaining "representation at cabinet level for the first time [November 1992] with the establishment of the first Department of Arts."[81]   The work of the Arts Council expanded in unprecedented ways during the mid-1990s leading to an even more pronounced and public role for the arts in Irish life. Buoyed by the support of the new Minister of the Arts, the Arts Council produced its first strategic three-year plan in 1995.[82] Through a series of Arts Plans from 1995 onwards, the Arts Council has worked towards a long-term, sustainable vision for Irish arts that addresses the interlocking needs of diverse areas of practice and the value of the arts in public life.

Marie Jones, Eleanor Methven, Carol Scalan (later Moore), Brenda Winter, and Maureen Macauley. See Helen Lojek, "Playing Politics with Belfast's Charabanc Theatre Company," in *Politics and Performance in Contemporary Northern Ireland,* edited by John P. Harrington and Elizabeth J. Mitchell, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1999), 82-102; Maria DiCenzo, "Charabanc Theatre Company: Placing Women Centre Stage in Northern Ireland," *Theatre Journal* 45 (1993): 175-184; Carol Martin, "Charabanc Theatre Company: 'Quare' Women 'Sleggin' and 'Geggin' the Standards of Northern Ireland by 'Tappin' the People," *TDR: The Drama Review* 31, no. 2, (Summer 1987): 88-99.

[81] Áine Shiels and Joshua Edelman, "Internationalization and the Irish State's Relationship with Theatre and Opera," in *Global Changes-Local Stages: How Theatre Functions in Smaller European Countries,* edited by Hans van Maanen, Andreas Kotte and Anneli Saro, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009), 147.

[82] Ibid, 147.

This turn towards insisting on a broader role for the arts in Irish communities is indebted to the advocacy role of the community arts movement in the 1970s and 80s. Indeed, the disciplines addressed together by the Arts Plans are myriad: architecture, circus, dance, film, literature, music, opera, street arts and spectacle, theatre, visual art and traditional arts, such as Irish music and dancing in particular.[83] These Arts Plans address the civic use of the arts in Irish life while also considering the role that the arts play for Ireland in domestic and international economies of prestige. New commitment to exploring this latter consideration is reflected through the formation of Culture Ireland in 2005, an agency which handles "the promotion of Irish arts worldwide, working under the aegis of the Minister for Tourism, Culture and Sport."[84] This intensified focus on promoting the Irish arts in a transnational context calls on the arts to perform cultural diplomacy abroad in addition to promoting the arts at home while on tour, and by extension, contributing to promotion of the Irish tourism industry.[85] Culture Ireland also presents expanded professionalization opportunities for Irish artists abroad, thus giving them the opportunity to position their work in a more cosmopolitan context.[86]

Such post-1990s shifts in arts policy were not explicitly connected to the growth of minority ethnic communities within Ireland, but this intensified focus on the Irish arts at large is reflected in the development of intercultural and anti-racist projects which emphasize arts and culture to serve minority ethnic communities and facilitate contact with majority white Irish-born communities. Diversity of *practice* and diversity of *participants,* in terms of race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, age and ability, in fact frequently become conflated in official documents. This slippage demonstrates the enmeshment of the expansion of the imagined scope and role of the arts in Irish society with the professed need of this expanded body of arts work and practice to respond to, serve, and reflect an increasingly diversified Irish public. In the *Arts Council Goals-2006,* serving diversity is explicitly mentioned as a goal of the Council's plans in terms of supporting not only "the increasing cultural diversity of our society" but providing for a "diversity of arts practice; the range of ways in which artists make work [and] the range of ways in which people experience the arts."[87] By moving between projects committed to interculturalism which utilize different mediums- theatre, photography, street performance- I examine how new commitments to "cultural diversity" and "diverse" artistic practice, venue and experience shape one another in contexts ranging from works by individual artists (minority ethnic or otherwise), collaborations between professional artists and minority-ethnic communities, to minority-led work.

Yet, does aesthetic interculturalism have the power to push against material limits of social access, paths to citizenship and racism/discrimination or does it reinscribe

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[83] Arts Council/ An Chomhairle Ealaíon, "Artforms & practices," accessed October 21, 2010, http://www.artscouncil.ie/en/arts_in_ireland.aspx.
[84] Culture Ireland, "Home," accessed October 19, 2010, http://www.cultureireland.gov.ie/.
[85] The tourism industry in particular underwent great expansion during the Celtic Tiger and, in the wake of the bust, is viewed as one of Ireland's sole dependable national industries.
[86] However, as Chapter 3 explores, the increased transnational profile of the Irish arts abroad through Culture Ireland and its related initiatives can come into tension with the expanded role of the transnational vis-à-vis the pronounced presence of minority ethnic communities at home and their growing potential influence on the landscape of the Irish arts scene.
[87] *Partnership for the Arts: Arts Council Goals (2006-2010)*

relationships of power between minority and Irish-born communities by falling back on top-down models of interculturalism? Theories of Irish social interculturalism transform rhetorics of multiculturalism in order to emphasize mutual responsibility, interaction, and overall structural change, but in practice, minority ethnic communities are often treated in isolation from one another and considered primarily in relationship to normative Irish-born populations. As Matthew Causey writes in relationship to the passing of the Citizenship Referendum, which withdrew automatic citizenship to children born in Ireland and other related events, post-Celtic Tiger Ireland currently enacts "a situation in which citizenship and identity cannot be performed but can only be transferred, bestowed, inherited, i.e. controlled."[88] Therefore, there is a particular danger in repeatedly pointing to performance as a public and visible celebration of radical social inclusiveness that does not in fact exist. Aesthetic and social interculturalism indeed frequently become conflated, as isolated collaborations or projects may appear to solve something formally (in the content or theme of the work) that has not been addressed substantively in the context of Irish society at large, such as institutionalized racism against immigrants of color via the asylum process.

Namely, the embodiment inherent in acts of performance that portray utopic versions of Irish interculturalism becomes potentially conflated with the embodied realities of minority ethnic communities living in contemporary Ireland. As the arts have been so explicitly referenced as a site for the forging of Irish interculturalisms, this body of work therefore forms a valuable archive through which to sort out potential disjunctions between embodied and discursive practices of social interculturalism and the relationship of this conflict to projects of social justice for minority ethnic communities. Perhaps it is through the reiterative power of performance that the wonders of an egalitarian Irish interculturalism can come into being, but these moving bodies must first be situated in broader matrixes of power which index the role of race and gender in shaping the future of post-Celtic Tiger Irish identities.

Embodying Roles in the Contemporary Irish (Racial) State

Understanding the adjusted role of the arts in post-Celtic Tiger Ireland necessitates an examination of the shifting social landscape that transformed not only concepts of Irish national belonging, but also the legal avenues available through which to access rights and entitlements as a citizen of the Irish state. While the Irish nation and state indeed represent two separate entities, they have been habitually conflated in Irish Studies, particularly within the field of Irish postcolonial critique where the nationalist struggle and the founding of the modern state have been narrated as coterminous. This project distinguishes between the work of the Irish state, defined in terms of institutional structures and support, and the task of nation building, as well as demonstrating their mutual implication in one other. I continue to understand the nation as an "imagined political community"[89] in terms of Benedict Anderson's seminal theorization of the

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[88] Matthew Causey, "Jus Soli/Jus Sanguinis: The Biopolitics of Performing Irishness," in *Crossroads: Performance Studies and Irish Culture,* (London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 153.
[89] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism,* (London: Verso, 1983), 6.

nation. However, Anderson argues that through the imagination of community
"regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is
always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship."[90] Norma Alarcón, Caren Kaplan,
and Minoo Moallem therefore term Anderson's "imagined community" an "unstable
fiction whose desire must be continually posed and questioned," leading them to
ultimately ask "*Whose* imagined community?[*emphasis mine*]"[91]   Immigration has
thrown Irish national identity into crisis while exposing it as an "unstable fiction" and
problematizing the meaning of "deep, horizontal comradeship" post-Celtic Tiger.
Ultimately, interculturalism represents the proposed answer to this crisis in national
imagination.

      Geraldine Meaney warns that for post-Celtic Tiger Ireland "the danger is that the
history of the nation will once again become an alibi for the depredations of the state."[92]
Indeed, Alarcón, Kaplan and Moallem also caution that Anderson's "imagined
community is indeed a continuous or…interminable project of production and
reproduction within the bureaucratized spaces of modern nation-states where the
intersection of power and knowledge becomes the very condition of belonging."[93]
Therefore, the imagination of the nation cannot be separated from the workings of the
state. The persistent narrative of Ireland as, in Luke Gibbons' words, "a First World
country, but with a Third World memory"[94] has resulted in important work that has
analyzed the role of British Empire in Ireland's formation as a modern nation-state
through investigating structural factors in economic underdevelopment and cultural
suppression deriving from colonization. However, this strand of inquiry has also
generated a place for "a crude political variant of a postcolonial understanding of Irish
history that has become a recurrent alibi when the state seeks to avoid responsibility for
either the Irish past or present."[95]   As will be explored in Chapter Two, one version of
this alibi involves professing solidarity between contemporary immigrants and Irish
emigrants as a measure of the potential success of Irish interculturalism. While this move
is theoretically an injunction towards radical sympathy as the foundation of a
contemporary Irish anti-racism, elision of the circumstances of Irish and other immigrants
threatens to distract from the contemporary social issues in post-Celtic Tiger Ireland as
well as Irish legacies of racism in diaspora. Irish postcolonial histories have also been
evoked, albeit earlier in the Celtic Tiger years, as evidence that Irish racism does not and
could not exist due to the previous lack of a minority ethnic community in Ireland as well
as Irish experiences of racism vis-à-vis British Empire, and in diaspora, especially in the
UK. The approval of the Citizenship Referendum and its accompanying amendment to
the Constitution in 2004 by an 80% majority, however, decisively shifted critical

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[90] Ibid.

[91] Norma Alarcón, Caren Kaplan and Minoo Moallem, "Introduction: Between Woman and Nation," in
Between Woman and Nation: Nationalisms, Transnational Feminisms and the State, edited by Caren
Kaplan, Norma Alarcón and Minoo Moallem, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999), 2.

[92] Geraldine Meaney, *Gender, Ireland and Cultural Change: Race, Sex, and Nation*, (New York and
London: Routledge, 2010), 16.

[93] Alarcón, Kaplan, and Moallem, "Introduction: Between Woman and Nation," 8.

[94] Luke Gibbons, *Transformations in Irish Culture,* (Notre Dame, Indiana: Notre Dame Press in association
with Field Day Press, 1996), 3.

[95] Meaney, xvi.

conversation about race, ethnicity and gender in Ireland and dramatically redrew boundaries of Irish national belonging which had been expanded by the Good Friday Agreement only six years earlier.

Evolving theories of Irish social and aesthetic interculturalism must be placed directly in conversation with the debates regarding this Referendum and Amendment as its tenets represent the outer limits of the intercultural imagination in Ireland today. The Twenty-Seventh Amendment to the Irish Constitution passed via the Citizenship Referendum reads:

> Notwithstanding any other provision of this Constitution, a person born in the island of Ireland, which includes its islands and seas, who does not have, at the time of the birth of that person, at least one parent who is an Irish citizen or entitled to be an Irish citizen is not entitled to Irish citizenship or nationality, unless provided for by law.[96]

The Referendum was proposed by the then-Minister of Justice, Equality and Law reform, Michael McDowell representing the Fianna Fáil and the Progressive Democrats coalition government led by Bertie Ahern and passed with nearly an 80% majority. In Ronit Lentin and Robbie McVeigh's words, this Amendment to the Constitution "link[ed] citizenship and blood by constitutionally differentiating for the first time in Ireland's history, between citizen and non-citizen."[97] It is also important to understand that this Amendment directly contradicts the Good Friday Agreement passed by a 94% vote on the island of Ireland in 1998 which states: "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."[98] This conciliatory Amendment made it possible for residents of Northern Ireland to claim for the first time citizenship in both or either the Republic and the UK.

The Citizenship Referendum was inspired by mounting controversy over immigration, particularly the issue of asylum seekers coming to Ireland, as well as reports that 24.3 per cent of all births in Dublin were to non-national mothers. Growing numbers of asylum seekers raised increased controversy beginning in the late 1990s.[99] The Referendum thus was prompted by fears regarding growth in immigration and increasing numbers of asylum seekers. The controversy resolved specifically around fears that:

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[96] "Twenty-Seventh Amendment of the Constitution Act, 2004," *Irish Statute Book,* accessed October 18, 2010, http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/2004/en/act/cam/0027/sched1.html#sched1-parti.

[97] Ronit Lentin and Robbie McVeigh, *After Optimism?,* (Dublin: Metro Éireann, 2007)*,* 4.

[98] Department of Foreign Affairs, "The Good Friday Agreement," Article 2, accessed April 16, 2011, http://www.dfa.ie/uploads/documents/Anglo-Irish/agreement.pdf.

[99] Nevertheless, a 2003 study compiled by the National Focal Point of the European Monitoring Commission on Racism and Xenophobia summarized that:

> While this increase has been significant new development, the most recent figures indicate that asylum applications to Ireland are not much higher than the European average per capita. The extent of this increase is considerably magnified by the almost not existent numbers of people seeking asylum prior to the 1990s in the post second world war era.

National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism/Equality Authority, *Case Study: Media Coverage of Refugee and Asylum Seekers in Ireland RAXEN 3*, (Ireland NFP: April 2003), 2.

an unintended outcome of the 1998 Good Friday Agreement (which had changed birthright from a legislative to constitutional status) had exposed Irish citizenship to abuse by 'citizen tourists'- foreign national women with no loyalty or tangible connection to the country, who enter Ireland in the late stages of their pregnancy (thereby endangering their foetus) and give birth simply to acquire entitlements for their child.[100]

As I explore in more detail in Chapter Five, pregnant African women, specifically Nigerians, were singled out through accusations of abuses against the Irish maternity system and rights to citizenship for newborns by arriving in Ireland late in pregnancy to give birth. Anwen Tormey elaborates on how this fear was made palpable by multiple exaggerated media accounts: "Dramas of the abuse of Irish hospitality, phantasms of excessive and instrumental fertility, and the spectre of a proliferation of immoral and unworthy characters were phenomenologically animated by the bodies of Black immigrant mothers."[101] By using "childbearing discourses and practices…to redraw racial and national boundaries that have become destabilized in the contemporary era,"[102] Ireland placed intense pressure on (minority ethnic) women's bodies as gateways to Irish national belonging and effectively divided the Irish population into "nationals" and "non-nationals" by right of birth. As transnational feminist critiques of the nation have repeatedly emphasized in myriad geopolitical contexts, once again in contemporary Ireland, "notions such as country, homeland, region, locality and ethnicity" depend on their "construction through racialization, sexualization and genderization of female corporeality."[103] One of the tasks of this dissertation is to trace this codependency.

For Bryan Fanning, this division between nationals and non-nationals by right of birth "suggests a cognitive continuity with past nationalist ethnocentrisms" where "[t]he linking of race and nation continues to have a degree of resonance in popular Irish discourse."[104] The Irish "race" invoked by Fanning is white and likely Catholic or at least Christian. The Citizenship Referendum shored up the boundaries of this version of the Irish nation through transitioning suddenly from a *jus soli* (right of the soil) to *jus sanguinis* (right of the blood) model of citizenship and thereby limiting the possibilities for new immigrants to become legal citizens of the Irish nation. As Tormey observes:

> By replacing *jus soli* with *jus sanguinas* as the basis of citizenship rights, the Minister was, in effect, suggesting what a 'real connection' to the nation might be. It was a connection of blood; ultimately a racial tracing. After all, he was not proposing to restrict the acquisition of citizenship by descendants of Irish emigrants even though it could be argued that third-generation Irish-Americans (for example) who have never set foot on Irish soil, have less connection to the

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[100] Tormey, 78.
[101] Ibid, 87.
[102] Eithne Luibhéid, "Childbearing against the state? Asylum seeker women in the Irish Republic," *Women's Studies International Forum* 27(2004), 335.
[103] Alarcón, Kaplan, and Moallem, "Introduction: Between Woman and Nation," 14.
[104] Bryan Fanning, *New Guests of Irish Nation,* (Dublin, Portland, OR: Irish Academic Press, 2009), 108-109.

nation than a child born of African parents and reared in Ireland. Blood, it seemed, could overcome any misgivings one might harbour regarding the patriotic attachment of would-be citizens and their right to inhabit (and belong to) national space.[105]

Tormey exposes the racialized assumptions that undergird the Citizenship Referendum, especially by pointing towards the accessibility of citizenship through descent for the children of Irish emigrants, which can in theory be maintained indefinitely provided that each generation registers their births thus making the next eligible for citizenship. Hence, a sharp distinction between nationals and non-nationals living and working in Ireland becomes difficult to maintain considering the extended imaginary of the Irish nation that grants citizenship and rights of national belonging to those who may have never set foot in Ireland and are only connected through descent. Fanning therefore raises a number of issues with the term "non-nationals" due to its evocation of "[a] presumed absence of identity," "invisibility within the dominant imagined community, except when [non-nationals] become visible through the evocation of pejorative stereotypes which are then projected onto the immigrant population as a whole," and an implication that "those so categorised are stateless, rather than immigrants with their own histories of belonging and recognition."[106]

Growing communities of non-Irish born immigrants have diversified the racial and ethnic profile of the Irish population to be sure, but they join pre-existing minority ethnic groups identified by Ronit Lentin as "Travellers, Jews, Black-Irish people"[107] among others such as the Chinese, who have lived in Ireland in small numbers since the 1950s.[108] Lentin argues that apart from the hyper-visible itinerant indigenous Travellers community, prior to the Celtic Tiger, these groups "have been largely invisible in the Irish 'imagined community.'"[109] Therefore, Lentin and Robbie McVeigh emphasize that indeed "Ireland was never the monoculture it told itself it was."[110] Jewesbury, Singh and Tuck make this point in their *Cultural Diversity and the Arts* report: "Ireland has always been a diverse nation, with a range of ethnic, cultural and faith-based communities whose presence has been of sufficiently long standing to be considered permanent."[111] Numerical estimates for the number of individuals from minority ethnic groups living in Ireland prior to the Celtic Tiger are non-existent, however, due to the fact that an ethnicity question was only first included on the census for the Republic of Ireland in 2002. This again reveals a prior structural presumption of a common and uncomplicated ethnicity shared amongst the Republic at large or alternatively the belief that knowing the

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[105] Tormey, 81.

[106] Fanning 109.

[107] Ronit Lentin, "Anti-racist responses to the racialisation of Irishness: Disavowed multiculturalism and its discontents," *Racism and Anti-Racism in Ireland,* edited by Ronit Lentin and Robbie McVeigh, (Belfast: Beyond the Pale, 2002), 228.

[108] "Chinese Community in Ireland," accessed October 17, 2010, http://www.irelandexpo2010.com/the_chinese_community_in_ireland,

[109] Ibid, 227.

[110] Ronit Lentin and Robbie McVeigh, "Situated Racisms: A theoretical introduction," in *Racism and Anti-Racism in Ireland,* 21.

[111] Jewesbury, Singh and Tuck, *Cultural Diversity and the Arts-Language and Meaning,* 10.

specific ethnicities of Irish residents was not important as they were numerically insignificant and thus not likely to shift dominant conceptions of Irishness.

The "newness" of social change attributed to the Celtic Tiger provides an opportunity to call into question preconceived notions of Irish identity and national belonging. Yet, given the long history of minority ethnic communities identified by Lentin and McVeigh, especially Travellers,[112] the emergence of a discourse around race, ethnicity and racism does not necessarily respond to new problems, but is rather long overdue. Lentin and McVeigh among others stress this point, implying that issues around race, ethnicity and racism were brought *by* growing minority ethnic communities in the 1990s posits that these individuals caused issues and disrupted an Ireland where race, ethnicity and racism were concepts that did not exist. This denial leads to an "official version of the Irish nation [which] constructs otherness as pathological and in need of top-down intervention to ensure integration on the majority's terms,"[113] rather than conceiving of the Irish nation as a diverse entity always already under revision. The history of not only the Republic and the North, but the Irish in diaspora, demonstrates that a contested relationship to race, ethnicity and racism is far from a new post-Celtic Tiger theme in Ireland's history.

By group or individually, minority ethnic communities are known by many names: the "new Irish," "non-nationals," "new communities," "migrants," and others less polite. This project uses the "New Irish" as an umbrella term throughout, following Fanning's assertion that this term at its most utopic can mean "the quest…for solidarity and social cohesion under changing circumstances."[114] As briefly mentioned earlier, Irish policies of interculturalism and integration rhetorically address Irish-born and immigrant communities equally, drawing from the European Common Basic Principles of Integration as quoted in the Office of the Minister for Integration's "Statement on Integration Strategy and Diversity Management" where integration implies "a dynamic two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of Member States."[115] Thus, Fanning's quest for solidarity and social cohesion through the term "New Irish" does not imply subsuming minority ethnic communities into a static and unchanging notion of Irish identity and national belonging, but rather uses a "cosmopolitan" reading of the term "New Irish" to "emphasise the imaginative and normative shifts necessary to build political and institutional change."[116] Indeed, it might even "propose that everybody in Ireland is 'new Irish'" and therefore should "build institutions and entitlements aimed at promoting the social inclusion of non-citizens and seek to promote the participation of all immigrants in civil society."[117] Fanning zeroes in on "participation" as constituting an alternative mode of Irish civil belonging that exceeds citizenship and is broadly inclusive. By implicating everybody in Ireland as the "new

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[112] At present, this dissertation does not fully consider the role that the Traveller community plays in post-Celtic Tiger challenges to Irish identity. This will be addressed in the next iteration of the project.

[113] Ronit Lentin, "At the heart of the Hibernian post-metropolis: Spatial narratives of ethnic minorities and diasporic communities in a changing city," *City,* 6 (2002): 242.

[114] Fanning, 151.

[115] Quoted in Office of the Minister for Integration, *Migration Nation:Statement on Integration Strategy and Diversity Management,* (Dublin: Office of the Minister for Integration)*,* 31.

[116] Fanning, 156.

[117] Ibid, 156.

Irish," Fanning expresses the belief that Irishness is in need of constant renewal through action or more precisely through performative reiteration in the Butlerian sense where "performativity is not a singular act, but a repetition and a ritual, which achieves its effects through its naturalization in the context of a body, understood, in part, as a culturally sustained temporal direction."[118]   Fanning's reading of the "New Irish" points towards the future of post-Celtic Tiger Ireland by demanding new chains of performative repetition which accommodate diverse sets of actors and actions from both majority and minority ethnic communities. This project ultimately tests the limits of Fanning's theories of the "New Irish" and the utopic longings of discourses of Irish interculturalism by using the arts to investigate whether social change post-Celtic Tiger has resulted in a dynamic re-imagining of Irish national belonging that implicates both majority and minority ethnic communities in the work of remaking the nation, or whether racial(ized) hierarchies have not only been maintained but created anew through the very policies and projects aimed at dismantling them.

Chapter Breakdown

This dissertation is divided into two sections and uses a series of case studies to interrogate central issues in Irish social and aesthetic interculturalism. The first section addresses the professional and semi-professional Irish theatre while the second section considers community art projects led by professional artists. In Section I, I look at the work of mainstream white Irish-born theatre artists like Donal O'Kelly as well as emerging new Irish artists like Bisi Adigun, Kunle Animashaun, Gianina Cărbunariu and Ursula Rani Sarma. I begin with the professional and semi-professional Irish theatre due to the legacy of the Irish theatre as a site of nation-building. Furthermore, in order to demonstrate the contingency between professional and community arts, it is necessary to build my analysis out from the upper echelons of Irish theatrical and artistic hierarchy and prestige. This allows me to work through the broadest possible analysis of the circulation of the arts vis-à-vis interculturalism in Irish society, and consider the different roles available for participants in encounters that pair the arts with the theorization or experience of interculturalism in action.

Section II begins by considering the interplay between Upstate Theatre Project's professional and community-engaged projects before moving to two community-engaged photography projects working with migrant women, Pauline Agnew's "Elsewhere" and Susan Gogan and the Domestic Workers' Support Group's "Opening Doors: Migrant Domestic Workers Speak Through Art," and then to the role of large-scale public spectacle in interculturally themed festivals including the St. Patrick's Festival and Africa Day. This range of sites represents a diversity of approaches to theorizing interculturalism through the arts via practice and embodiment. I then put these aesthetic strategies in conversation with broader government and social debates regarding inward-migration and social change. The works examined in this dissertation not only respond to but assist in shaping the evolving terrain of these debates.

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[118] Judith Butler, "Preface to *Gender Trouble* (1999)," in *The Judith Butler Reader,* edited by Sara Salih with Judith Butler, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 94.

This split therefore accomplishes several objectives. Most simply, it distinguishes between formal practices. Furthermore, I place community arts practice at the center of Irish theatre and performance history due to shared aesthetic techniques, thematic concerns and participants with the professional and semi-professional theatre. However, focusing on community arts projects more significantly permits analysis of the growing emphasis on "community" participation as a response to social change post-Celtic Tiger through the creation of initiatives such as the Active Citizenship campaign.

The Active Citizenship campaign, which dates from 2007, argues for a key relationship between community participation, civic involvement and citizenship. This campaign's address to Irish society at large may aid in understanding the concrete terms of interculturalism in practice as the terms "community participation," "civic involvement" and "citizenship" are intimately related to one another, most explicitly through their concern with integrating cultural and ethnic minority groups into the life of the nation. Active Citizenship, a term employed by a special Taskforce set up by Taoiseach Bertie Ahern in 2006, "in its simplest form …is about how we play an active role in our families, communities, voluntary organisations, workplaces and political structures."[119] Some specific recommendations for action include the following: "spend at least one percent of…time doing some kind of community service or activity outside the home that they enjoy…join an activity or group which is working to improve the life of [the] neighborhood or tackle some issue overseas."[120] This campaign was not directed explicitly at immigrants, but was in part motivated by the changing demographics of Irish society. The report stresses:

> Citizens living in 21st century Ireland no longer necessarily share the same cultural or ethnic backgrounds. Some concerns have also been expressed about the extent of community involvement and spirit of engagement because of the many different types of pressure on people today.[121]

While immigrants are not singled out as the main source of "different types of pressure on people today," and this more likely refers to a perceived intensification of workplace, social and family pressures post-Celtic Tiger in a transformed economy, the growing lack of a shared "cultural or ethnic background" is nonetheless represented as a paradigm shift that undergirds the ethos of the Active Citizenship campaign. Significantly, the Taskforce asked explicitly that voluntary and community organizations consider this question: "Are people from ethnic and cultural minorities particularly welcome?" implying that the campaign's success partially hinges on inclusiveness.[122]

Irish discourses of Active Citizenship and interculturalism emphasize the necessity of a broad involvement from members of Irish society at large, and focus on personal responsibility and accountability as well as faith that the practice of these theories can invigorate the public sphere from the bottom up. However, an act of

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[119] "Message from the Taskforce on Active Citizenship," *Report of the Taskforce on Active Citizenship,* (Dublin: Secretariat of the Taskforce on Active Citizenship, 2007).
[120] *Active Citizenship in Ireland: Progress Report 2007-2008 and Action Plan 2008-2009,* (Dublin: Active Citizenship Office, December 2008), 11.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid.

participation in the Irish public sphere cannot ultimately be conflated with an act of Irish citizenship because the legal boundaries of this privilege and its attendant rights and responsibilities are not necessarily immediately accessible to the very participants seemingly targeted by these projects. Therefore, my focus on community arts asks whether positioning literal embodied participation as a mode of social renewal bypasses consideration of the imbrication of individuals and "communities" within the limits of state service, support and recognition.

Nevertheless, despite my emphasis on several community arts projects as participatory sites where "Active Citizenship" and interculturalism are literally *practiced* by members of the broader Irish public in addition to professional artists, I am not making a distinction between representations "of" interculturalism and the "practice" of interculturalism in the two sections of this project. Rather, I have selected the professional and semi-professional theatrical productions considered in this project as not only watershed moments regarding how and if minority ethnic individuals can be represented on Irish stages, but as case studies in which key problems of Irish social and aesthetic interculturalism emerge through the dramaturgy of each performance, their circulation in Ireland and beyond, and audience and critical responses. Thus, this is not a project only about these individual artists and groups, but rather works to illuminate larger issues vis-à-vis Irish social and aesthetic interculturalism through the details of particular case studies.

Chapter Two, "Frederick Douglass, Donal O'Kelly and The Haunted Stages of Irish History," tests the limits of appeals to memories of Irish emigration and hardship as the foundation of a sympathetic and inclusive Irish social interculturalism. I consider how the prevalence of this discourse, especially among white Irish-born activists, scholars, and politicians, threatens to fix immigrants and minority ethnic communities only as reflections of a traumatized "Irish" self, rather than working to critically examine racialized structures of exclusion inherent in the workings of the Irish state. Furthermore, the emphasis on "suffering" routinely attached to these appeals frequently reproduces and requires proof of violence done to immigrant bodies as a prerequisite to entering the Irish nation. Donal O'Kelly transforms this discourse into theatrical practice through his plays *Asylum! Asylum!* (1994) and *The Cambria* (2005) which address inward-migration, asylum seekers and racism from contemporary and historical perspectives. Yet, in *The Cambria* and *Asylum! Asylum!,* limits of Irish national belonging, both legal and imaginative, are tested by debates over whether the literal physical suffering claimed by the asylum seeker protagonist is legitimate. Of course, *The Cambria*'s focus on Frederick Douglass's journey to Ireland makes this veracity a foregone conclusion calculated to push audiences into examining contemporary attitudes toward asylum seekers. Nevertheless, in both plays, recitations of graphic accounts of violence done to Black bodies operate as the dramatic turning point of each play. Does *The Cambria's* structure of theatrical feeling where sympathy becomes unavoidable only through violence reiterate the logic of racisms experienced through structural exclusion and discourses of racial otherness even as O'Kelly seeks to dismantle these ideas?

Chapter Three, "Widening the Stage: Minority Ethnic Artists and the Post-Celtic Tiger Irish Theatre," considers the divergent uses of aesthetic interculturalism by minority ethnic theatre artists and Irish companies undertaking work that could be explicitly characterized according to more traditional definitions of "intercultural

performance," as defined within theatre and performance studies.   I investigate how not only aesthetic strategies but material conditions of support and dissemination for the work in national and international artistic networks shape how post-Celtic Tiger theatrical interculturalisms become articulated through these projects. Yet, despite the aspirations of Irish aesthetic and social interculturalisms as a dynamic network of co-reformation, encounters between the Irish and one "other" remain the paradigm for theatrical representations of post-Celtic Tiger Ireland diversity onstage. This strategy reproduces the limits of multiculturalism as repeatedly cited by the Irish government and others as it implies a striated relationship between the Irish-born majority and other minority ethnic communities, who can apparently only be encountered one at a time.   Nevertheless, by examining a range of productions by minority ethnic theatre artists such as Adigun, Animashaun, Cărbunariu and Sarma, I discover possibilities for the reinvention of the contemporary Irish theatre which places "new Irish" experiences at the center of challenging what Irishness means not only in a national context, but a global one.

Chapter Four, "A (New) Portrait of the Artist as (Immigrant): Community Arts and Upstate's Louth International Theatre Project," focuses on the relationship between theatre, the history of the community arts in Ireland, discourses of community participation vis-à-vis the Active Citizenship campaign and the broader rhetoric of Irish social interculturalism. How is the "community" imagined in relationship to the project of interculturalism? What counts as a community? What does it mean for definitions of interculturalism to be negotiated at the level of different communities working together? Participation at the level of social involvement by individuals has been key to practical plans to the formation of active and intercultural Irish citizens. Therefore, the field of community arts represents a key site where these ideas are translated into artistic practice. These projects are then presented as a representative microcosm of a larger intercultural imagined Irish community. I turn to the work of Drogheda-based Upstate Theatre Project through the Louth International Theatre Project (LITP) in order to trace how interculturalism emerges as a contested and unstable practice during the process of creating their 2009 community theatre piece *Journey from Babel.* LITP's work with this piece raises important questions about whether intercultural performance work is always political, and what happens when participants explicitly reject it as such. Furthermore, by focusing on their process with this piece from grant writing to public presentation, I detail the enmeshment of their artistic process with state and local forces. The "excess" of their process, what does not explicitly make it onstage, represents the remainders of active struggles with ghettoization, clichés and stereotypes not only in their work but in debates over Irish social interculturalism at large. Significantly, these negotiations ghost and ultimately define their final performance. Finally, this chapter addresses how *Journey from Babel* troubles linear and uni-directional narratives of Irish interculturalism which trace its beginnings only to the height of the Celtic Tiger.

Chapter Five, "Opening Doors to Elsewhere: Imag(in)ing Women's Bodies After the Referendum," takes on racist and gendered representations of immigrant women leading up to and following the 2004 Citizenship referendum through the lens of community arts practice as response. I examine Pauline Agnew's "Elsewhere" (2005) and Susan Gogan and the Domestic Worker's Support Group's (DWSG) "Opening Doors: Migrant Domestic Workers Speak Through Art" (2007). These projects use photography and therefore permit a deep engagement with issues of how gender, race,

and representation have been engaged through various mediums of visual culture post-Referendum. The women working on and represented through these projects, asylum seekers and domestic workers, frequently bear dual burdens of hyper-visibility and invisibility that render them especially vulnerable to racist or criminal assault yet bar access to rights and services.   Nonetheless, they have their bodies frequently called upon to serve as symbolic embodiments of anxiety about increased social and cultural diversity post-Celtic Tiger. A comparison of "Elsewhere" and "Opening Doors" works to break down the operation of these dynamics through a turn to community arts practice.

Finally, in Chapter Six, "Essences of Social Change: Public Festivals, Cultural Citizenship and the Rhetoric of Recognition," I turn to the role of intercultural community arts as spectacle and tourist enterprise by examining the growth of festivals post-Celtic Tiger mounted explicitly as part of intercultural agendas. These festivals implicate the widest number and range of participants thus far in the project. This final chapter focuses on Africa Day and the intercultural performance group City Fusion in the St. Patrick's Festival from 2007-2010. My work on Africa Day is based on spectatorship at the festival in May 2009, while I write about City Fusion from the perspective of working as a volunteer artist and facilitator on the 2009 presentation of "Conference of the Birds."

My short conclusion, "After the Fall: The Future of Irish Interculturalism?," considers the aftermath of the economic collapse in relationship to the state project of Irish interculturalism as well as the fate of immigrant communities living in Ireland. I consider the wider implications of post-Celtic Tiger Ireland's engagement with interculturalism in the context of the EU and argue that theatre and performance studies methodologies should remain central to tracing the future of the "New Irish" in this very unstable moment after the fall.

The Irish Citizen: Born or Made?

During the course of this project, as I spent more and more time in Ireland and deepened my relationship with my family and research colleagues, I began to consider applying for an Irish passport. The idea of this passport presented practical advantages: if I was able to stay in Ireland for research for longer than three months at a time, I would require no visa; I could go through the shorter line at Customs upon my arrivals in Ireland and I might be able to avail myself of the benefits of EU membership in terms of traveling through Europe. Symbolically, it would link me to the place of my father's birth that he left for a love that led to my conception, an obviously emotional motivation. As the first-generation daughter of an Irish emigrant born in Ireland in 1952, this option is entirely open to me as well as those who have at least one grandparent born in Ireland, provided their birth has been included in the Foreign Births Register.[123] In fact, although I do not possess an Irish passport, I discovered that I am already considered an Irish *citizen* through the fact of my father's birth in Dundalk, County Louth on January 3,

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[123] Citizenship Information Center, "Irish citizenship through birth or descent," accessed February 10, 2011,
http://www.citizensinformation.ie/en/moving_country/irish_citizenship/irish_citizenship_through_birth_or_descent.html.

1952, long before he ever dreamed of going to the U.S. and giving birth to an American daughter.   As I searched for performances of citizenship in post-Celtic Tiger Ireland, I was first completely unaware that this quality of "Irish citizen" was daily being carried through space with my own body. But what is the quality of being an Irish citizen? Awareness? Allegiance? Devotion? Papers?

Without my Irish passport, I am only an "imagined" member of the Irish nation, implicated but not necessarily accounted for, given rights or even made aware that I am a citizen. The numerical extent of the Irish diaspora is, of course, well documented. In 2001, Tim Pat Coogan claimed that "70 million people on the globe are entitled to call themselves Irish"[124] although he did not specify what exactly entitled them to this status. Presumably, he is referring to being Irish by descent, although how far back can this practically count? On St. Patrick's Day, the answer to that question becomes notoriously far more open-ended, for reasons to be addressed in Chapter Six. Coogan continues by remarking that this is "a remarkable statistic given that there are only five million people on the island of Ireland itself, and of these at least 800,000 living in North-Eastern Ireland who would not say they are Irish at all and describe themselves as British!"[125] Against the weight of these millions, the "new Irish" represent an extremely small minority who must push against the weight of 70 million to gain the right to also call themselves an Irish citizen.   But, of course, the Irish diaspora itself is not homogenous. The relationship of individuals to Irishness has transformed through intermarriage, shifts in religious beliefs, place of residence, levels of contact with family still living in Ireland, and many other factors. Therefore, even in the face of numerical masses "entitled to call themselves Irish," the quality of this idea of "Irish" or "Irishness" becomes more and more diffuse.

Yet, the practical deciding factor here remains the fact of one's birth, and the facts of the births of one's parents and grandparents, all connected at some point by a birth on Irish soil- an imagined Irish nation marching forward in time through the act of childbirth alone.[126] The borders of the Irish nation have certainly not always been stable as the conflict over Northern Ireland raged throughout the majority of the 20th century. Yet, the 1998 Good Friday Agreement restored the right to Irishness by birth to citizens of Northern Ireland as discussed earlier only to be toppled only six years later by the infamous Citizenship Referendum which now required proof of a "genuine link to Ireland"[127] defined as being "resident legally in the island of Ireland for at least 3 out of the previous 4 years immediately before the birth of the child."[128] Any time of residence on the country accrued as an asylum seeker for example will therefore not count. Thus, the legality of the birth of my father and myself entitles me to citizenship and many of its attendant rights in a country where I have spent little over a year of my life, while denying the request of a parent on behalf of their child who plans to make their life in Ireland but who has not fulfilled these criteria.

[124] Tim Pat Coogan, *Wherever Green is Worn: The Story of the Irish Diaspora,* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), ix.
[125] Ibid.
[126] The legal adoption of a child by one or more Irish-born parents also qualifies them for Irish citizenship.
[127] European Council on Refugees and Exiles, "Country Report 2004- Ireland,," accessed February 10, 2011, http://www.ecre.org/files/Ireland%20-%20FINAL_0.pdf.
[128] Citizenship Information Center, "Irish Citizenship through birth or descent."

My citizenship passed to me passively, and it is something that I carried for much of my life, unbeknownst to me. But in order to get that passport and become a naturalized Irish citizen, I will have to actively follow several steps and produce many documents. As I read over my application, I was struck by a key performative step in this process that stands in for an official naturalization ceremony on Irish soil. Once my documents are assembled, my passport pictures are taken and my form filled out, I will have to seek out a police office in my area, and swear before him that all I have written and produced are true. He will sign my paper, a witness to this legally binding performative act and my application will be considered complete for final processing by the Irish embassy on behalf of the Irish government before I receive it back in the mail. This future moment of my application's validation neatly demonstrates the vexed entanglement of performance, legality and citizenship that I trace through this project. Citizenship is an essence, but also involves a conscious set of actions, according to the rules of Irish citizenship by descent. It must be acted *upon* in order to be a legal reality, an act mediated not only by the Irish government but my local law enforcement. Through this simple act of swearing, thousands of miles away, my degree of belonging to the Irish nation is intensified and notarized as legal right. My possible shortcut to Irish citizenship keeps in place arguably expanded notions of Irish belonging through descent, but as I progressed in my research, I became more aware that my access came at the expense of holding in place legal and imaginative concepts of who belongs to the Irish nation that perhaps no longer reflect the living future of this idea.

My application sits in my locked box of official documents along with my father's long-form birth certificate, one of the required documents. In my own process of considering this option, I first hit a practical snag: I could not figure out how to obtain my parent's long-form marriage certificate and my own long-form birth certificate from the city of Philadelphia, my place of birth, and no one was picking up the phone at the office I was actually never able to locate. The next obstacle I hit was my own deeper consideration of the symbolic implications of my quest- the requirement of a marriage certificate, proof of my own "legitimate" birth by way of a complicated and heteronormative institution; the ease with which I could access these privileges and enjoy validation of my belonging by others relative to many of those represented in these pages, and finally, what would it mean for me to take part in continuing to endorse Irish citizenship as currently defined legally even as I criticize it here? Therefore, the application continues to sit, a performative act in itself, as I continue to question what makes an Irish citizen, and how while legal boundaries may not be able to totally define this quality or way of being, they certainly create stark boundaries between inside and outside in the post-Celtic Tiger nation. What lies at the intersection of these boundaries between belonging and otherness represents the future of contemporary Ireland, but this place of shadow and contradiction should not be romanticized. It represents practical difficulties and complications that are not only legal, but have also frequently translated into experiences of violence and harassment for minority ethnic individuals living in Ireland. Thus, as I chase the utopic concept of interculturalism through the theatre, the art gallery and beyond, I am reminded that this expansive concept continues to be mediated by the institutions, namely the Irish state, that brought Irish social interculturalism into being in the first place. I therefore remain ultimately devoted to investigating the intersections between institutionality and aspiration in order to reclaim

this space between belonging and otherness as not only cause for the celebration of possibility through difference and contradiction but rather as a zone of ongoing critique.

Chapter Two
Frederick Douglass, Donal O'Kelly and The Haunted Stages of Irish History

> Collette: I'm a history teacher. In O'Connell's Schools. Of all places. Daniel O'Connell laid the stone himself. We walk upon it every day. Somewhere underneath. Patrick walked upon it every day. Swaggered. Vain. A terrible nuisance when he wanted. Like most of the bright ones. He drove me mad sometimes. Because I tried to help him. Tried to steer him through the interviews, gathered letters of support, why he should stay, the potential value of his talents. Got TDs and councillors to inquire about his case. To express concern. To ask for – clemency.
>
> *(PAUSE)*
>
> That's what it's come to. "Please." But … power concedes nothing without demand. It never did. And it never will. That's what Frederick Douglass said.
>
> Vincent: Who's Frederick Douglass?
>
> Collette: Frederick Douglass came to Ireland. On a ship. Called The Cambria... if Frederick Douglass .. came to Ireland NOW ...[129]

In 2005, Donal O'Kelly premiered his two-person play *The Cambria,* a fictional recreation of Frederick Douglass's 1845 journey to Ireland from Boston Harbor on a ship of the same name. After spending one night in Liverpool, England, Douglass stayed six months in Ireland, traveling and speaking throughout the country on slavery and temperance. Since its premiere, O'Kelly has performed the play with actress Sorcha Fox throughout Ireland, the UK, and the U.S. O'Kelly and Fox embody the story of Douglass's crossing together by shifting seamlessly with the aid of minimal props and costumes between a large cast of characters, including Captain Judkins, the British son of a former slave owner; Solomon, a Western Indian seaman; Dignam, an Irish sailor; Cecily, a Northern Quaker choir leader; and Dodd, a Southern plantation owner, and his daughter Matilda. O'Kelly plays Douglass throughout in addition to Dodd, O'Connell and Judkins while Fox plays Dignam, Cecily, Matilda, Solomon and Judkins.

The opening moments of *The Cambria* activate several key strands that are central to unpacking the relationship between history, race, racism, national belonging and performance in post-Celtic Tiger Ireland. One, history is represented as a living and tactile force in Irish society as the stone laid by O'Connell is encountered daily "[s]omewhere underneath our feet." Two, the boundary between Ireland and Nigeria as personified by Patrick, a young and recently deported Nigerian asylum seeker, presents itself as blurry but nonetheless absolute. The frequent intersections of Irish and African histories, in diaspora and on the continent, and Patrick's enactment of Irish history through his school performances, are presented as precedent for his belonging within the contemporary Irish nation, but the machinations of the asylum system shut down this

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[129] Donal O'Kelly, *The Cambria,* 4-5.

possibility. Yet, although Patrick is now on a chartered plane back to Nigeria, his past, present and future are linked with Ireland through the similar fortunes of Irish emigrants who journeyed far from home, and also through his own present embodiment of Irish history and culture through his school performances and daily movement through the space of the nation, walking literally on top of O'Connell's legacy. Finally, emotions and feelings figure heavily in this opening vignette, through Collette's grief at Patrick's departure, the Patrick who "drove [her] *mad* sometimes. Because [she] tried to help him [*emphasis mine*]."[130] Untangling these related tropes is the task of this chapter as emotion and feeling have frequently been made inseparable from understanding appeals to Irish history as the grounds for accepting and imagining a new place for post-Celtic Tiger immigrants in contemporary Ireland. *The Cambria's* emphasis on performance as a mode through which to practice a transformative approach to history in the present activates the central role embodiment can play in exposing the remainders of Irish history as they are lived in the present.

Histories of Irishness and Blackness frame the work of O'Kelly's *The Cambria* and reveal the role of race and racism in defining the terms of Irish social interculturalism, specifically in terms of the interface between Irishness and Blackness. The play takes up the intersection of Irishness and Blackness in two major ways: O'Kelly's focus on the contemporary Irish figure of the asylum seeker who has been heavily stereotyped as Black and African (if not also Nigerian), and the role of Ireland in the 19th century abolitionist movement.   However, behind these explicit references that frame the play's conceit lurk more subterranean intersections, such as O'Kelly's performance of Douglass as a white Irish-born male that recalls practices of Irish Blackface minstrelsy, an act which is in turn linked to histories of Irish racism in diaspora.

This chapter unpacks the multiple histories of Irishness and Blackness as referenced through O'Kelly's play to expose their impact on formations of Irish social interculturalisms today.   This excavation takes up not only O'Kelly's *Cambria* but the wider use of the specific histories invoked by this play to frame issues of race and racism in post-Celtic Tiger Ireland by artists like O'Kelly as well as scholars and politicians. O'Kelly's evocation of the ghosts of Irish history calls explicitly on Frederick Douglass's triumphant visit in *The Cambria,* but as artists, scholars and politicians repeatedly stress the links between the ghost of Irish emigrants past, and Irish immigrants of the present and future, it is crucial to examine the stakes of revisiting the historical imagination as a testing ground for post-Celtic Tiger social interculturalisms as a journey not only of the head, but of the heart as well.

The Black and Green Atlantic

Perhaps not coincidentally, intense scrutiny on African and other minority ethnic communities living in Ireland, asylum seekers and otherwise, converged with a burst of scholarly inquiry into racial formations of Irishness in the 19th and 20th centuries. Major topics in this area of study include the racialization of the Irish in the context of British Empire and the diaspora, especially the U.S., relations between Irish-American and African-American communities, some work on Irish and Afro-Caribbean linkages, as in

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[130] Ibid., 4.

the case of the Caribbean island of Montserrat, anti-colonial exchanges between Ireland and India, and the influence of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement and Black Power on the struggle in Northern Ireland. [131] Douglass's reception and stay in Ireland is a key event the overlapping histories of the Irish and African diaspora and has been dealt with frequently since the mid-1990s. Much of the work on this particular intersection has been deeply inspired by Paul Gilroy's seminal work *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness,* and Peter D. O'Neill and David Lloyd have recently taken this inspiration one step further, coining the phrase "the Black and Green Atlantic,"[132] in recognition of the extent of the intertwined and mutually constituted histories of the Irish and African diaspora.

      While much of this work treats histories of Irish racism in the context of the Black and Green Atlantic quite critically, a spike in fascination with Irish Blackness in terms of past Irish oppression, not only in the academy but in popular culture as well, threatens to

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[131] A partial list of this work over the last 15-20 years from across the humanities and social sciences includes: S.B. Cook, *Imperial Affinities: Nineteenth Century Analogies and Exchanges Between Ireland and India,* (Sage Publications Pvt. Ltd., 1993); Tadhg Foley and Maureen O'Connor, eds. *Ireland and India: Colonies, Culture and Empire,* (Dublin, Portland, OR: Irish Academic Press, 2006); Steve Garner, *Racism in the Irish Experience,* (London: Pluto Press, 2004); Luke Gibbons, *Gaelic Gothic: Race, Colonization and Irish Culture,* (Galway: Arlen House, 2004); Kathleen M. Gough, "Polymorphous Playboys: Irish-Carribean Shadow Dancing," *Modern Drama* 48.4 (2005): 777-799; Kathleen M. Gough, "Girls Interrupted: Gendered Spectres, Atlantic Drag," *Performance Research* 13, no. 4 (2008): 115-126; Michael Holmes, "The Irish and India: Imperialism, National and Internationalism," in *The Irish Diaspora,* ed. Andy Bielenberg, (Harlow, England: Longman, 2000); Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White,* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Joseph Lennon, "Writing Across Empire: W.B. Yeats and Rabindranath Tagore," in *Rabindranath Tagore: Universality and Trandition,* eds. Patrick Colm Hogan and Lalita Pandit, (Madison, Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press and London: Associated University Presses, 2003): 213-232; Joseph Lennon, *Irish Orientalism: A Literary and Intellectual History,* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2004); Edna Longley and Declan Kiberd, *Multi-culturalism: The View from Two Irelands,* (Cork, Ireland: Cork University Press in association with the Centre for Cross Border Studies, 2001); Jaya Mehta, "Some Imaginary 'Real' Thing": Racial Purity, the Mutiny and the Nation in Tagore's *Gora* and Kipling's *Kim,*" in *Rabindranath Tagore: Universality and Tradition*: 199-212; Kate O'Malley, *Ireland, India and Empire: Indo-Irish Radical Connections- 1919-1964,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010); Kaori Nagai, *Empire of Analogies: Kipling, India and Ireland,* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2007); Peter D. O'Neill and David Lloyd, *The Black and Green Atlantic: Cross-Currents of the African and Irish Diasporas,* (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Lauren Onki, *Blackness and Transatlantic Irish Identity: Celtic Soul Brothers,* (New York and London: Routledge, 2009); Kavita Philips, "Race, Class and the Imperial Politics of Ethnography in India, Ireland and London, 1850-1910," *Irish Studies Review* 10, no. 3 (December 2002): 289-302; Jennifer Regan-Lefebvre, *Cosmopolitan Nationalism in the Victorian Empire: Ireland, India and the Politics of Alfred Webb,* (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Bill Rolston and Michael Shannon, *Encounters: How Racism Came to Ireland,* (Belfast: Beyond the Pale, 2002); Christian G. Samito, *Becoming American Under Fire: Irish Americans, African Americans, and the Politics of Citizenship During the Civil War Era,* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 2009); Michael Silvestri, *Ireland and Empire: Nationalism, Empire and Memory,* (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Gauri Viswanathan, " 'Synthetic Vision': Internationalism and the Poetics of Decolonization," in *Nation, Language and the Ethics of Translation*, eds. Sandra Bermann and Michael Wood, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 326-345; Bronwen Walter, *Outsiders Inside: Whiteness, Place and Irish Women,* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000); Julia M. Wright, *Ireland, India and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Literature,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
[132] Peter D. O'Neill and David Lloyd, "The Black and Green Atlantic: An Introduction," in *The Black and Green Atlantic: Cross-Currents of the African and Irish Diaspora,* Edited by Peter D. O'Neill and David Lloyd, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), xvi.

rebound on how Irishness is understood in relationship to white privilege in the nation and beyond.[133] Diane Negra argues that indeed "Irishness now functions…at the heart of…many mass-marketed white homeland fantasies" and that "assertions of Irish whiteness may well act to displace and/or neutralize the identity claims of Blacks and Latinos."[134] While Negra refers here to these dynamics in the Irish diaspora and the U.S. in particular, the power of postcolonial Irish histories of racialized whiteness to neutralize or overpower allegations of Irish racism against immigrants has consistently surfaced in Ireland as well. Negra continues: "Irishness seems to move between a quasi Blackness and a politically insulated whiteness"[135] and I would argue that it is not only a "politically" insulated whiteness that gets reproduced, but a *morally* insulated whiteness that often emphasizes parallels between histories of Irish trauma and the difficulties of recent immigrants instead of marking their difference.

Casual conflation of the struggle of Blacks- African, African-American and otherwise-with the Irish threatens to obscure or erase histories of violence and domination that implicate the Irish and persist up through today, as well as erasing regional, ethnic and national differences amongst African communities on the continent and in diaspora. After all, the scholarship I am referencing narrates how the Irish *became* white, the implication being that others remain racialized, especially in post-Celtic Tiger Ireland. As O'Neill and Lloyd put it, "The Irish, it has been shown, became white in the United States precisely to the extent that both slaves and free Blacks were denied full citizenship and even humanity."[136] Works such as Ignatiev's pivotal 1995 *How the Irish Became White* indeed confront this history directly, but the recent body of work on Frederick Douglass and Ireland in particular takes a triumphalist approach to this fraught history, frequently attributing significant credit for the evolution of Frederick Douglass's thinking to the "Irish people," both at home and in diaspora. John F. Quinn argues that "'Old Ireland' was in large part responsible" for Douglass's transformation from "loyal [William Lloyd] Garrison disciple to independent abolitionist leader"[137] while Patricia J. Ferreira claims first that "Douglass's direct contact with the Irish at fundamental moments during his childhood and adolescence at times bolstered, and perhaps sparked, his resolve to become a free man"[138] and later that "Douglass's experiences in Ireland ultimately contributed to the revitalization of his energy, enabling his return to the United States and his ability to fight for slavery's end at home."[139] While Douglass's encounters with the Irish are mentioned and highlighted throughout his writings and speeches, I am skeptical of the direct causal relationship being newly posited between Douglass's sojourn in Ireland and limited contact with Irish emigrants and the evolution of his

[133] See Diane Negra, ed., *The Irish in Us: Irishness, Performativity and Popular Culture,* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2006), for multiple examples of these intersections in a U.S. context.
[134] Diane Negra, "The Irish in Us: Irishness, Performativity and Popular Culture," in *The Irish in Us: Irishness, Performativity and Popular Culture,* ed. Diane Negra,, 3.
[135] Ibid., 3.
[136] O'Neill and Lloyd, xvi.
[137] John F. Quinn, "'Safe in Old Ireland': Frederick Douglass's Tour, 1845-1846," *The Historian* 64, no. 3 & 4 (Spring & Summer 2002): 550.
[138] Patricia J. Ferreira, "Frederick Douglass in Ireland: the Dublin Edition of His *Narrative*," *New Hibernia Review/Iris Éireannach Nua,* 5, no. 1 (Spring/Earrach, 2001): 54.
[139] Ibid, 58.

thinking, speaking and political commitments after fleeing the U.S.[140] Indeed, *The Cambria* too activates only portions of the Douglass story that celebrate Irish tolerance and worldliness, choosing to elide other more problematic accounts of relationships between the Irish and African-Americans contemporaneous to the action of the play, such as race riots in Philadelphia and New York in the 1830s and 40s, the rise of minstrelsy in the U.S. with the Irish as key protagonists, and only 18 years later, the New York Draft Riots.[141] The historical myopia expressed through O'Kelly's treatment of his arrival as a utopian event in the history of Ireland and the Black and Green Atlantic continues the trend of reinterpreting Douglass's legacy only insofar as it reflects well on Ireland.

In the 1892 revised edition of his *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass,* Douglass draws attention to the intersection of Irish histories of racism with those of the Irish people's own persecution and the contradictions inherent in this relationship:

> Perhaps no class of our fellow-citizens has carried this prejudice of color to a point more extreme and dangerous than have our Catholic Irish fellow-citizens, and yet no more people on the face of the earth have been more relentlessly persecuted on account of race and religion than have this same Irish people.[142]

In his writings, he makes a distinction, however, between the island of Ireland itself and the Irish in diaspora as he claims of the country that: "…the people here knew nothing of the republican Negro-hate prevalent in our glorious land. They measure and esteem men according to their moral and intellectual worth, and not according to the color of their skin."[143] In contrast, he has sharp words for the Irish in America:

> The Irish who, at home, readily sympathize with the oppressed everywhere, are instantly taught to hate and despise the Negro. They are taught to believe that he eats the bread that belongs to them. The cruel lie is told them, that we deprive them of labor and receive the money which would otherwise make its way into their pockets…Every hour sees us elbowed out of some employment to make room for some newly-arrived emigrant from the Emerald Isle, whose hunger and color entitle him to special favor.[144]

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[140] This argument credits the Irish with Douglass's own accomplishments, and mirrors claims made after Obama's election attributing responsibility to Ireland for his rise to power due to his distant Irish heritage. See Patrick Cosgrave, "Irish Catalyst in Obama's Journey," Irish Times, January 20, 2009, Accessed March 26, 2009, http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/opinion/2009/0120/1232059661266_pf.html. Additionally, shirts picturing Obama as O'bama, surrounded by a ring of shamrocks, with the slogan, "Is Feidlir Lim" ("Yes We Can") were sold at popular tourist shops in Ireland, including Carroll's, following the 2008 election. The Obama campaign also sold green shirts with "O'bama" featured with shamrocks leading up to the election.

[141] See Garner, *Racism in the Irish Experience;* Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White;* and Rolston and Shannon, *How Racism Came to Ireland* for more details on these particular events.

[142] Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass: Written by Himself- His Early Life as a Slave, His Escape from Bondage and His Complete History,* (London: Collier-Macmillan Ltd., 1962), 546.

[143] Ibid., 245.

[144] Ibid., 298.

While Douglass associates the racism of the Irish in diaspora with what they are "taught to believe" in the U.S., he also depicts newly arrived Irish emigrants as immediately susceptible, suggesting that Ireland cannot possibly be a place with no trace "of the republican Negro-hate prevalent in our glorious land." The inherent contradiction between Douglass's assessment of 19th century Ireland as a site of no racism and the Irish arrivals as ready racists in the U.S. ghosts O'Kelly's *The Cambria*, as the play works to claim Douglass's endorsement of non-existent racism in Ireland as direct inspiration for the contemporary moment, yet fails to consider how the other histories attendant to this moment may disrupt the power of this gesture. As O'Kelly joins other artists, scholars and politicians in repeatedly arguing for a turn to Ireland's own traumatic past as a means to map the future, how does the tension between Irish histories of carrying "this prejudice of color to a point…extreme and dangerous" and the relentless persecution of the Irish people play out in these appeals?

Telling Irish Ghost Stories

In the wake of the Celtic Tiger, the rapidly transformed Irish present quickly gave way to a fixation on the ghosts of the past, for fear that they would be forgotten in the wake of changing economic circumstances and social demographics. The most persistent and omnipresent ghosts of Ireland's past include the Famine, emigration, the Troubles and systemic abuses by the Catholic Church. Luke Gibbons cautions against "the naïve optimism according to which the ghosts of the past, even the recent past, are lifted by the cessation of the conflict, or the first upswing of the economy."[145] Gibbons emphasizes the recent traumas of the Troubles, while Ronit Lentin calls out "the pain of emigration, returning to haunt the Irish through the presence of the immigrant 'other' and in its wake invoking the unseemly presence of the 'less than fully Irish' indigenous and non-indigenous minorities - the Traveller, the Asian, the Black, the Jew."[146] David Lloyd too desires to "trace this phenomenon of haunting" which to him "seems indissociable from the Famine, both in contemporary observations of and on it and in the very grain of the culture who tendency is…rather to forget than to commemorate the catastrophe." He ultimately argues that "[t]hose who live in the wake of the Famine are no less subject to haunting and forgetting than those who witnessed it."[147] These multiple references to ghosts and haunting do not represent only a rhetorical turn, but an active retheorization of how contemporary Irish politics should make use of the historical archive in terms of crafting policy for the present.

Irish ghosts therefore are sought as catalysts for the future, rather than as shadowy and static remnants of the past. This aggressive cycle of recovery, redress and renewal for the future through seeking Irish ghosts has occurred consistently since the mid-1990s and has led to several landmark investigations into controversial events of the past, such

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[145] Luke Gibbons, "The Global Cure? History, Therapy and the Celtic Tiger," in *Reinventing Ireland: Culture, Society, and the Global Economy,* edited by Peadar Kirby, Luke Gibbons, and Michael Cronin, London: Pluto Press, 2002, 104.

[146] Ronit Lentin, "Responding to the Racialisation of Irishness: Multiculturalism and Its Discontents," in *Racism and Anti-Racism in Ireland,* 233.

[147] David Lloyd, "The Indigent Sublime: Specters of Irish Hunger," *Representations* 92, Fall 2005: 156, 173.

as Bloody Sunday, and prominent acts of commemoration, such as the 1997 erection of the Famine Monument on Custom House Quay in Dublin. Similar to Gordon's assessment of the role of the ghost, Lloyd refers to the distinction between ascertaining what *can* be done and what *has* been done in the case of the Famine as the task

> of tracking two kinds of ghostly revenant, one of which is the phantom of 'future possibility,' of other possible horizons of human sociality that might have emerged under other conditions than those imposed by colonialism. This is the ghost of hopes that are the afterlife of lost imaginary futures. The other haunting is the more familiar ghost that rises from destruction itself and which seeks redress for the injustice of its negation.[148]

Both modes of ghostly tracking operate in many post-Celtic Tiger acts of retrieval and commemoration around key events and submerged histories such as the Famine, emigration, abuses of the Catholic Church and incidents related to the Troubles where both the promise of the "future possibility" of understanding in order to move forward practically and the cathartic public airing of previous injustices play a role in the framing of documents, events, performances and monuments. For example, John Crowley refers to a mid-1990s "general recovery of public memory with regard to one of the most tragic periods of Irish history, the Great Famine" as it became as the subject of many different types of commemoration including "television documentaries, radio broadcasts, museum exhibitions, monuments, walks, conferences, lectures and the creation of websites."[149] These and similar acts, such as the Saville Inquiry Report into Bloody Sunday published in June 2010, which confirmed that the British soldiers had initiated the shooting and fired on unarmed protesters prompting a public apology from Prime Minister David Cameron, have been directed both towards naming violence and abuse publicly, if not directly attributing blame, as well as laying the groundwork for institutional change and accountability.[150] These searches for "Irish" ghosts, however, raise spectres that exceed national borders. These other ghosts are animated not only through the recovery of histories of Irish emigration, but through the persons of the "New Irish" and other minority ethnic Irish individuals who potentially recall Irish diasporic histories in the space of the contemporary nation.

      For Lentin does not only argue simply that the pain of emigration caused by economic strife returns to haunt the Irish as a marked contrast to the Celtic Tiger's brief prosperity and years of net-migration, but rather that this pain returns *through* "the presence of the immigrant 'other' and in its wake invoking the unseemly presence of the 'less than fully Irish' indigenous and non- indigenous minorities - the Traveller, the Asian,

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[148] Ibid., 156.

[149] John Crowley, "Constructing Famine Memory: The Role of Monuments," in *Heritage, Memory and the Politics of Identity: New Perspectives on the Cultural Landscape,* edited by Niamh Moore and Yvonne Whelan, (Hampshire, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007), 55.

[150] This latter approach emerges in the aftermath of the 2009 release of the "Ryan Report" which details wide systemic physical, sexual and emotional abuse against children in state-run Catholic residential "Reformatory and Industrial" institutions supervised by the Department of Education.

the Black, the Jew."[151] Jason King concurs and offers that the catalyst represented by the presence of "Others" within Irish society serves a positive purpose:

> the ethical significance of the remembrance of migration would appear to be more latent than manifest within the Irish psyche, and in need of some sort of catalyst to engender sympathy between newly arrived immigrants and those long settled in Ireland. It is only the process of distillation from disparate personal to collective historical memories of migration, in other words, that the contours of an imaginative space of sympathetic engagement with immigrants becomes recognizable.[152]

The presence of racial, ethnic and religious minorities within Irish society not only disrupts coherent images of the nation-state as white, Catholic/Christian and settled but implicitly references contentious diasporic histories which, apart from containing the hardship awaiting emigrants in diverse locations, includes conflict between Irish and African-Americans in the U.S. and the work of the Irish in British Empire as missionaries as well as in other administrative and military roles.

These latter histories disturb claims of the Irish as only victims of the ghosts of history, colonialism or otherwise. Fintan O'Toole argues forcefully that "in our collective memory, we are always the victims, never the perpetrators. We are innocent of the great crimes of inhumanity. We remember oppression, bigotry and injustice as forces directed at us. We lack a sense of historical shame, and in its absence, we are free to behave shamefully."[153] Indeed, some Irish sociologists, historians and cultural commentators such as Lentin, O'Toole, Robbie McVeigh, Paul Cullen and Bryan Fanning frequently cite histories of Irish racism in the nation, diaspora and throughout the British Empire as an archive through which to understand contemporary institutionalized racisms directed against asylum seekers, recent immigrants and long-established minority communities in Ireland today. McVeigh refers for example to the "collections for 'Black Babies'" until recently a "ubiquitous feature of Irish Church propaganda" which "conditioned people to regard Black people in a particular way- as passive victims who could only be saved by the good offices of the Catholic Church."[154] McVeigh argues that this dynamic has not been critically examined within Irish culture, and thus rebounds on how African immigrants are viewed broadly within contemporary Ireland.

Thus, Lentin's warning that the Irish-born majority encounters the ghosts of emigration *through* the persons of immigrants and minorities in the Irish nation implies a threat of transference that does not automatically translate into the kind of "historical shame" that O'Toole too argues is needed to directly address and stem contemporary Irish racisms at the level of social policy and practice. Rather, acts of transference between the Irish-born majority and immigrants, frequently phrased as an imperative, potentially allow the reproduction of racism to continue unabated precisely because the

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[151] Lentin, 233.

[152] Jason King, "Interculturalism and Irish Theatre: The Portrayal of Immigrants on the Irish Stage," *Irish Review* 33 (Spring 2005): 25.

[153] Fintan O'Toole, "Our lack of shame may breed a new racism," *The Irish Times,* January 23, 2008, 16.

[154] Robbie McVeigh, *The Racialisation of Irishness,* (Belfast: Centre for Research and Documentation, 1996), 31-32.

"new Irish" and other minorities remind the Irish-born majority daily and physically of traumas of the historical past, and that the Irish themselves, though frequently victimized, are not "entirely innocent of the great crimes of inhumanity."[155] She elaborates:

> the 'other' threatens the newly regained national voice of contemporary Ireland not only because her/his habits, rituals and discourses interfere with the nation's enjoyment of itself. It also threatens this regained national voice because it reminds it of its not-too-distant past pain.[156]

Similar to assessments of the role of immigrants in reactivating painful memories of the loss of British Empire in the UK by Sara Ahmed and Paul Gilroy among others,[157] Lentin argues that the "pain" recalled through via the presence of new immigrants acts as a potential block to progressive responses to inward-migration and instead can lead to a reproduction of racisms which arguably originated in the diaspora. Therefore, the traumas of Irish emigration rebound on the space of the nation vis-a-vis the bodies of immigrants in the very moment that the Irish-born majority is compelled to accept them because of these shared traumas.

O'Kelly's *Cambria* stages a theatrical event where these competing histories, their contradictions and attendant ghosts consciously converge. Avery Gordon contends that "the ghostly haunt gives notice that something is missing-that what appears to be invisible or in the shadows is announcing itself,"[158] suggesting ultimately that acknowledging these hauntings activate "a potent imagination of what has been done and what is to be done otherwise."[159] O'Kelly's *Cambria* takes up this charge quite literally by offering what has been done (granting asylum to Frederick Douglass) as a model of what could be done (liberalizing Irish asylum policies). Yet, as Lentin warns, histories of pain can sap ghosts' cathartic power and ability to inspire change because ghosts also represent that which has not been resolved and remains painful. A choice must be made whether to accept the invitation of the ghost, and this is the decision that O'Kelly extends to his audience by asking what would happen if Frederick Douglass came to Ireland now.

Utopian Performatives Onboard *The Cambria*

The continuing linkage of the Irish emigrant and post-Celtic Tiger immigrant, ghostly and otherwise, forms the backdrop to ongoing productions of O'Kelly's *Cambria*[160] through not only scholarly discourse, but official state policy on

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[155] O'Toole, 16.

[156] Ibid, 4.12.

[157] Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion,* (New York: Routledge, 2004)*, The Promise of Happiness* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010); Paul Gilroy, *Postcolonial Melancholia,* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).

[158] Avery Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination,* (Minneapolis and London: Duke University Press, 1997), 15.

[159] Ibid., 18.

[160] This chapter focuses on the resonances of the performance of O'Kelly's *Cambria* in the Republic of Ireland, but Fox and O'Kelly have performed this show in the UK and U.S. as well, including two runs at the Irish Arts Centre in New York City following the election of President Barack Obama, in a conscious attempt to draw attention to intersections between Irish and African(-American) heritages, given Obama's

interculturalism, immigration and the management of integration. Former Minister of Integration Conor Lenihan's "Integration Statement" in his 2008 pamphlet, *Migration Nation: Statement on Integration Strategy and Diversity Management,* positions connections between Irish emigrants and new immigrants to Ireland as pivotal to understanding the aims of this document as a whole:

> In purely historical terms it is not an exaggeration to state that the Irish identity is as much a product of those who left our shores as those who stayed at home.
> …
> As our President Mary McAleese has said:
>
> *'We have a recent memory of the loneliness, the sense of failure evoked by our inability to provide for our own people and the courage it took to start a new life far from home.'*
>
> This Ministerial Statement of Policy is predicated on the idea that Ireland has a unique moral, intellectual and practical capability to adapt to the experience of inward migration. [161]

Lenihan's claim on histories of Irish emigration as the direct inspiration for the Ministerial Statement of Policy on integration and diversity decisively links the history of Irish emigrants to recent Irish immigrants, the "new Irish," suggesting that a refusal to recognize new "Others" within Irish society would in fact be a refusal to recognize the history of the Irish nation itself. Lenihan therefore asserts that: "Ireland has a unique *moral, intellectual and practical* capability to adapt to the experience of inward migration [emphasis mine]." This triumvirate of assumed "moral, intellectual and practical" capabilities takes on performative stakes as Lenihan's emphasis on "capabilities" implies that there is something Irish history can *do* by way of its people to enable a "unique adaptation" to increased diversity in the Irish national population.

    The Cambria takes up precisely this challenge of linking the *practice* of Irish history to its future by staging a resurrected account of Douglass's journey to Ireland. The play ultimately seeks to model how the "moral, intellectual and practical capabilities of Ireland to adapt to the experience of inward-migration" can be embodied through performance as a first step toward engaging with history as practice for a better future. Delivering on this capability depends on personal and collective engagement with the pain of the Irish past, namely that of emigration, a process that *The Cambria* seeks to facilitate through theatrical experience- namely by offering Douglass's encounter with the Irish as the foundation of, in Jill Dolan's words, a utopian performative.

    The Cambria reaches for utopia and the utopian performative in and through performance by emphasizing "live performance [as] a place where people come together, embodied and passionate, to share experiences of meaning making and imagination that

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distant Irish roots. *The Cambria* was therefore engaged for two runs post-election: a limited run for St. Patrick's Day 2009, and a six-week engagement in rotating repertory with African-American actor Roger Guenveur-Smith's one-man show *Frederick Douglass Now!* in October-November 2009.

[161] Office of the Minister of Integration, *Migration Nation: Statement on Integration Strategy and Diversity Management,* 67.

can describe or capture fleeting intimations of a better world."[162] Dolan refers to this idea in action as a utopian performative where "performance itself becomes a 'doing' in linguistic philosopher J.L. Austin's sense of the term, something that in enunciation *acts*" and is capable of persuading audiences that

> beyond this 'now' of material oppression and unequal power relations lives a future that might be different, one whose potential we can feel as we're seared by the promise of a present that gestures towards a better later. The affective and ideological 'doings' we see and feel demonstrated in utopian performatives also critically rehearse civic engagement that could be effective in the wider public and political realm.[163]

O'Kelly seeks to enlist his audiences in the creation of a "better later" regarding the treatment of asylum seekers, and arguably immigrants and minorities in the Irish nation at large, through drawing on Irish history as not only a story of the past but as a version of a "future that might be different" beyond the now, which constitutes an unjust present that would reject Frederick Douglass himself. According to Dolan and Kelly, the "affective and ideological 'doings' we see and feel" in the theater potentially serve as a rehearsal for civic engagement.

The Cambria models civic participation through theatrical spectatorship because the play actively solicits an answer to a question it never directly addresses, "If Frederick Douglass came to Ireland NOW…" The answer to this question is thus left up to the audience based on their understanding of the scenario (young deported Nigerian student) and historical facts (Ireland accepted Frederick Douglass as an asylum seeker in the 19th century) staged by the play. To reanimate Frederick Douglass's words onstage, to continue to articulate his demand that "power concedes nothing without demand," even in the face of the failure of rhetoric in Patrick's asylum case, reinvests faith in performance as a doing which can have demonstrable effects by way of moving a group to potential action together. O'Kelly thus imagines theatre spectatorship through *The Cambria* as a practice that "can actively promote a sense of civic participation and emotional belonging" where "audiences form temporary communities, sites of public discourse that…can model new investments in and interactions with variously constituted public spheres."[164] The temporary communities formed by the audience of *The Cambria* potentially leave the theatre with an adjusted sense of who belongs in the post-Celtic Tiger nation and why, armed to make their own cases for the inclusion of Patrick with evidence gleaned from the Irish historical record. As Dolan argues, the implication here becomes that "audiences at performances can be seen as actively forming themselves as participating citizens of a perhaps more radical democracy,"[165] which in this context could mean *The Cambria's* audiences leave the theatre committed to advocating for

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[162] Jill Dolan, *Utopia in Performance: Finding Hope at the Theater,* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 2.

[163] Ibid., 5, 7.

[164] Dolan, 11, 10.

[165] Jill Dolan, *Utopia in Performance: Finding Hope at the Theater,* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 11.

reform of the Irish asylum system or actively participating in anti-racist projects which mobilize histories such as Douglass's to assess the state of race relations in Ireland today.

In *The Cambria,* theatrical performance therefore presents itself as a living channel for voicing "demands" that must be made of power vis-à-vis reception of asylum seekers through its power to draw attention to history as living *practice.*[166] The literal embodiment of Douglass's historical relationship to Ireland through the revival of the performative repertoire of his speeches and writings by O'Kelly *as* Douglass reanimates the past in the service of bringing into being a future yet to come. In this future, Patrick, like Douglass, will be given leave to remain in recognition of interlinked histories of emigration and reception between the Irish and other peoples.

O'Kelly's intervention through *The Cambria* ultimately derives from its status as performance, a play performed in live theatrical space. He is far from the only person to revisit Douglass's Irish period post-Celtic Tiger, but this play's reinvention of history as embodied performance aids in unpacking not only the relevance of Douglass to Ireland today, but also the mechanisms through which history circulates as a living force. O'Kelly's *Cambria* crucially depends on a coalescence of both archive and repertoire in order to activate Douglass's role as living history. The play utilizes multiple direct quotations from his *Narrative,* letters and speeches in addition to O'Kelly's own original writing in keeping with Diana Taylor's definition of archival memory as "documents, maps, literary texts, archaeological remains, bones, videos, films, CDs, all those items supposedly resistant to change."[167] Yet, this archival memory becomes activated in *The Cambria* not only in the service of voicing Douglass's words out loud for a live audience, but rather as a recreation of the physical repertoire of Douglass's own speeches which also crucially depended on a repertoire of stage performance techniques to move and educate his audiences. For Taylor, the repertoire depends on:

> embodied knowledge…[and] requires presence: people participate in the production and reproduction of knowledge by 'being there,' being a part of the transmission. As opposed to the supposedly stable objects of the archive, the actions that are the repertoire do not remain the same. The repertoire both keeps and transforms choreographies of meaning.[168]

Likewise, *The Cambria* is dependent on the instability engendered by the encounter between archive and repertoire in this performance, as neither the archive nor the repertoire remain stable sources of knowledge, but become transformed by O'Kelly's contemporary interpretation. O'Kelly wants his audience to relive the impact of

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[166] In the same year that *The Cambria* premiered, Jason King identified the Irish theatre as key site in which to engage Ireland's transformation from "an emigrant sending to an immigrant receiving society" and that it has indeed "served to provide both a vehicle and a venue for the enactment of this imaginative space, and the staging of spectacles of intercultural contact," ("Interculturalism and Irish Theatre," 24), a claim that he bases on the fact that since 1997, "there have been no less than six Irish theatrical productions by a host of well-established playwrights, as well as by immigrants themselves, that have sought to dramatize their experiences of intercultural contact and conflict with members of the Irish host society" (Ibid., 25).

[167] Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Memory in the Americas,* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003), 19.

[168] Ibid., 20.

Douglass's own words and embodied presence, but also reshapes the choreographies of meaning onstage to resonate with specific historical *and* contemporary contexts that relate to post-Celtic Tiger Ireland.

Like Douglass, O'Kelly performs the story of the violence of 19th century U.S. slavery live in order to make his audience viscerally aware of injustice in their world (namely contemporary Ireland) through relating stories of the body with the body. The success or failure of this act as inspiration to rethink contemporary Irish politics of belonging rests on the audience "being there" as a "part of the transmission" in order to recreate the event of Douglass's lectures in the present. David Román argues:

> Performance creates its audiences as critical subjects of this now; the provisional gathering that characterizes performance opens up a space in the public sphere that might challenge or refute local or national sentiments prioritized by other media. This moment, although local and temporal, should not be underestimated: not only does it rehearse new forms of sociality but those involved experience it in the process of the event itself.[169]

Román's understanding of performance as constitutive of an alternative space in the public sphere, a micro-public sphere unto itself, resonates with Dolan's theorization of the utopian performative. However, he takes her claim that performance gestures reach towards a better future a step further by suggesting that those new future forms of sociality imagined through performance may be experienced in "the process of the event itself." It is through this claim that the stakes of O'Kelly's combination of the archive and the repertoire becomes clear. The story of Douglass does not only live in books, as knowledge separate from embodied experiences of daily life in Ireland, but is also passed down through genealogies of performance which can both rehearse and create "new forms of sociality" in that very moment through "being there" with the audience. History becomes the present through shared embodied experience. O'Kelly revives the repertoire of Douglass's lectures and anti-racist pedagogy as a genealogy of performance[170] reaching forward through time, an act of embodiment that implicates and envelops contemporary Irish audiences through their act of spectatorship.

Cross-Racial Repertoires

The "doing" of Frederick Douglass by O'Kelly theoretically instantiates a process which can lead audiences away from a focus on the racial difference of asylum seekers like Douglass and Patrick, and towards the process of expanding the vision of the Irish

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[169] David Román, *Performance in America: Contemporary U.S. Culture and the Performing Arts,* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), 2-3.

[170] I use the term "performance genealogies" as an adaptation of Joseph Roach's "genealogies of performance" which "draw on the idea of expressive movements as mnemonic reserves, including patterned movements made and remembered by bodies, residual movements retained implicity in images and words (or in the silences between them), and imaginary movements dreamed in minds not prior to language but constitutive of it, a psychic rehearsal for physical actions from a repertoire that culture provides" (26). I will expand on my use of Roach's term later in the chapter. Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance,* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 26.

nation through acts of radical inclusion. However, what does it mean for white Irish-born performers to engage in cross-racial performance today? As Joseph Roach argues, the continuance of genealogies of performance depends crucially on surrogation, where "into the cavities created by loss through death or other forms of departure…survivors attempt to fit satisfactory alternatives."[171] When O'Kelly steps in for Douglass into "the cavities created by loss through death" in the context of post-Celtic Tiger Ireland, this particular surrogation is haunted by multiple resonances precisely through the performing body. O'Kelly's performance of Douglass as a white Irish-born actor, along with the multiple other cross-racial, cross-ethnic and cross-gender shifts in character accomplished by Fox and himself, explicitly invokes spectres of Blackface minstrel performance by Irish-Americans as progenitors of the form.[172] In the words of Robert Nowatski:

> Although the rise of Blackface minstrelsy to prominence during the peak periods of Irish Catholic immigration may at first seem to be a mere coincidence, the presence of Irish-Americans left an indelible mark on the development of minstrelsy, which in turn shaped how Irish-Americans saw themselves (as well as their relations with native white Americans and African-Americans) and were seen by other Americans.[173]

These shadowy meanings assert themselves despite the fact that O'Kelly and Fox wear no makeup and only use physical movement, gesture, and small adjustments to costume elements, such as changing hats and scarfs, to distinguish their diverse cast of characters from one another.

A thematic focus on Blackface minstrelsy, in fact, drives the action of O'Kelly's entire play. Matilda, the young daughter of the slave-holding villain Dodd, sets the dramatic wheels of the play in motion by mistaking Douglass for a minstrel due to his racial identity and the trunk that he carries with him, which she refers to as his box of "tricks." The box does contain props to be revealed later, but also copies of Douglass's *Narrative.* Based on Matilda's assertion, the other white members of the ship, including the captain, take Douglass to be a minstrel and Dodd presses him to perform for money. When confronted by Cecily, Douglass reveals his true identity and Dodd moves to have him arrested. After being temporarily placed in the hold, Douglass is freed by Dignam and Captain Judkins. He finally comes on board to speak, and relates the evils of slavery

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[171] Ibid., 2.

[172] See Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Robert Nowatski, "Paddy Jumps Jim Crow: Irish Americans and Blackface Minstrelsy," *Éire Ireland* 41,no. 3 & 4 (Fall/Winter 2006): 162-184; Michael Rogin, *Blackface, White Noise: Jewish Immigrants in the Hollywood Melting Pot,* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996). These works which explicitly address Irish-Americans histories of Blackface minstrelsy represent only a small subgenre of work on this performance genre, which in more recent years has taken on a much more transatlantic focus. See for example: Catherine M. Cole, *Ghana's Concert Party Theatre,* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001); Louis Chude-Sokei, *The Last 'Darky': Bert Williams, Black-on-Black Minstrelsy and the African Diaspora,* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); Jill Lane, *Blackface Cuba: 1840-1895* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005); Michael Pickering, *Blackface Minstrelsy in Britain,* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008). This work unfortunately lies outside the scope of this chapter in its present form.

[173] Nowatski, 163.

to the ship by way of showing his audience irons and fetters used to chain and abuse slaves. When Matilda finally presses Douglass into opening his "tricks box," and putting on a show at the climax of the play, there are no jokes to be found within its contents. Rather, he produces the following:

> FREDERICK: This is an iron collar which was taken from the neck of a young woman who had escaped from Mobile. If you look closely, you can see that it had so worn into her neck that her blood and flesh still clings to it.
>
> DODD: It's a concoction!
>
> DIGNAM: The choir-leader lady passes it to me. It is no concoction.
>
> FREDERICK: Take out the second item please. These are fetters used in chaining the feet of two slaves together.   I was present when they were sawn off the ankles of both screaming men who had run more than thirty miles over rough ground. (PAUSE) This is a pair of handcuffs taken from a fugitive slave who escaped from Maryland into so-called free Pennsylvania. I knew the man well.
>
> DODD: If any of you believe this grotesque fantasy, you are a gullible fool![174]

This "performance" establishes Douglass's true status as an abolitionist orator as opposed to a minstrel.   Real life accounts of violence against African-Americans as narrated by Douglass in *The Cambria* serve as the ultimate contrast to the concept of the minstrel show and its stereotyped assumptions about African-American identity.

Most significantly, it is Douglass's gory details of mistreatment and the fact that he produces physical artifacts of torture and exploitation that ultimately enable this contrast. This combination of rhetorical and physical devices proves that Douglass's suffering is indeed worthy of true sympathy and support from the white characters. Were Douglass's stories truly nothing but an "act," minstrelsy or otherwise, the play would not work. It depends on the verification of suffering as truth, his own and that of other African-Americans in slavery. Nevertheless, Matilda continues to refer to him as a minstrel throughout his presentation praising him at the end as the "best minstrel ever" while Cecily joins her, rejoicing, "Frederick Douglass, the hero of the day/minstrel most magical, you have performed your play."[175] O'Kelly's play on "minstrel" here derives its humor from Douglass being anything but a minstrel in art or intention, yet as Matilda points out, he too has his box of tricks and requires his performative moment onstage to win the sympathy of the contemporary audience watching *The Cambria*. Therefore, he still must actively take on the conventions of minstrelsy in performance in order to prove that he is not in fact a minstrel.

Yet, *The Cambria* also consciously foregrounds Douglass's dramatic skills as an orator in delivering anti-slavery lectures as the subversion of minstrel performance when he offers this lecture onboard the ship in place of the requested "minstrel show." John W.

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[174] Donal O'Kelly, *The Cambria,* 45-46.
[175] Ibid*.,* 47.

Blassingame argues that "[d]ramatic skills contributed heavily to Douglass's success as an orator. On the platform, he was a tragedian, a comic, a mimic, and an occasional singer."[176] Douglass's dramatic skills contributed to the social efficacy of his work through direct engagement with his audience, the same feat attempted by O'Kelly and Fox. Some of the genres of performance cited by Blassingame as part of Douglass's repertoire overlap with the stage conventions of minstrel performance, most notably comedy, mimicry and song. However, it is Douglass's performance as a tragedian that ultimately separate his "dramatic skills" from the conventions of the minstrel stage[177] as his lectures sought to educate audiences about the horrors of slavery through the stories of specific abuses enacted on himself, family members and fellow captives. Tragedy as a performative genre becomes activated precisely through these stories, just as in O'Kelly's play, and frames the way in which *The Cambria* is supposed to work for and on contemporary Irish audiences.

The performance of *The Cambria* by two white Irish-born actors, however, makes use of the performative genre of tragedy to enlist a complicated history of "pain" as the "conduit of identification"[178] between white and Black subjects in differential power relationships, particularly within the context of U.S. slavery. This history capitalizes on "the acclaimed transformative capacities of pain in sentimental culture" and includes, according to Sadiya Hartman:

> the prevalence of public displays of suffering inclusive of the pageantry of the trade, the spectacle of punishment, circulating reports of slavery's horrors, the runaway success of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* and the passage through the 'bloodstained gate' which was a convention of the slave narrative, all of which contributed to the idea that the feelings and consciousness of the slave were most available at this site.[179]

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[176] John W. Blassingame, "Introduction to Series One," *The Frederick Douglass Papers: Series One: Speeches, Debates, and Interviews, Volume I: 1841-46,* ed. John W. Blassingame, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979), xxxi.

[177] Eric Lott describes minstrel shows roughly contemporaneous to Douglass's sojourn in Ireland in this way:

> it was configured at the height of its popularity as a semicircle of four or five or sometimes more white male performers…made up with facial Blacking of greasepaint or burnt cork and adorned in outrageously oversized and/or ragged "Negro" costumes. Armed with an array of instruments, usually banjo, fiddle, bone castanets, and tambourine, the performers would stage a tripartite show. The first part offered up a random selection of songs interspersed with what passed for Black white and japery; the second part (or "olio") featured a group of novelty performances (comic dialogues, malapropistic "stump speeches," cross-dressed "wench" performances, and the like); and the third part was a narrative skit, containing dancing, music and burlesque (5).

This "nineteenth century theatrical practice…in which white men caricatured Blacks for sport and profit" (3) thus was certainly not founded on drawing attention to the tragedy or violence of slavery as an institution. Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class.*

[178] Sadiya Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America,* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 20.

[179] Ibid., 20.

Hartman's 1997 study of these "scenes of subjection" calls into serious question recourse to pain as the "most available" conduit of identification between captive and free bodies. O'Kelly's recreation of these scenes of subjection through his staging of Douglass's narrative as a parallel to the stories of Patrick and others denied asylum within the Irish nation today depends on working the audience through the same process of identification, sympathy and horror critiqued by Hartman, in order to arrive at an adjusted political stance. For O'Kelly, (Black) bodies in pain ultimately serve as evidence for not only the veracity of Douglass's story, but the contemporary legitimacy of asylum claims, a theme repeated at length in his earlier 1994 play *Asylum! Asylum!*.[180] In these plays, Black bodies must be suffering in order to be acknowledged and if they are not suffering, they are not visible.

The Cambria repeatedly reprises paradigmatic moments in the history of U.S. slave narratives that centralize suffering as a means of communication. The first line of Hartman's book names the beating of Frederick Douglass's Aunt Hester as the "terrible spectacle that introduced him to slavery," and "one of the most well-known scenes of torture in the literature of slavery, perhaps second only to Uncle Tom's murder at the hands of Simon Legree."[181] At the climax of Act I of *The Cambria,* Douglass finally breaks his silence about his experiences onboard the ship down below deck for the ship's laborers. The story he chooses to tell is the story of the beating of his Aunt Hester, a moment O'Kelly positions as the character coming to voice for the first time on this crossing. Hartman calls attention to "the ease with such scenes are usually reiterated, the casualness with which they are circulated, and the consequences of this routine display of the slave's ravaged body"[182] in order to interrogate how focus on the spectacle of Black suffering bodies continues to reiterate power relations rather than seriously challenging them. While O'Kelly does not position this moment as an instance of casual reiteration in the logic of play, Aunt Hester's story is nonetheless used as evidence not only to establish the humanity of those enslaved in Douglass's time, but to point also towards the humanity of contemporary Irish asylum seekers, such as Patrick, who also happen to be Black. Patrick's story is not told in *The Cambria,* but if the audience is to understand this figure as a failed Frederick Douglass due to the oversight of the Irish nation, then it follows that Aunt Hester's suffering is extended by association to Patrick, who is denied the chance to even tell his story, or have another tell it for him. In fact, this implied linkage between Patrick and Douglass and Patrick and Hester is quite weak because the play is silent on any specific details regarding the facts of Patrick's asylum case, as well any information about his identity in the context of Nigerian society regarding his class status and other markers. Therefore, O'Kelly not only denies him the right to speak as a

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[180] This naturalistic play relates the story of Joseph, a Ugandan asylum seeker, and the impact of his case on the lives of an Irish family who are variously involved. It features extended accounts of violence and torture committed against Joseph and his family, and the play revolves around debates regarding whether he is telling the truth about these violent scenes. *Asylum! Asylum!* was mounted at the Abbey on the Peacock stage, and was the first play at the National Theatre of Ireland to explicitly address inward-migration and the asylum process in Ireland. Donal O'Kelly, *Asylum! Asylum!,* in *New Plays from the Abbey Theatre: 1993-1995,* Edited by Christopher Fitz-Simon and Sanford Sternlicht, (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1996), 113-174.
[181] Ibid., 3.
[182] Ibid., 3.

character, but homogenizes his difference. He specifies his identity only in reference to the broad terms of his African nationality, affinity for Irish history and culture, and commitment as a student. Patrick only comes into being in *The Cambria* through his implied and unspecified suffering.

The ambivalent slippage between Douglass as minstrel and Douglass as abolitionist and orator, between Douglass as historical asylum seeker and Patrick as contemporary asylum seeker, and between Aunt Hester's suffering and the implied suffering of Patrick, ultimately reveals the way in which *The Cambria* wants to liberate Douglass and his contemporary counterparts from their suffering, but requires their performance of this suffering in order to validate their narratives and prove themselves worthy of Irish protection and shelter. Indeed, the aim not only of Matilda, but Judkins, Cecily, Solomon and Dignam is to get Douglass to tell his story, to open his box of tricks, to perform. Therefore, performance variously functions as liberation, subversion and violence throughout the play but ultimately can only be demanded of Black characters by white characters, and not vice versa.

O'Kelly and Fox's portrayal of different races and genders onstage arguably operates in the service of mapping a more tangled global history of Irish experience and engagement with anti-racist practice at the scale of the actor's body. Yet, *The Cambria's* obsession with minstrelsy ultimately exposes uncomfortable tensions at the heart of the production's concept. O'Kelly is, after all, a white Irish-born man playing an African-American man onstage. Cross-racial representation in *The Cambria* is undertaken in the spirit of foregrounding intersectionalities between Irish, U.S., West Indian, and African-American experiences, but given the identity of the performers troubled resonances are never far from the surface. The emphasis on mistaken minstrels at the heart of the show's plot could operate as an acknowledgment of the by now well-known history of Irish-American performers in minstrel shows due to the work of Eric Lott, Michael Rogin and Robert Nowatzski on the subject.[183] Nevertheless, O'Kelly professed an ambiguous acknowledgment of this history in relation to *The Cambria* when pressed:

> I could never imagine myself painting my face Black, that sounds, it would be contrary to my idea of what theatre is, because you're denying the audience's facility for imagining... I know about the Black and white minstrels, and the whole thing, in fact Frederick Douglass had a whole thing about the Blackface minstrels, he detested it…I never knew it was a whole …term, [Blackface], until we were bringing *The Cambria* to USC in 2006… I got an e-mail copied to me from the department, I think it was the drama department, saying we need to be careful of the "Blackface factor"… I … sent an e-mail explaining how it works, the context, you know? …You know in *Catalpa,* I play a French serving girl and a dead mother-in-law, and in *The Cambria,* Sorcha, who's a woman, plays a West Indian seaman, it's the idea of the actor as vessel, you're just a vessel until you put the character on…[I]t's not important what the actor looks like, if the acting skills are there, the audience, and the concept, the writing concept are right, the

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[183] See Michael Rogin, Blackface, *White Noise: Jewish Americans in the Hollywood Melting Pot,*; Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class*; Robert Nowatski, "Paddy Jumps Jim Crow: Irish-Americans and Blackface Minstrelsy."

audience will see Frederick Douglas, and…West Indian seaman having a conversation, they won't see a 50 year old Irish actor, and a 35 year old actress acting out the scene.[184]

For O'Kelly, suspending the disbelief of the audience is what counts, and this is achieved through the skills of the actor onstage. Blackface as an idea is "contrary to [O'Kelly's] idea of what theatre is, because you're denying the audience's facility for imagining" but he denies the very history that gives meaning to Blackface as a practice. O'Kelly desires for the job of the actor and the act of embodiment itself to be color-blind. However, the play focuses on confirming Douglass's authenticity as an African-American abolitionist, as opposed to an African-American minstrel playing Black stereotypes, or a white man impersonating a Black man. Therefore, the play requires a double suspension of disbelief- race does and does not matter-which ultimately contradicts itself and undermines the goals of O'Kelly's project.

 The performance of cross-racial and cross-gendered roles by O'Kelly and Fox aims to destabilize notions of difference as rooted in the body in order to, in Fionnghuala Sweeney's words, "posit identity not as a union of the national and the ethnic, but as derived from the reciprocal engagement of subjects, individually and collectively, with political morality through participation in the space of a common narrative."[185] Sweeney imagines post-Celtic Tiger identity as potentially distanced from the "national and the ethnic" through a process of "reciprocal engagement" embodied by O'Kelly and Fox's cross-racial performance which requires the audience to "discard the visual contradictions with which they are presented," namely a white Irish man playing Frederick Douglass. Sweeney positions this act of "discard" as the performative moment in which new possibilities open up for the future plurality of Irish identity. Yet, this argument presumes that the act of performing an/other always and already performs transgressive work regardless of who is performing whom. Sweeney draws on Judith Butler's theory of performativity and understands this to mean that identities of nationality, gender and race are continually being recreated through performative repetitions. Therefore, she argues that O'Kelly and Fox's performance of *The Cambria* represents an intervention with the power to remake nationality, gender and race in an Irish context. However, the power that Sweeney assigns to *The Cambria* to remake contemporary Irish identity politics assumes that this production takes place in a vacuum that does not speak to prior performative histories which frame the stakes of contemporary cross-racial Irish performance, such as the key role of Irish-Americans in minstrelsy or the role of spectacles of suffering in arguing for the humanity of the Black subject in the 19th century and after. Furthermore, Sweeney does not take into account the privilege of O'Kelly and Fox as white Irish-born performers. Their fluid movement between racial and ethnic identities mirrors the flexibility of their movement through Irish social space as citizens and members of the white majority Irish-born population. Could an Irish performer of color just as easily perform a varied cast of white characters onstage or even be given the opportunity to do so? Therefore, the potential that *The Cambria* can in fact refute "the

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[184] Donal O'Kelly (Playwright and actor), in discussion with the author, February 16, 2009.
[185] Fionnghuala Sweeney, "Other Peoples' History: Slavery, Refuge and Irish Citizenship in Dónal O'Kelly's *The Cambria,*" *Slavery & Abolition* 29, No. 2 (June 2008): 285.

possibility of essentialist identity" instead redirecting "attention towards the possibility of other kinds of performances for that state in ways that avoid deterministic profiles of subjectivity or citizenship"[186] ignores the racialized realities of Irish minorities, especially Blacks, living in a society where they experience surveillance, suspicion and the threat of violence on a daily basis.

Hurting Into Identification

> Slaves were expected to sing as well as to work…There was generally more or less singing among the teamsters, at all times…While on the way, the would make the grand old woods for miles around reverberate with their wild and plaintive notes. They were indeed both merry and sad. Child as I was, these wild songs greatly depressed my spirits. Nowhere outside of dear old Ireland, in the days of want and famine, have I heard sounds so mournful.
>
> Frederick Douglass[187]

> The utopian performative, by its very nature, can't translate into a program for social action because it's most effective as a *feeling*.
>
> Jill Dolan[188]

Douglass himself prioritizes feeling as a contact zone between African-Americans and the Irish as he draws parallels between the mournful music of African-American slaves working in the fields, and music he heard during his visit to Ireland at the beginning of the Great Famine in 1845. I use "contact zone" here consciously in the sense of Mary Louise Pratt's definition of the term where it connotes "social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination, such as colonialism or slavery, or their aftermath as they are lived out across the globe today."[189] This contact zone between the mournful sounds of the Irish poor and African-American slaves is an imagined one, two disparate contexts joined in time and space by Douglass through the feelings that the repetition of these parallel scenes inspired in him as a listener by way of music. Like O'Kelly, Douglass invests faith here in feelings as a way to make sense of the past, as well as an outlet for the catharsis of trauma. The "wild songs" heard by Douglass in both Ireland and the Southern U.S. were cries for help, as well as techniques through which individuals singers and groups managed the expression of their emotions within constrained circumstances.

Extending Douglass's act of imagination, O'Kelly's *Cambria* strives to put the "wild songs" of Irish and African-American histories into conversation with one another in order to interrogate the (racial) politics of Irish social interculturalism vis-à-vis asylum policy today. However, the clash between the "disparate" contexts represented by these histories and the shifting relationships of diverse African-American and Irish

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[186] Ibid, 286.
[187] Douglass, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass,* 54.
[188] Dolan, 19.
[189] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation: 2nd Edition,* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 7.

communities with one another complicates this desire. Although the continuing racialization of Black subjects and the historical racialization of the Irish represent the implicit and explicit obsessions of *The Cambria,* the very processes of racialization *by* Irish people vis-à-vis themselves or minority ethnic communities in the 19th or 21st century in the context of the nation or diaspora are never actually engaged or named by the play. Patrick happens to be Nigerian, like Douglass happened to be Black, which both means everything and nothing to this story. The story's success depends ultimately on whether the audience emotionally identifies with the characters, an identification that happens through the exposure of their physical suffering, and does not necessarily depend on their racial difference. However, this emotional identification reiterates racialized histories of the suffering Black body as spectacle explicitly indexed by O'Kelly's use of Douglass's writing even as the play's usage of this writing critiques the importance of the characters' racial identity to the feelings of disgust and horror that should be inspired within the audience. Emotional identification and racialization in 19th and 21st century Ireland and U.S. remain intimately intertwined, but the co-constitutive nature of these processes is never directly engaged, rather it is taken for granted and neutralized. This silence ultimately reflects the stealth but central role Blackness has played in defining broader terms of Irish social interculturalism, as in the focus on African communities during debates over the Citizenship Referendum.

O'Kelly's refusal to engage the racialized politics of looking in a contemporary and historical Irish context, specifically in terms of Blackness, facilitates the possibility of a more fluid identification between Douglass, Patrick, new immigrants and Irish emigrants based on a shared history of "mournful" sounds, but it does so at the cost of specificity. If the story of Frederick Douglass is the story of the Black and Green Atlantic, a space traversed by many African(-Americans) and many Irish under duress and in search of freedom, then Douglass's story is not only a triumph because of 19th century Irish tolerance, but because of Douglass's survival and success in the face of the odds stacked against him. Douglass's triumph is in turn a success story perhaps mirrored by the survival of the Irish people in the face of Famine, emigration and the struggle for Independence. However, in O'Kelly's play, these histories fade into one another, clouding their specificity and doing so precisely through his neutralization of the racialized politics of emotional identification.

This fade between Irish and "Other" histories of both recent immigrants and minority ethnic groups repeatedly surfaces as the foundation of a progressive and tolerant Irish social interculturalism and is a process always enabled by emotional transference. Luke Gibbons argues:

> To reclaim the memory of those who have been forgotten or who have been written out of history in these circumstances is not to indulge in the self-absorption of victim culture but the opposite: to engage in an act of ethical imagination in which one's own uneven development becomes not just a way in, but a way out, a means of empathizing with other peoples and societies in similar situations today. [190]

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[190] Luke Gibbons, "The Global Cure? History, Therapy and the Celtic Tiger," in *Reinventing Ireland: Culture, Society, and the Global Economy*, 104.

Gibbons' "act of ethical imagination" theoretically constitutes a mode of historical and economic analysis that recognizes the "other" as constitutive of Ireland's own history, therefore rendering it unethical to refuse immigrants space in the Irish nation. Elsewhere, Gibbons posits further that engaging with the "hurt" of Irish memories of the past instantiates a productive practice capable of opening up new possibilities for identifying with recent arrivals:

> 'Mad Ireland hurt you into poetry,' wrote W.H. Auden of the 'honoured guest,' W.B. Yeats, but it could just as well hurt many more Irish people into identifying with other less honoured guests- the recent arrival of refugees, asylum seekers, and guest workers from Eastern Europe and Africa.[191]

Here, Gibbons rephrases his "act of ethical imagination" to suggest that Irish people be hurt *into* identification with these marginalized groups. This implies a necessary recognition not only of past hurts concerning the Irish nation and its people, but of the present hurt of "other less honoured guests," whether physical, economic, or emotional. Thus, reciprocity is essential but it is seemingly a one-way exchange: the Irish-born white majority need to recognize the "other" and themselves in the "other," but it is unclear whether those being looked at and through can look back.

Gibbon's language of analysis centralizes "empathizing" as the act that works against myopic views of Irish national politics in a global context. The Oxford English Dictionary defines empathy as "the power of projecting one's personality into (and so fully comprehending) the object of contemplation."[192] The triangulation of "power," "projection," and "object" implied through the white Irish-born majority feeling empathy *for* new immigrants therefore actually amplifies the unequal dynamics of their relationship to one another. "I feel your pain," but only through projecting it back onto my own. The ghosts of the Irish past are, as Lentin suggests, reanimated in the bodies of the "new Irish," who become necessary sites of transference for unresolved trauma, but what does this mean for engaging with the nuance of the feelings and stories *of* the "New Irish"?

This strategy ultimately assumes a dominant perspective from Irish-born individuals that participate in this process that shares in the majority experiences of the nation's history (white, Catholic, Nationalist, settled) in order to successfully engage in collective catharsis. Taking for granted a shared history of the Irish nation and a unitary perspective on what constitutes Irish trauma again erases the place of Travellers, Jews, other religious minorities and communities of diverse racial and ethnic origins, as well as sexual minorities, who have lived within Irish borders but outside the imagination of the Irish nation long before the rupture of the Celtic Tiger.

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[191] Luke Gibbons, "Guests of the Nation: Ireland, Immigration, and Post-Colonial Solidarity," in *Traces- A Multilingual Journal of Cultural Theory and Translation: "Race"Panic and the Memory of Immigration, 2,* edited by Meaghan Morris and Brett de Bary, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2001), 98.
[192] Oxford English Dictionary, "Empathy," Accessed October 28, 2010, http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50074152?query_type=word&queryword=empathize&first=1&max_to_show=10&single=1&sort_type=alpha.

O'Kelly's *The Cambria* dramatizes Gibbons' proposed act of hurting *into* identification by placing exposure of the suffering of Frederick Douglass and other African-American slaves center-stage as the dramatic lynchpin of his play. O'Kelly's focus on Douglass's story and the horrors of U.S. slavery in order to inspire sympathy for Patrick and other asylum speakers aims to layer Irish and African-American histories. Nevertheless, the primary impulse remains to push the audience through hurt into identification with asylum seekers, refugees, and new immigrants in general, by forcing a reflection on past *Irish* history, itself assumed to be undisputed and equally shared, rather than dealing with the specificity of the situations of diverse groups represented within the "new Irish" at large. While Douglass and O'Kelly reach for the utopic potential of shared mournful songs through the broad parallels they invoke between Irish and African-American histories, even Dolan cautions that utopian performatives such as those that drive O'Kelly's play are ultimately most useful as *feelings,* not programs for social action.[193] To move past feelings and towards a program for social action, however, necessitates dealing with the racialized implications of feelings in this context as a move that exposes the limits of Irish tolerance and broad appeals to Irish history as a viable contact zone for identification between majority and minority ethnic groups.

Elsewhere in the contemporary Irish theatre, however, minority ethnic artists are reshaping the parameters of this scene as a venue not only for continued reflection on Irish histories defined in terms of the dominant white Irish-born majority. Rather, artists such as Bisi Adigun, Kunle Animashaun, Gianina Cărbunariu and Ursula Rani Sarma challenge the meaning of Irishness post-Celtic Tiger through the adoption of diverse aesthetic and thematic strategies that test theories of both aesthetic and social interculturalism. Furthermore, they quite simply challenge the limits of what minority ethnic characters find places onstage. As Adigun, the founder of Arambe Productions, Ireland's first African-Irish theatre company, argued in 2007, "…with the exception of one or two productions, when Black characters, especially Africans, are featured in Irish drama, they are portrayed as foreigners, intruders, asylum seekers or refugees."[194] O'Kelly's *Cambria* and *Asylum! Asylum!* take up racism on racism's terms- these plays offer repeated extreme accounts of violence against Black bodies in order to prove and/or question whether claims of asylum fraud are unfounded. These suffering bodies linger at the edges of the Irish national imagination, as their capacity for pain rather than their individual desire or aspirations becomes their tentative leave to remain, but never center stage. The evolving work of Adigun and others calls into question the dramaturgy of this marginalization as a key concern for the future of the post-Celtic Tiger Irish theatre.

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[193] Dolan, 19.

[194] Bisi Adigun, "Arambe Productions: An African's Response to the Recent Portrayal of the *Fear Gorm* in Irish Drama," in *Performing Global Networks,* eds. Karen Fricker and Ronit Lentin, (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), 53-54.

Chapter Three
Widening the Stage:
Minority Ethnic Artists and the Future of the Post-Celtic Tiger Irish Theatre

On March 16, 2003, African-Irish theatre company Arambe Productions debuted with an evening of performance titled *African Voices in Ireland* at the Project Arts Centre in Dublin. The evening celebrated "African oral tradition here in Ireland."[195] Performers told stories, recited poems and proverbs, staged a dramatic reading of an excerpt from Abel Ugba's novel *Dear Mama,* presented a skit based on BBC's *The Weakest Link*, and mounted a scene from Irish playwright Jimmy Murphy's *Kings of the Kilburn High Road.* The diverse African backgrounds of the featured performers from Kenya, Liberia, Mozambique, Nigeria, Somalia, South Africa, and Senegal communicated to that evening's audiences the size and scope of the African community in Ireland as well as their huge range of talents in the performing arts.

Arambe Production's work with Murphy's *Kings of the Kilburn High Road* did not end that evening. Their experiment culminated in an acclaimed full-scale production of Murphy's play with an all African-Irish cast that opened to enthusiastic reviews at the Dublin Fringe Festival in 2006 before traveling to the U.S. for a performance at the University of Notre Dame. However, during a workshop leading up to the production at a "multicultural event" in Dublin, Arambe's founder Bisi Adigun was confronted with the following question in the talkback: "So tell me," one man began, "do you think it is right for you people to come to this country, take our jobs, take our houses, and now you've started acting our plays as well? Don't you have plays of your own?"[196]

This man's confrontational query voices anxieties about the growth of minority ethnic communities, particularly communities of recent immigrants and the consequences of this demographic shift for not only the Irish economy, but for the future of Irish national identity. The man's claim to "our jobs," "our houses" and "our plays" casts Adigun and Arambe Productions as perpetual outsiders who cannot see that the "right" version of the Irish nation remains animated by the 19th century nationalist slogan and moniker of the contemporary political party Sinn Féin: "ourselves alone," "ourselves," "we ourselves." The "our" implied here is Irish-born, white, Catholic and settled.

Yet, immigration during the Celtic Tiger period, coupled with other key shifts in public rhetoric and policy, challenges simple perceptions of what now constitutes an "Irish" identity. Jason Buchanan argues that the Celtic Tiger "marked Ireland's passage into a new historical paradigm, an upheaval in the reality of the nation that redefined the limits and borders of what could, or should, be considered Irish."[197] Part of what has redefined the "limits and borders of what could, or should, be considered Irish" is the contribution of growing immigrant communities within the Republic of Ireland. The work of minority ethnic artists like Adigun reframes the parameters of national belonging and tests the limits of interculturalism as official discourse in the post-Celtic Tiger nation. Apart from Adigun, artists such as Kunle Animashaun, Gianina Cărbunariu, and Ursula

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[195]Arambe Productions, "African Voices," accessed January 14, 2011, http://www.arambeproductions.com/archive.html.

[196] Peter Crawley, "Getting Back to Ritual," *The Irish Times,* May 18, 2006, 14.

[197] Jason Buchanan, "Living at the End of the Irish Century: Globalization and Identity in Declan Hughes' *Shiver," Modern Drama* 52, no. 3, (Fall 2009): 300.

Rani Sarma also figure as prominent faces of the "New Ireland," working as directors, actors, and playwrights. In this chapter, I cluster together a series of recent productions and new plays by minority ethnic theatre artists in order to argue for their central role in the landscape and future of the contemporary Irish theatre. I first examine two recent new productions of J.M. Synge's *Playboy of the Western World* mounted by Pan Pan Theatre and Adigun and Irish novelist Roddy Doyle at the Abbey Theatre that directly engage the Irish theatre canon as a site of entry into Irish national belonging for minority ethnic communities, but do so on extremely different terms. I then juxtapose these *Playboys* with Arambe's production of Murphy's *Kings of the Kilburn High Road* and Kunle Animashaun's company Camino de Orula Production's of Athol Fugard's *Sizwe Bansi is Dead.* Finally, I turn to new plays by Gianina Cărbunariu and Ursula Rani Sarma.

I focus on new productions of "Irish" plays, adaptations of African plays for an Irish context or Irish plays for an African-Irish context and new writing by minority ethnic artists in order to address the last question of Adigun's interlocutor- "Don't you have plays of your own?"- and to consider the range of minority ethnic theatre production in contemporary Ireland. Through the two *Playboys,* I demonstrate that an answer to this question is deeply dependent on analysis of how the arts are being positioned as a tool of intercultural exchange domestically and internationally post-Celtic Tiger and of the resources available to minority ethnic artists or those wishing to do "intercultural" work as a result. Then adapting the language of "canonical counter-discourse" from postcolonial studies, I use Adigun and Animashaun's work to consider how production context and staging can reappropriate African and Irish texts for the post-Celtic Tiger moment and problematize ownership of dramatic literature along national (ist) lines. Finally, using Cărbunariu and Sarma's work, I interrogate what a play of "their" own is and could be for minority ethnic artists within Ireland beyond a play imported to the Republic from their country of origin. Such plays stretch the limits of what can be understood as "Irish" drama through flexible uses of Irish settings and explicit address of themes of globalization and transnationalism in order to reframe the material and imaginative borders of the Irish nation.

The continued marginalization of these artists' work dramatizes difficulties regarding the definition and practice of interculturalism in Irish theatre and society at large in the context of a theatre scene dominated by (white Irish-born) male playwrights, a few major theatres as accepted sites for producing credible new work, and increasingly diffuse criteria for what constitutes "Irish" drama at all. Indeed, the work of minority ethnic playwrights and artists in post-Celtic Tiger Ireland has to yet attract significant critical attention and frequently operates beneath the radar, premiering with smaller Irish theatre companies or outside the country. Apart from the efforts of Jason King, Loredad Salis and to some extent, Patrick Longeran's recent work on globalization and the contemporary Irish theatre, these efforts have been viewed in isolation from one another or ignored altogether, rather than identified as part of an emerging movement that will guide the future of Irish theatre. Lonergan connects broader silence from Irish-born theatre practitioners on these themes and about this work to a fear that an attrition of "Irishness" may result in work that is less accessible to international audiences. He argues:

The question for theatre practitioners is whether they are willing to acknowledge that multiculturalism has made Irishness seem in many ways unrecognizable- and if they choose to capture that unrecognizable quality in their plays, they cannot brand themselves as 'Irish' for global consumption.[198]

Lonergan refers here to the financial and artistic risks inherent in potentially jettisoning recognizable tropes of the Irish theatre such as a thematic focus on nationalism, realistic theatre conventions and familiar settings such at the Irish home or the rural countryside. These tropes have been consistently present in the work of the most internationally successful Irish playwrights of the last twenty years, such as Martin McDonagh, Marie Jones, Conor McPherson, Marina Carr and Enda Walsh. Of course, these authors push against and reinvent these tropes for contemporary audiences through dramaturgical and literary innovation, yet their thematic content remains focused around questions related to Irishness, nationalism and identity, which arguably eases the marketing of their work to international audiences. Nevertheless, as Mary Trotter argues: "to explore Irish theatre since the 1990s is to explore a theatre taking part in an active reinvention of its traditions to make room for a greater representations of Irish experiences and identity positions, and finding new ways to represent the tremendous changes occurring in contemporary Irish life."[199] Indeed, companies less dependent on theatrical realism or "Irish" themes such as Pan Pan, Brokentalkers, Fabulous Beast and Corn Exchange have enjoyed significant domestic and international success post-Celtic Tiger but their work has only occasionally dealt with themes related to immigration and interculturalism or involved minority ethnic artists as collaborators. Ultimately, the work of Adigun, Gianina Cărbunariu and Ursula Rani Sarma challenges Irish theatrical criticism to use experiences of the "new Irish" to reorient and thicken critical approaches to Irish theatre in the service of reaching far beyond the nation, even within the seeming safety of its own borders.

Post-Celtic Tiger Playboys

Michael: So, what's the story?
Sean: There's a fella, he's coming this way!
Michael: You're some sort of refugee or asylum seeker, yeah?
Sean: Is there a war?
Michael: Are you involved, a terrorist, a freedom fighter, one of the lads?
Sean: Is it a tribal thing?
Pegeen Mike: To look at you, you'd think butter wouldn't melt in your mouth.
…

Sean: He's nobody. He's Black. He's a Nigerian, for the love of God!
Pegeen Mike: He's done something wrong. He's running from the law.
…

[198] Patrick Lonergan, *Theatre and Globalization: Irish Drama in the Celtic Tiger Era,* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 215.
[199] Mary Trotter, *Modern Irish Theatre*,179.

Pegeen Mike: I never thought I'd feel like this. For someone who isn't even Irish!
Playboy of the Western World: A New Version[200]

The 2007 teaser trailer for the world premiere of Bisi Adigun and Roddy Doyle's *Playboy of the Western World: A New Version* taunts its audience with one central question: "Who is the Playboy?" This indeed became a central question of the Irish theatre post-Celtic Tiger. As the dust of the Celtic Tiger settled in the mid-late 2000s, a flurry of new Irish productions of Synge's *Playboy of the Western World* bounded onto the (world) stage mounted most notably by the Abbey, Pan Pan, and Druid. Peter Crawley, in fact, claims that in "a decade of tumult and experimentation in Irish theatre…Synge's ever contemporary masterpiece ran like a charged current through proceedings."[201]

The mounting of Adigun and Doyle's new version at the Abbey Theatre for the 100th anniversary of *Playboy's* premiere in 2007 acknowledged the growth of Nigerian and African communities in the Republic by way of adapting the most important text of 20th century Irish theatre to reflect African(-Irish) influences and bring the play "bang up to date." [202] In 2006, Dublin-based Pan Pan Theatre also produced a new production of Synge's iconic play, a Mandarin Chinese *Playboy of the Western World.* However, their objective did not include highlighting the contributions and presence of minority ethnic communities in the Republic through a partnership between Chinese and Irish theatre artists. Rather, Pan Pan's collaboration with Chinese artists in Beijing embodied the agenda of Culture Ireland, formed in 2005 as an agency that "creates and supports opportunities for Irish artists to present their work at strategic international festivals, venues, showcases and arts markets."[203]   Pan Pan premiered their piece in Shanghai in collaboration with Chinese artists and then brought it to Dublin for a limited engagement at the Project Arts Centre. Significantly, Pan Pan's intercultural Chinese *Playboy* also came at a moment when the Irish state was in the process of intensifying its economic and cultural relationship with China.[204]

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[200] This text is taken verbatim from a teaser trailer for *Playboy of the Western World: A New Version* which was featured on the production's MySpace site for the 2007 premiere, Accessed February 18, 2011, http://www.myspace.com/playboyanewversion.

[201] Peter Crawley, "A decade framed by *Playboys*," *The Irish Times,* December 2, 2009, 19.

[202] The Abbey Theatre marketed Adigun and Doyle's *Playboy* as a "bang-up to date" version for both the 2007 premiere and 2008-2009 revival.

[203] "Culture Ireland," Accessed January 15, 2011, http://www.cultureireland.gov.ie/.

[204] In 2010, the Irish ambassador to China, Declan Kelleher stated: "Ireland and China have a close and friendly relationship which is growing all the time…I am delighted at the progress that is being made and the contacts that continue to be developed, not only in the political and economic, but also in the education, cultural and human spheres" ("Ireland-China Relations"). Alan Buckley, Enterprise Ireland's China director reported in January of the same year, 'We are definitely seeing a rise in day-to-day interest from Irish companies interested in doing business in China…The State agency now has four offices in China" (Lynch 18). Following this in June 2010, President Mary McAleese predicted a "very bright future" for relations between Ireland and China ("Irish President Upbeat on 'bright future' in ties with China).
Ireland Expo 2010 Shanghai, "Ireland-China Relations," Accessed July 5, 2010, http://www.irelandexpo2010.com/ireland-china_relations.
Suzanne Lynch, "China's still-thriving economy is a target of Irish trade policy," *The Irish Times,* January 2, 2010, Accessed January 15, 2011, http://www.idaireland.com/news-media/featured-news/chinas-still-thriving-eco/.

The interplay between the objectives of these two *Playboys* dramatizes differing models for how interculturalism has been theorized as a domestic and transnational enterprise in post-Celtic Tiger Ireland. Both *Playboys* approach theatrical interculturalism as, in Holledge and Tompkin's words, "the meeting in the moment of two or more cultural traditions, a temporary fusing of styles and/or techniques and/or cultures."[205] Yet, these *Playboys'* individual spins on interculturalism reveal how this term is capable of containing differing priorities of the Irish state in encouraging artistic innovation, furthering the prestige of the Irish arts in an (inter)national context, and representing diversity within the Irish state itself.   Pan Pan, like Adigun and Doyle, used Synge's play to put into practice their own theory of the contemporary potential of Irish aesthetic interculturalism. However, for Pan Pan, mounting their *Playboy* brought Ireland "bang up to date" by reaching literally outside of the nation through transnational artistic networks made more accessible by the formation of Culture Ireland. This experiment recalls the working method of several key intercultural theatre practitioners such as Peter Brook, Ariane Mnouchkine, and Robert Wilson. Their work is frequently founded on collaborating across national boundaries via elite artistic networks of exchange but has been criticized for being potentially driven by "a sense of Western culture as bankrupt and in need of invigoration from the non-West…Intercultural practice in this mode is largely an aesthetic response to cultural diversity."[206] Conversely, Adigun and Doyle's *Playboy* investigated interculturalism in a domestic context vis-à-vis West Dublin, albeit under the auspices of the nation's most elite theatrical institution. However, placing these two *Playboys* in conversation with each other ultimately demonstrates how contemporary Irish discourses of interculturalism and use of the arts as cultural diplomacy in international and domestic contexts frequently marginalize the very minority ethnic communities that the work claims to represent or speak for.

Together, Adigun and Doyle reinvent Synge's isolated Mayo public house as a contemporary shrine of Irish kitsch masquerading as a pub off the M-50 motorway. This isolated bar serves as a headquarters for medium-size gangster Michael, his daughter Pegeen Mike, and his hapless sidekicks, Philly and Jimmy. An arranged marriage between Seán and Pegeen is still in the works, but it is a business deal designed to gain "protection" for Pegeen's family. Christopher Malomo, a handsome young man on the run after killing his father in Nigeria, however, disrupts these plans with his sudden and dramatic arrival. This *Playboy,* however, ultimately falls victim to the dramaturgy of Synge's play, not gathering enough courage to push convincingly against the text or revise its original ending. Therefore, their project breaks down from the moment Christopher appears as an outsider with no real claim to the space he enters, whether Pegeen's bar or the Abbey's stage, because there is no way he will be permitted to stay at the end of the three acts. Christopher and Chief Malomo leave at the conclusion of the play in order to spread the news about the "villainy of Ireland," and Christopher's previous plan to remain lingers as nothing more than a cocky would-be murderer's far-fetched fantasy. The threat of the Malomos' stories about Ireland's violence, villainy and

"Irish President upbeat on 'bright future' in ties with China." *BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific-Political.* June 16, 2010.
[205] Holledge and Tompkins, *Women's Intercultural Performance,* 7.
[206] Lo and Gilbert, "Towards a Topography of Cross-Cultural Theatre Praxis," 39.

poor hospitality reaching foreign places looms as a reminder of the frequent verbal and physical racism endured by recent migrants, particularly of African descent,[207] but does not depict migrants, asylum seekers or otherwise, as already truly present within Irish society. Instead, they continue to be rejected upon arrival.[208]

Adigun and Doyle's *Playboy* eloquently captures Christopher's fear and isolation but does not create credible conditions for his happiness. Ultimately, the production succeeds most in exposing the spectres of racism neatly packed away within the humor and deep belly laughs that form the play's backbone. The Irish-born characters' fluency in world geography, politics, and asylum procedures recur as a theme throughout the play and provide much of the new version's humor. Michael, Pegeen's gangster father, prompts Christopher:

> Michael: Where are you from?
> Christopher: Africa.
> Michael: Big place.
> Christopher: West Africa.
> Michael: Nigeria. Now there's a surprise.[209]

These characters are not ignorant Irish encountering a "Black fella" with horror and disgust for the first time on a dark and stormy night, but media and computer literate individuals who know their geography and can anticipate the stories of immigrants in their midst. Arguably, the audiences' knowing laughter regarding references to immigration and globalization throughout the play subtly implicates them in the creation of a contemporary Ireland that claims worldliness but resists making space for Christopher or other asylum seekers, refugees and immigrants. However, that may be a punchline hard to extract from the production itself as Synge's original ending stands in as the excuse for the necessity of the Malomos' departure. Despite claims that their *Playboy* is "a perfect synergy of creativity rooted in two distinct cultures,"[210] Adigun and Doyle ultimately stage a version of interculturalism that continues to isolate Irish-born, African, and other minority ethnic communities from one another, barely capable of acknowledging each other's existence, let alone working towards a mutually transformative co-existence.

Pan Pan's *Playboy* conceptualized interculturalism as a transnational endeavor and capitalized on the creative capital of artists from multiple continents. The piece was jointly produced by Pan Pan, Beijing Oriental Pioneer Theater, Vallejo Gantner, artistic

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[207] See chapters 4, 5, and 6 for an extended discussion of the scope and nature of these incidents.

[208] My comment here refers to controversies about the asylum process in Ireland, which has been criticized for the amount of time taken to process cases as well as high rates of rejection. For example, in May 2010, "the Refugee Appeals Tribunal rejected 92% of the appeals it ruled on in the last year" marking a "fifth successive annual rise in the rejection rate for asylum appeals" (Smyth, "Tribunal Rejects 92% of Asylum Appeals 8). In the same year, 75% of asylum applications were rejected "which is slightly higher than the rejection rate in the EU" (Smyth, "75% of applications for asylum here rejected" 3). Jamie Smyth, "75% of applications for asylum here rejected," *The Irish Times,* May 4, 2010, 3.

[209] This and all further quotes from the play were copied verbatim on the evenings of the performances that I attended. Their accuracy, therefore, is not verifiable. There is no published version of this script and extremely limited access, if any, to a working copy due to the legal issues surrounding the piece.

[210] O'Tool, "Theatre has nothing to declare but an innate uncertainty," 9.

director of New York-based Performance Space 122, and Beijing-based independent film and stage producer Zhaohui Wang. Pan Pan's director Gavin Quinn argues that the choice to adapt *Playboy* came about because "it was the best-known play. We decided that it would be foolish to go in and try to do our own work. Something else that was more obscure and less perhaps tangible."[211] The play rehearsed in Beijing and was presented entirely in Mandarin Chinese, ultimately performing at both Beijing's Pioneer Oriental Theater and Dublin's Project Arts Centre. Written in what Quinn described as a "street dialect,"[212] Pan Pan re-imagined the play in a Chinese hair, nail, and massage parlor and staged the piece with Chinese actors despite the fact that director Quinn spoke no Chinese. Quinn describes the concept of Pan Pan's production being focused around: "the whole idea of the immigrant worker coming to the city for the first time which is a major political issue in China at the moment." This adaptation roughly followed the dramaturgical structure of the original text, as did just like Adigun and Doyle's *Playboy* [Figure 3.1]. The concept of Pan Pan's *Playboy,* however, embodies Lo and Gilbert's negative indictment of imperialistic intercultural theatre as "largely an aesthetic," and by implication, shallow "response to cultural diversity."[213] This lack of depth reveals itself in an anecdote told by Quinn about the piece's premiere in Dublin. When re-presented in Dublin in December 2006 at the Project Arts Center, Quinn notes:

> we decided to do surtitles of the original Synge text but with some variations here and there, Chinese references. So the audience could appreciate the installation of the original words of Synge and they could hear this very vibrant translation. So what was translated wasn't what they were saying, it was that Synge translation, so it became sort of like the surtitle is the museum and the stage is the contemporary performance. In a way, it's like a strange optical lens you're looking through, you're watching yourself, your own history displayed by *The Playboy of the Western World,* and you're watching it in Chinese, with the original text displayed above them. It was like you were looking at yourself looking back at yourself.[214]

While Pan Pan's Irish(-born) audiences were "looking at yourself looking back at yourself" through Synge's text, the unfamiliar Chinese context and the new staging, the performance moment signaled several intensified layers of enmeshment between the Irish and the transnational today. Quinn assumes that an "Irish" audience will have an immediate and deep identification with the text of *Playboy*, but the contemporary demographics of Dublin do not guarantee this will be the case. If the "surtitle" of the original Synge text is the "museum," associated by Quinn presumably with the fixed and unchanging, and the stage is the "contemporary performance," this performance arguably emphasizes first and foremost the increasing mobility of Irish artists in an international arts scene, which in turn enables the import of Chinese actors to perform in an "Irish

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[211] Gavin Quinn, (Artistic Director, Pan-Pan Theatre), in discussion with the author, June 2008. All quotes from Quinn that follow were part of this interview.
[212] Ibid.
[213] Lo and Gilbert, "Towards a Topography of Cross-Cultural Theatre Praxis," 39.
[214] In discussion with the author.

play." This moment, however, does not explicitly implicate Chinese individuals living in Ireland, but locates them outside this theatrical gesture as narrated by Quinn.
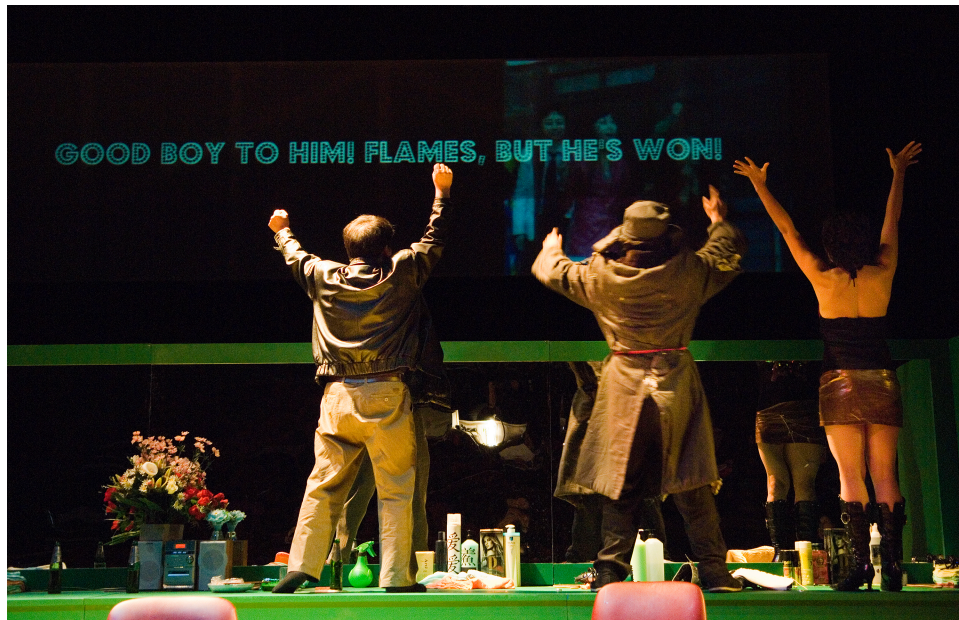
Figure 3.1
Pan Pan's *Playboy of the Western World* in Beijing.
Photograph: Ros Kavanagh

Despite the long presence of Chinese communities within Ireland, Pan Pan's Chinese *Playboy* was created well beyond the borders of the nation. Pan Pan's interpretation of "interculturalism" in a contemporary Irish context celebrates global exchange by locating China far from Ireland, despite the rapid growth of Chinese and other minority ethnic communities North and South. Apart from limited outreach to Chinese audiences in Dublin, Irish-Chinese collaboration through Pan Pan's *Playboy* occurs via a creative structure that preserves discrete national identities through matching artists based on cultures of origin and then scrambling these associations. Chinese actors are transplanted into an Irish play. *Playboy* is adapted to a contemporary Beijing setting, but the Irish director cannot even speak the language of his actors or the translation. These manufactured and carefully maintained distances between collaborators and the sites of production ultimately stage an intercultural exchange founded on limited communication and blind reliance on a ready repertoire of "best-known" Irish plays rather than immediate points of intersection based in the now.

Adigun had alleged four years before his *Playboy* in *Irish Theatre Magazine,* that: " a truly multicultural Ireland would accept a Nigerian actor playing Christy Mahon alongside a Chinese-born Pegeen Mike in J.M. Synge's iconic *The Playboy of the Western World*."[215] Adigun's desired Chinese Pegeen Mike materialized in 2006 with

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[215] Qtd. in Bisi Adigun, "Arambe Productions: An African's Response to the recent portrayal of the *fear gorm* in Irish drama," *Performing Global Networks,* 64.

Pan Pan in Beijing, but she did not stand *alongside* Christopher Malomo. In Pan Pan's *Playboy,* Chinese Pegeen Mike draws a connection between Ireland and China in matters of global and artistic trade, but she cannot be imagined alongside a Nigerian Christy in Dublin, Ireland. The immigrant characters at the center of both new interpretations bear the weight of each *Playboy's* conceit, but are ultimately kept separate both from one another and other minority ethnic communities in the Republic today. In both Pan Pan's and Adigun and Doyle's new version*,* the immigrants, the outcasts and the lower classes embody the effects of new poverties and oppressions engendered by globalization's unequal consequences. The return of this new *Playboy* as export from China to Ireland travels the path of Irish trade backwards and registers common themes in the "new" Ireland and China, but it is the bodies of immigrant characters that ultimately enable this journey through the raw material of their unfortunate stories. Yet, while asylum seekers and "immigrant workers coming to the city for the first time" are singled out as the new representative voices of Synge's play in both productions, their appearance onstage does not necessarily give these characters a voice which situates their experiences in the networks of power and privilege which bankroll the very productions of the plays in which they are starring. These reinvented *Playboys* intend to showcase a new Irish openness to the "other" in/and the world, but they isolate the very subjects they are supposedly portraying as dynamically involved in Irish life.

The interculturalisms brought to life by Pan Pan and Adigun and Doyle depend on separation and difference as a point of departure, rather than interconnectedness and mutual transformation as the cornerstones of a re-imagined Irish interculturalism. Post-Celtic Tiger Ireland aims to process and accommodate new residents from European, post-socialist, postcolonial, and various non-Western origins as part of a process aimed at fundamentally transforming the aspirations of the Irish "nation" as now understood. The choice to separate the Chinese Pegeen Mike and Nigerian Christopher Malomo not only by concept, but by continent, communicates that while official policies of Irish social interculturalism claim to reject ghettoization and tokenization, different minority ethnic groups are not necessarily being imagined in relationship to one other, rather only to the Irish-born majority.

These *Playboys* are linked ultimately only by their source text and broad thematic conceits, despite the linked present and future of the Irish, Chinese, and Nigerian characters they bring to life. When Quinn speaks of migrant workers coming to Chinese cities for the first time, there is a striking parallel between this image and the shifting immigrant labor communities throughout Ireland brought in by the ebb and the flow of the Celtic Tiger. A site of this constant change, of what Ric Knowles would refer to as a potential site of "urban intraculturalism…a heterotropic place within the city,"[216] is located only blocks away from the theatres in which both *Playboys* performed.   Since the mid-1990s, Dublin's Parnell Street, named after the Home Rule leader Charles Stewart Parnell, has undergone several identity shifts associated with the growth of minority ethnic populations. At one point, it was known as "Little Africa" and now is referred to as the only Chinatown in Ireland, while still managing to accommodate several Eastern European businesses as well. Thus, this is a Republic where it is not only Irish-born protagonists who are transformed by an encounter with the "other," but where minority

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[216] Knowles, *Theatre & Interculturalism,* 75.

ethnic communities undergo transformation in and through each other along with diverse Irish-born communities. Yet, this version of post-Celtic Tiger Ireland does not make it into Pan Pan or the Abbey's new *Playboy*. After all, Doyle and Adigun's *Playboy* has occupied the National Theatre through packed-out houses, but only two Nigerian characters appear onstage, Christopher and his father, Chief Malomo. Yet, within walking distance of the Abbey and the Project Arts Centre, Chinese Pegeen Mike, Nigerian Christopher Malomo, and Irish Seán Keogh brush shoulders everyday on the thoroughfare of Parnell Street. This, in the end, is the performance of Dublin (and Ireland) most "bang up to date."

Irish Drama, African Voices/ African Plays, Irish Stages

Yet, while failing to portray a more dynamic series of interactions between Irish-born and various minority ethnic communities, Adigun and Doyle do succeed in their production's most basic goal: shaking up the contents of the Irish theatre canon on the 100th anniversary of its arguably most beloved modern play on the stage of Ireland's national theatre.   Their engagement with Synge's text is as much about utilizing the status of the text within Irish theatre and cultural history to make a space for minority ethnic communities onstage, no matter how small as it is about the suitability of the narrative to actually reflect the experiences of contemporary immigrants.

Adigun and Doyle's use of Synge's *Playboy* constitutes an act of canonical counter-discourse, a term used within postcolonial studies to connote "a prominent endeavor among colonized writers/artists…to rework the European 'classics' in order to invest them with more local relevance and to divest them of their assumed authority/authenticity."[217]   The project of bringing Synge's play "bang up to date" pits the Irish canon against itself in order to infuse the work with African-Irish influences and acknowledge the increasing racial and ethnic diversity of Irish society. Their counter-canonical "new version" obviously cannot be characterized as the Empire writing back, but rather should be understood as the edge of (the former) British Empire reckoning with its dubious post-Celtic Tiger status as colonizer and colonized, globalized and globalizing, in order to reach towards a more inclusive and networked vision of Irish national belonging. As a new body of minority ethnic dramatic literature emerges post-Celtic Tiger, Adigun, Doyle and others have repeatedly reached towards canonical counter-discourse as a tool to craft immediate responses to a rapidly changing Irish society. Thus, despite the long shadow cast by Synge and this infamous new version, Adigun and Doyle's efforts must be understood in the broader context of a wider post-Celtic Tiger reinvention of counter-canonical discourse by minority ethnic artists who use this theatrical strategy as a tool of interculturalism and intervention.

Two of the most noted African-Irish theatre productions of the last ten years are Adigun's Arambe Production's 2006 reinterpretation of Jimmy Murphy's *Kings of the Kiliburn High Road* and Camino de Orula Production's 2008 staging of Athol Fugard's

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[217] Helen Gilbert and Joanne Tompkins, *Postcolonial Drama: Theory, Practice, Politics,* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 16.

Sizwe Bansi is Dead.[218] Adigun and Doyle's reinterpretation of *Playboy* therefore stands as part of this larger ensemble of work rather than as a stand-alone gesture which defines post-Celtic Tiger theatrical interculturalism's potential use of canonical counter-discourse as a one-way exchange through which Irish theatre's status becomes elevated once more. I will now juxtapose these two productions with Adigun and Doyle's *Playboy* in terms of audience, reception, and dramaturgies.

Productions like Arambe's *Kings of the Kiliburn High Road* and Camino de Orula's *Sizwe Bansi is Dead* interpret canonical counter-discourse as an act of deliberate subversion of the author's intentions, whether through cross-racial casting, choice of setting, staging, and/or careful orchestration of the audience's experiences in the space in order to explicitly address social issues in post-Celtic Tiger Ireland. These adjustments are not about fixing "bad" or politically incorrect texts but rather stretching appropriate texts that correspond thematically to situations facing minority ethnic artists in post-Celtic Tiger Ireland in order to make direct commentary about pressing concerns. The use of Irish and non-Irish texts represent attempts to expand Irish theatrical vocabularies in multiple directions by infusing Irish texts with other cultural influences and explicitly setting foreign texts in the space of Ireland.

Of course, this series of moves is not a unique use of canonical counter-discourse as a theatrical tool. However, the aim of activating these texts in order to respond directly to issues regarding race, ethnicity, racism and (national) belonging in post-Celtic Tiger Ireland makes it possible and indeed necessary to group and theorize these works in relation to each other. These artists' "intentional" acts of "meaning making" shift the audience's consciousness decisively to post-Celtic Tiger Ireland's present moment. Most significantly, the texts do not remain stable as "African" or "Irish" plays in performance. This instability ultimately dramatizes the complex subjectivities of not only the director and performers, but the audience as well. In the case of the two *Playboys* examined earlier, the work is decisively claimed in production by Pan Pan and the Abbey, thus emphasizing Irish origins and support for the work. This is symbolized through placing Adigun and Doyle's new version onstage at the "National" theatre in a manner that leaves the meaning of the Irish "nation" fundamentally unquestioned, or rendering the very production of Pan Pan's *Playboy* possible only via Culture Ireland's schemes for artistic

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[218] Camino de Orula Productions was founded by Kunle Animashaun in 2007 after he had worked with Arambe Productions. Animashaun has a degree in theatre from Nigeria, and is currently pursuing a MA in Directing at University College, Dublin. Shortly after his arrival as an undocumented asylum seeker, Animashaun began conducting workshops with other migrants in order to explore their experiences in Ireland and what had brought them here in the first place. He explains the evolution of his company thus:

> Initially I started out with…asylum seekers, with people with African backgrounds… What we were trying to do at that time was to bring people together and kind of explore…African culture, so that some of our people who are here would have the opportunity of coming together and sharing…some part of their culture that they wouldn't have the opportunity to experience here in Ireland. And in that time, I would say, the horizon of the theatre company expanded like, so instead of now focusing on African cultures alone, we decided to inculcate that idea of social change into our productions.

Kunle Animashaun (Artistic Director, Camino de Orula Productions), in discussion with the author, February 15, 2009.

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diplomacy that have the aim of creating "opportunities for *Irish* artists to present their work" (emphasis mine).[219] Pan Pan's *Playboy* ultimately makes it quite clear who is Irish, and who has been recruited abroad for the adaptation, while Adigun and Doyle's new version preserves their encounter as a clash *between* cultures, rather than an incident by which two cultures are transformed together.

In contrast, *Kings* and *Sizwe* manipulate the original settings and narrative conceits of their texts through production in order to implicate multiple and overlapping communities within and beyond Nigerian/Irish or South African/Irish binaries in the world of both the play and the audience. These reinterpretations do not tell the story of one community encountering *a* group of strangers, but dramatize multiple dislocations, narratively and psychologically. These theatrical dislocations demand that questions regarding Irishness and Irish national belonging for minority ethnic communities do not remain mired in obsession over difference, but instead dare to consider possible points of intersection between multiple groups and uncover common thematic concerns which then must be grounded in post-Celtic Tiger Ireland's specific context.

Adigun's Arambe Productions produced Jimmy Murphy's *Kings of the Kilburn High Road* with an all-African cast in 2006. *Kings* opened at the Dublin Fringe Festival before being brought to the University of Notre Dame for a conference titled "Race and Immigration in the New Ireland" in November 2007. This story of disenfranchised Irish emigrants in London takes place in a bar after one of the men commits suicide, bringing the friend who has transcended them all with his success back to the group and raising old tensions. In staging the play, Adigun did not designate the setting as Ireland, but rather kept the play in London with the African actors consciously playing Irish workers in London. There were minute changes throughout such as "when the inevitable sing-song starts, but with a Nigerian rather than Irish tune"[220] but otherwise there were no major changes to the original text. The interplay of the seeming discrepancy between the actors' and characters' identities was therefore the major conceit of the production, what Karen Fricker refers to as "the most politically charged" layer as it makes it difficult to "forget that these are Africans performing an Irish story back to Irish audiences."[221] What then is the meaning of "Africans" performing an "Irish story back to Irish audiences" and why is it "politically charged"? Can these boundaries stay so distinct in performance? And what other histories might this performance of African(-Irish) stories in London activate?

Adigun's mounting of *Kings* with African-Irish actors is a deliberate gesture aimed at destabilizing who can be considered "Irish" in the context of the contemporary theatre. While Adigun frequently invokes universality when talking about the intentions of his work, such as when he says of *Kings*: "Emigration is a universal phenomenon and so is storytelling,"[222] the theatrical layers of Arambe's adaptation of Murphy's play exceed the general. It is not simply a question of the disjuncture of seeing African men in an Irish play set in London, because the setting of *Kings* in London communicates that there is in fact a large and diverse Black community already there, including the character

[219] "Culture Ireland."

[220] Karen Fricker, "*The Kings of the Kilburn High Road,*" *The Guardian,* February 27, 2007, accessed January 15, 2011, http://www.guardian.co.uk/stage/2007/feb/27/theatre.

[221] Ibid.

[222] "Black actors cast as Irish brickies in play," *The Daily Mail (London),* September 18, 2006, 17.

Jap's girlfriend who is indicated as Black in the script.[223] Rather, the production's conceit that these men identify themselves as *African-Irish* is politically charged as it implies a claim to Irish belonging by these performers that answers the man's question: "Don't you have plays of your own?" with "I consider the work of Irish-born playwright Jimmy Murphy and others to *be* my own." Thus, a certain relationship between Africanness and Irishness is posited which links these histories rather than portraying them at complete odds with one another. Namely, there is an implicit assertion that Irish Africanness exists as an identity category and that this complex and multiple subject position gives Arambe's actors access to the canon of Irish drama as equals and not interlopers. Yet, as was examined in Chapter Two, Irishness and Blackness are linked by many complicated and subterranean histories and these resonances remain close to the surface of Arambe's production.

Arambe's *Kings* animates competing histories of overlapping networks of migration linked by the British Empire among other factors. By having African-Irish actors perform the role of African-Irish emigrants in London, the production invokes by association histories of the Irish in Britain, Africans in Britain, the Irish in Africa and Africans in Ireland. London's former status as the center of British Empire ghosts this setting as the crucible through which the histories of many African nations and the Irish were previously thrown in contact. In Britain, African and Irish immigrant communities have long lived beside one another, Irish missionary work in Africa is extensive and well-established and there has long been a small African and Black minority in Ireland. However, Arambe's staging of *Kings* is not explictly telling any of those stories, rather it is telling the story of post-Celtic Tiger Ireland where to be African-Irish means writing a new history.

Kunle Animashaun's Camino de Orula Productions takes a different approach from Arambe, staging a well-known African apartheid-era play, Athol Fugard's *Sizwe Bansi is Dead*, in an ambiguously Irish context. *Sizwe Bansi is Dead* tells the story of a man named Sizwe Bansi who must decide whether to give up his identity by taking the passbook of a dead man on the street in order to be able to seek work in Port Elizabeth. He has a stamp in his own passbook from "Influx Control" deporting him back to his home, King William's Town, where he can find no work to support his family.[224] When he comes across a dead man in the street, Robert Zwelinzima, he is faced with a decision

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[223] The men get into a verbal altercation over Jap's interest in Maurteen's wife, and Maurteen brings up Jap's girlfriend's race in retaliation for his interest in his wife in this scene from *Kings of the Kilburn High Road:*

> MAURTEEN: How's the coon?
> GIT: Jaysus, man!
>   (*JAP jumps up. SHAY comes between them.*)
> SHAY: …I mean what the fuck way is that to talk about a man's woman, hah?
> JAP: At least the Black eyes she has are the ones she was born with" (Murphy 30).

Jimmy Murphy. *Kings of the Kilburn High Road,* in *Two Plays: Kings of the Kilburn High Road* and *Brothers of the Brush,* London: Oberon Books, 2001.

[224] Athol Fugard, *Sizwe Bansi is Dead,* in *The Township Plays,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 170-172.

that could spell prosperity and respect but requires giving up his own name. Animashaun argues: "Although Athol Fugard's play is an indictment of the depravity and inhumanity of the apartheid system and era in South Africa…the bureaucracies and degradation experienced by the characters in the play exists in most human societies; our immediate society being no exception."[225] Colin Murphy describes Camino de Orula's approach to staging the play:

> Director Kunle Animashaun has taken a play originally staged with two actors, one of them doubling up, and given it to three actors. One of these is Nigerian, one is African-Irish and one is white Irish. The latter two have Dublin accents. Some references have been changed to set it in Ireland, today; others appear to locate it in its original period, the 1970s, and in South Africa.[226]

Like Adigun's *Kings,* Animashaun's *Sizwe Bansi is Dead* utilizes the dissonance between his actor's identities, the characters they perform, and the double setting of the play to prompt reflection on post-Celtic Ireland and issues of inward-migration, labor and race. Notably, Animashaun's production did not posit conflict as exclusively between Blacks and whites in Irish society, but brought in class difference as a major focus of the piece. He cast the role of Buntu, Sizwe's friend, with a white Irish actor in order to depict "the numerous indigenes of this society who despite being natives of Ireland can be classified as very poor, neglected and underprivileged."[227]

From the beginning of his process, Animashaun sought to involve others outside his production team in the staging of this play. As lead-up to the production's premiere, Animashaun held a workshop seminar facilitated by Chrissy Poulter from Trinity College, Dublin, with cast and non-cast members, "people from different cultures, Polish, African, Irish" where, apart from discussing the play itself, "we talked about our experiences as an African person, as an Irish person and the relationship between us."[228] Animashaun also led the group in some exercises from Augusto Boal's "Theatre of the Oppressed", including visualizing and confronting their own oppressions. The seminar's intention was to embody the hopes of this production in order to inspire dialogue about and confrontation of the issues amongst the audience before and after the performance.

This theme of immersion continued with the production's premiere. The audience's experience began literally outside the theatre space on the night of the performances. As audience members arrived, they were given ID cards with assigned identities including asylum seeker, Traveller, poor Irish-born, or Polish migrant. Animashaun explains:

> …you are given immediately as you enter the theatre [a] ticket and you're given your identity [and an ID card]. We arranged it so…if at any point you are

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[225] Camino de Orula Productions, *Sizwe Bansi is Dead* program, (Dublin: Camino de Orula Productions, 2008) 2.
[226] Colin Murphy, "Employed in Ireland, identity insignificant: *Sizwe Bansi is Dead,*" *Sunday Tribune,* August 17, 2008, accessed December 9, 2008, http://www.tribune.ie/article/2008/aug/17/theatre-review-colin-murphy/.
[227] Camino de Orula Productions, *Sizwe Bansi is Dead* program, 3.
[228] Animashaun, in discussion with the author.

approached, even while you are loitering around, if you are approached on the premises of the Project Arts Centre, and you don't have that [ID card], you'll be booted out. So when you get to the door [to the theatre space], depending on what is on your card, the immigration official would look at you in a way that is uncomfortable. So, for a brief moment, a brief moment, of course it's all part of the play, but for that brief moment, especially when you're into it, ... hopefully some people would have, you know, understood, what others go through.[229]

Once inside the theatre, "we had a barbed wire surrounding everyone…to the backstage, the back of the stage into the auditorium, circling everyone, so people had to go through one door to enter barbed wire." The audience's journey to their seats represented for Animashaun immigrants "escaping the problems of their life, the prison of their life, [and] coming to another prison."[230] However, while this conceit forced audience members to trace the path of migrant or poor Irish characters, Animashaun insists that "from the European people's perspective...the borders are [also] being tightened … [W]e go on to the streets and people are talking about biometric and CCTV and all those things. It's all part of building a prison…I'm trying to show everybody being subsumed in the same type of problem."[231] Thus, the multiple modes of address to majority and minority ethnic audience members engendered through the pre-show experience reveals the overlapping issues of security, migration, labor and human rights embedded in everyone's experiences of travel and border crossing. The act of giving each audience member an individual role potentially destabilizes each individual's experience of movement in the world, even if only for ten minutes. Raising brief awareness through role playing certainly will not automatically result in a firmly readjusted political perspective and dangerously flirts with assuaging white Irish-born guilt over mistreatment of immigrants by allowing them to briefly embody this role, "understand" and then walk out of the theatre unfettered. However, Animashaun forces his audiences to connect their experience in the theatre with the world they literally just stepped out of to come into the Project Arts Centre. When their feet hit the threshold of the Project's entrance, the rules changed.

This conscious tactic of audience involvement from multiple subject positions, immigrant, Irish, European, mirrors the amalgamation of the perhaps conflicting settings of Ireland and apartheid-era South Africa in the staging of the play. Murphy ultimately faults this production precisely for mixing too many metaphors:

Better to have written a new play, or an "after Athol Fugard" adaptation, setting it explicitly here and now. The rhythms of Fugard's dialogue are lost in the jarring clash of accents; the context is confused by apparent inconsistencies; insights into both apartheid and today's multi-ethnic Ireland are blurred by the attempt to make everything resonate universally.[232]

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[229] In discussion with the author.
[230] Ibid.
[231] Ibid.
[232] Colin Murphy, "Employed in Ireland, identity insignificant."

Yet, the cacophony of Animashaun's reconception of *Sizwe Bansi is Dead* seeks precisely this exercise in loss and confusion. As a Nigerian immigrant to Ireland, Animashaun's act of juxtaposing South Africa and post-Celtic Tiger Ireland hit not only on shared similarities between these places and situations but consciously invokes their differences, as well as the differences between audience members and the characters they represented, and the actors playing characters onstage. This series of bold juxtapositions begs the question of precisely what insight is needed to grasp the vast upheavals of post-Celtic Tiger Ireland society from the perspective of immigrants, other minority ethnic groups, and the white, settled Irish-born majority. After all, Ireland consciously sought to set itself apart from other European nations' dealings with issues of multiculturalism and racism, yet finds itself nevertheless repeating old themes, old clichés, while also remaining enmeshed in pan-EU policies and measures regarding immigration. Animashaun recycles *Sizwe Bansi is Dead* in order to pinpoint the repetition of familiar themes in this play as part of a quest to identify the terms of their permutations in Ireland today. In order to arrive at the insight that Murphy requests, Animashaun must first blur the line between past and present, Africa and Europe, in order to bring post-Celtic Tiger Ireland into better focus.

The reinvented worlds of Arambe's *Kings* and Camino de Orula's *Sizwe* insist upon dislocation, while Adigun and Doyle choose a version of reorientation that continues to isolate Irish-born, African, and other minority ethnic communities from one another, barely capable of acknowledging each other's existence, let alone working towards a mutually transformative co-existence. This continuing excavation of dislocating and surprising linkage forms the work of post-Celtic Tiger theatrical interculturalism. But in order to pursue this project, the canon must not only be confronted, but deconstructed, relocated, and reappropriated in a way that does not assume that Irish audiences only contain Irish-*born* members and works to remake the meaning of Irishness itself through performance.

Minority Ethnic Female Playwrights at Home in the World

The activities of Arambe and Camino de Orula Productions, as well as Adigun and Doyle's *Playboy*, demonstrate that minority ethnic artists are engaged in deep dialogue with Irish theatre and the development of an Irish theatrical interculturalism that is not simply "to come," but happening already. Yet, like most of the plays also written by white Irish-born men addressing post-Celtic Tiger minority ethnic experiences, the productions explored thus far focus predominantly on African male perspectives despite the fact that many implicate and include other perspectives in the work.[233] I therefore close by engaging the work of two minority ethnic female playwrights who stretch even further the paradigms of post-Celtic Tiger theatrical interculturalism.

Gianina Cărbunariu's *Kebab* and Ursula Rani Sarma's *The Magic Tree* offer a view from within the post-Celtic Tiger nation that acknowledges the intersectionality of global networks rather than only using these networks to confirm stable formulations of

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[233] I am referring here to Donal O'Kelly's *Asylum! Asylum!* (1994), Eithne McGuinness' *Limbo* (2000), Roddy Doyle's *Guess Who's Coming for the Dinner* (2001), Donal O'Kelly's *The Cambria* (2005), and Paul Kennedy's *Put Out the Lights* (2010).

Irish identity as discrete and exclusionary in terms of national belonging and culture. These plays exceed the borders of the Irish nation while remaining determined by urban and rural spaces within the country, whether Dublin or the west of Ireland, and address crosscutting themes of gender, violence, ethnicity, labor and alienation. Cărbunariu and Sarma present contemporary issues not simply as a clash between the Irish and "others" suddenly present within their society. Rather, these plays locate Ireland within global networks of exchange, imagination and violence and insist that this broader view is a constitutive element of forging post-Celtic Tiger theatrical interculturalisms.

Gianina Cărbunariu is one of Romania's most notable young playwrights and directors, but has never spent significant time in Ireland. Her play, *Kebab,* was developed at the Royal Court Theatre in London as part of the 2007 International Season but nonetheless premiered at the Ulster Bank Dublin Theatre Festival in a translation by Phillip Osment. Following these runs, *Kebab* has enjoyed considerable international success, as well as challenges. For example, the play was

> was banned by a private theatre in Bucharest only days before the premiere, due to "indecent language." After it was rescued by Teatrul Foarte Mic Theater in Bucharest (a group that also encouraged Carbunariu's career as a theater director), *Kebab* later become one of the most frequently toured productions abroad; it caught the attention of theatres around the world, from Japan to the U.K. and from Denmark to Greece.[234]

Her play tells the story of three young Romanian migrants to Dublin who come with big hopes that are predictably dashed upon arrival. Dissatisfied with her income from working in a kebab shop, underage Mădălina's boyfriend Voicu presses her to go into sex work. Through this line of work, Mădălina reencounters Bogdan, a fellow Romanian immigrant studying Visual Art who she had briefly met on the plane. After meeting Voicu, the three decide to go into business with each other producing violent sex videos, starring Voicu and Mădălina, for the internet. Eventurally, Bogdan's degree, and the "art film" he makes using much of the footage from their sex tapes gives him a chance to advance in Irish society with a new and legal job. Therefore, he decides to break from the twisted ménage-a-trois that he has become entangled in. The casualty of this decision is a now pregnant and still underage Mădălina who disappears from the final scene of the play.

Kebab's status as an "Irish" play is indeed shaky. While it premiered at the Dublin Theatre Festival, no Irish characters appear in the play, the play was written outside of Ireland, and the playwright has never spent significant time in the country. However, this play makes a strong case for inclusion within discussions of Irish drama for being the only major work to take on the subject of immigrants' exploitation by the sex trade within Ireland. Granted, the characters driving this involvement are Romanian and half of the work takes place on the deterritorialized worldwide web, but the setting in

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[234] Iona Moldovan, "Interview with Gianina Cărbunariu (Romanian Playwright and Theatre Director," *Critical Stages: The IATC Webjournal,* no. 2 (Spring 2010), Accessed January 15, 2011, http://www.criticalstages.org/criticalstages2/entry/Interview-with-Gianina-Carbunariu-Romanian-playwright-and-theatre-director?category=3.

Dublin is far from incidental. Reports over the last several years have identified the growing issue of sex trafficking to Ireland, including underage girls. This rise in activity followed the deflation of the Celtic Tiger. These women are primarily Eastern European, African, Asian, and South American. Monica O'Connor and Jane Pillinger's 2009 report *Globalisation, Sex Trafficking and Prostitution – The Experiences of Migrant Women In Ireland* communicated that: "More than 100 women and girls were identified as having been trafficked into Ireland for the sex industry in a 21-month period."[235]   This number, however, only represents those women whose cases were documented. The authors stress:

> the 102 listed were just the women they managed to identify through contacts with service-providers. They said there were more than 1,000 women in indoor prostitution at any one time. Examining Irish "escort" internet sites, they found women representing 51 nationalities. Some 97 per cent of women advertised were migrants. They ranged in age from 18 to 58, averaging 25 years, with evidence that some were as young as 16. They were advertised in hotels, apartments and as call-outs to homes in 19 of the 26 counties.[236]

Kebab's genesis outside of Ireland dramatizes the transnational roots of social change within Irish society today, particularly regarding its darker underbelly of corruption, greed, and violence. The character Mădălina's violent stint in the Dublin sex trade implicates Ireland at large and probes the fallout from the Celtic Tiger from the perspective of one of Ireland's most disenfranced "new Irish." At one point in the play, Mădălina wonders out loud why they just didn't go to America. Bogdan and Voicu assure her that America would have been no different.[237] This moment, however, does not imply that the setting of *Kebab* is interchangeable. Rather, it calls our attention to why Ireland has become so much like America.

    Kebab was panned in the UK as reviewers regarded it as a sub par imitation of British in-yer-face theatre such as the work of Mark Ravenhill and Sarah Kane.   Charles Spencer attacks the piece: "But here we are, yet again, in some grotty flat where a ménage-à-trois of desperate kids indulge in lashings of loveless sex and graphic violence for the titillation of the audience."[238] Michael Billington echoes these sentiments:

> Britain has a lot to answer for. In the 1990s, our theatre proved there was mileage in youthful urban angst. Now everyone is doing it; this play, by 30-year-old Romanian writer-director Gianina Carbunariu, feels like a dozen other works I

[235] Kitty Holland, "Over 100 women trafficked for sex industry in Ireland," *The Irish Times,* August 17, 2009, 4.

[236] Ibid.

[237] Gianina Cărbunariu, *Kebab,* Translated by Phillip Osment, London: Oberon, 2007, 46-47.

[238] Charles Spencer, "*Kebab:* A Pile of Rancid Clichés," *The Telegraph,* October 25, 2007, accessed January 15, 2011, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/theatre/drama/3668790/Kebab-A-pile-of-rancid-cliches.html.

have seen over the past decade… I wish young writers would escape the drama of hermetic misery and realise there is a world elsewhere.[239]

Billington's request that Cărbunariu realize that "there is a world elsewhere" misses that it is her characters' struggle for a world elsewhere that is precisely the point of the play. These British reviewers place this piece exclusively in dialogue with in-yer-face theatre, regarding the play's setting in Dublin and depiction of sex work as secondary to what they view as the dramaturgical excesses of shock as a theatrical tactic. However, this reading of the play fails to account for migration as a theme instead dislocating its thematic content and viewing the graphic depictions of sex and violence as titillation rather than a response to a documented political and economic situation in Ireland today. This approach to understanding the play re-objectifies Mădălina, rather than taking the opportunity to use her role as a catalyst for meditation on the issues and human toll of the global sex trade in a rooted geopolitical context. The characters' misshapen objectives work to blur the lines between consent and coercion, desperation and ambition, and purposefully leave the audience with questions they can't answer. Cărbunariu's choice to focus on the personal narratives of these characters and their psychological interplay might seem to foreclose politicized readings of the play, but this focus in fact raises the political stakes by connecting the play's claustrophobic "grotty" world as experienced by individuals to wider issues and global geopolitical networks.

Sex and violence are also the point of departure for Sarma's *The Magic Tree.* Lamb, a young woman in her 20s, seeks refuge in an empty house on her way to fleeing her life in County Cork through a journey to Thailand. Gordy and his friends, Lenny and Doc, have followed her to the house planning to rape her after meeting through a club devoted to extreme pornography. Gordy is supposed to trick her into relaxing, but as they begin to talk, he discovers a deep connection with her. The class difference between the characters is played up throughout the first act. Doc taunts Lamb as he prepares to rape her: "I see girls like you all the time. All the fucking time, walking down the street with your designer gear looking down on guys like us…but I know you're thinking about it…wondering…what it would be like."[240] Gordy turns on Doc, killing him with a flowerpot, and then pretending to kill Lenny as well to dispose of all witnesses before following Lamb abroad. The next act jumps to the Choeung Ek killing fields in Cambodia where Lamb and Gordy have fled. Against this gruesome backdrop, more secrets emerge between the pair. Obsessed, Gordy even offers to be her dog, but Lamb's past makes connection with others insurmountable. Lamb's privilege and self-interest is juxtaposed with the latent horror of their surroundings. She insists on the beauty of a tree, the "Magic Tree,"[241] previously used as a site for the execution of children, as Gordy recoils from her lack of connection to the human landscape [Figure 3.2].

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[239] Michael Billington, "*Kebab*," *The Guardian,* Thursday, October 25, 2007, accessed January 15, 2011, http://www.guardian.co.uk/stage/2007/oct/25/theatre.
[240] Ursula Rani Sarma, *The Magic Tree,* (London: Oberon Books, 2008), 56.
[241] Ibid., 80.

Figure 3.2
John Cronin as Gordy, Laura O'Toole as Lamb in *The Magic Tree* by Ursula Rani Sarma, in the Granary Theatre, Cork as part of the Cork Midsummer Theatre. Photograph: Michael Mac Sweeney/Provision.

Sarma's alienated characters inhabit a world where connection and a firm grasp on moralities seem all but impossible. The characters' relationship to wealth, whether flush or wanting, inspires self-interested nihilism that knows no boundaries. The shocking plot twists of the play: a rape ring, the revelation of Lamb's decision to let her "special needs" sister drown, and the haunting backdrop of the killing fields animate a world where "just when it seems something beautiful might emerge, the opposite appears."[242]   The Cambodian setting is not a prop for the self-realization of these characters. Rather, this setting serves as a brutal diagnosis of their lack of connection to not only themselves and their home, but also to the world at large. Lamb only comes to the country out of a vague sense of interest and is therefore able to look past the poverty and the bones buried beneath and around her.   In this globalized Cambodia, even the child begging for coins knows that Ireland means "Roy Keane" and "Guinness"[243] but Lamb can only conceptualize of her place in time and space as immediately related to her present desires.

Lamb's obsessive self-centeredness arguably reflects shifting moral and social priorities post-Celtic Tiger. Much ink has been spilled in Irish media and academic discourse about a generational shift in values amongst those raised and coming of age during the Celtic Tiger, as in David McWilliam's 2005 *The Pope's Children: Ireland's New Elite.* Tom Inglis argues:

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[242] Ibid., back cover of book.
[243] Ibid., 70-71.

> What binds Irish people together now- what creates a sense of bonding and belonging- is a commitment to self-realization through consumer choice. The Irish way of being in the world is now manufactured more by market and media forces which emphasize the importance of difference, self-realization and continual self-transformation and which rarely emphasize the importance of self-denial and self-surrender.[244]

The concept of Sarma's *The Magic Tree* revolves entirely around a pair of people who cannot even begin to grasp the meaning of self-denial and self-surrender, but who desperately crave these acts. As in Sarma's other plays *Blue* and *touched,*[245] barren Irish landscapes are the backdrop for explorations of deep and yearning moral vacuousness, but the ethically bankrupt and alienated post-Celtic Tiger Ireland that she presents puts a new spin on the rural and the Irish that has not always been translatable to Irish audiences. Sarma takes up the overdetermined theme of the West of Ireland, but she inhabits this landscape not to push the Irish theatre backwards towards an imagined past. Rather, she forces a reckoning with Irish futures that exceed what has already been imagined, whether through trips to the killing fields of Cambodia, or the simple shock of her name on a theatre program.

Sarma states: "I am not sure what my place is in Irish theatre. Basically, the companies that have been fostering and nurturing me are abroad."[246] She relates this disconnect to her identity as an Irish-Indian woman:

> I guess it comes from that question I sometimes ask myself: whether or not I can ever be fully Irish, or perceived as Irish, with a name like Rani Sarma. But it also has to do with how people are always pigeon-holed: they look at you as a woman, then as a playwright. Then you become "an Irish female playwright" instead of just an artist.[247]

Sarma refuses to be pigeonholed as "an Irish(-Indian) female playwright" but her success is perhaps ultimately constrained in the Republic by this identity. This is the double-bind of her status as a minority ethnic female playwright working in Ireland today, but like Cărbunariu, her challenging of borders of experience in post-Celtic Tiger Ireland reworks paradigmatic Irish theatre tropes to place them in broader global contexts. This is a version of Irish theatrical interculturalism that cannot avoid so-called identity politics by nature of the playwrights' identities, but that uses the perspective of speaking from multiple locations in terms of race, ethnicity, gender and class to revise narrow conceptions of Irish identity which perhaps cannot yet conceptualize an Irish-Indian playwright born in Cork. As Ronit Lentin argues: "If multiculturalism is to offer a hope of pluralism, it would be through new social and cultural articulations by, among other performative possibilities, artists such as Ursula Rani Sarma, the Clare Indian-Irish

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[244] Tom Inglis, *Global Ireland: Same Difference,* (New York and London: Routledge, 2008), 6-7.
[245] Ursula Rani Sarma, *Touched/Blue,* (London: Oberon, 2002).
[246] Sara Keating, "Back to her roots via *The Magic Tree*," *The Irish Times,* July 1, 2008, Accessed August 5, 2010, http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/features/2008/0701/1214842852446.html.
[247] Ibid.

playwright, whose plays deal with Irish, rather than Indian, life."[248] The performative possibilities posed by Cărbunariu and Sarma's work suggest that models for representing post-Celtic Tiger Ireland must be found outside the Irish theatre canon. Dramaturgical models are needed that stretch the borders of the Irish nation literally and figuratively while taking account of artists' individual positionalities as Irish-Indian female playwrights or otherwise.   Furthermore, the goal of this work should not be to merely stage encounters between the "Other" and a stable contained Irish identity, but rather to point outwards towards a mode of globalized criticism which gives voices to distant stories, lives and networks of exchange that the Irish are already enmeshed within. Knowles argues that a new vision for interculturalism

> involve[s] collaborations and solidarities across real and respected material differences within local, urban, national, and global intercultural performance ecologies. I use the word 'ecology' in relation to embodied, theatrical, urban, national, transnational or virtual intercultural spaces for two reasons: first, everything that happens within an ecosystem affects everything else within that system; second, the health of an ecosystem is best judged by the diversity of its species rather than the competitive success of individual components or species.[249]

The work of Cărbunariu and Sarma breathe dramatic life into the global ecologies which gave birth to contemporary post-Celtic Tiger Irish interculturalism through placing "real and respected material differences" into a transnational context which accommodates "embodied, theatrical, urban, national, transnational [and] virtual intercultural spaces." The intersectionality of their theatrical vision should be heeded as a compass for the future of Irish theatrical criticism and production.

Christopher Malomo may be forced out of Dublin in order to return to Nigeria with his father at the end of *Playboy of the Western World: A New Version.* But his departure represents only one coming and going on the Irish stage. The work of Arambe Productions through *Kings of the Kilburn High Road* and Kunle Animashaun's *Sizwe Bansi is Dead* coupled with the efforts of Cărbunariu and Sarma, represent myriad manifestations of post-Celtic Tiger Irish theatre that expand the boundaries of the Irish nation not only regarding who comes onstage, but in fact ultimately challenging *where* that work can originate from in the first place. The contingent and overlapping networks of these artists' influences, journeys, and obstacles map the multiple possibilities of Irish theatrical interculturalism*s* which are already in motion, and gesture towards the challenges faced by the contemporary Irish theatre to come, which must contend not only with the "new Irish" but with the increasingly difficult task of determining what exactly *is* Irish drama. The answer to this question lies in the stories of linkage and reversal told by Adigun, Animashaun, Cărbunariu, and Sarma that force audiences to reach outside the "Western World" with not only their imaginations, but through belated recognition of the connections already being forged in their midst. The work of these artists provides an

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[248] Ronit Lentin, "Anti-racist responses to the racialisation of Irishness: Disavowed multiculturalism and its discontents," *Racism and Anti-Racism in Ireland*), 236.
[249] Knowles, *Theatre & Interculturalism,* 59.

answer to Adigun's detractor that minority ethnic artists do indeed have "plays of their own" which reflect a future in Ireland where "the health of [its] ecosystem [will be] best judged by the diversity of its species rather than the competitive success of individual components or species." This health, however, must be ultimately measured against the ecosystem's ability to provide space for "collaborations and solidarities" that recognize *and* contest "real and respected material differences."

Outside of the professional theatre, where individual plays and artistic projects can stand in for the achievement of these goals, Irish social interculturalism continually calls upon the "community" to make space for "collaborations and solidarities" between majority and minority ethnic groups. This emphasis invests considerable faith in a grassroots approach to reshaping the Irish social ecosystem that positions the wider Irish public as co-authors of the intercultural ideal. I now move to considering the role of community arts in relationship to the future of contemporary Irish theatre, performance and arts practice, and investigating whether the notion of community as interpreted in a contemporary Irish context can make space for "collaborations and solidarities" that are capable of grappling with the "real and respected material differences" of their participants. Community or grassroots empowerment often implies the possibility of broader social transformation from the bottom up, but how is the notion of "community" ultimately implicated in the broader managerial goals of Irish social interculturalism?

Chapter Four
A (New) Portrait of the Artist as (Immigrant):
Community Arts and Upstate's Louth International Theatre Project

This chapter uses the work of Upstate Theatre Project's Louth International Theatre Project (LITP), "an intercultural community-based theatre project"[250] to make a transition in the dissertation from focusing on professional and semi-professional theatre practice to considering community and participatory arts[251] practice involving non-professional participants and, for the most part, professional arts facilitators. Upstate's LITP, initiated by Upstate founders, Declan Gorman and Declan Mallon, came into being out of their company's broader claim that "marginalised communities within Ireland not only lack opportunities to participate in arts events, but also lack opportunities to become involved in the management of arts events."[252] While they refer here to the marginalization of the "New Irish," their larger body of work deals with regional and religious as well as racial and ethnic difference in contemporary Ireland. In this chapter, I situate the work of Upstate Theatre within broader international discourses regarding community(-based)[253] theatre and Irish genealogies of community arts in order to investigate how the terms "community" and the "arts" are being used in relationship to arts-based intercultural initiatives.

While funding available to community and participatory arts peaked in 1993 with the beginning of the Celtic Tiger economic boom,[254] rhetorical support of this field remains strong following the passage of the Arts Act in 2003 which "gives the Arts Council an overarching mandate, where none existed to 'promote development of and participation in the arts'"[255] and the publication of several key reports and documents

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[250] Paul Hayes, "Upstate Theatre Project's Louth International Theatre Project: Office of the Minister of Integration, Application Form for Immigrant Integration Small Grant Scheme," Upstate Theatre Project, Grant Application, 2008, 3.

[251] The term community arts remains most widely used by practitioners and Upstate in contemporary Ireland, but the Arts Council now refers to this body of work officially as participatory arts. I will refer to each project according to the terminology that the artists and participants use to describe their work, but when I discuss the rhetoric and theory of participatory arts, it should be understood that I am referring to the same body of work, just from the perspective of the Arts Council and the Irish state. This shift remains controversial and Sandy Fitzgerald remarks that "this change went unnoticed and unchallenged by the community arts sector" although it had followed debate amongst practitioners over whether "the term had outlived its usefulness and new definitions should be found that are more relevant to the work and practices currently bunched together uncomfortably under community arts" ("The beginnings of community arts and the Irish republic" 79). The inconsistent usage of terminology amongst practitioners and arts funders associated with the state-controlled Art Council hints at an ambivalent relationship between the practice and policy of community and participatory arts. It should be noted, however, that arts practitioners always serve on the Arts Council as part of the team. Declan Gorman himself served in 1995 when he was "invited to coordinate the Council's Review of Theatre in Ireland."

[252] Hayes, "Upstate Theatre Project's Louth International Theatre Project: Office of the Minister of Integration," 3.

[253] I argue later in this chapter that Upstate's methods more closely fit with what U.S. scholars would term "community-*based* theatre" and I merely gesture to this move in my argument here.

[254] Sandy Fitzgerald, "The beginnings of community arts and the Irish Republic," in *Outburst of Frankness: Community Arts in Ireland-A Reader*, 79.

[255] Arts Council/An Chomhairle Ealaìon, "Participatory Arts: Background Discussion Paper," 2005, 3. http://www.artscouncil.ie/Publications/Participatoryarts_final0605.pdf. Accessed January 15, 2011.

which explicitly name the participatory arts, such as the Council of National Cultural Institutions' 2004 *A Policy Framework for Education, Community, Arts* and the 2010 report on *Cultural Diversity and the Arts* discussed in Chapter One.

       The Arts Council's 2005 policy paper on participatory arts strongly asserts: "the Arts Council endorses a 'cradle to grave' definition of 'the individual artist.'"[256] The "individual artist" referenced here does not refer exclusively to professional artists but rather refers to another commitment of the Irish state to provide "equal access to the arts for all the people of Ireland."[257] Opening access to the arts, however, does not necessarily imply provision for participation in *community* arts as the Arts Act names "knowledge, appreciation *and* practice of the arts" [*emphasis mine*][258] as its goals. "Knowledge" and "appreciation" of the arts may include activities such as audience spectatorship and intellectual study that do not necessitate practice on the part of the participant, but nevertheless, to be a member of the Irish nation means to have a direct relationship to the arts. Therefore, despite limited actual funding, the life of the artist is presented as bound up here with definitions of the citizen in Irish public life, placing the arts on an equal status with other life-long commitments of the Irish state to its citizens in terms of social services and support.

       Hence, if the task of the Arts Council is to give Irish citizens equal access to a cradle to grave relationship to the arts, the inauguration of immigrant communities into arts practice arguably constitutes an act of incorporating them into a cradle to grave relationship with the nation itself. As I suggest in the introduction, the arts in post-Celtic Tiger Ireland have not only been called upon to reflect social change through the work of professional artists, but to bring it into being through community arts projects which mix immigrant, minority ethnic and majority white Irish-born participants. How then is performance used in these community arts projects to articulate a relationship between immigrant and minority participants and the Irish nation or Irishness? In probing this question, I again consider David Román's claim that "performance opens up a space in the public sphere that might challenge or refute local or national sentiments prioritized by other media…not only does it rehearse new forms of sociality but those involved experience it in the process of the event itself."[259] The projects explored in these next three chapters bring together immigrant and minority ethnic groups with one another or with members of the white Irish-born majority to make projects that "rehearse new forms of sociality" in the hopes of bringing Irish theories of interculturalism to life through their working process. Their art making processes mirror the imagined future of an Irish nation in which majority and minority ethnic communities will be regularly involved in dynamic cooperation and reinvention of not only the arts, but the meaning of the Irish nation itself. Many of these projects explicitly aim to "open up a space in the public sphere that might challenge or refute local or national sentiments prioritized by other media,"[260] namely negative stereotypes of immigrants. Yet, how does the opening of this

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[256] Arts Council/An Chomhairle Ealaíon, "Participatory Arts," Summary Policy Paper, June 2005, 1, accessed January 15, 2011, http://www.artscouncil.ie/Publications/ParticipatoryArts_250705.pdf.
[257] Gorman, "The Arts Council," 3.
[258] "Arts Act 2003," Acts of the Oireachtas, 24 (2003), Part 3, Section 9, accessed January 21, 2011, http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/2003/en/act/pub/0024/print.html#partii-sec7.
[259] David Román, *Performance in America: Contemporary U.S. Culture and the Performing Arts*, 2-3.
[260] Ibid.

space necessitate negotiations of power that are in fact perhaps further complicated by the framing of these projects as community-based and participatory? These projects are founded on the pretext that they will be collaboratively executed and communally shared, but what hierarchies that index "real and respected material differences"[261] may arise during these theoretically egalitarian processes which aid in reflecting upon how race, gender and ethnicity discipline social relationships post-Celtic Tiger despite the promise of utopic language of social interculturalism?

I consider this question through careful attention to the role of professional facilitators as central participants in the projects examined in the following chapters and the Irish community arts more generally. Susan C. Haedicke and Tobin Nelhaus warn of the threat of colonialist dynamics emerging in relationships between facilitators and participants, particularly when an artist comes in from outside the community to address local issues and concerns. In contemporary Ireland, coming from "outside" can be understood not only spatially, but also in terms of experiences and social status. Indeed, the bulk of the projects addressed here will describe relationships between white Irish-born facilitators and minority ethnic groups, usually linked by location, thus arguably members of a shared "community," but whose experiences of mobility and access in Irish society are often far removed from one another. Haedicke and Nelhaus therefore insist that these questions must be answered of individual projects:

> Does the product/process reflect the community or the facilitator? And are people's lives and stories being mined for the benefit of the facilitator? Just recovering repressed stories, which certainly may feel good to those finally given the opportunity to speak, does little to change the established power dynamic, especially if the theater/cultural worker is there to plunder, no matter how subtly.[262]

I therefore explore how these projects aim to reflect and serve the "community" or "communities" that they involve, and question how the adequacy of this reflection can be gauged. I will use the term "community" cautiously throughout the rest of this dissertation to refer to a demographic of non-professional participants currently living in Ireland targeted by "community" arts, such as those not making a living from the arts or necessarily associated with the work of government, NGOs, or activist groups in a professional capacity. This usage works to resist homogenizing individuals who may be grouped together as a "community," such as Nigerians living in Ireland, and rather preserve a critical stance regarding how groups are named by community arts projects. I focus on how these community arts projects operate under the constraint that they will perhaps be able to do "little to change the established power dynamic[s]" that undergirds their process, whether in terms of destabilizing the relative professionalization of the artist(s) in relationship to the participants, deconstructing the classed, raced, and gendered privileges attached to various actors in the project, or directly confronting government and social policy as regarding asylum seekers that affects participants' lives. For

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[261] Knowles, *Theatre & Interculturalism,* 59.

[262] Susan C. Haedicke and Tobin Nelhaus, eds., *Performing Democracy: International Perspectives on Urban Community-Based Performance,* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2001), 15.

example, when white Irish-born artists work with minority ethnic groups, as is frequently or usually the case, what are the limits and possibilities inherent in this collaboration? Can new social formations be forged in the moment of collaborations as performances that, as Román argues, "constitute a counterpublic that offers both respite and change from normative structures of being and belonging assumed both in the national culture and in the subcultural worlds that form a part of it"?[263] Or do these projects reify power dynamics amongst participants in the guise of shared community arts work that ultimately leads to no long-term results or connections between participants?

These questions do not intend to set up a Manichean binary, however, and no project can be ultimately defined by either extreme. As Lo and Gilbert argue, "Positioned at the tension between source cultures, intercultural exchange is characterized by gain and by loss, attraction and disavowal."[264] Of course, even as a participant observer, my understanding of the tension generated by these projects can only ever be partial. However, given the vexed nature of identity politics in Ireland today, it is crucial to draw attention to moments of "gain" and "loss," "attraction" and "disavowal," where raced and gendered subjects get produced in the midst of discourses of intercultural exchange. Community arts projects represent an ideal site through which to track the ambivalence of intercultural exchange given repeated emphasis on community arts as a site where Irish interculturalism can be put into practice and post-Celtic Tiger subjects produced through artistic collaboration between diverse groups.

I am therefore especially attentive to moments of "subtle" plundering in these projects where "established power dynamics," particularly in regards to race and racism, shape encounters between majority and minority ethnic participants. In these moments, (racist) narratives or stereotypes are rearticulated, usually without intention of causing harm or offense, often in fact through gestures aimed at giving voice to a participant or group. These incidents often slip under the radar or go unquestioned. I draw attention to these moments in my work in order to understand how the performance of everyday life in rehearsal or workshops forms a constitutive part of these art-making processes and consider how wider discourses regarding race, ethnicity, gender and national belonging frame and ghost these projects. These moments provide opportunities to engage directly with the tensions named by the discourse of interculturalism itself, which aspires to create a space, in the words of the Arts Council-supported *Cultural Diversity and the Arts-Language and Meanings,* for "individuals who wish to find opportunities for solidarity in the negotiation of difference, as members of heterogeneous, dynamic broad-based cultural or ethnic groups" despite the "vague, aspirational manner in which interculturalism is sometimes invoked."[265] These "negotiations of difference" pose opportunities to confront the kinds of moments that I have named, where "Eurocentric biases…persist, particularly those steeped in assumptions or even tacit racism,"[266] in order to work towards bringing to life the "aspirational" aspects of interculturalism which necessitate conflict as part of its process.   This process involves not only recognizing but interrogating the new "social formations" that offer themselves up in those moments, not

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[263] David Román, *Performance in America,* 2.

[264] Jacqueline Lo and Helen Gilbert, "Towards a Topography of Cross-Cultural Theatre Praxis,"45.

[265] Daniel Jewesbury, Jagtar Singh and Sarah Tuck, *Cultural Diversity and the Arts: Language and Meanings,* 11.

[266] Ibid.

as failures, but as opportunities if only they are addressed directly by facilitators and participants in the service of naming and acknowledging power disparities inherent in the process that they are undertaking, despite its utopic intents.

The Politics and Promises of Intercultural "Community" Arts

Community arts projects explicitly focused on interculturalism take place through professional and semi-professional theatres, NGOs, universities, and community-led organizations. Upstate's LITP (Drogheda), Calypso Theatre's Tower of Babel program (Dublin), the Forum on Migration and Communication or FOMACS (Dublin), the Lantern Center's Black Actors' Workshop and Intercultural Actors' Workshop (Dublin), Movement Against Racism, Discrimination, Intolerance or M.A.R.D.I. (Bundoran), SPIRASI's Art Programme (Dublin), and City Fusion (Dublin) are all groups or initiatives whose efforts in the last 5-10 years can be grouped within this arena of work, and this is only a partial list. These groups utilize techniques ranging from community arts workshops in drama, dance, and music to the production of theatrical performances, films, and documentaries to educate the Irish public about the experiences of recent immigrants, encourage interaction between Irish-born and new communities, and confront and deconstruct racism in Irish culture and daily life. In the words of the Forum on Migration and Communication:

> Our central objective is to amplify voices and personal stories previously sensationalised or marginalised in dominant media representations of immigration. The ambition of FOMACS is to document the challenging pathways and social, cultural and political networks laid down by migrant workers, asylum seekers, refugees and their families.[267]

All of these groups consider producing positive representations of minority communities in Ireland and increasing contact between majority and minority ethnic communities a mode of political engagement. While FOMAC's work can perhaps be better classified as "media activism" rather than "community arts," all of the above groups draw on the genealogy of community arts practice in Ireland to focus their efforts and directly involve immigrant artists from new communities.[268]

The purpose of these groups differs widely. Common aims include integration, actor training, new play creation, art therapy, anti-racism awareness and activism more generally. Many aim for a racially and ethnically mixed group of participants ranging from children to adults, while some serve more limited groups, such as "Black actors," or youth.   Spirasi's Art Programme claims that it has:

> become one of the more important means by which asylum seekers and other migrants can integrate into Irish life. The various art projects have included painting, film-making, story-telling, web and graphic design, creative writing,

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[267] Forum on Migration and Communication, "What We Do," accessed October 25, 2008, http://www.fomacs.org/about.php?cat=What%20We%20Do.
[268] At the time of this writing, however, only FOMACS and M.A.R.D.I. continue their work while Upstate continues to develop intercultural programming under different names.

dance, drumming and other musical workshops. These activities allow the artists to express themselves and to communicate and interact with local Irish communities.[269]

Spirasi defines integration as expression, communication and interaction, investing a faith that the arts can serve as one of the "more important" gateways to building relationships with local Irish communities. However, this Art Programme needs to be further contextualized within Spirasi's mission and the target communities served by the organization. Run by the Spiritans, a Roman Catholic Congregation of Priests, Brothers, and Lay Associates devoted to the Holy Spirit, Spirasi defines itself as a:

> humanitarian, intercultural, non-governmental organisation that works with asylum seekers, refugees and other disadvantaged migrant groups, with special concern for survivors of torture. In partnership with others, SPIRASI enables access to specialist services to promote the well-being of the human person, and encourages self-reliance and integration into Ireland.[270]

Spirasi's mission and target demographic therefore introduces the possibility of the arts being used for therapeutic purposes in the context of its larger programming.
    Calypso Productions' Tower of Babel (2002-2008) and the Lantern Center's Black Actors' Workshop (2001-2002) and Intercultural Actors' Workshop (2009) focused on actor training as well as facilitating interaction between majority and minority ethnic participants. Tower of Babel

> is an intercultural youth theatre, drama and film project which focuses on the personal & professional development of young people aged 14-21 years enabling them to contribute to the creative industry in Ireland, pass on their knowledge to younger members and become arts facilitators, actors, performers or writers.[271]

By focusing on professionalization, the program leaders assert that participants in the program will develop marketable skills to go out and continue to challenge representations of "Irishness" in art and culture through producing art from the perspective of their diverse backgrounds and experience. Both programs responded directly to a perceived lack of minority ethnic actors in Ireland, which has led the parts of minority ethnic characters to be frequently cast with professional or semi-professional actors brought in from abroad.[272] Like LITP, Calypso Production's Tower of Babel also aimed to create new work through a devised ensemble process and also produced short films including *Busaras* (2007) and *Fears and Fantasies* (2008). These efforts seek to

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[269] Spirasi, "Art in Spirasi," accessed January 18, 2011, http://www.spirasi.ie/art/index.shtml.
[270] Spirasi, "Mission Statement," accessed January 18, 2011, http://www.spirasi.ie/about.shtml.
[271] "Tower of Babel," accessed September 15, 2008, http://www.calypso.ie/education.html/. Calypso Productions' website is no longer accessible following the demise of the company in December 2008.
[272] Notable examples include casting the role of Christopher Malomo in Adigun and Doyle's *Playboy of the Western World: A New Version* twice with London-based actors Giles Terera and Chuk Iwuji while Upstate Theatre Project's own touring production of *At Peace* employed Nigerian and London-based actors for the Nigerian characters and two non-professional actors from Latvia.

expand the body of dramatic literature representing immigrant experiences in contemporary Ireland as well as open opportunities for minority ethnic actors to perform professionally. U.S. scholar and actress Elisa Joy White, for example, was cast in the popular Irish soap *Fair City* as the "man-eating Venus O'Brien" following her participation in the Black Actor's Workshop in 2001 while conducting dissertation research on the African diaspora in Ireland.[273]

These groups profess varying commitments to political and activist goals. Calypso Productions described its theatre work as a "catalyst for social action" while disagreement arose during LITP's process in Drogheda as to whether the participants considered what they were doing "political," a moment to be explored in detail later in this chapter. M.A.R.D.I. engages in specifically activist projects and anti-racist training sessions that bring together youth and adult participants not only from within Ireland, but from the European Union at large, often doing "youth exchanges" with other nations. Like FOMACS, they use film, music, drama and the arts to engage participants. Group founder, Meg Rybicki, explains that:

> Direct action remains making leaflets that outline our position on
> racism and discrimination…We use the Arts as a medium to work with
> groups who have been and are discriminated against and who are subject
> to direct or subtle racism and discrimination. We hope to empower
> people from all parts of society to stand up, speak out, and keep
> speaking out against entrenched racism in Irish society, and beyond.[274]

They have produced videos of their theatrical workshops as anti-racist teaching tools, a CD of Afro-Irish music, and most recently, helped coordinate the "Witness One Voice" project, which was a music project aimed also at documenting the experience of asylum seekers living in Direct Provision accommodation.[275] Yet, despite the fact that not every groups' mission is as explicit as M.A.R.D.I., most of the projects done by these groups have been focused around political and social issues, including confronting controversy over inward-migration and the treatment of asylum seekers, redefining national identity through participation in public rituals, and, contesting the underrepresentation of minority ethnic groups in the arts.

The longer history of community arts in Ireland has also had an ambivalent relationship with the political, seeming at once defined by politicized roots as it gained momentum initially from "a very radical philosophy whereby the activists of the sixties

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[273] Jenny Friel, "My Race Hate Hell," *The Mirror,* June 20, 2001.

[274] Meg Rybicki, e-mail message to author, May 3, 2010.

[275] "The Witness project is a group of volunteers who have come together to highlight the damaging effect that the system of Direct Provision has upon the well being of Asylum Seekers in Ireland. We use music to create a bridge between the most vulnerable people within this system and the host community with an aim to promote diversity and highlight that we are 'one voice, one world, one humanity' We hope that by highlighting how inhumane this system of Direct Provision is, we can at least alleviate this oppression by creating the type of system we would like to see in place at grass roots level. We do this by using the simple gift of friendship and community." "The Witness Project," Accessed January 24, 2011, http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=221447228659.

wanted to overthrow the establishment in favour of a new utopia,"[276] but skeptical of this history as it potentially homogenizes the scope and intention of community arts practice. Sandy Fitzgerald argues that "[i]n England in the 1970s this hardened into community arts as informed by Marxism"[277] before traveling to Ireland as a movement in the late 1970s. Yet, Fitzgerald explains, "while a number of the Irish community arts adherents were likewise political, the main motivating factor of seeking to gather under the community arts heading in Ireland was one of solidarity."[278] Solidarity here could be defined in terms of uniting with artists practicing a similar *craft* and working method, not necessarily the same politics.

The origins of Irish community arts remain bound up with a growth in community development and activism in the 1970s that had explicitly political and social aims. In fact, the 1978 establishment of the North City Centre Community Action Programme [NCCCAP] arguably marked the birth of the Irish community arts movement as the Centre programmed community arts in addition to its community development work "campaigning for better housing, social services and education for local people."[279] The opening of this Centre quickly inspired and unified related activities, and eventually inspired "a meeting…called by City Workshop [a drama workshop run by NCCCAP] in the summer of 1983" which Fitzgerald identifies as "[t]he moment where community arts in Ireland formally recognized itself and looked to the outside world for recognition and support."[280]

Furthermore, as briefly discussed in the introduction, the growth of community arts in Ireland coincided not only with the founding of a more general field of community development for disadvantaged communities, but also with the height of the Troubles in the midst of the Hunger Strikes and escalating violence in the North. Apart from the Troubles, widespread unemployment as well as poverty and drug abuse in inner-city neighborhoods in the Republic and the North formed the immediate background to the origins of these activities. Hence, while my discussion of community arts here will remain focused on the Republic of Ireland, it should be understood that this field of practice emerged out of interactions between Northern and Southern artists and organizations, such as CAFE (Creating Art for Everyone) which was founded after that 1983 meeting in Dublin and at various points had offices in "regions outside Dublin," including Belfast, Cork and Sligo.[281] Some of the most successful and long-standing community development projects with strong arts components such as the NCCAP, the Belfast Community Circus and Fatima Groups United, originated at the intersections of social justice and arts agenda. The Belfast Community Circus, for example, narrates

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[276] Sandy Fitzgerald, "The beginnings of community arts and the Irish Republic, in *An Outburst of Frankness,* 76.
[277] Ibid.
[278] Ibid.
[279] "Historical time line," in *An Outburst of Frankness: Community Arts in Ireland-A Reader*, ed. Sandy Fitzgerald, 255.
[280] Ibid., 70.
[281] CAFE changed its name in 2003 to CREATE (the national agency for the collaborative arts) "reflecting that times had moved on both for the organisation in the course of its twenty year history and in the broader arts environment. Recognising that there was a real need for specialised bespoke services for artists working in different social contexts, this became an organisational priority." CREATE, "History of CREATE," accessed January 22, 2011, http://www.create-ireland.ie/about-us/history.html.

consciously emerging during a time that had "desperate need for positive shared experiences for young people from different communities."[282] The nascent field of community arts would ultimately benefit from government funding related to these unstable dynamics including unemployment schemes through FÁS, the Irish National Training & Employment Authority, EU funds, project-based grants from local authorities, and Peace and Reconciliation monies for anti-sectarian arts projects.[283] For example, the 1981 "Youth Employment Scheme (YES) was the first source of significant funding to community arts and is generally regarded as having kick-started the first community arts organizations. The grant levels were significant enough to maintain a core group and base."[284] Groups throughout Ireland were funded by this scheme.

Community arts practitioners agree that to change the role of the artist in Irish society from an elite position to one shared by various disenfranchised communities of non-professional artists throughout Ireland is to change the hierarchy of society itself. While not all community arts work is aimed at community development specifically and housed within an organization like the NCCCAP, this history undergirds the ethos of this practice today and illuminates why the arts and community arts in particular have been targeted as a zone for the integration of immigrant communities. Hence, despite the differing political commitments of community arts practitioners, this field of practice was founded in Ireland against a background of social upheaval where the arts were directly called upon to address problems affecting communities such as political violence, drug abuse, and poverty. The community arts provide a space for dialogue, a means of employment, a site of protest and many other opportunities from the 1970s onwards. "Community development," defined as activism to improve the living conditions and access to services and provisions for those living in specific areas, is intimately intertwined with the work of community arts as it is practiced in Ireland despite inconsistent levels of funding and support for individual programs. Mowbray Brates, whose involvement with community arts "began in England in the 1970s,"[285] identifies a number of common motivations in the choice of individuals to pursue community arts practice. He shares that people were:

> …looking to push the boundaries of art, liberating art from museums and theatre spaces. Then there would be the direction of political activism and community development, the use of art in a creative way to further political campaigns, specific single issues. And I suppose then there would be people who would want to look at democratising culture. People who would see culture as defined very narrowly from within the terms of a strong left-wing socialist tradition.[286]

[282] Belfast Community Circus, "About Us," accessed January 22, 2011, http://www.belfastcircus.org/about.asp.
[283] Susan Coughlan, "The Old Triangle: Funding, Policy and Community Arts," in *An Outburst of Frankness: Community Arts in Ireland- A Reader,* 115.
[284] Ibid., 120
[285] Mowbray Brates, "Historical Forum," *An Outburst of Frankness: Community Arts in Ireland-A Reader,* ed. Sandy Fitzgerald, 7.
[286] Ibid., 11.

Yet, these motivations rarely remain distinct from one another as pushing the boundaries of art frequently involves critically examining social relations themselves through the act of moving the arts out of theatre and museum spaces. Likewise, while Upstate's LITP does not further "political campaigns" in the interest of a "single issue" they nevertheless touch on many themes related to contemporary political debates in their work.

However, the institutionalization of explicit links between community arts and social "work," in terms of community development or outreach to minority (ethnic) groups including immigrants, Travellers, the disabled and the elderly has raised frequent controversy as these linkages frequently attach themselves to limited available funds which groups and artists must compete for in able to do their work. In a 2003 forum in Cork on the state of contemporary community arts in Ireland, the artists gathered expressed continuing frustration with what they termed the "box-ticking exercise" of funding applications. Niall O'Baoill, founder and director of Dublin-based youth organization, Wet Paint, as well as past arts and culture coordinator for Fatima Mansions, observed:

> Remember the first significant cultural policy statement in Ireland- it was called *Access and Opportunity*- actually heralded the idea of participation in the arts. The Arts Council thereafter got around to re-pointing in some ways its policies and funding dispositions to incorporate this statement of intent. They gathered lists of the different types of ideas of disadvantage or cultural alienation and they put them into little boxes and lines into their application forms, and who did they go with the application form to-only their existing client base. So straight away they were asking people who had been formed and working in a particular way, and who were already financially strapped themselves and worried about where the crust will come from, to jump that hurdle, tick that box, pretend you can, either way you won't be caught out.[287]

While creating boxes to tick could be seen as a step towards encouraging social redistribution through the arts by making provision for services to various underserved groups, Baoill and others worry that this narrowing of funding options contributes to the lack of viability for community arts projects over time because "[t]he short-term and experimental or 'pilot' nature of much of the available funding led to a lack of continuity that, much to the frustration of the practitioners themselves, often fundamentally undermined the developmental and innovative aspects of the work itself"[288] in addition to requiring that projects be shaped to fit certain political and social agendas. Fitzgerald adds that:

> practitioners became alarmed at the Arts Council's move to create a community arts heading within their funding portfolio, particularly because it had a small budgetary line yet an ever-increasing list of clients…Better to stay under one of

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[287] "Community Arts Forum 2, Cork, 13 October 2003," in *An Outburst of Frankness,* 226.
[288] Clancy, "The Old Triangle," in *An Outburst of Frankness,* 129.

the traditional headings, such as theatre, with a much more generous model of money, than be shoved out to the Arts Council Siberia of community arts.[289]

These debates over how the community arts should be understood as social and artistic practice ultimately hold implications not only for how funding is distributed, but for understanding the relationship between the arts, citizenship and belonging within the Irish nation. If community arts is a field that helps to insure equal access to the arts for the Irish people, then theorizing the relationship between rhetorics of community, participation, the arts and citizenship in Ireland today sheds light on no less than the limits of Irish belonging.

Community Arts, Interculturalism and Active Citizenship

An intimate connection exists between the aspirations of Irish theories of interculturalism and the goals of community and participatory arts projects involving immigrant, minority ethnic and white majority Irish-born participants. Therefore, I now consider more carefully the entanglement between community arts, interculturalism, and a cradle to grave relationship with the Irish state by focusing on what it means to think of participation in the arts as nascent acts of citizenship and/or embodied gestures directed towards national belonging. Recent re-articulations of Irish citizenship as a practice of "Active Citizenship" emphasize bottom-up community engagement while also stressing the changing nature of contemporary Irish identity as narrated by discourses of interculturalism. Irish intercultural exchange ideally aims for

> a process of mutual exchange between cultural groups. Implicit is the idea that there are pre-existing hierarchies of communication (between the majority population and a minority for instance) which should be resisted, in favour of more equal engagement, in order that shared understandings can be more easily achieved.[290]

This definition of intercultural exchange put forth by the Arts Council's report on *Cultural Diversity and the Arts: Language and Meanings* argues that by acknowledging hierarchies and power differentials, it becomes possible to move beyond them and inaugurate a "process of mutual exchange" that undoes these dynamics in order to create a new social formation that could be described as interculturalism. Similarly, participatory arts are described as undoing the hierarchies of professional vs. amateur arts practice leading to the Arts Council giving "parity of esteem to collaborative practice, relative to other practice"[291] in a 2005 Policy Paper. Participatory arts where "people collaborate with skilled artists to make or interpret art"[292] theoretically represents a mode of practice with the power to redefine how art is valued in Irish society. The Arts Council stresses:

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[289] Fitzgerald, "The beginnings of community arts in the Irish Republic," in *An Outburst of Frankness,* 76.

[290] Arts Council, *Cultural Diversity and the Arts: Language and Meanings,* 13.

[291] Arts Council/An Chomhairle Ealaìon, "Participatory Arts: Summary Policy Paper," 1.

[292] Ibid.

Participatory arts have their own values. They enable people to make or shape 'their own' art and validate people's own artistic perceptions. They equally esteem all genres and value cultural diversity. Participatory arts are inclusive. They proactively include people who might not be otherwise involved or valued in the arts. They give us a more inclusive definition of 'the artist.' They deal with access, ownership, equity, diversity and inclusiveness.[293]

Interculturalism and participatory arts both rework existing categories of power and esteem to make room for "people who might not otherwise be involved or valued" in the arts and beyond. The field of participatory arts claims to remake definitions of the artist, while theories of Irish interculturalism assert that they can remake the parameters of national belonging through dynamic exchange aimed at transforming the Irish-born majority as well as immigrants through their experiences with one another.   The issues taken up vis-a-vis interculturalism and participatory arts are jointly "access, ownership, equity, diversity and inclusiveness." These goals can only be achieved through engaged participation, which not only practices these values, but also claims them as legitimate in the public sphere.

Outside of the arts, active participation in the post-Celtic Tiger public sphere has been named "Active Citizenship." Yet, how does this renewed emphasis on community participation as a mode of social renewal perhaps bypass consideration of the imbrication of individuals and "communities" with the limits of state service, support and recognition? Niamh Gaynor critiques the discourse of active citizenship for this reason, arguing that this rhetoric:

> appears a panacea for dealing with much of the social fallout of our time…substitutes self-help for redistribution, self-reliance for state accountability, in the process contributing towards an ongoing depoliticization of the principles and practice of community development and affording 'ordinary' people little say over the direction of their country and their lives.[294]

While she refers specifically here to Irish discourses of community development, her critique of "community" participation as a substitute for "state accountability" resonates with critiques of the limits of the "intercultural industry" by Ronit Lentin and Robbie McVeigh, who assert that "the Irish 'race relations (interculturalism) industry' has integration rather than anti-racism as its main objective and all the organisations tend to walk the 'interculturalism' walk and talk the 'diversity' talk."[295] Lentin and McVeigh associate the weakness of this "industry" with Ireland's transition from a "racial state" to a "racist state" where "governmental 'biopolitics' and technologies of regulating immigration and asylum dictate the discursive and practical construction of Irishness and Ireland's 'new' but also 'old,' migrant and minority populations."[296] They highlight a fundamental disconnect between a proliferation of state and community programs

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[293] Arts Council/An Chomhairle Ealaìon, "Participatory Arts: Background Discussion Paper," 1.
[294] Niamh Gaynor, "In-Active citizenship and the depoliticization of community development in Ireland," *Community Development Journal* 46, no. 1 (January 2011): 28, 29.
[295] Ronit Lentin and Robbie McVeigh, *After Optimism?,* 3.
[296] Ibid., 4.

directed towards interculturalism and nominally anti-racism in the same moment that controls over immigrant populations intensified through the passage of the Citizenship Referendum and the fact that the acceptance rate for asylum applications continues to fall. Therefore, an individual desire to participate or take part may not be possible within the social structures made available to them. Gaynor echoes this concern:

> the narrow equation of active citizenship with volunteering, 'helping out' and 'doing good' represents a highly selective rendering of the interrelated concepts of citizenship, social capital and community development, ignoring the conflicts inherent in increasingly diverse communities, the potential for exclusion and the central tenets of citizenship.[297]

Gaynor, Lentin and McVeigh call attention to the enmeshment of the individual and "communities" with the power and limitations of the Irish state, suggesting that they cannot work or understand themselves outside of these structures if they are to try and dismantle them. And if, as Lentin and McVeigh suggest, the Irish state focuses considerable energy on regulating immigrant and minority ethnic populations such as Travellers, rhetorics of "community" participation and active citizenship by the state in particular must be scrutinized in order to assess what happens when those being invited into these practices are routinely positioned outside of the community of the Irish nation.

Nevertheless, community arts projects repeatedly model participation through performance and the arts as a viable avenue through which minority ethnic communities in particular can claim some version of belonging at the scale of the local community in which they live and the nation at large. Anthropologist Renato Rosaldo names these aspirational acts of public displays as assertions of "cultural citizenship." Rosaldo has argued that cultural citizenship involves using "cultural expression to claim public rights and recognition, and highlighting the interaction between citizenship and culture."[298] He cites a gathering of the Latino community in San José, California for the unveiling of a Quetzalcóatl statue as an example of an act of cultural citizenship, of demanding public space for a minority community. Working with this definition of the possibilities of cultural citizenship, community arts projects potentially revise Irish conceptions of (cultural) citizenship and national belonging through artistic contributions from immigrant communities, regardless of their members' legal status or social and political rights and entitlements.

Arguably, claiming acts of cultural citizenship as legitimate participation or "active citizenship" within Irish society ultimately calls into question the very concept of legal "citizenship" as the absolute measure of national belonging. In this scenario, "citizenship" therefore does not only take the official form sanctioned by the state, but can take other forms which serve as a critique of legal citizenship's processes and exclusions. Rosaldo's definition of "cultural citizenship" indirectly demands that these acts be granted the power of performatives, not only a doing, but a thing done. Judith

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[297] Gaynor, 32.
[298] Renato Rosaldo, "Cultural Citizenship, Inequality, and Multiculturalism," in *Race, Identity, and Citizenship: A Reader,* edited by Rodolfo D. Torres, Louis F. Mirón, and Jonathan Xavier Inda, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), 259.

Butler's extensive work on performativity, speech acts and bodily gestures argues in part that "performativity is not a singular act, but a repetition and a ritual, which achieves its effects through its naturalization in the context of a body, understood, in part, as a culturally sustained temporal direction."[299] Recognition of acts of cultural citizenship as legitimate performatives demonstrates not only the presence and validity of minority ethnic populations in post-Celtic Tiger Ireland, but enacts a claim to Irish public space in order to make this claim increasingly valid over time. Arguably, there is a tacit and hesitant contract made through the staging of these performatives that Irish "culture" is not a static force and remains open to contributions by "new Irish" which gather force and influence through repeated inclusion in major cultural events, like the Dublin St. Patrick's Festival, as will be explored in Chapter Six.

However, does the Irish state's emphasis on both community arts and community participation as a mode of "active citizenship" and interculturalism complicate acts of cultural citizenship as liberation and critique? Projects like Upstate Theatre Project's LITP are not funded after all only by the Arts Council but also make use of funds from the state departments and offices which have driven immigration policy post-Celtic Tiger, such as the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform and the Office of the Minister for Integration.   Pointing towards the difficult task of undoing these kinds of these entanglements, Aihwa Ong challenges Ronaldo's theory by arguing "cultural citizenship is a dual process of self-making and being-made within webs of power linked to the nation-state and civil society."[300] Bids for cultural citizenship therefore cannot only claim "self-making" as their agenda, but must contend with the forces of "being made" that affect the reception of these efforts in public space. What does then it mean to use "community arts" as a strategy to accrue what could be termed "cultural citizenship" for immigrant populations, some of whom may have only temporary work status, limited legal status, be resident as asylum-seekers or refugees, or come from European countries regarded as culturally far-removed from Irish culture (i.e. Eastern Europe)? What is the difference between arts practice as a mode of interculturalism for legally resident immigrants or as form of protest for asylum-seekers, refugees and those resident illegally or without papers? And can these differences even make themselves legible through performance or a group process?

Ong's critique of Rosaldo's definition of cultural citizenship proves helpful in grounding these issues and clarifying further uses of the term "cultural citizenship" for analysis. She insists that embracing cultural citizenship does not promise that "immigrant or minority groups can escape the cultural inscription of state power and other forms of regulation that define the different modalities of belonging."[301] She argues instead that cultural citizenship can be understood as referring to "the cultural practices and beliefs produced out of negotiating the often ambivalent and contested relations with the state and its hegemonic forms that establish the criteria of belonging within a national population and territory."[302] Ong's re-phrasing makes space for a more thorough analysis of community arts in post-Celtic Tiger Ireland as a process frequently supported through

[299] Judith Butler, "Preface to *Gender Trouble* (1999)," in *The Judith Butler Reader,* 94.
[300] Aihwa Ong, "Cultural citizenship as subject-making: Immigrants negotiate racial and cultural boundaries in the United States," in *Race, Identity, and Citizenship: A Reader,* 264.
[301] Ibid.
[302] Ibid.

conflicting interests- funded through the state (Culture Ireland, Dublin City Council, Arts Council, the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, the Office of the Minister for Integration) but actively involved in contesting state power through advocating for the rights and visibility of especially vulnerable minority ethnic groups such as asylum seekers, refugees and undocumented or migrant workers. Unpacking purely celebratory or critical assessments of this range of practice is crucial to understanding the adjusted role of the (community) arts post-Celtic Tiger and creates critical space for attending to the fragile and ambivalent contributions of the participants/artists/facilitators invested in this work.

By investigating LITP from the perspective of a participant-observer, perhaps a fuller view of the accomplishments and ethical liabilities of this genre of practice in Ireland can emerge, one which attends to the micro-politics of this area by honoring and evaluating participation, process, and performance while not abnegating the responsibility of this work to a larger web of social, cultural, political and economic relations in Ireland.   Nina Billone maintains: "the radicalism of community-based performance may be located in the form's ethic and aesthetic of intersubjective and institutional enmeshment."[303] The frequently uncomfortable relationship between the "intersubjective" and "institutional" enmeshments of these community arts projects reveals itself through conflict between the aspirational goals of the practice and the reality that they may be able to ultimately do "little to change the established power dynamic[s]" they are critiquing through the project itself. Yet, Billone holds out hope here for a "radicalism" to emerge from within these contradictions. In writing about the U.S. Bay Area-based Medea Project, a group that makes theatre with incarcerated women, she argues:

> By staging its intersection with the police, the Medea Project does more than enable individual women to make themselves anew. Instead, the company exposes the systems of power that both produce and police those very lives. In so doing, the Medea Project calls performers and audience members both to see and to act upon the interconnecting forces that the prison system aims to disappear. When women who have been cast in the role of the welfare queen stand on the public stage, when ''state-made'' subjects claim access to the fictional act of ''self-making,'' they enact the impossibility of any subject making her life herself.[304]

Billone invests faith in the power of a performance's recognition that they can do "little to change the established power dynamic" as a productive beginning rather than a failure. Likewise, Upstate's LITP "calls upon performers and audience members both to see and act upon the interconnecting forces" that have set the tone of debates around inward-migration and interculturalism, and influenced the treatment of the "New Irish," particularly women of color as will be later discussed, in everyday life. Yet, as Billone hints, these possibilities do not make themselves available through a straightforward

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[303] Nina Billone, "Performing Civil Death: The Medea Project and Theater for Incarcerated Women," *Text and Performance Quarterly* 29, No. 3 (July 2009): 274.
[304] Ibid., 273.

radicalism which can afford to eschew institutional ties (such as in the case of the Medea Project's cooperation with the police in order to do their work), but rather through the power of these perhaps unholy alliances to reveal the contradictions that leave power intact as a first step towards deconstructing and then altering these interdependent relationships.   These contradictions do not make themselves available exclusively on the stage, but rather at every step in the conception and execution of these community arts projects, and I argue that "process" begins not in the rehearsal, but the lead-up to the project long before the participants are gathered. However, my analysis of Upstate's work in particular will begin with LITP's performance of *Journey from Babel* in order to work backwards through the long lead up to their performance in the context of the company's longer history.

Processing the Political

In May 2009, Upstate Theatre's Louth International Theatre Project (LITP) presented its first public performance in the Old Weaver's Factory in Drogheda, Ireland. Their original site-specific community theatre piece, *Journey from Babel*, was written by a company of local residents, comprising 8 nationalities, including Irish, French, German, Austrian, Mexican, English, and American, all of who were currently living in Drogheda. Drogheda, the home of Upstate, is the largest town in Ireland, has with a significant history as a port and industrial town, and experienced substantial growth during the Celtic Tiger era.[305]

Journey from Babel led its audience members on a trip through time and space, addressing themes of immigration from multiple perspectives. Audiences were issued a boarding pass with their programs, and received a summary stamp as they hesitantly crept up a narrow stairway into an uncertain experience shuttling between several rooms. Contemporary Ireland served as the anchor for the majority of the story lines, whether as origin point or final destination. Yet, the setting of the piece's stories ranged from WWI-era Austria to the roaring 20's in New York to 18th century Ireland. The interlocking stories unfolded mostly in a linear perspective, but the historical periods experienced by the audience during their journey through the space were constantly shifting between the past and present.

A ribald Drogheda tea lady (Nicola Devine)[306] shares performance space with lesbian newcomers to town from London and Quebec (Cara Brock and Shannon O'Donovan), while a French Aeroplane Man (Sylain Pastor) [Figure 4.1] threads his way through the crowd contemplating the philosophical reasons for flying at all, whether in the air or imagination. A pregnant immigrant woman named Anna prepares to give birth in the airport (Maria Copley) as a childless Drogheda woman named Marguerite (Jenny Thompson) is made redundant after 30 years of work and wonders why she has never

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[305] After the Celtic Tiger, many urban professionals began to buy houses in Drogheda and make the daily commute into Dublin due to greater space available for building out in the country and lower property prices. Hence, Drogheda now has more significant numbers of individuals working in the business, technology and service industries and commuting into Dublin than before the boom thus shifting the town's demographics significantly.

[306] Given that this is a piece of community theatre, I am naming the participants in relationship to the characters they played in order to honor their work and participation in creating and performing the piece.

been able to go anywhere at all. Multiple generations of women writing to lovers away in wars are presented before shifting to a focus on a German woman named Alicia's loss and rebirth as a new immigrant to the U.S. immediately following the loss of her fiancé in WWI (Doris Genner). Even the global traffic of sex workers is briefly and boldly explored through competing perspectives of Irish Rose in London (Bianca Browne) and Hungarian Florka in Ireland (Alexandra Pap). The whole show finally ends up on New York City's Broadway with the Drogheda tea lady, Alicia, and Anna sharing the stage space in hauntingly different roles before the cast appears for a candlelit vigil in honor of all those who have migrated in search of a new life.

Figure 4.1
Aeroplane man (Sylvain Pastor) in flight.
Photograph: Paul Hayes

Journey from Babel captured contemporary Ireland in flux but pushed audience members to consider older and overlapping genealogies of emigrant and immigrant histories vis-à-vis Ireland in a global context. By bringing these histories together on the stage, the multiethnic cast of *Journey from Babel* told a polyvocal story about post-Celtic Tiger Ireland that did not focus on the newness or strangeness of a more "diverse" Ireland, but instead revealed the characters as already long implicated in each other's histories. Therefore, the trope of the new immigrant as "other" in Irish society was resolutely refused. Unlike O'Kelly's *Cambria*, which foregrounds an isolated moment of exceptional exchange from Ireland's past, *Journey from Babel* emphasizes the mundane, everyday, and ongoing nature of immigration and emigration in Ireland's history, as well as in the histories of the countries represented by the piece's characters and participants. By bringing together current residents of Drogheda to collectively create an original theatre piece, LITP sought to give new and long-term members of the community an

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opportunity to tell stories about post-Celtic Tiger Ireland from their own perspectives for local audiences.

Founded in 1997, Upstate's work is divided into two major areas: Upstate Live and Upstate Local. Upstate Live produces professional theatrical productions while Upstate Local focuses on community theatre workshops that often result in non-professional productions of new ensemble-written work by participants. Gorman and Mallon describe Upstate's work as "community theatre." Gorman defines community theatre as "original work for performance that has been generated from within communities, often in the context of community development or educational objectives."[307] Their definition of community theatre differs from the usage of this term in the United States, for example, where it implies that it "is enacted by people who neither generate the material, shape it, work with professional guidance, nor apply it beyond an entertainment frame."[308] Rather, their work fits more closely with community-*based* theatre and/or performance as defined in the work of U.S. scholars Jan Cohen-Cruz, Sonja Kuftinec, Susan C. Haedicke, Tobin Nellhaus and others. Community-based performance according to Haedicke and Nelhaus "often redefines *text*, initiates unique script development strategies that challenge time-tested techniques for playwriting and introduces participatory performance techniques that blur the boundaries between actor and spectator in order to maximize the participants' agency."[309] Cohen-Cruz adds that it is:

> a response to a collectively significant issue or circumstance…at the source of community-based performance is not the singular artist but a 'community' constituted by virtue of a shared primary identity based on place, ethnicity, class, race, sexual preference, profession, circumstances or political orientation.[310]

Upstate's work has responded directly to social issues in contemporary Ireland, from focusing on the aftermath of the Troubles to exploring how interculturalism has redefined Irish identities by presenting the perspectives of those who are named "community" participants, although the notion of a "shared primary identity" is routinely problematized in their work. Upstate usually defines shared identity through their work as the place shared by participants at the time of their work. This recognizes that participant's identities are multiple and will change over time, and even during the course of the project, as opposed to defining participants primarily through religious or national affiliations.

Despite my desire to relate Upstate's practice to an Irish genealogy of community arts, I draw here from the work of scholars outside Ireland to locate their work because as

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[307] Declan Gorman, "Introduction: From Tales of the Tower Blocks to Yarns From The Farms: the Macra community plays in context," in *Way Out in the Country: An Anthology of Community Plays,* Edited by Declan Gorman and Declan Mallon, Upstate Theatre Project, (Drogheda: Upstate Theatre Project, 2001), 11.

[308] Jan Cohen-Cruz, *Local Acts: Community-Based Performance in the United States,* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 7.

[309] Susan C. Haedicke and Tobin Nelhaus, "Introduction," in *Performing Democracy: International Perspectives on Urban Community-Based Performance,* 3.

[310] Cohen-Cruz, *Local Acts: Community-Based Performance in the United States,* 2.

Haedicke and Nellhaus argue "[t]he internationalism of community-based performance work is in a way all the more remarkable because, at the same time, the activities tend to have a more decided commitment to localism."[311] This manifests through goals and principles shared in common between otherwise diverse projects, as well as the transnational circulation of key texts like Augusto Boal's *Theatre of the Oppressed* and the writings of Bertolt Brecht as inspiration for this broad group of practice. Gorman and Mallon repeatedly name Brecht and Boal as major influences for Upstate. However, similar practices present themselves through different terminology not only to reflect the content or aims of a particular project, but this terminology crucially also shifts according to the social and political value attached to the work by not only the practitioners, but the state and local authorities and/or arts funding bodies in each location where the work is practiced. Therefore, parsing why community arts has been revised as community-*based* elsewhere helps to unpack the precise meaning of "community" in an Irish context particularly vis-à-vis how the community arts are currently being used to address differences of race and ethnicity which translate into interculturalism initiatives.[312]

The company is based in Drogheda, County Louth, which is characterized as "a major gateway to the border counties of Louth, Monaghan, and Cavan."[313] Therefore,

> Upstate's work draws not only from the life and culture of the town and surrounding area, but also from this wider border region, an area rich in literary and theatrical tradition. The project is also ideally located to develop links with colleagues and communities across the border in Northern Ireland.[314]

In Upstate Theatre Project's 14-year history, they have thus engaged extensively in cross-border performance work related to and funded by EU Peace and Reconciliation initiatives. The work of LITP in 2008-2009, however, represents a shift in the focus of their work towards the interactions between Irish-born majority ethnic groups and "new communities."[315]

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[311] Susan C. Haedicke and Tobin Nelhaus, "Introduction," *Performing Democracy,* 4.

[312] The use of U.S. based scholars in particular to unpack these theoretical questions speaks to my own location in the U.S. academy, but also responds to a particular upsurge in attention to this body of work in the last 10-15 years among this group of scholars, as well as the fact that very few academic publications respond to or theorize community arts practice in Ireland, North or South.

[313] Upstate Theatre Project, "About Us," Accessed December 13, 2008, http://www.upstate.ie/about/index.html.

[314] Ibid.

[315] LITP would run for only two years, but Upstate would next found two Afro-Irish groups for youth and adults in the Drogheda area, a project that lies outside the scope of this current chapter. It is interesting to note, however, that Declan Mallon attributes this choice of focus to "[s] imply because participation from the local African community in [intercultural] programmes of this sort was negligible." He therefore implies that targeting African communities in relationship to "Irish" communities only is the most successful mode of outreach that they have discovered. This experience, of course, is anecdotal at this point, but deserves deeper inquiry. City Fusion is the only project explored by this dissertation that engages Africans, Irish-born groups and other minority ethnic groups explicitly in relation to one another. As my treatment of dramatic literature in Chapters 2 and 3 imply, there is a tendency to focus in general on the experiences of African immigrants in isolation by both majority and minority ethnic theatre artists. Declan Mallan, e-mail message to author, January 19, 2010.

LITP builds on Upstate's 2002 community theatre project, *Steps,* a collaboration between the Droichead Youth Theatre, Upstate and 15 youth from nearby Mosney accommodation center.[316] Upstate and DYT had decided to collaborate due to a long-standing relationship between the two organizations,[317] and the potential of pooling resources and learning from each other's working methodologies once again. This collaboration's focus arose from some troubling experiences of Gorman, and his wife and artistic director of Droichead Youth Theatre, Sharon Cromwell. He explained:

> …we chose to do something that might respond to the growing rumors and evidence of racism among young people in Drogheda at that time… a couple of minor incidents in the street that were reported in the local newspaper, overheard conversations in family homes, and so on and so forth. It was becoming very evident that the people of Drogheda, just like the people of Ireland elsewhere were responding in quite an ambivalent way to the ever-increasing visibility of people from other cultures and particularly people from Africa on our streets and in our schools and in our communities. There was a lot of low-level, low-key xenophobia kind of evident about the place.[318]

Armed with these concerns, Gorman and Cromwell contacted Jane Spearman, an artist by vocation and training, who was running arts, culture, and entertainment programming for young people at Mosney at the time. Their collaboration was supported by a grant from the Department of Justice, and they ultimately brought together 15 young people from Mosney and 15 young people from DYT. This resulted in a full production of an original murder-mystery play, *Steps*, which featured an interracial expectant couple, Nigerian Joseph and Irish Mary, on the run after Mary embezzled money from her bank job. Gorman describes the collaborators in this project as:

> …from the four continents, with us making up the fifth. Quite a few Africans, but even there, there were Nigerians, there was a South African girl, there were two boys, I think from the Congo. There were kids from South America, Russia, Azerbijan… Really, it was a remarkably international group of people.[319]

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[316] Mosney Accommodation Centre is located approximately 30 miles from the center of Dublin. This former holiday camp now hosts approximately 700 refugees and asylum seekers from dozens of different countries. The Centre has its own catering and health provisions. For more information, see: "Location for Resettlement-Mosney," accessed November 28, 2009, http://www.ria.gov.ie/filestore/publications/MOSNEY_English-FINALISED.pdf. There is a 2007 documentary *Seaview* (Dirs. Nicky Gogan and Paul Rowley) featuring interviews from residents.

[317] Declan Mallon was one of the founders of Droichead Youth Theatre and worked with them for many years, and in 2002, Declan Gorman's wife, Sharon Cromwell, was and remains artistic director of the company.

[318] Declan Gorman, (Co-Founder of Upstate Theatre Project and former Associate Artistic Director), in discussion with the author, 13 March 2009.

[319] Ibid.

The production of Gorman's original play, *At Peace,* in 2007 by Upstate Live followed *Steps*.[320] This professional touring production, *At Peace*,[321] featured Nigerian, Latvian, and Irish actors and was performed in three languages throughout the island of Ireland.

LITP's *Journey from Babel* evolved over a period of nine months through the guidance of Gorman and Mallon, in weekly workshops combining theatre and writing exercises. LITP was created in consultation with an intercultural steering board composed of members from the local Drogheda community, and informed by contact and collaboration with the Louth African Women's Network, as well as participation in workshops and programs associated with the now- defunct National Action Plan for Racism (NAPAR) by Gorman and Mallon. LITP would run in both Drogheda and nearby Dundalk,[322] but the Drogheda program ended up being the most successful and diverse program of the two. The Dundalk group was nearly all Irish-born, from the North and Republic, with only one occasional participant originally from Italy.[323] Only the Drogheda group would produce a public performance of their work.[324]

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[320] The "once-off" nature of *Steps* is a sore point for Gorman. He contends: "Now we have a very strong ethic and always have had for 12 years that we don't normally do that, we don't run a project and say goodbye, we tend to work our way out of things. It was carefully negotiated with the Department of Justice and the people who work with the young people there that it would be necessarily finite" (In discussion with the author, March 13, 2009). In addition to the stringent terms of the funding that they received for the *Steps* project from the Department of Justice, Upstate was also beginning a new phase of work through Phase II of the EU Peace and Reconciliation Programme that would be taking them to several new locations further North, moving into the counties of Tyrone, Monaghan, and Fermanagh, as well as continuing in Louth. This expanded programming would stretch their limited resources to the edge. To continue a partnership with Mosney, Gorman strongly felt that there needed to be a third partner involved beyond Upstate and Mosney, who would take a lead in the project. He approached Droichead Arts Centre and their community arts officer at the time, but around the time these plans were percolating, the funding of the position for community arts officer in Drogheda was cut. None of this is to suggest that it was the absolutely right decision to engage in a temporary limited project with vulnerable and isolated youth, or that Upstate should be totally excused from any responsibility here for the aftermath or lack thereof, but rather merely to demonstrate the complex number of factors having to do with funding, government support and qualified staffing that go into these decisions, as well as to illustrate once again the fragility and limited resources available to community arts programs that negatively effect their potential for sustainability and long-term ethical engagement.

[321] *At Peace* was the final play in a trilogy, also including the works *Hades* and *Epic,* written by Gorman between 1997-2007. This trilogy was not originally imagined as such and arose in response to the experiences of Upstate Local working through community-based drama initiatives in the North and Northeast of Ireland. This accidental trilogy situates the continuities between Upstate's transition from a thematic focus on the Troubles to "interculturalism" in Ireland today. The terms of that transition and Gorman's treatment of the overlaps between these two themes ultimately points to numerous continuities regarding issues of Irish identities, nationalisms, and violences pre- and post-Troubles and pre- and post-Celtic Tiger. The Troubles and its "conclusion" as well as the rapidity of the Celtic Tiger boom and bust represent major shifts in discourse around the parameters of contemporary "Irish" identities. Both sets of events have been understood by major commentators as pushing Ireland closer towards the post-national or the "European" but the circumstances of the bust, lingering conflict and violence in Northern Ireland, and anxieties regarding a spike in racisms post-Celtic Tiger complicate this hope. This is the story told through these plays and Upstate's work in general.

[322] Dundalk is a large town located close to the border of Northern Ireland and sits equidistant from Dublin and Belfast.

[323] Gorman noted the relative whiteness of both groups, but emphasized the importance of remaining aware of the differences nonetheless within the groups, in regards to Northern vs. Southern Irishness, ethnicity, class, religion, gender, and sexuality. Coming off explicitly anti-sectarian work, he stressed the levels of

I worked with both the Drogheda and Dundalk groups from January-March 2009, and returned in June for the final rehearsals and performances of *Journey from Babel* in Drogheda. My participation involved attending workshops and rehearsals, and planning meetings with Gorman and Mallon, interviewing participants and occasionally taking part in theatre games and writing activities with the group. By investigating the relationship between "process" and "product" for LITP from my perspective as a participant-observer, I hope to reflect on how the content of the final performance translates the group's process into not only a statement *on* interculturalism, but a living embodiment of the difficulties of this term as experienced through the process itself.   Definitively separating process from product in my own subjective analysis of LITP proves difficult or indeed impossible, but I strive to show how difficulties and tensions within the process itself became translated into the performance piece.   Examining the moments in performance that link to pivotal moments in the process permits a theorization of how Upstate defines aesthetic interculturalism as community theatre practice in particular. Therefore, I now move back to the very beginning of this incarnation of LITP: the grant application process.

Former Upstate company manager Paul Hayes summarizes the goals of LITP thus in an application to the Minister of Integration for a grant for the project:

- Offer legally resident migrants an opportunity to be involved in the planning and delivery of a community-based drama project.
- Provide a platform for Irish citizens and new migrants to participate hands-on in an imaginative and creative arts process within their local area.
- Encourage the participants to learn about the various cultures and day-to-day experiences of the communities from whence they are drawn, using tried and safe drama methodologies.
- In due course, develop productions for local presentation that will reflect the multicultural makeup of the participants.
- Evaluate and report on all stages of the process with a view to seeking resources to establish the project on a sustainable, long-term basis within County Louth.[325]

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division that exist within groups that appears racially homogenous. For example, one suggested spin on the storyline in *Journey from Babel* involving women writing to their lovers away at war set the story during WWII, but an Austrian member of the group grew upset because if she spoke in German, she assumed that people would relate her performance as a WWII soldier's wife as history of Austria's relationship to Nazism to her. This was one clear reminder of contested histories within a European context and the way in which they can be mobilized through performative acts, i.e. speaking in German as the character of a soldier's wife in a story set in WWII.

[324] The Dundalk and Drogheda groups, however, met up on May 23 to discuss their projects in relationship to one another during a one-day session entitled "Upstate Theatre Project: An Evening of Discussion and Performance." The Dundalk group performed an excerpt from their untitled work in progress for the group and attended *Journey from Babel* that evening. I was invited to give a short academic presentation entitled "Louth International Theatre Project in Context" for this event that situated LITP's work in relationship to international practices of community and community-based theatre.

[325] Paul Hayes, "Upstate Theatre Project's Louth International Theatre Project: Office of the Minister of Integration, Application Form for Immigrant Integration Small Grant Scheme," 3.

The language used in this application demonstrates the imbrication of the work of the state and community arts through Hayes' emphasis on legality, verifiable outcomes and attention to proper documentation as integral to LITP's process and aims. Hayes' application stresses the legal status of "migrants"[326] involved in the project following the guidelines of applying for funding from the Minister of Integration. The "Immigrant Integration Small Grant Scheme" to which Hayes and Upstate made a successful application was part of a larger 2009 initiative by the Irish government to encourage integration in local communities.[327] In the section of the application where Hayes is asked to list the target group that will benefit from this project, the groups designated are "legally resident immigrants," "people from the local community," and "others (e.g. asylum seekers)."[328] He chose only "legally resident immigrants" and "people from the local community." The nascent policies of Irish state towards immigration and interculturalism have indeed frequently driven by anxiety surrounding the figure of the asylum seeker as the "other." Bryan Fanning has aptly observed: "The attraction of a cosy interculturalism that excludes proscribed asylum seekers is all too evident."[329] However, as Hayes told me, if he had chosen to include "others (e.g. asylum seekers)," he would have had to make recourse to an entirely different stream of funding. This distinction expresses the "othered" relationship of asylum seekers to Irish society. Perhaps most practically, this distinction in streams of funding insures Irish taxpayers that public money for interculturalism initiatives will not go towards the support of "illegals" who are repeatedly characterized as a burden to the Irish state.

Therefore, an ideal version of Irish interculturalism as articulated by Upstate's LITP for the Office of the Minister for Integration serves only those who can be verified as legally resident and is rooted in the local cities, towns and villages of Ireland with diverse participants accessing the experience freely and safely. Long-term sustainability is the goal and Upstate promises that it will use "tried and safe drama methodologies" to implement their process of theatrical exploration and eventually produce a performance "that will reflect the multicultural makeup of the participants." Their application to the Minister of Integration stretches language to provide an illusion of a hermetically sealed and legal space for interculturalism to spring into action through drama in the large County Louth town of Drogheda in which they are located and promises a performance that can synthesize the "multicultural makeup of the participants," presumably dissolving any tensions arising from the process itself for this performance moment. Upstate's Company Manager at the time, Hayes, clearly writes in the service of the application

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[326] It should be noted that migrants refer generally to those who are constantly on the move for work, while immigrants refer to those who settle permanently in a country. Since the project involved immigrants who planned to stay as well as those planning to move on in the near future, it is not likely that one group of "new Irish" was sought over the other, but rather that Hayes perhaps was not attentive to this semantic difference in drafting the application. Furthermore, this term is often used interchangeably in Ireland at large.

[327] The Office of the Minister of Integration states: "New funding lines were developed by the Office of the Minister for Integration (OMI) during 2008. Over €1.3m of funding was allocated to local authorities and national sporting bodies to encourage integration related activities at a local level." Office of the Minister of Integration, "Funding," accessed September 2, 2009, http://www.integration.ie/website/omi/omiwebv6.nsf/page/funding-en.

[328] Ibid, 5.

[329] Bryan Fanning, *New Guests of the Irish Nation,* 87.

itself in order to secure the funding that the company needs to do their project, but the language through which the project must be articulated proves to be extremely telling of how the role of the community arts is imagined in relationship to interculturalism post-Celtic Tiger.

However, the performance described earlier and the process I became part of with Upstate's LITP reveal many cracks in the promises of Hayes' application. For example, the immigrants portrayed as characters onstage in *Journey from Babel* are far from all legal, demonstrating the participants' own awareness of the contradictions and injustices of the experience of migration throughout history. In addition, the subject matter raised during LITP's process in Drogheda was frequently inflammatory and far from comfortable or "safe" for the participants at all times. Anxiety about the aims of the project as political arose at a pivotal point during *Journey from Babel's* development and the ambivalent response of the participants draws attention to the conflicted nature of using the arts as a testing ground for theories of interculturalism. Conversations touching on racism, interculturalism, integration, and social change in contemporary Ireland could never be absent from this process considering the group that was gathered and the theme explored, but how did the participants view their engagement with these issues and their place in the final performance? What does it mean to make a performance that "reflects the multicultural nature of its participants"?[330] How is this to be assessed and by whom?

I will now attend to the awkwardness of a rehearsal "scene" encountered during my fieldwork with Upstate's LITP in Drogheda in relationship their final performance of *Journey from Babel.* I use "scene" here to describe a series of related incidents one night in the rehearsal process. I then trace the dynamics invoked in the scene to the final performance of *Journey from Babel* and larger currents in the debates over post-Celtic Tiger interculturalisms. In this rehearsal scene, the term political was worriedly invoked and refused by the participants to describe LITP's work. When the arts and "interculturalism" collide in LITP's work, this process *is* explicitly political as the issues raised make it unavoidable to avoid their subtext in the context of post-Celtic Tiger Ireland at large. The yoking of the arts to intercultural agendas in Irish state government sectors force an encounter between the aesthetic and the political, with or without the consent of the participants themselves. Upstate's argument that their drama process is "safe" may be far from true, but this instability may actually be the strength of their work and what ultimately contributes to its success in defining a more complex Irish interculturalism in the arts and beyond.

One night during LITP's process in winter 2009, in-between the improvs, writing exercises, and games, a participant paused to ask, "Is what we are doing political?" A worried silence filled the room. "No, of course not," said one participant. Facilitators Gorman and Mallon hesitatingly volunteered that while they were personally very committed to politics as a form of social engagement, they were not imposing any point of view on the participants. Another participant offered, "We're not offering any one point of view certainly." Everyone agreed on this, on a "non-political" polyvocality, and decided through awkward pauses that theatre was not really meant to be political.

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[330] Hayes, "Upstate Theatre Project's Louth International Theatre Project: Office of the Minister of Integration, Application Form for Immigrant Integration Small Grant Scheme," 3.

Gorman and Mallon remained silent at this, not wanting to force ideas on this intergenerational group of participants.

Around this same time, a story emerged in the group that was proposed for inclusion in the site-specific series of sketches that we were developing for performance and was, in fact, being worked on that same night. It was the story of a pregnant female immigrant who arrives in Ireland expressly to give birth. When the moment finally comes, the mother immediately starts screaming about her "social entitlements." Anxiety about motherhood, pregnancy and inward-migration invaded LITP's process through that story, then four years after the Citizenship Referendum. As will be explored in detail in Chapter Five, versions of this same story have consistently been at the center of defining the parameters of a politically correct and popular post-Celtic Tiger interculturalism. Its appearance in this context is therefore not surprising. This story was proposed first uncritically with a straight face by one group member, and met no immediate objections from the group, or Gorman and Mallon. Concerned, I spoke to Mallon privately, and we discussed the quandary this situation presents, and its relationship to Upstate's ethic and working methodology. The participant who has suggested this is an older woman who has also made quietly disparaging remarks about immigrants coming into Ireland during activities, despite the presence of several such people in the group with whom she is even very friendly. Mallon addressed the incident thus in our debriefing:

> It's dangerous, but also to have turned around to [her] the other night and say, "Now hold on, we don't talk like that in this workshop," it's the wrong tact as well. So the strategy is to try and confront it through the drama… I'm not quite sure where [she] is at, and I didn't want her out of the group, even if she's a racist, I don't want her out of the group. I would prefer a racist in the room and working with us, and battling with them, than outside of the room just causing trouble.[331]

Upstate's process through LITP desires to create an incubator that trusts the process of making drama to be a staging ground for confronting ideas that are frequently challenging. In Mallon's response, he acknowledges that "it," this approach, is potentially dangerous due to the dynamics and feelings capable of being unleashed in rehearsal. The dangerous "it" also refers to the racism potentially inherent in the proposed story, but for Mallon it must be confronted through the drama, through the process. Racism here is not a spectre that can be discharged *or* confronted easily. To confront it "through" the drama for Mallon and Gorman means not shying away from conflict or a diversity of opinions in the process of confronting the explosive themes foregrounded through LITP's focus with this project in a multiethnic group of participants. Gorman continues:

> [W]hat would we do if the will of a group of people that we were facilitating… was to actually project a message which Declan or I or both of us might find abhorrent? [T]he simple fact of the matter is that it has never occurred, it is very

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[331] Declan Mallon, (Co-Founder of Upstate Theatre Project and Current Director), in discussion with the author, March 4, 2009.

unlikely to occur because we have certain safeguards within… the process that would make it highly improbably that something that was anathema to our fundamental principles would make it through onto a stage unchallenged. *That's not to say that it wouldn't make it through onto a stage, but it wouldn't go through unchallenged, and once the challenge had been raised, and had become part of the process, then at the very least, the challenge would be built into the piece of work as well.* And in fact, that's quite likely how that particular incident will actually play itself out… [Emphasis mine][332]

The National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism invoked "interaction, understanding, and collaboration"[333] as skills the arts can teach in the context of intercultural initiatives. However, Gorman and Mallon seek to add "confrontation" and "challenge" to this list hinting at the beginning of a conversation through pairing "interculturalism" with the arts, rather than its neat resolution.

In May 2009, the pregnant lady indeed appeared in *Journey from Babel* as Anna and was played by Maria Copley, the sole Mexican participant and woman of color involved in the project. She burst on the stage in a busy airport scene, with no passport and no English. Her baby's birth scene became a farce satirizing the debates over the Citizenship Referendum by dividing the hospital staff in half [Figure 4.2]:

> DOCTOR 3: (*turning to the audience*) Of course, you know what happened next.
>
> *Lights change. Anna sits up in the bed.*
>
> ANNA: I want social welfare! (*All the medical staff gasp in surprise.*) I want child benefit! (*Gasp*) I want free legal aid. (*Gasp*) I want asylum status. (*Gasp*) I want citizenship for my baby! (*Gasp*) I want free buggies and designer shoes! (*Gasp*) I want a free house…
>
> *Lights change again.*
>
> MIDWIFE: That didn't happen!
>
> DOCTOR 3: Yes, it did!
>
> DOCTOR 1: No, it didn't.
>
> DOCTOR 2 Did! I heard!
>
> MIDWIFE Didn't. I was there!

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[332] Gorman, in discussion with the author, March 13, 2009.

[333] "Special Edition: Ireland's Strategy for the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue," *Spectrum: The Journal for the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism*, Issue 16: January 2008, 15.

Anna's baby becomes distressed.

ANNA: Help! Please! My baby is distressed! I need medical attention!

As she calls out, the doctors begin to holler at one another, continuing the argument. It becomes an absurd, comical shouting match.

DOCTOR 3: And within weeks, half her village were over here, livin' off the welfare and having their babies in our hospitals.

DOCTOR 1: That's rubbish![334]

Figure 4.2
Anna (Maria Copley) gives birth surrounded by hospital workers (Susan McKeever, Susan Leland, Bianca Browne, Alexandra Pap).
Photograph: Paul Hayes

The debate over representation of this character and the subconscious of this story was staged rather than discarded, as "racism without racism"[335] was thought best brought to light through bodies, rather than checked at the door.   The distressed baby is drowned out by the pettiness and self-absorption of the medical staff as well as the audience's

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[334] Louth International Theatre Project, *The Journey from Babel,* Upstate Theatre Company, 2009, unpublished script.
[335] This is a term used by Ronit Lentin and Colin Murphy in to describe they way in which: "…ideologies justifying racism are harder to find these days. Increasingly racism is associated with forms of subordination and inequality that are not associated with overt ideologies of racial hierarchies, segregation and genocide- the 'classic' racisms of colonialism, apartheid, and Nazism. We classify this paradigm shift as *racism without racism*," *After Optimism,* 9. The Citizenship Referendum and its aftermath is a powerful example of this dynamic in operation.

laughter. This darkly comic moment captures the dynamics of the Citizenship Referendum and its aftermath. This is the dark side of "interculturalism" in Ireland today, and LITP insists on its inclusion in their piece.   The lingering sound of the distressed baby is a sobering reminder of the continuing difficulties of "Irish born children" with no substantial legal recourse.[336]

Anna does not disappear, however, and reappears for a haunting final scene set on New York's Broadway. One of the other characters travels to New York after her fiancé is killed in WWI and becomes a seamstress and union member. She is working on Bertolt Brecht and Kurt Weill's *The Threepenny Opera* and Anna is the star. This series of choices piled up on one another in the final weeks of rehearsals due to various complicated coincidences and needs to make connections between the stories. Yet, when Anna, the formerly pregnant immigrant and new mother, reappears in this jumbled scenario pulling her baby buggy behind her,[337] it is to sing none other than Kurt Weill's "Pirate Jenny." [Figure 4.3] This song, famously interpreted by Nina Simone and many others, narrates the story of a lower-class woman plotting to kill her masters when her pirate ship returns:

> You people can watch while Im scrubbing these floors
> And I'm scrubbin the floors while youre gawking
> Maybe once ya tip me and it makes ya feel swell
> In this crummy southern town
> In this crummy old hotel
> But you'll never guess to who you're talkin.
> No, you couldn't ever guess to who you're talkin.
>
> …
>
> By noontime the dock
> Is a-swarmin with men
> Comin out from the ghostly freighter
> They move in the shadows
> Where no one can see
> And theyre chainin up people
> And theyre bringin em to me
> Askin me,
> Kill them now, or later?

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[336] See Bryan Fanning, "Chapter 6: Migrant Children and Institutional Neglect," *New Guests of the Irish Nation,* 68-81.

[337] Baby buggies were also a frequently invoked symbol during the lead-up to the Citizenship Referendum debates. One widespread anecdote involved a migrant woman leaving her brand-new baby buggy on a bus after having difficulty removing it because she could just get another one from social services. Elaine Moriarty discusses this anecdote and its circulation in detail in: "Telling Identity Stories: The Routinization of Racialization of Irishness," *Sociological Research Online* 10, No. 3 (September 2005), accessed October 22, 2008, http://www.socresonline.org.uk/10/3/moriarty.html.

Askin me!
Kill them now, or later?[338]

Figure 4.3
Pirate Jenny (Maria Copley) with baby buggy in the background.
Photograph: Paul Hayes

In this stage moment, *Journey from Babel* references Brecht's commitment to a politicized theatre capable of pushing audiences to see differently, to see social relations for what they are and could be; Nina Simone's appropriation of the song and its consequent use as a U.S. Civil Rights and anti-colonial anthem;[339] and finally, the ugly excesses of the Citizenship Referendum debates in post-Celtic Tiger Ireland's recent past. Ultimately, the story that began as a flash point in rehearsal developed into an anchor of the piece, capable of holding together the contradictions of the project. The story of Anna does not "play itself out," but rather leads on to more questions, refusing to settle on one meaning or resonance. By confronting the stereotypes of pregnant immigrant women of color directly, *Journey from Babel* hopes finally to point to what is behind and around it, rather than letting the spectre of this scapegoat ultimately define the parameters of a facile Irish social intercultualism.

In *Journey from Babel,* contemporary Ireland is not defined by its boom or bust, immigration is not a new history, and the connections of its characters to place and identity are layered and multiple. Anna's rendition of "Pirate Jenny" is the climax of this

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[338] Nina Simone, Bertolt Brecht and Kurt Weill, "Pirate Jenny," accessed April 16, 2011, http://www.lyricsbay.com/pirate_jenny_lyrics-nina_simone.html.
[339] Michele Russell writes: "She took a song originating in German light opera, adapted by German socialists Bertolt Brecht and Kurt Weill to comment on life in pre-fascist Germany, and transformed it to apply to the anti-colonial revolutionary spirit growing in the American South, the Carribean, South Africa, and situations south of every border," "Slave Codes and Liner Notes," in *All the Women Are White, All the Men Are Black, But Some of Us Are Brave: Black Women's Studies,* edited by Gloria T. Hull, Patricia Bell Scott and Barbara Smith, (New York: The Feminist Press, 1982), 138.

piece, leading ultimately into a brief comic interlude before a candlelit vigil for immigrants and emigrants the world over. The image of Anna as Pirate Jenny is dangerous: the character is literally murderously dangerous; lumping a woman of color again in with the violent and erratic is dangerous as it encourages the reiteration of racialized and gendered post-Celtic Tiger stereotypes; refusing to hear the story in rehearsal would have been dangerous according to Mallon; and finally, perceived threats to the "Irish" by ungrateful immigrants like Pirate Jenny in their midst are considered dangerous.   Yet, this climactic and risky image captures powerfully the multiple layers of contemporary Irish debates over identities and nationalisms, a conversation that has never truly revolved around Catholic/Protestant or Unionist/Republican identities or pre- and post-Celtic Tiger only, but has always already implicated the intersectional (gender, race, sexuality, religion, class) and the transnational. It is in this heady mix of contradictions that Upstate's work ultimately resides and continues to evolve within, challenging the Tiger to reveal its hidden histories and nuances. LITP's performance of *Journey from Babel* ultimately reveals how post-Celtic Tiger community arts projects that link participation with belonging and ownership of the community and/or nation might remain capable of critiquing their own practice as the fulfillment of this promise, and instead regard these projects as the beginning of a process rather than its end result.

My next chapter continues an explicit focus on the role of women's bodies in defining the limits of Irish social interculturalism. I move away from the explicitly theatrical in order to consider how representations of immigrants and minority ethnic groups are produced and challenged by other genres of arts practice that emphasize embodiment in the composition of the work as well as the process of its creation. I have chosen projects that use the medium of photography in particular in order to interrogate a series of particular problems related to the (visual) representation of immigrant and minority ethnic women in post-Celtic Tiger Ireland.

Chapter Five
Opening Doors to Elsewhere:
Imag(in)ing Women's Bodies After the Referendum

Figure 5.1
"On and on"
Pauline Agnew

This chapter works through two photography projects focused on the lives of immigrant women post-Celtic Tiger that draw on community arts practice: Pauline Agnew's "Elsewhere" and Susan Gogan and the Domestic Worker's Support Group's (DWSG) "Opening Doors." These projects serve as powerful sites through which to conduct a closer investigation of the role of the visual in constructing and deconstructing (female) (im)migrant[340] bodies in post-Celtic Tiger Ireland.[341] Ultimately, "Elsewhere"

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[340] This chapter shifts consciously between "migrant" and "immigrant" due to the fact that while domestic workers are largely a mobile, temporary group planning to eventually return to their country of origin, this does not always necessarily prove to be the case. Likewise, asylum seekers and refugees may come to Ireland intending to stay but then be refused leave to remain. Therefore, the line between im/migrant is quite blurry. Elsewhere, in the dissertation, I have more consistently used "immigrant" as a general term to describe newcomers as a calculated rhetorical strategy to express the long-term effects shifting racial and ethnic demographics will have on Ireland, but in these particular case studies, the line between migrant and immigrant becomes much more volatile, especially in thinking through the relationship of the women who took part in "Opening Doors" to global labor markets. I will frequently use the split term (im)migrant as a spaceholder for this tension.
[341]Visual culture plays a huge role in campaigns for interculturalism and anti-racism in post-Celtic Tiger Ireland through media, television, film and fine arts and photography projects. In recognition of this broader role of visuality in Irish culture, Dublin-based Forum on Migration and Communication (FOMACS) was formed specifically as a:

and "Opening Doors" stage competing models of gendered Irish interculturalisms, each making significantly different arguments about the power of the circulation of visual images, the place of the arts in intercultural work, the connection of contemporary Ireland to the local and the global, and the role of women's bodies in these exchanges.

Agnew and Gogan's projects recall multiple histories of feminist and politically engaged public and community(-based) art in diverse (trans)national contexts, in addition to representing a growing body of work within the context of Irish community arts practice. The histories and terminology invoked include feminist artist and activist Suzanne Lacy's U.S. based New Genre Public Art,[342] a term which encompasses projects that engage the relationship between the artwork and the space, as well as her own project "The Crystal Quilt,"[343] in which she assembled a living tableau of 430 older women talking about their lives, which in turn referenced long histories of U.S. women in diverse communities, such as Gee's Bend, Alabama,[344] engaged in quiltmaking as a form of art practice and community building. Furthermore, the popularity of photography as a tool of empowerment for the disadvantaged or socially invisible has undoubtedly spiked in the last 5-10 years with British photojournalist Zana Briski and U.S. film editor Ross Kauffman's[345] controversial 2005 documentary *Born into Brothels* serving only as one of the most recognizable leaders in this trend.[346] There are also less well-known organizations doing this kind of work all over the world including the UK-based Photovoice, Movement Against Racism Intolerance Discrimination's cross-EU "Parallel Lives" photography project based out of Bundoran, Ireland, as well as InsideOut, a project involving Singaporean migrant domestic workers working with volunteer photographers and photojournalists, which was a direct inspiration for "Opening

> collaborative public media project, producing film, photographic, digital storytelling, radio, animation and print stories on the topic of immigration and integration in Ireland, with the aim of reaching and engaging diverse audiences. Our central objective is to amplify voices and personal stories previously sensationalised or marginalised in dominant media representations of immigration. The ambition of FOMACS is to document the challenging pathways and social, cultural, and political networks laid down by migrant workers, asylum seekers, refugees and their families.

Forum on Migration and Communication, "What We Do."

[342] Suzanne Lacy, "Introduction," *Mapping the Terrain: New Genre Public Art,* (Seattle, WA: Bay Press, 1995).

[343] See Jan Cohen-Cruz, *Radical Street Performance*, xx.

[344] There is a sizable literature on Gee's Bend quilts alone in relationship to the interlocking issues of race, gender, class and artistic prestige. See for example: Anna C. Chave, "Dis/Cover/ing the Quilts of Gee's Bend, Alabama," *The Journal of Modern Craft* 1, No. 2 (July 2008): 221-253; Victoria F. Phillips, "Commodification, Intellectual Property and the Quilters of Gee's Bend," *American University Journal of Gender, Social Policy & The Law* 15 (2007): 357-377; Sally Anne Duncan, "From Cloth to Canvas: Reinventing Gee's Bend Quilts in the Name of Art," *Museum Anthropology* 28, Issue 1 (March 2005): 19-34; John Beardsley, William Arnett, Paul Arnett, Jane Livingston, *Gee's Bend: The Women and Their Quilts,* (Atlanta, Georgia: Tinwood Press, 2002).

[345] *Born into Brothels: Calcutta's Red Light Kids,* directed by Zana Briski and Ross Kauffman, (2005; Century City, California: Think Films).

[346] Briski and Kauffman's work continues through their organization, Kids with Cameras, and they have now worked with Israeli and Palestinian children, Haitian child domestic servants, and Egyptian children living in Cairo in the garbage collecting community. Kids with Cameras, "Workshops," accessed September 13, 2009, http://www.kids-with-cameras.org/workshops/.

Doors."[347] In 2008, the EU even sponsored a photography contest, "Cultures on my street," as part of the 2008 Year of Intercultural Dialogue.[348]   Indeed, the number of broader histories and related projects outside of Ireland engaged by "Elsewhere" and "Opening Doors" by prominent artists and innumerable community-based and NGO groups throughout the world proves impossible to document or contain within the space of this chapter. Therefore, I focus exclusively on the Irish context in my theorization of this work, albeit with an understanding that these themes and aesthetic strategies are active, relevant and documented far outside of the borders of the Irish nation.

        Community visual arts projects figure as a key site for engagement with issues of interculturalism and immigration. Many white Irish-born community artists besides Agnew and Gogan, such as Anthony Haughey, Fiona Whitty, Paul Rowley, Nicky Gogan and Jesse Jones have worked with community groups either independently or in collaboration with NGOs on photography and film projects that give visibility to immigrant experiences in Ireland. The work ranges from interactive installations (Anthony Haughey's "How to be a model citizen," Fiona Whitty's "Waiting Room" and "Food for Thought") to public art pieces (Jesse Jones's drive-in movie event, "12 Angry Films,"[349] Pauline Agnew's "Elsewhere") to mixed media exhibits intended for gallery viewing ("Opening Doors") to documentary (Paul Rowley and Nicky Gogan's *Seaside,* documentary about the direct provision accommodation centre in Mosney, the site of a former holiday resort). Most of the projects incorporate both photography and film and were initially presented as site-specific, with the exception of Gogan's "Opening Doors" and Rowley and Gogan's *Seaside.*

        By engaging photography and film as tools for telling stories by and about immigrant and minority ethnic communities in contemporary Ireland, these mostly white-Irish artists and their more diverse collaborators engage a complex history of visual representation of people of color which has served purposes including the coerced

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[347] Photovoice, "Photovoice," accessed September 10, 2009, http://www.photovoice.org/html/; Movement Against Racism, Discrimination, Intolerance, "Projects: Parallel Lives," accessed September 10, 2009, http://www.mardi-ngo.org/projects.aspx ; Inside Out, "Inside Out: Photographs by Migrant Workers in Singapore," accessed September 10, 2009, http://www.thephotoessay.com/insideout/about.html.

[348] Here is the publicity statement for the "Cultures on my street campaign." Not the themes of surveillance and capturing "difference":

The campaign "Cultures on my street"
How many times have you walked down a street in your neighbourhood and wondered just how so many different people came to live together in this particular place? Everyone has a story. Now that the borders within Europe are fading, people from an even greater mix of cultures and backgrounds are coming together, mingling their voices in an ever-growing dialogue of their unique stories and experiences.
The competition
As Europe grows together in its diversity, the European Commission challenges YOU to capture your vision of intercultural dialogue and share it with the world in the competition "Cultures on my street". All European residents, regardless of age or origins, are invited to participate. It's as easy as grabbing your camera and stepping outside the front door.
"Cultures on my street: EU Photo Competition," accessed May 5, 2010, www.street-cultures.eu.

[349] In this work, Jones transformed an area of Dublin port into a drive-in cinema from November 10-12, 2006. "12 Angry Films" showcased films that "traced the history of labour and social justice in Cinema" as well as showing "six new short films and radio programs made by the participants of the project exploring themes relevant to the social and cultural changes in Dublin today, such as migration, labour, globalization and multiculturalism." "12 Angry Films," accessed April 3, 2010. http://www.firestation.ie/downloads/12angryfilms.pdf.

documentation and anthropological study of historically oppressed people such as the colonized, enslaved and exoticized in the context of colonialism, imperialism and slavery.[350] A complete excavation of this transnational history is outside the scope of this chapter, but its resonances cannot be discounted, especially in relationship to Ireland's own complex relationship to histories of colonialism as it comes to bear on the formation of contemporary theories of Irish social interculturalism.[351]

"Anyone With Eyes Can See the Problem"

Together, "Elsewhere" and "Opening Doors" directly confront the way in which immigrant minority ethnic individuals and populations, most often women, are frequently represented by their bodies and their corporeality in public debates and discourse regarding social interculturalism more generally. During the Referendum debates, for example, then Minister of Justice, Equality and Law Reform Michael McDowell explicitly identified a capacity to interpret visual evidence or presence as part of the task of the conscionable Irish citizen by emphasizing that "anyone with eyes can see the problem,"[352] implicating but not naming African female asylum seekers as the problem to be solved. His racist and gendered appeal to common sense- *anyone* can *see* the *problem* (pregnant African women)- posits that surveillance of minority ethnic communities, specifically African women, is essential for protection of the Irish nation from "problems" brought by immigrants into Ireland, particularly in terms of overpopulation and abuses of rights to citizenship.   He also narrates the process of engaging with immigration and its challenges in specifically embodied terms- *seeing* the problem, an act dependent on the senses and awareness in and through the body. With this statement, he

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[350] See Paschal Blanchard et. al, eds., *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empire,* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008); Eleanor M. Hight and Gary D. Sampson, eds. *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing Race and Place,* (London: Routledge, 2002); Anne Maxwell, *Photography & Exhibitions: Representations of the 'Native' and the Making of European Identities,* (London: Leicester University Press, 1999); Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt,* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988); Molly Rogers, *Delia's Tears: Race, Science and Photography in Nineteenth Century America,* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2010); James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of British Empire,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Alan Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Matthew Brady to Walker Evans,* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1990); Benito Vergara, *Displaying Filipinos: Photography and Colonialism in the Early 20th Century Phillipines,* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1995); Laura Wexler, *Tender Visions: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism,* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Harvey Young, "Still Standing: Daguerrotypes, Photography and the Black Body," in *Embodying Black Experience: Stillness, Critical Memory and the Black Body,* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2010), 26-75.

[351] These histories of Irish colonization vis-à-vis photography remains on the minds of the Irish theatre as Brian Friel's 2005 colonial romance *The Home Place* which enjoyed a sold-out run at the Gate and successful run at the Guthrie Theatre in Minneapolis featured the character of an English anthropologist traveling through the Irish countryside measuring the skulls and taking photographs of locals as specimens for his studies in craniology. While ostensibly about the resurgence of the Home Rule movement, Friel's focus on British colonial surveillance of Irish bodies only a year after the passage of the Citizenship Referendum, which had been premised on the surveillance of immigrant bodies, is jarring mostly through its failure to draw any parallels between these two periods. Brian Friel, *The Home Place,* (County Meath: Gallery Press, 2006).

[352] Cited in Tormey, 72.

also effectively marginalizes all immigrants and minority ethnic groups living in the Irish nation- the person who is looking from the inside out at the "others" who are out of place in normative visual fields of Irishness is implied to be a white majority Irish-born individual. Not "anyone" can be Irish, but to be "Irish" is to be "anyone," a rhetorical move that hides the constructedness of Irishness as white.

Agnew's photograph "On and On" [Figure 5.1] features an African female asylum seeker living in an accommodation centre in Clonakilty, County Cork hidden behind a veil of hair extensions. This photograph comprised part of Agnew's 2005 Public Art Event, "Elsewhere," which was created during a "six month creative residency…in collaboration with a group of African and Caribbean female asylum seekers currently being accommodated in a former budget hotel in Clonakilty, West Cork."[353] Agnew's inspiration to use multiple hair extensions in this shot to hide her subject came from her own interest in the hairstyles the women created for each other at the accommodation centre.[354] But the woman who posed for Agnew in this photograph told the artist that this pose represented how she felt living in Ireland, invisible yet conspicuous. Isolation and curiosity collide in this shot as the perspectives of artist and collaborator/subject converge in "On and On."

The implicit and explicit focus on Black women's bodies in Ireland post-Celtic Tiger draws on complex transnational histories of racist obsession with Black female embodiment and maternity that are tied into colonial legacies, neo-imperial projects and specific histories of white on black racism within Western nation-states. The repetitive focus on Black female bodies is often related to the use value of Black women's labor (as workers, mothers and caregivers) in relationship to their sexual expression, persistent characterization of Black female (and male) sexuality as deviant and excessive, and fears about the implications of racial diversity within majority white nations such as the U.S., the UK, France and other sites in the Global North. Writing in the context of Black U.S. feminist thought, Patricia Hill Collins argues that "Black people experience a highly visible *sexualized racism*, one where the visibility of Black bodies themselves reinscribes the hypervisibility of Black men and women's alleged sexual deviancy."[355] Collins draws here on media representations of the Black body, as well as colonial and racist histories related to slavery, segregation and continuing oppression within U.S. society. On the matter of sexuality, she writes:

> *African* or *Black* sexuality becomes constructed as an abnormal or pathologized heterosexuality. Long-standing ideas concerning the sexual appetite of people of African descent conjured up in White imaginations generate gender-specific controlling images of the Black male racist and the Black female jezebel, and they also rely on myths of Black hypersexuality.[356]

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[353] Pauline Agnew, " 'Elsewhere': Reflections on a Creative Residency," *Contexts: Arts and Practice in Ireland,* Volume 4, Issue 4 (2005): 17.

[354] Pauline Agnew (Artist), in discussion with the author, May 28, 2009.

[355] Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment,* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 130.

[356] Ibid., 129.

Given the intimate relationship between anxiety over excessive childbearing by African mothers to popular support for the Citizenship Referendum, Collins' observations regarding stereotypes of African and Black sexuality in the U.S. resonate deeply with post-Celtic Tiger racist Irish discourse. Indeed, Collins stresses the importance of extending the frame of U.S. Black feminist thought outwards to diverse transnational contexts, where

> due to the peculiar combination of the legacy of African cultures, a history of racial oppressions organized via slavery, colonialism and imperialism, and an emerging global racism that, assisted by modern technology, moves across national borders with dizzying speed, women of African descent encounter particular issues…but do so through particular Black diasporic experiences characterized by substantial heterogeneity.[357]

The African diaspora living in Ireland has experienced a highly sexualized racism that repeatedly draws attention to both the visible and the visual by drawing on transnational histories of not only Blackness, but Irishness as it intersects with Blackness through these histories, as has been explored in Chapter Two. Africans and other racial minorities are repeatedly emphasized as visibly different from the white majority population, their alterity confirmed by the visual presence of their bodies in public Irish space- "*anyone* (looking from a white majority position) can see the *problem* (excessive Africans in the Irish nation)." As Anwen Tormey argues in the case of African mothers in particular:

> it was the *visible reiteration of their bodies* in visual media and on the streets which created a kind of performative materiality that came to speak louder than words. In a sense, the phenomenal materiality of their bodies became such that their subject-being is overwhelmed by their corporeality.[358]

The "visible reiteration of their bodies" stages a threatening theoretical future Republic evacuated of whiteness. As anthropologist Dianna J. Shandy contends: "it is the potential of these African children born in Ireland to serve as 'anchor babies' for future migratory streams from Africa to Ireland that taps deep into Irish anxieties about the future of their society."[359] This anxiety about the future containment of Ireland as "Irish" perhaps owes much to the protracted fight for Irish sovereignty through independence but the implication is that the future of Irish society must be a white future in order to maintain its Irishness.

Years after the Citizenship Referendum, African and Black women from diverse backgrounds who have lived for varying amounts of time within Ireland continue to experience a disproportionate number of racist incidents which were explained by some women as a response to the fact that "they were Black and visibly pregnant and/or a mother"[360] despite the fact that the fact that they remain a small minority. In Ireland,

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[357] Ibid., 232.
[358] Torwey, 82.
[359] Dianna J. Shandy, "Irish Babies, African Mothers: Rites of Passage and Rights in Citizenship in Post-Millennial Ireland," *Anthropological Quarterly* 81, no. 4: 806.
[360] Shandy: 820.

22,506 women identifying as either of African, Black Irish or other Black backgrounds were resident as of the 2006 census,[361] and in 2007, only 3.5% of the total Irish population, male and female, identified as being of non-white ethnicity.[362] Furthermore, in actuality, female asylum seekers of all races and ethnicities regularly constitute less than half of the total number of asylum seekers in Ireland, with African women constituting 50% or less of all women seeking asylum.[363] Finally, only 50% of all those living in direct provision accommodation were reported by AkiDiWa, "the only ethnic minority led national network of African and migrant women living in Ireland,"[364] to be families as of December 2010. Family is presumably defined as being accompanied by minor children because the term "family" only appears in Irish state documents in relationship to procedures involving both children and adults (such as schooling) or in the case of family reunification, which can only be granted after an individual is granted refugee status. Family reunification is only available to a married spouse, children under 18 and unmarried, the parents of children under 18, and others at the discretion of the Reception and Integration Agency such as grandparent, parent, brother, sister, child, grandchild, ward or guardian of the Refugee who "show clear evidence of dependency,"[365] although the term dependency remains undefined. Apart from reports of excessive (African) maternity being clearly over-exaggerated in the context of not only asylum seekers currently present in Ireland, the confusion over these statistics and terminology used to categorize asylum seekers and their "families" demonstrate how heterosexuality and the family are the necessary focus of policing in order to maintain acceptable boundaries between Blackness and Irishness in contemporary Ireland. It is heterosexual asylum seekers with their drive to reproduce who become the most threatening, but if given leave to remain as refugees, these individuals can only construct a place for their family or hope for "family reunification" in the Irish nation if they can demonstrate that they conform to heterosexual ideals.[366]

Agnew, Gogan and the DWSG thus play with tropes of surveillance in their projects to directly respond to the way in which the bodies of minority ethnic and immigrant women have constantly been the subject of public scrutiny and debate in ways

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[361] Central Statistics Office, *Census 2006: Volume 5- Ethnic or Cultural Background (Including the Irish Traveller Community)*, (Dublin: Stationary Office 2006), 13.

[362] Central Statistics Office, "Equality in Ireland, 2007," Press Release, November 27, 2007, accessed April 14, 2011, http://www.cso.ie/newsevents/pr_equalityinireland2007.htm.

[363] I come to this conclusion after reviewing persistent trends in several years worth of statistics (2004-present) of those living in Direct Provision Accommodation by the Reception and Integration Agency. Reception and Integration Agency, "Statistics," http://www.ria.gov.ie/en/RIA/Pages/Statistics.

[364] AkiDwA, *Am Only Saying It Now: Experiences of Women Seeking Asylum in Ireland,* (Dublin: AkiDwA, 2010), 5.

[365] Irish Naturalization and Immigration Service, "Family Reunification Information Leaflet," 2.

[366] Theoretically, this obsessive focus on heterosexuality in debates over the limits of belonging in the post-Celtic Tiger nation could open spaces of queer possibility for those who do not conform to heterosexist identity categories whether gays, lesbians, transgendered people, the single or celibate. However, as battles over rights to citizenship for Irish-born children and family reunification have been the most public challenges to racist immigration policies in Ireland, heterosexual norms continue to get reproduced as the measure by which asylum seekers and refugees amongst other new immigrants will be able to access rights and no statistics exist that demonstrate whether single individuals (queer or otherwise) stand a better chance of gaining leave to remain. Thus, whatever struggles exist here are silenced, and queerness gets written out of this particular bid to redefine the Irish nation by way of challenging immigration policy.

that are not only racialized and gendered, but classed, as well as carrying implicit norms of heterosexuality. The individual positionality of immigrant and minority ethnic women vis-à-vis race, class, sexuality and religions, of course, varies widely, and the projects examined here focus specifically on female (African) asylum seekers and domestic workers of primarily Filipino descent. I juxtapose these projects not to suggest that the experiences of asylum seekers, refugees, domestic workers and other female immigrants and minorities can be lumped together but rather to demonstrate how the entanglement of gender, race, and class operates more broadly in defining Irish social interculturalism. Placing these two projects next to each other in fact illuminates the broad range of immigrant women's relationships to race, ethnicity, class, and labor, a diversity that has been habitually occluded in discussions of race and racism in Ireland that most often focus on Blackness exclusively and asylum seekers in particular.

These projects explicitly engage with themes of surveillance by moving between domestic and public spaces, insisting that these spaces are not distinct from one another in the context of a neoliberal capitalist economy, a contention that has long been at the center of diverse strands of feminist thought. Agnew focuses specifically on African and Caribbean female asylum seekers in the small Irish town of Clonakilty, while Gogan worked with a more ethnically diverse group of women working as domestic workers in homes in Dublin through the DWSG though primarily of Filipino descent. Agnew's work with female asylum seekers must confront the already excessive burden of representation assigned to these women's bodies. Alternatively, for Gogan and the DWSG, their project strove to bring the "private" labor of domestic work into public space, and to contest the division between these two spheres in Irish society as mediated by immigrant workers. Therefore, if Agnew's project engages the bind of hyper-visibility that is nonetheless isolating, as demonstrated by "On and On," Gogan and the DWSG labor to make their role as workers visible in the context of a neoliberal economy that depends upon their labor but compensates them poorly and insists that their work is hidden from view. That being said, I am setting up an ultimately false binary of hyper-visibility vs. invisibility as the marginalization of asylum seekers, female and otherwise, positions them at the edges of Irish society, literally occluded from view by the planned isolation of accommodation centre locations, while the DWSG workers remain highly visible as racialized subjects in their daily movements through the space of Ireland outside of, as well as within the homes where they work and live. Ultimately, the gendered slide between hyper-visibility and invisibility that these projects explicitly depict structures the daily experiences of their participants' lives in contemporary Ireland. The process of their creation demonstrates the possibilities and pitfalls of working against this double bind through community arts practice.

"Elsewhere"

Figure 5.2
"On and On" in the window of Jagged Edge Hair Salon
Photograph: Pauline Agnew

Pauline Agnew's "Elsewhere" documented the mostly hidden lives of new population within Clonakilty, the female asylum seekers living in the direct provision accommodation centre.[367] The project consisted of "13 context-oriented photographic, object based and textual artworks"[368] located throughout Clonakilty in conspicuous and inconspicuous locations: the window of Randles Hotel, inside the Jagged Edge Hair Salon [Figure 5.2], next to the altar in the Roman Catholic Church and even in the

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[367] Since 1991, over 83,000 asylum seekers have arrived in the Republic of Ireland. The low was 9 in 1991 to a high of 11,634 in 2002.   Currently, the top five countries of origin for applicants are Nigeria, China, Pakistan, Ghana and Moldova. Reception and Integration Agency, "Monthly Statistics Report: January 2010," 2, accessed April 18, 2010, http://www.ria.gov.ie/filestore/publications/RIAJan(A4)2010.pdf.   The sudden increase in number of applicants in the mid-1990s has been attributed to the ultimately short-lived wealth of the Celtic Tiger. When the number of asylum seekers increased dramatically, the Republic was overwhelmed in terms of providing accommodations and services.   Dispersed to accommodation centres throughout the country, Asylum seekers have no say in where they will be located, and frequently share rooms with multiple roommates, even if they have children.   They are given room and board defined as: accommodations, lunch, breakfast, and dinner. They are not allowed to work, but given an allowance of €19.10 per week and €9.60 per week for each child accompanying the parent. Reception and Integration Agency, "Coming to Ireland as an Asylum Seeker," accessed April 5, 2010, http://www.ria.gov.ie/coming_to_ireland_as_an_asylum_seeker/. Children, however, can attend school up through the secondary level. There has been frequent criticism regarding this system, the standard of living, and the length of time it takes to process applications. Additionally, the accommodations are purposefully located away from transportation and larger cities in order to discourage the integration of the asylum seekers into their temporary communities.

[368] Agnew, "Elsewhere: Reflections on a Creative Residency": 17.

window of the Zoocom Vodaphone store.[369] Agnew's piece penetrated the geography of the small town, requiring participants to go on a journey through the seemingly local and ordinary, where if they looked closely enough, a perhaps unfamiliar account of living in Clonakilty would emerge.

Agnew officially named the location of these objects and images through a map distributed throughout Clonakilty in shops and sites where elements of the piece were exhibited. Local residents and tourists from within and outside Ireland were intended to experience "Elsewhere" very differently specifically through the use of the map. For local residents, holding and using this map implied a necessary reorientation within their own community in order to engage with "Elsewhere." Their understanding of Clonakilty in geographical and imaginative space would theoretically be reoriented by the placement of the artifacts and images of the women living in the accommodation centre by Agnew. Tourists on the other hand would participate in an unorthodox tour of a place known as "an award-winning picturesque town in the heart of west Cork, surrounded by beautiful countryside and spectacular coastal views,"[370] guided by the perspectives of asylum seekers via Agnew. Even those not seeking out the piece happened upon unfamiliar objects or images in familiar places or via their picturesque tours. Agnew reported getting several phone calls from friends to verify that they had just encountered a piece of art.[371]

"Elsewhere" wove stories of women living in the Clonakilty accommodation centre into the fabric of the town as old and new histories collide through their residence. A Nigerian baby's christening mug rested in a cabinet of memorabilia at the bar where Irish nationalist hero Michael Collins used to drink [Figure 5.3]. Adejumoke Idoju's name graced a storefront in Celtic script [Figure 5.4] while another woman's Nigerian headdress was displayed nonchalantly in the window of Bags and Bling alongside other hats and fineries suitable for formal functions.

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[369] Pauline Agnew, "elsewhere: town>artist<asylum seekers," Public Art Event, Clonakilty, 1-30 July 2005, Brochure.

[370] "50 Ways to Enjoy Clonakilty," Clonakilty West Cork, Accommodation in Clonakilty, Activities in West Cork, accessed April 9, 2010, , http://www.clonakilty.ie/index.php/site09visitors/main/448.

[371] Agnew, in discussion with the author.

Figure 5.3
"Opening Soon"
Pauline Agnew

Figure 5.4
"New Arrival"
Pauline Agnew

However, these are not images of uncontested or casual inclusion. The "Shopsign" photograph rings with irony. This photograph underscores the difficulty of integrating diverse African communities into Irish life and the absurdity that may result, but also draws attention back to the work restrictions confining asylum seekers not of school age to their accommodation centres, as well as to their non-existent purchasing power on a personal allowance of €19.10 per week. Nevertheless, despite the obvious incongruities emphasized in these first images, Agnew also attempts to connect the women's lives to Clonakilty residents through highlighting shared Christian heritage in "New Arrival" and "Flight" and offering "Connective Tissue" [Figure 5.5] as a piece that references travel and immigration more generally. The largely black and white chromatic scheme of the photograph obscures the race of the body accompanying the feet, theoretically inviting a more open identification between the (white Irish) viewer and the image, as the subject of the photograph is not positioned explicitly as a racial "other" within this small town. Certainly, in a contemporary Irish context, mass migration is not only a memory but a present reality for Irish-born individuals, and this image comes the closest to conflating the experiences of the women and the implied local Irish-born audience.
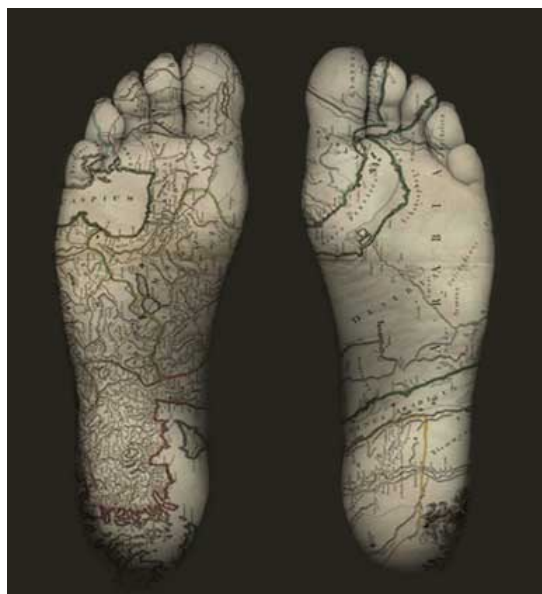
Figure 5.5
"Connective Tissue"
Photograph: Pauline Agnew

"Elsewhere" explicitly complicates binaries of hyper-visibility and invisibility through Agnew's use of the images of the women and the siting of the piece within the town. None of the women ever face the camera straight on in the photographs that comprise much of this work. Agnew explains:

> A lot of them didn't want to be known to be there. And [for] some of them it was a fear of being found by people they didn't want to be found by, but for others, it was that they didn't want their families to know that they were asylum seekers. Like, some of them, they were pretending to be working in the country, they weren't actually letting their families know that they were asylum seekers. So there were things to be hidden.[372]

Agnew's account of the women's rationale for requesting obscured identities in the photographs reveals the diversity of the circumstances of the women in Clonakilty, their feelings, their fears, and for some, their guilt or shame. Due to issues of privacy, Agnew did not disclose the exact circumstances of any of the women that she worked with although she indicated that most of the women had children.[373] Agnew worked with each woman to compose the shot in which she appeared, and the women dictate how literally

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[372] Agnew, in discussion with the author.
[373] AkiDiwa's 2010 on the conditions of women seeking asylum in Ireland indicated that "persecution and violence" (*Am Only Saying It Now: Experiences of Women Seeking Asylum in Ireland,* 2) were the leading reasons cited by the women they work with, although these constitute very broad categories. No Irish agency including the Office of the Refugee Applications Commissioner, Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Ireland or the Reception and Integration Agency keeps statistics on the nature of claims to asylum, merely the countries of origin of those entering Ireland, presumably for reasons of safety, legality and privacy.

visible they are willing to make themselves in the image. The images in "Elsewhere" both depict feelings of invisibility and the burden of hyper-visibility put on these women through their play between coverage and exposure of individual bodies, but ultimately the women refuse to be identifiable for reasons pertaining to their own protection, a powerful subtext to the shots which feature bodies.

In addition, the mix of images of bodies and objects in installations as the subject of the works in "Elsewhere" opens up certain possibilities. When confronted with an object not attached to a body, the question of who is being viewed through the object is not entirely obvious. The objects primary to "Elsewhere's" individual compositions were frequently literally hidden in everyday spaces, a christening mug in a glass cabinet in a popular local pub or two used pregnancy tests in the window of the chemist, one positive and the other negative. The ownership of these objects by the women is not always clear, as in the case of the pregnancy tests, and the christening mug is an object most likely shared in common by many in the area, despite the obvious inscription of the little boy's Nigerian name. These objects, the feet, even the shop sign, requires a second look and the context of the art event itself in order to assign meaning in relationship to the asylum seekers living in the town. Most optimistically, the act of searching for that context opens up a space for considering the women living in the accommodation centre not only as others within the town, but already implicated and living within its stories and landmarks, such as the popular local pub.

Yet, "Elsewhere" depicts some of the most intimate and sexualized areas of these women's lives: their used pregnancy tests, an extremely controversial display only a year after the passage of Citizenship Referendum, as well as a photograph of what Agnew describes as "sexy" underwear hung up to dry in an accommodation centre window [Figure 5.6]. Agnew repeatedly emphasized that she connected with her collaborators as a woman and as a mother and that by relating to them on this level, she gained their trust. Thus, the pregnancy test and underwear that bespeaks a desire to feel beautiful even in the direst of circumstances arguably builds on what is shared as "human"[374] or recognized as feminine realities or behaviors amongst this diverse group of women. However, this argument ignores the power dynamics at work in the relationship between Agnew and her collaborators and levels their ability to define or claim "woman" or "mother" as a term of ownership in Clonakilty and Ireland at large. The images Agnew offers as shared realities or indulgences attach themselves very different to white majority Irish-born and asylum seeker, immigrant or minority ethnic bodies.

"Elsewhere" plays with breaking apart boundaries between the public and the private in the interest of telling women's stories, but African female asylum seekers as a group have already had this division forcibly removed from their experience of Ireland. Luibhéid frames this burden on female asylum seekers thus:

> Beginning in the late 1990s, asylum seekers' childbearing (and implicitly, their sex lives) was forcibly on display, made available for commentary, in ways that must have been extraordinarily demeaning and painful. The forced publicness of asylum seekers' sex lives was derived precisely from their status as asylum

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[374] Agnew, in discussion with the author.

seekers, which meant that they had to submit their lives to scrutiny or risk denial of their asylum claims.[375]

Through "Elsewhere," the aspirations of a Public Art Event come into conflict with the already overdetermined publicness of Agnew's collaborators' bodies that figure explicitly or implicitly at the center of this project's conceit. Therefore, even in the moment where there is a refusal to provide an (identifiable) body to be looked at, these visual references to female sexuality continue to emphasize asylum seekers' sexual bodies as always already present, whether or not in relationship to an individual woman. The piece "wherever I hang my knickers, that's home" was not intended as a critique of the oversexualization of female asylum seekers, but instead identifies this moment of indulgence in sexy underwear as a shared pleasure between Agnew, other Irish-born women and the participants in the project, as well as moment of resistance through making a home in limited space.

Figure 5.6
"Where ever I hang my knickers that's my home"
Photograph: Pauline Agnew

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[375] Luibhéid, 338.

The title of the image references Guyanese-British poet Grace Nichol's poem of the same name, "wherever I hang,"[376] which ultimately concludes "wherever I hang me knickers-that's my home."[377] This poem narrates the experience of a woman transplanted from the Caribbean to England and the changes that occur within herself, changes notably captured in photographic images:

> And is so I sending home photos of myself
> Among de pigeons and de snow
> And is so I warding off de cold
> And is so, little by little I begin to change my calypso ways[378]

In Nichols' poem, the photographs capture the woman's changing self, which becomes literally shaped by her new landscape "among de pigeons and de snow." The woman must defend herself from these changes in her environment ("warding off de cold") even as she allows herself ("my old calypso ways") to be reshaped by them. This narrator's journey of self-definition through necessity arguably mirrors that of Agnew's collaborators but the narrator seems to enjoy a great deal more freedom than those living in the Clonakilty accommodation centre. When the narrator reassures herself at the end, "wherever I hang me knickers-that's my home," the privacy of this act is juxtaposed with other necessary public revisions of herself: "Never visiting nobody/ Before giving them clear warning/ And waiting me turn in queue."[379] The women depicted in "Elsewhere" do not have the same privilege of completely separate private and public selves in their current circumstances, due to their legal position as asylum seekers in addition to their identities as Black women and mothers.[380] Longing for a place to "hang me knickers" as home is indeed an aspirational gesture that begs for the possibility of private space for these women living in Ireland, but the sheer thong at the center of this image immediately sexualizes the reference. Trust in the transformative power of featuring sexy underwear as a shared experience derived from acting as a "woman" in the world, even as a hopeful reinterpretation of Nichols' defiant poem, ignores how not only "Irish" or "African" but "woman" is produced by local, contingent conditions as well as the machinations of the Irish state and other official bodies as through the Citizenship Referendum. While aiming to revise Nichols' poem for a contemporary Irish context, Agnew erases its original nuance and fails to consider how "knickers" as a measure of home could be interpreted in post-Referendum Ireland as again equating asylum seekers with their sexuality first and foremost.

Thus, even when claiming broad stereotypical alliances based on a mutual love for frilly undergarments, African female asylum seekers framed through their excessive

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[376] Special thanks to Eric Falci for pointing out this intertext.

[377] Grace Nichols, "wherever I hang me knickers," *Lazy Thoughts of a Lazy Woman,* (London: Virago, 1989), 10.

[378] Ibid.

[379] Ibid.

[380] Presumably, of course, the narrator is also a Black female immigrant which complicates this claim, but she does not seem to be under the same kind of legal prohibition to move around society faced by asylum seekers.

maternity and sexuality by dominant racist discourses cannot claim or occupy "woman" and disclose their relationship to pleasure the way that Agnew can as a white Irish-born citizen. In the light of repeated complaints in the press about the excesses of asylum seekers sponging off the state, this moment of indulgence in "sexy underwear" becomes a possible piece of evidence against the very women the project is claiming to provide with a voice. The shared space of "woman" that Agnew claims collapses under these circumstances as this aesthetic impulse becomes a visual recapitulation of what is already thought to be "known" and condemnable about female African asylum seekers, namely their available sexuality resulting in excessive pregnancies aimed at draining the resources of the Irish state.   Agnew argues, "In the end, it comes down to us all being human."[381] This recourse to broad humanist universalism suppresses Agnew's position of privilege as the artist ultimately constructing these images, and it is in this moment of denial that that the project loses critical edge. Appeals to "woman" or "human" cannot erase the charge that these images carry and Agnew's distancing from these resonances through her narration of the project's aims and her process as artist renders her collaborators' voices fainter and fainter.

Significantly, Agnew viewed her role in this project as an "artist in the community" as opposed to a community artist. This fine distinction implies that the group she engaged with may be named "collaborators," but should perhaps be understood more pointedly as raw inspiration. She positions her role thus: "My role as an artist in the context of this residency was that of an observer and, to the best of my ability, to act as a visual conduit for the experience of asylum-seeking as it affected these women."[382] Their stories and Agnew's experiences with them form the elements of the work, but the benefits for the women are far less defined than for Agnew. The Cork 2005/Credit Union Residencies Programme through which "Elsewhere" was funded describes its spirit thus: "[it] is to allow communities to form an alliance with professional artists in all disciplines, and thereby create a proactive engagement themselves in the European Capital of Culture."[383] "Elsewhere" accomplishes the goal of pairing a "community" with a "professional artists," but as bodies literally outside the state in the Republic, what does it mean for asylum seekers to be figured as "proactive" participants in the European Capital of Culture? The ambiguous meaning of collaboration in this project weakens arguments that by framing bodies outside the Irish state and EU as participants in EU culture, the meaning of EU culture itself is challenged. Instead, it seems that the asylum seekers resident in Clonakilty become a community of convenience despite what are good intentions on the part of Agnew. Agnew attests that she will "give voice to their current anxieties and struggles for a faith in their future, their desire to shed the skin of their past, and their longings for First World recognition."[384] This statement is presented on the "Asylum Seekers" section of her website for the project, but it is her voice, not theirs, that names their anxieties, struggles, and "longing for First World recognition." Many of the women participating in "Elsewhere" insisted that they could not be

[381] Agnew, in discussion with the author.
[382] Agnew, "Elsewhere: Reflections on a Creative Residency": 21.
[383] Cork 2005 European Capital of Culture, "Cork 2005/Credit Union Residencies Programme," 3. Brochure.
[384] Pauline Agnew, "Asylum Seekers," accessed April 5, 2010, http://homepage.eircom.net/~agnewp/elsewhere/asylum%seekers.htm,

personally identified through the work due to reasons of safety or privacy.   Yet, Agnew's generic statement in their "voice" about the broad themes of the project forces her voice as a weak metonym of the voices of the collaborators the work claims to engage with. Agnew does not choose obfuscation regarding her own agency in shaping "Elsewhere," but rather amplifies her voice through taking credit for the work and failing to clearly identify what "collaboration" means in this project. Credit for the collaboration, however, certainly does not extend to the women being named beyond their classification as "a group of women of African and Caribbean asylum seekers currently being accommodated in Clonakilty." The reasons for the women's anonymity may not rest entirely with Agnew's claims to the project as "artist," and relate instead to their own desire for privacy. However, this tension between being granted voice *and* privacy for Agnew's collaborators remains ultimately mediated by Agnew's control of the project's final presentation as she is given sole artistic credit for the work.

"Elsewhere" strives to embed the women within the town, and the town within the women. The depth of this insertion, however, remains the issue at the center of this project.   The time-based nature of the project's exhibition served as an immediate and symbolic indicator of the limited possibilities for substantiative interaction between the white majority Irish-born Clonakilty residents and the asylum seekers introduced as individuals via this project.   But, is this even the point?   Despite the project's visual and spatial conceit of placing the women "in" the town, Agnew does not ultimately imagine this project to be about "in"-tegrating these particular women.   She states: "…my experience with "Elsewhere" was that it wasn't about integration. It [processing asylum seekers and accommodating them in the meantime] was about managing people and trying to keep them distant…The project was literally just about presenting their stories against the story of a small rural town, as much as I could."[385]   Agnew thus inadvertently presents herself as working in concert with the aims of the accommodation centre through "Elsewhere," implying that this project itself performs distancing management of bodies.   The back of the event brochure also claims that the project is invested in representing "the experience of a national identity in flux, as we move from being a mono-cultural to a multi-cultural state."[386] The choice of articulating this dual dimension of "Elsewhere" as the experience of a *national* identity in flux again distances the women from inclusion in the work, as their brief presence is used to interrogate what will follow them in Clonakilty and "elsewhere" in the Republic, a new "multi-cultural" state that makes no promises about including them. Agnew's project attempts to redefine culture and cultural diversity in Ireland from a national(ist) and regional perspective (County Cork) by participating in a EU sponsored project at a moment when increased immigration and the enlargement of the EU in general has broadly expanded the meaning of diversity within an EU context. By crediting the arts as an important site for exploring these changing norms, individual artists such as Agnew and "communities" like the women living in the budget hotel are theoretically given power to imagine new proactive models of transforming notions of EU belonging through creative projects. Yet, the participants offered as confirmation of a new Irish *and* European diversity through their

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[385] Agnew, in conversation with the author.
[386] Agnew, "elsewhere: town>artist<asylum seekers."

symbolic work as the changing "backdrop" of a "small rural town" cannot be counted inside the changing nation they supposedly represent.

Opening Doors: The Domestic Workers Support Group

In 2007, the Domestic Worker's Support Group (DWSG) of Migrant Rights Centre Ireland[387] mounted a photographic, textile and multi-media exhibition titled "Opening Doors: Migrant Domestic Workers Speak Through Art." "Opening Doors" celebrated domestic work and workers who are defined "as women working in the private home, as well as carers or childminders who also do cleaning and housekeeping work."[388] The debut of this exhibition on International Women's Day 2007 at Dublin's Gallery of Photography represented the culmination of eleven months of work by the group. The "Opening Doors" project drew together participants whose countries of origin ranged from the Phillipines, Pakistan, Trinidad to Georgia.[389] The resulting work has been seen through public exhibitions in Dublin and Bray and is also available through an interactive website.

"Opening Doors: Migrant Domestic Workers Speak Through Art" addressed the lives of domestic workers on multiple levels and through myriad forms. The project combined work on a quilt with textile artist Orla Flanagan that shows the multiple dimensions of domestic workers' lives in Ireland (work, leisure, areas for improvement in conditions) [Figure 5.7], a collaborative large-scale photography project depicting scenes from domestic work with photographer Susan Gogan [Figure 5.8], and independent photography captured by the women of their daily lives, particularly their day off [Figure 5.9]. The creation of "Blurred Boundaries" preceded the conception of "Opening Doors" but was incorporated as part of the project's final presentation. Panels of the quilt were

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[387] Migrant Rights Centre Ireland (MRCI) is:

> ..a national organization concerned with the rights of migrant workers and their families. The vision of MCRI is an Ireland where migrant workers and their families participate fully and equally in an intercultural society. The mission of MCRI is to promote the conditions for social and economic inclusion of those migrant workers and their families who are in situations of vulnerability.

Migrant Rights Centre Ireland, *Realising Integration,* 2.

The DWSG was previously led by MRCI community worker Edel McGinley, but is run now by one of the members.

[388] Migrant Rights Centre Ireland, "Community Work," accessed September 4, 2009, http://www.mrci.ie/activities/index.htm.

[389] The following women participated in "Opening Doors" through the DWSG: Zenaida Abrillo, Erica Acosta, Dolores Aguirre, Annmarie Asoka, Noemi Barredo, Nida Bautista, Eustaqia Bengco, Luz Caison, Caridad Carabbacan, Josephine Carambias, Maria Terisa Carinea, Adora Cawaling, Gina Cayao, Noemi Cortez, Mely Dacumos, Irina Danilova, Adina de Jesus, Swarnlata Devi, Susan Dineros, Elvira Espinosa, Imelda Faustino, Sally Felipe, Adela Fernandez, Ena Farraren, Marian Fidel, Elsa Fontanoz, Lot Gernan, Wilce Gamado, Ann Elizabeth Guan, Demetria Lopez, Elvira Madeleso, Mercedita Medino, Nigar Mehir, Eufemia Mondragon, Cherry Monera, Adelaida Nimo, Dexie Ocampos, Lorna Orap, Christelyn Osario, Lilette Pader, Amelita Padin, Lolita Paragas, Lenie Perez, Joycyl Quemada, Laura Quileste, Jocelyn Quitay, Hilda Regapsi, Terry Reyes, Marylen Sagrado, Veronica Solano, Maria R. Soriano, Endalee Sapico, Margie Taguibao and Joesy Ytienza. "Opening Doors," accessed September 5, 2009, http://www.mrci.ie/activities/opening_doors/.

conceived and executed by DWSG members through a group process that identified shared concerns and themes in this sector of work after which individuals ultimately took responsibility for the design of single panels. The top of the quilt depicts the women's experiences on their days off, the middle shows challenges faced in the workplace such as unpaid and uncontracted overtime, lack of leave-time, racism, and bullying, while the bottom lays out a plan of action and desires for the future of their working life in Ireland. In the exhibition brochure, it is strongly stated that: "This quilt celebrates the contribution these women make as active citizens in their own right and as active agents of change. They are not merely economic units."[390] Additionally, on the website, www.mrci.ie/openingdoors, the viewer is able to click on each panel of the quilt and hear the panel's creator talk about her work. These clips are, of course, edited and selected, but total knowledge or access to these women's lives is not what "Opening Doors" claims to offer.

Figure 5.7
"Blurred Boundaries"
DWSG with Orla Flanagan

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[390] Migrant Rights Centre Ireland, Domestic Workers Support Group, and Susan Gogan, "Opening Doors: Migrant Domestic Workers Speak Through Art," Exhibition Brochure. It should also be noted here that this statement uses the phrase "active citizen," which is a phrase currently being actively deployed by the Irish government through the Active Citizenship campaign as a concept aimed at easing integration and emphasizing the civic responsibilities related with this process. This rhetoric is engaged in detail elsewhere.

Figure 5.8
"Ann-Marie"
Photograph: Susan Gogan

Figure 5.9
Dolores Aguirre
"The Relaxing View Beside the River"

The collaborative large-scale photographs were shot by Gogan with a team of group members. They sought to emphasize the skills employed daily in the execution of domestic work duties as well as hint at the emotional and affective complexities of the work. The photographs name the woman depicted in each piece. "Ann-Marie" positions Ann-Marie in the midst of her daily duties. Her placement in a cluster of children of various ages emphasizes the range of childhood development knowledge she must utilize in her daily work. In this shot, she is in action, tending to an infant while also supervising the two older children doing their homework. "Ann-Marie" calls attention to

the space of the private home as a place of work rather than as a domestic enclave removed from the forces of the market. Furthermore, this photograph insists on recognition of Ann-Marie's place not only within the market as a domestic worker, but as an integral source of care and support in her charges' daily lives.

In Dolores Aguirre's piece of individual photography, "The Relaxing View Besides the River," several layers of Irish history converge with Aguirre's own contemporary position as a domestic worker in post-Celtic Tiger Ireland. Taken on the banks of the Liffey River, Aguirre faces towards city centre Dublin as both industrial and new office buildings dominate the right corner of her frame leading the viewer's eye into town. In the far distance, the dome of the Custom House looms, a small spike hidden next to a tall building in the upper left hand corner. This building's faint presence in this photograph indexes key events in Irish history now viewed through the lens of Aguirre's camera.   The Custom House was built in 1791 to serve Dublin Port, collecting custom duties and controlling the flow of people and goods into the city of Dublin. During the Irish War of Independence, the Irish Republican Army burned down the building in an effort to disrupt the operation of British government. The building was then restored by the Free State following the Anglo-Irish Treaty. Currently, this building exists not only as a historical landmark, but also houses the Departments of Environment, Heritage, Local Government and Development and Housing.[391] Aguirre's glimpse of this building in the distance invokes a series of subtle ironies as her own exclusion from Irish history is highlighted through the hidden resonances of this building, the stories that do not implicate her. Yet, the building's original purpose as a Custom House for Dublin Port recalls a long history of the movement of bodies and goods in and out of Dublin. This history is underlaid with the legacy of British colonialism, but Aguirre's contemporary view of the Custom House joins her with past new arrivals to Ireland and the image becomes loaded with reverberations of hidden histories and untold stories.   Nevertheless, as Aguirre captures this national monument as it recedes into the background of a sunset, her literal distance from the building emphasizes her limited access to Ireland's "heritage," literally housed as a department within this building.

"Opening Doors" evolved over a process of several months during the course of the DWSG's regular monthly meetings.   The MRCI worked with domestic workers for several years prior to the conception of this project. Their work recognizes that "[t]he gendered nature of domestic labour, a sector where migrant ethnic women dominate, and the isolation, invisibility and poor regulation of this employment mean that they are at greater risk of exploitation."[392] During this time, Gogan provided group instruction in practical photography skills and techniques of composition but the project did not take up the group's entire time together. In these meetings, the women also engaged in peer-led dialogue about their work experiences and environments, identifying areas of needed reform, sharing materials related to upskilling in their various areas of expertise, and participating in targeted political action and organizing. DWSG member Marion Fidel observed: "Photography is not the only thing you can get from the DWSG, this is only a

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[391] Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government "The Custom House," accessed April 19, 2010, http://www.environ.ie/en/AboutUs/HistoryofDepartment/TheCustomHouse/,
[392] Susan Gogan et. al. "Opening Doors: Migrant Domestic Workers Speak Through Art." Exhibition Brochure, (Dublin: Migrant Rights Centre, 2007).

tiny part of it…Most of all the DWSG is there to help with your problems particularly concerning your work."[393] Thus, the creation of "Opening Doors" did not just focus on the creative works produced, but involved collaborative effort, consciousness raising and skill acquisition that also contributed to political organization and mobilization of the domestic work sector in collaboration with Irish trade unions SIPTU (Services, Industrial, Professional and Technical Union) and ICTU (Irish Congress of Trade Unions).[394]

"Opening Doors" positions the project's participants as visible and valuable members of Irish society with a range of skills and experiences while focusing attention on their political goals as workers. This project celebrates domestic work and workers, an area of work that is undervalued and frequently invisible in Ireland and elsewhere.[395] A member of the group stated: "In the creation of the pieces, we took control of how we wanted to be represented and what meaning we wanted to contribute to the general public."[396] The multiple models of collaboration (individual and group) that fed into each other resulted in the production of a diverse work that plays with representations of immigrant workers from varied angles. The over-determination of immigrant bodies makes the goal of "controlling" representation and meaning a formidable task, and indeed impossible. Nevertheless, the DWSG's use of visual arts practice is only one tool employed in the context of a larger process of political and professional organizing.

"Opening Doors'" foregrounds the multiple and intersecting aspects of the participants' identities- raced, gendered and classed- as the cornerstone of their artistic and political practice.   Sociologists Ronit Lentin and Carla de Tona claim that migrant women's networks in Ireland and elsewhere showcase a "fluid capacity to articulate a response to the racialisation of immigrants, often homogenized as undifferentiated by gender, class, and education levels, despite their obvious heterogeneity."[397] Representation of difference in Ireland post-Celtic Tiger has often fallen back on Black/white binaries as well as occluding gender and class as frames of analysis, despite the continuing overdetermination of African female bodies as seen in the discussion of "Elsewhere." The DWSG's organization of their members as laborers, (im)migrants and women allows for multiple frames of analysis to be applied to their experiences and provides a strong antidote to facile representations of difference as in "Elsewhere," where the visual/racial dissonance engendered by social change is represented by a focus on the corporeality of "others" within (white) Irish society. In contrast, "Opening Doors" prioritizes multiple points of entry for the viewer, echoing the multiple approaches taken in the weekly work of the DWSG participants, from collective consciousness-raising to upskilling to policy analysis and reform to socializing. From the voices hidden in the

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[393] Ibid.

[394] In 2007, the Irish government published, *A Code of Practice for Protecting Persons Employed in Other People's Homes* due to pressure from the MRCI among other groups, although participation is only voluntary for employers.

[395] The political, economic and social situation of domestic workers as portrayed through this project is in no way unique only to Ireland, nor does this traffic in domestic work flow only to the West, but this area of work represents a complex transnational system of labor flows.

[396] Migrant Rights Centre, "Collaborative Photos," accessed October 23, 2009, http://www.mrci.ie/activities/opening_doors/

[397] Carla de Tona and Ronit Lentin, "Overlapping Multi-centred Networking: Migrant women's diasporic networks as alternative narratives of globalization," in *Performing Global Networks,* ed. Karen Fricker and Ronit Lentin (New Castle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), 75

quilt to the quotes of women about their daily work accompanying the pictures throughout the brochure and in the hung exhibition, to the individual perspectives captured in the black and white photographs, there are multiple voices simultaneously operating to point back to common goals of recognition and respect, personal *and* political, and for each worker preserving their individuality while remaining focused on collective political goals.

"Opening Doors" shuttles between the scales of the local (Dublin), national (Ireland), regional (Europe), and transregional/transnational (Phillipines, Georgia, Trinidad, and Pakistan) through the perspective of these women organizing as laborers and strangers in a strange land performing in a frequently invisible line of work. Like "Elsewhere," this project plays with binaries of hyper-visibility/invisibility in reference to (im)migrant women and public space. Yet, "Elsewhere" ends up decontextualizing the women and their experiences, positioning the women as strange others against the backdrop of a "small rural town," rendering them stranger still even if the stated objective is to make them more familiar to the town's residents and visitors. "Opening Doors," however, points to the moments where the women of the DWSG move between hyper-visibility and invisibility (working in the home, moving around Dublin) and interrogates these slippages through a multi-level analysis of the project's participants' experiences in various roles and sites, ranging from the interior of Irish homes to the Phillipines. The project's focus on the "emotional labor" of care work in the exhibition's photograph provides a strong site from which to ground evolving transnational feminist theorizations of (transnational) emotional labor as serious and tangible work.

The Art of Migration: Picturing Change, Staging Labor

"Opening Doors" takes up the position of domestic workers within the post-Celtic Tiger labor market, but the themes and labor conditions depicted in the work reflect the experiences of (female) domestic workers far removed from the borders of the Irish nation. Shifting gender roles regarding economic responsibility and family structures have characterized new trends amongst women migrants worldwide. The United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women published a 2007 working paper on the "Feminization of Migration" which observed:

> The term [feminization of migration] is misleading insofar as it suggests an absolute increase in the proportion of women migrants, when in fact by 1960 women already made up nearly 47% of all international migrants, a percentage that increased by only two points during the next four decades, to about 49% at present (Zlotnik, 2003). Although a net feminization of flows has occurred in certain regions, what has really changed in the last decades is the fact that more women are migrating independently in search of jobs, rather than as 'family dependents' traveling with their husbands or joining them abroad.[398]

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[398] United Nations INSTRAW, *Feminization of Migration 2007: Gender, Remittances, Development: Working Paper 1*, accessed September 6, 2009, www.un-instraw.org/...feminization-of-migration/download.html.

The implications of women migrating independently have been the frequent break-up of the traditional heterosexual family unit with women's children being cared for at home by relatives since they often cannot travel with their mothers, increasing numbers of remittances sent home across the world to support families in distant countries, and the creation of what is termed "global care chains." An example of one of these chains would be "an older daughter from a poor family who cares for her siblings while her mother works as a nanny caring for the children of a migrating nanny who, in turn cares for the child of a family in a rich country."[399] Global care chains therefore refer to the process of women from the Global South/Third World migrating to the Global North/First World to take up jobs in the private care/home sector in child or elder care, housekeeping, and/or sex work. These positions frequently become necessary when their female employers pursue careers outside of the home, though this is not always the case. As Evelyn Nakano Glenn points out in a U.S. context, "Employed women are only slightly less likely to be primary care-givers compared to their peers who are not in the labor force."[400] However, she also notes a racial disparity in this frequent combination of care in the home with outside employment: "Women of color, especially African-American women, are more likely to have to combine elder and disabled care with employment outside of the home."[401] In terms of women employed *as* care workers, such as the women of the DWSG, there are varying levels of legality associated with this sector of work, from the recruitment process in the women's countries of origin, their journey, and the work environment they encounter in their place of destination. Saskia Sassen terms the paths migrant women from the Global South travel "survival circuits":

> as Third World economies on the periphery of the global system struggle against debt and poverty, they increasingly build survival circuits on the backs of women- whether these be trafficked low wage workers and prostitutes or migrant workers sending remittances back home. Through their work and remittances, these women contribute to the revenue of deeply indebted countries.[402]

These complicated dynamics demand that the study of global care chains and their gendered impact remains a major contemporary topic in gender and women's studies across the disciplines.[403]

    "Opening Doors" makes global care chains the explicit subject of the work through the perspective of individual workers within the Irish economy. Barbara

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[399] Arlie Russell Hochschild, "Global Care Chains and Emotional Surplus Value," edited by W. Hutton and Anthony Giddens, *On the Edge: Living with Global Capitalism*, (London: Jonathan Cape, 2000), 130.

[400] Evelyn Nakano Glenn, *Forced to Care: Coercion and Caregiving in America*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 2.

[401] Ibid., 2.

[402] Saskia Sassen, "Global Cities and Survival Circuits," in *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy,* edited by Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie Russell Hochschild, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2002), 255.

[403] Helma Lutz, "at your service, madam!: The Globalization of Domestic Service," *Feminist Review* 70, (2002): 89-104; Nicola Yeates, "Global Care Chains," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 6, no. 3 (2004): 369 – 391.

Ehrenreich and Arlie Russell Hochschild further situate the implications of global care chains thus:

> The lifestyles of the First World are made possible by a global transfer of the services associated with a wife's traditional role- child care, homemaking and sex- from poor countries to rich ones. To generalize and perhaps oversimplify: in an earlier phase of imperialism, northern countries extracted natural resources and agricultural products- rubbers, metals, and sugar, for example-from lands they conquered and colonized. Today, while still relying on Third World countries for agricultural and industrial labor, the wealthy countries also seek to extract something harder to measure and quantify, something that can look very much like love.[404]

Ehrenreich and Hochschild link the current phenomenon of "global care chains" to earlier patterns of imperialism and globalization but identify how the circumstances and mobile "objects" have shifted from goods primarily to goods *and* services, which require the transport of a (female) body. They do not argue that migration is a new phenomenon, but that the terms of contemporary patterns of migration that often fall below the radar locate women, domesticity and labor at the heart of their exchanges. These patterns enact power relations that again locate economic and social capital in the Global North but require cheap labor and bodies from the Global South. Nicola Yeates elaborates: "Global care chains do more than demonstrate the connections between personal lives and global politics; they elucidate the structures and processes that reflect and perpetuate the unequal distribution of resources globally."[405] Therefore, tracing these relations of care at the micro-level of the individual forces an analysis of the "structures" and "processes" of global capital that goes beyond the broadly structural.

"Opening Doors'" combines an approach that focuses on the micro-level of the individual and their experiences within global care chains while the DWSG remains ultimately focused on unionizing their labor against great odds in the current Irish economic and social climate. The photographic components of "Opening Doors," the staged collaborative photos and the women's own shots, direct the viewer to multiple destinations on the global care chain that the participants travel. The locations for the photographs range from beside the Liffey River in center city Dublin [see Figure 5.9] to Supermac's, an Irish fast-food chain on O'Connell Street again in the heart of Dublin [Figure 5.10], to private homes of Irish employers, to the women's family homes in the Phillipines.

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[404] Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie Russell Hochschild, *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids, and Workers in the New Economy,* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2002), 4.
[405] Yeates, 373.

Figure 5.10
Veronica Solano
"August 2006, Eyards in Supermacs"

These photographs, especially the staged collaborative photographs, are deeply invested in theorizing "care" as a component of the labor that the women perform on a daily basis. Yeates identifies the distinction engendered in care studies between "caring for" which requires physical labor and "caring about" which draws on the less tangible and commodifiable realm of "emotional" labor.[406]   She summarizes:

> 'Caring for' someone refers to the performance or supervision of tasks involved in 'catering for the material and other general well-being of the one receiving care'; such tasks include cooking, cleaning, washing, listening and healing. 'Caring about' someone refers to 'having affection and concern for the other and working on the relationship between the self and the other to ensure the development of the bond.'[407]

In the context of the DWSG project, the women were instructed by photographer Susan Gogan to take photographs on their day off. Nevertheless, the pictures returned frequently featured their employer's children, for example, demonstrating the porousness of boundaries in the women's lives [Figure 5.11]. During the course of the project, a few of the women were able to travel home to the Philippines [Figure 5.12]. Therefore, the domestic space of their work and some of their own children living elsewhere made it into the project, while a few of the women also had relatives or family in Ireland represented in the project [Figure 5.13], again demonstrating the overlapping circles of "care" that operate within the networks through which these women move.

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[406] Ibid, 371.
[407] Ibid, 371.

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Figure 5.11
Photograph: Mercy Medino

Figure 5.12
Photograph: Christelyn Osario

Figure 5.13
Photograph: Lorna Orap

Emotional labor as demonstrated through the various attachments represented in the personal and large-scale collaborative photographs was a frequent subject of discussion in the DWSG's process with "Opening Doors." MRCI community worker and "Opening Doors" project supervisor Edel McGinley elaborates:

> People were very clear [that]… in their work…they go beyond their call of duty, and that the relationship and bonds that they have with people are very much love bonds, love ties. And that's something that they want to try to get across as well that we are very caring people and that this work matters to us and our role is one of a carer and I think this one, this picture (*gestures to picture on wall of conference room of care worker giving elder medicine in the middle of the night, see Figure 5.14.*) was very much about [that]. Like it's ten to four in the morning,… we do get up at night and we do the extra bit that sometimes is required…I think people were just very conscious of, that love bit, the connection, and the relationship that's formed…That is often the relationship that keeps people in very, very exploitative situations, so it's that it can act positively or negatively but that it's very much about, people are human. And for any caring work, you need to be a caring person, and it is vocational in some respects. But we wanted to take it out of that realm as well and into [arguing for it as] very skilled work…In terms of domestic work, it's very, very skilled to have to negotiate a relationship, somebody else's relationship with each other on a daily basis, a family relationship, a husband and wife relationship, maybe a divorced relationship. There may be mental health issues, there may be issues with

children, it's an absolute minefield, so the skills involved in that work, in the sheer negotiation of a space, a very private and internal space, is phenomenal.[408]

Figure 5.14
"Christelyn"
Photograph: Susan Gogan

McGinley highlights here the contradictory positions the women find themselves in on a daily basis. On the one hand, the emotional labor performed in the workplace is genuine and an experience that the DWSG wanted strongly represented in "Opening Doors." However, this same dynamic in the workplace is "often the relationship that keeps people in very, very exploitative situations, so it's that it can act positively or negatively." The MRCI's work with the DWSG addresses the exploitative labor situations of domestic and other workers through organizing and lobbying. Yet, McGinley, the MRCI and members of the DWSG recognize that the complexity of workers' lives must be unpacked through other means as well. This delicate balance maintains itself through reflection on the individual's personal needs and challenges and the ultimate relationship of these to group struggle and experience, and ultimately, collective political organizing. A focus on emotional labor as a serious category of analysis acknowledges the texture or quality of the individual's experience and perception of their situation. McGinley elaborates that the DWSG urges its members to:

look at their experience as a collective experience, and to bring that individual out to the collective…Part of the thinking was how to build ownership in the group, to make the group effective, to develop people's analysis in terms of their own experience, and I suppose moving away from [the dreadful

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[408] Edel McGinley, (Community Worker, Migrant Rights Centre Ireland), in discussion with the author, February 20, 2009.

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experiences]…because some people have very dreadful experiences, from that very hurtful place to something that has power behind it.[409]

For McGinley, the practical gains in the history of the DWSG are not only the outcomes of their political lobbying and unionizing efforts but the address of individual perspectives and experiences as well. Ultimately, DWSG and "Opening Doors" work to position the "emotional labor" of their group members not only as a by-product of exploitation but instead retheorize it as a skilled labor. This is the process that is enacted through the content of "Opening Doors."

The large-scale collaborative photographs depict this in the most conscious detail. When standing in front of each collaborative color piece, the scale of the photographs makes it feel possible for the viewer to step in.   Through this spatial relationship between the viewer and the piece, the DWSG reminds the viewer that they are part of the picture, as a member of Irish society. Rather than positioning the women as what is to be looked *at,* as emblems of a new and successful and/or troubled Ireland, the viewer is invited to "enter" the space of these women's work through their spatial relationship to the photographs.

When Gogan and each group "staged" their shot, they wanted to emphasize the emotional labor expended by the worker in tandem with representing their tangible skills, such as dispensing medicine, and objects used in daily tasks, such as a bucket of housecleaning supplies [Figure 5.15]. In the process leading up to the photo shoots, every minute detail was up for discussion by the group and was actively connected to the women's feelings about themselves, their work, how they would be viewed by others, and how this project could potentially affect other's views. The group's desire to "control representation" became enacted through this process of staging the photos with Gogan. Gogan relies on the term "staging" to describe her process of composing images and setting up her photographic shots in this and other projects where aesthetics and politics repeatedly collide. For Gogan, "staging" photographs involves treating photographs like films stills, and setting up the shot not just in terms of formal composition, but through the active participation of performers who "act" in her photographs, whether playing themselves or other people. The performing body is thus key to her vision of "creating fictions about reality." Through this move of foregrounding fiction's relationship to reality in her own photographic work through a live (performing) body, she strives to express the contingent nature of social relations in the "real" world. She pushes the viewer to critically examine the components of the performance that is being enacted rather than trust the authority of her lens and the photograph as a document frozen in "real time." For "Opening Doors," the staged collaborative photographs ultimately direct the viewer back towards the activist goals of the project by pointing to the contingency of social relations through the process of "staging" social relations as performance and depicting the scene of work as improvisational. Veron's open body language and tilted head towards her employer imply that connecting with her here, and responding to any questions, needs or concerns takes utmost precedence even while she is in the midst of a cleaning task. More cleaning supplies stand ready at the right-hand bottom of the picture's frame. The supplies in the basket are numerous and varied

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[409] Ibid.

indicating the scope and complexity of the household work that Veron will perform later in the day. While the power relation between Veron and her employer is far from equal, and the setting of the photography indicates a very wealthy home, Veron nonetheless insists on acknowledging her central role in the upkeep of this home, and places herself physically above her employer, communicating the older woman's dependence on her as a counterpoint to her financial dependence on her employer. While this photograph preserves and even endorses what Glenn refers to as the "racialization of care,"[410] it also challenges treatment of "[p]aid care work…as though it were an extension of women's unpaid domestic labor rather than as a legitimate form of wage labor with its own standards, training requirements and pay scales."[411] This ultimately is the goal of this project.

Figure 5.15
"Veron"
Photograph: Susan Gogan

"Opening Doors'" desire to "control representation" of domestic work, and represent it in all its complexity, required constant negotiation during the process of the work's creation between Gogan and the women. There was not always immediate agreement amongst the women about what should be prioritized in these pieces: skills, emotional labor or personal perspective. In shooting "Amelita" [Figure 5.16], Gogan recounted a heated discussion ensuing over whether Amelita should be wearing gloves in the shot:

> …and there was huge discussion on that day of whether she was going to wear rubber gloves or not, the medical gloves. And, a couple of the people that were there, on the day, I think Edel, and one or two others, thought that well, because…[the image was] representing the bond…that she had with the employer, some people thought that the gloves hindered that. Some people

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[410] Glenn, *Forced to Care,* 6.
[411] Ibid., 9.

thought that the gloves medicalized the image too much and created a distance between them. However she was adamant that she was wearing the gloves because that's the correct work practice and she was there pulling out because they brought their…texts from…the Migrant Rights Centre [which had] organized courses to upskill workers and stuff in terms of like caring for older people, or child psychology, and stuff like that, she had her textbook there, and she was like, no, you know, we have to do it this way … the women were very aware of this is how they're representing themselves to the public and they want to show they really care about their work, that their standards are high.[412]

Figure 5.16
"Amelita"
Photograph: Susan Gogan

The demands of proper emotional and physical labor "practice" collide in the group's conceptualization of this shot. Amelita insists on adhering to good labor practice according to her understanding of the cleanliness and hygiene standards of her field of work. In this shot, the representation of physical labor standards win out for one aspect of the image, but the text accompanying this image in the brochure as well as the other components of the image overall continue to complicate this divide. Underneath Amelita's image in the exhibition brochure, a chorus of voices from the group share viewpoints about their work:

> "We need to talk to the client in a gentle tone of voice, always wear a smile and communicate with them…you must listen to what they say."

> "They [the client] may feel vulnerable or fragile you have to be careful and respect them…they need security, love, and trust."

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[412] Gogan, in discussion wih the author.

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"It is important to look after the personal hygiene of your client…they feel appreciated and well looked after."

"You need to have good hygiene practice…you are aware of his needs and make sure he is comfortable and not anxious."[413]

Here the demands of hygiene and a commitment to emotional labor and caring consideration circle around each other, again refusing to solve the contradictions of this area of work.   The women express pride, care, and an investment of professional standards but these sentiments are not expressed in the spirit of placating or reassuring white Irish-born viewers about the potential "strangers" in their homes. Rather, this in-depth look at their thoughts and feelings about their work is a challenge to the viewer to take their political goal and rights as workers seriously through contending with the worker, the individual, and the activist.

"Opening Doors" insists that emotional and physical labor are inextricably linked through the overlapping chains of care and labor that are enacted in its many photographs, both self and group-authored.   This project is a provocative challenge not only to (white) middle and upper class members of Irish society to acknowledge invisible laborers in the homes in their communities and perhaps their own, but also strikes at the heart of one of the major reasons why this area of labor continues to be invisible and undervalued through an aggressive emphasis on the affect of care work as a labor connected to skill.

The coercive power dynamic of global care chains though cannot be erased merely by celebrating this marginalized area and the women who serve here. The migrant women's networks that characterize contemporary patterns of migration reprise and reinforce uneven power dynamics between the Global North and South and recall earlier histories of colonization and imperialism. The women, such as those within the DWSG, are brave and intrepid individuals but they are not necessarily traveling in search of ideals of gender equality but rather negotiating a "survival circuit" with unpredictable and frequently fatal possibilities. In this context, the DWSG's efforts to "regularize" standards in their area of work become even more significant.

Public and Private Transcripts

… a false opposition continues to circulate between the needs of survival and the demands of time, pitting individual survival against collective conscience. In such an opposition, there is presumably no time 'left over' for political activity. When women say, 'no tenemos hambre de comida, tenemos hambre de justicia," they reconcile this fictive split between the struggle for survival and the search for justice. When dignity and daily bread are brought together so that justice overtakes the (not unimportant) struggle for wages, in contexts where they are miniscule to begin with, women give voice to a deeper, existential yearning; the desire to make themselves intelligible to themselves and to each other, to make

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[413] Gogan et. al, "Opening Doors: Migrant Domestic Workers Speak Through Art."

domination transparent, and to *practice* new and different way of being. In this process there is no opposition between the demands of survival and the needs of time.   Rather the very force of existential necessity propels the desire to know, the desire to make sense of existence.

<div align="right">M. Jacqui Alexander[414]</div>

Alexander argues that the struggle for survival and the struggle for justice are too often divided by what she terms a "fictive split." Here, she draws together the ideas inherent in Sassken's theorization of the coercion of "survival circuits" with Lentin and de Tona's hope that new definitions of what it means to be female can be based on a rigorous engagement with gender equality and human rights from a transnational perspective. In the "Opening Doors" exhibition brochure, Gogan also takes on the possibilities of female migrant networks but adds in a final clarification:

> In their mobility, female migrant workers have to negotiate complex social relations and differences both in their place of origin and their place of destination.   In their place of origin by the act of leaving they may transgress a spatial association of women with home and have new life perspectives, yet are concerned daily for their family from a distance. *In their place of destination their experience can be subject to multiple scales of political, economic and cultural power relations* (emphasis mine).[415]

The mission of the DWSG is to investigate and address the implications of those overlapping scales of power relations. The ideal of gender equality and human rights must proceed from an excavation of these relations and their multiple forms. "Opening Doors" exists as only one trace of this ongoing process. These are the analytical steps that are not taken in "Elsewhere," which fails to account for the multiple scales of political, economic, and cultural power relations that brought Agnew's subjects to that small town of Clonakilty in the first place. Instead, the visual conceit of the project, African women in a small rural Irish town, overwhelms the work. "Elsewhere's" concerns do not ultimately rest with the intersection of survival and justice in its attempt to "create artwork[s] that blur the boundaries between 'them and us' and between 'art and life.'"[416] Agnew indicates a resistance to politics in the work as she writes of experiencing in her process: "an intense awareness that as an artist I had to resist didacticism and find imaginative connections between us."[417] Her role as an artist grants her license here to invoke the imagination rather than interrogate what might be hidden behind a resistance to "didacticism." As has been discussed, the "imaginative connections" brought to life through pieces such as "Where ever I hang my knickers that's my home" invoke extremely incendiary debates around and about the women Agnew claims to serve. Agnew's imagination and artistic license cannot erase the symbolic reverberations invoked through her artworks. In contrast, "Opening Doors"

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[414] M. Jacqui Alexander, *Pedagogies of Crossing: Meditations on Feminism, Sexual Politics, Memory, and The Sacred,* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2005), 105-106.
[415] Gogan et. al, *Opening Doors: Migrant Domestic Workers Speak Through Art,* Exhibition Brochure.
[416] Agnew, "Elsewhere: Reflections on a Creative Residency": 18.
[417] Ibid., 21.

carefully manipulates the repertoire of settings that they work with, particularly in their staged collaborative photographs by acknowledging the symbolic reverberations activated by the work.

        Anthropologist James Scott's work on "public" and "hidden" transcripts of power proves essential in finally comparing the formal elements and processes of "Elsewhere" and "Opening Doors." Scott defines "public transcripts" as "the open interaction between subordinates and those who dominate,"[418] while hidden transcripts "consist of those offstage speeches, gestures, and practices that confirm, contradict, or inflect what appears in the public transcript."[419] His work interrogates the notion that these "interactions are unlikely to tell the whole story about power relations"[420] due to the fact that he argues both parties (the subordinate and the dominant) perform their roles strategically and often without total commitment. Thus, while dominators may not always be comfortable with their positions of power, as in his example of clumsy and ambivalent colonialist Orson Welles,[421] subordinates may "offer a performance of deference and consent while attempting to discern, to read, the real intentions and mood of the potentially threatening powerholder."[422] The disjuncture in the performance of dominator's and subordinate's actions between belief "in the part one is playing," to borrow from Erving Goffman, and active analysis and deconstruction of power relations in the moment, creates an opening for Scott. He is therefore able to "judge the impact of domination on public discourse"[423] by comparing public and hidden transcripts and understanding these interactions as performances. This is not to say that once power relations are understood as "performance," they can be dissolved, but rather, his notion of public and hidden transcripts points toward the "dialectic of disguise and surveillance that pervades relations between the weak and the strong" ultimately aiding in understanding "cultural patterns of domination and subordination."[424] Understanding these patterns does not, of course, dissolve their power, but Scott also desires to make Alexander's leap towards the necessity of thinking survival and justice together, rather than as separate priorities.

        The inevitable play between public and hidden transcripts as theorized by Scott ultimately structures the relationship between hyper-visibility and invisibility in "Elsewhere" and "Opening Doors." Both works consciously position (im)migrant/asylum seeker women's bodies in relation to their status as subordinates in the context of larger operations of power in the Republic and beyond. This does not mean the women are portrayed as victims, but it is their subordinate status that is the precondition of both works. Agnew's project cannot avoid constant interplay between the idea of public and hidden transcripts in every image and object featured in the work. She imagines the project as giving voice through sharing the women's "ordinary

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[418] James Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts,* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), 2.
[419] Ibid, 5.
[420] Ibid, 2.
[421] Ibid, 49-50.
[422] Ibid, 3.
[423] Ibid, 5.
[424] Ibid, 4.

everyday experiences conducted under extraordinary circumstances."[425] These elements of her project consciously reveal hidden transcripts through their opening of private space, but then Agnew inserts these hidden transcripts into the public transcript of the town's daily life. Boundaries in Clonakilty become dissolved between "them and us" if her collaborators can claim literal space in the everyday of Clonakilty and have their humanness confirmed through access to their lives "offstage" by residents and tourists of the town. These pieces are artworks, meaning that they have been crafted and shaped by Agnew, but their derivation is narrated as arising out of conversations in Agnew's home, sitting and chatting in the women's own "cramped bedrooms that had to function as family homes," and attending birthday parties and christenings. Therefore, the process of the project claims intimacy as a constitutive element that becomes translated through "imaginative connectives," but access to the hidden and the intimate is what distinguishes "Elsewhere's" perspective. Agnew's personal connection with the women through this project should not be easily dismissed, but what is missing from this project is an accounting for the transcript of Agnew's own involvement in the project. The artistic representation of "Elsewhere's" women's hidden transcripts thus arise out of a situation where the power dynamic is never assumed to be equal and it is precisely the subordinate status of these women that becomes the object rather than the contested site of the work. As Agnew admitted earlier, integration was not the objective of this work, and the transitory nature of the women's residence was a major part of "Elsewhere's" conceit.

   Yet, Agnew's narration of "Elsewhere's" launch paints a different picture of the work's local effect.   She writes:

> At approximately 8 p.m. on a sunny summer evening in front of an erected marquee in Clonakilty where local and invited guests had gathered for the opening of *'Elsewhere,'* an impromptu visual performance began. In the evening light, a large group of Black women in jewel-like traditional dress could be seen emerging from the distance in ones and twos with buggies, babies and toddlers in tow. Slowly but surely, a marquee that up to now hosted an Irish rural community was transformed into what looked like 'a reception at the United Nations' to quote Katherine Atkinson of CREATE who was present at this extraordinary event.

> One hour late, in total command of the occasion, Africa had arrived.

> That evening, for which the women had spent all day cooking traditional food ended with an image that remains etched in my mind.   To the sounds of Kruzzi, the Nigerian deejay's world music, a beaming senior credit union employee complete with pioneer pin was dancing with probably the first Black women he had ever spoken to. On his head was her traditional Nigerian headdress. The image, which I never could have pre-imagined or engineered sums up what I was trying to achieve with this project.[426]

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[425] Agnew, "Elsewhere: Reflections on a Creative Residency": 18.
[426] Ibid, 17.

Agnew's account of the public transcript of this event narrates the achievement of "Elsewhere" as a contact of the rural Irish community with the "other," "probably the first Black women he had ever spoken to." The dancing gentleman in question also conveniently works for one of the credit unions that supported the project, hence this anecdote also reports back on this project as one with a deliverable return for its investors, contact with his "first Black woman." The women's arrival is related as an "impromptu visual performance" for the consumption of the Irish audience assembled. This moment ends up being ultimately described as the arrival of "Africa" in its entirety, national and regional distinctions aside. At the opening, the women are described as in "total command of the occasion," an ironic statement considering the institutionalized reality of these women's lives in Clonakilty. Regardless, the achievement of Agnew's "Elsewhere" is narrated as the creation of a liminal space where these women have brief control of their present lives, if only for an evening. Yet, despite this celebratory tone, the focus here is still on the Irish audience's perspective of the women, and the benefits they derive from visual novelty, "traditional food," and temporary possession of a "traditional" Nigerian headdress. The public transcript related by Agnew hides yet again the unbalanced power relations at work in this project. The hidden transcript of the perspective of these women at the event is unrecoverable, as they are not named, and according to Agnew, have since been dispersed from Clonakilty or fallen out of touch with her. But Agnew's seemingly positive account does not conceal "the dialect of disguise and surveillance that pervades relations between the weak and the strong." The women are finely turned out for the event, as this is perhaps their first invitation to participate in a group event in Clonakilty. The women's "total command" of the event that Agnew reports needs to be understood not as proof of the inherent and essential strength and beauty of "African women" but as a performance with high stakes that acknowledges the operation of surveillance in this event. These women are most likely not aiming to deliver what the Irish audience expects as "African" in order to satisfy local curiosity, but are using what resources they have to mediate how they will be viewed and judged in this isolated situation. Thus, while Agnew focuses on the "traditional" in describing their clothing, implying that this is their "natural" dress, the act of dressing up in clothes from home can also be understood as an act of disguise that performs what is expected or just familiar in order to find the strength to engage in what is sure to be a public display. In the end, this party is a one-night affair and the image that remains in Agnew's mind stages a shallow imagining of what Irish social interculturalism will look like when it becomes a reality. If it is to be imagined as a satisfied grin on a senior credit union employee gained from interacting with the "other," it is a bleak future indeed and one in which the dancing woman seems compelled to silence.

On the other hand, "Opening Doors" possesses an astute understanding of the power of the public transcript, and seeks precisely to deploy this understanding through its execution but use this account to subversive or at least interrogative ends. Much of the energy of "Opening Doors" and the DWSG directs itself towards advocating for the women as workers in an area that is unregulated, understood as unskilled, and disproportionately staffed by underpaid minority ethnic women. Thus, to celebrate domestic work can at first seem contradictory. Furthermore, the staged collaborative photographs picturing willing and able domestic workers in pristine Irish homes could be critiqued as encouraging stereotypes of the hard-working and happy (im)migrant, thus

nullifying the DWSG's political goals through portraying a scene in which nothing appears to be wrong. The "Opening Doors" exhibition brochure insists that "Blurred Boundaries" "celebrates the contribution these women make as active citizens in their own right and as active agents of change. They are not merely economic units."[427] Ironies abound in this sentence as well: many domestic workers are undocumented, thus are far from being recognized as Irish citizens, and while the statement protests a consideration of the workers as economic units, the project as whole celebrates their usefulness and efficiency as workers. However, while "Opening Doors" seemingly adheres to a respectable public transcript where the women perform as subordinate workers in a new country to which they are eager to contribute, their political agitation and retheorization of care work as skilled labor undergird the project and interrupt the scenes of domestic bliss which could be passed over by a casual observer. This does not imply that the women's feelings and claims about their work are not genuine, but in order to achieve their professional and political goals, they stage the scene of power in a manner that blurs public and hidden transcripts of their work. The trick is that the public transcript of respectability and accountability appear to dominate each staged collaborative photograph, but it is through the very concept of consciously "staging these photographs" as a step in the political organizing activities of the DWSG that the hidden transcript of these relations of power becomes primary in these photographs and the project as a whole. Scott writes of public transcripts:

> …we cannot know how contrived or imposed the performance is unless we can speak, as it were, to the performer offstage, out of this particular power-laden context, or unless the performer suddenly declares openly onstage, that the performances we have previously observed were just a pose.[428]

The major elements of "Opening Doors" including "Blurred Boundaries" with the audio accounts of the women playing alongside it, the staged collaborative photographs, and the independent black and white photography, all move constantly between onstage and offstage perspectives, and call attention to these transitions through the contrast among the works. When the DWSG's workers are referred to as "active citizens in their own right," this statement forces a reconsideration of what "in their own right" could imply rather than conflating all residents and workers in Ireland within the category of "citizen" which implies certain legal, social, and political rights and entitlements. "Citizen" thus becomes the term that needs to be critically engaged and scrutinized, rather than the "suspect patriot"[429] (im)migrant women working in this marginalized area of work who may not technically be full Irish citizens. By imploring viewers to look at the members of the DWSG as more than economic units, "Opening Doors" calls attention to the subtext of the public transcript of immigration debates in Ireland where fears of idle migrants arising out of the numerous debates concerning asylum seekers have put pressure on new communities or residents to make visible contributions at least at the

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[427] Gogan et. al, *Opening Doors: Migrant Domestic Workers Speak Through Art*, Exhibition Brochure.
[428] Scott, 4.
[429] See Tormey for a discussion of the term "suspect patriot" in relationship to the gendered Citizenship Referendum debates.

economic level. This is an EU-wide priority, as the "European Common Basic Principles of Integration" state: "Employment is a key part of the integration process and is central to the participation of immigrants, to the contributions immigrants make to the host society, and to making such contributions visible."[430] "Opening Doors" challenges this claim as a point of departure but nonetheless plays out its public transcript through the staged collaborative shots. Through this process, the women declare that the performance in the photograph was "just a pose," but this pose can be claimed as a powerful position on their own terms through political recognition and protection. They question their part in the public transcript through their performance in these photographs, but also signal towards the hidden transcripts of their lives in and out of the workplace that play out in transnational space. The "survival circuits" traveled by these workers as well as the asylum seekers do not only implicate the changing space/composition of the Irish nation but involve broader global circulations of power and movements of bodies and goods. The public transcripts invoked by "Opening Doors" are thus not only spoken with an Irish accent, but by rooting these workers' struggles within their current reality in Ireland, concrete social change and a broader recognition of the diversity of minority ethnic women of color in Ireland can be achieved.

The DWSG does not idealize the circumstances that have brought members of their group to Ireland, but neither does the group discount joy and pride through life and work in Ireland or renounce their ties to the families and nations they have left behind. As Alexander suggests, political struggle becomes the mode through which experiences of being trapped in survival circuits with new yet treacherous possibilities can be positively challenged. The DWSG works to make themselves visible through advocating for their rights as workers, and forcing acknowledgment of the changing nature of not only the domestic care sector, but the Irish workforce at large post-Celtic Tiger. "Opening Doors" powerfully dramatizes this political struggle by making visible the personal and emotional experiences of the women engaged in these delicate negotiations. Or, as Inderpal Grewal puts it, "the question of cosmopolitan knowledges, feminist and progressive, is one that is important in the transnational making of knowledge producers…who cannot escape neoliberal conditions of possibility, but as changing, contingent subjects, not be incapacitated by this neoliberalism."[431] The DWSG members refuse to be incapacitated by the challenges they have faced, and through the complexity of their work and collective project provide an admirable model of the power of combining political activism with the arts.

The objective here is not to romanticize the "resistance" inherent in limited moments or events such as "Opening Doors," as anthropologist Lila Abu-Lughod has warned against when writing about subaltern or disadvantaged populations,[432] but rather to demonstrate how the participants in "Opening Doors" worked with and through the "changing, contingent" conditions of their position in a neoliberalized global

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[430] "European Common Basic Principles of Integration," quoted in *Migration Nation: Statement on Integration Strategy and Diversity Management,* (Dublin: Office of the Minister for Integration, 2008), 31.
[431] Inderpal Grewal, *Transnational America: Feminisms, Diasporas, Neoliberalisms,* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 4.
[432] Lila Abu-Lughod, "The Romance of Resistance: Tracing Transformations of Power Through Bedouin Women,"*American Ethnologist* 17, No. 1 (Feb., 1990): 41-55.

marketplace. This process was driven by the women's pursuit of long-term social change in their immediate context, as well as a desire for personal growth and the creation of a collective cognizant of its own non-homogeneity. Significantly, the women are organized first as workers, but through their participation in DWSG work together to situate that experience in terms of their gender, class, and migrant/social status through recounting their own experiences, in and beyond the workplace. This project falls under the rubric of "community arts." Yet, the meaning of community here remains in flux throughout their process as their group identification as domestic workers is only the starting point for their work together. Miwon Kwon has sharply criticized reductive assumptions of community in the execution of community-based art which begins with: "the isolation of a single point of commonality to define a community- whether a genetic trait, a set of social concerns, or a geographical territory- followed by the engineering of a 'partnership' with an artist who is presumed to share this point of commonality."[433] Gogan's work with the group did not assume commonality, but rather operated through a model of exchange and negotiation. The individual and group-authored pieces of "Opening Doors" constantly force the viewer to readjust, often leaving them geographically disoriented as it is unclear in several photographs whether the picture was taken in Dublin or Manila. This project ultimately does not seek to locate or name a new community or set of communities in Ireland, but ultimately points towards the constant and contingent instability of the very identities implicated through this project: domestic worker, laborer, Irish, Filipino, Caribbean, Russian, woman.

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[433] Miwon Kwon, *One Place After Another: Site-Specific Art and Locational Identity,* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2002), 151.

Chapter Six
Essences of Social Change:
Festivals, Cultural Citizenship and the Rhetoric of Recognition

This final chapter examines the role of large-scale public festivals that engage themes of interculturalism and internationalism in staging Irish identities post-Celtic Tiger. Since the mid-1990s, multiple internationally themed festivals have been newly created in Ireland, including the Dún Laoghaire Festival of World Cultures (2000), the Dublin Africa Day (2007) and Chinese New Year's Festival (2008). These festivals have been founded for varying reasons. The Dún Laoghaire Festival of World Cultures explicitly aims to enable "the integration of Ireland's newer communities by providing a platform for intercultural creative exchange and dialogue"[434] while the Dublin Chinese New Year's Festival Committee stated in 2009 that they are "committed to focusing on celebrating culture and integration in the city and community showcasing Chinese heritage to a new and wider audience."[435] In addition, the St. Patrick's Day Festival was rebranded in 1995 in order to "project, internationally, an *accurate* image of Ireland as a creative, professional and sophisticated country with wide appeal [*emphasis mine*]."[436] The reinvention of the Festival aimed to present an "accurate" image of Ireland by counteracting previous domination of the parade by U.S. groups, as well as "subvert[ing] notions of 'Staged Irishry' during the event."[437] Significantly, City Fusion, a "community arts project which celebrates cultural diversity and promotes ethnic inclusion in the city of Dublin," involving both "Irish and intercultural groups" which has run since 2007, is currently the Festival's "largest in-house production."[438] The success and continued support of City Fusion confirms showcasing Irish social and aesthetic interculturalism as a key priority of the Festival's mission.

These festivals celebrate economic partnerships, symbolize post-Celtic Tiger wealth, make possible "major tourism boosts,"[439] and strive to create connections between Irish-born and immigrant communities, as well as between Ireland and the world at large. The aims of these events are complex and often contradictory, and animate the growing pains of post-Celtic Tiger Ireland's struggles with identities and self-definition in the context of domestic and transnational spheres. Which Irish histories that emphasize the stories of the white-Irish born majority continue to be told through the presentation of these increasing internationally and interculturally themed festivals, and

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[434] Dún Laoghaire Festival of World Cultures, "Our Ethos," accessed April 13, 2011, http://www.festivalofworldcultures.com/about/our-ethos.

[435] *Dublin City Chinese New Year Festival 2009: 23 January-February 1.* (Dublin: Chinese New Year's Festival, 2009), 2.

[436] St. Patrick's Festival, "History," accessed April 13, 2011, http://www.stpatricksfestival.ie/index.php/about.

[437] Holly Maples, "Parading Multicultural Ireland: Identity Politics and National Agendas in the 2007 St. Patrick's Festival," in *Crossroads: Performance Studies and Irish Culture,* edited by Fintan Walsh and Sara Brady, (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 238.

[438] St. Patrick's Festival, "City Fusion," accessed April 13, 2011, http://www.stpatricksfestival.ie/index.php/community.

[439] The St. Patrick's Festival was responsible for €50.5 million in spending by tourists in 2010. "St. Patrick's Festival is Major Tourism Boost," accessed January 27, 2011, http://www.stpatricksfestival.ie/index.php/home/news/St._Patricks_Festival_is_Major_Tourism_Boost.

what is excised? How do these large-scale public festivals stage the place of the "new Irish" in presenting shifting conceptions of Ireland as a national space?

In contrast to my earlier chapters that address small-scale theatrical and community arts projects, these festivals involve hundreds and often thousands of attendees and participants. They are also consciously marketed for international as well as domestic audiences, explicitly extending the project of Irish interculturalism beyond the nation's borders as a selling point for Irish tourism. Yet, while targeting the acquisition of international audiences and revenue as a top priority, these festivals continue to emphasize the role of the Irish "community" in bringing the events into being. City Fusion represents only one group in the St. Patrick Festival's larger community pageant division of the parade and uses rotating participants.[440] The Chinese New Year's Festival combines events such as presentations by experts on Chinese history, professional performances and activities offered by community groups such as North Central Community Development Team and the Northside Partnership.[441] Africa Day blends displays by local African community groups such as the Igbo Association of Ireland among others with big name musical acts such as the popular Irish band Kíla in 2009. Finally, the Dun Laoghaire Festival of World Cultures, "Ireland's first global carnival!!,"[442] has frequently used many of the same community performance groups as City Fusion as amateur participants in their events.[443] In the word of the St. Patrick's Festival, all of these festivals seek to "create energy and excitement throughout Ireland via innovation, creativity, grassroots involvement, and marketing activity."[444] The emphasis on "grassroots involvement" in not only the St. Patrick's Festival but all of the festivals named here via the participation of community groups alongside professional artists recalls again the rhetoric and practice of Active Citizenship which depends on bottom up investment in the Irish nation through the investment of individuals in their "community." However, as explored in Chapter Four, the idea that "citizenship" can be obtained through the active will of the individual obscures structural inequalities regarding access to claims of Irish belonging, both legal and social, especially for minority ethnic communities, the very groups being prominently showcased through these internationally themed festivals.

The necessary alliance posited by the St. Patrick's Festival between grassroots involvement and marketing activity reveals the entanglement of community empowerment with economic agendas in contemporary Ireland. These festivals do not only combine grassroots involvement with marketing activity as two facets of a larger process- they can be marketed *as* featuring grassroots involvement which implies that the event is co-authored by a wider Irish public than simply the event organizers. This move perhaps can lend greater authenticity to the event, because the organizers are not

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[440] It should also be noted that City Fusion is currently the Festival's only annually recurring group.

[441] Dublin Chinese New Year's Festival, "The Rabbit is Here. Happy Chinese New Year to Everyone.," accessed April 13, 2011, http://www.dublin.ie/arts-culture/chinese-new-year.htm.

[442] Dún Laoghaire Festival of World Cultures, "About," accessed April 13, 2011, http://www.festivalofworldcultures.com/about.

[443] Note that these examples of combined events represented only selected offerings and not the sum total of what has been offered through these events over the years.

[444] St. Patrick's Festival, "About."

presenting "Staged Irishry" but real Irishry as represented by the grassroots involvement of those living within Ireland.

The successful intersection of grassroots involvement and marketing activity for these festivals ultimately depends on the showcasing of "innovative" and "creative" iterations of Irish social and aesthetic interculturalism as a reflection of broader Irish publics. I focus on the presentation of Africa Day and the St. Patrick's Festival's City Fusion project in 2009 in order to show how these events position majority and minority ethnic communities in relationship to one another, considering that these events are founded on the promise of showcasing Irish social and aesthetic interculturalism as a key selling point of the contemporary Irish nation. These festivals in particular engage key contradictions between Irish postcolonial and post-Celtic Tiger histories that are at the center of struggles to define Irish interculturalism, such as the relationship between contemporary Irish racism against Africans and Ireland's own colonial-inflected legacy of missionary work as celebrated through Africa Day, or the St. Patrick Festival's explicit treatment of the traumas of Irish emigration. I examine the mounting of these events in Dublin in spring 2009 from the perspective of a participant-observer. For City Fusion, I was a volunteer facilitator, performer and project member who participated in the lead-up to St. Patrick's Festival and parade, including attending production meetings and rehearsals, whereas for Africa Day, my comments reflect my experience as an attendee on May 24, 2009. I turn first to Africa Day to interrogate its work from the outside in, as an attendee rather than collaborator. My final move to City Fusion investigates the process of mounting these festivals from the perspective of artists, participants, administrators, and funders during the making process, rather than merely assessing their final presentation.

The (Intercultural) Tourism Industry

Together, these festivals are implicated in multiple scales of the local and global as they address domestic and international agendas related to Irish state policy. The close relationship between festivals and tourism in the Republic emphasizes that through festivals the nation is performing not only for itself, but for a global audience, as is constantly emphasized in the case of the St. Patrick's Day Festival. The tourism industry constitutes one of Ireland's most important domestic resources and the festivals serve as yet another draw for Ireland as a tourist destination. The software, pharmaceutical, financial services and medical device industries were not the only triggers for the Tiger's healthy roar. Yet, far less remarked upon is the fact that "International tourism arrivals and receipts to Ireland between 1986 and 2007 grew faster than the overall economy."[445] As Michael Clancy argues, "…examining how the state promotes the nation for tourism purposes provides a window into how the nation imagines itself."[446] In 2010, for the St. Patrick's parade, "650,000 onlookers lined and cheered on the city streets as many millions more tuned in to the RTE 1 broadcast on TV and live streaming on-line."[447]

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[445] Michael Clancy, *Brand New Ireland?: Tourism, Development and National Identity in the Irish Republic,* (Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009), 2.
[446] Ibid, 11.
[447] St. Patrick's Festival, "St. Patrick's Festival Parade 2010," accessed May 21, 2010, http://www.stpatricksfestival.ie/cms/events_parade.html.

Dublin was not only performing for those lining the streets in City Centre or tuning into Irish television at home, but the world.

In this moment of globalized self-promotion, post-Celtic Tiger Ireland struggles to create new images for itself domestically building on a tradition of pageantry and spectacle located at the heart of the forging of modern Irish nationalisms. These images strive to communicate the Republic's recognition that the Irish people are not homogenous racially, ethnically or culturally. City Fusion Project Manager Norma Leen notes: "…the city [Dublin] has become very multicultural and for us to be the national festival and not to represent that I think would be a real shame."[448] Leen's remarks prioritize multiculturalism as a national project, but the question of how multiculturalism functions as a project through City Fusion in the context of the overall parade remains less clear.

Parades in particular represent obvious and powerful sites for theorizing "multicultural" post-Celtic Ireland through performance, given the importance of parade and spectacle in Ireland's modern and contemporary history. Christie Fox phrases the relationship between contemporary Irish parades and the Irish nation thus:

> Theatrical parades as practiced in Ireland today tell the audience that it is modern, wealthy, European and urban, while still tied to the past through this genre's links to earlier processions and parades. This statement encapsulates a distinct attitude towards the past: not one of sickening longing, but a foundation on which new Irish performance forms and a new Irish society- can be built.[449]

However, the new "foundation(s)" being offered to increasingly diverse Irish communities through these festivals do not offer equally steady ground to all, especially minority ethnic participants. Fox hints here at the operation of what M. Jacqui Alexander would term "palimpsestic time" in reinvented Irish parades and festivals post-Celtic Tiger through the ties between the past and the present staged by these parades. For Alexander, "palimpsestic time" represents a specific opportunity to reflect on connections between the past and present, as it does for Fox, but her interpretation of this phrase demands a more critical and less utopian outlook. Alexander's palimpsestic time represents

> [t]he idea of the 'new' structured through the 'old' scrambled palimpsestic character of time both jettisons the truncated distance of linear time and dislodges the impulse for incommeasurability, which the ideology of distance creates. It thus rescrambles the 'here and now' and 'then and there' to a 'here and there' and 'then and now,' and makes visible what Payal Bannerjee calls the ideological traffic between and among formations that are otherwise positioned as dissimilar.[450]

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[448] Norma Leen (City Fusion Project Manager, 2007-2009), in discussion with author, February 20, 2009.
[449] Christie Fox, *Breaking Forms: The Shift to Performance in Late Twentieth-Century Irish Drama,* (Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 68.
[450] M. Jacqui Alexander, *Pedagogies of Crossing,* 190.

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The "ideological traffic" that Alexander refers to in her work by way of Bannerjee implicates colonial, imperial, neo-colonial, and neo-imperial histories in particular and these genealogies are undeniably at work in the staging of the post-Celtic Tiger nation. The most obvious reference point is Ireland's history as a colony of Britain and struggle for independence, but the immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers, and undocumented workers who now represent 10% or more of the Republic's population bring with them other histories that implicate Ireland in the project of British empire at large, thus destabilizing simpler narratives of Irish identification with the Global South and other colonized nations. In addition, Lentin and McVeigh contend that the Republic has become increasingly subservient to the U.S., Britain and the European Union especially in matters of "the war on/of terror, which is undoubtedly changing the meaning of racism in an increasingly globalised world."[451] These political trends move away from the neutrality and autonomy that were foundations of the origin of the modern Irish state. Looking at these contemporary festivals through the lens of palimpsestic time demands that projects of nation-building and racialization be tracked backwards and forwards rather than building towards an unequivocally triumphal celebration of a "wealthy, European, and urban" Ireland that has adequately processed the "past." As a result, my approach to this material eschews the chronological in favor of weaving Irish pasts through the Irish present in the service of uncovering the ideological traffic between Ireland's "postcolonial" past and "intercultural" national future. These reverberations frequently make themselves known in the Irish context, as Fox notes, through public performance, especially parades and processions.

Therefore, tracing transnational Irish histories of pageantry and spectacle backwards to the founding of the modern nation provides a crucial context for situating new attempts of post-Celtic Tiger Ireland to reinvent itself through festivals not only as a manifestation of the knowledge and expertise of the "global Irish" but in order to present a rejuventated and exorcised Irish nation. From the growth of St. Patrick's Day in Irish emigrant communities through parades and celebrations, to the theatricality of Easter Rising, to controversies over Loyalist parades and Civil Rights marches during the height of the Troubles, pageantry and spectacle in public space have routinely served to dramatize key questions regarding Irish identities and led to key shifts in Irish political life. In the case of St. Patrick's Day, the repeated reiteration of its celebration in diverse national contexts did not lead to the creation of a hegemonic diasporic Irish identity, but the ritual of its celebration is nonetheless an important component of keeping the Irish diaspora visible and acknowledged across time and space. Thus, pageantry and spectacle function together in an Irish context as a repertoire of living myth both through single events or series of events that are continually re-rehearsed through critical discourse, state ceremony, literature and the arts (i.e. Easter Rising) and what might be termed ritual performances that structure the yearly calendar (i.e. Twelfth of July Parades, St. Patrick's Festival). The cluster of festivals examined in this chapter ultimately represent attempts to reinvent Irish history post-Celtic Tiger through contending with foundational national(ist) myths and a shifting present simultaneously on the world stage.

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[451] Lentin and McVeigh, *After Optimism?*, 31.

Africa Day at the Iveagh Gardens

Africa Day celebrates "the official day of the African Union and marks African unity"[452] worldwide. It has been celebrated in Ireland since 2007 and draws thousands of visitors nationwide with major celebrations in Dublin and Limerick. In 2010, there were ten days of educational and community festivals and events leading up to the celebration of Africa Day on May 25.[453]   However, the recent Irish celebration of Africa Day was not prompted by recognition of the growing and diverse African community *in* Ireland.[454] Rather, the impetus for the event supported primarily by Irish Aid came from the 2006 White Paper on Irish Aid. The White Paper proclaimed:

> Everyday you are helping the world's poorest people…The Irish people expect a stronger Ireland to help build a fairer world… Ireland is now a wealthy and creative country with a strong voice in the world. In 1981, Ireland's total aid budget was €22 million; in 2007 it will be €813 million. Now, more than ever, we are in a position to help.[455]

The website for Africa Day briefly mentions more recent connections between Ireland and Africa through "immigration and business" but the strong emphasis is on Ireland's relationship to Africa through histories of missionary and development work. These histories are central to contemporary Ireland's conception of its place in the world at large and the possible ripple effects of Irish generosity. Bill Rolston and Michael Shannon report that at the height of Irish missionary activity "one in every 120 Irish adults" were involved in some capacity.[456] Yet, Rolston, Shannon, and others also have commented on what Ronit Lentin and Robbie McVeigh term "the Black Babies' Phenomenon" in relation to Irish missionary work and the connection of this practice to contemporary racisms. This phenomenon refers to money being collected for "Black Babies" in Irish classrooms throughout the 20th century. This financial campaign driven by images of suffering African children was in fact "until recently a ubiquitous feature of Irish church propaganda."[457]   Lentin and McVeigh argue that this "phenomenon conditioned Irish Catholic people to regard Black people in a particular way- as passive victims who could only be saved by the good offices of the Catholic Church."[458] More recent hype in the Republic over the strain on resources and fraud committed by asylum

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[452] "Africa Day," accessed May 10, 2010, http://africaday.irishaid.org/home.aspx.
[453] Ibid.
[454] The 2006 census identified 35, 326 Africans living in the Republic with a total Irish population of 4,172, 013. **"**Persons usually resident and present in the State on Census Night, classified by nationality and age group," Central Statistics Office Ireland, http://www.cso.ie/statistics/nationalityagegroup.htm**,** (Retrieved May 21, 2010). The Office for the Minister of Integration cited the 2006 Census in identifying that Africans constitute 8% of the non-Irish nationals currently resident in Ireland. Office of the Minister for Integration, *Migration Nation: Statement on Integration Strategy and Diversity Management,* (Dublin: The Stationary Office, 2008), 21.
[455] Irish Aid, *A Summary of the Government White Paper on Irish Aid*, (Dublin: Irish Aid, 2006), 1, 4.
[456] Bill Rolston and Michael Shannon, *Encounters: How Racism Came to Ireland*, 65.
[457] Ronit Lentin and Robbie McVeigh, "Situated racisms: A theoretical introduction," in *Racism and Anti-Racism in Ireland,* (Belfast: Beyond the Pale, 2002), 21.
[458] Ibid, 21.

seekers, who were overwhelmingly portrayed as African by the media, continues to feed this perception of Africans as dependent and in continual crisis.

These attitudes become reflected in the rhetoric surrounding Africa Day. The 2010 Irish Aid "Call for Proposals to Mark Africa Day 2010" specified that proposals should:

- Provide an opportunity and a platform for increased knowledge and understanding of Africa, its history, development and culture.
- Promote positive images and messages of how Africa is addressing development challenges.
- Provide an opportunity and platforms for the general public to actively engage with Irish Aid and its work in Africa[459]

Given the growth of the African community in Ireland, this language is striking in its paternalism and emphasis on Africa as a distant place, rather than an active force at home. "Positive images" are required, as well as a direct address of "how Africa is addressing development challenges," as if Africa is being scolded like an inattentive and reckless child by the festival's organizers. The star of the event is clearly Irish Aid, as Africa Day must "provide an opportunity and platforms for the general public to actively engage with Irish Aid and its work in Africa." When I attended in 2009, the "Irish people" were constantly referenced at main stage and other events as benefactors of the celebration and Africa in general through their support of Irish Aid in taxes and donations. The celebration of this patronage thus dominated the rhetoric shared over loudspeakers, especially at the main stage.

Yet, many of the events and booths at Africa Day told a different story. Visitors to Africa Day 2009 were greeted at the gates by several past winners of "Miss Africa Ireland."[460] [Figure 6.1]. These young women posed for photo ops with various frequently condescending revelers [Figure 6.2].

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[459] Irish Aid, "Africa Day Community Event Grants 2010: Application Information and Funding Guidelines," 2, accessed May 10, 2010, http://www.irishaid.gov.ie/Uploads/Africa%20Day%20Community%20Event%20Grants%202010-Funding%20Guidelines.doc.

[460] Miss Africa Ireland dates from 2000 and was originally called "The Most Beautiful African Girl in Ireland Contest." Their website proclaims that "[t]his pageantry project conceptualised by Tritees Promotions" as "another initiative borne out of the need to give Diaspora Africans a sense of belonging in the Rep. of Ireland." Elsewhere on the website, the pageant is put in the context of global beauty pageants such as Miss World originating out of a history of U.S. events. Pageants are praised not only as entertainment but as events "which have made quite a number of girl-next-door around the globe, super stars" with Halle Berry cited as a prominent example. Miss Africa Ireland, "History," Accessed February 26, 2011, http://www.missafricaireland.com/pages/history.html.

Figure 6.1
"African Queen Ireland" Pageant Winner greeting visitors
to Africa Day 2009 at Iveagh Gardens, Dublin.
Photograph: Author.[461]

Figure 6.2
Several "African Queen Irelands" with a festival attendee.
Photograph: Author.

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[461] I failed to get the names of these women on the day of the event, but will be conducting follow-up interviews with organizers and participants who work with Miss Africa Ireland in summer 2011. These women will be identified during this process. A full list of winners and contestants in the 11 year history of the pageant can be found on the Miss Africa Ireland website. Miss Africa Ireland, "History."

Many African communities living in Ireland had tables representing their nation's cultures and there were live performances of traditional African dance and music mounted throughout the day [Figure 6.3 and Figure 6.4].   Complementing these offerings was a "Breakthrough Stage" where young Africans presented hip-hop performances [Figure 6.5] and a few tables of African community activist organizations, such as the Africa Centre. This table offered pamphlets and reports about life in Ireland, including the Africa Solidarity Centre's "Negative Politics, Positive Vision: Immigration and the 2004 Elections" by Bryan Fanning, Fidèle Mutwarasibo and Netha Chadamoyo, which was written prior to the passage of the Citizenship Referendum.

Figure 6.3
Uganda Association of Ireland.
Photograph: Author.

Figure 6.4
Igbo Community Ireland members with banner.
Photograph: Author.

Figure 6.5
Africa Day Breakthrough Stage.
Photograph: Author.

The juxtaposition of these groups' offerings with the intention behind Africa Day offers an extremely telling snapshot of the festivalization of Irish culture post-Celtic

Tiger as a site for negotiating issues of identity and social change. The strong presence of African communities from within Ireland obviously complicates the organizers' intention that the event position Irish Aid completely center stage. The activity on the Breakthrough Stage also clearly problematizes any idea that Africanness in Ireland can only be associated with discrete national traditions as the casually attired performers performed transnationally inflected hip-hop that did not directly address Ireland or African nations explicitly in the majority of the performances I watched.   Yet, despite each African group's pride in their performances and/or table, there was frequently the feeling that the groups were on display for the benefit of the attendees rather than also partaking in the festival as consumers themselves despite a high number of African/Black attendees. Nevertheless, for the most part, the Africans performed and the (white) festival attendees consumed, and these roles were not often reversed unless one counted the conversations staged between development experts about how best to fix Africa. This uneven power dynamic also emerged from the way in which African participants manning tables or in "traditional" dress were frequently asked to or offered to pose for photographs of themselves solo for the benefit of (a white) festival attendee who usually engaged in little conversation with the subject of their shot. A version of this is seen in Figure 6.2 where the man featured actually jumped into the shot uninvited without speaking to the women, leering for a laugh at a stranger's camera.

The visibility of African communities in Ireland is a matter of utmost priority to their various representatives present at Africa Day. However, this genuine desire for cultural visibility in an Irish public sphere must be juxtaposed with its co-optation by the paternalistic dramaturgy of Irish Aid's presentation of Africa Day. Africa Day's official language omits any reference to racism within Irish society, the politically contentious issue of African asylum seekers in Ireland or the controversies surrounding the Citizenship Referendum, which have disproportionately affected Africans living in Ireland. In fact, these topics are expressly forbidden by the festival organizers who demand "positive images" rather than frank discussion of issues affecting Africans on the continent or in Ireland. Instead, Africa and Africans are still a problem, but they are positioned as belonging to other spaces and supported by the benevolence of the Irish government and people as long as they are safely outside the borders of the Republic.

A profound irony exists in that a "stronger Ireland's" efforts to build a "fairer world" become a cause for celebration only when this impulse involves offshore initiatives in relation to Africa and Africans. This celebration covers over the egregious racism directed at Africans that characterized the lead-up to the Citizenship Referendum and continuing issues with racism in the Republic, as evidenced by the racially-motivated murder of 15-year old Toyosi Shotti-bey, a immigrant from Nigeria,[462] who lived in Tyrrelstown, County Dublin, in April 2010.[463] Tyrrelstown is "is one of the most racially

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[462] Toyosi and his family had lived in Ireland since he was five years old, and newspaper reports indicate that he tried to break up the quarrel that led to his death after two white Irish-born brothers, who were not identified, got into a quarrel with his group of friends after a girl in the group asked for a cigarette. The brothers then called them a series of racial slurs, got a knife from their home, and chased down the group. Ali Bracken, "Murdered just for being Black," *Tribune News,* April 4, 2010, April 10, 2010, https://www.tribune.ie/article/2010/apr/04/murdered-just-for-being-Black/,
[463] Kathy Sheridan, "'Toy thought he was safe here,'" *Irish Times,* Saturday, April 10, 2010, April 10, 2010, http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/weekend/2010/0410/1224268022776.html.

diverse areas in Ireland with some estimating that half of those living there were born outside Ireland…Two-thirds of the pupils who go to the local national school in Mulhuddart are non-Irish nationals and half of those are from Nigeria."[464] Toyosi's murder prompted pleas for a more frank conversation regarding race and racism in Ireland, especially in light of the recession and escalating tensions overall,[465] but this initiative is continually limited by lack of funding and support, not to mention the persisting reluctance of the Irish state to acknowledge and name Irish racisms. Thus, Africa Day's emphasis on development elsewhere colludes in burying issues concerning Africans in Ireland and the hypocrisy of the Irish state in relation to these problems, rendering African-Irish communities invisible even as they claim visibility through participation in the event.

　　　　Thus, the growth of Africa Day is a prime example of how the growth of internationally-focused or themed festivals in Ireland post-Celtic Tiger is not an immediate or simple indication of making space for new communities as part of Irish culture. Participation in these events does not ensure that immigrant communities share in even the broad parameters of the Good Friday Agreement, which pledged "to unite all the people who share the territory of the island of Ireland, in all the diversity of their identities and traditions."[466] This agreement intended to lay the groundwork for the future of political life on the island of Ireland and the nascent status of immigrant communities in Ireland at the time thus does not exclude them from its protections. However, many of the participants in Africa Day continue to be compromised in regards to their rights, safety, and ability to access national belonging.   Africa Day's strong links to Ireland's collusion in British Empire through missionary work is telling as the irony of this connection remains unengaged in relation to the issues of immigrant communities in Ireland today. Rather, the history of Ireland's involvement with development in the Global South, which is also a history of colonialism, is celebrated without an acknowledgment of its concomitant violence. This denial highlights the operation of palimpsestic time in the staging of Africa Day as colonial and missionary histories from the past collide with the challenges facing immigrant communities in the Republic today. These new histories are also tinged with violence and denial.

　　　　By capitalizing on new communities' desires for visibility, Africa Day and other festivals risk presenting progressive intercultural politics as simply a politics of recognition. This version of interculturalism as achieved through visibility and participation in public spheres does not seriously interrogate social inequality as it is maintained in racial and ethnic criteria for inclusion in the Irish nation. However, for the community groups participating in City Fusion, Africa Day or the Dún Laoghaire Festival of World Cultures, these events may be rare opportunities to occupy public space and should not be discounted. As May Joseph observes, "…citizenship is not organic and

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[464] Ronan McGreevy, "Sadness tinged with anger as community gathers to grieve," *Irish Times,* Monday, April 5, 2010, Accessed May 21, 2010, http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/ireland/2010/0405/1224267706986.html.
[465] Jennifer Hough, "Time to face reality of racism," *Irish Examiner,* Saturday, April 10, 2010, Accessed April 10, 2010, http://www.irishexaminer.com/ireland/kfkfgbsnkfkf/rss2/. Henry McDonald, "Ireland's immigrants return home as slump sharpens fears of racism," *The Observer,* Sunday, May 4, 2008, Accessed May 26, 2010, http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/may/04/ireland.immigration/print.
[466] Department of Foreign Affairs, "The Good Friday Agreement," April 10, 1998.

must be acquired through public and psychic participation."[467] Yet, the logic of citizenship as "public and psychic participation" frequently requires rather than requests these sorts of performances from new immigrants, whether through official events such as the festivals explored in this chapter or everyday life. Furthermore, the "recognition" of the presence of diverse communities within Ireland afforded through these events certainly does not automatically translate into the bundle of social and political rights understood as "citizenship." Joseph makes this clear in her discussion of citizenship and performance:

> Citizenship is an ambiguous process vulnerable to changes in government and policy. The citizen and its vehicle, citizenship, are unstable sites that mutually interact to forge local, often changing (even transitory) notions of who the citizen is, and the kind of citizenship possible at a given historical-political moment.[468]

The instability of post-Celtic Tiger citizenship was made abundantly clear by the 2004 Citizenship Referendum, which moved to insure stricter control over access to Irish citizenship by non-nationals. In this post-Referendum environment, recent immigrants bid for participation in the Irish public sphere with full understanding that new strictures on Irish citizenship in the Constitution were engineered in response to their presence. Hence, their "public and psychic participation" in Irish publics cannot be understood unequivocally as a bid for citizenship, or full political and social rights in addition to cultural recognition, since this may not be possible. Rather, this participation works towards murkier objectives that point up relative disparities between Irish/EU citizens and "others" in post-Celtic Tiger Ireland.

When it comes to issues of minority difference, rights, and citizenship, "recognition" operates as a fraught concept essential to unpacking the relationship between interculturalism, performance, and public festivals in post-Celtic Tiger Ireland. Nancy Fraser criticizes a broader turn towards "recognition of difference" as the mode through which diverse political campaigns, ranging from bids for national autonomy, multiculturalism, feminist and gay rights, and human rights, are currently fought. She credits this turn with a move away from claims for redistribution at a moment in which "an aggressively expanding capitalism is radically exacerbating economic inequality."[469] Her concern speaks directly to the conditions of a post-Celtic Tiger Irish economy which not only went from boom to bust, but widened economic inequality gaps at the height of its prosperity. In fact, the Republic of Ireland was named as the EU country with the highest rate of relative poverty in 2004 and continues to boast a higher than EU average of income inequality.[470] This all-around economic inequality now threatens new immigrant communities who post-boom may be perceived as far less valuable to the Irish nation. Bryan Fanning pointedly argues that when skilled and unskilled migrant workers were being actively solicited at the height of the Celtic Tiger economy: "Integration was

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[467] May Joseph, *Nomadic Identities: The Performance of Citizenship,* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 3.

[468] Ibid, 3.

[469] Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking Recognition," *New Left Review* 3 (May/June 2000): 108.

[470] Michael J. O'Sullivan, *Ireland and the Global Question,* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2006), 110-113.

understood as integration into the Irish economy."[471] If the Irish economy is faltering, integration not only becomes less of a priority, but the very presence of migrant workers with rising Irish unemployment and emigration rates renders itself suspect. For this reason, Fanning urges a closer look at the term "new Irish":

> The dualism promoted by the 2004 [Citizenship] Referendum was one between 'nationals' and 'non-nationals,' suggesting an empirical definition of the 'new Irish' restricted to those who become naturalised. One based on naturalisation would exclude the bulk of the immigrant 10 per cent or so portion of the population… The experience of other EU countries suggests that most immigrants from these countries are unlikely to seek Irish citizenship. They do not need to do so to obtain the employment and social benefits. They are likely to be prevented from obtaining dual citizenship under their own domestic legislation. It is likely that many migrants who remain here expect to go home…The medium term prognosis is a large non-citizen population enjoying many reciprocal social entitlements but lesser political rights than citizens…What is certain is that any national project of immigrant integration will have to come to terms with the inadequacies of citizenship as a badge of social membership and as a vehicle for social cohesion.[472]

Fanning warns of the creation of hierarchical levels of Irish belonging with Irish citizens at the top enjoying the greatest amount of political and social rights, EU members as well as long-term residents somewhere in the middle, and asylum seekers and undocumented workers occupying the lowest rung of the social ladder. In fact, Ireland's first Black mayor, Nigerian-born Rotimi Adebari was not an Irish citizen at the time of his election to mayor of Portaloise in June 2007.[473] Fanning therefore urges that Ireland come to terms with the "inadequacies of citizenship as a badge of social membership and as a vehicle of social cohesion." Alternative vehicles potentially include events such as the St. Patrick's Festival, which by including immigrant communities arguably initiates a revision of accepted views of Irish national belonging. However, the pursuit of alternative vehicles beyond citizenship as destination must recognize that hierarchies ranking "nationals" and "non-nationals" in the Republic will interrupt bids for social cohesion even in the very moment they seem to be achieved through events and programs like Africa Day and City Fusion.

Performing Recognition, Masking Racism(s)

Nevertheless, the arts in general and public performance in particular continue to be emphasized as a key process through which to accrue "cultural citizenship." As explored in Chapters Four and Five, groups ranging from the semi-professional to those serving asylum seekers in the context of NGO work turn to the community arts, and festival participation in particular, as a mode of participation and integration for new

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[471] Bryan Fanning, *New Guests of the Irish Nation,* 21.
[472] Ibid, 146.
[473] Ibid, 145.

communities in Ireland. Spirasi, a Dublin-based "humanitarian, intercultural, non-governmental organisation that works with asylum seekers, refugees and other disadvantaged migrant groups, with special concern for survivors of torture"[474] has used arts-based programs as part of its mission and participated in both City Fusion (2007-2008) and the Dún Laoghaire Festival of World Cultures (2007). A participant from Spirasi, Mbonsi Ncube, expressed the following after performing as a drummer and storyteller at the 2007 Dún Laoghaire Festival of World Cultures:

> For the first time I felt welcome, involved, belonging and part of the Irish family, and for one time I forgot the woes that bewilder me in my life. Yes I might have been adrift in a daydream, but the memories and effects of that reverie will live and be cherished by me…Allow me to be frank, previously when I was walking down the streets in the city and local people stared at me, do you really know what I thought was in their minds? 'What does this African want here?' I was wrong. I now know what would be in their minds. "That Bloke can hit the drums man."[475]

The Dún Laoghaire Festival of World Cultures began in 2001 as a bid to "excite, inform, and create awareness of the worth and potential of a multicultural society"[476] through acts of cultural citizenship staged in public space. Yet, as Aihwa Ong argues, "cultural citizenship is a dual process of self-making and being-made within webs of power linked to the nation-state and civil society."[477] Bids for cultural citizenship therefore cannot only claim "self-making" as their agenda, but must contend with the forces of "being made" that affect the reception of these efforts in public space.

A close-reading of Ncube's statement about his experience animates the pull between narratives of "self-making" and "being-made" that operates through the rhetoric of festival performance. This analysis also demonstrates the unstable political ground of trusting acts of cultural citizenship as performatives that accrue equal status for their performers over time. Ncube explicitly positions his performance in this festival as a transformative experience with the power to obviate the racism he has perceived in Irish society. In fact, he goes on to describe discrimination as a problem of perception by migrants, rather than violence perpetuated routinely against migrant communities in Ireland:

> To my fellow immigrants, sometimes it is just the way we perceive things that we think we are discriminated against. We should utilize the occasions like these to showcase what we can offer to the Irish community and they have provided the platform for that. I witnessed it first hand at Dun Loaghaire Festival of Cultures.[478]

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[474] "About Spirasi," Accessed May 11, 2010, http://www.spirasi.ie/about.shtml.
[475] "Spirasi at the World Festival of Cultures," Accessed October 9, 2008, http://www.spirasi.ie/festival-world-cultures-07/.
[476] Our Ethos," Accessed October 12, 2008, http://www.festivalofworldcultures.com/about/default2008.asp.
[477] Aihwa Ong, "Cultural citizenship as subject-making: Immigrants negotiate racial and cultural boundaries in the United States," in *Race, Identity, and Citizenship: A Reader,* 264.
[478] "Spirasi at the World Festival of Cultures."

This first-hand account captures the routine imbrication of narratives of personal empowerment with demonstrations of "worth" to the Irish state. This combination of self-initiative and utility characterizes the ideal migrant in post-Celtic Tiger Ireland. The ideal migrant in turn is able to dissolve discrimination (and racism) through an adjustment of their perspective. Hence, issues of discrimination and racism in contemporary Ireland lodge themselves with the arrival of migrants, rather than being revealed as deeply embedded within Irish histories and culture in a transnational context. Africa Day represents a prime example of an opportunity to reckon seriously with these histories, but that possibility is actively shut down by the organizers of the event.

Furthermore, Ncube's comments credits the Irish community, presumably composed of non-immigrants, as routinely providing "platforms" for new communities to demonstrate their offerings to the nation. This is an explicit reference to festivals and programs such as the Dún Laoghaire Festival of World Cultures, Africa Day, and the St. Patrick's Festival's City Fusion. The onus is then put on migrants to display themselves and gain validation from "the Irish community" because they cannot argue they are not being given opportunities to do so. However, these opportunities are made possible on the condition of explicit scripting of these festivals by the state and state agencies, as in the case of the St. Patrick's Festival and Africa Day. City Fusion runs through the central office of the St. Patrick's Festival and intends to showcase the outreach efforts of the festival organizers and sponsors whom include Fáilte Ireland (National Tourism Development Agency of the Republic of Ireland) and Dublin City, while Africa Day's primary purpose remains to serve as a carefully choreographed commercial for Irish Aid, which is contained within the Republic's Department of Foreign Affairs. Thus, crediting immigrants' opportunities to stage acts of cultural citizenship as representative of equal status within the "Irish community" at large fails to address the material and social disparities between the performing bodies that stage the "intercultural" performances and the audiences that attend these performances as unmarked bodies (i.e. white, Irish-born citizens or white tourists). This is not to say that individuals from minority ethnic groups do not attend these events as spectators and experience pride at seeing diverse nationalities represented in the festivals, but as Ncube makes clear above, performances or presentations by immigrant groups contain specific messages for the "Irish community" at large. The "Irish community" referenced by Ncube is implicitly white, Irish-born, and ultimately possesses the power to judge the performers as Africans with dubious motives or individuals with impressive musical skills.

Ncube narrates his transformation from "African" to individual as occurring in the moment of festival performance, but this transition is an internal psychological paradigm shift that is rooted in his own perceptions and conceals violence perpetuated against racialized bodies in Ireland today. In other words, not only is the presence of discrimination attributed to misunderstandings on the part of immigrants but the reaction that he imagines from audiences that wipes away their latent racism does not necessarily come to pass. This disjuncture is especially troubling considering statistics regarding incidences of verbal and physical violence against immigrants:

> a needs analysis survey conducted by the African Refugee Network published in
> October 1999 showed that 89.7 percent of the respondents experienced racism in

Ireland; racism included verbal abuse (68.75 percent), physical abuse (25 per cent), being arrested (6.25 per cent).   79 per cent of the respondents said they were refused service in pubs and nightclubs.[479]

In June 2009, the Irish increase in racist crimes was identified as the third highest in the EU, overall "between 2000 and 2007, reported racist crimes in Ireland increased by 31.3 per cent."[480] Furthermore, 54% of Sub-Saharan Africans living in Ireland reported discrimination due to their ethnic or minority status in the 2009 European Minorities and Discrimination Survey carried out by the European Union Fundamental Agency for Human Rights.[481] Thus, Ncube's theorization of "discrimination" as a matter of perception by "fellow immigrants" ultimately functions as an argument that erases racist violence and its continuing threat to communities of color, Travellers, and other immigrants in Ireland.

Yet, Ncube's loaded impression of the event succinctly captures the logic that lurks underneath the more utopic ideals of City Fusion and Africa Day. The opportunity to accrue cultural citizenship through performance is simultaneously offered as immediate recognition of minority belonging within post-Celtic Tiger Ireland and reassurance for the (white) Irish(-born) community that these "Africans" and others are indeed useful, that these blokes can even hit the drums.   However, this conceptual move strongly suggests that participating in or watching minority ethnic communities stage performances of interculturalism erases differences between individuals from minority ethnic groups and the white, Irish-born majority population of the Republic, as well as downplaying the threat of violence.   In this scenario, these groups can finally relate as individuals in the context of a large-scale public event. The relationship of patronage between the Irish state and immigrant and minority ethnic communities enacted through offering these events as a public platform for suitable displays of minority ethnic expression remains unacknowledged and uncontested.   Furthermore, the calls for participation contain the silent injunction that the migrants participating insure they have something significant to offer. This mute request carries ominous undertones considering the attacks on migrants as "scroungers" and worse in the Irish press since the mid-1990s. For example, *Irish Independent* columnist Colum Kenny wrote as recently as 2007: "Many Irish families knew emigration once, and are basically well disposed to migrants. But we also know the value of money. We do not want them on long-term welfare and would resent them asserting their power too forcefully. They should be grateful."[482] Ncube's rhetoric voices exactly the kind of gratefulness that Kenny encourages, a

[479] Quoted in Ronit Lentin and Robbie McVeigh, "Situated Racisms," *Racism and Anti-Racism in Ireland,* 3.

[480] Jamie Smyth, "Irish increase in racist crimes third highest in EU," *The Irish Times,* June 25, 2009, accessed May 20, 2010, http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/ireland/2009/0625/1224249509793.html.

[481] European Agency for Fundamental Human Rights, *EU MIDIS: European Minorities and Discrimination Survey: Main Results Report,* (Vienna: European Agency for Fundamental Human Rights, 2009), 6, accessed May 21, 2010, http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/eumidis_mainreport_conference-edition_en_.pdf.

[482] Colum Kenny, "Diversity is More Than a Black or White Issue," *The Sunday Independent,* Sunday, March 25, 2007, accessed September 29, 2008, http://www.lexisnexis.com/us/lnacademic/search/homesubmitForm.do.

gratefulness that certainly forecloses the exertion of any kind of critique of Irish society by the immigrants themselves, especially when it comes to calling out racism.

Therefore, in the absence of force, gratefulness becomes the unquestioned and required mode of engagement for minority ethnic migrant communities in the post-Celtic Tiger Republic. Yet, Kenny's comments do not recognize that an Irish injunction to gratefulness at all costs carries its own inappropriate force, considering high levels of documented racism, the inefficiency of the asylum process, and other serious issues affecting immigrant communities. To be grateful and positive at all costs requires a denial of structural issues of racism and inequality, not to mention a repression of personal experience that may be far from uniformly positive. Speaking about the UK, Sara Ahmed critiques demands of happiness from postcolonial "melancholic migrants" as co-constituive of a forced acceptance of "empire as the gift of happiness, which might involve an implicit injunction to forget or not remember the violence of colonial rule."[483] Hence, the "social obligation to be happy *about* imperial histories accrues an affective force."[484] In the Republic, this context is considerably more complicated as Ireland was both a colonized nation and a contributor to Britain's imperial projects in India, Africa, and the West Indies through military, Civil Service, and missionary work. However, Africa Day serves as a clear example of the dynamic that Ahmed describes. African communities in the Republic ostensibly celebrate imperial histories through participating in this event due to the fact that this context is not acknowledge or discussed. This is not to say that Irish contributions through education and aid to Africa are uniformly negative, but the silence of Irish Aid on colonial histories mirrors the event's silences about contemporary racism and violence in the Republic towards African communities. Nevertheless, African immigrants may be among the most visible in post-Celtic Tiger Ireland in public debate but they are in fact outnumbered by the Asian communities and migrants from throughout the EU who do not uniformly share in (post)colonial histories. Yet, Ireland's overdetermined context as both colonized and colonizer has continued to inflect contemporary debates about inter/multiculturalism. Thus, forceful demands of gratefulness (and happiness) from migrants shuts down Ireland's own conflicted memories of melancholic migrancy, experiences in/of British Empire which range from oppression to collusion, and the more recent trauma of conflict in the North. This claim of Irish historical amnesia can seem paradoxical as these histories are frequently invoked in name in the very moment they are denied in practice.

Therefore, paying attention to the emotional demands required of migrants represents another avenue through which to investigate this paradox. Ncube urges his fellow immigrants to regard their unhappiness as their own creation in order to be finally seen by the Irish people. As Ahmed further observes, "to see happily is not to see violence, asymmetry or force."[485] The blind spots engendered in Ncube's statements encourage the concealment of violence as a by-product of a happy Irish interculturalism that positions acts of cultural citizenship performed in the public sphere as antidotes to racism and racialized violence. Hence, Ahmed concludes, "happiness is still used as a technology of citizenship, as a way of binding migrants to a national ideal. To be bound

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[483] Sara Ahmed, *The Promise of Happiness,* 131.
[484] Ibid, 130.
[485] Ibid, 132.

to happiness is to be bound *by* what has already been established as good. We need...an approach that can account for how such goods are established in the first place."[486] The national ideal that Ncube implicitly references through his comments is the Ireland of a thousand welcomes, a nation of emigrants who likewise welcome migrants with tolerance and understanding.   This national ideal, however, has not been borne out post-Celtic Tiger.   Its promise remains compelling, and it is perhaps in the blush of events such as Ncube's performance in the DLR Festival of World Cultures that this national ideal becomes most tangible through the affective force of the event.

Ultimately, Ireland's desire for "happy" and industrious migrants conceals its own traumatic history of emigration that was not universally characterized by the legality, industriousness or happiness of Irish emigrants. No post-Celtic Tiger event demonstrates this melancholic dynamic as powerfully as the revamped Dublin St. Patrick's Day Festival. The ostentatious reclamation of this holiday by the Government of Ireland and Bord Failté from Irish emigrants in the diaspora through the St. Patrick's Festival seeks to address the trauma of emigration specifically. The Republic's brief respite from being known as a nation of emigrants[487] signaled for many a new chapter in Irish history and a banishment of the past. Thus while the Republic has more and more openly embraced the diaspora as part of Ireland's living history in recent years, the Celtic Tiger represented an opportunity to laud the accomplishments of Irish people from within the nation rather than scattered across the globe.   Therefore, the transformation of this emigrant-dominated holiday into an Irish national festival directly confronted ghosts of emigration and poverty in a spirit of victory. However, City Fusion's performance in this festival marks the instability of claims to a newfound cohesion within a wealthy Irish state of net-migration. City Fusion's performance in the Festival Parade signals a shift in meanings of the "global Irish," from connoting the Irish in diaspora to referring to post-Celtic Tiger's deepening insertion into global financial markets and the creation of an expanded diasporic public sphere of immigrants within the Republic. The climactic final unraveling of the Celtic Tiger's early promise forms the backdrop to City Fusion's evolution between 2007-2011, and minority ethnic participants' fragile representations of an ever-shifting post-Celtic Tiger Ireland stage the contradictions of this period of upheaval. The St. Patrick's Festival was founded as a triumphant proclamation to the global (Irish) community that Ireland had defeated the demons of its past: poverty, emigration, sectarianism and violence.   Yet, more than 15 years after its founding, these supposedly banished histories remain just beneath the surface of March 17th.

Wherever Green is Worn

We know their dream; enough
To know they dreamed and are dead;
And what if excess of love
Bewildered them till they died?

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[486] Ibid, 133.

[487] Migration trends in Ireland have recently reversed as emigration rates rose 40% in 2009 overtaking rates of inward-migration for the first time since 1995. Ruadhán MacCormaic, "More emigrating from Ireland than immigrating for first time in fourteen years," *Irish Times,* Wednesday, September 23, 2009, Accessed May 26, 2010, http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/finance/2009/0923/1224255063011.html.

I write it out in a verse -
MacDonagh and MacBride
And Connolly and Pearse
Now and in time to be,
Wherever green is worn,
Are changed, changed utterly:
A terrible beauty is born.

"Easter 1916," W.B. Yeats[488]

"A myriad of colours, textures, ideas, voices and energy make a parade.
They also make a nation."

Big Bang: City Fusion 2008[489]

In "Easter 1916," W.B. Yeats famously revised the meaning of green for the Irish transnationally ("wherever green is worn") through the perspective of Easter Rising and its fallen nationalist heroes. By 2009, the wearing of the green no longer marks an occasion for mourning and reflection on the founding events of the modern Irish nation as Yeats suggests, but a global entrepreneurial opportunity, especially on the 17th of March. However, perhaps contrary to expectations, St. Patrick's Day has not always been a major event in the Republic of Ireland.

Rather, the Dublin St. Patrick's Festival dates from 1996, when the Government recognized that it was "a strange fact of life that the celebrations held in Ireland for St. Patrick's Day prior to 1996 paled in comparison to those held abroad, especially when one considers what an ideal opportunity the day represented to showcase Ireland and Dublin to the world."[490] The feast of St. Patrick has been listed in the Irish legal calendar since approximately 1607, with celebrations documented from the 17th century onwards. Celebrations of St. Patrick's Day in Ireland remained marked by difference for the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy and working-class Irish Catholic communities up through the beginning of the 20th century. In 1903, St. Patrick's Day became a national holiday and remained so after the formation of the Irish Free State. Yet, despite an international radio address from the Taioseach every year on St. Patrick's Day post-independence, there was no official public celebration of St. Patrick's Day, beyond a "state procession of its armed forces,"[491] in the new Republic until the 1950s. At this time, "the observance of St. Patrick's Day was revolutionized by the National Agricultural and Industrial Development Association's (NAIDA) decision to annually stage an industrial pageant in Dublin…to showcase Irish produce and industry, and thus to encourage people to 'buy

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[488] William Butler Yeats, "Easter 1916," *Yeats's Poetry, Drama and Prose,* 73.

[489] *Big Bang: City Fusion 2008,* dir. Raven Aflakete and Greg O'Brien. Dublin: St. Patrick's Festival, 2008.

[490] St. Patrick's Festival, "History."

[491] Mike Cronin and David Adair, *The Wearing of the Green: A history of St. Patrick's Day,* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 152.

Irish.'"[492] This move was part of Ireland's overall plan for economic expansion and furthermore "drew unashamedly on the successful North American model of parading on St. Patrick's Day.[493] Dublin Tourism took over the parade in 1970 and this reimagining was "conceived specifically as an event to boost income from tourism, and as a way of encouraging Americans to travel to Ireland."[494] In fact, Irish-Americans were not only targeted as potential spectators for the event, but as providers of the parade's main musical entertainment. The parade organizers invited "American bands, drum majorettes and cheerleaders," anticipating a great deal of revenue from their costs "flying to Ireland, staying in hotels and guest houses, as well as eating and drinking."[495] Again, the parade was modeled on Irish-American celebrations with primarily financial motives as inspiration. This incarnation of the parade lost steam over the years and the initially jubilant atmosphere of the Celtic Tiger provided a prime opportunity to rebrand St. Patrick's Day for a "new" Ireland. For the first time in the history of the modern state, parallels to American festivities would be strictly avoided in conceptions of the event.

The reclamation of St. Patrick's Day by the "Irish people" through the 1995 rebranding of the St. Patrick's Festival builds on the energy of the Celtic Tiger period and Ireland's attempted further integration into the European Union through cultural and economic policies. The St. Patrick's Festival became in Holly Maple's words, "a *locus operandi* for manifestations of communal anxiety from a society undergoing rapid social change."[496] By 2010, the Festival comfortably billed itself as featuring "the greatest St. Patrick's Day Parade in the world."[497]

The showcasing of Ireland to the "world" post-1996 positions the success of the Tiger as a prerequisite to allowing Dublin and Ireland to represent themselves to the international community through St. Patrick's Day. The Festival recognizes St. Patrick's Day as first and foremost an emigrant holiday when "the talents and achievements of Irish people on many national and world stages"[498] can be celebrated, and furthermore, "as the one national holiday that is celebrated in more countries around the world than any other."[499] However, while St. Patrick's Day may be the day when "everybody wants to be Irish" and can be through the institutionalization of the holiday around the world, the St. Patrick's *Festival* seeks to return the day to the Irish people, who now become "'owners' of the festival."[500] This entrepreneurial language matches the spirit of the height of the Celtic Tiger, but the return of St. Patrick's Day to Ireland post-boom also reclaims a legacy that explicitly references the trauma of emigration, dislocation and poverty. It is perhaps not only an accident of poetic fate that the Festival launched in 1996, the same year that the Republic reached its "migration 'turning point,' making it

[492] Ibid, 152.

[493] Ibid, 152.

[494] Ibid, 184.

[495] Ibid, 185.

[496] Holly Maples, "Parading Multicultural Ireland: Identity Politics and National Agendas in the 2007 St. Patrick's Festival," in *Crossroads: Performance Studies and Irish Culture,* 241.

[497] St. Patrick's Festival, "The Extraordinary World of St. Patrick's Festival Parade 2010," Press Release, March 2010.

[498] Ibid.

[499] Ibid.

[500] Ibid.

the last EU Member State to become a country of net immigration."[501] Thus, the reclamation of this holiday marks the shift away from Ireland as a nation of emigrants with a history of poverty and trauma towards a fresh start where the people of the nation can now be accommodated within its own borders rather than forced to emigrate. Mike Cronin and Daryl Adair argue that the Festival's

> approach is a reaction to, and in some ways defiance of, the diaspora-based St. Patrick's celebrations that have claimed virtual 'ownership' of the festivities abroad…In breaking away from the North American style of celebration, Dublin has not only challenged the veracity of 'foreign' forms of observation, it has suggested 'authentic' local alternatives.[502]

The creation of the Festival is not a direct rejection of emigrant legacies and communities, but it does make a strong claim to the origins of the holiday that challenges the narrative of St. Patrick's Day as first and foremost an emigrant holiday. This claim to St. Patrick's Day also functions as a purging of the pain of emigrant histories, as the Republic celebrates its ability to retain Irish born-nationals for its own gain. Furthermore, "authentic" Irishness undergoes a revision through the Festival's rejection of St. Patrick's Day clichés such as leprechauns, an overrepresentation of Irish-American bands, and overt celebrations of drunkenness.   City Fusion also functions as a key component of the Festival's attempted revisions to clichés of Irish authenticity through performance.

The symbolic return of St. Patrick's Day positions Ireland and Irishness as robust, cosmopolitan, and in control. Thus, the Festival presents a "…mixture of carnival, pageants, and parade events from a variety of other traditions, including Caribbean, Brazilian, and African" adding "…new life to the marching figures found in the US holiday."[503] The St. Patrick's Festival Parade features a procession of the Army No. 1 Band, the Reserve Defence Forces Colour Party, the band of the An Garda Síochána, the Garda Mounted Unit and Dog Unit, the Lord Mayor of Dublin in the state coach, Irish as well as international bands and "creative pageantry"[504] mounted by street theatre groups from Ireland and beyond.[505] The pageant groups are primarily Irish, and the Festival grants special consideration to proposals for participation which demonstrate "involvement and enthusiasm of youth and community groups" while also executing "a creative, high-quality pageant/street theatre performance which is entertaining and has high production values."[506] However, community, volunteer, and professional participants do not just come from within Ireland, but from abroad as well, confusing the operation of the local and the global through this event. The emphasis is thus no longer on the Irish abroad, but who the Irish can invite home to the nation and who they can select to represent the changing face of their nation from within its borders. Finally,

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[501] Martin Ruhs, "Ireland: From Rapid Immigration to Recession."
[502] Cronin and Adair, 242.
[503] Holly Maples, 239.
[504] St. Patrick's Festival, "St. Patrick's Festival 2010: Pageant Application," accessed May 23, 2010, http://www.stpatricksfestival.ie/downloads/2010Pageant-application-open-call.pdf.
[505] Parade lineup quoted from the 2010 St. Patrick's Festival press release.
[506] Ibid.

much like Africa Day's emphasis on the "positive," the St. Patrick Festival Parade requires that its pageants be "celebratory," seemingly eschewing darker themes.[507]

The St. Patrick's Festival thus attempts present an Ireland that is "changed utterly" to domestic and global audiences and refuses explicitly to deliver on Irish stereotypes. Maples, a 2007 City Fusion facilitator who has also written about her experience, credits the parade with "presenting more abstract images of the nation in the Festival Pageant, allowing performances to acknowledge and subvert notions of 'Staged Irishry' during the event."[508] The Festival participates in the "wearing of the green" as a business opportunity, as the week of events is recognized as the "officially the…start of the tourist season."[509] Yet, the Festival's perhaps more important function is a revision of Irishness on the global stage through events that combine local community and voluntary participation with professional artistry. This emphasis on a collective re-invention of Irishness positions authenticity as the product of collaboration between all levels of Irish society. In many ways, this working model continues the aims of the Irish Literary Revival, which attempted to create a "national" audience through its literature, drama and public events. Revivalist George Russell contended that: "…to create an Ireland in the heart is the province of a national literature. Other arts would add to this ideal hereafter, and social and political life must in the end be in harmony."[510] According to Russell's vision, the arts are at the center of the construction of Ireland's national community, and essential for social and political harmony. The new emphasis on the creation of art for the parade by community and professional groups reinvents this impulse for post-Celtic Tiger Ireland and even improves upon Revival models of democratic co-creation of the nation by valuing the contributions of non-artists to the arts and thus social and political harmony. In her recent study of Irish modernism, audience and spectacle, Paige Reynolds emphasizes that events from the period of the Irish Literary Revival from productions of plays to public protests also honor and create complex stagings of Irish national identity. She writes:

> These events acknowledged that the Irish national community is composed of diverse individuals and oppositional publics, even as they powerfully worked to encourage the fantasy of a homogenous nation. This brand of drama and spectacle also permitted audiences to express resistance to and complicity with the messages transmitted.[511]

The St. Patrick's Festival works from a similar model of unity through diversity by creating a laboratory for reinvention of the nation from the bottom up while also carefully engineering the event as a tourist attraction for international audiences with certain expectations of Irishness. City Fusion's work within the Festival at large provides a key opportunity for investigating how oppositional publics negotiate this work of creating the post-Celtic Tiger nation through civic artistic events. This examination outlines the

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[507] St. Patrick's Festival, "St. Patrick's Festival 2010: Pageant Application."

[508] Maples, 240.

[509] Norma Leen, in discussion with the author.

[510] Quoted in Paige Reynolds, *Modernism, Drama and the Audience for Irish Spectacle,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 12.

[511] Ibid, 33.

difficulty of creating pockets of resistance through this event and what complicity with the meaning of the St. Patrick's Festival means in action.

Fusion in the Post-Celtic Tiger City

Figure 6.6
The author performing with the Lithuanian Association in City Fusion's
"Conference of the Birds" for Dublin's 2009 St. Patrick's Day Parade.
Christ Church looms in the upper right corner.
Photograph: Raven Aflakete.

March 17, 2009. It is a bright and warm day, unusual for Dublin at this time of year, or indeed ever. City Centre is packed. The parade unfolding before garishly attired parade watchers is the 14th annual grand finale to the St. Patrick's Festival, a six day extravaganza dating from 1996 celebrating Ireland's favorite saint, local communities and a booming national tourist industry. I am a volunteer facilitator and artist for City Fusion, the St. Patrick Festival's intercultural performance project [Figure 6.6]. Today, I am leading the Lithuanian Association in the parade for our 2009 presentation "The Conference of the Birds," based on Persian Sufi poet Farud ud-Din Attar's book of poems.

City Fusion's intercultural performance spectacular proceeding full pace through the Dublin streets seeks to fulfill the punchline of this story in the flesh. This allegorical set of poems tells the story of a diverse group of birds who set out to find their lord and king, the "Simorgh." After a long and arduous journey, only thirty birds survive their

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journey. When these survivors finally come face to face with who they believe to be the Simorgh, he shares a surprising message with them:

> "I am a mirror set before your eyes,
> And all who come before my splendor see
> Themselves, their own unique reality;
> You came as thirty birds and therefore saw
> These selfsame thirty birds, not less nor more;
> If you had come as forty, fifty-here
> An answering forty, fifty would appear;
> Though you have struggled, wandered, travelled far,
> It is yourselves you see and what you are…
>
> And since you came as thirty birds, you see
> These thirty birds when you discover Me." (ud-Din Attar 219)

Their lord and king, therefore, is not located outside themselves but in each other, and becomes manifested only through the work of the journey that they have taken together. For the "Simorgh," the god that the birds seek from the beginning, literally translates into thirty birds.

City Fusion's "Conference of the Birds" insists that diversity must be engaged as an issue integral to the identity of all who live in the Irish nation. If those 30 birds ultimately discover each other as the face of the Simorgh, then City Fusion suggests that those living in the Irish nation should discover each other as they are *now* rather than search for a non-existent ideal as the true "face" of Irishness post-Celtic Tiger. In other words, Irishness no longer immediately translates into white and Catholic, or at least Christian, but has become a far more complex identity formation staged by those performing with City Fusion on Ireland's national holiday for national and international audiences.

The creation of City Fusion by the St. Patrick's Festival assigns this group the task of officially representing multi/intercultural post-Celtic Tiger Ireland from within the nation. Their performance charge is far different from the other international groups invited to Dublin for the parade, and different again from the official ceremonial state representatives who lead off the parade. As an official group representing unofficial changes to Irish identities and supported financially by Dublin City Council, City Fusion performs Ireland in transition, bringing to life the "future legend(s)" of Dublin and the Republic, in the words of the 2007 documentary following the project's first year.[512] The process of mounting a parade performance with the use of "colours, textures, ideas, voices and energy" is directly compared by the organizers to making a "nation," thus implying that City's Fusion work is nation-building.[513] They elaborate:

> Northside Studio [where the pageant is rehearsed and built] became a microcosm
> of the city itself where Irish, African, Asian, Eastern European, and other new

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[512] *Future Legend.* Dir. Raven Aflakete and Greg O'Brien. Dublin: St. Patrick's Festival, 2007.
[513] *Big Bang.*

communities came to manifest in color, sound and dance the desire to live in a society that embraces diversity and aspires to something greater than the sum of its parts.[514]

This explanation of City Fusion's work strongly positions it as a project about tactics of claiming cultural citizenship and theorizing Irish interculturalism through action. By arguing that City Fusion represents a "microcosm" of Dublin, the project claims that it represents not only the diversity of Dublin but its reality. Thus, City Fusion makes an argument that it is celebrating what is unrecognized and/or marginalized in public space. After all, dancing a "desire" to live in a society that embraces diversity implies that this society still needs to be created. The act of dancing this desire strongly implies faith that City Fusion's performative moment can add momentum to a project of nation-building post-Celtic Tiger that dramatically reconfigures the limits of Irishness.

From its inception, City Fusion intended to build on its experiences from year to year and strengthen bonds between migrant and Irish-born communities through repeated collaboration. However, City Fusion has experienced large changes in lineup from year to year and only four groups, the Lithuanian Association, Stanhope St. Secondary School, the Trinity Afro Caribbean Society and Ballyfermot Theatre Workshop have participated in every year of the project, albeit with considerable turnovers in membership. These constant changes to the composition of City Fusion highlight the difficulties of identifying and sustaining connections with migrant groups to mutual benefit. Furthermore, the fluctuations in City Fusion's membership reflect the shifting conditions within migrant communities due to changes in employment opportunities, relocation, cuts in funding for migrant support/programs or intercultural initiatives, and for some, changes to the status of their asylum applications. Spirasi, for example, had participated for the first two years of the project but withdrew from 2009 on due to cuts in their funding for participation in intercultural arts programs. Nevertheless, the constantly changing roster of City Fusion communicates the sheer number of migrant communities and organizations within Dublin. Pageant director Bloomer reports turning away groups year after year who want to participate in the project due to spatial and funding limitations.[515]

City Fusion thus constitutes a direct response to social change by showcasing collaborations between Irish-born and migrant communities as a spectacular pageant at the center of the annual Festival Parade. City Fusion's aims include:

- To facilitate integration and communication between communities from diverse cultural backgrounds and different parts of Dublin city;
- To celebrate diversity and to reflect the multi-cultural nature of Dublin;
- To create a connection with Dublin for the communities involved.[516]

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[514] Ibid.
[515] In discussion with the author.
[516] St. Patrick's Festival, *City Fusion 2009: Info Booklet*, (Dublin: St. Patrick's Festival, 2009) 1. This was only given to participants in the project and not available publicly.

City Fusion's aims are connection, communication, and celebration. The project's invocation of divided "communities" refers to minority ethnic groups as well as the inclusion of groups from marginalized neighborhoods in Dublin City Centre. Racial and ethnic difference operate at the center of City Fusion's spectacular display in the parade, yet the project also draws in participants based on class and economic disparities by involving schools located in less affluent neighborhoods in Dublin, as well as long-term unemployed participants in an employment scheme arts program, Ballyfermot Theatre Workshop.[517] Hence, City Fusion's participants are chosen not only to reflect the "multi-cultural" nature of Dublin in terms of racial and ethnic differences but to make Dublin's perhaps less affluent areas also known to each other through participation in the parade. With the exception of the designers, facilitators, and professional artists, middle-class Irish-born Dublin is not heavily represented in the parade, except perhaps by the Trinity (College) Afro-Caribbean Society and dance theatre company Coiscéim's teen dance troupe, Creative Steps, who participated in 2008 and 2009.   Hence, City Fusion's performance could be viewed as a powerful counter-narrative to the excesses and unrest of the Celtic Tiger as its efforts take seriously the contributions of minority ethnic and lower income communities. These, after all, are the same communities most disproportionately affected from the Tiger's fall-out by racism, increasing income disparity, rising poverty rates especially among children, and mounting unemployment.[518]

Yet, the "fusion" in the project's title contains a great deal of ambivalence, which is reflected in the dramaturgy of the pageant and its process year after year. The term "fusion" carries a load of connotations that map onto varying definitions in the sciences, arts, and politics.   According to the Oxford English Dictionary, fusion can be "the action or operation of fusing or rendering fluid by heat…a fused mass…the coalition (of parties or factions)" or even "music in which elements of more than one popular style are combined."[519] These varying definitions of fusion suspend its meaning somewhere between connoting a total absorption of elements into one new "fused mass" or allowing those elements to maintain some differentiation through the juxtaposition of musical tropes or identifiable "parties" within "coalitions." The image of heat in the first definition certainly proves apt in describing the post-Celtic Tiger environment of massive social upheaval and a new descent into economic strife.   City Fusion aims to respond to that heat with tools of connection, communication and celebration shared between diverse communities, but does its work intend to result in a fused mass of participants or a coalition of parties and factions who maintain their own autonomy?   The tension between these two options embodies City Fusion's growing pains over the years and animates once more major debates around the meaning of interculturalism, integration, and community in post-Celtic Tiger Ireland.

City Fusion's aims remain divided between rhetorics of fusion, individuality, multiculturalism, interculturalism, and diversity. City Fusion's slide between the language of "inter-" and "multi-" cultural in descriptions of the projects' goals

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[517] The school-age participants come from a variety of racial and ethnic backgrounds, and are certainly not all Irish-born, but Ballyfermot's participants are lifelong Dublin residents, mostly older and all white.
[518] O'Toole, 96.
[519] Oxford English Dictionary, "Fusion," accessed May 24, 2010, http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50091229?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=fusion&first=1&max_to_show=10.

particularly illustrates the complicated and frequently ambivalent interactions that arise year after year.   Maples offers:

> The multicultural concept behind the City Fusion project [in 2007] highlighted the mix of cultures involved without offering any distinction among the cultures themselves. As a result, the Festival presented abstract images of cultures through an aesthetic largely based on notions of interculturalism which directly contradicted the primary motivation of many of the immigrant community groups, who desired to highlight the uniqueness of their culture rather than fuse with others in an amalgamated whole.[520]

Maples' own slippage between the multi- and intercultural here locates the concept of multiculturalism in describing the mechanics of City Fusion (i.e. "mix of cultures involved"), while interculturalism becomes shorthand for what City Fusion *does* (i.e. "fuse with others in an amalgamated whole.") Her use of these terms maps onto their multiple critical genealogies in the social sciences and cultural studies where the language of "multi-cultural" frequently implies a layering of separate and discrete diversities, while "inter-cultural" suggests interaction and mixture. As has been discussed throughout the dissertation, "intercultural" stands out as the post-Celtic Tiger term of choice for the state, NGOs, and community groups.   This move positions the possibilities of a new Irish interculturalism against the perceived failures of "multiculturalism" in other European contexts, such as the UK, France, and Germany.   If multiculturalism has resulted in political extremism/unrest, ghettoization of minority ethnic communities, and a lack of national pride within immigrant communities elsewhere, the Republic remains convinced of the potential success of its brand of interculturalism, which insists on measures like the mainstreaming of services, language proficiency and active citizenship defined as implying "duties as well as rights and that everyone has both a responsibility to contribute fully to society in Ireland, through an active and continuing engagement."[521] City Fusion's efforts play directly, for example, into the Active Citizenship campaign addressed elsewhere in this dissertation, which stresses participation in community and voluntary activities as a mode of empowerment dependent on the initiative of the individual. Yet, the delicate interpersonal encounters that comprise City Fusion's process illuminate how this process of negotiation at the community or individual level is nonetheless deeply embedded in post-Celtic Tiger discourses of nationalism, racism and the state that frequently dwarf individual (and even group) intentions and efforts.

In 2010, City Fusion promised that its participants would "come together as one body,"[522] implying their work erases striations of race, ethnicity, class, religion and gender amongst participants in order to successfully perform a post-identity Irish nation. This view of the project claims that City Fusion's work can transcend the particular and situated contributions of individual participants and groups to create something new and without prior referents that can be called post-Celtic Tiger interculturalism. However,

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[520] Maples, 243.
[521] Taskforce on Active Citizenship, *Report of the Taskforce on Active Citizenship,* March 2007, 2.
[522] St. Patrick's Festival, "City Fusion 2010."

Maples notes: "While Dublin City Council and City Fusion concentrated on the merging of cultures reflecting the 'New Irish identity' of Dublin in the 2000s, many of the communities themselves were more concerned with presenting their own distinct national heritage to the public."[523] Project coordinator Leen and director Bloomer indeed claim that City Fusion's intention remains to create a piece of art that transcends national identities in favor of, in Leen's words, "…representing more where they are living in Ireland than where they've come from and what their actual tradition is in its pure form."[524] Bloomer explains that for City Fusion: "…you're trying to make a work of art on a particular theme which is proscribed, taking the talents of the personalities you're working with and the culture that you're working with…So that could be like one essence of somebody, what they're interested in, the personality."[525] She names both individuals and "cultures" as influences for the project, and characterizes City Fusion's overall approach as moving between the scale of the individual and their "culture" for inspiration and raw material. Bloomer's stated technique of picking and choosing "essences" from participants denies operations of power in these exchanges and presumes that disaggregating inspiration from its source results in nullification of its origins or intended meaning. Maples describes this process of transforming sources as pitting a "new Irish identity" against other national heritages. Yet, it must be presumed that these "other national heritages" represent major contributions to a "new Irish identity." Nevertheless, a binary between the "new Irish identity" and other "national heritages" emerges consistently in Bloomer and Leen's descriptions of City Fusion's challenges over the years. Immigrants are represented as stubbornly clinging to traditional identities, while the Irish-born festival organizers struggle to coach a new post-Celtic Tiger Ireland into being through the reluctant contributions of their participants which are the necessary raw material for this transformation. For Maples, the recalcitrance of some City Fusion participants in yielding up national signifiers in the parade functions as a mode of resistance which "exemplifies the constant negotiations needed for the representation of collective identity among communities in the performance of multicultural Ireland in the St. Patrick's Festival."[526] Unfortunately, City Fusion's fetishization of "essences" frequently shuts down opportunities for negotiation in favor of prioritizing spectacle over situatedness.

Ultimately, in this battle to define interculturalism in post-Celtic Tiger Ireland, "fusion" becomes short-hand for the selected instrumentalization of desirable attributes of other cultures and this has led on occasion to blatant disregard for participants' requests regarding how their tradition must be respected in order to be performed. In 2009, the men of NOWAICRE, the Cameroonian group, performed a masquerade dance that had its roots in fertility rituals. The dancers communicated to the Festival organizers that they did not want their costumes altered for the parade design due to the fact that they were sacred, and furthermore, the dancer's identities could not be known, and women were not permitted to touch the costumes as it would result in contamination and compromise the men's fertility. The design team was frustrated by these requirements, but allowed the

[523] Maples, 239.
[524] Leen, in discussion with author.
[525] Muirne Bloomer (City Fusion Pageant Director 2008-2011), in discussion with author.
[526] Maples, 247.

group to participate because their costumes had feathers, and this matched the 2009 theme of "Conference of the Birds" [Figure 6.7]. However, the costumes had to be labeled in order to be stored in one place for the parade and handled by the mixed gender design team thus violating the codes of secrecy and non-pollution that accompanied this dance for the Cameroonian performers. Bloomer describes this series of negotiations between NOWAICRE and City Fusion thus:

> …we had about five meetings with them and the leaders of the group, and they were very insistent that this masquerade could not be touched. Sabine wanted, you know the bird theme, beaks and stuff, and it took a lot of negotiation to find out how. They were so rich that we really wanted them to participate, and then it seemed like we brokered this, some of the younger members of the group would then work with us, and we'd design costumes for [them]. And then it still was an issue like, where would we use the masquerade. And then because of the nature of the story, and that whole knowledge and spirituality thing, we were like, eureka, this masquerade really belongs there.[527]

The conditions for NOWAICRE's participation are therefore not only turning over their costumes to the festival organizers, but allowing the younger members of the group to be designed "for" by the City Fusion team. This process of being designed "for" represents the desire of City Fusion to literally refashion intercultural post-Celtic Tiger Ireland from the ground up. However, this process necessitates each group yielding up control to the City Fusion team who samples the raw material of each group's background. When presented with a performance option that requires contextualization and an alternative mode of respect that necessitates physical distance from those not rooted in the tradition, the team expresses indignation and ultimately violates the group's request for privacy and anonymity because the structures of the pageant's organization (i.e. costume storage) cannot truly accommodate "difference," even at a purely organizational level. NOWAICRE's request becomes positioned as unreasonable and against the intentions of the "fusion" at the heart of City Fusion, rather than being used as an opportunity for the organizers to reflect on the real challenges of the smooth and eclectic fusion they desire, at least at the level of the aesthetic. The costumes designed for the younger members of NOWAICRE seal the deal for City Fusion to allow the group to participate, because in their eyes, these young people who can be flexible with their "tradition" represent the future of intercultural Ireland while their fathers represent a past to be humored and eventually forgotten. However, even the older male dancers eventually acquiesce and add the Republic of Cameroon's national bird to their headpieces to come more in line with Dargent's design.

Finally, in order to reflect "new Irish identity" through City Fusion, other national heritages must be altered, disguised and hidden, emerging only as essences in the context of the overall final presentation. This is done in the service of crafting a new Irish nationalism that celebrates the global and the cosmopolitan. Hence, the Irish nation can now claim the essences of other cultures as part of their assets but does not necessarily have to credit or situate the source. This process is understood by City Fusion's

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[527] Bloomer, in discussion with the author.

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organizers as facilitating integration between migrant and Irish-born communities, yet this model of integration ultimately contradicts the ideas of collaboration and exchange on which it is supposedly based.

Figure 6.7
NOWAICRE Masquerade Dancers
Photograph: Raven Aflakete.

"Integration" and "communication" are the aims of City Fusion, yet the groups receive minimal opportunities for interaction with other groups. The majority of each group's time is spent with the performance facilitators and members of the design team. In the year that I participated, the performance and design facilitators were mostly Irish-born, with one facilitator from Northern Ireland, one from New Zealand, and one from the U.S. (myself). In 2009, Bloomer, an Irish-born dancer, choreographer and director, was the director of the pageant, and Sabine Dargent, a French designer living in Ireland, designed "Conference of the Birds." This was their second year in these roles, and they would reprise them in 2010. In 2007, Maples observed:

> The mixture of professional and amateur participants raised many ethical questions over issues of representation and authenticity. Though the groups performed in the parade themselves, their input and cultural contributions were interpreted and adapted by the professional designers working on the project.[528]

Again in 2009, as in other years, Bloomer, Dargent and project coordinator, Norma Leen, met with representative from participating groups during their process of conceiving the design for that year's pageant. However, the groups did not participate directly in

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[528] Ibid, 242.

designing the pageant or choosing "Conference of the Birds" as that year's theme and story. JCCI's Director, Millicent Brown, a participant in 2009 and 2010, stressed that there are no people of color working as part of the City Fusion planning process and that:

> The project fulfill[s] its goal for the period of time it's there for, until it's ready to do the same again the next year round. I guess what's lacking is maintenance in regards to celebrating cultural diversity all year round, probably not on such a large scale. After a while you feel used as a group, you fulfill City Fusion goals at the time they want to. So, in essence, maintenance is needed to promote cultural diversity outside the scope of the big day, St Patrick's Day. Promoting cultural diversity is not a part time or on and off thing, it needs constant maintenance.[529]

Brown's comments point up the fragile connections forged between groups through City Fusion, as well as ongoing lack of support for intercultural programs with staying power. Her reservations about City Fusion's use of immigrant groups to celebrate cultural diversity "at the time they want to" reflects concern that this central goal of the project is ultimately subordinated in service to the big day of the St. Patrick's Festival Parade. By emphasizing the utility of the performance as representative of the project's ultimate achievement, Brown argues that product is consistently more important than process for City Fusion, a shortcoming that is made apparent through the lack of year-round communication or collaboration between groups. Her critique is born out by the lack of substantive collaboration *between* groups throughout the course of the project. In 2009, JCCI was in fact one of the only groups to share workshop time with another group, the Lithuanian Association. However, these groups were extremely unbalanced in terms of numbers. The Lithuanian Association had over 20 members while the JCCI had only five participants who were not able to make every workshop due to work commitments. Therefore, during small group work, the members of each association stuck together and literally did not "integrate" during the short time frame of our workshops. Furthermore, Brown and the JCCI experienced frustration during the dress rehearsal when assigned a group performance leader for the parade who had not been with the group during rehearsals for the past several months.[530] The group performance leader was a professional who also suggested changes to JCCI's choreography for performance in the parade. Brown and her group had done the choreography themselves, so were offended by these suggestions from someone who had not been a part of their performance's creation. This incident serves as representative of Brown's overall frustrations with the project and the practical constraints of City Fusion's vision for collaborative intercultural co-creation.

Furthermore, "essences" do indeed determine each group's role in the parade and often draw on racial and ethnic clichés quite overtly. In 2009, each group's role in the pageant, such as the Lithuanian Association's representation of the birds' journey through

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[529] Millicent Brown, (Director, Jamaican and the Wider Caribbean Communities in Ireland), e-mail message to author, May 31, 2010.

[530] Each group was led in the parade by a professional performer/facilitator. Since there were not enough facilitators who worked on the entire project to pair with each group, additional professionals were brought in during the last two Saturday rehearsals.

the valley of "Knowledge," was assigned through matching groups with broad stereotypes and qualities related to their ethnicity based on past experiences with the group or conjecture. A comparison of the "Love" and "Knowledge" sections of the parade demonstrates the emergence of troubling racialized undertones in the pageant's presentation. Along with the women from NOWAICRE, the JCCI represented the valley of "Love" for "Conference of the Birds" and their role is described thus: "They open their wings and abandon themselves in a trance dance of love potions and magic spells."[531] This description of the role of the women from JCCI and NOWAICRE matches up with the charge of NOWAICRE's men in the parade examined further below. In both cases, Africans or participants of African descent are singled out as magic, sexual, and/or traditional in contrast to other group members. JCCI's performance featured soca music, a contemporary musical genre heavily associated with sexuality and chosen by the group themselves. However, the Caribbean history of this musical genre indexes lengthy debates over the limits on women's behavior in public space, performances of the nation, and classed negotiations vis-à-vis sexuality.[532] Obviously, this complex history cannot be expressed in a two-minute parade performance but the design concept of the "Conference of the Birds" assumes that these women were a priori sexualized with or without soca music and that this characteristic represents the essence of their identities. JCCI's costumes for their exclusively female performers featured dreadlocks and exaggerated large behinds built out of a wire structure (Figure 6. 7). These behinds mimicked the shape of birds, but the concept recalls exaggerated stereotypes of Black femininity and sexuality. The group did not object to their costumes and found the choices amusing, but the choice of City Fusion's designer Dargent to emphasize caricatures of sexualized body parts in these performers' costumes remains troubling. Tellingly, JCCI's partner in the presentation of "Love" was the ethnically diverse group of secondary school girls from St. Joseph's, but their role was couched in far more innocent terms: "Journeying onwards the birds drive into the valley of love. They experience the blushes of first love and the desire for romance."[533] Obviously, this is a junior group of women, and a sexualized interpretation of love would be far from appropriate. However, the juxtaposition between the highly sexualized role of the women of color from JCCI and NOWAICRE through their costumes and the connotations of "abandonment" and "magic" attributed to their performance and the chaste presentation of the younger women points up the role of the JCCI as representatives of sexuality in the pageant as a whole.

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[531] St. Patrick's Festival, *City Fusion 2009: Info Booklet*, 6.

[532] Belinda Edmonson, "Public Spectacles: Caribbean Women and the Politics of Performance," *Small Axe* 7.1 (2003): 1-16.

[533] *City Fusion 2009: Info Booklet*, 5.

Figure 6.7
JCCI marching in the Festival Parade, 2009.
Photograph: Raven Aflakete.

The Lithuanian Association shared the "Knowledge" section of the parade with NOWAICRE's male masquerade dancers. However, these groups' assigned interpretations of knowledge were incredibly different. For the Lithuanian Association, their stewardship of *one* version of "Knowledge" in the parade referenced the group's high level of education and also subtly made a dig at the frequent obstinacy of the group when it came to following directions not of their making: "The *authority* of the printed words *reigns supreme. The truth, flying high above suspicion*" [Emphasis mine]. City Fusion's frustrations with this group are documented in Maple's work. She recounts the group's desire to have their Lithuanian identity evident through participation in the parade, which was explicitly against the intention of the City Fusion organizers at the time. The Lithuanian Association not so subtly resisted this control, however, "…despite being told they were not allowed to wear Lithuanian flags, or banners, scarves and t-shirts displaying the country's national colors, some of the participants rebelled against this dictum by wrapping Lithuanian scarves around their necks."[534] In 2009, leaders within the Lithuanian Association would frequently revise the design facilitator's directions during the weekly workshop in order to increase the efficiency of the task and reorganize the group in their work against the wishes of the facilitator. The group also found difficulty improvising for performance. The director and other facilitators thus viewed this group as being particularly challenging. Furthermore, despite being fluent in English, the group members would usually confer in Lithuanian after being given directions leading to frustration for some facilitators. Hence, the "headiness" of their assigned theme was a veiled comment regarding their demeanor within City Fusion since 2007.

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[534] Maples, 245.

In contrast, NOWAICRE portrayed a far different definition of knowledge in the scheme of the pageant's concept. The dancers were intended to represent a "knowledge" based around the body, magic, and tradition. Their role is narrated thus by City Fusion: "The birds experience insight into mystery. Led by the masquerade performers from Cameroon, their sacred dance unchanged for generations. They pass on their knowledge through language, ritual and storytelling."[535] The performers from Cameroon indeed performed a sacred masked dance in the parade, but the juxtaposition of their "unchanged" and bodily "tradition" against the white, educated Lithuanians who prefer "information to mystery" produces a binarized interpretation of knowledge that not so subtly reproduces racialized/racist stereotypes. The underlying perniciousness of these designations, the African group as traditional and mysterious and the European group as educated and in control, reprises colonialist understandings of the relationship between Europe and Africa. Regardless of the intentions of the City Fusion artistic team, these most likely accidental echoes of racialized tropes reveal the precarious foundations of City Fusion's definition of interculturalism as artistic practice.

Legends of the Future

Ireland's position as the mediator in the above exchange between "Europe" and "Africa" through City Fusion stages the contradictions of post-Celtic Tiger Ireland. Colonial pasts intrude on visions for the future of Irishness as plurality due to City Fusion's failure to reckon with the barely hidden histories animated through not only the final performance but the concept of the pageant and rehearsal process. The location of Ireland somewhere between Europe and Africa is not a new theme or state of being given Ireland's complicated (post)colonial histories and legacy of missionary work in Africa. However, the chance to reinvent the meaning of diaspora and diversity within the Republic of Ireland and the North through engagement with recent immigrant communities has been an unprecedented, albeit perhaps ultimately brief, opportunity. The rise of the Celtic Tiger coincided with the signing of the Good Friday Agreement and an official end to conflict in the North. These two events reconfigured the terrain of identity politics on the island of Ireland and led to many optimistic assertions that Ireland would fare better than elsewhere in Europe in terms of integrating new communities and reinventing "interculturalism" for the 21st century. The echoes and hiccups of City Fusion's work point to the difficulty of this vision, especially when interculturalism is controlled from the top down and fails to directly address issues of race and racism. The St. Patrick's Festival organizers and Dublin City Council assume that interculturalism will succeed only if it produces a fluid, amalgamated whole and proceed with this vision year after year despite reservations from participating groups. For Leen and Bloomer, the groups' desires to protect and present national "traditions" represent a stubborn recalcitrance that refuses to engage with the Ireland that they live in now. However, this dismissal refuses to recognize that a request to be permitted to be both Lithuanian and Irish, or to have a sacred dance presented without spiritual pollution, does not represent a corruption of fragile Irish interculturalisms but the necessary work that must accompany an antiracist and ethical reinvention of this term.

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[535] St. Patrick's Festival, "City Fusion 2009," 7.

There is a profound irony that this particular face-off between new Irish diasporic communities and Irish-born citizens of the Republic occurs in the context of the St. Patrick's Day Festival. After all, St. Patrick's Day is the day when "everyone is Irish," and for centuries, the day when Irish emigrants openly proclaim their national(ist) ties to a distant place some have never even seen. Thus, City Fusion's foreclosure of the expression of nostalgic nationalism from immigrant communities denies the legacy of St. Patrick's Day itself for Irish emigrant communities throughout the world as an opportunity for the official display of Irish diasporic publics in diverse national contexts. The future of immigrant communities in Ireland is unclear due to the current economic crisis, but many will stay and make their home in the Republic for generations to come, as the Irish have done throughout the world. To strip these communities of their national pasts upon arrival is to refuse to grant these new Irish the lifelines of memory lived in public space that sustained Irish emigrant communities in challenging and frequently prejudiced environments.

To be fair, Africa Day and the Dún Laoghaire Festival of World Cultures specifically accommodate the expression of so-called traditional music, dance, and performance from discrete national cultures. City Fusion's team has frequently lent its support to the Dún Laoghaire Festival of World Cultures and in fact originally connected with NOWAICRE through this event. Yet, the idea that these performances are antithetical to the intention of the St. Patrick's Day Festival suggests that a new Irish interculturalism only has use for the raw inspiration of their immigrant communities, their essences, rather than time for a deep engagement with their stories and their concerns shaped by their homes of origin.

City Fusion's performances in the St. Patrick's Day Festival Parade embody hopes for a transformation of Irishness from the epicenter of its cultural institutions and traditions through performative action. However, this hope is constrained by the symbolic weight of the St. Patrick's Festival's claims of bringing the holiday home to the Irish people. If Ireland must hold its traumatic emigrant past at arms length in joyful celebration of a bright and cosmopolitan future, so must their recent immigrants in order to be counted among the Irish people. Nevertheless, old histories die hard and collide in the mounting of the Festival parade. The experience of City Fusion marching past Parnell Square, right by the statue of Daniel O'Connell at the mouth of O'Connell Street, over the River Liffey, next to Trinity College, and past Christ Church was surreal as our fragile performance flashed past these looming and permanent fixtures of the history of Dublin and Ireland, as well as clones of shiny new office building crowding City Centre. Our annually diminishing group of intercultural participants performed briefly in the shadow of these geographical features and iconic buildings. At the time, these structures' firmer imprint on the city's landscape and their service as the route's backbone and compass struck me as a sharp contrast to the tenuous and conflicted nature of our groups' efforts and aspirations in a post-Celtic Tiger Ireland still most committed to the national histories represented by these landmarks.

City Fusion's fragile bodies, marching against the transnational history of St. Patrick's Day, and the nation at large take to the streets in the hope of claiming a space in their new home, of being seen and heard. Some are asylum seekers, unable to go to school or seek employment, and this project represents a rare opportunity to connect with others. Some have recently arrived, while others are Irish-born children or long-time

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residents. Some are old, some are young, and some already have Irish accents. As argued earlier, participation and recognition do not translate into social and political freedom or justice. However, the affective force of projects like City Fusion and events like Africa Day carry power for their participants, the terms of which should be deconstructed but not ultimately dismissed. In 2007, one of City Fusion's first participants remarked:

> It was an honor to work with these people, these new communities, so far away from your parent, your family, your career, even your city. Nowhere can they replace your own country... But for me, I think this project was some kind of replacing for me. I felt free and active and glad.[536]

This participant points up the fragility of the immigrant and even poses the possibility that working with other migrants on City Fusion can serve as an emotional replacement for "your own country." It is ultimately striking how this participant phrases the value of the project as working with other new communities, rather than highlighting the project's values in terms of interacting with the white Irish-born majority population. His comments represent a vision of Ireland that is characterized by its interculturalism from the immigrant perspective.

The future of Irish interculturalism must consciously acknowledge and work through the difficult histories and tropes operating through projects and events such as City Fusion, as well as collaborate more directly with immigrant communities in terms of planning, conception and ongoing theorizations of interculturalism in reference to these events. This work is done daily by hundreds of progressive immigrant organizations in Ireland so it cannot be argued there is not precedent for this in an Irish context. Yet, these festivals point up the dangerous blind spots of interculturalism when deployed primarily as a state initiative and business opportunity from the top-down even when the rhetoric of "grassroots involvement" is constantly invoked. The collision of the aspirations of the post-Celtic Tiger nation, the state, and the tourist industry in these events threatens to potentially overwhelm the immigrant communities they are claiming to serve as the centerpieces of these events and exclude them from having a voice in what constitutes Irish interculturalism even as the projects are dependent on their labor.

City Fusion ideally represents a space where immigrants can negotiate their relationships with Irish-born and other new communities through a project that brings a new performance of Ireland and Irishness into being out of a diverse and collaborative process. The above participant's eagerness to claim that the experience of City Fusion replaces the irreplacability of home should not be overtly dismissed as hyperbolic and overly sentimental but rather as a warning of the power of these sorts of projects, as well as their potential. Therefore, the stakes of these endeavors for their participants and the promises that are attached to participation must be interrogated in order to harness the power of these initiatives. As a collaborator on 2009's City Fusion, the critiques made here are not easy to make, given the commitment and powerfully hopeful intentions of the organizers, not to mention the participants. There were moments throughout when deep connections were made, or a performer stretched themselves beyond their limits, or a group experienced genuine joy through performing their parade routine. But if City

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[536] *Future Legend.*

Fusion's blind spots are not engaged, an opportunity is missed to advocate for a more engaged and rigorous theorization of Irish interculturalisms that takes most seriously the fragile desires of participants who carry hopes into the rehearsal room and dream of emerging more decisively a member of the Irish people, despite the pain of being separated from his own country.

Conclusion

After the Fall: The Future of Irish Interculturalism?

Some of the most iconic images of the collapse of the Celtic Tiger are empty buildings. In 2009, "[d]riving North from Waterford," Ruaridh Nicoll observes "each village we pass is home to empty apartment blocks."[537] Fintan O'Toole reports in 2010 that "[w]ith a fifth of its office spaces empty, Dublin had the highest vacancy rate of any European capital."[538] Driving out to visit family in rural County Meath in February 2009, we pass enormous empty house after enormous empty house, many unfinished. My cousin calls them "Celtic Tiger houses." Fine Gael spokesman Richard Bruton predicted in March 2010 that Ireland would "have a zombie housing market for years to come,"[539] following the release of a University College Dublin research study that found 17% of all homes and apartments were now vacant in Ireland, a figure of more than 345,000 units.

Given the central role of the building boom in the inflated economic figures of the Celtic Tiger, these hundreds of thousands of empty houses do not come as a surprise, and they symbolize the false confidence circulating during this period. These structurally sound but empty ghost homes blight the rural landscape and pockmark the city, as the rest of the country struggles with the highest unemployment rates since 1994. Long-term unemployed account for 51.5% of total unemployment, and "[w]orkers aged between 20 and 34 accounted for the vast majority of the total fall in employment last year,"[540] a fact that has been matched by mounting emigration amongst this age group. As mounting unemployment and emigration figures dominate headlines, the Celtic Tiger could begin to feel like a dream, if not for those architectural reminders, and the "new Irish" who remain in an Ireland that has been "changed, changed utterly."[541]

From the beginning of the boom, immigration has frequently been considered in direct relationship to economic need and prosperity. For one, immigrants filled gaps in the Irish labor market, especially in the medical and technology industries. Lentin and McVeigh note that, in 2000, "the Tánaiste Mary Harney stated that a failure to address labor shortages could undermine the Irish Republic's economic growth, since wage rates and the availability of skilled workers were a central concern of multinational corporations in relationship to investment decisions."[542] "Labour" immigrants were thus key to "an accelerated market expansion" but Lentin and McVeigh critique this position towards immigration as merely encouraging the white Irish-born majority to regard immigrants as "the instruments of Ireland's continuing economic success."[543] For if "integration" is only understood as "integration into the economy," then the bust potentially obviates the need for immigrants to be present in Ireland, as well as

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[537] Ruaridh Nicoll, "End of the Road," *The Guardian,* May 10, 2009, accessed April 15, 2011, http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/may/10/ireland-financial-crisis-emigration/print.
[538] Fintan O'Toole, *Ship of Fools,* 9.
[539] Mary Minihan, "Ireland set for zombie housing market," *The Irish Times,* March 6, 2010, 8.
[540] Seán McCárthaigh, "Unemployment rate hits 17-year high of 299,000," *The Irish Examiner,* March 16, 2011, accessed April 15, 2011, http://www.irishexaminer.com/business/kfeyidmhmhkf/rss2/.
[541] Yeats, "Easter 1916," *Poetry, Drama and Prose,* 73.
[542] Ronit Lentin and Robbie McVeigh, *After Optimism?,* 74.
[543] Ibid.

deprioritizing integration, interculturalism and anti-racism as matters of importance for the Irish state.

Secondly, because Ireland was prospering after years of unemployment, emigration and colonial domination, the nation was seen to have a particular responsibility to help those in need. As in the words of the former Minister for Integration Conor Lenihan, Ireland was purported to have a "unique moral, intellectual and practical capability to adapt to the experience of inward migration."[544] The practical application of this capability, however, is ultimately intimately linked to the continued performance of the Irish economy. Thus, in the wake of complete economic collapse, the tentative imaginative contract between immigrants and the white Irish-born majority as represented by the rhetoric of social interculturalism has come under direct threat both in the withdrawal of practical, financial support, and of public visibility for these issues. Many of the organizations, projects, and positions discussed in this dissertation, including the National Consultative Committee for Racism and Interculturalism and the position of the Minister for Integration,[545] have ceased to exist due to lack of funding and support. While the boom may have created the conditions for immigration to Ireland to increase, great danger lies in considering the place of immigrants and minority ethnic communities only in their relationship to the potential for Irish economic growth.

These reversals of fortune have exposed the fragile foundations of Irish social interculturalism as a policy of diverse management founded not only on utopic aspiration but financial contingency. Irish social interculturalism has revealed itself to be a system of racialized hierarchy that continues to place white Irish-born citizens at the center of national priorities and does so by matching the Irish capacity for racial and cultural diversity to financial growth. If the economy expands, so can the imaginative borders of the Irish nation. The empty houses can remain, even as symbols of shame, but the immigrants must leave, in order to insure that these houses can be filled at some later date by deserving white-Irish born citizens, not immigrants who may usurp whatever opportunities may be left in the ailing Republic.

Ireland's rapid rise and fall is not just the story of this small nation, "an island on the fringes of different histories that have been played out across the world,"[546] but a case study ultimately central to understanding the volatile excesses of globalized neoliberalism in a struggling world economy where gaps between the world's richest and poorest are increasing. A 20-year study released in 2008 by the Paris-based Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development covering the years 1985-2005 showed that gaps between the world's richest and poorest are getting bigger in the world's "richest countries,"[547] such as the U.S. and, at the time, Ireland. The foreign direct investment and speculation that were central to the Celtic Tiger's performance were ultimately key to its

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[544] Office of the Minister for Integration, *Migration Nation,* 7.

[545] This position was eliminated after the February 2011 election of a Fine Gael/Labour Party Coalition to power. Jamie Smyth, "Immigrant groups concerned at lack of political will towards integration," *Irish Times,* March 16, 2011, accessed March 5, 2011, http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/ireland/2011/0316/1224292265564.html.

[546] William Flanagan, *Ireland Now: Tales of Change from the Global Island,* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 20.

[547] "Gap Between Rich and Poor Growing," *CBS News,* October 21, 2008, accessed April 15, 2011, http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2008/10/21/business/main4535488.shtml.

undoing, and these financial patterns bear the wider hallmarks of this phase of late capitalism as evinced by similar factors leading to the 2008 global economic crisis. Ireland therefore is not a spectacular exception of glorious failure, but symptomatic of broader patterns of financial and social instability that are perhaps playing out more slowly elsewhere.

As global financial stability has decreased, international migration, for economic and other reasons, has increased, especially to Europe. Ireland's debates over immigration in the mid-1990s to the present occur in the context of ongoing controversy over immigrants in the European Union at large, energized by debates about the place of Islam in Europe post-9/11. The Irish focus on asylum seekers, birthright citizenship and the place of African communities in a majority white society repeat throughout Europe in France, Italy, and Germany among other EU member nations, as well as being expanded by other points of anxiety, for example, around issues of Islamic fundamentalism and veiling. While each nation's response to immigration is shaped by their particular geopolitical context and history, and thus lies partially outside of the scope of this project, Ireland's relationship to these broader debates bears more consideration. Indeed, the European Union too has adopted the language of "intercultural dialogue" to describe efforts at both integrating minority ethnic populations and furthering linkages between EU-member states although their efforts at implementing this as policy have been far less extensive than those undertaken in Ireland.

The language of "interculturalism," as used by Ireland, and various projects under the larger umbrella of the European Union,[548] attempts to use this moment of financial and social instability, as represented by economic turbulence and increased immigration which diversifies the racial and ethnic profiles of individual nations, as a reinvention of social and cultural norms for both individuals and groups. Similar to Ireland's goals for social interculturalism, the EU Culture Programme's Platform for Intercultural Europe and Border Crossings describes intercultural dialogue in a broader EU context as facilitating "co-creation out of diversity: exploring and creating something new out of the interaction of people with different backgrounds."[549] This concept of "co-creation" implies that hierarchy is not part of this process of "intercultural dialogue," an assertion that has not borne itself out in the Irish context, and remains highly suspect in the case of the European Union as well, given the rising election totals of extreme far-right parties in European countries including France, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, Hungary and Norway[550] that centralize anti-immigration and Islamophobic rhetoric in their campaigns and policies.

In this volatile European political and social climate, perhaps the attempted popularization of the concepts of interculturalism and intercultural dialogue can be seen as a hopeful response to growing tension, one that aims to dismantle the logic of these

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[548] These include the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue in 2008, the European Commission's "Intercultural Dialogue Conference and Exhibition" in Brussels in 2006, and the EU Culture Programme's Platform for Intercultural Europe and Border Crossings.

[549] Platform for Intercultural Europe, *Intercultural Dialogue as an objective in the EU Culture Programme: Summary of Study and Recommendations,* (Brussels: Platform for Intercultural Europe/Culture Action Europe, 2010), 3.

[550] Denis MacShane, "Rise of the Right," *Newsweek,* September 24, 2010, accessed April 15, 2011, http://www.newsweek.com/2010/09/24/europe-the-rise-of-the-extreme-right.html.

xenophobic right-wing groups and provide an alternative framework. In the case of Ireland, however, official disinvestment in interculturalism swiftly followed the decline of the Irish economy, with the failure to appoint an individual to the post of the Office of the Minister for Integration after the February 2011 election serving as a representative example. This change in priorities illustrated that Irish social interculturalism was a concept reserved for only the best, and not the worst, of times. While NGOs and minority-led organizations focusing explicitly on interculturalism and immigration such as Migrant Rights Centre, Immigrant Council Ireland and AkiDwA, continue their work, they do so under increasingly constrained circumstances and without a great deal of popular support.

It is perhaps tempting then to dismiss the significance of the "new Irish" to the future of the Irish nation, and perhaps even the role of immigrants in shaping the phase of Irish history described in this project. The official mechanisms through which to facilitate the birth of Irish social interculturalism are becoming increasingly weak, and the imminent departure of all immigrants is regularly predicted. But this mass departure has not come to pass, and the preliminary dismantling of Irish social interculturalism in fact compels all members of Irish society to even more closely track and participate in what happens in the absence of utopic rhetoric and viable infrastructure, because it is not only an ideal that is at stake, but the reality of individuals' lives.

The role of theatre and performance in this continued task cannot be underestimated. From the founding of this intercultural discourse at the height of the Tiger, performance has played a key role in metaphors of Irish and European social interculturalisms, served as the living embodiment of these ideas through high-profile events like the St. Patrick's Festival despite their shortcomings, and proved central in facilitating local community encounters with these ideas through arts-based work. While the role of performance has often been couched in terms of offering an aesthetic contribution (i.e. intercultural street theatre for the St. Patrick's Festival Parade), the process of creating these performances or artistic projects is also a performative iteration of Irish social interculturalism itself. If Irish social interculturalism is to reinvent the meaning of contemporary Irishness, it can only do so through embodied practice, the practice of being and working together, and emerging anew. These repeated alliances between performative, aesthetic and social interculturalisms have revealed the enmeshment of economic agendas with the ideal of grassroots empowerment and equal access, but investigating these strands of Irish interculturalism in relationship to one another in turn allows for a richly detailed analysis of how these factors interact. Social and aesthetic interculturalism remain ideals, perhaps never to be obtained or remain stable, as in Lo and Gilbert's metaphor of the spinning disk constantly pulled between two poles, but the terms of their failure are just as important as their theoretical success.

By moving between the professional and semi-professional theatre, community arts performance and large-scale public festival performance, I have demonstrated the enmeshment of state policy and artistic practice, professional arts and community arts, and individual action within institutional limits. These enmeshments should not be understood as binary oppositions, but multivalent contact zones[551] that dramatize the contradictions and possibilities of Irish social interculturalisms. Despite my critique of

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[551] See use of Pratt in Chapter 2.

the various projects addressed within these pages, they are all significant attempts to make sense of a shifting world that must be constituted out of what has come before. The models of social interculturalism *as* aesthetic interculturalism employed here are frequently limited by these histories of separation and/entanglement that they either depend on, as in O'Kelly's embrace of Frederick Douglass, or ignore completely, as in Africa Day.   Reluctance to explore the contradictions of these projects consciously is often what limits their success for all involved, and it is this hesitancy that must be ultimately refused, or at least ceaselessly critiqued. An embrace of multivalence is key to approaching post-Celtic Tiger history, which cannot be divided neatly into before and after, which cannot only be understood as the difference between poverty and prosperity, and which cannot be understood as a series of confrontations between the Irish and the "Other" confined to the last decade of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st. Theatre and performance provide a rich zone in contemporary Ireland where these contradictions can be engaged, but as this dissertation has argued, future scholarship must take into account multiple spheres of theatre and performance practice from community arts to the professional stage in order to provide the most comprehensive account of the role of the arts in Irish society vis-à-vis social and aesthetic interculturalism. In the absence of official policy and infrastructure, or in the context of its increasingly haphazard application, majority and minority ethnic groups in post-Celtic Tiger Ireland will continue to come together to work on theatre and performance projects in a variety of contexts, even perhaps with the utopic goals of interculturalism on their minds.   This multi-centered approach to the foundation of Irish interculturalisms is the future, and indeed was the past as well, as state efforts to contain these ideals will always prove incomplete, however coercive. In the spaces between the professional and non-professional, institutional and counter-cultural, "community" and individual, the future of Irish national identity will emerge gradually, but this future must be protected against the fears that have followed the economic downturn.

In an utterly transformed Republic of Ireland, rates of emigration and unemployment are on the rise again, and the Irish people are faced with another reversal of fortune. The next chapter in the story is yet to be written as the nation recovers from the mirage of the Celtic Tiger.   However, the "new Irish" must be part of this story, and not only as brief flutters across the shadows of an Irish history afraid of confronting its own pain and excesses. Otherwise, post-Celtic Tiger Irish history will remain for all, in Stephen Daedalus's infamous words, "a nightmare from which I am trying to awake."[552]

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[552] James Joyce, *Ulysses,* (Alexandria, Virginia: Orchises Press, 1998), 34.

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