Performing Scalar Interculturalism:

Race and Identity in Contemporary Irish Performance

Justine Nakase, B.A. (U of Iowa), M.A. (NUI Galway)

Supervisor: Dr Charlotte McIvor

School of Humanities
O'Donoghue Centre for Drama, Theatre and Performance

College of Arts, Celtic Studies, and Social Sciences
National University of Ireland, Galway

October 2018

Abstract

This dissertation is an interdisciplinary analysis of race and identity in contemporary Irish performance. Using the Irish case study and looking at theatre, sport and dance, it develops an intersectional framework of analysis that highlights the imbricated matrices of race, ethnicity, gender and class that shape the performance and reception of intercultural identities. It argues that mixed race and minority ethnic individuals act as nested figures who perform an embodied interculturalism that collapses—and can thus be read across—historic and geographic scales. The central claims of this thesis, then, are that (a) the performative articulations of mixed race and minority ethnic identities can be seen and read as intercultural, (b) that this interculturalism is nested within and performed by the individual and (c) that this individual interculturalism can be revealed by analysing moments of performance through a scalar lens.

Consequently, this thesis explores how reading the performances and performativity of mixed race and minority ethnic Irish individuals through a scalar lens makes visible the ways in which historical narratives are contested by emerging discourses, and how the more intimate scales of personal experience, family and community are often eclipsed or erased by the hegemonic scales of the national and global. By reading mixed race and minority ethnic individuals as intercultural, this study opens up current understandings of interculturalism as a collective process, and challenges monolithic understandings of Irish national identity.

Acknowledgements

There are so many people whose support, feedback, encouragement and care made this thesis possible. First, my gratitude goes to the Irish Research Council, who generously funded this project and made my research possible. To my supervisor, Dr Charlotte McIvor—you have seen me through this entire process and have always set the standard for excellence through your own practice. I was blessed to have the guidance of someone so generous, so passionate, so ethical, and so incredibly brilliant. Your support went above and beyond that required of a supervisor, and your generosity—academically, professionally, and personally—has inspired and humbled me: I am eternally grateful. Every good thing that I did during my PhD, I did because you showed me the way. I will be following in your footsteps, always.

I would like to thank all those at NUI Galway's O'Donoghue Centre for Drama, Theatre and Performance, where I have had the honour to learn and teach for the past four years. Many thanks to Dr Miriam Haughton, who provided invaluable feedback during her term as my interim supervisor, and to Dr Ian Walsh, whose input at the early stages helped this study find its focus. Special thanks go to Prof Patrick Lonergan, who first introduced me to interculturalism as my MA lecturer, and who continues to humble me with his generosity, his academic rigour and his ability to deliver golden speeches extemporaneously.

I am grateful to those who have provided input on this project at its various stages, including Dr Muireann O'Cinneide, who graciously served on my GRC, and Dr David Clare, who first workshopped my writing in year one and has continued to provide valuable feedback and friendship as this project progressed. I am also grateful for the feedback provided by Dr Brandi Wilkins Catanese, whose questions at ASTR helped clarify my first chapter. Thanks as well to those at the NUI Galway archives, particularly Dr Barry Houlihan, who is one of the best advocates for archival research that I have ever met and who provided invaluable support in the course of my research. I am also indebted to Michael Keegan-Dolan, who so warmly

welcomed my query and provided the archival recording of *Rian* that allowed me to write on that production.

I would like to express my gratitude to my PhD colleagues in Drama, particularly Dr Nelson Barre, Sarah Hoover, Dr Tricia O'Beirne and Finian O'Gorman, who engaged with my work over the years and whose encouragement and company were always welcome. To Dr Christopher McCormack—who never failed to generously flag items related to my research and acted as (excellent) conference companion—and to Rachel Parry—who clothed me and comforted me when I most needed it—I thank you even more.

Many heartfelt thanks to my other PhD peers at NUI Galway, who have made this journey so rich and whose company has inspired me throughout. I cannot name you all, but if you have at any point sat on a black couch (or in the common room before The Incident) and had the chats—I'm thinking of you. A special thanks to the co-founders of the EDEN postgraduate network, Dr Evan Bourke and Dr Emer McHugh, for being amazing colleagues and collaborators. EDEN truly was a utopic vision, and an achievement I am almost as proud of as this thesis.

To Dr Ned Bertz at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, thank you for your proofreading and power chats--#IWNLA. And to Dr Alexis Bushnell, who brought me to Galway in the first place, many thanks again.

Unending gratitude to all of those in my life who supported me in so many invaluable ways, not least being minding my child when I was in the throes of writing. So, to Ursula Connolly, Seán Crosson, Edwin Dankert, Anne Karhio, Rónán Kennedy, Theresa McGovern and Fiona McNulty—thank you for being my community here in Galway and for making my daughter feel welcome and cared for.

To Dr Sarah Corrigan and Ciara Murphy—I can't even begin to express how much your friendship has meant to me over the past four years. I am ever-awed and inspired by you both, and so lucky to have met you. To sneaky breakfasts, even sneakier pints, and pomodoros forever. You guys are the best.

To David Logue, who saw me to this project and never once questioned its value—thank you for your years of listening to first drafts,

your insightful feedback and your insider knowledge. And a massive heart-felt thanks to my family, who have supported me throughout, especially in that last summertime push. Janet, David, Steve, Dana, Coco, and Maia: thank you for always believing in me, even from the other side of the globe.

Finally, and most importantly, I thank Sora Logue, who has throughout this journey kept me grounded, balanced, focused, motivated and loved. This—and everything I do—is for you. Thank you most of all.

Table of Contents

Declaration of Originality

I, Justine Nakase, declare that this thesis is entirely my own work. I have not obtained a degree in this University, or elsewhere, on the basis of this work.

Justine Nakase

_____

3 October 2018

Introduction

‘—The Irish are the niggers of Europe, lads.
They nearly gasped: it was so true.
—An’ Dubliners are the niggers of Ireland. The culchies have fuckin’ everythin’. An’ the northside Dubliners are the niggers o’ Dublin. —Say it loud, I’m black and I’m proud’ (*The Commitments* 9).

In his 1986 novel *The Commitments*, Roddy Doyle’s protagonist Jimmy Rabbitte attempts to sell his Irish band mates on the idea of performing soul music. In doing so, he unwittingly anticipated the two key themes of this thesis. The first is that the Irish are, somehow, racially black—a narrative that, due to its complex and contested place in the Irish imagination, continues to resonate today, even as Irishness has become progressively synonymous with whiteness. The second is that this blackness is *scalar*, which is to say that it occurs within and is informed by the dialogic relationships of geographic space. Indeed, as Neil Smith contends, ‘the question of who is included and who includes themselves as “black” can be recast as a question of the socially constructed scale at which a black social and political identity is established’ (“Geography, Difference and the Politics of Scale” 74).

Thus, as Rabbitte argues, the band’s blackness is established by their Irish national identity as it relates to a larger European whiteness and is further inflected by their urban (Dublin) and regional (northside) marginalisation. Originating in the economic doldrums of the 1980s,[1] Rabbitte’s famous line appeared again in the 1991 film adaptation (Parker) before surfacing once more in the stage musical adaptation in 2013. In this way the quotation also encompasses the historical scope of this study, a ‘contemporary’ Ireland that I define as beginning at the unprecedented onset of the Celtic Tiger and ending in the current post-crash, post-recessionary moment. Further, Doyle’s choices to move away from—and then back toward—the original racial epithet (as will be explored in detail later in this

[1] For more on Irish culture in the 1980s see Terence Brown’s *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History, 1922-2002*, Joe Cleary’s *Outrageous Fortune: Capital and Culture in Modern Ireland*, Diarmuid Ferriter’s edited collection *Occasions of Sin* and Michael Peillon’s *Contemporary Irish Society: An Introduction*.

chapter) reveals the ongoing politics of Irish racialisation, and how this has been variably manifested and read as it traverses across scales of space and time.

While Rabbitte's (and, by proxy, Doyle's) assertions of Irish blackness are slightly tongue-in-cheek, they nonetheless speak cuttingly to the often unspoken and perhaps even unrecognised identification of blackness in the Irish cultural psyche. In this thesis I explore these interlocking themes in earnest by interrogating contemporary articulations of Irishness as both a racial and national identity. I do so by analysing the performative acts of mixed race and minority ethnic Irish individuals—both the more formalised acts of theatre, sport and dance, as well as the everyday acts of navigating the world as racialised subjects. In using 'performative' I follow Ric Knowles, who traces how Judith Butler's theories of performativity and Richard Schechner's ideas of performance as 'twice behaved behaviours' have led to a 'performative turn' that 'allows us to understand gender, race, ethnicity, and other social identifiers not as biological or ontological but as *performative*, something one *does* rather than *has*, and thereby *performs into being*' (45, emphasis in original). As such, Knowles argues that 'intercultural performance has the potential performatively to bring into being not merely new aesthetic forms but new social formations, new diasporic, hybrid, and intercultural social identities' (45).[2]

Accordingly, I read the performances of mixed race and minority ethnic Irish individuals as moments of *intercultural* Irish expression, arguing that these performances and the identities invoked by them are read and understood differently as they traverse and become framed by variable geographic and temporal scales in their reception. In *Theatre & Interculturalism*, Knowles defines intercultural theatre as 'all cultural forms in which performers and active or passive participants coexist in the same space for a set time' and that 'focus on the contested, unsettling, and often

[2] For an extended discussion of the idea of the 'intercultural performative' see Charlotte McIvor's chapter 'Intercultural Dialogue as "New" Interculturalism: Terra Nova Productions, the Arrivals Project and the Intercultural Performative' in *Interculturalism and Performance Now: New Directions?*

unequal spaces *between* cultures, spaces that can function in performance as sites of negotiation' (3–4). In situating my analysis of intercultural performances *within* and *through* the individual, I propose that the body itself can act as this space between cultures and this site of negotiation.

Additionally, this study seeks to address the mixed race subject as an under-theorised identity in performance and theatre studies by situating these figures as *intercultural* subjects whose lived experiences are often eclipsed by their mobilisation as cultural ciphers. As Michele Elam writes in *The Souls of Mixed Folks*, 'the discursive making and unmaking of biracialism is always in large part a function of shifting political imperatives' (7). Similarly, in their introduction to *Global Mixed Race,* Rebecca King-O'Riain and Stephen Small highlight 'how mixed people have been used as emblems of multiculturalism—as "chic" and "new" and how those ideas are commodified (particularly on mixed race bodies) within global capitalism while at the same time being seen as suspect because they are considered not pure or "inauthentic"' (viii). As a result, mixed race identities are particularly vulnerable to externally imposed inscriptions and restrictions connected to both contemporary concerns and historical narratives. This study uses theories of intercultural performance to investigate the processes through which this commodification occurs, how narratives of authenticity are negotiable but ever-present and how mixed race individuals strategically use performance to articulate a sense of self as active meaning-makers in their own right.

The central claims of this thesis, then, are that (a) the performative articulations of mixed race and minority ethnic identities can be seen and read as intercultural, (b) that this interculturalism is nested within and performed by the individual and (c) that this individual interculturalism can be revealed by analysing moments of performance through a scalar lens. Unlike most other major studies of intercultural performance, the focus of this study is on the individual figure rather than the cultural collective. Royona Mitra's 2015 monograph on Bangladeshi-British dancer Akram Khan is the first sustained foray into individual interculturalism and expands the study of intercultural theatre into exciting new directions; however, the

majority of work on the topic continues to frame intercultural performance as a process of encountering and negotiating an external Other.

By systematically applying an intercultural analysis to the work of individual performers within one national context, I push intercultural performance theory to move beyond limited definitions of interculturalism as something that occurs between foreign bodies and usually only within the frame of performance, and to consider the organic processes of identity formation as an intercultural practice in and of itself. In this way this study is part of a wider turn in intercultural performance studies, which has shifted its gaze from strict binaries of international exchange between East and West or Global North and Global South to more collaborative and grassroots-initiated practices led by diasporic and migrant communities within a surrounding national context. This study thus hopes both to contribute to these larger discussions and to encourage greater dialogue *between* disparate minority theatres by offering an adaptable framework that enables transnational comparison between figures and groups and at the same time fundamentally recognises the cultural and historical specificity of each example.

While this thesis is grounded in performance studies, it also draws on theories of critical race and whiteness studies and crosses into disciplines of human geography, sociology, history and political science. Consequently, if one strand of this thesis explores how mixed race and minority ethnic theatres and identities can challenge or expand current frameworks of intercultural performance theory, another key aim is to interrogate how performance acts as a discursive space in the formation and articulation of collective (as well as individuated) identities and how it might act as an intervention in challenging exclusionary definitions of ethnic nationalism and belonging. In doing so I build on the socially and politically engaged work of intercultural theatre scholars such as Ric Knowles, Charlotte McIvor, Emine Fişek and others, all of whom ground their research on contemporary interculturalism not only as an aesthetic practice but also a political tactic. Indeed, these concerns have become even more pressing in the face of contemporary issues such as the current refugee crisis, the recent rise of global fascism with its links to white supremacy and the regressive

exclusionary nationalisms that underwrote events such as the UK's Brexit and the election of Donald Trump to the American presidency.

In this study I push previous investigations of the larger political and social implications of intercultural performance even further by centralising the scale of the individual in my analysis and by foregrounding mixed race identities alongside and in conversation with migrant and minority ethnic ones. In doing so, I open up larger inquiries around the agency of social and political actors to impact, reify or disrupt narratives circulating on the larger scales of the national, international, global or historical. I am particularly interested in the ways in which the scale of the body or the individual operates metaphorically as well as materially, which is particularly pronounced in the case of mixed race individuals who—despite their frequent mobilisation as metonyms for the (state of the) nation—have been under-theorised in performance studies generally, and intercultural theatre studies particularly.

Scalar Interculturalism

The idea of scale is central to my thesis, with the framework of scalar interculturalism working to bring together these two strands of inquiry. I use the term 'scale' to designate both geographic spaces ('the spatial extent of a phenomenon or study') and operational spaces ('the level at which relevant processes operate') (Marston 220). From this perspective, scale might variously connote a literal geographic space such as a region or nation state or a more conceptual space such as the local, marginal or ideological. Building on its use in human geography, I understand scale not as a set of ontological categories but rather as outcomes of social production or social construction (D. Gregory 665). Accordingly, though I repeatedly isolate certain scales as a site of critical interrogation throughout this study—the body/individual, the region/community, the national, the global, etc.—I recognise that how these scales are understood or operate 'on the ground' can shift depending on the cultural, political or economic conditions that generate and define them.

Indeed, following Richard Howitt, I see scale's 'constitution not just as a matter of size and level, but also as a relation' (49).[3] Howitt notes that 'when dealing with complex national geographies […] we need to consider a number of relations between geopolitics, territory, structure, culture, history, economy, environment, society and so on' (52). Using the metaphor of musical scales, which are '[f]undamentally […] a sequence of tones in a specified relationship with each other' (53), Howitt argues that 'many elements will remain consistent in a geographical analysis that spans across different geographical scales. What changes in such analysis is not the elements themselves […] but the relationships that we perceive between them and the *ways in which we might emphasize specific elements for analytic attentions*' (55 emphasis added). In this study, then, the use of scale allows for a multi-faceted performance analysis that can examine and compare a moment of performance at, and in dialectic with, a range of scales to reveal the levels at which the tensions, shifts, changes or boundaries of both performance and identity lie, and the processes and operations that produce or disrupt them.

It is this application of scale to intercultural performance analysis that I term scalar interculturalism. Further, I argue that this scalar interculturalism is nested within and articulated first and foremost at the scale of the individual bodies engaged with in my case studies. As this methodology is central to my thesis and a key aspect of my contribution to the field, I open this introduction with a detailed definition of scalar interculturalism, situating it in the larger discourses of the field of intercultural performance theory and human geography. I will then define

[3] Howitt uses the example of the national to demonstrate the important role of relation, writing 'When we talk about the "national" as a geographical scale, it is clear that there is no simple or necessary correspondence between the scale label and elements of either size or level of the geographic totality being referred to. In terms of spatial *size*, for example, both Singapore and Russia collect and report information at the "national" scale. […] Although the conventional use of such a label is more likely to be to emphasize scale as *level,* rather than scale as size the "national scale" can also be seen to encompass a wide range of organizational arrangements—unitary states, federal states, republics, monarchies, authoritarian governments, democracies and so on. […] So, when we refer to issues involving the "national scale"—what is being implied?' (52, emphasis in original). The answer to this question is, for Howitt, to be found in the idea of scale as relation.

and defend my use of key terms used throughout the thesis before sketching a foundational outline of the cultural context of contemporary Ireland. Finally, I will provide an overview of the shape of the dissertation by describing the main case study chapters.

Mapping the Field: An Overview of Intercultural Performance Theory

Since it was first applied to theatre and performance, the term 'intercultural' has been a fraught one. Indeed, no sooner was it deployed than it was disputed in what Ric Knowles refers to as the 'interculture wars' (21). A large part of this debate focused on the ethics and efficacy of initial conceptions—notably by Patrice Pavis—of a primarily Western-led intercultural performance paradigm. In *Theatre at the Crossroads of Culture,* Pavis laid out his 'hourglass' model as a template for reading intercultural performance. Designed to respond primarily to the work of Western theatre auteurs such as Peter Brook, Arianne Mnouchine, Eugenio Barba and Jerzy Grotowski, with occasional reference to similar work by non-Western directors such as Tadashi Suzuki, as Pavis describes it, '[i]n the upper bowl is the foreign culture, the source culture, which is more or less codified and solidified in diverse anthropological, sociocultural or artistic modelizations' (4). The aesthetics of this source culture are then transported to the target culture (Pavis's 'us') through the narrowing and then re-expanding neck of the hourglass via a series of interpretive directorial choices.

As Ric Knowles notes, Pavis's hourglass model 'set the terms for a debate in the 1990s that circulated around the explicitly appropriative relationship between source and target cultures' as it 'posits a one-way flow and filtering of information from source to target culture rather than any kind of fluid interchange' (26). Indeed, Pavis defends his hourglass model on the very basis that it 'is sufficiently complex to avoid a direct confrontation between peoples, languages or ethical values. Instead we compare theatrical forms and practices' (18). Yet Pavis's very insistence that theatrical forms and practices are not themselves fundamentally intertwined with the peoples, languages and ethical values of the culture from which they originate perpetuates and privileges Western ideas of

universal essentialism that erase not only cultural specificity but also the loaded political histories of colonisation, imperialism and global capitalist exchange that continue to inform the means of artistic intercultural practice. To desire an aesthetic exchange that avoids a direct confrontation of the cultures from which they are drawn seems to avoid true interculturalism all together.

Redefined by Daphne Lei as the HIT model (Hegemonic Intercultural Theatre) that combines 'First World capital and brain power with Third World material and labor' (571), these first conceptualisations and practices of interculturalism thus came under fire for perpetuating Western exploitation of the Global South. Critics such as Rustom Bharucha, Una Chaudhuri and Gautam Dasgupta were quick to challenge Pavis's model and the work of the practitioners to whom he was responding. Bharucha's powerful critique of Peter Brooks's *Mahabharata* aptly summarises the overriding concerns of scholars engaging with intercultural theory and practice. 'Unavoidably', he writes, 'the production raises the questions of ethics, not just the ethics of representation, which concerns the decontextualisation of an epic from its history and culture, but the ethics of dealing with people (notably Indians) in the process of creating the work itself' ("Peter Brook's 'Mahabharata': A View from India" 1646).

Theorisation of intercultural performance, then, required more nuanced and flexible models that could accommodate less hegemonic readings of culture and creation. As Jacqueline Lo and Helen Gilbert note in their article 'Toward a Topography of Cross-Cultural Theatre Praxis', Pavis's 'model's strength is also its weakness: it cannot account for alternative and more collaborative forms of intercultural exchange' (41). They go on to assert that the 'main problem with this model is that it assumes a one-way cultural flow based on a hierarchy of privilege' that 'assumes that there is a "level-playing field" between the partners in the exchange and does not account for the fact that the benefits of globalization and the permeability of cultures and political systems are accessed differentially for different communities and nations' (42). In response, Lo and Gilbert present their own reconfigured model of interculturalism that moves from the conception of the hourglass to that of 'a toy we used to play

with as children' that 'consisted of a piece of elastic strung through the middle of a plastic disc' (44). This spinning disc would move between one hand and the other (here, the two cultures of exchange) depending on the tension placed on the string. This model, Lo and Gilbert argue, 'draws our attention to the hyphenated third space separating and connecting different peoples' that 'should ideally activate both centrifugal and centripetal forces in the process of mutual contamination and interaction' (44).

This updated model spoke to renewed investigations of intercultural performance in what Una Chaudhuri welcomed as a 'new interculturalism' (34). Examples of these new intercultural studies include Bharucha's *The Politics of Cultural Practice*, Julie Hollege and Joanne Tompkins's *Women's Intercultural Performance*, Ric Knowles's *Theatre & Interculturalism* and Daphne Lei's *Alternative Chinese Opera in the Age of Globalization*. As Charlotte McIvor observes, 'This reinvigorated inquiry particularly drew attention to the use of intercultural aesthetic approaches by diasporic, migrant and/or otherwise globalized (usually minority) networks' (5). Since then, intercultural performance studies has broadened even further with the work of scholars such as McIvor and her recent monograph *Migration and Performance in Contemporary Ireland*, as well as Leo Cabranes-Grant's *From Scenarios to Networks*, Royona Mitra's *Akram Khan: Dancing New Interculturalism* and Knowles's *Performing the Intercultural City*.

Diverging from its initial conception as an aesthetic tool for (primarily) white Western theatre makers, these recent explorations into interculturalism emphasise the work done by non-Western or minority practitioners seeking to navigate and represent the contemporary cross-cultural experience. For example McIvor's 'concern is to analyse Irish interculturalism as a *social* and *aesthetic* formation' (2), which she explores through the work of minority ethnic Irish practitioners as they operate in conversation with larger national policies of social interculturalism. McIvor echoes Cabranes-Grant's interest in 'how intercultural exchanges modify and make history, how certain performances contribute to the management and reevaluation of social identities' (Cabranes-Grant 501), which he explores through his study of interculturalism and theatre in the context of

Colonial Mexico. And Knowles's exploration of how the 'city of Toronto functions as a *heterotopic ecosystem* in which *reassembling the social* can happen *relationally* and *rhizomatically*' (10, emphasis in original) reinforces the current interest within interculturalism to imagine intercultural exchange as multiple, non-linear, organic and socially and politically grounded.

Looking to the future, forthcoming collections on intercultural practice act as a testament to the resurgence of interest in intercultural performance studies as a way to reframe inquiries into migrant theatre, performances of statelessness, and the tensions between global and local identities.[4] In many ways, interculturalism is now seen as providing tools of political and artistic agency for those most affected by the cultural shifts instigated by globalisation, rather than simply as an aesthetic discourse modelled on a history of theatrical modernism in which the West is rejuvenated by its encounters with an exotic Other.[5]

Indeed, by framing intercultural exchange as one that happens between two fully separate and foreign cultures, the initial discourse around intercultural performances perpetuated narratives of cultural distinction that were already becoming increasingly out-dated in the face of ever-expanding globalisation. As Bharucha challenged, 'How can one presume to talk about interculturalism […] if one hasn't begun to encounter the diverse social and ethnic communities inhabiting one's own public sphere? Rhapsodizing (or agonizing) about the Other "out there" in some faraway place, without addressing the others in one's own neighbourhood or work place, is a kind of cosmopolitan affectation that one would have imagined to be entirely anachronistic in our times' (*Politics of Cultural Practice* 2). The pivot from interculturalism to what Bharucha defines as *intra*culturalism (which highlights the diversity and cultural exchange contained *within* nation-

[4] See, for example, *Interculturalism and Performance Now: New Directions?*, edited by Charlotte McIvor and Jason King (2018) and *The Bloomsbury Companion to Performance and Interculturalism,* edited by Daphne Lei and Charlotte McIvor (forthcoming).

[5] Key examples of this in theatrical modernism include Antonin Artaud's encounter with Balinese dancers, Edward Gordon Craig's orientalist ideas in his theorisation of masks, Bertolt Brecht's experience of Chinese opera and Mei Lan Fang, or W.B. Yeats's engagement with Japanese Noh theatre.

states),[6] or what Knowles, borrowing from Yvette Nolan, calls 'the brown caucus' of 'a kind of co-operative urban interculturalism-from-below' (75), can thus be seen in varying degrees in many of the studies described above, even if 'intercultural' remains the active and operative key term (the reasons for which will be explored later in this chapter).

The Individual Turn Within Intercultural Theatre

Equally as important—if less theorised—as this shift away from a unidirectional Eurocentric model has been the emerging shift away from the collective and toward the individual. This pivot was anticipated by Jen Harvie's provocation in her 2005 book *Staging the UK,* in which she challenged that intercultural analyses 'need development for the purposes of assessing intercultural encounter where it is more difficult to specify a primary, let alone solitary, location of power, or where the "us" and "them", "self" and "other" exist within the same community and/or *within the same person*' (12, emphasis added). While there have been pockets of engagement with the idea of the intercultural encounter occurring on the level of the individual, most notably in Mitra's work on Akram Khan, these have tended to focus on ideas of performer training rather than content or form.

For example, Holledge and Tompkins had begun to touch on the individual with their chapter 'Intercultural Bodies: Meetings in the Flesh' in *Women's Intercultural Performance*, in which they explore the tensions held in the dualism of the body of the performer and the performing body. As they observe, '[t]he body of the performer and the performing body interrelate to present a surface where "multiple codes" are inscribed', thus prompting them to wonder, 'Can an actor acquire multiple performing bodies that represent different cultures?' (110–11). Over the course of the chapter, Holledge and Tompkins explore a range of female performers and

[6] This can be seen as a much more positive and productive understanding of the term in comparison to Pavis's assertion that 'the *intracultural* dimension refers to the traditions of a single nation, which are very often almost forgotten or deformed, and have to be reconstructed', which seems to imply a distrust of cultural authenticity at best, and fears of cultural miscegenation at worst (20, emphasis in original).

their intercultural performance techniques, the first of which they categorise as '*taxonomic*, because it seeks clearly to demarcate the boundaries between cultures; the second as *hybrid*, because two cultures in some way merge together; and the third as *nomadic,* because boundaries of identity are transgressed' (112, emphasis in original). Ultimately, Holledge and Tompkins find the bodies of the nomads—such as their example of French-Canadian butoh dancer Pol Pelletier—to be a truly 'intercultural site that capitalises on the physical communication between the audience and performer to challenge radically the boundaries of identity' (113).

Holledge and Tompkins's analysis here privileges aesthetic training and practice, though they do begin to hint at a recognition of personal identity as a factor of performance. For example, in discussing the hybrid body they note that '[a] further distinction can be made between the readings of organic hybridity that reflect the corporeal realities of the bodies of many bicultural performers and the artificial hybrid performing bodies created by monocultural artists' (149). However, they note that this organic hybridity 'will probably be read as postcolonial or a migrant arts practice' but is not necessarily seen as intercultural—a reading that risks a return to an 'hourglass' understanding of intercultural exchange that privileges aesthetics over cultural specificity, and that excludes the postcolonial or migrant arts themselves (149).

In contrast, Holledge and Tompkins see the nomadic performing body as one that 'can still be described as an intercultural site even when it lacks visible traces of an intercultural performance practice' as they:

> unsettle the fixed boundaries of their audience through techniques of transformation and metamorphosis. In a Deleuzian sense, they establish desiring machines that connect the doubled performer/performing body to the body of the audience. […] The construction of these machines has been intercultural, and the machines have drawn on performance and arts practice from across the world. […] Through their exploration of diverse body states, they offer the body of the audience access to multiple identities and a fascinating journey through a labyrinth of indeterminacy. By suggesting that an intercultural performing body can be defined through kinaesthetic as opposed to visual or linguistic communication, we hope to open up new theoretical avenues for the body as a site for intercultural women's performance (149–50).

In other words, it is a performer's ability to draw on and articulate performance techniques from various cultures that enables an intercultural body.

Drawing similar and related conclusions is Cheryl Stock's chapter in *Contemporary Choreography: A Critical Reader,* 'Beyond the Intercultural to the Accented Body: An Australian Perspective'. Like Holledge and Tompkins, Stock surveys three forms of interculturalism in contemporary Australian dance, beginning with the models of cultural immersion and collaborative exchange, before ultimately endorsing the 'hybrid' diasporic artist as one whose 'interculturality already resides within the artists' own body and practice, played out in a multiplicity of ways through their choreography and performance' (287). Stock goes even further in proposing a more ambiguous fourth model—'implicit intercultural connections'—as one that 'is based on a premise other than conscious exchange or assimilation of different cultural practices—what Flynn and Humphrey (2006) refer to as "culture-residue"; where intercultural processes are implicitly embedded in the project, resulting in more ambiguous and less recognisable intercultural aesthetics, form or content' (290). In many ways, then, this study resonates with Stock's fourth model of implicit intercultural connections, as I also advocate for an understanding of a more ambiguous aesthetics of interculturalism. However, I continue to push beyond aesthetics altogether in arguing that understandings of the scalar context of performance can add intercultural layers to projects that are not, on the surface, intercultural at all.

Continuing this emphasis on performer training as interculturalism is Li Ruru and Jonathan Pitches's 2012 article 'The End of the Hour-Glass: Alternative Conceptions of Intercultural Exchange Between European and Chinese Operatic Forms'. Li and Pitches's 'conception of intercultural exchange […] eschews such [HIT] binaries in favour of *layers*' where 'the artists are placed centrally and cognizance is taken of the complexity of their own cultural backgrounds and training, before any intercultural

exchange can occur' (124).[7] Li and Pitches's conceptualisation of layers of experimental intercultural exchange is visualised as a series of concentric circles, at the heart of which is the performer themselves and their *intra*cultural exchange, only after which, Li and Pitches argue, 'can we move to considering the meeting of traditions' (125). It is in this meeting of traditions that *inter*culturalism occurs as a collective process, with an emphasis on 'a period of orientation and awareness-raising of these latent methodological influences' of the participants' performance training backgrounds (135).

Though there is a recognition of the individual, for Li and Pitches interculturalism remains primarily an exchange *between* individuals, rather than *within*. Further, what individual interculturalism there is occurs on the level of performer training and technique. Indeed, rather than emphasising audience reception and understanding (as in the case of Pavis), Li and Pitches advocate that 'in many ways the benefit of this way of working lies outside of any aesthetic product created and remains in and with the artists and their own processes' (136). Li and Pitches thus echo the conclusions of Holledge and Tompkins and Stock, and the general preoccupation to date with technique over content or lived experience when conceptualising the intercultural as contained within the individual.

Embodied Interculturalism: Royona Mitra's Study of Akram Khan

The challenge to shift the intercultural gaze past the collective and beyond technique has been taken up most comprehensively by Royona Mitra in her monograph *Akram Khan: Dancing New Interculturalism*. Mitra's study of second generation British-Bangladeshi dancer and choreographer Akram Khan 'plac[es] his embodied and interventionist approach to new interculturalism at the heart of his aesthetic experimentation and artistic inquiry' (10). Mitra designates 'new' interculturalism as one that 'changes the power dynamics at play by dismantling historical us-them hierarchies,

[7] Li and Pitches also note that they 'are wary of using the term model for fear of promulgating a sense of fixity and scaleability' (124)—a conceptual challenge that I will revisit and attempt to resolve in defining my own model of scalar interculturalism.

by simultaneously embodying us, them and phases in-between' (15). She theorises this new interculturalism by exploring how Khan's dance vocabulary, which is drawn from his *kathak* as well as contemporary dance training, is 'nuanced further by his own biographical circumstances and his interaction with the wider field of British South Asian arts' (31). Mitra's framework pushes us closer to an exploration of the intercultural on the level of the individual, accounting for practitioners' lived experiences through an analysis of the content—and not just the process—of performance.

Mitra defines the 'new' in her interculturalism along six key strands, many of which are taken up or echoed in this study and thus warrant a closer exploration here. First, Mitra describes how as 'a simultaneous insider-outsider to multiple cultural and national realities and identity-positions Khan's understanding of and approach to cultural interaction is not an intellectual and formulaic exercise but *an embodied reality* and a political and philosophical stance' resulting in 'an inherently non-white reality, critique and aesthetic' (23, emphasis added). This insider-outsider status is echoed in Khan's training in multiple movement vocabularies, which 'has enabled Khan to negotiate within his own body the tensions and potentials of working with and through *a body that is fundamentally intercultural*' (23, emphasis added). Through Khan, Mitra advocates for understandings of interculturalism as both an embodied and lived experience—an argument that this thesis seeks to develop. Perhaps most importantly, Khan's 'new' interculturalism 'deploys othering as an aestheticisation process and a conscious dramaturgical strategy through which he and his audiences encounter *multiple versions of his self*' (23, emphasis added). Likewise, investigating the implications of a focus on multiplicity of self—particularly the ways in which the individual is read differently when circulating across different scales of space and time—is a core concern of this study.

Mitra also defines her new interculturalism through an analysis of artistic content, and not just the embodied technique, of Khan's work. For example, unlike HIT productions that tend toward themes of epic universalism, Khan's work 'focuses on more microcosmic, personal and

embodied starting points' making them both 'more accessible and less threatening to the source culture/s' (23)—an idea that flags the impact and tensions of scale that will be explored further below. Mitra also notes how in his work Khan moves away from the text, 'evolving through an open-ended corporeal aesthetic that is ambivalent and ephemeral and therefore impossible to fix in its significations' (23). Mitra's study is thus similar to Holledge and Tompkins's desire to move beyond visual and linguistic modes of reading the intercultural through the kinaesthetic. Indeed, Holledge and Tompkins's desire to 'open up new theoretical avenues for the body as a site' come to fruition in Mitra's study of Khan's body of choreographic work.[8]

This can perhaps be most clearly seen in Mitra's analysis of Khan's *Zero Degrees* and *Desh*, and her theorisation of these works as an embodied Third Space. Both *Zero Degrees* and *Desh* address Khan's diasporic and hybrid identity as a child of Bangladeshi migrants who grew up in London. *Zero Degrees* 'narrates Khan's memory of a border-crossing between Bangladesh and India'—a journey that 'makes Khan acutely aware of his own British-Bangladeshi identity' and allows him to 'postulate on […] discovering the other in oneself' (92). In *Desh*, Khan returns to this British-Bangladeshi identity and his relationship with his father and/as Bangladesh. As a solo piece, Khan 'shifts between his moody teenage British self, his resilient and proud Bangladeshi father, his nuanced and reflective adult self interacting with his third-generation British-Bangladeshi niece, Ishita, and Shonu the little boy from the Bengali myth of Bon Bibi, which is a metaphoric fulcrum of the piece' (102). These pieces thus display key aspects of Mitra's new interculturalism, including Khan's multiplicity of selves, his interest in personal rather than mythic stories, and Khan's interculturalism as an embodied reality.

[8] Mitra further argues that Khan moves away from a reliance on Western dramaturgical lenses and a concern with the legibility of his work for a Western audience—again moving away from a concern about Western legibility, but unlike with Li and Pitches, here it is minority readings and not performer training that is prioritised.

It is this last point that Mitra builds on when she connects Homi Bhabha's theories of the diasporic Third Space to Khan's dance practice. Mitra argues for moving beyond ideas of displacement when attempting to read the children of the diaspora, as 'Khan's multiple affiliations to nations and cultures need to be understood as distinct and more complex than his parents' sense of simultaneous belonging to both Bangladesh and Britain' (94). *Desh* in particular 'prioritises the role of the body and its lived reality at the heart of diasporic identity-negotiations' and 'therefore suggests that Khan's body does not just occupy the third space, but that it is in fact *one and the same as the third space*' (101, emphasis added). This theorisation of the intercultural body containing and articulating symbolic or metaphoric space is one that I develop through the framework of scalar interculturalism.

Like Li and Pitches, I see interculturalism as a series of concentric circles, but here they are nested within the body of the individual rather than within the process of interpersonal exchange. And like Mitra, I see interculturalism as an embodied and lived experience that is articulated by and can be read through the corporeality of the individual. While Mitra's intervention is a particularly important and pivotal step toward shifting debates around intercultural practice towards the individual, it is still primarily concerned with how this interculturalism is articulated through performance aesthetics. In contrast, this study sets out a critical framework through which to read interculturalism that occurs beyond aesthetics by also analysing geographic, historic, cultural and political scales of performance and how these result in a diverse range of readings of the intercultural body. I call this framework scalar interculturalism, and argue that it is contained and can be understood through the nested figure—two central terms of this methodology that I will now define below.

A Methodological Framework of Scalar Interculturalism

Scalar interculturalism builds on human geography's methodological engagements with scale as a lens of analysis as explored and expanded on

since the 1970s.[9] I particularly draw on the work of Neil Smith who advocates for 'materially anchoring difference and the subject through a theory of scale where positionality is the product of contest and negotiation around socially demarcated boundaries' and 'identity is seen as being dependent upon the scale at which it is established' (Marston 232). Like Smith, I argue that the production of both performance and identity can shift depending on the scale at which they are generated, and that their receptions also shift according to the scale at which they are received.

In my own use of scale, I borrow Howitt's multiple metaphors of music and space as explored above. It is also worth noting that I also follow Howitt in his observation of the limits to—and values of—metaphor when he writes that his 'intention is not to use musicological terminology as an analytic tool in geographical analysis' but 'to consider its value as a metaphorical tool. Like all metaphors, its value in casting new light on key issues is diminished by interpreting it literally, or trying to insist on a one-to-one correspondence between the substantive and metaphorical issues' (57). Similarly, in this study my use of geographic scales as metaphor is used to isolate trends, illuminate connections and help formulate conceptions and ideas—not to act as a strict ordering of the world into disparate and distinct spaces.

My initial conceptions of scalar interculturalism were inspired by Smith's reading of Kysztof Wodiczko's Homeless Vehicle and the spatialised politics of geographic scales. As described by Smith in his article 'Contours of a Spacialized Poltics', '[t]he Homeless Vehicle builds on the vernacular architecture of the supermarket trolley, and provides the space and means to facilitate some basic needs: transportation, sitting, sleeping, shelter, washing' ("Contours" 54). By making (hyper)visible the daily challenges of homelessness, these vehicles act as 'instruments of political empowerment' in that 'symbolically and practically, they enable evicted people to "jump scale"' (Smith, "Contours" 60). Smith then interrogates

[9] 'Like several other concepts of space, scale was long entangled in Euclidean geographies. It assumed a natural character through its utility as a conventional cartographic metric. But in the late 1970s, space, place, and, shortly thereafter, scale, became caught up in the force fields of relationality, dialectics, and constructivism. Geography has not been the same since' (Jones III et al. 139).

some of the material and metaphoric scales that are 'jumped' through this process—Body, The Home, Community, Urban Space, Region, Nation, and Global Boundaries. He concludes, 'By setting boundaries, scale can be constructed as a means of constraint and exclusion, a means of imposing identity, but a *politics of scale* can also become a weapon of expansion and inclusion, a means of enlarging identities' ("Contours" 78, emphasis added).

By applying the concept of the scalar to readings of interculturalism as enacted by individuals, I extend this politics of scale to cultural production and performance. Like Smith, I argue that performances and cultural production originating from lower scales (the self, the community, the emergent) have the political potential to challenge or complicate hegemonies emanating from higher scales (national, historical, global). To help clarify the concept of scalar interculturalism I developed a visual model as pictured below (see Figure 1.1).

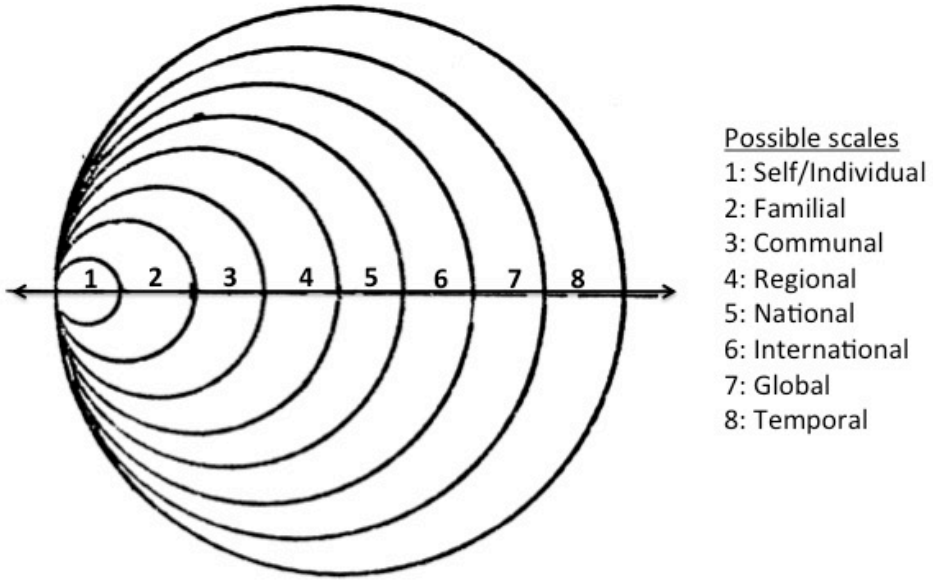

Figure 1.1 Model of scalar interculturalism

It is worth noting here that though visually it is easiest to communicate the idea of scalar interculturalism through expanding concentric circles, these should be seen as interlinked and fluctuating rather than as set and hierarchical. Indeed, if it were possible to embed moving images into print documents, then the model of scalar interculturalism might be imagined as a gif of expanding and contracting circles that rotate among

and within each other ad infinitum. In other words, I see the scales as both fluid and discursive, constantly in conversation with and impacted by the other scales with which they are entwined. Also, though in Figure 1.1 I have listed the primary scales that I engage with over the course of this thesis, this is not to suggest that these are the only available scales, or that these scales can ever be fully parsed from one another. In other words, like Li and Pitches I acknowledge the dangers of a static 'model' that forecloses further development or fails to accommodate nuance; however, the value of the model itself is that it allows for a consistent frame of reference when moving between a disparate range of case studies.

In addition to geographic scales I also include temporal scales as 'performance work necessitates the negotiation of cultural differences both temporally (across history) and spatially (across geographic and social categories)' (Lo and Gilbert 32). Indeed, the inclusion of the temporal is essential for several reasons. The first is that I often follow performances not only as discrete moments but as repertoire (as in Chapter Three, where I follow the stage musical *Once* across its multiple iterations from Broadway to the West End to its annual summer production in Dublin) or as canon (as in Chapter One where I look at the roles of Ethiopian-Irish actress Ruth Negga across her career at the Abbey stage, or Chapter Two when I consider Fijian-Irish athlete Seán Óg Ó hAilpín's range of performances across various media). The temporal scale thus allows me to trace not only how performances manifest differently at different spatial scales, but how their reception or meaning can change over time.

Secondly, cultures themselves are shaped historically and an analysis of culture that lacks a historical dimension risks naturalising current narratives. As Tavia Nyong'o notes, 'A critical approach to race should encompass both the history of racial ideas and the forms of historicity and temporality embedded in those ideas and practices' (10). As this study is very much speaking to critical race studies, the inclusion of the temporal scale allows just that. Finally, an inclusion of the temporal scale puts this study in conversation with key studies of time within performance studies such as Joseph Roach's *Cities of the Dead*, Diana Taylor's *The Archive and the Repertoire* and Rebecca Schneider's *Performing Remains*, all of which

centre questions of liveness and temporality in the (re)production of culture through performance.

The Nested Figure

If, as Smith observes, the various scales explored in his article 'are better seen as nested than hierarchical' ("Contours" 66), I argue that they are nested within the body itself.[10] In using the term 'nested' I play on both its use in human geography as a descriptor of a vertical or expanding hierarchy of scale, and on the visual metaphor of the Russian nesting doll.[11] Lo and Gilbert were inspired by the toy of the spinning disc that 'moves in either direction along the string depending on whether the tension is generated by the left or right hand' (44) when crafting their visual model of collaborative cultural exchange. Similarly, I evoke my own childhood toy in conceptualising how 'nesting' allows us to isolate and emphasise different scales as they are contained and expressed by the intercultural individual. The Russian nesting doll is a single figure that can be opened to reveal another, smaller version of itself, which in turn can be opened to reveal another, and another, until reaching the final, tiny version that lies at the core. These can then be reassembled into a single figure again, with each of

[10] In earlier explorations of the nesting of scale within the individual I drew on Michael Bertrand's suggestion that, in synthesising a wide range of cultural influences to craft his music and public persona, Elvis Presley could be seen as 'a *telescopic figure* for those seeking to comprehend the regional dynamics between race, class, and popular culture in the postwar era' (66, emphasis added). This original metaphor of the telescopic—concentric tubes that slide in on one another to contract or expand at will—was incredibly useful in my formative thinking around scale and the individual. While I now feel that 'nested' is a stronger term due to its use in human geography, as well as its related musical connotations, I wish to gratefully acknowledge the impact that Betrand's work had on this project.

[11] I am not the first person to draw on this metaphor—Howitt's critique of a similar metaphoric model in Michael Edwards's analysis of security systems notes that 'the reliance on an implicit nested hierarchy ultimately restricts the efficacy of the metaphor, in which interscalar links are difficult to represent or analyse, and in which the "individual" scale nesting beneath the last of the Russian doll-style pyramids is an inadequate representation of the multiple individuals who in fact provide a source for developing these systems' (52). In applying the scale of the individual literally rather than figuratively and proposing a simultaneously and ever expanding and contracting set of nested concentric circles that ripple out from and back to the scale of the body, this study argues that the idea of 'nesting' can be dynamic and responsive rather than restrictive and set, as put forward by Howitt.

the layers enclosing those below, or can be lined up in a row of ascending/descending size.

Conceptualising the scales of my study as nested within the body allows for two interrelated processes. The first is that it allows us to conceive of the nested individuals of my case studies as containing the various expanding and contracting scales under discussion in a way where the body itself becomes, as suggested above, the site of intercultural negotiation. In one way we might see the smallest figure at the core of the doll as the scale of the body, which then resonates out across larger scales, but at the same time we can think of the largest of the figures, which *contains* all of the others, as the scale of the body as well. The performances of the individual, then, both push out and up the scales, while at the same time being informed and often constricted by the top-down movement of the larger scales again. In this way my conception of 'nested' resonates with Erik Swyngedouw's argument that '[g]eographical configurations as a set of interacting and *nested* scales (the 'gestalt of scale') become produced as temporary stand-offs in a perpetual transformative, and on occasion transgressive, social-spatial power struggle' (169, emphasis added).

The second use of the nesting doll metaphor is that it allows us to play with the ways in which the individual can be 'unpacked' and examined specifically at different scales. This comparative analysis can occur either in a linear (ascending/descending) fashion, or by 'jumping scale' by directly comparing a micro scale to a macro (for example, looking at the scale of the familial in relationship to the global), while skipping over the scales in between. Both approaches have value: the linear progression might reveal a coherent gradient shift in narrative as a performance moves farther and farther away from its origin point, for example, while the jumping of scale might make hypervisible the political, cultural or economic forces at operation in a moment of performance. In this way my conception of scale as nested is 'a way of writing about complex processes of change that occur around multiple sites and scales, and in ever-changing spatial, temporal and scalar settings' (Jonas 400).

I use the term 'nested' separately from—though often in conjunction with—the term intersectional. While intersectionality 'provides a

framework for explaining how social divisions of race, gender, age and citizenship status, among others, positions people differently in the world' (Hill Collins and Bilge 15), I see these divisions as larger social constructs that themselves shift in how they are understood across geographic and temporal scales. Consequently, my analysis throughout this thesis is both intersectional *and* scalar, acknowledging a range of identity categories as they intersect with each other and impact or are impacted by the scale at which they circulate.

Scalar Interculturalism's Contributions to the Field

While existing understandings of interculturalism do often take into account multiple scales of production from both material and semiotic perspectives, scalar interculturalism allows us to focus this investigation from the perspective of the individual as cultural index. In doing so it highlights the fact that 'culture' itself is not monolithic but created and contested from within. Significantly, my framework of the nested figure extends the analysis of intercultural production to include individual's performances, even within productions that on a collective level are not necessarily intercultural. In this way my study pushes intercultural performance studies to consider mixed race and minority ethnic individuals, who are usually only recognised when participating in a conscientious blending of aesthetic forms, as in the case of Akram Khan.

I also argue that this scalar interculturalism can occur even if there is no experiential connection to a heritage culture as these racialised minority individuals are frequently read and received—and thus conscientiously navigating life—through preexisting and often externally imposed narrative scales. As Harvey Young explains in his book *Embodying Black Experience*, 'Black bodies have projected upon themselves a series of contradictory images premised upon the disjunction between their daily lived realities and societal assumptions, the myths, of the black body. […] Whether we refer to it as a surrogate, an epithet, or a metonym, the black body continually doubles real bodies' (*Embodying Black Experience* 23). The accumulated symbolic resonances of racialised bodies act as a scale of intercultural production in and of themselves. Indeed, I argue that mixed

race and minority ethnic identities challenge hegemonic understandings of nation, culture and belonging through their performance of (often) visible and aural difference/sameness. Further, with the inclusion of the temporal scale these nested bodies can become palimpsestic figures that simultaneously reflect historical and contemporary narratives, making visible the interplay between the two.

In applying a scalar analysis to the performances and performativity of mixed race and minority ethnic individuals, I do not mean to tokenise or instrumentalise them as merely figures on which to project discussions of race and identity, and thus reify the metonymic imposition flagged by Young. Rather, I seek to index the external factors that impact their agency as cultural producers while still acknowledging these figures' own agency in my analysis. In doing so I follow G. Reginald Daniel, Laura Kina, Wei Ming Dariotis and Camilla Fojas's explanation of critical mixed race studies as a field in which '[m]ultiracials become subjects of historical, social, and cultural processes rather than simply objects of analysis. This involves the study of racial consciousness among racially mixed people, the world in which they live, and the ideological, social, economic and political forces, as well as policies that impact the social location of mixed-race individuals and inform their mixed-race experiences and identities' (8). As such, I have chosen case studies that—through the incorporation of public interviews and autobiographies—allow space for the voices of those I study to speak for themselves, thus comparing the daily lived realities and the societal assumptions side by side.

To conclude, by employing a framework of scalar interculturalism we can unpack more thoroughly all of the various intercultural encounters operating within a moment of performance by beginning with the individual. Through an approach that teases out the scalar aspects of interculturalism we are also able to read the varied and sometimes contested political and cultural contexts in which these individuals' experiences are situated. Further, because it is grounded in the individual, this framework allows us to expand our analysis to include collective productions that are not necessarily intercultural in and of themselves, as in the next chapter discussing Ethiopian-Irish actress Ruth Negga. Scalar interculturalism

allows for a comparative study of a diverse range of case studies and processes that does not erase political, cultural or aesthetic specificity for the individuals who are participating or, by extension, the collectives in which they are participating.

While I have thus far mapped the field of intercultural performance studies and my position within it, I have yet to defend the choice of the term 'intercultural' itself—a term whose definition is as hotly debated in the areas of political science and social integration as it is in theatre and performance studies. In the following sections I therefore wish to parse the term's dual components—both the 'inter' and the 'cultural'—to ground my use of 'intercultural' and related terms over the course of this study. I first examine the choice of 'inter' as opposed to 'multi' as a prefix, situating this in larger histories of interculturalism and multiculturalism as a set of social policies to address diversity—policies that, as Charlotte McIvor and Ted Cantle note, often instrumentalise the arts and cultural practice as key sites of interaction. I then trace the use of intercultural and multicultural in discussions of cross-cultural theatre practices, distinguishing between the two and advocating for the continued use of intercultural over the phrase, proposed by Erika Fischer-Lichte, of 'interweaving' as a key term. I then turn to the 'cultural' by tracing the related discourses connecting ideas of race, ethnicity and culture, defining these words separately before examining how the ways they are often conflated are instrumental to the formation of national identities.

Multiculturalism and Interculturalism as Public Policy

In this thesis, I use 'interculturalism' to refer both to the performance practices of my case studies as well as the social and political policies of the Irish state in which they take place. At points I also use the phrase 'multiculturalism', not as an interchangeable synonym, but as a term with specific histories and connotations that I wish to evoke in that moment. As related terminologies that refer to similar issues and processes, multiculturalism and interculturalism are often conflated; indeed, some argue that interculturalism is simply a cosmetic fix with which to rebrand a 'failed' multiculturalism (Levey; Taylor). Yet theorisations of both terms

arise from distinct historic moments and come with different rhetorical emphases as well as different sets of applied social policies.

Multiculturalism was the key term in countries such as the UK, Canada and Australia for a set of policies that emerged in the 1960s and 70s to respond to increased diversity and migration. Charles Taylor writes from a Canadian perspective that multicultural policies had 'the combined goals of recognizing diversity, fostering integration and producing/maintaining equality' (415), while Ted Cantle observes that the 'multicultural model in Britain was noted for its emphasis on tolerance, equal rights and the avoidance of assimilation' (313). In the United States, where multiculturalism was more an ethos than a set policy, the rhetoric had the similar aims of promoting equality through policies such as affirmative action, and respecting and celebrating diversity.

However, the new millennium brought with it an interrogation of the efficacy of multiculturalism. In the wake of race riots in northern England in 2001 and the 9/11 attacks in that same year, multiculturalism's aims to respect difference seemed, instead, to have discouraged interaction and cross-cultural understanding. Some went so far as to allege that 'multiculturalism is designed to slow down and even defeat integration, that it consists in encouraging immigrants to retreat into their communities of origin—in short, that it encourages ghettoization' (Taylor 414). In a more nuanced argument, Cantle suggests that while the original intentions behind multiculturalism were positive, they are 'no longer appropriate to mediate the new era of globalisation and super-diversity' where cultures can no longer be seen as set and discrete, and identities are increasingly plural (313).

In light of this perceived failure of multiculturalism, the concept of *inter*culturalism was championed as a new approach to addressing integration, particularly in a European context of strong public and political backlash against the perceived failings of official multicultural policies. In Ireland, a country that did not have any such pre-existing policies due to their relatively late experience of significant inward migration, interculturalism immediately became the official terminology adopted by the Irish state. Indeed, McIvor notes that '[a]s early as 1998, Ireland

officially adopted interculturalism over multiculturalism through the formation of the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI)' (3), and this has remained the term of choice in state and social discourse ever since.

Interculturalism expresses many of the same aims and intentions as multiculturalism, but here the shift in emphasis is on dialogue and interpersonal exchange. Ricard Zapata-Barrero proposes that the 'three pillars of interculturalism are the promotion of contacts between individuals with different cultural attachments, the rejection of a state-centric policy paradigm and the corresponding promotion of the role of cities and the promotion of mainstreaming as opposed to group-targeted measures' (Boucher and Maclure 3). In addition to multiculturalism's primary focus on 'the tackling of inequalities and disadvantage', Cantle argues that interculturalism 'is about doing something more than that, it is about developing a wider community narrative, projecting diversity as a positive and trying to change attitudes as well as behaviours' (Antonsich 477).

However, Tariq Modood, who has written extensively as a continuing proponent of multiculturalism, argues that this emphasis on interaction is a continuation of—rather than a move away from—multiculturalism. Modood suggests that the two policies are nearly identical, but are seen to focus on different scales of operation where 'MC is based on the idea of intercultural dialogue at the [macro] level of public discourse, debates and ideas, IC provides a micro-level focus on interaction largely missing from the former' (Modood, "Interculturalism"). Indeed, far from the perpetuation of a 'separate but equal' approach to cultural tolerance, for Modood, the 'remaking of national identity was *central* to the idea of multiculturalism' (Antonsich 485, emphasis added). Significantly, Modood argues that an important aspect of multiculturalism is 'the suggestion […] that the story a country tells about itself to itself, the discourses, symbols and images in which national identity resides and through which people acquire and renew their sense of national belonging had to be revisited and recast through public debate in order to reflect the current and future, and not just the past, ethnic composition of the country' (*Multiculturalism* 18).

While a detailed engagement with the complex debates over multiculturalism versus interculturalism is outside of the scope of this study, I cite Modood here because it is important to note that central to *both* multiculturalism and interculturalism is the rhetoric around how the 'we' of a nation conceives of itself, particularly in regards to race and ethnicity. Indeed, while markers such as religion, gender and sexuality have become increasingly significant in debates around diversity, I absolutely reject Cantle's claim that 'of course, difference is no longer defined by "race"' (Antonsich 472).[12] Instead, I contend that race continues to be the paradigmatic unit of measure by which difference and belonging are defined—but often, as I explore in detail below, in ways that use ideas of 'culture' to obscure the racist rhetoric it belies.

Multiculturalism and Interculturalism as Performance Practice

In the context of theatre and performance, multiculturalism and interculturalism draw on the definitions and resultant policies explored above. Multicultural theatre in particular is often linked to multicultural state policies of funding the arts in ways that sought to promote diversity but have since been critiqued for the restrictive parameters of how this diversity was understood. Yet if in debates of public policy multiculturalism and interculturalism have struggled to clearly define themselves in relation to one another, the field of terms is even more crowded when it comes to conceptions of culture, theatre and performance.

As Lo and Gilbert observe in their own attempt to define the term, '[v]iewed collectively, the various attempts to conceptualize the field reveal a contested terrain where even the terminologies are woolly, to say the least' (32). A herd of prefixes (inter, intra, ultra, extra, pre, post, multi, trans) have been variously affixed to 'culture' in an attempt to differentiate taxonomies of performance. Within these taxonomies, subsets within subsets,

[12] It should be noted that I believe Cantle means to say that difference is no long defined *exclusively* as race, as he goes on to note the intersectional ways in which difference is experienced or understood. However, this phrasing, along with the statement that follows ('Whilst this remains very salient for many people…') seems to imply a kind of post-race flippancy that risks inviting the notion that race is a problem that has been 'solved' and is, as such, no longer relevant to discussions of interculturalism.

continuums and permutations continue to haunt any attempt at a clear definition. Tangential theatres such as 'ghetto', 'minority' and 'migrant' are seen as related to, but not quite (or not quite always) intercultural. While an exhaustive exploration of all of these variations on the cultural theme is beyond the scope of this study, I do wish to clarify multicultural and intercultural as the two key terms I evoke in this thesis, and to defend the continued use of 'intercultural' over Erika Fischer-Lichte's proposed 'interweaving'.

Though many of the ideas and debates around intercultural theatre have been explored in depth above, a brief reiteration of what is meant by intercultural in this context is perhaps useful here. Lo and Gilbert define intercultural theatre as 'a hybrid derived from an intentional encounter between cultures and performing traditions' (37). Ric Knowles defends the use of 'intercultural' as it 'evokes the possibility of interaction across a multiplicity of cultural positionings, avoiding binary coding' (4). And Holledge and Tompkins define interculturalism simply as 'the meeting in the moment of performance of two or more cultural traditions' (7). The form that this encounter, interaction or meeting takes, then, is perhaps less important to defining the intercultural than the process that precipitates it.

In distinguishing the term 'multicultural' from 'intercultural' I follow Lo and Gilbert, who describe what they call 'small "m" multicultural theatre and big "M" multicultural theatre' (33). Small 'm' multicultural theatre 'refers to theatre works featuring a racially mixed cast that do not actively draw attention to cultural difference among performers or to the tensions between the text and the production content', or folkloric display as 'a cultural practice that showcases specific cultural art forms in discrete categories, often within a festival model' (33–34). In contrast, big 'M' multicultural theatre 'is generally a counterdiscursive practice that aims to promote cultural diversity, access to cultural expression, and participation in the symbolic space of the national narrative' (34). Lo and Gilbert link these two forms of multicultural theatre to their corresponding site-specific discourses of, on the one hand, the bottom-up, unofficial multiculturalism of the U.S. (small 'm') and the top-down state strategies of Canada and Australia (big 'M') on the other.

However, I push against Lo and Gilbert's desire to privilege interculturalism and what they perceive as its greater 'latitude to explore and critique alternative forms of citizenship and identity across and beyond national boundaries' over multiculturalism's 'grassroots response to the "lived reality" of cultural pluralism' as expressed through migrant and community theatre practices (36). Instead, I see these forms as intercultural in their own right, as they reflect cultural encounters that occur *within* national boundaries. Rather than seeing these practices as multicultural, as defined above, I contend that they speak directly to the social policy ideals of interculturalism and its ideas of dialogue and mutual transformation.

In the wake of the debates around intercultural performance, a related discourse arose around the term 'interweaving' as a potential replacement for 'intercultural'. Erika Fischer-Lichte originally proposed the metaphor of interweaving cultures through performance where '[m]any strands are plied into a thread; many such threads are then woven into a piece of cloth, which thus consists of diverse strands and threads […] without necessarily remaining recognizable individually' (11). For Fischer-Lichte, interweaving allows performance analysis to move beyond 'the pervasive binary concepts of Self versus Other, East versus West, North versus South, own versus foreign and the aesthetic (i.e. intercultural performance) versus the political and ethical (i.e. postcolonial theory)' (13). The visual metaphor of interweaving, with separate strands that bind together but remain intact and distinct in the very process of synergy, is both evocative and utopic. And Fischer-Lichte's desire to move beyond simplistic binaries is very much in keeping with the new directions of current intercultural performance scholarship. However, a move to 'interweaving' risks the retracing of territory already explored by intercultural scholars as well as a certain rhetorical isolationism. As McIvor contends, 'interculturalism's very loadedness remains in fact a critical and political asset' as it 'stays *with* the challenge of how these very dynamics continue to shape and interrupt its own critical and aesthetic utopian imaginings in the present' (forthcoming). I similarly find that the continued use of 'intercultural' to be of value precisely because it places itself within a

historical and ongoing discourse that is very much grounded in the politics of performance, and in ways that echo the discourses of politics themselves.

So, to summarise, throughout this thesis I use the term intercultural to refer to productions that meet the criteria of interculturalism as laid out by the various performance scholars referenced above, notably as a performance in which two or more cultures meet and interact. I use the descriptor of multicultural to refer specifically to productions that present multiple cultures as discrete and essentialised identities on stage, or use racially mixed casts to imply a generic sense of (usually celebratory) diversity without a more critical engagement. Meanwhile, I refer to public policies as intercultural according to the national context within which they are set, with interculturalism as the key term for social policy in Ireland and current discourses in the EU, UK and Canada, but multiculturalism to refer to specific state policies such as those of Canada, Australia and the UK. And while these sections have traced the genealogies and specific implications of the 'inter' in 'intercultural', the next sections turn toward the broader implications of 'cultural', particularly in relation to ideas of race, ethnicity and the nation.

Race, Ethnicity and Culture

My investigation of interculturalism focuses on the ways in which race, ethnicity and culture are intertwined both as broad categories and in the moment of performance, and often in ways that work to reveal or conceal prevailing ideologies and racialised thought in discussions of national identity and belonging. However, these three terms are so closely intermingled that establishing a clear-cut definition of each that does not inherently overlap the other is difficult to achieve. The Oxford English Dictionary defines culture as the 'distinctive ideas, customs, social behaviour, products, or way of life of a particular nation, society, people, or period' ("Culture, n."). Race is defined as '[a]n ethnic group, regarded as showing a common origin and descent; a tribe, nation, or people, regarded as of common stock' as well as, in a way that acknowledges the term's fraught history, 'According to various more or less formal attempted systems of classification: any of the (putative) major groupings of mankind,

usually defined in terms of distinct physical features or shared ethnicity, and sometimes (more controversially) considered to encompass common biological or genetic characteristics' ("Race, n.6"). Finally, ethnicity is defined as '[s]tatus in respect of membership of a group regarded as ultimately of common descent, or having a common national or cultural tradition' ("Ethnicity, n."). As we can see in the shared recurrence of the words 'nation' and 'national' across all three, as well as the frequent references back to one another, the concepts of culture, race and ethnicity are all deeply intertwined. Further, the use of the phrase 'regarded as' in the definitions of both race and ethnicity flag the constructed nature of these categories.

In this study, when I refer to culture I very much follow the OED's meaning of shared traditions and customs. I am particularly attentive to the ways in which culture is performed through acts both quotidian (language, accent, food, dress) and formal (theatre, sport, music, dance). And in using the terms race and ethnicity I also acknowledge these concepts as constructed categories rather than ontological certainties. However, as Harvey Young writes in *Theatre & Race*, 'Although race is an invention […] it should not be dismissed as either a mere fiction or an anachronism. Its broad acceptance, seeming materiality, and staying power are anchored in its ability to provide a narrative that unifies a collective social history with the variances in individuated social perspectives' (*Theatre & Race* 6). In other words, the fact that race and ethnicity are man-made does not erase their real-life implications and ramifications.

The distinction between race and ethnicity can often become muddled in both general discourse and academic study, and it is important to remain attentive to the slippages between the two. As Hazel Markus writes, '[g]roups typically conceptualized as races can for some purposes be "ethnicized" and analyzed as ethnic groups, and ethnic groups can be "racialized" (as is currently the case for people with Middle Eastern heritage in the United States, who face increasing discrimination following 9/11) and analyzed as racial groups' (654). Thus understandings of race and/as ethnicity are impacted by broader cultural narratives that can shift over time and context. Indeed, as Miri Song observes in her book *Choosing Ethnic*

Identity, 'many White English people […] may invoke other European heritages, such as French, German, or Scandinavian ancestry' while also being able to 'simply claim an English or British identity, which draws upon a dominant understanding of English and British nationality' (*Choosing Ethnic Identity* 14). However, a similar ability to 'simply' claim an English or British identity, as well as the ability to be recognised as specific ethnicities rather than stereotyped categories, often eludes people of colour. Thus 'the actual range of ethnic identities available to individuals and the groups to which they belong may not be wholly under their control' (Song, *Choosing Ethnic Identity* 1). Indeed, as Joanne Nagel argues, '[s]ince ethnicity changes situationally, the individual carries a portfolio of ethnic identities that are more or less salient in various situation and vis-á-vis various audiences. As audiences change, the socially-defined array of ethnic choices open to the individual changes' (154).

In using race and ethnicity throughout this study, I see the distinction between these two terms as scalar. When analysing race I am generally discussing the larger scales of the global and international, particularly in the form of transatlantic narratives of race and racial identity, and how these impact on the specific scale of the Irish national context. When analysing ethnicity, on the other hand, I tend to focus more on national scale, both within and between national borders. Thus I use race when referring to broad racial categories such as 'black' and 'white' that, though their meanings and applications have shifted since as early as the fourteenth century (Goldberg), continue to act as the cornerstones of racialised discourse today. On the other hand, I use ethnicity following the OED's idea of a common national or cultural tradition. Specifically, I use ethnicity to refer to a heritage culture that is usually connected with national belonging—for example Fijian, Polish and Ethiopian, as well as Irish, are all ethnic identities that I discuss in various chapters. At different points, and depending on the scale framing their performances, I thus discuss the individuals of my case studies as identifying, performing and being received as both racial and ethnic figures.

The use of ethnicity thus disrupts monolithic and essentialised ideas of race by flagging the internal diversity that occurs *within* racial

categories—a distinction that becomes particularly important in understanding and challenging hegemonies of whiteness. It also highlights the contested nature of national identity, particularly as regards assumptions of ethnic nationalism. I therefore use the terms 'minority ethnic' and 'majority ethnic' when referring to general populations within this study. Deepa Mann-Kler advocates for the use of the term 'minority ethnic' over the phrase 'ethnic minority' as the latter 'creates the impression that "ethnic" is a term applied only to minority groups within a given society. However, all people—Black or white—belong to an ethnic group' (64). In other words, as Markus observes in her field of psychology, by focusing primarily on non-white identities as different from an unmarked white norm, scholars have 'been much less astute in recognizing that "everyone is ethnic" and in examining how mainstream European American behavior is also ethnically and racially grounded' (652). In the Irish context, McIvor argues that the use of 'minority ethnic' 'ensures that Irishness 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 in contemporary Ireland' (2–3)—concerns that are very much central to this study.

If the specificity of ethnicity disrupts essentialised understandings of race, then my focus on mixed race Irish individuals similarly disrupts understandings of Irishness as linked to a white racial identity. Following G. Reginald Daniel et al. in their introduction for the inaugural issue of the *Journal of Critical Mixed Race Studies*, I choose the term 'mixed race' over 'multiracial' as it avoids 'the potential confusion of multiracial with the meaning of "diversity" as in "multiculturalism"' (5). As Daniel et al. note, since Christine Iijima Hall's doctoral dissertation 'The Ethnic Identity of Racially Mixed People: A Study of Black-Japanese', the term 'multiracial' has been used 'to refer to racially heterogeneous populations' as well as 'to describe individuals of mixed heritage, ancestry, or background' (4). Many preferred this term to 'mixed race' as a new terminology that would avoid historically pejorative connotations, with 'mixed' as being seen as linked to phrases such as 'mixed up'. However, advocacy groups such as Hapa Issue Forum preferred the term 'mixed race', and it is currently the more

frequently used term in academic scholarship, though most recognise the interchangeable nature of the two terms.

The analysis of mixed race Irish figures in this study is particularly important as it complicates debates around national belonging that have become increasingly grounded in ideas of genealogy since the passing of the 2004 Citizenship Referendum, which amended the Irish constitution from recognising citizenship based on birthplace (*jus soli*) to parentage (*jus sanguinis*). Equally important, the history of mixed race Irish populations disproves the accepted narrative that diversity did not come to Ireland until the onset of the Celtic Tiger in the 1990s. Rather, organisations such as Mixed Race Irish and the recent #IamIrish project, which are discussed in detail in Chapter One, reveal that mixed race populations have been growing in Ireland since at least the 1940s.

In focusing on the performances of mixed race Irish individuals, this study links to others investigations of mixed race performance while expanding these to an Irish context and a range of performance forms. Key texts on mixed race such as Tavia Nyong'o's *The Amalgamation Waltz*, Michele Elam's *The Souls of Mixed Folks*, Camilla Fojas and Mary Beltrán's edited collection *Mixed Race Hollywood* and *The Journal of Critical Mixed Race Studies* offer rich insights into mixed race figures and the shifting connotations associated with them over time, but are contained to an American context. And while recent publications such as the edited collection *Global Mixed Race* (King-O'Riain) and the 2018 special issue of *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 'Critical Mixed Race in Global Perspective' provide a global comparative approach to critical mixed race studies, these tend to focus on fields outside of performance studies. In an Irish context, little to date has been written about mixed race identities, with two key exceptions being Zélie Asava's *The Black Irish Onscreen: Representing Black and Mixed-Race Identities on Irish Film and Television* and the oral history *My Eyes Only Look Out*, a collection of interviews of mixed race Irish edited by Margaret McCarthy. Both of these books are important interventions, and this study seeks to build on them by both expanding on mixed race identities in an Irish context, and connecting these to broader

discussions of critical mixed race studies through intercultural performance analysis.

If this section sought to define and clarify culture, race and ethnicity as distinct key terms, the following section looks to interrogate how they often become synonymous in discussions around national belonging, specifically investigating the histories in an Irish context. In doing so I defend my approach to the study of intercultural performance as one that is grounded in a critical approach to race, as well as the choice to focus on a national case study in an increasingly globalised world.

Race and Ethnicity as (Irish) National Culture

In the definitions cited above, race, ethnicity and culture are all united by the key word of 'nation'. The national scale, then, is one of the most central to this study and one returned to frequently throughout. Further, I ground my discussions of culture and interculturalism in a critical analysis of race as, particularly on a national scale, it is important to be aware of the shifting and often exclusionary connotations of race and ethnicity that have been attached to these discourses. I argue that attempts to separate or downplay these connotations risk evacuating studies of cultural exchange—both social and aesthetic—of political impact by favouring idealistic notions of culture as racially transcendent or inherently positive. Indeed, in these cases 'culture' often becomes, at best, a way to avoid more discomfiting conversations around race and, at worst, a Trojan horse for narratives of racial exclusion and superiority. As Patricia Hill Collins and John Solomos write in their introduction to *The SAGE Handbook of Race and Ethnic Studies*:

> the growth of new forms of *cultural racism* suggest that, within the language of contemporary racist movements, there is both a certain flexibility about what is meant by race as well as an attempt to reconstitute themselves as movements whose concern is with defending their *nation* rather than attacking others as such. It is perhaps not surprising in this context that within the contemporary languages of race one finds a combination of arguments in favour of cultural difference along with negative images of groups such as migrants and racial minorities as a threat and as representing an *impure culture* (5, emphasis added).

Thus collective culture and racial identity are often entangled in contemporary rhetorics of national belonging. By explicitly unpacking these entanglements in the Irish context I seek to identify and challenge exclusionary discourses that feed into contemporary racisms, while my focus on mixed race and minority ethnic figures suggests avenues of resistance and integration.

While new forms of cultural racism might be recent, the equation of culture and race has an extensive history. As Theo Goldberg notes in his article 'The Semantics of Race':

> Explanations of race and racialized phenomena in the past hundred years have tended to reflect on two general forms. The first accepts the standard *biological sense of race* as subspecies genetically interpreted, of race as natural kind. It attempts to explain relations between real racial groups so interpreted, or their social appeal, or at least the social significance of such appeal, by reducing the racialized phenomena to underlying social (or, in some cases, biological) terms or relations. […]. Where these underlying levels are seen as irreducibly social, they are cast as either class or culture; where biological, they are read as biological kinship or common gene pool (546, emphasis in original).

Goldberg elaborates that 'the cultural conception includes identifying race with language, group, religion, group habits, mores or customs, a dominant style of behaviour, dress, cuisine, music, literature and art' (548).

While both biological and social definitions of race are constructed, the social terms have arguably been more open to reappropriation and resignification by those resisting externally imposed racialisation. Thus the connotation of race and culture is not necessarily always a negative one. As Young observes, '[d]espite the historical baggage of race, the concept is not unredeemably negative. Although divisive—as all categories are—it can be used to rally a sense of *cultural pride* that is not necessarily dependent upon the denigration of others. Race can be a unifying category that captures a set of *cultural* experiences that stem, in part, from the history of its deployment' (*Theatre & Race* 7–8, emphases added). I thus recognise the positive value of race as cultural connection and expression, especially for mixed race or minority ethnic individuals.

Indeed, in the Irish context this conflation of culture and race was central to the nationalism of the Gaelic Revival and that movement's attempts to define an Irish race in positive terms as political tactic for Irish independence. In his book *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism*, John Hutchinson uses the Gaelic Revival to define and illustrate his conception of cultural nationalism as distinct from and equally important as forms of political nationalism. Indeed, Hutchinson argues, 'the struggle for nationhood in the modern world has everywhere been preceded by emerging cultural nationalist movements' (2). In his analysis of the three 'revivals' of Irish cultural nationalism stretching from the 1740s to the early twentieth century, Hutchinson argues that cultural nationalism 'has its own distinctive aims—the moral regeneration of the national community rather than the achievement of an autonomous state—and a distinctive politics' that often work in tandem with political nationalism, but operate independently of such movements (9). Further, Hutchinson notes the central role of secular intellectuals—'those (mainly historical scholars and artists) who formulate the cultural ideals of the movement and those (generally journalists and politicians) who transform these ideals into concrete political, economic and social programmes'—and the intelligentsia—those 'trained as knowledge specialists, [who] are vocationally more concerned to serve the practical needs of the community'—in formulating and enacting cultural nationalist movements (3–4). The Gaelic Revival thus perfectly encapsulated Hutchinson's main argument with its focus on the reclamation of a distinct Irish language as well as the development of a distinct Irish culture as articulated through literature, theatre, sport and dance. Further, the Gaelic Revival was very much a project of educators, politicians and artists rather than a more grassroots movement of the people.

However, Hutchinson's focus on the top-down formation of a national culture via an intellectual elite overlooks the importance of national culture as daily, lived experience. In his book *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life*, Tim Edensor advocates for analyses of nationalism that acknowledge the ways in which 'national identity is not only located and experienced at renowned symbolic sits, but equally is domesticated and asserted at local and domestic levels' (186). Edensor's

critique of preceding theories of nationalism—including Hutchinson's—is focused on the ways in which they 'are all guilty of several reductive assumptions about culture and its relationship with national identity' (10). Of Edensor's criticisms, the one most pertinent to this study is his contention that for key theorists of nationalism such as Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm, Benedict Anderson and Anthony Smith, '"high" and "official" culture is assumed to be triumphant, and is uncritically absorbed by the masses. These national cultural values organised by a national elite, cultural guardians who alone delineate what is national, propose a top-down view of culture and wholly ignore popular and vernacular cultural forms or practices. There is little sense of contestation, alternative constructions and cultural dynamism' (10–11).

However, Edensor argues, '"Traditional" cultural forms and practices of the nation are supplemented, and increasingly replaced in their affective power, by meanings, images and activities drawn from popular culture' (12). In other words, these hegemonic, top-down conceptions of national culture are now (and perhaps have always) 'mingle[d] with innumerable other iconic cultural elements which signify the nation in multiple and contested ways' (12). Edensor's defense of the legitimacy of popular culture and daily habitus as a space in which national identity is truly understood by the people of a nation signals towards this study's interest in how an exploration of the scalar reveals these tensions between the personal and political. In other words, by exploring the more intimate scales of the family, the community and the everyday (as advocated by Edensor) this thesis explores how grassroots or bottom-up nationalism(s) can disrupt the historic, hegemonic and often reductive narratives of a unified ethnic or cultural nationalism as a marker of legitimate citizenship.

Further, this study seeks to reinsert the role of race in discussions of formations of national culture. While Hutchinson's insights into cultural nationalism do acknowledge the role of ethnicity—defined here as shared cultural memory—in shaping the form and course of cultural nationalist movements, they tend to neglect the ways in which race operates as part and parcel of these ethno-cultural formations. Yet as Steve Garner notes in his book *Racism in the Irish Experience*:

> There is, manifestly, an enduring and well-developed popular notion of the Irish as constituting a "race". The idea that there is such a thing is therefore not only the result of the racialisation of the Irish by the British, and later by American WASPS (in other words an ascribed identity), but also the fruit of work by Irish nationalists aiming to construct a positive (that is, self-defined) identity in the face of the negative representation of Irishness around them. In terms of this retaliatory dynamic, the racialisation of the Irish parallels that of twentieth-century African-Americans in their project of infusing the notion of blackness with positivity. This involves ideological labour (70–71).

This ideological labour was, ultimately, the work of the Gaelic Revivalists, and the fact that Garner here likens this 'retaliatory dynamic' to that of African-Americans indicates the extent to which, as will be explored in depth throughout this thesis, Irishness has been habitually associated with blackness. Indeed, in the next section it is this very racial entanglement that I wish to begin to trace by following this chapter's epigraph as it shifts across the scales.

The (What) of Europe?: Shifting Cultural Contexts of Contemporary Ireland

By returning to the epigraph that opens this chapter and exploring the original context and subsequent journey of the quote, in this section I seek to both present the context of the temporal parameters of this study as well as demonstrate how a use of the scalar opens up new readings of cultural products. This section thus acts as an introductory model for how I later apply a scalar reading to race, identity and performance in contemporary Irish performance. I locate 'contemporary' Ireland in the last thirty years, focusing particularly on the Celtic Tiger (c. 1990-2008) and post-Celtic Tiger (c. 2008-2018) periods as moments of key social and cultural changes within the nation. These cultural shifts brought with them new discourses around Irish identity and belonging in tandem with the new bodies visible within Ireland. However, while large-scale inward migration and diversity might be relatively new, understandings of race in Ireland—as well as non-white Irish bodies—have a much longer, complicated history.

In the original context of the 1980s, Doyle's assertions of Irish blackness resonated with a sense of national marginalisation and lingering post-colonial affinities. The 1980s in Ireland were marked by economic recession, accompanied by high rates of unemployment and economic emigration. Meanwhile, the violence of the Troubles in Northern Ireland continued unabated, making present Ireland's status as a post-colonial country. The Catholic civil rights movement in the north drew inspiration from the American Civil Rights Movement, promoting strong cross-racial identification with black communities.[13] Similar cross-racial solidarities could be seen in the south of Ireland in the form of strong anti-apartheid support, evidenced in acts such as the 1984 Dunnes workers strike.[14] These solidarities reflected historical sympathies between Irish and black communities as former colonial subjects—sympathies that stretch back to the alliances between former slave Frederick Douglass and Irish politician Daniel O'Connell in the 1840s, or Marcus Garvey and Sinn Féin in the 1920s.[15] Thus, though the humour of Doyle's statement played on a more modern understanding of Irishness as a white identity, it also evoked this lingering sense of black identification.

In his final triumphant pronouncement of 'I'm black and I'm proud!' Rabbitte—like the rest of Ireland in the late 1980s—would hardly have suspected the seismic shifts that were about to occur in Ireland, both economically and culturally. In 1990, Ireland elected its first female president, Mary Robinson, whose welcoming rhetoric toward the Irish

---

[13] Irish civil rights leader Bernadette Devlin made this link explicit when, after being given the key to New York City in 1970, she in turn presented it to the Black Panthers 'as a gesture of solidarity with the black liberation and revolutionary socialist movements in America' ("Irish Give Key to City To Panthers as Symbol"). For more on the links between black and Irish civil rights movements, see Brian Dooley's *Black and Green: The Fight for Civil Rights in Northern Ireland and Black America*.

[14] The Dunnes Store strike, which lasted from 1984 to 1987, was initiated when Dublin store worker Mary Manning refused to handle the sale of grapefruit from South Africa in protest of apartheid. Manning was joined by eleven other workers, and support for the Dunnes strikers resulted in the Irish government banning the import of South African goods in 1987 (Boland).

[15] For more on the connections between Douglass and Ireland, particularly in performance, see Kathleen Gough's *Kinship and Performance in the Black and Green Atlantic: Haptic Allegories*.

diaspora shifted historically negative narratives of emigration and signalled toward more open ideas of Irishness. The interval performance at the 1994 Eurovision Song Contest introduced the world to *Riverdance*, which sparked a resurgence in Irish cultural capital throughout the world. The Good Friday Agreement of 1998 and the resulting peace fire meant an end to the Troubles, which had impacted both the image and stability of the region. Meanwhile the Ferns Report (2005), Ryan Report (2009) and Murphy Report (2009) were published by state commissions established to investigate widespread child abuse at Irish institutions and sexual abuse within the Catholic Church, thus eroding the Church's previous authority in Irish civil life. And, perhaps most significantly, by the mid 1990s Ireland found itself in an economic boom that was to become known as the Celtic Tiger.

The Celtic Tiger, as it was coined by Kevin Gardner in his report for US investment group Stanley Morgan in 1994, introduced 'a phase of economic growth in Ireland which began in the early 1990s, peaked in 1999, slowed in tandem with the global economic downturn in 2001, and after a brief resurgence on the back of the housing market, continued to decline until its pronounced 'death' in 2008' (McGrath 4). Fuelled by Irish government policies that 'embraced deregulation, entrepreneurial freedoms, and free-market principles and aggressively courted high-value-added export-oriented FDI', the Irish economy saw 'a rapid shift to high-skilled manufacturing, a phenomenal growth in the service sector, the development of a domestic consumer society, rapid growth in population through natural increase and immigration, and a housing and property boom' (Kitchin et al. 1302). Seemingly overnight, Ireland went from economic depression to economic excess.

As noted above, accompanying—and, indeed, enabling—the boom of the Celtic Tiger was a rise in inward migration. Long a nation of mass emigration, Celtic Tiger Ireland became for the first time in its modern history a nation of net *inward* migration. Members of the Irish diaspora returning to a now economically viable homeland made up a large percentage of those coming to Ireland, but were joined by growing numbers of economic migrants with no family ties in Ireland. As a member state of

the EU, and one of only two nations that did not pose any restrictions on movement when new accession states were added in 2004, Ireland was an attractive destination to European migrants. Ireland also became a destination for asylum seekers and refugees, though these numbers peaked in 2008 and have never made up a significant percentage of overall migration.[16]

This inward migration meant that, for the first time, Ireland began to see a shift in its national demographics that threw into sharp relief the tensions inherent in Rabbitte's assertion of Irish blackness, particularly his use of the charged racial epithet. Doyle himself notes in the foreword to his 2007 collection *The Deportees* that 'if I was writing that book [*The Commitments*] today, I wouldn't use that line. It wouldn't actually occur to me, because Ireland has become one of the wealthiest countries in Europe and the line would make no sense' (*The Deportees* xii). Doyle's focus on Ireland's newfound wealth rather than its increased ethnic diversity as the litmus test for its 'blackness' supports Mary McGlynn's interpretation that 'the interest Jimmy has in soul music is grounded in a class-based, not racial, analogy, as race would lead the Commitments back into the national essentializing that has excluded them [as urban working-class] in the first place' (237).[17] However, the newly visible presence of minority ethnic bodies in Ireland and the racism with which they were met also undermined both the claim of Irishness as a black identity, as well as previous

[16] In 2008 3,866 new asylum seekers arrived in Ireland, which then dropped to 2,689 in 2009. Recent numbers have risen again, though are still not at peak (3,276 in 2015, 2,244 in 2016, and 599 new asylum claims made in the first two months of 2018) (Commissioner; Lally).

[17] This in turn gestures back to Theo Goldberg's categorisation of race as class, which he describes as '*Qua* class, race can be understood to mean either socio-economic status (under some interpretations) or relation to the mode of production. As status, race is simply an index of social standing or rank reflected in terms of criteria like wealth, education, style of life, linguistic capacity, residential location, consumptive capacity, having or lacking respect, and so on. […] Those who act "white" in these terms will be considered so' (547). It is in these race-as-class terms that Noel Ignatiev and David Roediger examine the ways in which the Irish 'became' white in America. However, Goldberg cautions that 'it must be insisted that there are finite limitations to any identification of race with class. Conceiving race in terms of class is tendentious, for we are thus encouraged to identify race misleadingly *as* class, as class under another name. This either leaves unexplained those *cultural* relations that race is so often taken to express or it wrongly reduces them to more or less veiled instantiations of class formation' (548).

expressions of Irish solidarity with black populations. Thus in a temporal shift of just five years, Irish blackness had been erased, and Irish whiteness was being aggressively reclaimed.

Accordingly, when adapting the book into a film, Rabbitte's iconic line was edited to the 'blacks' of Europe. However, this shift in language had less to do with the changes in the Irish cultural moment as it did with the fact that in adapting the book to a film, *The Commitments* was jumping scale from an *intra*national discourse to an *inter*national one. As a product aimed as much towards Irish-Americans as the Irish themselves (with the film's studio Beacon Pictures being an American production company), the film version of *The Commitments* placed Irish identity in conversation with American understandings of Irishness and that nation's own historical relationship with race. Thus, even beyond whether or not the line made sense in the Ireland of the moment—and, indeed, being released in 1991 the film actually preceded the full effects of the Celtic Tiger by a few years—in an American context of slavery and its ongoing ramifications, the use of the racial pejorative carried hugely different, and highly prohibitive, connotations.

These connotations—and their historic moment as well as international scale—would shift again in the latest adaptation of *The Commitments*, this time to a stage musical the premiered in London's West End in 2013. The year after *The Deportees* was published with its assessment of Ireland as 'one of the wealthiest countries in Europe', the nation experienced the crushing economic crash of 2008. The crash, a result of the Celtic Tiger property bubble bursting and the over-expansion of Irish banks, precipitated a global financial crisis that propelled the nation into an intense economic recession. Forced to rely on bailouts from the International Momentary Fund (IMF), Ireland implemented austerity measures, slashing government spending and increasing taxes. Meanwhile, many international businesses that had based their operations in Ireland during the boom years relocated. More than 300,000 people became unemployed during the recession, and emigration rates returned to levels unseen since the 1980s (Baxter).

It was in the wake of this economic fall from grace that *The Commitments* found another afterlife, this time as a stage musical adaptation that opened at the Palace Theatre in London in November 2013. Described as a 'laddish evening [that] is little more than We Will Rock You for soul fans' (Gardner), the show was generally critiqued for lacking a plot or character development. As Sara Keating described it when the show toured to Dublin in 2016, 'Instead of personal conflict we get a set-list of soul classics. Instead of a social history told through song, it offers one karaoke number after another' (Keating, "The Commitments Review"). Significantly, in this adaptation Rabbitte's line returns to the original language of the book—that is to say, the use of the racial pejorative resurfaces on stage.[18] This linguistic (re)turn reflects not only Ireland's post-recession moment, but also the historical colonial relationship between the British and Irish. Thus, where in an American context Irishness is—at least currently—a romanticised heritage identity that, as Catherine Eagan suggests, allows Americans to celebrate their whiteness, in England there remains the historical memory of anti-Irish racism.

Therefore, as this study will explore, as Irishness moves between and in dialogue with other national or global contexts, understandings of Irishness change. This takes into account not only the ways in which Irish identity had changed in the number of years between book publication and film production, but also the way in which understandings of race and Irish identity travel across geographic scales. As *The Commitments* moves from the national context of Ireland—in which the use of the word 'nigger', in the absence of a history of active (or, at least, native) colonisation or slavery, is deemed acceptable—to the more race-conscious America, where Irish-Americans have a long history of racial antagonism with black communities, the choice of language shifts accordingly. Similarly, in the move to London's West End and the seat of the former colonising British

[18] The language of the musical's script *was* toned down due to 'offended London theatre fans'—however, it was the level of profanity rather than the racial epithet that caused the upset. In light of complaints such as the Daily Telegraph's review that musical numbers 'are almost all interrupted by the endless string of profanities which pass for Doyle's script', the production replaced the word 'fuck' with 'feck' throughout ("F-Words Cut from The Commitments Stage Musical").

presence, Irishness again takes on a resonance of abjection that allowed for the unchallenged use of the racial epithet, despite the significance of the Black British community.

Thus, Jimmy Rabbitte's expression of Irish blackness—and the shifting inflections contained within its various articulations—begins to reflect both how blackness is understood in relation to Irish identity, and how the ways in which this Irish blackness is read is impacted by scales of time and space. While Doyle's comment that he would never have written 'that' line during the Celtic Tiger years may well have referred to the line as a whole—that is, the reference to Irish blackness at all—I argue that the singular word itself and its various translations reveals the latent connotations of blackness that is ever-present as performances of Irishness traverse the scales. It is through such scalar analysis that I approach the various case studies contained within my thesis chapters where I look at Irish theatre, sport and dance, and the intercultural figures that perform within them.

Intercultural Irish Performance and Thesis Outline

Theatre made by or about minority ethnic Irish and migrants to Ireland, like the populations themselves, are for the most part a recent development. Significant examples of the first wave of intercultural Irish theatre include the theatre companies Arambe Productions (founded by Nigerian playwright Bisi Adigun in 2003), Polish Theatre Ireland (founded by Polish theatre makers Anna Wolf, Kasia Lech and Beata Barylka and Irish artist Helen McNulty in 2008), and the work of minority ethnic artists such as Ursula Rani Sarma, Rosaleen McDonagh, John Connors, Kunle Animashaun and George Seremba.[19] In addition to professional companies and productions, much of the intercultural theatre work produced in Ireland has been connected with community arts or applied theatre initiatives.[20] Additionally, white Irish playwrights have at various points engaged with issues of inward

[19] For a wide-ranging collection of plays by or about migrants in Ireland see Charlotte McIvor and Matthew Spangler's edited collection *Staging Intercultural Ireland: New Plays and Practitioner Perspectives*.

[20] Charlotte McIvor writes extensively about the role of community theatre in her book *Migration and Performance in Contemporary Ireland*.

migration, particularly focusing on asylum seekers and the direct provision system.[21] Texts in this category include Donal O'Kelly's *Asylum! Asylum!* (1994), Roddy Doyle's *Guess Who's Coming to the Dinner* (2001), Ken Harmon's *Done Up Like a Kipper* (2002), Charlie O'Neill's *Hurl* (2003), Gary Duggan's *Shibari* (2012), and Finnoula Gygax's *Hostel 16* (2016).[22]

This first wave of theatre practice has been documented by scholars such as Charlotte McIvor, Jason King, Brian Singleton, Emer O'Toole and Sinead Moynihan, among others. While their scholarship has been a valuable analysis of theatre by and about migrants in Ireland, my study seeks to move past the point of migration by focusing on the performances of mixed race and minority ethnic Irish across a range of performance spaces. Indeed, this thesis is bisected along the lines of mixed race and minority ethnic identities, with the first two chapters focusing on mixed race performers and performances, and the second two chapters shifting to minority ethnic practitioners. This division is matched by a move from a reading of the individual body in performance to the individual body within the collective. This shifting focus allows me to demonstrate how the theoretical framework of scalar interculturalism can work by focusing on the individual, before exploring how the scalar can transform how we think about the individual's role *within* the collective.

Thus, in Chapter One I look at the colourblind casting of Ethiopian-Irish actress Ruth Negga at the Abbey Theatre from 2002 to 2008, and how

---

[21] 'The direct provision system was established in 2000 to house asylum seekers entering the Irish State in search of international protection' (Pollak). Originally conceived of as a temporary accommodation for asylum seekers as their applications were processed, the majority of those living in direct provision have been there for over year, with an average of 23 months in direct provision by the end of December 2017 (down from an average of 38 months in 2015), with 432 people who had been in the system for five years or more. The condition that those in direct provision would not be allowed to work in Ireland was only removed in February 2018. The current weekly living stipend for those in direct provision is €21.60 per week, which was raised from the original 2000 rate of €19.10 for adults and €15.60 for children in August 2017.

[22] This list is meant to be indicative rather than exhaustive. For a more detailed discussion of white Irish playwrights addressing issues of interculturalism, see Charlotte McIvor's chapter 'White Irish-Born male playwrights and the immigrant experience onstage' in *Literary Visions of Multicultural Ireland: The immigrant in contemporary Irish literature* (Villar-Argaiz), and Jason King's article 'Interculturalism and Irish Theatre: The Portrayal of Immigrants on the Irish Stage'.

her body on stage speaks metonymically to larger social narratives around race and belonging pre- and post-Citizenship Referendum. I argue that before the Citizenship Referendum, Negga's body acted as a metonym for Ireland's newfound 'multi-culti' Celtic Tiger cosmopolitanism, whereas after the Referendum her roles were impacted by the racially charged rhetoric of the 'Yes' campaign. Consequently, the idea of colourblind casting as 'an escaping of non-whiteness' (Catanese 17) is ultimately impossible. Rather, any engagement with the intercultural body on stage—even if that engagement is disavowal—speaks to a production's specific historical and cultural contexts, which I explore by tracing out the scales of Negga's career as an Abbey actress. Here the use of scalar interculturalism is particularly valuable, as none of the productions discussed are intercultural in and of themselves, and yet an intercultural analysis that focuses on the individual illuminates trends that might otherwise be invisible.

In Chapter Two I look at mixed race and minority ethnic Irish athletes in the Gaelic Athletic Association from the 1990s to the present day to interrogate how masculine bodies negotiate Irish identities through the performance of Irish sport. I focus particularly on mixed-race Irish athletes Seán Óg Ó hAilpín (b. 1977-), Jason Sherlock (b. 1976-) and Lee Chin (b. 1992-) and their sporting performances on the field, as well as their performances of self in the form of public interviews and autobiographies. I argue that the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) can provide spaces of visibility and cultural validation for mixed race and minority ethnic Irish athletes due to its strong associations with Irish nationalism and Irish racial identity, and because it is internally organised and administrated along expanding spatial scales. The central role of local spaces and the grassroots organisation of much of the GAA allows mixed race and minority athletes increased agency in accessing Irishness, particularly at a local level. However, as these athletes move up the scales this individual agency is often curtailed by more exclusive narratives of Irishness. Reading these athletes across a range of scales reveals shifting attitudes toward diversity, inclusion and masculinity in Ireland, as well as historic narratives around Irishness and Otherness that remain deeply entrenched today.

In Chapter Three I link accent to access in my analysis of whiteness in Ireland, where other white ethnicities such as Eastern Europeans and Travellers have been hierarchically raced. In doing so, I shift from a focus on mixed race Irish to minority ethnic Irish performers. I also shift from an analysis of how Irishness has been cast as non-whiteness in its dialogic relationships with Britishness and WASP Americanness, to how whiteness remains a contested and variegated identity within Ireland itself. I focus particularly on how contemporary Irish theatre has used Central and Eastern European characters as foils through which to assert Irishness as a white European identity, and to frame the ongoing tensions between Catholic and Protestant communities in the north of Ireland. Analysing the musical *Once* (2011) by Enda Walsh and the plays *Quietly* (2012) by Owen McCafferty and *Shibboleth* (2015) by Stacey Gregg, particularly their casting practices and how they are understood as they shift across the geographic scales of national and international performance, I argue that if the Irish historically used cross-racial performances to attain whiteness abroad, they currently employ cross-*ethnic* performances in order to maintain whiteness within Ireland.

In Chapter Four I propose that dance might be a space in which non-white Irish identities might be most easily expressed through the articulation of the body itself. Structured around close readings of two recent Irish dance performances, Fabulous Beast Dance Theatre's *Rian* (2011) and Riverdream Production's *Riverdance: Hearbeat of Home* (2013), I argue that Irish dance and dance theatre are potent sites in which to navigate ideas of identity and belonging. I argue that dance, like sport, creates a (conditional) space of belonging for non-white Irish bodies, but goes farther than sport in presenting explicit narratives of belonging and inclusion. Yet compared to literary theatre, dance can create a space in which individual dancers, through the agency of embodied self-expression, can contribute to and influence understandings of what the Irish body is and how it moves. However, even in embodied expression this agency—as well as the limits of this incorporation—still rely heavily on a negotiation of geographic scales. As such, the scale of the individual Irish dancer is constantly in dialogue

with higher scales of historic and global connotations of Irish dance, as well as the production itself.

In all of these chapters and case studies, I read individuals as examples of intercultural performance. This thesis thus explores how reading the performances and performativity of mixed race and minority ethnic Irish individuals through a scalar lens makes visible the ways in which historical narratives are contested by emerging discourses, and how the more intimate scales of personal experience, family and community are often eclipsed or erased by the hegemonic scales of the national and global. This reading of mixed race and minority ethnic individuals as intercultural opens up current understandings of interculturalism as a collective process, and challenges monolithic understandings of national identity.

Chapter One: Acting Across the Scales, Ruth Negga and the Abbey Stage

Introduction

This chapter uses Ethiopian-Irish actress Ruth Negga (b. 1982) and her roles at the Abbey Theatre from 2002 to 2008 to demonstrate how the theoretical framework of scalar interculturalism and its focus on the individual can expand understandings of intercultural performance. Using text and performance analysis as well as readings of the critical reception and public discourse around Negga as documented in the form of theatre reviews and profile pieces, I analyse Negga's performances across the scales of the individual (Negga), the institutional (the Abbey Theatre), the national (Ireland), and the community (mixed race identities). I argue that Negga's status as a mixed race Irish actress inflected understandings of the productions she appeared in and that these understandings—and, indeed, Negga's access to certain roles—were in turn circumscribed by the larger scales of national and global narratives. Ultimately, I propose that the strategies of colourblind casting that surrounded Negga during this period actually reveal how her race was *seen*, as she functioned as a shape shifting embodiment of narratives of Celtic Tiger Irishness that changed drastically during the course of her Abbey career.[1]

Negga first appeared at the Abbey in 2002 at the height of Celtic Tiger, a time of economic prosperity during which Ireland sought to frame itself as a globalised and cosmopolitan society that was visually signified in Irish cultural representations by a positive—if superficial—multicultural diversity. However, this aspirational narrative was disrupted by the passing of the 2004 Citizenship Referendum, which amended the Irish constitution from recognising citizenship based on birthplace (*jus soli)* to blood ties (*jus sanguinis*). Instigated by allegations of 'pregnancy tourism', the 'Yes' campaign for the Referendum came to rely on a xenophobic and racist

[1] The use of the term 'shape shifting' in reference to mixed race bodies more broadly can be seen in the work of historian Paul Spickard, who uses the phrase to refer to a mixed race person's ability to defy preexisting racial codes by slipping through the porous boundaries of race as ethnically ambiguous figures (Spickard).

rhetoric of fear that centred around the reproductive black body. While Negga continued to appear at the Abbey until 2008, after the Referendum there was a distinct shift in the kind of roles into which she was cast, even as the very practice of colourblind casting continued to imply that her race was unseen.

I thus argue that Negga's casting in the pre-Referendum Celtic Tiger years reflected the 'multi-culti' aspirations of a newly affluent and diversifying Ireland that sought to define itself in terms of a globalised cosmopolitanism—what Ging refers to as 'the cappuccino culture of contemporary Ireland' (189). In these roles, Negga's blackness was read by the audience as a metonym for a newfound Irish 'sexy' cultural cache and cosmopolitanism. Embodying characters such as Lolita (*Lolita,* 2002), the one-night-stand waitress Java (*Doldrum Bay*, 2003) and the promiscuous Dublin 'laddette' Cat (*Duck,* 2003), before the Referendum Negga was consistently cast in 'roles which call for a delicate balance between childlike vulnerability and potent adult sexuality' (Molony). However, the simultaneous sexualisation and infantalisation of Negga on stage worked to diffuse that potency, thus ultimately failing to challenge or complicate ideas of a homogenously white Ireland.

After the 2004 Citizenship Referendum campaign, in which the fecund black body came to be seen as a threat to Irish sovereignty, there was a corresponding shift in Negga's Abbey roles. While still primarily characterised by her sexuality, this sexuality was now defined by its threatening nature, particularly to law and order. Subsequently, after the Referendum Negga appears as the head of the Bacchic chorus in *Bacchae of Baghdad* (2006) and Abigail Williams in *The Crucible* (2007), both roles that centre around the threat of female sexuality. It is worth noting that I am not suggesting here that the Abbey engaged in conscious strategic choices in offering these parts to Negga, or that Negga was only cast due to her ethnicity. However, I do believe that the significant shift in the kind of roles that Negga played post-Referendum allows for the argument that her body as a racialised subject was legible on stage in ways that people might not have wanted to admit or even been aware of.

The use of scalar interculturalism here is particularly valuable as it reveals insights that would remain obscured if one were to focus solely on intercultural *productions*, as none of the plays examined in this chapter would be considered as intercultural according to established definitions of the term. The fact that Negga was so prolific on the Abbey stage is also quite useful, as it allows for a comparative analysis in which the scale of the institution remains constant while the national scale shifted around it in significant ways. Further, the analytic framework of scalar interculturalism allows us to reconsider broader issues such as the efficacy and effect of colourblind casting and raced representation on stage in a grounded context. This chapter thus argues that the proposal of colourblind casting as 'an escaping of non-whiteness' (Catanese 17) is an impossibility. Rather, any engagement with the intercultural body on stage—even if that engagement is disavowal—speaks to a production's specific historical and cultural contexts, as will be explored by tracing the scales of Negga's career as an Abbey actress.

In framing Negga as an Abbey actress I build on the recent work of Ciara O'Dowd, whose PhD dissertation 'The on and off-stage roles of Abbey Theatre actresses of the 1930s' posits that 'where these women [Abbey actresses] may not have consciously calculated their every career and life choice, the overall story of their lives as actresses was shaped by their decisions in tandem with external circumstances and influenced by prevailing ideologies' (2). Like her 1930s counterparts, then, Negga's career was shaped as much by what was occurring outside of the theatre as what was being staged within it. Additionally, and much like other significant Abbey actresses examined by O'Dowd such as Eileen Crowe and Ria Mooney, Negga's real-life persona and her Abbey characters became conflated as 'she became synonymous with a particular type of female role' (6). Indeed, I would argue that due to her singular status as the only significant Irish actress of colour to date, Negga's career choices were even more impacted than those of her white peers and predecessors, as will be explored.

I thus read the trajectory of Negga's Abbey roles in the shifting light of larger national narratives of race, gender and national belonging, arguing

that her colourblind casting in fact reflects the underlying tensions operating in Ireland's shifting relationship to the 'Other' at distinct points in its recent history—tensions characterised by a simultaneous attraction and repulsion around the sexualised black body. As noted in the Introduction, 'Black bodies have projected upon themselves a series of contradictory images premised upon the disjunction between their daily lived realities and societal assumptions, the myths, of the black body' (Young, *Embodying Black Experience* 23). Thus 'written' on Negga's body are the particular discourses and histories of Irishness and blackness, as well as more general narratives of blackness and black identity that circulate through vehicles of global cultural production. Throughout her Irish career, Negga's black body has been particularly exoticised and acts, as Young describes, as 'a surrogate, an epithet, or a metonym [...] that doubles real bodies' (*Embodying Black Experience* 23) even as it is consistently denied or ignored through colourblind casting practices. Further, while Negga's black Irish body is consistently hypersexualised both on and off stage as exotic Other, it is also highly regulated through the narrative framing devices within the plays themselves, as well as the hierarchical connotations of the dual stage spaces of the Abbey main stage and the Peacock stage.

By focusing on the intercultural individual as a nested figure and reading their performances across both literal and metaphoric spatial scales, case studies such as Ruth Negga can reveal surprising insights into cultural and historical movements. This chapter thus traces a range of temporal and spatial scales to argue that, consciously or not, the ways in which audiences and theatremakers read Negga's blackness *through* colourbind casting reflected their understandings of Irish identity at large. I open the chapter by contextualising the ongoing debates around colourblind casting practices and their intended and actual effects. I then begin my analysis at the scale of the institution by situating Negga's performances in the context of the Abbey as Ireland's national theatre and the larger project of cultural nationalism in Ireland, particularly as it relates to representations of the female body. I shift to the national scale by analysing Negga's roles at the Abbey as framed and influenced by the concurrent narratives of race and

belonging in Ireland, categorising these as the two distinct moments of the Celtic Tiger, and then the Citizenship Referendum and its aftermath.

I conclude the chapter by highlighting the tensions that exist between scales by contrasting the hegemonic narratives of the global Irish brand with the personal scales of the self and the community. I argue that Negga's colourblind casting reflects not only shifting national narratives but also common attitudes in Ireland around the mixed race Irish community, where identities tend to be overly and externally determined, often in all-or-nothing terms. In this way, Negga's colourblind casting does reflect her lived experiences as a black Irish woman, albeit inadvertently. At the same time, Negga's self-identification as both a black and an Irish actress and her discussions of her personal identity in interviews and profile pieces challenge received notions of a homogenous white Ireland, particularly as she begins to move in more globalised vehicles such as American film and television.

Colourblind Casting

For much of the 'noughties', Ruth Negga was a rising star of the Irish stage and screen. Born in Ethiopia to an Irish mother and Ethiopian father, Negga returned to Ireland when she was four and spent her childhood living between suburban Limerick and London before moving to Dublin to attend university at Trinity College Dublin. Making her professional theatre debut in 2002 at the Abbey Theatre, by the end of 2008 Negga had seven Abbey productions, one Druid Theatre production, three Irish feature films and one RTÉ television series on her résumé.[2] In 2006 she was chosen to represent Ireland as one of Europe's 'Shooting Stars' at the Berlin Film Festival, and profile piece headlines hailed her as 'The Face of the Future' and the 'Playgirl of the Western World' (Molony; Mahony). Since 2008, Negga has made her career in London and Hollywood, and in 2017 was nominated for

[2] The stated number of Abbey productions does not include Negga's participation in the Abbey children's theatre double bill of *Meat and Salt* by Marina Carr and *The Road to Carne* by Jim Nolan (2003), nor the one-off reading of *Big Love* by Charles Mee (2003). Negga's feature films of this period include *Capital Letters* (2004)*, Isolation* (2005) and *Breakfast on Pluto* (2006); Negga also had a recurring role on RTÉ television drama *Love is the Drug* (2004).

the Oscar for Best Actress for her 2016 role as Ruth Loving in *Loving* (Nichols), making Negga the most successful mixed race Irish actress to date.[3]

While Negga is undeniably talented, a significant factor in her success has been her ability to 'transcend' race through colourblind casting practices. In her book *The Problem of the Color(blind): Racial Transgression and the Politics of Black Performance,* Brandi Wilkins Catanese defines 'blind' casting as a policy in which 'all actors are cast without regard to their race, ethnicity, gender or physical capability' (12). Comparing this to other nontraditional casting approaches, Catanese contends that '[b]lind casting is in some ways the most ambitious of these approaches' as '[r]ather than the typical ranking of identity politics through strategic (or not) essentialism, it asks, potentially, for their wholesale erasure' (13). Colourblind casting is thus seen by some as a means to challenge the artificial monoraciality of theatre, provide opportunities for actors of colour to access roles from which they would normally be excluded and reinscribe raced bodies with alternate readings (see Schechner; Sun).

However, playwright August Wilson and scholars such as Josephine Lee and Angela Pao tie these policies to assimilationist models of social integration, which necessarily maintain a racial hierarchy of artistic production where '[w]hite theatres and white texts are affirmed as the pinnacle of artistic opportunity in practices that assume that escaping non-whiteness is the true task of color-blind social progress' (Catanese 17). As Catanese summarises, colourblind casting's 'politics of visibility […] sustain the undesirable meanings of race, and offer hope that actors can leave behind its façade in order to express their true, interior selves' (16). In other words, colourblind casting erases rather than embraces the social and political specificities of non-white identities. Catanese refers to this as the

[3] The only other female mixed race Irish cultural figure to attain a similar level of success to date is Zambian-Irish Samantha Mumba (b. 1983—). Mumba was discovered by Irish music executive Louis Walsh when she appeared on an RTÉ talent show at the age of fifteen, and became an international pop music figure with the release of her hit single *Gotta Tell You* in 2000. Mumba also appeared in feature films, notably *The Time Machine* (2002) and *Boy Eat Girl* (2005).

'transcendent' model of colourblindness, where 'racial transcendence exacts disavowal of our racially mediated reality as the price of progress toward resolving American society's racial conflicts' (21).

This ability to 'transcend' race and its attendant disavowal has similarly haunted Negga's acting career in Ireland. Across her Irish-based work in theatre, film and television, Negga has been consistently—and even exclusively—colourblind cast, 'representing the only actor of visibly mixed race or minority ethnic background […] accompanied by the appearance of only white parents or siblings' (McIvor 49). Thus despite her increasing success as an actor, Negga has yet to play a role that is unequivocally both black *and* Irish in terms of how the character identifies herself or is explicitly positioned within the narrative. As a result, rather than challenging exclusionary definitions of Irishness through casting policies that represent a heterogeneous Irish populace, Charlotte McIvor argues 'the color-blind casting logic that sees past [Negga's] blackness […] in fact binds whiteness more closely to Irishness' (48). Debbie Ging observes of similar trends in Celtic Tiger cinema that:

> the currently fashionable approach to multiculturalism is not underpinned by the notion of distinctive voices but rather by the concept of positive/negative representation. If marginalised, ethnic or gay characters are represented in a "positive", "normal" or "acceptable" light, it is assumed that the text advocates cultural tolerance and diversity. The concept of what is "normal" is not up for debate, and so a dominant or generally accepted view of "normality" is endorsed that is invariably white, heterosexual, middle-class and Western-centric. (183–84).

In 'transcending' race, Negga's colourblind casting acts as a cosmetic window-dressing of diversity that acts to reify whiteness as the Irish norm.

Negga's colourblind casting is further complicated by the fact that as a mixed-race Irish actress she is also colourblind cast as ethnic Other in ways that exclude her Irish identity. For example, Negga played the role of a trafficked Nigerian woman in the Irish feature film *Capital Letters* (O'Connor) as well as a generically Middle Eastern character in the Abbey production *The Bacchae of Baghdad.* In this way, Negga's colourblind casting cuts both ways as she is alternately denied both blackness and

Irishness depending on the needs of the production.[4] This colour*bound* casting, which relies on readings of Negga's epidermalised blackness, further challenges the idea that Irish audiences don't 'see' Negga's blackness when playing white characters. Rather than 'transcending' race, Negga's acting career is circumscribed by it, with colourblind casting approaches revealing how the ways in which she is read on stage is inextricably tied to the visual inscriptions of race on her body.

By reading Negga as a nested figure we can subsequently see how the kinds of roles that Negga inhabited on stage directly reflected historical and contemporary narratives of Irish identity. Precisely because of her colourblind treatment, Negga's theatrical presence creates a dissonance that 'jumps scale' and connects to well-established tropes of Irishness as a racial identity as well as the specific conditions of the contemporary Irish moment. This chapter thus reads the scales of Negga's performance from the corporeal to the global (and back again) as metaphoric spaces of belonging and identity that are often externally constructed and controlled. One of the most significant of these scales is that of the stage space itself, the Abbey Theatre, which comes with particular histories and associations that make Negga's presence especially resonant in an Irish context.

The Scale of the Institution: The Abbey as Irish National Theatre

I focus this chapter on Negga's theatre performances at the Abbey Theatre from her debut in 2002 to her last Abbey production in 2008. There are several reasons why I chose these productions in particular for analysis as opposed to her significant work in Irish film and television or with other

[4] This trend has continued in her non-Irish work, where she has been frequently colourblind cast into traditionally white roles. Examples of this include her appearances at the National Theatre in London as Aricia in *Phédre* in 2009 and Ophelia in *Hamlet* in 2010, and at the Old Vic as Pegeen Mike in J.M. Synge's *Playboy of the Western World* in 2011, as well as her current recurring role as Tulip O'Hare in the AMC original series *Preacher*, who appears as a white character in the original graphic novel. Negga has also portrayed African American characters, as with Ruth Loving in the film *Loving*, and mixed race Welsh singer Shirley Bassey in the TV movie *Bassey* (2011). While beyond the scope of this paper, it is worth exploring further how Negga's casting circulates internationally and globally as black Irish, and how readings of her blackness shift as the national contexts shift, as well as the politics of casting mixed race actors into monoracial roles and vice versa.

Irish theatre companies.[5] First, Negga's acting success is intimately linked with her work on the Abbey stage. Indeed, her first professional acting experience was her Abbey debut, and of Negga's thirteen Irish theatre productions eight of those were at that theatre.[6] Between 2002 and 2008 there would be only a single year that Negga was not in at least one Abbey production. Thus Negga's relationship with the Abbey was central to her burgeoning performance career. Secondly, keeping the scale of the institution constant allows for changes at the national scale to be isolated within the analysis. In other words, rather than looking at how Negga's roles changed as she moved from institution to institution—with their different missions, aesthetics and creative visions—a focus on her roles on the Abbey illuminates how changes in the larger contextual scale of the nation impacted on Negga's roles over time.

Finally, Negga's performances at the Abbey are rich sites of investigation due to that stage's symbolic status as official national theatre. Located in the centre of the nation's capital, the geographic placement of the Abbey reflects the symbolic role that the Abbey stage has played in the development of Ireland's cultural nationalism. The first state-subsidised theatre in the English-speaking world, from its inception in 1904 the Abbey was intended to act as a mirror to the nation and a key site in the Celtic Revival's project of cultural nationalism. Founders Lady Augusta Gregory and W.B. Yeats described the theatrical output of the Abbey as a means to represent 'the deeper thoughts and emotions of Ireland' and to 'show that Ireland is not the home of buffoonery and of easy sentiment, as it has been represented, but the home of an ancient idealism' (A. Gregory 8–9).

---

[5] For analyses of Negga's roles in Irish film and other Irish theatre productions, see the work of Zelie Asava, Charlotte McIvor and Ciara Barrett.

[6] The full list of Negga's Irish-based theatre productions is as follows: *Lolita* (2002), Abbey and Corn Exchange; *Amy the Vampire (& Her Sister Martina)* (2002), Corcadorca Theatre Company; *Meat and Salt* and *The Road to Carne* (2003), Abbey; *Big Love* (reading, 2003), Abbey; *Doldrum Bay* (2003), Abbey; *Duck* (2003), Abbey, Out of Joint and the Royal Court Theatre; *The Burial at Thebes* (2004), Abbey; *Playboy of the Western World* (2005), Druid; *Titus Andronicus* (2005), Siren Productions; *The Bacchae at Baghdad* (2006), Abbey; *Oedipus Loves You* (2006), Pan Pan; *The Crucible* (2007), Abbey; *Lay Me Down Softly* (2008), Abbey.

Thus from the outset the Abbey was fundamentally concerned with both the politics of representation and the crafting of an Irish national identity through the process of performance. Today, the Abbey continues to position itself in this role of representing the nation on stage, with its current mission statement affirming that 'the Abbey is a theatre for the entire island of Ireland and for all its people' ("About the Abbey"). Therefore Negga's presence at the Abbey stage becomes correspondingly symbolic, as it is contextualised by the theatre's remit to define and reflect the national context. The theatre building itself also contains two distinct stage spaces—the Abbey main stage, and the smaller Peacock Theatre, which was established in 1927 and acts as the studio space for new or experimental work and amateur companies. This hierarchical division of stage space—with the hegemonic space of the main stage and the decentred space of the Peacock—played a significant role in mediating Negga's presence at the Abbey, as will be explored below.

The significance of Negga's presence at the Abbey is further inflected by that theatre's particular history of embodying the Irish nation through the female figure. In *Gender in Irish Writing*, Toni O'Brien Johnson and David Cairns write that '[o]ne historically significant female figure that recurs in the male-authored primary texts […] is a trope that seems to be traceable to the "sovereignty goddess" from native Irish tradition' (3). Johnson and Cairns trace the lineage of Ireland-as-woman from pre-Christian kingship rituals to medieval figures such as Queen Medbh of Connacht and (some argue) the tragic figure of Deirdre, to the 'ultimate phase in archaeology for this figure, from the seventeenth century on, [with] the appearance of Ireland allegorized as woman in literature and song following the suppression of the indigenous Irish culture' (3). 'Generically envisioned a *spéir bhean*' (3), this figure went by a myriad of names, including Eríu, Roisín Dubh (Black Rose), Sean Bhean Bhocht (Poor Old Woman) and Caitlín Ní Houlihán. Regardless of name, however, 'the woman is being used to reproduce an idea, the economy of the country and its community' (Johnson and Cairns 4). As C. L. Innes similarly observes, '[l]ocked into confrontation with Britain and contestation over the

motherland, Irish literature and Irish history have created males as national subjects, woman as the cite of contestation' (3).

Concurrently a similar—if politically opposed—version of Ireland-as-woman existed in British political cartoons in the form of Hibernia. Tanya Dean describes the figure of Hibernia as 'another anthropomorphic incarnation of Ireland, this time as the lovely and frail avatar of a nation in soulful feminine distress' (77). Usually depicted as seeking the protection of her Amazonian sister Britannia from the unruly and disruptive (masculine) forces of the Fenian movement, Hibernia represented for the British the conception of the Irish as a weak and feminine race, and thus requiring of colonial oversight. As Joseph Valente writes, 'The Irish were depicted as genetically feminine and so, on the reigning patriarchal logic, congenitally attuned to obeying the will of a masculine race like the Anglo-Saxon' (12).[7] As will be examined in depth in the next chapter, Irish *men*—particularly those agitating for Irish independence—were depicted with simian characteristics that linked them visually with racial blackness and thus unsuitable for self-rule. However, the figures of both Eire and Hibernia relied on the same visual inscriptions of whiteness and femininity to further their respective, and competing, causes. As Innes notes, while British representations of its other colonies such as India or Africa 'are generally shown as exotic, stressing features of colour, hair and dress which stress their "otherness", Hibernia's image is likely to stress racial similarity, as befits a desirable wife or daughter whose relationship with England is to be a domestic one' (13–14).

From literary and pictorial depictions, the figure of Hibernia graduated to an embodied performance in the plays of the Abbey Theatre, perhaps the most significant example being Lady Gregory and W.B. Yeats' *Cathleen Ní Houlihan*. In the play, which premiered in 1902, Ireland appears on stage as the eponymous Cathleen in the form of an old woman

[7] One might wonder, then, why England continued to represent itself as feminine in the form of Britannia. Valente explains this choice by arguing that 'Whereas the Irish figures image the external alterity of manhood as *sexual* difference and internal alterity of manhood as *species* difference, the bearing of Britannia, at once phallic and androgynous, graceful yet military, marks here as the fully integrated "Spirit-Animal," the preferred estate of manliness' (17, emphasis in original).

who is then transformed into a beautiful young queen through the blood sacrifice of her Irish sons. As Dean notes, '[i]n this triumphant offstage metamorphosis, Cathleen Ní Houlihan […] and, by extension, Ireland are rejuvenated by the restorative power of the dedication and bravery of revolutionary men' (75). The play itself fuelled revolutionary sentiment in Ireland, so much so that Yeats would later wonder, in reflecting on the 1916 Easter Rising, 'Did that play of mine send out/Certain men the English shot?' (Yeats and Kelly 221).

The role of Cathleen Ní Houlihan, perhaps more than any other in the Irish literary canon, was historically conflated with the lived roles of the women who performed it. O'Dowd writes on how actresses embodying Cathleen—including Irish nationalist and activist Maude Gonne and Lady Gregory herself—often used the stage and their presence on it as a political tool to further their cause of Irish independence. Thus, O'Dowd writes, 'these women "performed not [as] 'real' women but [as] idealised personae, developed from the rhetoric of Irish femininity such as Hibernia and Dark Rosaleen"' (Trotter 78-9, quoted in O'Dowd 5). Indeed, for early Abbey director Frank Fay, 'these [characters] were not real or ordinary women, but rather were the mouthpiece for a particular kind of Irish femininity' (O'Dowd 5). As a result, not only did the fictional roles of the Abbey Theatre's repertoire become heavily symbolic, but the actresses that played them came to be seen as living avatars for the national project, encoded by and often conflated with the characters that they embodied on stage. A similar equation between Negga and her Abbey roles would occur nearly a hundred years later, but with different associations of—and exclusions from—Irish femininity.

Significantly, as seen with the narrative of *Cathleen Ní Houlihan*, the trope of Ireland-as-woman is intimately linked to reproduction. As Susan Cannon Harris writes in her book *Gender and Modern Irish Drama*, in the battle for Irish independence 'the martyr is marked as male and the great Other that receives the blood of the sacrifice (whether she is Hibernia, the bog, the Virgin, or the Shan Van Vocht) is marked as female' (3). In this way, 'women are written into the sacrificial narrative in order to make the bloodshed not only sanctifying but also procreative' (11). This reproductive

capacity is necessarily allegorical rather than actual, and carries with it a racially exclusionary rhetoric that 'reject[s] the mortal Irish mother in favor of a symbolic one whose body, unlike that of her pedestrian counterparts, is inviolable and who can therefore provide the Irish subject with a *clean genealogy* and an uncomplicated pedigree' (Harris 11, emphasis added). Far from being out-dated historical narratives, these issues of reproduction, genealogy and the violability of the Irish state would become pressing issues that returned to haunt representations of the female body at the very moment that Negga was most active on the Abbey stage.

In June 2004 Ireland passed the Citizenship Referendum, the most significant legal act to affect Irish citizenship since the 1998 Good Friday Agreement. The Referendum, which amended the Irish constitution from granting citizenship based on *jus soli* to *jus sanguinis*, was passed by an overwhelming majority of Irish voters (nearly 80%). Historically a nation of emigrants, Ireland saw net inward migration for the first time in 1996 (Mac Éinrí and White 153). Post-Good Friday Agreement stability, EU membership and the economic prosperity of the Celtic Tiger made Ireland an attractive destination for economic migrants, refugees, asylum seekers and the Irish diasporic community. These shifting demographics challenged the traditional conception of Ireland as a homogenous white Catholic nation and triggered deeply rooted racial narratives that, as John Brannigan argues, 'leave a problematic legacy for the attempt to recognise and celebrate a "cosmopolitics" of heterogeneity in contemporary Ireland' (183).

The 'Yes' campaign for the 2004 Citizenship Referendum mobilised these racial narratives by drawing on charges of 'pregnancy tourism' in which it was alleged that primarily African women were travelling to Ireland in the late stages of pregnancy in order to give birth and, through their Irish-born children, claim Irish citizenship for themselves. By employing a xenophobic and racist rhetoric of fear that centred around the reproductive black body, the campaign caused the female figure in Ireland to become heavily coded once more, as will be explored in detail later in the chapter. However, this time Ireland was embodied not as the pure and sacrificial Other but the threatening ethnic Other—woman as heavily pregnant and black. Focused on the regulation of the female body and the

threat of 'illegitimate' reproduction, the Referendum could be seen as a very Irish response to the global issue of migration and diversity.[8]

As a cultural institution whose remit has long been understood as representing the nation, the Abbey stage was, on the surface, notably silent on the factors leading up to and surrounding the Referendum. In the years preceding and following the Referendum, only a small handful of plays centred around the issues of inward migration, diversity or refugees and asylum seekers in Ireland.[9] However, while the explicit content of the Abbey's plays themselves mostly failed to address the nation's changing demographics and the impact this had on understandings of Irishness, I argue that they did so indirectly through Negga's embodied presence, as can be seen through a comparative analysis of the roles that Negga was colourblind cast into before and after the Referendum.

Lolita of the Celtic Tiger: Negga at the Abbey from 2002-2003

Ruth Negga first appeared on the Abbey stage at the peak of Ireland's Celtic Tiger, the period of economic prosperity generally understood to encompass the mid-1990s to the financial crash of 2008. Colin Coulter notes in the introduction to *The End of Irish History: Critical Reflections on the Celtic Tiger*, 'the phrase "Celtic Tiger" was coined in order to capture the newfound dynamism of the southern Irish economy'. However, '[i]n a remarkably short space of time, the notion of the "Celtic Tiger" would come

[8] Ireland has a long history of regulating the reproductive female body, from the incarceration of 'problematic' women, particularly unwed mothers, in Magdalene Laundries and mother and baby homes, to the strict regulation of birth control or abortion access. The 8th Amendment of the constitution, making abortion illegal on the island, was passed in 1983 and only just repealed on 25 May 2018. For more on these themes see James Smith's *Ireland's Magdalene Laundries and the Nation's Architecture of Containment*, Emilie Pine's *The Politics of Irish Memory: Performing Remembrance in Contemporary Irish Culture* and Lisa Smyth's *Abortion and Nation: The Politics of Reproduction in Contemporary Ireland*.

[9] Donal O'Kelly's 1994 play *Asylum! Asylum!* has been the only Abbey play to date to address the issues of direct provision and the plight of asylum seekers in Ireland, despite ongoing and urgent debates around that system. Ken Harmon's *Done Up Like a Kipper* (2002) and Gary Duggan's *Shibari* (2012) and Stacey Gregg's *Shibboleth* (2015) explicitly place migrant characters in their depictions of contemporary Dublin, and Bisi Adigun's and Roddy Doyle's now infamous *Playboy of the Western World: A New Version* (2007) updated the Irish classic to a contemporary Dublin setting with the role of Christy Mahon reimagined as Nigerian Christopher Malomo.

to operate as a widely recognised and understood master signifier for a very particular and essentially hegemonic reading for the nature of contemporary Irish society' (4). Celtic Tiger Ireland came, then, to refer not simply to the Irish economy but to the larger social and political moment.

In the years directly previous to the Citizenship Referendum, Negga's colourblind casting at the Abbey reflected two aspects of this emerging Celtic Tiger identity. First, Negga was able to embody Ireland's newfound cultural caché that was currently circulating on the global market through cultural vehicles such as *Riverdance*. Critically, Negga's body was able to safely encapsulate the sexuality that was a new twist to the Irish brand. As Diane Negra observed at the time, 'Long linked in the American imagination with the experience of poverty and the rigor of sexual repression, Irishness now factors in campaigns for Porsche automobiles and Candies stiletto-heeled shoes as a marker of luxury and eroticism' (6). Coulter similarly summarises this new Irish identity as 'young, fun, fashionable and, above all perhaps, belligerently sexual.' (2). This descriptive list equally describes Negga's pre-Referendum roles, as well as how Negga herself was treated in the Irish media. Both on and off stage, Negga was hypersexualised in a way that other white Irish actresses at the time were not. I argue that this hypersexualisation occurred precisely because of Negga's blackness, an epidermalisation inscribed with and read through histories of black female sexualisation that created a safe distance between Negga's sexualised body and the Irish body, speaking to that nation's long-standing concerns with (white) female purity.

Gerardine Meaney writes compellingly on the relationship between race and gender in defining Irish nationalism in her book *Gender, Ireland and Cultural Change.* Meaney notes that in colonial and postcolonial Ireland 'a highly racialized and rigidly gendered identity was promulgated by both church and state in Ireland as true Irishness' (5). Noting the significance of the sexually pure and racially white figure of the Virgin Mary within these discourses, Meaney argues that 'the centrality of Mariology in Irish Catholicism and the extent to which issues of reproduction and sexuality dominated public debates and anxieties around modernization […] are in the Irish case also powerfully linked to residual

anxieties around race and Ireland's postcolonial position as a white European nation' (6). She thus concludes that the 'conflation of images of Mother Ireland and Virgin Mary in Irish populist Catholic nationalism deployed the Virgin Mother's status as epitome of whiteness as a guarantee of Irish (racial) purity' (7). Innes similarly observes how 'the spiritualized ideal of Erin is also intensified by and linked to the increasingly puritanical and asexual ideal of women by the Irish Catholic Church in the nineteenth century' (14). There is thus a long and potent history of anxiety around depictions of the Irish female body as sexual, or even reproductive.[10] I argue that projecting this sexuality onto an exotic ethnic Other acted as a way to avoid compromising 'real' Irish women and, by association, the moral purity of the Irish state.

In addition to this new Celtic Tiger sexiness, Negga was also able to embody Ireland's aspirations of an inclusive—albeit superficial—cosmopolitan diversity. Steve Loyal writes that '[o]n an ideological level, the Celtic Tiger has come not only to characterise Ireland's unprecedented economic boom and a new-found confidence in the arts but also to represent an endorsement of liberal values, including cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism' (89). Negga's blackness on stage acted as a marker of Irish maturity, showcasing these demographic shifts as proof of Ireland's newly acquired cosmopolitanism. Her colourblind casting, particularly when cast in Irish roles, 'impl[ied] that Dublin is just the same as any other city—a cosmopolitan centre in which multicultural characters provide a colourful backdrop to the central plot' (Ging 189). That the 'backdrop' Negga provided is necessarily superficial is apparent precisely through the fact that she cast through colourblind practices, with no cultural or political specificity to her roles that would contextualise her as a black or mixed race Irish woman.

Rather than exploring the realities of minority ethnic communities in Celtic Tiger Dublin, the Abbey productions in which Negga appeared used her racialised body as a decorative signifier. If Ireland wanted to be sexy

[10] For example, Meaney notes the particularly Irish preference for depictions of the Virgin Mary as accompanied by a fully-grown Jesus, rather than as expectant mother or with (an implied) nursing infant Jesus.

without being sexual, multicultural without being multiracial, then Negga's colourblind casting allowed them to do both. As a mixed race Irish actress, Negga's body was both of and not of the Irish body, neutralising potential threats on both sides. Indeed, as Loyal observes, the 'hegemonic construction of Ireland as an open, cosmopolitan, multicultural, tourist-friendly city' as a public narrative worked to obscure the fact that 'the Irish state […] has consistently treated non-national immigration as a political problem' (74). This disjuncture between the construction and the reality of Irish interculturalism would play itself out in Negga's Abbey career.

Ruth Negga made her debut at the Abbey in 2002 on the Peacock stage as the eponymous character in *Lolita,* an Abbey co-production with Corn Exchange Theatre Company. Based on the novel by Vladimir Nabokov, *Lolita* depicts the European academic Humbert Humbert's obsession with his landlady's adolescent daughter, Delores, nicknamed Lolita. Performed in the Corn Exchange's signature high-energy commedia style with white face make-up used to represent the traditional commedia masks, *Lolita* epitomised what would become the trend for Negga's Abbey casting. Negga was warmly received by theatre reviewers as 'a natural star' (P. Brennan) whose 'pouting, glowering, at once childishly aggressive vet vulnerable performance' (Carty) was 'breath-taking […] howls with sincerity' (O'Kelly, "Lolita"). Patrick Brennan wrote of the production in the Irish Examiner, 'the lead role of the daring nymphet herself is the *equally exotic*' Negga (P. Brennan, emphasis added). The euphemism 'exotic' would frequently be applied to describe Negga in the press, and the role of sexual nymphet at the Abbey would be hers for the next two years.[11]

[11] It is of interest to note that 'exotic' also became the key descriptor for actor Christopher Simpson, who played Bacchus across Negga in *The Bacchae at Bagdad* and has a similar mixed race background, with an Irish father and Rwandan mother, though born and raised in the UK. Simpson is also similarly fetishised, with reviewers noting his 'delicate multi-ethnic features' (Lynch) and 'exotic background' (Shields) and playwright Conall Morrison describing him as 'a beautiful man. He's got a superb sense of the body on stage' (quoted in Shields). It is also interesting to note that reviewers never refer to Negga as black, with the exception of Nick Heaney's *Sunday Times* profile of Negga in which he summarises her as 'Young, female, good-looking, black with an English accent and a magnetic stage presence' (Heaney). In all of the other reviews, interviews and profiles on file in the Abbey Digital Archive, Negga is referred to specifically as Ethiopian. This choice of language could reflect the ways in which the popular

Following her success in *Lolita*, Negga was cast in a minor role in Hillary Fannin's *Doldrum Bay* in May 2003. *Doldrum Bay* is a reflection on Celtic Tiger Ireland told through the perspective of two middle-aged, middle-class male advertising ad executives and their wives. Francis has just retired in order to write his Great Irish Novel and uses this new artistic identity to bed Java, the waitress at the conceptual wine bar that Francis and his colleagues frequent. Within the play, Java operates more as a plot device than a character. Francis' callous one-night-stand acts as a shorthand representation of his mid-life crisis, while Java's lines are more like vehicles for Celtic Tiger buzzwords than actual dialogue. Thus it emerges that Java is a student studying psychology and herbalism—'And event management on Wednesdays' (Fannin 24)—spouting prescriptions for tea-tree oil and Indian head massages. A self-described humanist, Java ends up engaged to her pantheist boyfriend Matt—'We're going to have our rings blessed by his guru' (91). In every way, including casting, Java is a far cry from the traditional conception of the white Catholic rural Ireland of the past.

Brian Singleton writes of the performance, 'In the Peacock production, [Java] was played by Ethiopian-Irish actress Ruth Negga, who, by her very presence, disrupted the white spectacle of middle-class Dublin. Her race and exotic character name marked the presence of a new Irish woman, one at the beginning of her voyage of discovery, one tempted by a predatory patriarch, but one ultimately and indefatigably independent' ("Sick, Dying, Dead, Dispersed" 190). This reading of Java as an independent new Irish woman is a generous interpretation of a two-dimensional character with minimal stage time. While the other characters get lengthy monologue scenes in which they recount their childhood memories, reflect on their troubled relationships with parents and partners or enunciate their inner struggles, Java spends most of her stage time fetching men's drinks, listening to them talk and taking her top off. Java's

---

narratives around Ethiopia and Rwanda often associate these countries with narratives of African victimhood (especially Ethiopia, whose experience of famine in the 1980s was directly linked to the Irish Famine in calls for Irish aid), making them more palatable to the Irish imaginary than the racial denomination of 'Black,' or even other African nations such as Nigeria, which represent a large proportion of African migrants to Ireland and has, as a result, become stigmatised in the national discourse (see Komolafe; Migration and Citizenship Research Initiative).

visible ethnic difference may indeed disrupt the white spectacle of the play, but more as an exotic diversion than as the face of the Irish future.

Indeed, by the end of the play Java has conveniently receded off stage, allowing the play to close on the four white Irish characters as they move forward with their lives. Significantly, one of these characters is pregnant, signalling that the next generation of Ireland will be much in keeping with the last. As Emer O'Kelly writes in her review, 'The fact is that traditional mores—in the shadowy novel, or in the self-consciously trendy play itself—have not broken down: they've merely received a cosmetic facelift for public examination. Comfortable Catholic values are always hovering in the background' (O'Kelly, "In the Doldrums"). Though Negga's presence on stage is perhaps intended to signal a changing Ireland, ultimately it is an empty signifier.

Negga's next role at the Abbey, which would occur later that same year, was much more substantial than her run as Java, if quite similar in character. In July 2003 Negga played the titular character of Stella Feehily's *Duck,* a co-production with British theatre company Out of Joint and London's Royal Court that toured Edinburgh and the UK before coming to Dublin. Like *Doldrum Bay*, *Duck* also reflected the contemporary Irish moment, this time focusing on two young, disillusioned working-class laddettes. Cat, nicknamed Duck by her boyfriend Mark for her large feet, and her best friend Sophie are teenage girls adrift at the cusp of adulthood. When not drinking and clubbing together, Sophie attends university and Cat works as a waitress at Mark's bar. Within the world of the play, Cat operates as 'a teenage version of Wedekind's Lulu, on whom everyone imprints their own desires,' (Billington) including Sophie and, as some reviewers read it, even Cat's father. Cat uses this allure to access alternative lifestyles—first through her drug-dealing boyfriend Mark, then through an affair with the affluent older writer Jack—in an attempt to escape from the stifling atmosphere of her working class family. Yet neither of these relationships prove tenable and by the end of the play both Cat and Sophie remain in limbo, literally waiting for the taxi that refuses to materialise and move them forward, in a kind of Celtic Tiger Godot.

If the size of Negga's role had increased from Java to Cat, it was not significantly different. Cat, like Java, exists as a sexual object and is constantly defined through the projection of sexual desire. This dynamic is established in the very opening scene of the play when Cat and Sophie are accosted in an alleyway by two drunken Boys. Singling out Cat, Boy 1 says, 'I think she's a hoor, I can see her knickers' (Feehily 7). The reduction of Cat to sexual object occurs again when she next appears on stage with boyfriend Mark and his cousin Eddie. In the stage directions Cat is constantly fondled and groped, with Mark being directed to pull her on to his knee, kiss her hand, rub her backside and squeeze her breast. When Cat is off stage, Mark offers her to the admiring Eddie:

> EDDIE. She's a bang.
> MARK. You can have her.
> […]
> EDDIE. What's she like?
> MARK. She's a hole. She likes it hard (19).

Similarly, when Jack first meets Cat at the bar his rebuffed proposition of 'Would you like to come to dinner sometime' is followed by a shouted 'Would you fuck me?' (29).

This extreme objectification of Cat is further enforced by the various nicknames that are applied to her throughout the play. Mark refers to her as Duck as 'She has the biggest feet I've ever seen on a girl'; Jack dubs her Gina Lollobrigida based on her supposed resemblance to the actress. Later, when Mark violently confronts Cat for destroying his Jeep, he relabels her again: 'Cos what are ya? […] You're a fucking cunt aren't ya?' When Cat denies this, Mark holds her head under the water until she accepts: 'I'm a fucking cunt. […] I'm a fucking cunt. […] I'm a cunt' (73).

While Cat attempts to navigate these reductive projections in a process of self-discovery, she never quite escapes their shadow, nor does she (or the play) reach a clear sense of what that self might be. The closest that Cat comes to articulating a personal manifesto is in rejecting Mark's insistence that she is 'empty. Worthless. Shapeless. Formless' to which Cat responds, 'You don't own me. You don't know me. I'm not Duck or love or/Whatever the fucking hell spews out of your mouth. I don't need you. I don't need any fucking one of you' (105). Though Cat rejects the identities

imposed upon her, she never fully articulates what her actual identity might be to replace them. Because of this, the audience never gets a clear sense of Cat's character, or perhaps more accurately, the audience senses that Cat herself does not quite know who she is. Thus while Feehily's script gives more time to Cat's character development, that character ultimately remains ambiguous.

Taken together, Negga's pre-Referendum roles at the Abbey present a consistent strategy of using Negga's colourblind casting to reflect the newfound sexiness of Celtic Tiger identities while deploying 'diversity' as a superficial backdrop. Yet the effectiveness of both of these messages rely on the audience's ability to read Negga's blackness on stage while simultaneously accepting Negga as a white character. For it is the practice of colourblind casting that provides Negga access to the stage, with all of these roles being either racially unmarked or explicitly white. In *Doldrum Bay* the character of Java is not specifically raced, either as white or as minority ethnic. Rather, the connotations of the character's name with the Indonesian island of Java as well as java coffee (or coffee-coloured), and the reference to 'a frisky little Chilean'—a phrase Java uses to recommend a wine that is subsequently repeated several times in reference to Java herself—imply a generic 'otherness'. However, there is nothing in the script that places Java as any particular ethnicity, or even as Irish.[12] Unlike the other characters in the play, Java is not given any background history to root hers as an Irish experience. In this case colourblind casting most directly aligns with the idea of using diversity in casting as cosmetic cosmopolitanism.

In *Lolita* and *Duck* Negga is colourblind cast in the more traditional understanding of the practice as one that actively disrupts the equation of the race of an actor with the race of the role as defined in the given circumstances of script or the surrounding cast. In *Lolita*, Negga plays a white American in 1940s New England and her mother was played by white

[12] In the 2003 production Negga played the role with a neutral Irish accent, which did place the character as Irish; however the script itself makes no specifications and the only explicit character description is that Java is 'early twenties' and 'a young woman dressed as a mermaid'.

Irish actress Clara Simpson. Negga's colourblind casting thus required audiences to ignore her epidermalisation and was helped by the fact that the role was played with white face makeup. Though the makeup design was rooted in the Corn Exchange's commedia background rather than any attempt at racial passing, the mask-like effect drew attention to the fact that Negga was playing a character across racial categories, while also allowing audiences to accept this racial disparity as aesthetic stylisation rather than as a social commentary.

In *Duck*, where the contemporary Dublin setting made a mixed race Irish character entirely plausible, the production choice to cast all white Irish actors as Cat's family confined Negga's character exclusively to whiteness. In his review of the play, Harvey O'Brien notes the dissonance that this colourblind approach created:

> Negga has stood out throughout not only because her character is the center of the drama, but because the actress is dark skinned. Her 'Otherness' (purely the result of casting) actually gives a greater dynamism to the drama, throwing her relationships into even greater relief by underlying her 'exoticism' in this setting. Unfortunately, the introduction of [Cat's] rural family with no reference to race whatsoever is unsettling, and no amount of suspension of disbelief can overcome the twin demons of accent and skin color which become points of disjuncture (H. O'Brien).

Here Negga's casting does not ask us to consider what an ethnically diverse Ireland might look like, but rather to dismiss Negga's blackness as extraneous to the plot of the play. The audience is directed, through the semiotics of the all-white family unit, to understand Negga as another white Irish character.

Yet, as O'Brien observes, it is precisely Negga's blackness—and the audience's awareness of it—that creates a deeper resonance on stage. Thus, at the same time that Negga is being colourblind cast in ways that ask audiences to ignore her ethnicity, it is precisely Negga's visual otherness that allows her body to act as a metonym for these specific aspects of Celtic Tiger identity. Indeed, it is impossible for Negga to be represent a diverse cosmopolitanism if her ethnicity is not recognised. However, rather than acknowledge Negga's mixed race identity explicitly within the world of the

play, the Abbey deployed it *implicitly* through strategies of colourblind casting.

This dynamic of 'blind' seeing—in which Negga's race is recognised without being acknowledged—is frustrating in its depiction of diversity devoid of specificity or futurity. Particularly in *Doldrum Bay* and *Duck*, which sought to give voice to the Celtic Tiger moment, casting Negga as the new Irish generation meant that these productions could have been interpreted as hinting toward an inclusive intercultural and multi-ethnic Irish future. However, the device of colourblind casting disrupts this correlation, as Negga is not actually intended to be mixed race on stage. Instead, Negga's colourblind casting places her both within and outside of the national body, implying that her presence is possible only due to the suspension of *disbelief* of a black Irish body.

This 'blind' seeing becomes particularly problematic when it comes to the tropes of Celtic Tiger sexuality, which ultimately translate into a sexual objectification of Negga herself that is predicated on larger stereotypes of black female (hyper)sexuality and the fetishisation of the black body by the white gaze. As noted earlier, the black body is inscribed with the larger myths and narratives of blackness; for black women, one of the most persistent of these myths is that of the 'Jezebel' stereotype, a trope that 'characterizes Black women as hypersexual and insatiable and originated from slavery as a means to rationalize the pervasive sexual assault of Black slave women by White men' (Jerald et al. 610). In casting and viewing Negga in these sexualised roles, the Abbey and its (white) audiences reinforce these stereotypes, wittingly or not. In this way, as George Yancy writes, 'the Black body vis-á-vis the white gaze—that performance of distortional "seeing" that evolves out of and is inextricably linked to various raced and racist myths, white discursive practices, and centripetal processes of white systemic power and white solipsism—undergoes processes of dehumanizing interpellation' (xxxii).[13]

[13] Yancy also speaks scathingly to the performance of white 'innocence' in these practices of the white gaze. Giving descriptions of horrific acts of recent racist violence—both physical and emotional—against black Americans, Yancy writes on the 'form of moral distancing [that] functions to allow many whites a sense of

As explored above, Negga is cast into roles that are defined as sexual objects, and this objectification is further reinforced by the staging choices of the productions. One aspect of Negga's Abbey performances that was particularly unusual for that theatre was the amount of on-stage nudity that they contained. In *Doldrum Bay*, Negga ends a bedroom scene by removing her shirt to reveal a bare back to the audience (and, presumably, a bare chest to her scene partner).[14] Meanwhile *Duck* features a series of interlocking scenes where Negga appears fully nude in a bathtub. Opening with Cat and Jack sharing a romantic bath together, the scene transitions to Mark's violent confrontation of Cat where he plunges her repeatedly under the water. This in turn transitions to Cat alone in the tub with Sophie keeping her company. Negga's nudity is particularly pronounced in this last sequence, as Negga steps fully out of the bath and stands nude on stage before wrapping herself up in a towel.

Patrick Lonergan observes that the 'series of interlinking scenes […] displays Feehily's excellent sense of staging' ("Half-Hearted" 146), and indeed the shifting use of the bathtub is dramaturgically inventive and visually compelling. The nudity itself can be read as symbolic, with some reviewers reading it as a representation of Cat's emotional fragility, where 'the character has literally been stripped bare' (H. O'Brien). However, many felt it was unnecessary, describing it as 'a brief burst of exploitative nudity' (McMillan) and 'a bit of slightly gratuitous nudity' (O'Connell). Regardless of whether or not Negga's nudity was warranted within the context of the play, what is notable is that especially for the Abbey it is fairly rare. And while the play text itself demanded a certain level of nudity due to the device of the bathtub, the choices made on how to stage those particular

---

moral superiority over "those white racists," while obfuscating their own racism through the act of disavowing only a *particular form* of racism. This creates deep forms of self-deception' (xxxi). In pardoning these acts of racism through either the moral distancing from certain forms of racism or the willful denial of racism at all, we see the 'habituated modes of white denial, structured ignorance, white bonding, and disrespect for Black people' (xxxii). In an Irish context, I argue that claims towards a certain form of Irish racial ignorance amounts to very much the same thing.

[14] This moment was also documented in the production stills, which are held in the Abbey Theatre Digital Archives at the National University of Ireland, Galway.

scenes reified rather than undermined the larger themes of Cat's—and Negga's—sexual objectification.

This objectification was further reinforced by the ways in which Negga was framed both in promotional marketing and theatre reviews. For example, despite the fact that her character in *Doldrum Bay* is so minor that many reviews fail to even mention her, a significant number of the publicity stills accompanying reviews and listings for the show are of Negga wearing just a man's shirt, her bare legs draped over actor Risteárd Cooper as she leans in for a kiss.[15] Similarly, her full frontal nudity in *Duck* became a key talking point, with the Abbey circulating the photograph of Negga wrapped in a bath towel to promote the show. One headline for the play reads, 'Duck Naked: Don't miss Ruth Negga as Cat in Stella Feehily's *Duck*' (Jackson). The next year, when Negga was appearing in Antigone in Seamus Heaney's adaptation *Burial at Thebes*—a production that contained no nudity—the front-page teaser for her profile article in the *Sunday Independent* reads 'Ruth Negga: Taking my kit off on stage'.

The hypersexualisation of Negga was unique to her as a black Irish actress, and is apparent when compared to the media treatment of other white Irish actresses of the time. For example, Gemma Reeves, another ingénue of the Abbey and a contemporary of Negga's, is described in reviews as 'endearing' and 'sweet' (White; Crawley), while profiles of her tend to focus on her theatrical pedigree, her mother being Irish actress Anita Reeves. One interview opens by highlighting her sexual innocence, noting that she recently appeared in 'the racy period drama' *The Tudors* but that Reeves is 'thankful that, unlike her female peers on the show, she was not asked to strip off' (Barter). In contrast, profiles of and interviews with Negga tend to open with lengthy descriptions of her appearance—Julia Molony begins hers with phrases such as 'Her cartoon-perfect eyes look like they could have been drawn on with a sharp pencil, her hair is a jungle of impossibly thick, wild ringlets and her full fleshy mouth juts out from her

[15] The use of the phrase 'significant' is based on the press clippings for the production held in the Abbey Digital Archive. Of the twenty-five reviews accompanied by press photos, eleven of these were the photograph of Negga and Cooper, while the other fourteen were split between images of the characters Francis and Magda, or Chick and Louise.

face with a startling sensuousness' (Molony)—or pose questions such as 'Do you have a favourite sexual fantasy?' and 'When you sleep, what do you wear?' (*Cork Dry Gin Profile*).

Yet if Negga's hypersexualisation was directly informed by her racialisation as a black woman, the potential threat of her sexual black body was safely contained by Negga's youthfulness and the practices of colourblind casting. As Anwen Tormey notes of the 2004 Referendum, pregnant black women were so effective as a rhetorical threat because they 'expose[d] the unspoken racial episteme of the national body politic by confronting observers with a future-inflected practice that has repercussions for the diversity of the nation' (82). As with cosmopolitan diversity, Negga's colourblind casting was so effective because it allowed her to both symbolise Celtic Tiger sexuality while simultaneously denying the very existence of the black body altogether.

Further containing Negga's sexuality was the fact that all of roles into which she was cast—both on and off stage—were that of the nymphet. In all three of these productions, Negga plays a version of Lolita, a role that became so closely associated with Negga herself that one reviewer bills her as 'Ruth "Lolita" Negga' (Clancy). As Julia Molony observes, 'Casting agents seem to continually select Ruth for weighty roles which call for a delicate balance between childlike vulnerability and potent adult sexuality' (Molony). It is precisely this childlike vulnerability that worked to neutralise the potent adult sexuality of these roles in a black body. Further, by the end of these three plays, Negga's characters are either single (*Duck*), absent (*Doldrum Bay*) or dead (*Lolita)*. Indeed, in *Lolita* it is through the attempt at childbirth that Lolita dies, along with her child—thus attempts at reproduction are fatal to characters that must forever linger on the cusp of adulthood. Rather than arguing that these roles would have been any different with a white Irish actress, the point I am making is that it is because these characterisations were already in place that Negga was allowed access to them.

Thus in the height of the Celtic Tiger and in the years directly preceding the Citizenship Referendum, Negga's Abbey roles were defined by a youthful, cool sexuality. Negga's blackness was mobilised for its

metonymic associations, with which Irish audiences were understood to be familiar, and these associations were in turn appropriated to signify a sexy Celtic Tiger cosmopolitanism. At the same time, Negga's black body was denied through processes of colourblind casting in a racial double-vision that allowed Negga to be both seen and unseen on stage. The threat of Negga's sexualised black body was contained by this unseeing, as well as an infantilisation of Negga that divorced sex from reproduction.

In April 2004, Negga would appear on the Abbey stage as Antigone in Seamus Heaney's *The Burial at Thebes* and would not return until March 2006 in Conall Morrison's *The Bacchae of Bagdad*. In between these productions, Ireland would pass the Citizenship Referendum, which would have significant ramifications both legally and culturally in Ireland. As a result, when Negga returned to the Abbey in 2006, her body was still inscribed with narratives of hypersexualisation, but the ways in which these narratives were deployed would see a drastic thematic shift.

'A Nasty Piece': Negga's Post-Referendum Roles

On 7 April 2004, The *Irish Times* ran its review of the Abbey's current production, Seamus Heaney's *The Burial at Thebes*. 'Flesh and dust are called to mind by the title of Seamus Heaney's new version of Sophocles' *Antigone*,' writes Helen Meany. 'Underlying the moral argument about justice and human rights is the suggestion that something sacred has been violated' (Meany). While Meany appreciated the nuanced characterisation of the two opposing forces of Creon (played by Lorcan Cranitch) and Antigone (played by Ruth Negga), ultimately the production was found to be 'uncertain and uneven and the pace is static' (Meany).

A few pages over, a different conflict of justice and human rights was playing out on a larger Irish stage. In a response to criticism of the proposed Citizenship Referendum as reported on earlier in the week, Liam O Geibheannaigh had written to and was published in the paper's letters section. 'Apropos of Mary Raftery's criticism of the […] proposal to amend the Constitution in order to put a stop to "citizenship shopping,"' O Geibheannaigh writes, 'surely the most pertinent question is: "Why has it taken the Government so long to correct the initial mistake?"

(Geibheannaigh). He goes on to contend that the 'opening up of Irish citizenship, as part of the Good Friday Agreement, was neither wise nor necessary and has, indeed, acted as a significant "pull factor", in encouraging foreign women to burden Irish public services and especially the health service, when seeking Irish citizenship for their babies' (Geibheannaigh).[16]

Inadvertently, the staged conflict over which bodies were claimed by the state (and which were excluded) directly echoed the concurrent political struggle over citizenship in Ireland. Negga would finish her run as Antigone in May of that year and would not appear in another Abbey play until March 2006. Meanwhile, the Citizenship Referendum vote would be held on 11 June 2004, to be passed by an overwhelming majority of nearly 80%. When Negga again appeared on the Abbey stage, a monumental shift had occurred in understandings of belonging, Irish identity and the relationship between the black female body and the state.

Geibheannaigh's line of argument around the burden imposed by pregnant foreign women can be traced directly back to the Referendum's original proponent, Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform Martin McDowell. The Citizenship Referendum originated on 10 March 2004 when McDowell alleged that pregnant non-Irish nationals were putting strains on Irish maternity wards, and announced his intention to hold a constitutional referendum to restrict citizenship rights. McDowell's comments on pregnant non-nationals built on the Lobe case of 2003 in which the Irish Supreme Court ruled that 'non-national' parents were not guaranteed the right to remain in Ireland solely based on having a child who was an Irish citizen. Consequently, in February 2003, McDowell as Minister of Justice 'retroactively abolished the process whereby migrant parents could apply to remain in Ireland on the grounds of having a child citizen, making 11,500 migrant parents of citizen children candidates for deportation *together with their citizen children*' (Lentin, "Black Bodies", emphasis added). The date

[16] This implication that it was the Good Friday Agreement that introduced *jus soli* to the Irish constitution is inaccurate, as *jus soli* has always been recognised by the Irish state since its founding in 1922; the Good Friday Agreement simply re-iterated this in a motion toward inclusivity in the North.

for the proposed referendum vote was set for June and for the next three months the country would be immersed in debates around citizenship, belonging and Irishness, much of it centred around pregnant black bodies.

Analyses of the rhetoric employed in the Referendum debates reveal the highly racialised and gendered nature of the arguments in play. Dianna Shandy writes how 'immigration debates were literally and figuratively inscribed on African immigrant women's bodies' (805) as the Referendum was triggered by 'some highly publicized cases of African women arriving in the latter stages of pregnancy allegedly to avail of the provision within Irish law that children born on Irish soil had a right to Irish citizenship' (808). Thus, '[i]n the ensuing debates, pregnant women's bodies and the state-funded hospitals that facilitated these births became sites for contestation' (Shandy 809). Anwen Tormey elaborates on the racialised nature of this discourse, noting that '[b]y replacing *jus soli* with *jus sanguinis* as the basis for 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' (81). Further, if women's bodies 'are signifiers of the "social body," […] for Ireland, the racialised imaginary of the body politic has historically been white' (Tormey 83). Pregnant black women disrupted this racial tracing and the political whiteness that Ireland had only recently achieved. Ronit Lentin similarly notes the gendered dimension of this racialisation when she notes that '[w]omen's bodies symbolize the boundaries of ethnic and national collectives and are also the sites upon which these boundaries are contested' ("Black Bodies" 8).

This gendered and racialised rhetoric set the tone of the Referendum debates and media coverage, which shaped public understandings of how to read black bodies. A linguistic analysis of the Referendum coverage in the *Irish Times* and *Sunday Tribune* found that 'much of the debate within the context of media coverage framed the citizenship of children born to non-national parents as an abuse of the system, and their parents' application for residency right as further exploitation' (Haynes et al. 63). A survey of the articles addressing the topic revealed 'specific templates in the use of the words *abuse, loophole, exploitation* and *asylum,* as well as the "maternity

hospital crisis" and "citizenship tourism" frames' (Haynes et al. 65). While the two broadsheet newspapers that the study considered officially held a 'No' stance on the Referendum, Haynes et al. note that through the use of direct quotations of politicians, the papers' 'straightforward reportage of political debate, without any reflexive interrogation of the terms employed, actually supported the negative connotations of the templates in use' (67). In a similar study that focused on the official statements and addresses of Martin McDowell, Silvia Brandi found that 'the terms "immigrant" and "refugee" […] and, in the specific Irish case, "non-national" progressively assumed negative connotations by absorbing the meanings generally associated with the Other, and became nearly synonymous with non-European' (30).

By the time that the Citizenship Referendum had passed, then, the prevailing narratives around the black female body had calcified into negative associations of fecundity, threat and exploitation. As Lentin writes, arguments that 'non-national' women were '*intentionally* mothering the next generation of Irish citizens signifies not only the moral panic about "floods of refugees", but also the insidious positioning of sexually active "Irish" and "non-national" women alike as a danger to themselves, to men, and to "the nation"' ("Black Bodies" 8, emphasis in original).

This narrative shift would have a noticeable impact on the kinds of roles that Ruth Negga would play on her return to the Abbey Theatre in 2006. In the same way that Coulter's summary of Celtic Tiger culture could be grafted onto Negga's on-stage persona in the pre-Referendum period, Lentin's summation of the Referendum discourse also describes Negga's Abbey roles post-Referendum. Thus post-Referendum Negga came to embody a weaponised sexuality that was particularly threatening to men and, by proxy, to public order. As the head of the Bacchic chorus in Conall Morrison's *The Bacchae of Bagdad* and Abigail Williams in Arthur Miller's *The Crucible*, Negga portrayed characters that were still hypersexualised, but this sexuality was now dangerous and destructive, threatening civil order and the rule of law. If, as Tormey argues, '[d]ramas of the abuse of Irish hospitality, phantasms of excessive/instrumental fertility, and the spectre of a proliferation of immoral and unworthy character were

phenomenologically animated by the bodies of black immigrant mothers' (87), Negga's black female body animated similar dramas on stage, even as she was being colourblind cast. As such, when contrasted with her roles pre-Referendum, and considering the other productions that were running in those seasons—such as canonical Irish plays such as Richard Sheridan's *A School for Scandal* (2006) as well as established imports such as John Patrick Shanley's *Doubt* (2006), both of which feature strong roles for young female actors—it can be argued that the narratives generated on the larger, national scale impacted the scale of the institution, whether consciously or not.[17]

In 2006 Negga returned to the Abbey stage in Conall Morrison's *The Bacchae of Bagdad* (from here on, *Bacchae),* in which Euripides' Greek tragedy was transposed from Thebes to the American-occupied Green Zone in contemporary Iraq. King Pentheus appeared as an American war general, while the god of theatre, wine, fertility and transformation Dionysus was conceived of as exotic Middle Eastern guru. The play opens with the arrival of Dionysus in Bagdad with his all-female group of followers, the Bacchae, demanding that the city recognise his divinity and worship accordingly. Pentheus refuses, believing Dionysus to be a false prophet and disruptive element. When he orders that Dionysus be arrested and brought to him, Dionysus retaliates by sending the women of the city—including Pentheus' mother Agave—into the surrounding hills to feast, drink and fornicate. Dionysus eventually persuades Pentheus to disguise himself as a woman in order to spy on the Bacchant rites; Pentheus is apprehended by the Bacchae, however, and torn to pieces by his own mother.

Ostensibly meant to comment on the American 'War on Terror', *Bacchae* is perhaps more interesting for what it reveals about contemporary Irish attitudes towards race. This is partially due to the fact that Morrison's attempt to map a direct correlation between Pentheus and George W. Bush, and Dionysus and those perceived of as terrorists, becomes heavy-handed and over-worked. While the *Daily Mail*'s review lauds the production for

[17] Interestingly, it was Gemma Reeves who played the roles of Maria in *The School for Scandal* and Sister James in *Doubt*, characters who are both marked by a certain innocence and naivety.

being 'a Cameron Mackintosh version of Greek Tragedy […] Miss Saigon meets political theatre' (Macdonald), the critical consensus seemed to see that as precisely the problem with the show. This dissenting opinion (and the production itself) is aptly summarised by Karen Fricker's review in which she writes:

> The argument is skewed irrevocably in the favour of Dionysus, played by Christopher Simpson as a Middle East-accented, dread-locked hottie whose powers manifest in his ability to make the Bacchants whirl like dervishes to a groovy world music beat as flames shoot out of the urn containing his mother's ashes. This is orientalism and occidentalism writ large: a didactic reduction of the original text and current political situation. […] While it is certainly exciting, and it is overdue to see a multicultural cast on the Abbey stage, there is no productive cultural work being accomplished by the bombast (Fricker).

As Fricker observes, *Bacchae* does boast a multicultural cast, with Dionysus and the chorus of Bacchae all played by actors of colour. Even more notable is that the majority of these actors were Irish: of the six Bacchae, all of whom present as minority ethnic, five are Irish (Mary Healy, Shereen Martineau, Merrina Millsap, Donna Nikolaisen and Ruth Negga), with British actress Mojisola Adebayo as the only non-Irish (though similarly mixed race) cast member.[18] Dionysus himself was played by mixed race Irish, British-born actor Christopher Simpson. For a theatre that tends to import its minority ethnic actors from abroad, it is revealing that the majority of the Chorus was sourced from the mixed race Irish community. Even more revealing is that, for all but Negga, this is their only appearance on the Abbey stage.

[18] Exact biographical details for these actors are difficult to obtain, as for many this was one of only one or two professional productions in which they appeared in Ireland. Donna Nikolaisen identifies as Irish-Caribbean and has had a career in Irish film and television, appearing on the RTÉ soap opera *Fair City*. Shereen Martineau identifies as an Irish actress, but this is her only Irish production; having trained at RADA, Martineau mostly appears in British film and theatre. Merrina Millsap played the Nurse in a production of *Romeo and Juliet* in 2002 aimed at Irish secondary school students, and in the *Mysteries 2000* project of 1999, in which fifteen Irish playwrights were commissioned to adapt the Mystery plays. Mary Healy appeared as Bertha Rochester in the Gate's 2003 production of *Jane Eyre*. Mojisola Adebayo also performed in Ireland in Fishamble's production of Jim O'Hanlon's *The Buddhist of Castleknock* in 2002.

While this diverse casting was certainly overdue, it ultimately achieved no productive cultural work due to both the confines of the play's narrative and the fact that it was not sustained beyond the logistical needs of *Bacchae*. Rather than an attempt to expand ideas of Irishness on the national stage, the casting of mixed race Irish actors was based purely on their epidermal ability to signify an empty and essentialised otherness as generically Middle Eastern. By casting Irish actors of colour as non-specific ethnic Others, *Bacchae* actually worked to distance mixed race Irish actors from an Irish identity, privileging instead their ethnic difference. Within the context of the play, this ethnic difference was positioned as both exotic and erotic, an oriental religious fanaticism and occidental fetishism that threatens and ultimately destroys the law and order of white western male dominance.

As the head of this Chorus, Negga was again positioned as a sexual object, but this time as a source of danger rather than desire. Though the threat of reproduction is removed from the play (the Bacchae are liberatingly barren), the dramatic narrative explicitly links female sexuality and ethnic Otherness with a breakdown in social mores and morality. Indeed, the central conflict of the play is around the illegitimate birth of Dionysus and the refusal of the state (in the form of Pentheus) to recognise his lineage. Pentheus's reaction to the Bacchic practices is exaggeratedly misogyinist and xenophobic. He expresses his disgust at the practices of the Bacchae as 'One source says they slope into the woods/ For sex with passing men', denouncing them at various points as 'A gender that cannot make up its mind!' (C. Morrison 8) and 'Bacchic bitches [who] run amok like forest fire!/They threaten us all. These flames must be snuffed out' (29). When referring to Bacchus himself, Pentheus pronounces him an 'oriental trickster' whose 'black eye is lit up with lust' (9), describing him as 'a pretty creature […] Come to sell your wares to our women here' (16). In turn, Dionysus weaponises the bodies of both his original Bacchae and the women of Thebes to corrupt the integrity of the civic space. Thus while Morrison may have been striving to comment on the unflinching rigidity of a militaristic American outlook, what he ultimately revealed was a

corresponding Irish attitude that understood the black female body in terms of national threat, specifically through a morally suspect sexuality.

Negga's penultimate appearance at the Abbey would be in May 2007 as Abigail Williams in Arthur Miller's *The Crucible*, the classic American drama in which Miller employed the historical case of the Salem witch trials to comment on the McCarthyism of the 1950s. The play opens after Abigail Williams and several other local girls have been caught dancing naked in the woods, performing magic rituals with the help of the Barbadian slave Tituba. In order to avoid punishment themselves, the girls begin to accuse others in the town of witchcraft, instigating a witch-hunt that tears apart the community. Significantly, the initial impetus for the girls' magic rituals was Abigail's desire to curse Elizabeth Proctor, her former employer and wife of John Proctor, with whom Abigail has had a sexual affair. Abigail uses the panic of the witch-hunt to revenge herself on Elizabeth; however ultimately it is John Proctor who hangs while Abigail flees Salem in fear of retribution.

As with *Bacchae*, *The Crucible* centres on the threat of female sexuality, despite the fact that it is John Proctor who is equally—if not solely—culpable for the sexual transgressions of the play. As Wendy Schissel argues, *The Crucible* 'reinforces stereotypes of *femme fatales* and cold and unforgiving wives in order to assert apparently universal virtues' (461). In her article 'Re(dis)covering the Witches in Arthur Miller's *The* Crucible: A Feminist Reading', Schissel challenges the misogynistic and gynecophobic themes of the play and its critics, who see John Proctor as a sympathetic Everyman while blaming his sexually frigid wife and sexually seductive servant for his downfall. As Schissel notes, Abigail herself is only seventeen in the play (a change made by Miller from the historically accurate age of twelve in order to make her agency as sexual aggressor more believable). Consequently, Abigail 'is the consummate seductress; the witchcraft hysteria in the play originates in *her* carnal lust for Proctor' (Schissel 463).

As such, Negga's performance as Abigail Williams echoed elements of both her pre- and post-Referendum roles at the Abbey. As in *Bacchae*, Negga again portrayed a hypersexual and morally corrupt woman at the

head of a group of female religious fanatics, threatening civil and social order. Yet Abigail was also a return to the Lolita trope of Negga's pre-Referendum roles, albeit now stripped of her innocence. Remnants of the 'Lolita' associations from earlier in her career can be found in receptions of her performance, with Sara Keating noting that 'Negga strikes a perfect balance between manipulative minx and innocent child' (Keating, "Crucible"). However, the tone of her sexuality (and the continued objectification of this sexuality) had shifted from fun to fearsome. Daragh Reddin thus describes Negga as 'superb in the role of the wily, calculating virago Abigail' (Reddin) and the caption of the promotional photo of Negga run in the Sunday Tribune reads 'Ruth Negga (Abigail): a nasty piece'. While the latter is an abbreviation of a line used in the accompanying review—'Ruth Negga plays Abigail without a hint of feminist revisionism—she's a nasty piece of work' (O'Riordan)—the reduction to 'a nasty piece' reinforces the sexual objectification of Negga that occurred in her pre-Referendum roles, but with a much darker tone.

Thus in both *Bacchae* and *The Crucible*, productions that occurred after the passing of the 2004 Citizenship Referendum, Negga portrays characters who, through the threat of female sexuality, disrupt the operations of law and social order. As in her pre-Referendum roles, Negga's characters are defined primarily as sexual objects; however, the tone of this sexuality has shifted from young, fun and flirty to dark, dangerous and corruptive. If earlier in her career Negga's blackness acted as a metonym for Celtic Tiger cosmopolitanism, after the Referendum it carried connotations of the 'non-national', a figure 'stereotyped either as sexually active child-maker, deliberately subverting the integrity of Irish citizenship and nationality or […] as sex worker, allegedly destabilizing the nation's morality' (Lentin, "Black Bodies" 8).[19] Strikingly, in *The Crucible* the epithet most commonly levelled against Abigail is that of 'whore'.

As with her pre-Referendum roles, Negga's casting is supposedly colourblind, but in ways that complicate or undermine the claim that her race is not seen on stage. In *Bacchae* this is particularly pronounced as

[19] Arthur Miller notes in his epilogue to the play that 'legend has it that Abigail turned up later as a prostitute in Boston' (127).

Negga—along with the other mixed race and minority ethnic Irish actors—is colourblind cast in a way that explicitly relies on the audience's recognition of her race, prioritising rather than ignoring her epidermalisation. We might think of this as colour*bound* casting, a process in which Negga's Irish identity is erased in favour of the connotations of otherness in a 'scopic regime of whiteness' (A. D. Morrison 385). In contrast, in *The Crucible*, as with *Lolita*, Negga is cast into an explicitly white role, a black Abigail Williams being an impossibility if adhering to historical essentialism.

However it is in *The Crucible* that the Abbey's practices of colourblind casting Negga are most problematic, as Negga's Abigail Williams was played across the 'Negro slave' Tituba. Played in the 2007 production by Black British actress Laurietta Essien, Tituba is at once central and peripheral to the action of the play. As D. Quentin Miller observes, 'she is the source of the witchcraft practised in the woods, the only character who originates outside New England, the only character who speaks in a non-standard English dialect, and the only character with a single name' (438). Yet, Tituba is also relegated to a minor character, who is made invisible on the stage as 'her power is distilled and appropriated by Abigail and the other young white girls in the play' (D. Q. Miller 440). Yet in the 2007 production Negga's Abigail is not, of course, white—though the audience was intended to see her as such. Indeed, the Abbey went so far as to retain Abigail's line 'They want slaves, not *such as I*. Let them send to Barbados for that. *I will not black my face* for any of them!' as explanation for why she is not able to find work as a housemaid in Salem (A. Miller 21, emphasis added). Having Negga speak these lines created a jarring dissonance that both disrupted and reinforced the choice of colourblind casting as the audience is confronted with Negga's racialised difference from her character in the same moment that they are asked to overlook this discrepancy for the line to make sense. By both recognising and ignoring Negga's blackness in this way, the production invoked colourblind casting practices while simultaneously mobilising the associations of blackness attached to Negga's racialised body.

Neither *Bacchae* nor *The Crucible* were intended to explicitly comment on contemporary Ireland's recent consolidation as a racial state through the passing of the Citizenship Referendum, as argued by Ronit Lentin ("Ireland"). Rather, both plays were more concerned with global politics in a post 9/11 world. However, through their casting practices both productions inadvertently and perhaps subconsciously relied on recent Irish narratives around the female black body to substantiate the dramatic threat on stage. Thus, if Negga acted as a metonym for Celtic Tiger cosmopolitanism in her pre-Referendum roles, then taken together *Bacchae* and *The Crucible* demonstrate how after the Referendum Negga was read through a framework of pregnancy tourism, non-nationals and the threat of black female sexuality.

Ruth Negga would appear one last time at the Abbey in 2008 on the Peacock stage in Billy Roche's play *Lay Me Down Softly*, where she would again be colourblind cast into a white Irish role.[20] Set in rural 1960's Ireland, the play follows Delaney's Travelling Road Show and focuses on the boxers who perform in the carnival's Boxing Booth. The daily routine of the group is interrupted when the owner Theo's estranged daughter Emer, played by Negga, arrives on the scene. Emer's arrival upsets the balance of the already unravelling troupe, and at the end of the play Emer convinces the young boxer Junior to run away with her from the fairground for a brighter future.

The role of Emer was a return to Negga's pre-Referendum typecasting of the innocent ingénue, this time displaced safely in the past. The shift back to an innocent sexuality might speak to the distance passed between the production and the Referendum, though it is notable that it was Negga's contemporary Gemma Reeves who landed the lead in that year's mainstage production of *Romeo and Juliet*, an adaptation that evoked a contemporary urban Irish setting. In fact, it is this hierarchy of stage

[20] Emer's father Theo was played by white Irish actor Gary Lydon, and though her mother Joy does not appear on stage, the logic of the play implies that she is white Irish as well. In Roche's script, Theo reminisces about first meeting Joy: 'I swear you could nearly see through her she was that delicate-lookin' that time. […] I was very nearly goin' to say "glass" but that's probably not the right word…You've got her complexion actually' (B. Roche 24). A few lines later he recalls the word he was looking for, 'Porcelain..!' (24), thus confirming the metaphor as one of (pale) complexion as well as fragility.

spaces—with the central mainstage and the peripheral Peacock stage—that could also go some way in explaining the difference in post-Referendum roles.

Generally, when Negga appears on the hegemonic main stage her presence is displaced from an Irish setting, as is the case in *Burial at Thebes*, *Bacchae at Bagdad* and *The Crucible.* Her appearance on the symbolic stage of Ireland, then, is mediated by a geographic distancing within the location of the plays' action. In roles where she appears in an Irish context, such as *Doldrum Bay, Duck* and *Lay Me Down Softly*, this mediation occurs in the form of the Peacock stage, with its associations of experimental and amateur productions. In other words, Negga was allowed to be Irish in the emergent space of the Peacock, and was allowed to appear on the canonical Main Stage as non-Irish—but never both at the same time. It could thus be argued that what allowed Negga to return to her pre-Referendum associations was her removal from the canonical space of the main stage.

Ultimately, however, all of Negga's roles at the Abbey Theatre relied on the concept of colourblindess to justify their casting decisions. An overarching analysis of these roles and the cultural context in which they appeared reveals that larger shifts of narrative at the national scale can, through unconscious bias, impact decisions made at the scale of the institution, as well as audience reception. This challenges the aspirational claims of racial transcendence that colourblindness proposes, as it was Negga's very visibility as a mixed race Irish woman that influenced the way she was cast and read on stage, even within 'white' roles. Though these productions themselves were not aesthetically intercultural as traditionally defined, I argue that a focus on the intercultural *figure* makes visible processes of intercultural negotiation that would otherwise be obscured. For as McIvor writes, 'Negga's "whitewashing" obscures not only Irish contemporary realities of increased racial and ethnic diversity but the historical existence of racial and ethnic minorities, particularly of mixed-race, living in Ireland' (50). It is this history of mixed race Irish, and the scale of community, that I turn to in the next section.

Colourblindness at the Scale of Community: Mixed Race Irish Identities

In the analysis above I read Negga's roles at the Abbey through the scales of the national, the institutional and the individual by considering how shifting cultural narratives in Celtic Tiger Ireland impacted understandings of Negga's racialised body on the Abbey stage. In doing so I argued that changes in contemporary Irish politics impacted on the access that Negga had to the national theatre via practices of colourblind casting. However, the all-or-nothing, colourblind/colourbound approach to casting Negga also speaks to wider discourses in contemporary Ireland around mixed race individuals, and echoes the lived experiences of many within that community. This section thus looks at the scale of community, privileging the voices and perspectives of mixed race Irish individuals, including Negga herself, and their struggle to freely self-identify due to external constraints imposed upon them.

Ethnographic research shows that there is often a demand placed on the mixed race Irish community to either subsume a minority ethnic identity or relinquish a claim to Irishness. For example, in her article *Celtic Tiger, Hidden Dragon*, Nicola Yau quotes one mixed-race participant, Lucy: 'it was basically you're Irish and that's it and you're not Chinese, you're Irish' (54). Lucy later expands on this by explaining that 'you're asked to identify yourself with one particular group…in Ireland it seems you have to be Irish and that's it and if you don't fit white Irish then you're not really Irish' (64). Similarly, Angeline D. Morrison writes:

> Experience showed me two particularly interesting phenomena. First of all, in all but one case, my mixed "race" Irish friends […] referred to themselves unproblematically (and sometimes, heartbreakingly, in some very self-derogatory ways, as though it were a bad thing) as "black". Secondly, I observed that a majority of white Irish people had difficulty accepting these women as Irish (386).

Morrison continues that 'their reading of their own bodies (and, by default, identities) as "black" had largely to do with the reading that white, racialized Irish society *placed upon them*' (A. D. Morrison 386, emphasis in original). Yet, Morrison observes, 'In most cases, my mixed "race" friends

and acquaintances had only ever known Irish culture, were born and/or brought up in Ireland, and did not consider themselves as anything other than Irish. Their ability to be accepted as "really Irish", however, was often made problematic for them, and in some cases denied them outright' (386).

This exclusionary conflation of whiteness and Irishness exceeds the national scale, circulating on a global understanding of Irish identity as well. The mixed race experience of being externally invalidated as Irish, both within one's community and beyond it, is further illustrated by anecdotes contained in Margaret McCarthy's collection of interviews, *My Eyes Only Look Out: Experiences of Irish People of Mixed Race Parentage*. One interviewee recollects that 'when I was working as a waitress, there were these Americans in the restaurant […] they asked where I was from. I said, "Oh, I'm Irish." They started laughing then, and I could feel myself getting red. Then I realised they must have thought I was spoofing. So I said, "But I am, *even if I don't look it*"' (McCarthy 31, emphasis added). Similarly, 'Mike' notes how both Irish and American people would 'always be stunned when I'd open my mouth and they'd realise I was a Dublin bloke' (38).

Mike also notes the discouragement he encountered when he 'showed interest in things that were African [as] people would say, "But you're not really dark," or things like that,' thus invalidating his own sense of a mixed race or black identity. In contrast, interviewee 'Jude', who was raised in an Irish industrial school, articulates the experience of being read through international narratives and stereotypes projected on the black body:

> Because you are coloured, everyone makes a fuss of you. It's like being a novelty. You get thrown by that, and you think everybody loves black people. This is a falseness that hits you, eventually, when you grow up. When you grow up, it's not like you thought it was. That is when the shock comes. I reckon I didn't notice until I was thirteen or fourteen. Up to that, I thought I was popular. You'd be picked for teams because somebody would say, "Black people are great at sports," and you were thrown into playing music because you are supposed to be good at music. And you are dumped into a band. You get a chance of learning music and reading music and playing music, but

> somebody put you there because somebody said, "Black people are great at music" (McCarthy 75).

Thus Jude notes how even 'positive' stereotypes are ultimately destructive, premised as they are on myths of blackness. Consequently, '[w]hile racialized groups must constantly contend with stereotypes of themselves, White people tend to be represented in White culture as being complex, changing, and infinitely varied individuals' (Song, "Comparing Minorities' Ethnic Options" 58).

By having their identities constricted by external narratives, mixed race Irish find themselves in the double bind of being both too black to be Irish, and too Irish to be black. These Irish case studies reflect larger findings in studies on transracial adoptees. For example, Gina Miranda Samuels looks at the ethnic identity formation of biracial individuals with mixed white and black parentage who were transracially adopted into monoculturally white families. Samuels critiques previous scholarship that confused racial identification with cultural identification. In these studies, "when adoptees 'correctly' claim a racial category that matches that of their biological parents, such responses are interpreted as successful racial *and* cultural identity outcomes" (27, emphasis in original). Samuels counters that, "While these findings indicate the ability of transracial adoptees to acquire mainstream culture and, therefore, use racial labels, they do not shed light on adoptees' *bicultural* social development outside predominately White contexts, and specifically within their cultures of origin" (27, emphasis in original). In other words, due to the racialization that occurs through the visual reading of phenotyped bodies, biracial individuals are automatically classed as black rather than white, despite what their cultural background might be. In an Irish context, this blackness thus excludes them from claiming—or at least, unproblematically claiming—an Irish identity.

Through colourblind casting, Negga performed at the Abbey a theatricalised version of what it means to be mixed race in Ireland. Consistently denied any cultural or political specificity and asked at various times to subsume either her black or her Irish identity on stage, Negga's racial negotiations resonate with the struggles of contemporary Irish communities to find validation for emergent identities that are often overly-

prescribed from outside and above. Yet, as a self-identifying Irish actress, Negga also challenged received notions of Irish identity, even in these limited roles. Her presence on stage disrupted the myth of a homogenous white Ireland even as colourblind casting attempted to maintain it.

As her work has branched out into international theatre, film and television projects, Negga increasingly makes visible the lived diversity of Ireland. By publicly performing a mixed race Irish identity, Negga's corporeal presence challenges assumptions of a white Irish body. For example, in the Vanity Fair YouTube series 'Secret Talent Theater', Negga demonstrates how to make an Irish coffee, while in a similar video for Vogue she demonstrates how to pull a pint of Guinness in an Irish-style pub as traditional Irish music plays in the background ("Irish Coffee"; "Best Worst Jokes"). While these performances play on stereotypes of Irish drinking culture, they also purposefully frame Negga in ways that emphasise her Irish identity.[21] The cultural specificity of Negga's own references in interviews further validate her Irish upbringing, for example when she jokes that late-night host Jimmy Fallon's moustache looks like 'an Irish politician from the 80s' ("Ruth Negga Gets Distracted").

Indeed, Negga's identity as a mixed race Irish woman has been central to her personal brand, creating a platform to explore and expand understandings of Irish identity both nationally and internationally. That this brand has shifted over time and across geographic scales highlights the impact that scale can have on individual agency in self-definition. Thus in a profile piece in Ireland published early in her career, Negga emphasises her Irishness while downplaying the impact of her race. Donald Mahoney writes that

> It is with pride that Negga considers herself an Irish actress. And though there aren't a glut of roles for Irish actresses, paradoxically, for a mixed-race Irish woman like Negga, there's something artistically liberating in the roles available to her here. "For instance, I don't have to worry about being stereotyped here because there's no roles for mixed race characters in Ireland. It's always happening to me in Britain all the time because those roles exist there" (Mahony).

[21] Fellow Irish actress Saoirse Ronan made a similar video in the same series in which she demonstrates how to make a cup of tea.

Here, within the national scale and its lines of racial exclusion, Negga focuses on her identity as Irish, framing colourblind casting as a positive approach when contrasted to England's perceived 'type-casting'. By celebrating the *lack* of diversity on the stage—and mobilising well-worn tropes of anti-British sentiment—Negga demonstrates a canny understanding of her audience.

In contrast, ten years later Negga would appear on the cover of *Vogue* after her Oscar nomination for Best Actress launched her into the international media spotlight. In the accompanying profile piece, Negga is forthcoming about both aspects of her mixed race identity. She discusses her Irish upbringing, about returning to visit Ethiopia as an adult, levitating towards black American writers such as Toni Morrison and James Baldwin as a teen, and about feeling both black and Irish when living in England. Negga notes, 'I'm always careful to say I'm Irish-Ethiopian because I *feel* Ethiopian and I *look* Ethiopian and I *am* Ethiopian' (Wood). Thus as Negga's star power—and its attendant cultural capital—has grown and her performances have moved up the scales through the global cultural vehicles of American film and television, so has her ability to complicate a monocultural definition of Irishness, generating new top-down narratives of Irish belonging.

Conclusion

This chapter was a first exploration into how the framework of scalar interculturalism can contribute to understandings of interculturalism and, in turn, to broader issues of casting, representation and racial performance. Focusing on the scales of the individual, the institutional and the national, I analysed how shifting cultural narratives move down the scales to impact on the reception of the intercultural body in performance, as well as the agency of mixed race Irish to define their own identities. In doing so I have analysed Negga as a nested figure whose experiences with colourblind casting reveal how aspirations towards racial transcendence may mask real-life experiences and expressions of racism. At the same time, Negga herself has used her move up the scales of international cultural production to

challenge hegemonic equations of Irishness with whiteness through her public performances as a mixed race Irish woman.

This chapter has thus demonstrated that an intercultural analysis that centres on the individual can reveal insights into cultural and historical movements that would be lost if only focusing on intercultural productions or exchanges. It also challenges concepts of colourblind casting in which the body can be divorced from its historical and cultural context. Instead, even as it is being unseen within the aesthetic frameworks of the production and misrecognised by an audience that may not have a full literacy in the histories of Irish racialisation, Negga's body remains a constant corporeal presence on stage that speaks even as it is silenced.

In the next chapter, I seek to expand upon the use of scalar interculturalism as an analytic framework by examining the performances of mixed race Irish athletes. I do so by putting multiple experiences in dialogue with each other, rather than a focus on a single individual, and by analysing multiple forms of performance together. If this chapter read the history of Irish racialisation through a lens of femininity and whiteness, in the next chapter I look at the other side of the process as defined by masculinity and blackness. I also trace more closely a range of geographic scales that contain and produce mixed race Irish identities through the performance of sport.

Chapter Two: Sporting Across the Scales, Intercultural Performances of the Gaelic Games

This chapter applies the framework of scalar interculturalism to an analysis of mixed race and minority ethnic Irish athletes and the performance of sport. I focus particularly on the Irish sports of hurling and Gaelic football, both of which are administered by the national sporting body of the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA). As with my analysis of Ruth Negga's roles at the Abbey Theatre, I argue that mixed race Irish athletes Seán Óg Ó hAilpín (b. 1977-), Jason Sherlock (b. 1976-) and Lee Chin (b. 1992-) are intercultural figures whose performances can be read across and are informed by a range of geographic scales. Yet if in the previous chapter I focused on the role of the female figure in defining Irish whiteness, here I look at Irish masculinities and the historical associations of Irish blackness. Further, I expand my analysis beyond the individual, institutional and national by incorporating the scales of the local, regional and diasporic into my exploration of the interrelated themes of race, gender, sport and Irish nationalism.

This chapter thus argues that, through the embodied performance of sport, the GAA provides spaces of cultural validation for mixed race and minority ethnic Irish athletes, authenticating them as Irish identities. However, access to this validation is heavily gendered, making Irish identity a subject position that is more easily claimed by mixed race and minority ethnic men than women. This gendered dynamic reflects not only sport's general tendency to privilege and prioritise male participation, but also the fact that Ireland's racial Otherness has historically been projected on and performed by the male Irish body.

In addition to the derogatory depictions of Irish blackness in the form of political cartoons, Irish histories of (often appropriative) cross-racial performance have created an affinitive sense of masculine Irish blackness. These histories have in turn created a space in the Irish imagination that is able to accommodate ethnically diverse Irish men in ways that the white figure of Hibernia cannot do for Irish women. In an inversion of Irish

performances of blackness, the Gaelic games provide a codified choreography that can then be embodied by minority ethnic athletes to perform an 'authentic' Irish masculinity. However, these performances are necessarily contained along lines of hegemonic masculinity that, until recently, demanded the tolerance of racism on the part of minority ethnic athletes in exchange for their own acceptance as Irish identities.

This tension around performances of masculinity and the acceptance of minority ethnic athletes is also informed by geographic scale. The central role of community spaces and the grassroots organisation of much of the GAA has allowed mixed race and minority athletes increased agency in accessing Irishness, particularly at a local level. However, as these athletes move up the scales, this individual agency is often curtailed by more exclusive narratives of Irishness. Further, the scale at which integration efforts originate is a central factor to the success of these efforts. Thus, actions generated on the lower scales of the individual, local community and childhood spaces prove more effective than top-down initiatives generated through the national GAA administration. This chapter demonstrates how the changing approach to racism within the GAA has not been generated from within the GAA but, as with the Abbey Theatre's casting choices, is directly influenced by larger social and cultural shifts that have occurred during and after the Celtic Tiger. These approaches have also been further influenced by the bottom-up actions of individual players and their communities.

In the following case studies, I analyse Ó hAilpín, Sherlock and Chin through the framework of scalar interculturalism to reveal shifting attitudes toward diversity, inclusion and masculinity in Ireland. At the same time I highlight how the ways in which these athletes are read and understood continue to speak to historic narratives around Irishness and Otherness that remain deeply entrenched today. I open with an analysis of Ó hAilpín's role as the Irish mythic hero Cuchulain in the GAA's 1916 commemorative performance *Laochra* (2016). In doing so I look at the historic scale of Irish racial performance, both in the founding of the GAA and in wider Irish cross-racial performances that informed the Gaelic Revival. I counter this with a close reading of Ó hAilpín's individual intercultural performances as

a mixed race athlete who openly identifies with both his Rotuman and Irish heritage cultures, and who has intentionally used Gaelic games as a means of access and integration as he navigates belonging in a range of geographic scales.

My analysis then extends to the ways that economies of belonging and acceptance operate along and across scales for minority ethnic athletes within the structure of the GAA, focusing specifically on narratives of racism. I compare the experiences of Jason Sherlock and Lee Chin in navigating racist abuse as GAA players, arguing that national shifts around Celtic Tiger cosmopolitanism have moved down the scales to influence how the GAA responds to these acts and allegations. Drawing on sports profiles, news articles, interviews and Sherlock's recent autobiography, I demonstrate how while in the 1990s Sherlock was conditioned to accept racist abuse, in the 2010s Chin has been empowered to advocate for anti-racist measures.

Though their GAA careers overlap, each of these athletes reached their peak at different and distinct moments in contemporary Ireland. Sherlock became a GAA superstar at age nineteen when he played a critical role in Dublin's All-Ireland win in 1995. Playing for Cork, Ó hAilpín won three All-Irelands in hurling between 1999 and 2005, was named Hurler of the Year in 2004 and captained Cork to the All-Ireland title in 2005. Chin is currently a high profile Wexford hurler and footballer, winning the Leinster Under-21 Hurling Championship in 2013. As such, their performances both on and off the field reflect the first flush of the Celtic Tiger, the height of the Celtic Tiger and post-Celtic Tiger Ireland respectively. The seismic shifts in Irish society that occurred over the course of these twenty-five years are clearly delineated in the ways in which these men have been read and received on a national scale.

I chose these three men as case studies not solely because they are all mixed-race Irish athletes but also because of their celebrity status in the amateur world of the GAA. Mike Cronin identifies Sherlock as 'Ireland's first Gaelic games superstar' (*Sport and Nationalism in Ireland* 71), and Ó hAilpín and Chin have achieved similarly high profiles. These men are thus notable for the hypervisibility that arises both from success and ethnic

difference. Further complicating their reception is the fact that, while Irish racialisation is primarily read along a reductive black-white binary, all three of these athletes are of Asian-Pacific Islander (API) descent.[1] While API communities have long histories of migration to Ireland, they tend to be invisible minorities who are rarely acknowledged in discussions of Irish diversity.

However, there has been on-going Chinese migration to Ireland since the late 1950s and 1960s, which is directly linked with trends of migration in England and Northern Ireland. For a comprehensive history of Chinese migration to Ireland see Ying Yun Wang, who notes that originally, the 'main reason for relocating to Ireland was the saturation of the UK Chinese food sector […] coupled with the low level of competition in the Chinese restaurant business in Ireland and the fact that Ireland was perceived as a relatively safe environment' (120). Nicola Yau chronicles how '[f]rom the 1950s to the 1970s the majority of Chinese immigrants originated from Hong Kong' while in 'the 1980s Malaysian Chinese came to Ireland primarily as students, while present migration flows originate from Mainland China' (49), trends that reflect the respective heritages and generations of Sherlock and Chin.

In more recent years, Chinese migration to Ireland has been very much linked to education, with Chinese students coming to Ireland to learn English and increase their employability in Western markets. This migration has been encouraged by the Irish government due to the financial benefit to the state of non-EEA tuition and student visa fees (Ying and King-O'Riain; Pan). Darcy Pan reports in 2011 that the 'Chinese embassy estimates that there are 30,000 Chinese people in Ireland, but the figure is believed to be larger. Some research and media reports have suggested that the number of Chinese people living in Ireland is probably between 60,000 and 100,000 […] Until recently, Chinese Mandarin was the second most widely spoken language [in Ireland]' (272). However, as Ying observes, '[d]espite having

[1] Sherlock is the son of an Irish mother and a Chinese father from Hong Kong, Ó hAilpín is the son of a Rotuman mother and Irish father, and Chin is the son of an Irish mother and a Malaysian father.

grown in numbers, Chinese migrants are often perceived as an invisible and distant presence' (119).

This invisibility reflects larger trends in discussions of race and diversity, which tend to focus on a black-white binary. Juan Perea defined this as the Black/White binary paradigm that works to marginalize non-black peoples of colour and their histories of racial oppression. Perea argues that '[m]any scholars of race reproduce this paradigm when they write and act as though *only the Black and White races matter* for purposes of discussing race and social policy with regard to race. The mere recognition that "other people of color" exist, without careful attention to their voices, their histories, and their real presence, is merely a reassertion of the Black/White paradigm' (133, emphasis in original). Perea continues, 'because the Black/White binary paradigm is so widely accepted, other racialized groups like Latinos/as, Asian Americans, and Native Americans are often marginalized or ignored altogether' (134).

This marginalisation through historical erasure can be seen through the lack of scholarship on API communities in Ireland despite their long histories of migration, or the fact that debates around the Citizenship Referendum of 2004 focused on black bodies despite the fact that it was a Chinese national, Man Levette Chen, who in 2004 won her appeal to the European Court of Justice for remain to live in the UK based on her Belfast-born daughter's Irish citizenship (Staunton). While it is only by coincidence that all three of these athletes are of API descent, this disturbance of the black-white binary allows for a closer analysis of the role that normally invisible communities of colour play in contemporary Irish society.

In concluding the chapter I expand my readings of Ó hAilpín, Sherlock and Chin by looking at cases of integration when athletes are minority ethnic rather than mixed race. In doing so I interrogate where the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion lie when individuals do not have the advantage of Irish family ties through an ethnically white Irish parent. Since the early 2000s, the GAA has implemented various integration and diversity schemes at both national and regional levels. Drawing on studies of community integration projects in which the GAA has participated I argue that, as with Ó hAilpín, Sherlock and Chin, sport acts as a space for

minority ethnic Irish to authenticate themselves as Irish. However, these studies also reveal the 'soft' racism that often underscores such top-down integration initiatives and reconfirms that these efforts privilege male over female inclusion. Rather, integration tends to be more successful when initiated by youth players themselves at the lower scales of daily interaction. An analysis of the recent success of Shairoze Akram, who in 2016 became the first Pakistani-born player to win an All-Ireland final, further explicates the role of geographic scale in defining these conditions of integration.

Indeed, as an organisation that is internally structured along geographic scales, the GAA particularly lends itself and its athletes to the framework of scalar interculturalism. Founded by Michael Cusack in 1884, the GAA is the administrative body of the Irish sports of Gaelic Football, Hurling, Handball and Rounders. It also supports 'the promotion of Camogie [women's hurling] and Ladies Gaelic Football in conjunction with its sister organisations, the Camogie Association and Ladies Gaelic Football Association', as well as 'the Irish language, traditional Irish dancing, music, song, and other aspects of Irish culture' (*Strategic Plan 2018-2021* 9). According to its Strategic Plan 2018-2012, the 'Association has a membership approaching one million and almost 300,000 players registered on an annual basis. Just over 20,000 teams from juvenile to adult level participated in official competitions in 2017' (*Strategic Plan 2018-2021* 9). It is a national sporting body that encompasses all thirty-two counties of Ireland and thus, as Mike Cronin somewhat bitingly notes, 'fails to recognize the fact that Northern Ireland is legally part of another nation' (*Sport and Nationalism in Ireland* 20).[2] However, while national, the GAA is primarily organised in grassroots fashion at the local level through school, parish and county clubs. In this way, the GAA's 'organization around the parish system powerfully ensured that it would be become part of the daily fabric of life at the heart of small communities' (Cronin, "'Is It for the Glamour?" 41). As Tom Humphries writes, 'When the GAA first ordered itself, almost by accident, it stumbled on the key to its own success. Every

[2] This is further complicated by the fact that New York and London play in the Connacht football championship, blurring the boundaries of national and international in relation to the Irish diaspora.

player *represents his own place*: his school, club, county' (*Green Fields* 7, emphasis added).

The GAA is thus a body comprised primarily of localities, and the players of the GAA come to represent various geographic spaces of belonging within the nation. This scalar structure is expanded when one considers the spread of Gaelic games internationally through the Irish diaspora. The presence of international sporting networks in countries such as Canada, the United States, Australia and Argentina means that the GAA exists and operates simultaneously on a global and a local level. As we will see particularly with Ó hAilpín, over the course of their careers players often travel along and across these geographic scales as they age, migrate or improve. At the same time, loyalties to one's club of origin—whether as a player or a fan—remain deeply rooted and emotionally charged. This close connection to space and place opens up possibilities of Irish belonging to those who can wear the county colours. And by creating multiple access points across spatial scales, the GAA diversifies the levels of belonging and inclusion available to minority ethnic individuals beyond the singular or national.

Even without a specifically nationalist agenda, sport provides a powerful lens through which to read understandings of national identity. Tim Edensor goes so far as to argue in *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life* that 'the most currently powerful form of popular national performance is that found in sport' (78). As 'an embodied practice in which meanings are generated and whose representation and interpretation are open to negotiation and contest' (MacClancy 4), sport provides a space in which individual and collective identities are both formed and performed. And, as Maurice Roche observes in his introduction to *Sport, Popular Culture and Identity*, sport not only 'has great significance for collective and personal identity formation and change in the modern world' but also 'involves processes of power, politics and policy-making at a number of levels at, above and below the national level' (1). In an Irish context, Diarmaid Ferriter observes that 'an analysis of sport and Irish society could go a long way towards revealing insights into that society's

social and cultural fabric and value systems, and provide much information about facets of political and economic life' (xvi).

These arguments are particularly salient in regards to the GAA, as that organisation and its games have always been not only national, but nationalist. The establishment of the GAA, like that of the Abbey Theatre, was significantly tied to emancipatory project of the Irish Revival. Indeed Joseph Valente describes the GAA as 'the prototype for the revival as a whole and its first full-fledged constituency group' (64). In other words, before there was the Abbey Theatre as a space of national performance, there was the GAA. Through sport, the GAA sought to codify the performance of a virile Gaelic manliness that challenged the colonial construct of the effeminate Celt or the ape-like depictions of the Irish that circulated in print media and on stage. By articulating Irishness through the disciplined structures of competitive sport, the GAA provided an embodiment of an ideal Irish man as racially distinct from the British coloniser and yet equally capable of performing self-rule.

Thus, unlike more globalised sports such as soccer or the Olympics, the GAA and Gaelic games are closely associated with not only Ireland but Irishness. While the former provide excellent examples of the contentious nature of sports and belonging, particularly in a diasporic context, Gaelic games reflect internal narratives of Irishness and authenticity.[3] Cronin notes that 'Gaelic games are […] fascinating in the context of nationalism and national identity as they are only played at a domestic level. In this they are self-defining' (*Sport and Nationalism in Ireland* 20). While Cronin critiques the GAA for being 'ultimately a parochial sport in a globalized world' (*Sport and Nationalism in Ireland* 20), I argue that it is that very self-defining parochialism that actually creates the space for Irish inclusion. While more globalised sports are perhaps more conducive of international interaction, Gaelic games are distinctly Irish and a symbol of Irish cultural

[3] For excellent studies on soccer's role in defining Irish nationalism and Irish identities see Mike Cronin's *Sport and Nationalism in Ireland: Gaelic Games, Soccer and Irish Identity Since 1884*, Aidan Arrowsmith's 'Plastic Paddies vs. Master Racers: "Soccer" and Irish Identity' and Conor Curran's *Irish Soccer Migrants: A Social and Cultural History*; for a wide-ranging exploration of sport, identity and nationalism in an Irish and Northern Irish context see Alan Bairner's edited collection *Sport and the Irish: Histories, Identities, Issues*.

fluency. Thus, through a successful performance of Irish sport—and, by association, Irish masculinity—Othered bodies can be incorporated into the national body. Further, these bodies can come to be seen as *representative* of Ireland. This is not only because of the grassroots and community associations of the GAA, but also the GAA's significant history of symbolising the Irish nation in the Irish imaginary.

It seems ironic that the GAA should be a place of inclusion when it was originally founded on racial and ethnic exclusionism. And this exclusionary rhetoric is not simply a relic of the past. The 1905 ban prohibiting 'persons who play rugby, soccer, hockey, cricket or any other imported games' as well as '[British] police, militiamen and soldiers on active service' from playing in the GAA was only lifted in 1971 (Cronin, *Sport and Nationalism in Ireland* 84). At this point it was replaced by rule 21, which prevented membership for British security forces such as the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) and the British Armed Forces. Rule 21 itself was only lifted in 2001, three years after the signing of the Good Friday Agreement. That the GAA's hostility toward 'colonial' games has lingered long after colonialism can also be seen in the GAA's 'refusal [in 2002] ever to allow Association Football, or "soccer", to be played at their Croke Park stadium' (Arrowsmith 460). Aidan Arrowsmith notes that this decision 'comprehensively derailed the bid which Ireland, jointly with Scotland, had mounted to host the highly prestigious European Football Championships of 2008' (460–61). Considering this, it is not surprising when Cronin wrote in 1999 that 'it is clear that the GAA […] is struggling to come to terms with an outdated and idealized notion of what it means to be Irish and what the nation should be' (*Sport and Nationalism in Ireland* 23), or when Arrowsmith writes, 'The anomalous façade [of the updated Croke Park facilities] hides the same old ideology, to which the GAA cling with increasing desperation' (461). Indeed, both men see soccer as the more positive and inclusive sport for an emerging cosmopolitan and diasporic Irish identity.

Yet, as I argue above, it is precisely the GAA's history of conservative nationalism and its premise of a distinct Irish 'race' that makes it such a powerful space for new claims to Irish identity. By performing

Irish masculinity correctly through the codes of the Gaelic games, minority ethnic athletes can be incorporated into this Irish race on a national level, while the regionalism of the teams ground them in specific Irish spaces of belonging. For the most successful, such as the case studies in this chapter, athletes even become synonymous with these locales, known as Cork, Dublin or Wexford men rather than, or alongside, being mixed race or Irish.

This is not to say that this process is not also problematic. As noted above, sport as a means of cultural access is necessarily gendered in favour of male participation that excludes not only women, but non-dominant forms of masculinity. Cronin notes that the 'Gaelic games are dominantly male and the discourse that has surrounded them over the years is located within notions of dominant masculinity' (*Sport and Nationalism in Ireland* 22). Valente expands on this when he writes, 'To embody the authoritative ideals of manliness in the name of the Irish people is also to accumulate a certain authority over those people and to distribute that authority, in whole or in part, among discrete representatives of that people: a movement, the men of that movement, or even, as in the case of the GAA, a certain type of man or performance of manhood at the expense of others' (67). In this way the performance of the Gaelic games is also a performance of both cultural and political power.

This is in keeping with larger explorations of hegemonic masculinity, a term originally defined by and since expanded on by R.W. Connell. As Connell defines it, hegemonic masculinity:

> was distinguished from other masculinities, especially subordinated masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity was not assumed to be normal in the statistical sense; only a minority of men might enact it. But it was certainly normative. It embodied the currently most honoured way of being a man, it required all other men to position themselves in relation to it, and it ideologically legitimated the global subordination of women to men (832).

Brian Singleton highlights this use of sport in perpetuating the dominance of hegemonic masculinity, pointing out that 'the cultural and financial capital of the men's games in Ireland (GAA, soccer, rugby) permits a socialized form of male bonding that ensure hegemonic dominance in the gender order' (*Masculinities and the Contemporary Irish Theatre* 11). Singleton

notes that Irish sports 'conspire to construct the myth of masculinity residing in aggression, speed, and the infallible hard-body of the male. And both enable hegemonic masculinity to defend its position of power within society through ideological (GAA) and economic (rugby) dominance' (*Masculinities and the Contemporary Irish Theatre* 216). Thus, the validation that can be found through Irish sport is shaped by forces that can be as repressive as they can be positive. Indeed, as we will see in the case study analysis, toxic aspects of this patriarchal hard-man masculinity have impacted narratives around race and racism in particular. Therefore, while Gaelic games can provide a space of inclusion for those who, by default of gender and athletic skill, embody the dominant narrative of Irish masculinity, it necessarily denies those that fail along these same lines. Further, it punishes those who fail to conform to the rules of performance or who violate hegemonic masculinity's codes of conduct, as we will see in the analysis of Sherlock's rise and fall from GAA grace.

In championing the GAA as a potential space for integration, I do not mean to argue that the hypothesis of Irish integration via the GAA has been completely tested, nor that it is a 'quick-fix' solution to more systemic issues of racism in Ireland. The numbers of mixed race and minority ethnic players remain small, and the upcoming generation of youth players will bear out whether the demographic trends of the national census will be reflected on the local pitch.[4] The GAA, for the reasons outlined above, remains a stronghold for white, rural, Catholic Ireland—the pinnacle of the Irish imaginary. While contemporary inclusion initiatives and the shifting rhetoric of the GAA are signs of positive change, it remains to be seen how far the GAA will be willing to 're-brand' in order to accommodate diversity. Yet in looking at Ó hAilpín, Sherlock and Lee, this chapter demonstrates how in just the past three decades the GAA and the Irish nation have changed in their attitudes and treatment of minority ethnic Irish men, and

[4] As the GAA does not collect data on the race, ethnicity or country of origin of its players, there is no quantitative data on the demographics of GAA participants. The statement that the numbers of mixed race and minority ethnic players is small is based on the author's anecdotal observations of matches and practices, both in the Galway area and as televised on RTÉ and TG4.

how through their individual performances these athletes are able to influence larger national narratives of Irishness and belonging.

Warlike Races: Seán Óg Ó hAilpín and Scalar Performances of the GAA

On 24 April 2016, the Allianz Football League final at Croke Park was followed by a special on-field performance commemorating the centenary of the 1916 Easter Rising. *Laochra* was a multimedia production combining live dance and musical performances, screenings of archival and filmed footage, pyrotechnics, historical reenactors and the recitation of quotes from significant Irish figures.[5] Billed by the GAA as 'a must-see live event celebrating our national identity' ("Laochra – The GAA Commemorates 1916"), *Laochra* traced the evolution of the Irish state in tandem with the evolution of the Gaelic games, positing the mythic hero Cuchulain as the origin point for both. Accordingly, the performance opened on the mythic past before staging key moments in the history of the Irish state, culminating in a celebration of Ireland today.

The opening section, titled 'An Táin—Scéil Cú Chullainn' ('The Bull—A Tale of Cuchulain'), depicted Cuchulain and his role in the Cattle Raid of Cooley.[6] On the field of Croke Park groups of dancers representing Cuchulain and the warring clans of Connacht and Ulster performed a stylised depiction of a hurling match before launching into battle. Alongside them on the field appeared giant wolfhound puppets, dancing swans, an oversized bull and a strangely anachronistic Irish farmer.[7] At the same time,

[5] In English, 'Laochra' translates to 'heroes' but also 'champions', 'warriors' or 'soldiers'. Descriptions of the performance are based on a recording of the live broadcast, aired on TG4 on 24 April, 2016, as well as the unpublished script of the performance.

[6] The heart of the Ulster Cycle of Irish legends, the Cattle Raid of Cooley was a series of battles waged when Maeve, queen of Connacht, determined to steal the prized bull of Ulster to win a wager against her husband.

[7] Dressed in braces or suspenders, wellington boots and a flat cap, this character's costume design was closer to the fashions of 1916 and was conspicuously different than the mythic warrior garb of the dancers. The discord of visual signifiers seems to have been a theme running through athletic commemoration events marking the centenary, another example being Football Association of Ireland's commemoration where the seven boys representing the seven signatories of the proclamation of the Irish Republic were dressed in cowboy hats.

screens positioned around the stadium played filmed sequences of a leather-clad Cuchulain running amidst fire and gorse bushes, balancing a flaming sliotar on a hurley[8] and slashing through the air with a broadsword.

Considering the key role that Cuchulain played in narratives around both the GAA and the Easter Rising, it is hardly surprising that *Laochra* would open with myth, or that it would feature this particular hero.[9] What is notable, however, is *Laochra*'s casting: in the filmed sequences projected on the screens Cuchulain was portrayed by mixed race Irish hurler Seán Óg Ó hAilpín, while on the field the warring clans of Connacht and Ulster were portrayed by an ethnically diverse cast. Here, mythic Ireland—along with its most legendary warrior—was imagined in 2016 as a multi-ethnic origin point for the Gaelic games as well as the Irish state.

Positioned in the centre of this mythic performance was hurler and footballer Seán Óg Ó hAilpín. Born in Rotuma, an island off of Fiji, to a Rotuman mother and Irish father, Ó hAilpín is a clear example of scalar interculturalism as performed through the nested figure. Originating on the diasporic scale as the child of an Irish emigrant living in Australia, Ó hAilpín and his family relocated to Cork when he was eleven. Since then, Ó hAilpín has become one of Ireland's top hurlers, working his way up from the local Cork clubs to win five Munster titles and three All-Ireland hurling championships. The central role of movement in Ó hAilpín's identity is reflected in the speech he gave when accepting the Liam MacCarthy Cup on behalf of the Cork hurling team in 2005. Delivering the speech in Irish, Ó hAilpín noted, 'It's a long journey from Fiji to Cork, and from Cork to Croke Park' (*Is Fada an Turas é ó Fiji Go Corcaigh Agus ó Corcaigh... - YouTube*).

By tracing Ó hAilpín's sporting performances along and across scales, I reveal how participation in the GAA creates spaces of access and

[8] A sliotar is the ball used in hurling; a hurley is the stick used to catch, balance and hit the sliotar.

[9] Joseph Valente observes that 'the legend of Cuchulain furnished the Revival with a […] dominant myth of Irish manhood' (140). This myth had a particular impact on key Easter Rising figure Patrick Pearse, who 'drew on the Gaelic Revival's ideas about the pagan warrior-prince […] as being wiling to sacrifice himself for an originating Gaelic nation' (Moran 5).

acceptance, particularly at the lower scales of the interpersonal and the community. Through a close reading of his 2013 autobiography, *Seán Óg Ó hAilpín: The Autobiography*, we can see how throughout his life Ó hAilpín has used sport as a means of gaining acceptance in his family, his community and in Ireland. Indeed, playing Gaelic games provided Ó hAilpín a means of agency in authenticating himself as Irish despite his visible ethnic difference. Additionally, we see how on these lower levels the GAA and its administrators position themselves as gatekeepers to community belonging. Aided by these gatekeepers and excelling at a performance of idealised Irishness through not only sporting prowess but also fluency in the Irish language and a personal embodiment of Irish masculine ideals such as warmth, humility and dedication, Ó hAilpín successfully moved up the scales to become a national icon.

However, as we move higher up the scales we can also see how this individual agency comes into conflict with externally imposed and pre-existing narratives that originate at the scales of the national and historic. By embodying Cuchulain in the *Laochra* performance, Ó hAilpín reflects historic narratives of an Irish race and masculinity, as well as his own iconic status as a contemporary hurling champion. In returning to a close reading of the 2016 *Laochra* performance, I look at how Ó hAilpín's blackness—as well as that of the performers on the field—is appropriated by a hegemonic narrative in which Irishness evolves from blackness to whiteness via the male Irish body. I argue that it is this racial narrative, as well as the gendered access to sport, that more easily allows for acceptance of minority ethnic Irish men than women.

Further complicating racialised readings of Ó hAilpín is, of course, that his blackness is not blackness, but Pacific Islander conflated with blackness. Though Ó hAilpín's maternal heritage is Rotuman, this distinction if frequently erased by a racist lens that reads his ethnic difference along a reductive black-white binary. However, if Ó hAilpín's ethnic specificity is often overlooked by others, Ó hAilpín himself has been adamant in claiming and validating this side of his heritage. So while Ó hAilpín has, through sport and language, authenticated himself as Irish, he has also consistently and simultaneously authenticated himself as Rotuman.

Thus in his performances of identity Ó hAilpín models not an enforced assimilation but rather a positive, personal interculturalism that combines both heritages of his mixed race ancestry and that plays out in a range of spaces and places.

The central medium for this performance of interculturalism is, of course, sport. Throughout his autobiography, one of Ó hAilpín's primary themes is the way in which sport acted as a source of identity as well as a medium for integration. Growing up in Sydney as a child, Ó hAilpín first became familiar with the GAA through its diasporic networks via his father, who had played for Queensland in the GAA State football championships in Australia. As Ó hAilpín recalls, 'Most Sundays Dad would bring us all to the old GAA centre in Auburn, Sydney. […] We were all *Australian* kids, most of us with Irish parents' (6, emphasis added). While the senior clubs would play matches on the main pitch, the children would play pick-up games along the side of the field, and these would be Ó hAilpín's first forays into performing Irish sport. International media also allowed for a dissemination of the GAA, with Ó hAilpín describing 'getting woken up after midnight in 1986 for the radio broadcast of the All-Ireland final' (7). This match, played between Tyrone and Kerry, was of particular interest to his Ulster-born father.

These two memories of first encountering the GAA demonstrate the reach that the GAA has outside of the national borders of Ireland, as well as the significant role that place and belonging hold for both athletes and fans, and on which the GAA is founded. Structured so that local clubs feed into larger county teams that in turn compete among the other counties in their province for a chance to compete for a national title, the GAA relies on allegiances to one's place of birth that ascend in geographic scale. Thus, Ó hAilpín's father, as a listening fan born in Fermanagh, gives his allegiance to Tyrone, as both counties are in the province of Ulster. Despite his current position on the fringe of diaspora and his having lived in Australia for over a decade, Ó hAilpín's father's sporting loyalties are intimately tied up with the place of his birth.

In comparison, Ó hAilpín's first conception of himself is as an Australian, with Irishness as a heritage culture rather than a central identity.

While diasporic connections provided a space to play and practice Irish sport, as a child Ó hAilpín's Australian identity drew him to the more popular sports of rugby and cricket. This sports-based sense of belonging is demonstrated by his allegiance to the local rugby team, the Canterbury Bulldogs, performed through the wearing of a second-hand jersey (8). Further, while living in Australia it was primarily his Rotuman culture that shaped his understandings of self and his daily lived reality. Ó hAilpín describes how he and his family 'spoke Rotuman at home. We'd eat Rotuman delicacies […] We'd meet Mum's relatives regularly, too' (4). While Gaelic games acted as a vehicle to experience a heritage culture, it is not until Ó hAilpín relocated to Ireland that his Irishness took precedence in his understandings and performances of identity.

Ó hAilpín was eleven when his family moved to Cork and sport became the primary agent for adjusting to the new environment. Again, allegiance to place was performed through sporting loyalties: 'The Bulldogs were gone. […] Cork were the team now' (21). But even more important than fandom was active participation. 'Sport was the way to integrate,' Ó hAilpín writes—not only the official games hosted by the GAA but also in the pick-up games of soccer on the estate greens. Through his ability to participate in this homosocial neighbourhood space, Ó hAilpín befriended local youths Gary Sheehan and Barry Sheehan, who asked if he would be interested in playing for the local GAA club Na Piarsaigh. Ó hAilpín describes his first experience in approaching the GAA:

> Abie Allen was the man who looked after the team the Sheehans played for. […] When Dad asked if I could join, he said there was no problem, and when he asked if I had football boots Dad said he'd get me a pair. Abie said to hang on. At that time, Tom and Mary Walsh lived upstairs in the club; they'd been involved since the foundation of Na Piarsaigh, back in the 1940s. Abie went up the stairs to Tom, got a pair of boots from him, came back down and threw them to me. They were two sizes too big for me, but I didn't care. I got them on me and I was ready for action (17).

Allen would go on to play a pivotal role in incorporating Ó hAilpín into the club, including teaching Ó hAilpín how to play hurling, the sport that would come to define his success. Though he had played Gaelic football in

Australia, Ó hAilpín had never trained in hurling until he moved to Ireland. Because of the way games were scheduled at the club, Ó hAilpín, writes, '[i]f I wasn't playing hurling I was left on my own […] I had a choice: either take up hurling or be left out entirely' (20). To help Ó hAilpín join the club's hurling team, Allen and coach Paddy Moore provided extra training sessions to build his basic skills. Ó hAilpín recalls that, as he lived close to the club, the two coaches 'said, why didn't I come up the odd Friday night and they'd help me work on my skills. […] the two lads would drive balls down at me for an hour, two hours, easy' (22).

These anecdotes illustrate the ways in which the GAA, as operated on a local level, can act as a gateway for community access. Run largely by volunteers such as Allen, Moore and Tom and Mary Walsh, the GAA can create spaces of inclusion and welcome. Further, it is through the interpersonal connections formed on the scale of the estate pick-up game that Ó hAilpín is invited to join the parish club, demonstrating how youth players themselves act as gatekeepers of integration. By performing as an ideal Irish athlete—dedicated, hardworking and with the 'underdog' disadvantage of starting late in the game—Ó hAilpín gains the approval and acceptance of these gatekeepers who then support his integration efforts. Thus both the organisation and the athlete provide symbiotic performances that create a space of belonging on the scale of club and community.

With his dedicated training and passion for the game, Ó hAilpín moves up the scales from the under-age clubs to the more competitive senior and inter-county clubs. Through this movement, Ó hAilpín travels to the centre of both the GAA and the nation by playing in Croke Park in Dublin. Yet even as he moves across scales, Ó hAilpín remains rooted in loyalties of space and place. Like his father's allegiances to the place of his birth, Cork becomes the primary space of belonging for Ó hAilpín. In this way, the expanding scales of parish, club, county and nation become nested within him as a player. As fans root for him on the field, Ó hAilpín becomes equated with Cork, cementing his belonging and acceptance. This emotional connection between player and place allows for the inclusion of minority ethnic Irish players, who become validated through successful performances of Irish sport. For Ó hAilpín this validation materialised in the form of

various honours by the city of Cork. For example, in 2005 he was invited to launch Cork's European Capital of Culture year 'by striking a blazing sliotar on Merchant's Quay' (Ó hAilpín 228) and in 2011 he was awarded the Freedom of the City by Cork City Council.[10] The scales of Ó hAilpín's belonging are enumerated in Cork City Council's statement supporting the Freedom of the City award 'for his unwavering commitment to excellence in Gaelic Football and Hurling throughout his career at school, club, county, provincial and international level' as well as 'his exemplary role as an ambassador for Irish language and culture' ("Freedom of the City"). And Ó hAilpín ends his autobiography with the same words he used to accept the award: 'Although I am not one of you, I have become one of you' (232).

Ó hAilpín's autobiography thus traces how his performance of Gaelic games acted as a vehicle that allowed him to travel across geographic scales from a national periphery to a central space of belonging. From the diasporic clubs in Sydney to the local club in Cork to the county team competing in Dublin's Croke Park, hurling allowed Ó hAilpín a space of belonging, and the agency through which to claim that belonging. However, as Ó hAilpín travels from the local to the national, the personal agency of his athletic performance is increasingly read against hegemonic understandings of Irish nationhood and race. Returning to the 2016 *Laochra* performance, an analysis of the casting choices of the producers reveals that understandings of Ó hAilpín's hybrid identity tend to essentialise his Rotuman background to a generic Otherness that is read as blackness, and appropriated to represent a totemic understanding of Irish racial origin.

As described in the opening of this section, the *Laochra* performance began with a depiction of a mythic Celtic Ireland populated by a multi-ethnic cast and led by a mixed race Cuchulain as embodied by Ó hAilpín. Yet this multicultural representation is not maintained throughout the whole of the performance; instead it is soon replaced by a homogenously white Irish cast. In the following sections that depict the Celtic Revival, World War I and the 'New Ireland'—where the focus is on

[10] Other recipients of this honour include former Irish presidents Mary Robinson and Mary McAleese, sports figures Sonia O'Sullivan and Roy Keane, and Riverdance's Michael Flatley.

transcending sectarianism rather than integrating diverse communities—the cast on the field fails to reflect the opening sequence's visual diversity.[11] Notably, the thirty-two children who recite the Irish proclamation, intended to represent the thirty-two counties of Ireland as well as the future of that nation, are exclusively white.

Laochra ultimately seems to place diversity as a mythic origin source from which Irishness subsequently evolves into whiteness. In fact, Cuchulain's death processional and the exit of the multicultural tribes is accompanied by the song 'Oro Sé Do Bheatha Bhaile', whose lyrics translate into English as 'Grainne O'Malley comes over the sea/With armed warriors as her guard/They're Irishmen—not French nor Spanish/And they will rout out the foreigners' ("Óró Sé Do Bheatha 'Bhaile Lyrics and Chords").[12] While ostensibly referring to the colonial presence of the British as the backdrop for the Rising, this song is particularly poignant in its placement, narrating the expulsion of 'foreign' elements while all the performers of colour exit the field.

What begins as a potentially open narrative that includes Irish citizens of diverse backgrounds soon reverts to a conservative, exclusionary nationalism drawn along ethnic lines. Further, the tenor of the opening section's performance and the following sections is markedly different and performs a physical disciplining of Irishness as part of that racial evolution. In the opening section, Cuchulain and his warriors sprint from one side of the field to the other in flesh-coloured shirts bearing tattoo designs. They combine modern breakdancing poses with acrobatics as Cuchulain rouses them to shouted war cries and facial grimaces. This is a wild, warrior

---

[11] Performers of colour do return for the show's finale, but they are costumed in hooded, full-body cloaks of the orange, white and green—the colours of the Irish flag—masking their ethnic difference. This could equally be read as their bodies being absorbed into the national fabric, or an attempt to obscure their visible ethnic difference.

[12] The first stanza of the song translates to 'Welcome oh woman who was so afflicted, It was our ruin that you were in bondage, Our fine land in the possession of thieves…And you sold to the foreigners!' The song thus centers on the figure of Ireland-as-Women as explored in Chapter One. Though they originated in a context of colonial resistance, the lyrics also resonate uncomfortably in a contemporary context of racist, fascist xenophobia.

Irishness—unfettered, highly physical and hypermasculine in nature.[13] As Cuchulain is carried off the field, however, these images are replaced by the formation of two orderly circles made of square boards. These boards are used by the next group of dancers as they perform an almost militaristic form of Irish dancing, hands at their sides, backs straight, faces controlled. The visual message seems to be that while the mythic heart of Ireland is wild, rugged and black, somewhere along the line this wildness was contained and this blackness turned to whiteness.

This narrative of Ireland's racial evolution reflects the dominant narratives of Irishness, race and masculinity circulating at the time of the Easter Rising. In his book *The Myth of Manliness in Irish National Culture, 1880-1922,* Valente describes the 'double bind' of Irish manliness as 'materialized and implemented on either side by the feminizing discourse of Celticism and the bestializing discourse of simianization, which cooperated in representing the "mere" Irish as racially deficient in manhood and so unready for emancipation' (11). In this way the Irish, if compliant with British hegemony, were seen as weak, effeminate and thus in need of governance; if they rebelled they were seen as violently savage and thus in need of governance—hence the 'double bind'.

Irish sport, and particularly the Gaelic games, became a space where this double bind could be escaped through the performance of a disciplined Irish manliness. Valente writes, 'the disciplinary aspect of the GAA, its channelling of such agonistic fury into intramural rule-governed play […] allowed the body to function simultaneously as the public face of the new (or New Departure) Fenianism, at once an instrument and a powerful totem of its provisional turn from extreme to respectable nationalism' (68). Further, Gaelic games allowed for the articulation of a specifically Irish racial and cultural identity through embodied performance. In rejecting imported sports such as soccer, rugby and cricket and in embracing

[13] It is worth noting here that while Cuchulain's tribe of Connacht is represented by an all-male, multi-ethnic cast of performers, Maeve's band of Ulstermen is almost exclusively white, with just one black performer. Their difference is marked by the inclusion of women, with about half of the performers being women, unintentionally echoing the historic dichotomy of the Irish as either black or feminine.

distinctive and 'traditional' Irish games such as hurling and Gaelic football, the GAA created a space of visual difference between the Irish subject and the British coloniser. Thus the political and cultural agenda of the GAA was imbricated in issues of sovereignty and ethnic distinctiveness that were inscribed on the bodies of Irish men.

While the Celtic Revival is primarily associated with cultural as opposed to ethnic nationalism, the founders of the GAA had a particular preoccupation with Irishness as a distinct racial category. Indeed, in *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism* John Hutchinson theorises that when divergent streams of cultural nationalists come together, as they did in the creation of the Irish state, it is usually in projects of ethnic revivalism (9). And while the GAA was certainly a cultural institution, it often employed the language of race to justify its validity. In 1884 Charles Stewart Parnell's weekly newspaper *United Ireland* ran an article lamenting the decline of Gaelic games as the '[v]oluntary neglect of such [National] pasttimes is a sure sign of National decay and approaching dissolution,' adding that 'the strength and energy of a race are largely dependent on the national pastimes for the development of a spirit of courage and endurance' (Cusack). Even more explicitly, an article in *Sinn Fein* read, 'And they [the GAA] are doing manful work in the rebuilding of the Nation…For what, after all, is the meaning of the Irish revival if it is not a movement based on the conviction that it is as Irishmen we will…reach that higher stage of human development to which all races aspire?"' (cited in Valente 66).

As this rhetoric demonstrates, the codified movements of the Gaelic games were intended not just as a quasi-militaristic training of the Irish male body, but also allowed for visual signifiers of ethnic difference for a generally indistinguishable ethnicity. Analysing British accounts of the Irish from the seventeenth century, Steve Garner attributes the emphasis on cultural difference to that fact that 'the physical similarities being so overpowering […] the differences in dress and custom had to be exaggerated in order to maintain the distinction between civilised and uncivilised peoples' (77). If the British colonisers were quick to substitute visual markers of cultural difference in the absence of phenotypical divergence, the Irish employed a similar strategy with the GAA. The

performance of the Gaelic games, then, was one strategy of physicalising a distinctly Irish body of a distinctly Irish race.

However, while the Irish sought through cultural nationalism to distinguish themselves as a race distinct from the British coloniser, they also sought to distance themselves from a racial conflation with blackness in favour of an alignment with political whiteness. If in the seventeenth century British writers emphasised the cultural rather than visual difference of the Irish, by the Celtic Revival the twin machines of evolutionary science and political cartoon had provided a new way of visually depicting the Irish as simianised Other.[14] Thus, by the end of the nineteenth century blackness as a code for racial inferiority was inscribed by both British and American depictions of the Irish, primarily focusing the Irish male as Irish ape. Political cartoons such as 'The Fenian-Pest' and 'Two Forces', as noted in Chapter One, portrayed two raced and gendered versions of Ireland side by side which 'dichotomizes the Irish people-nation into charming and compliant loyalists, who accept their [white] feminine place under Britain's dominion, and odious, savage nationalists, whose insistence on masculine aggression has made monkeys of them' (Valente 16–17). Similarly, American cartoons such as Thomas Nast's 'The Ignorant Vote', in which a black and Irish man sit across from each other on equally weighted sides of a scale, depicts Irishness as a form of white blackness.

One of the primary tools that the Irish used to distance themselves from these negative associations of blackness was, ironically, the performance of blackface. As Robert Nowatzki writes, 'Irish-American minstrel performers gradually became more "white" and "American" as a result of denigrating (or at least differentiating themselves from) African-Americans—by performing their Irishness in ways that were less derogatory than the "stage Irishman" stereotype and by asserting their American patriotism' (163). Thus, as Jennifer Mooney notes in *Irish Stereotypes in Vaudeville, 1865-1905*, '[t]hrough minstrelsy the Irish were able not only to influence and redefine their own "place," they were also able to reinforce the "place" of black Americans' (n.p.). Similarly, writing on Irish American

[14] For an extensive survey of Victorian depictions of the Irish see Lewis P. Curtis Jr.'s influential study *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature*.

performances of black and Chinese characters, John Kuo Wei Tchen observes that 'Irish men were able to become Americanized by actively participating in racial masquerades of the established political culture. And by doing so they became increasingly viewed as "white"' (147).[15]

The performance of blackface minstrelsy, like the performance of Gaelic games, was primarily a masculine space. Notably, many blackface performances were also drag performances with white Irish men depicting black female characters. Thus, as explored in the previous chapter, while the Irish female body was a space of colonial resistance reserved for associations of racial purity, the male Irish body was able to encompass a range of racial spaces in a navigation of Irishness. Through the dual streams of sport and cross-racial performance, Irish men created a space in the national imaginary that at once appropriated the positive connotations of racial difference while rejecting the negative associations of blackness.

This imaginary space is what is reflected in the *Laochra* performance and demonstrates that far from being historic and resolved, the negotiation of an Irish 'race' is as pertinent as ever. As inward migration and ethnic diversity increases in Ireland, racial connotations of Irishness are again up for negotiation. In *Masculinities and Contemporary Irish Theatre* Singleton writes, '[w]hile some commentators, such as Declan Kiberd, will argue that the Irish are a miscegenated race of multi-origin, the truth is that the matrix of race in an Irish context of origin predating the formation of the state was white' (*Masculinities and the Contemporary Irish Theatre* 127). He continues that though this 'utopian vision of an Ireland traumatized by historical dispossession lends itself readily to a confident sense of community that is "open to all joiners"', ultimately, 'like all mythologies, it elides or glosses over the simple fact that the Irish race as constructed at the formation of the state was an Anglo-Norman hybrid, and completely ignores the possibility that race might also be factored by skin colour (*Masculinities and the Contemporary Irish Theatre* 127–28).

[15] For more on the role of Irish men in blackface minstrelsy, see Eric Lott's *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class*, Lauren Onkey's *Blackness and Transatlantic Irish Identity: Celtic Soul Brothers* and John Brannigan's *Race in Modern Irish Literature and Culture*.

By casting Ó hAilpín as Cuchulain and populating the mythic past with multi-ethnic bodies, *Laochra* opens a space of belonging for minority ethnic Irish individuals. Not only that, but it places this belonging in an essentialised racial past from which both Gaelic games and the Irish state drew for validation. Yet in its reversion to a white Irish cast for the rest of the performance, *Laochra* also reveals the limits of these inclusive sentiments and the power that historic narratives around whiteness and Ireland continue to hold. Ultimately, rather than validate an inclusive Irish futurity, the centenary performance simply remobilised historical narratives of Irish blackness as well as Irish traditions of performative appropriation of the black body.

Indeed, by limiting the visibility of minority ethnic performers to this opening section, what *Laochra* actually performs is an appropriation of blackness as a regenerative force for whiteness—in this case, the Irish nation. This impulse towards appropriation is not limited to Ireland, but rather can be likened to the cinematic and literary trope of the 'Magical Negro'—what Matthew Hughey defines as 'a paranormal or godlike Black character who transforms the life of a lost and broken White character' and often 'disappears from the plot after fixing the White character's problems, signalling their ancillary position as a personified plot device' (755). Brian Singleton observes a similar phenomenon in contemporary Irish theatre in which 'the racialized other […] is a desire to the point of fetish so that it becomes an imagined source of renewal' (*Masculinities and the Contemporary Irish Theatre* 155). In *Laochra,* we can see how a narrative in which a black mythical figure emerging from the past in order to inspire and revitalise an oppressed white nation—only to be swiftly and subsequently abandoned as Ireland evolves into a modern political nation state—echoes these larger racial tropes.

Yet if the Magical Negro operates more broadly as a racial stereotype, it also has particular inflections in an Irish context. As discussed above, blackness and Irishness have not always been clearly distinct from each other, nor has this connotation always been treated as a negative one. Indeed, as explored in the Introduction, Irish alliances with communities of colour have often been given as proof of Irish anti-racism. Yet as John

Brannigan notes, 'such claims of inter-ethnic solidarity are often invested in complex strategies of acquiring legitimation or recognition, in which gestures of affiliation are never clearly distinguishable from acts of appropriation' (181). By at once claiming and rejecting the black male body in the commemoration of the legitimation of the Irish state, *Laochra* reflects a particularly Irish legacy of claiming the political privileges of whiteness while being revitalised by a black essence through the selective process of performance. In *Laochra*, and throughout his career, this performance has been projected upon the mixed race figure of Ó hAilpín.

However, if Ó hAilpín performs as a mixed race Irish man, he also performs as a mixed race Rotuman man. So far I have focused on how Ó hAilpín is read in Ireland, yet Ó hAilpín is also read along other scales and in other national spaces. In 2007, the documentary *Tall, Dark and Ó hAilpín* (Comer) chronicled the sporting careers of Ó hAilpín and his two brothers Setanta and Aisake, the latter two competing in the Australian Football League.[16] The film also documents Ó hAilpín's return to Rotuma with his mother to visit his maternal family for the first time in eighteen years. In one sequence the residents perform Rotuman songs and dances, while in another Ó hAilpín demonstrates how to play hurling to his uncles and cousins in a mix of Rotuman and English. Later, Ó hAilpín speaks to the camera in Irish for the anticipated RTÉ viewers. Thus, in Rotuma Ó hAilpín is read as mixed race Irish from a Rotuman perspective, where he is validated through family ties and visual similarity as Rotuman, yet is separated by gulfs of language, residency and experience.

Throughout the film Ó hAilpín reflects on the nature of his mixed identity. At one point he explains, 'I would consider myself half Rotuman and half Irish. And I try to instil and keep cultures from both sides because that is what my make-up is. Growing up in Ireland I did not look Irish, obviously enough, and I had to tell people, you know, my Rotuman side. Especially my features because a lot of my features I take over from my

[16] The title *Tall, Dark and Ó hAilpín*, is of course a play on the colloquial phrase 'tall, dark and handsome', and again signals towards the ways in which the mixed race body becomes objectified for a (primarily) white gaze.

mum. That I'm always proud of to say.'[17] Later, over footage of him hitting sliotars to a group of Rotuman children, Ó hAilpín says, 'Up to date I spent the chunk of my life in Ireland. I've lived in Ireland eighteen years, you know, more than I've spent in Rotuma or in Australia so, do you know, in fairness I can't neglect that fact. I play Gaelic games, my dad is Irish, so that's the Irish side of me. That's the Irish side of me. My visit has kind of built the bridge for me now.'

Here Ó hAilpín acknowledges the key role that both sides of his family have played in his identity formation, and reveals the influence that the scale of family holds in intercultural performance. Ó hAilpín's engagement with the GAA was heavily influenced by his father, and his understanding of his own Irish identity influenced by his father's republican nationalist views. Yet Ó hAilpín is quick to note that this is only one side of him. His positive engagement with his Rotuman identity as expressed in the pride of having his mother's features is influenced by his positive relationship with his mother and her role in his life. While his father was hypercritical and their relationship contentious, his mother Emilie 'was the only person who showed you any love and affection […] Any true love we got as kids came from Mum' (Ó hAilpín 47). Ó hAilpín is even more explicit about this connection in the acknowledgements of his autobiography in which we writes, 'Mum has simply been my greatest hero ever. […] Your endless commitment and love to each and every one of us is something we will ever be grateful for. I'm proud to say that we are part of your Rotuman culture, and for as long as we're alive it will continue to live. "*Helava Rotuma*"' (234). In this way positive emotional connections with a parent translate into a desire to preserve and honour an associated culture. The performance of his Rotuman culture is thus mixed with his performances of an Irish identity, which are intricately enmeshed with the emotional scales of family, place and memory.

Perhaps the clearest performance of Ó hAilpín's own interculturalism can be seen in his wedding to long-time partner Siobhan Quirke in January 2016. Held in a Catholic church in Cork, the wedding

[17] Quotes have been transcribed from the film by the author.

combined a range of visual signifiers of Ó hAilpín's heritage including the western white wedding dress and tuxedos worn by the bridal party, western-style bouquets, Rotuman flower leis, the performance by the Ó hAilpíns of a traditional Rotuman dance, and an honour guard of hurleys. In this most personal of performances, Ó hAilpín choreographs an intercultural display celebrating his lived identity as a Rotuman-Irish man. Thus, while some Irish commentators might see 'his excellence at our native games […] and his proud adherence to our language and culture' as 'not only an inspiration to the rest of us but to the tens of thousands of people originally from overseas who now live here' (Cahill), I argue that Ó hAilpín's navigation of both Irishness and Rotuman challenges assimilationist models of integration in favour of a more intercultural approach.

In this section I have analysed the mixed race athlete Seán Óg Ó hAilpín to explore the range and role of scales in performances of interculturalism. I have shown that Ó hAilpín's personal performances of interculturalism incorporate multiple strands of identity, while his performance of sport have worked to authenticate him as Irish, particularly at the level of community. However, his agency in self-definition encounters resistance from hegemonic understandings of Irishness originating from the historic and national levels. I argue that the reason these higher scales can accommodate Ó hAilpín's difference is because of the historic narrative of racial origin, as well as the fact that Ó hAilpín's performance reifies traditional conceptions of an idealised Irish manhood that is intimately tied with myth and hypermasculinity. This is not to say, however, that Ó hAilpín has been unconditionally accepted as Irish, which is reflected in his encounters with racism both on and off the GAA pitch. In the next section, I thus look at the performance of sport and racism along scales in order to reveal cultural shifts in contemporary Ireland.

Conditional Belonging: Race, Racism and Hegemonic Irish Masculinity

Through a close examination of Seán Óg Ó hAilpín, this chapter has traced how an individual intercultural performance of Gaelic games travels along and across a wide range of interrelated geographic and temporal scales. In this section, by comparing the experiences of mixed race athletes Jason

Sherlock and Lee Chin, I show how the GAA itself performs as an organisation across geographic and temporal scales. Particularly, this study examines how the GAA's approach to acts of racist abuse has shifted from one that disciplines the victim to one that punishes racism itself. The analysis compares the swift and definitive action taken by the GAA in response to allegations of racist abuse against Chin as well as Chin's anti-racism advocacy with Sherlock's denial or downplaying of racism in the GAA until just recently. I argue that, in the two and a half decades covering Sherlock and Lee's careers, larger shifts in Irish culture have influenced understandings of appropriate behaviour in dealing with racism, which in turn has influenced the way the GAA administrates its athletes and trains them to perform.

On 20 April 2012, during a club match between Sarsfield and the Duffry Rovers, Wexford hurler and footballer Lee Chin was racially abused on the pitch. Comments made to Chin by a Duffry Rovers player and his substitute were overheard by the match referee Brendan Martin. After the match, Martin filed a complaint that was investigated by Wexford Central Competitions Control Committee (CCCC). A disciplinary hearing was held on 23 May, at which both players involved in the incident were suspended for eight weeks under rule 1.12 of the GAA Official Guide which reads, 'Any conduct by deed, word or gesture of a sectarian or racist nature against any player […] shall be deemed to have discredited the association', with a prescribed eight weeks minimum suspension for such behaviour (*GAA Official Guide* 8). The Duffry Rovers avoided being fined as a club for their full cooperation with the investigation. In relation to the incident, Wexford county board chairman Diarmuid Devereux released a statement in which he emphasised that '[r]acism is something that will not be tolerated within Wexford GAA', adding that 'Lee Chin is a Wexford man, born in Wexford, living in Wexford, educated in Wexford, and working in Wexford. He is one of our stars of the future' (Cummiskey).

Chin was outspoken about this experience and openly campaigned for stronger anti-racism measures in the GAA. On 7 December 2012, Chin appeared on the *Late Late Show*, Ireland's late night talk show, along with Dublin footballer Jason Sherlock. During the interview, Chin addressed the

abuse that he had suffered as an athlete and Sherlock spoke to his own experiences of racism that he had encountered over the course of his career. In response to Sherlock's statements, GAA President Liam O'Neill said, 'It grieves me hugely that Jason Sherlock felt 20 years ago when he was treated in an insulting way that he couldn't say it' ("President Appalled by Sherlock Revelation"). O'Neill then went on to highlight the GAA's recent initiatives to respond to racism, saying, 'the fact that we have a strategy now to safeguard children […] means that people in the organisation are confident enough now to say no to the bullies who insult them and are brave enough to come forward and say it' ("President Appalled by Sherlock Revelation").

While O'Neill expresses both regret and hope, his comments belie that fact that it was the GAA itself that prevented Sherlock from reporting racist abuse in the past, and that the 'bullies' were frequently the coaches, administrators and adult fans that he encountered as he played a youth sport. As an intercultural figure performing on the cusp of the Celtic Tiger, Jason Sherlock reveals how the GAA simultaneously provided spaces of belonging at the local scales of community while creating barriers to inclusion on a higher national scale. Further, narratives of hegemonic Irish masculinity at this time meant that over the course of his playing career Sherlock was conditioned to accept racist abuse rather than report it. Throughout his career, Sherlock himself was punished if he acknowledged or responded to racist abuse, and thus taught to embody a stoic Irish masculinity. While this performance earned him a space of belonging on the parish level, when he attempted to move up the scales towards the metropole of Dublin and national success, he was consistently read as mis-performing Gaelic values.

Jason Sherlock—From Finglas to Ballyhea to 'Dublin Flash'

Sherlock was born in Finglas, Dublin in 1976 to an Irish mother and a father from Hong Kong.[18] Though his father and his father's family lived in Dublin, Sherlock had only occasional interactions with them, and was raised

[18] Sherlock's father, Denis Leung, emigrated to Ireland with his parents and siblings in the 1970s. Leung later moved to South Africa, where he was murdered in 1995.

primarily by his mother and her family. Though from a young age Sherlock was an avid Dublin supporter, tracking the county team around the country with his uncles, it was not until his teens that he actively participated in Gaelic games. Initially more interested in basketball and soccer, Sherlock's interest in playing Gaelic sport came when he began spending summers with his uncle Eddie, who had relocated from Dublin to Ballhea in County Cork. As Eddie describes Sherlock: 'He's Finglas, but there's a lot of Ballyhea in him too, boy. A lot of Ballyhea in him' (quoted in Humphries, *Green Fields* 145). As Humphries himself writes, Sherlock 'might have spoken with the flattened vowels of the Dublin suburbs and borne the looks of a long-vanished father, but he got his hurling and football education in Ballyhea' (*Green Fields* 146).

This sense of Sherlock as a Ballyhea man reflects Sherlock's own sense of belonging at the parish level, and his experience of being fully accepted for the first time in his life, which he describes in his 2018 autobiography. While in the urban scale of North Dublin Sherlock was used to encountering daily racist abuse, an experience that meant his 'defences were on permanent alert—sometimes to the point of paranoia', in rural Ballyhea he was never made to feel foreign or different. Rather, he felt 'wanted by the people of Ballyhea', who would travel en masse to support the local team and cheer on 'a rookie blow-in, who looked a bit foreign, from the Northside of Dublin' (Sherlock n.p.). As Sherlock writes, 'I loved the Dubs and supported them from the cradle, but without Ballyhea and those wonderful summers down south I would have struggled to identity with the parish ethos for which the GAA is famous' (n.p.). As with Ó hAilpín, Sherlock's primary space of belonging and measure of identity is the parish club and would remain so, even after he went to play for his native Dublin after being passed over by the Cork Minor selector.

In 1995 a nineteen year-old Jason Sherlock, in his first season playing for Dublin, helped the team win the All-Ireland championship and became an overnight sensation. Mike Cronin refers to Sherlock as the first GAA superstar and Tom Humphries has written repeatedly that Sherlock 'was the greatest marketing and recruiting tool the games ever possessed' (*Green Fields* 158). With his win for Dublin, Sherlock secured advertising

engagements such as a Penney's campaign[19] in which '[r]ising GAA star and heartthrob Jason Sherlock was kitted out in Penney's gear and used as a model' in hundreds of bus-shelter posters across the city (Ingle). Yet Sherlock's rise to stardom was matched by an equally swift fall from grace. In a 2001 profile piece on Sherlock, Humphries paints the picture of a man who meets all of the criteria of hegemonic Irish masculinity as espoused by the GAA—selfless, dedicated, humble, a team player. And yet, he notes:

> You've still got a problem with Jason Sherlock though, haven't you? He's the epitome of Dublin flash, he's the one-season wonder, he's soccer swagger and basketball shapes and he's TV presenter glamourous and his face doesn't fit and none of his story is racy of the soil, none of it is pure GAA. Not to you. And when you get to the end of this piece you might just scribble one of those nasty letters that arrive here from time to time when Jason Sherlock's face makes these pages ("Blending in While Still Standing Out").

This passage notes the over-arching narratives surrounding Sherlock's ultimate rejection: his celebrity status that translated into multiple marketing campaigns, his association with 'foreign' sports and, obliquely, his mixed-race identity. Yet while pundits, GAA officials and the athlete himself have often been quick to dismiss or down-play the idea that Sherlock's ethnicity played any role in his treatment, a close reading of his athletic career demonstrates that race is in fact inextricable from understanding how Sherlock was read and received by Irish sports fans.

'Little shards of abuse': Sherlock and the Denial of Racism

Humphries' own backtracking on the issue of Sherlock's race over time is illuminating. In the passage above—with its references to a face that doesn't fit and a story that is not racy of the soil—Humphries directly implies that it is Sherlock's racial otherness that precluded him from widespread acceptance to the collective 'you' of GAA followers. Yet five years later Humphries would pen another piece on Sherlock who was yet again working toward an All-Ireland victory for Dublin. Here Humphries

[19] Penney's is an Irish clothing and accessories retailer, headquartered in Dublin, where its first store opened in 1969. Outside of Ireland it is known as Primark due to copyright conflicts with the store J. C. Penney.

writes more directly about the role of race and racism in Sherlock's career, while at the same time denying that such racism takes place:

> To those outside the GAA, Sherlock is one of those players who is often held up as a specimen of Ireland's multiculturalism. The supposition is that the colour of Sherlock's skin was a culture shock for a supposedly hidebound outfit of rednecks such as the GAA. Sherlock makes little of it and apart from the odd word whispered in his ear from defenders who have a licence to provoke, his background has never been an issue. He has run into problems, certainly, but these have been mostly to do with the resentment caused by the celebrity thrust upon him in 1995 and with his interest in other sports ("The Last Action Hero").

Here, Humphries shifts the focus from race to celebrity and the playing of foreign sports. And while in the earlier profile Humphries acknowledges the resistance to Sherlock on racial grounds, here he challenges the idea that the GAA itself was at all thrown by a mixed race player in their games. Further, those instances of racism that he does acknowledge are quickly dismissed as part and parcel of the competitive sport. Though it is not possible to say why exactly this rhetorical shift has occurred, it is worth noting that these two profiles are separated by the 2004 Citizenship Referendum, whose racist logic the Irish people might be happy to downplay or forget.

While Humphries might shift the focus from race to celebrity and the playing of foreign sports such as basketball and, most notably, soccer, Sherlock's race is in fact directly tied up with these other aspects of his life and career. In other words, the connotation of foreign sports with foreignness, and the distrust of celebrity as un-Irish become coded with Sherlock's mixed race status. Overt exclusions—such as the fact that though he played a pivotal role in Dublin's 1995 All-Ireland win he was not voted in to the All-Stars that year, or his failure to be drafted in the Cork Minors—constantly raise the spectre of racial discrimination. Even Humphries notes that in 'Ballyhea they still wonder about the [Cork Minor] selector, wonder if his silence was a racial thing, or a slight on their little club, or just an act of arrant stupidity' (*Green Fields* 146).[20] This lingering question of

[20] In his autobiography Sherlock himself enters into no such speculation. Instead, he writes, 'this was B-level football so I don't blame Toddy Cuthbert, the Cork manager at the time, for not bringing me in. […] The hurling trial and speculation

possible racism is made all the more salient by the documented examples of racist treatment that Sherlock encountered.

Humphries describes one of these incidents in detail in his book *Green Fields*:

> His dark slightly Asian features made sure that he got singled out early for racial abuse on the field of play. Nothing sharper than what the streets of Finglas had to offer, but all the more shocking for hearing it down in the north Cork leagues. Eddie remembers the day that they broke Jason in as a Ballyhea man. It was an Under-Fourteen league game and Jason was at full-forward. Little shards of abuse were flying about and Jason was distracted and vexed. Eddie on the sideline was agitated, furious and protective all at once. A scrap broke out and Jason's fists flailed furiously. It was decided to take Jason out of the game to let him cool down a little. On the way off, Eddie unaccountably hit Jason a slap—the only time he ever raised a hand to him. Half a decade later, standing here reminiscing in the sunshine on the roadside, the regret is still in Eddie's voice. He can't explain the stew of emotions that led him to lift his hand, and he can't forget the sight of his nephew sitting on the sideline crying his heart out. 'I gave him a flaking. Aw, too hard. As soon as I done it I knew I was wrong. Next thing was he started crying. I thought he was never going to stop. He came out of himself after that, though. I think he took a look around and said to himself that, if this was the way things were down here, that was fine. He was going to start making it, He never paid much attention to what was said after that.' Jason was a Ballyhea boy after that (*Green Fields* 148).

I quote this passage at length because it so potently captures the narrative of discipline and hegemonic masculinity at play in Sherlock's GAA experiences, as well as the rhetoric of denial that circulated for so long around racism and racist abuse in the GAA. In this incident, a young Sherlock is racially abused by another player. This abuse is witnessed by the other players and Sherlock's own coaches. When Sherlock retaliates against the abuse, he is pulled from the game and violently disciplined through corporal punishment for his reaction. Nothing happens to the other player. Sherlock is thus instructed as to the code of Irish masculinity: he learns to

---

about the minor footballers just happened and I went with it. Who knows, maybe it could have been an interesting dilemma for the family but I never went out of my way to make it happen.'

absorb rather than report racist abuse, he is taught to conform to an emotionally closed hardman ethos, and he becomes cognisant of the frameworks of power and oppression enforced by and through participation in the GAA.[21]

The attitude toward racist abuse on the pitch is reflected in Humphries' quick dismissal, 'Nothing sharper than what the streets of Finglas had to offer.' Not only Sherlock but the reader is instructed to see racist language as a minimal as well as an urban evil. Humphries' observation that this language was 'all the more shocking for hearing it down in the north Cork leagues' displaces racism into the metropolitan centres rather than the—it is implied—innocent rural enclaves, as if racism is something that is regional rather than historic and pervasive.[22] Further, his characterisation of 'little shards of abuse' diminishes the real emotional and psychological impact of racist language. Similarly, in his 2006 profile Humphries' excuse that the racist abuse Sherlock encountered was limited to 'the odd word whispered in his ear from defenders who have a licence to provoke' condones this behaviour as just part of the game—an unsavoury yet inevitable and, ultimately, harmless consequence of competitive sport.

Yet, in July 1995, a reporter for the *Sunday Independent* documented the racist abuse heard shouted at Sherlock at a match in Navan. In the column he writes, 'it was a measure of how much damage he [Sherlock] was doing to the opposition that Laois fans resorted to racist chants against the "Chinese bastard" every time he got the ball. Other epithets to grace the Páirc Tailteann terrace were "little nigger," "little Chink" and "slanty-eyed

[21] Sherlock was also spat on by a GAA official during a sidelines altercation in 1997. In the hearing of the inquiry—which found that eyewitnesses supported Sherlock's account and recommended a two-month suspension for the official—it was suggested that it was Sherlock who should be suspended for six months for not playing in the match. Sherlock had been unable to compete in the game due to pre-existing obligations from his soccer scholarship to UCD. Thus once again Sherlock was punished for being a victim of abuse, though it cannot be confirmed that the abuse was racist in nature.

[22] Contrary to Humphries's suggestion that racism is an urban ill, Sherlock counters that racial abuse in the countryside 'was savage, even more basic than what I was used to in Dublin. I was called a black fucker and a nigger' (n.p.). In this and other instances we again see how Sherlock's Asian ethnicity is essentialised and conflated with blackness along a black-white racial binary.

f----r"' ("Terrace Abuse").[23] Quite explicitly this article exposes that the 'little shards of abuse' being hurled at Sherlock throughout his career was in fact hate speech and included some of the ugliest epithets available. However, until recently, Sherlock consistently denied or dismissed the racism that he experienced on the pitch. While this was in turn used to support claims that racism did not exist in the GAA and in Ireland in general, what it actually reveals is that through the GAA Sherlock was disciplined into properly performing the denial of abuse.

In his autobiography Sherlock reflects on and confirms this education as central to his sporting experience. In his version of the story of being 'broken in' as a Ballyhea man, Sherlock describes how 'in one game against Freemount the slagging was just relentless. The opposition weren't too bothered about geography—I heard every racial slur from China to Japan to the jungles of Borneo and back again' (n.p.). Pushed to his breaking point, Sherlock eventually responded with violence, and was subsequently pulled off the field and 'clobbered' by his uncle. Sherlock describes it as a 'watershed moment' in which he realised:

> very few were there to help me, not because people didn't care, but because no one—not players or teammates or coaches or referees—knew how to tackle racial abuse at the time. There were no codes of practice, no established norms. There was no moral compass to navigate your way around racism. There may have been some vague sense that the abuse sounded ugly and wrong, but no one knew what to do, or if they should do anything at all. There were no repercussions, social or sporting. Back then it was a much different Ireland from the one we have now, where lines have been drawn and all reasonable people respect them (n.p.).

In this moment, Sherlock realised that he was responsible for denying his experience of racial abuse, shifting the responsibility (and the culpability) of racism onto himself rather than those around him. Thus, he notes that 'throughout my youth and career in sport I largely shied away from speaking about the abuse; I suspected it would only make things worse for me' (n.p.).

[23] It is interesting—and perhaps revealing of attitudes towards race and racism—to note that the publication censored the expletive 'fucker', but not the highly charged racial epithet.

This attitude—both Sherlock's and the GAA's—began to shift in tandem with the changing demographics of the nation as well as new narratives around racism, with the 2012 incident with Lee Chin signalling a significant sea change. With Chin's open advocacy and the positive public response to his stance, Sherlock himself finally felt empowered to speak out about his own abuse. In his autobiography he lauds Chin and mixed race footballer Aaron Cunningham for speaking out publicly, noting that the 'actions of those two lads were a catalyst for me and I felt they needed my support' (n.p.). Sherlock writes that even at the peak of his career he 'chose to stay silent about what I had endured, and was still enduring' because 'I was almost the only one out there who looked different' (n.p.). Now, in a more diverse Ireland and with a new generation of players willing to advocate for themselves, 'I see that if speaking out or sharing something like the lads did can even help one person it is a worthwhile exercise' (n.p.).

Sherlock was not the only mixed race Irish athlete to perform this rhetorical shift. Ó hAilpín follows a similar pattern, as seen in his conflicting statements given in the 2001 collection *My Eyes Only Look Out* and his 2013 autobiography. In his interview in *My Eyes Only Look Out*, Ó hAilpín insists, 'I have never had a bad experience with the GAA. I think the fact that GAA is now played worldwide […] has made it more outward looking' (McCarthy 144). Yet in his autobiography Ó hAilpín describes the racial abuse he received on the streets of Cork as well as on the GAA pitch. He asks 'what an eleven-year-old child was supposed to do when another kid called him a nigger in the middle of a game' (34). He also recounts how, in a 1997 match against Clare, an opposing player called him 'nothing but a black cunt' (61). When, by word of mouth, the incident reached GAA administrators a year later, Ó hAilpín declined to pursue a complaint. He writes, 'Unfortunately at the time there was no mechanism within the GAA to pursue a racism complaint' and 'no matter what the outcome, I have absolutely no doubt I'd have heard about my "whingeing" from every player who came near me' (63).[24] This echoes Sherlock's narrative in which the GAA enforces the adherence to a hegemonic masculinity of silence and

[24] An Irish colloquialism, which means to complain or whine.

emotional denial at the risk of being ostracised or infantilised. It also highlights the failure to provide avenues of recourse in incidents of racism on the pitch. That Ó hAilpín was aware of, and possibly influenced by, Chin's experiences is evident in the passage where he notes, '[e]ven now, high-profile intercounty players like Lee Chin in Wexford are finding that racism still exists on Ireland's sports fields, and a lot of the action is retrospective' (34).

In breaking the silence around racism, Chin changed the tone not only for future athletes, but established ones as well. However, Chin's own ability to speak out was supported by the cultural shifts of the past twenty-five years. Born in 1992 to an Irish mother and Malaysian father, Chin is a child of the Celtic Tiger and his experience in the GAA reflects this. By the time that Chin was old enough to participate in Gaelic games, the Celtic Tiger was well under way and awareness of issues around diversity and inclusion was increasing. The GAA itself was already demonstrating a pro-active engagement with these themes, presenting a dedicated Inclusion and Integration Strategy as part of their Strategic Vision and Action Plan 2009-2015. One of the key projects identified in the Inclusion and Integration Strategy was realised in 2009 when the GAA appointed Tony Watene as National Inclusion Officer, a position that he continues to hold. Additionally, the GAA has since partnered with Show Racism the Red Card, an international anti-racist charity focused on combating racism in sport. Though it was incredibly brave of Chin to be the first GAA player to speak out publicly against racist abuse, the context in which he did so was very different from the one in which Sherlock navigated his own encounters in the 1990s.

Indeed, it is this new generation of players that hold the greatest potential for actual, structural change in the GAA. If in this section I traced the top-down shifts in the GAA's performances of regulating racist abuse, as well as the corresponding performances that it demanded of its mixed race players, then I conclude with a brief survey of how the bottom-up agency of youth players has impacted the GAA as their actions travel up the scales of the organisation. Ultimately, it is the integration practices of youth

players on the ground that has most effectively created spaces of access for mixed race and minority ethnic players.

New Irish, New Games?

This chapter has analysed mixed race Irish athletes Seán Óg Ó hAilpín, Jason Sherlock and Lee Chin as intercultural figures whose performances of sport and Irish identity navigate a range of geographic scales. Looking at Ó hAilpín's career across various sites and scales of performance, I argue that while Ó hAilpín has been able to successfully use Gaelic games as a means of integration, his personal expressions of identity have often come into conflict with larger national narratives that essentialise and appropriate his Otherness to represent aspects of Irish masculinity, as with his appearance in *Laochra*. And by comparing Sherlock and Lin's experiences of and responses to racist abuse on the pitch, I demonstrated how changes in larger national attitudes towards diversity and anti-racism have shifted the GAA's approach to such incidents from one that disciplines the victim to one that disciplines the perpetrator. In all of these cases, hegemonic understandings of Irish masculinity have both allowed for and constrained expressions of intercultural Irish identities through the performance of sport and sportsmanship.

As mixed race Irish individuals, all of the case studies thus far have the advantage of Irish family ties and the legitimation that comes from having at least one Irish parent. However, in the following chapters I shift my focus to minority ethnic individuals who have migrated to Ireland or were born and raised in Ireland to non-Irish parents. As such, they lack the genealogical and community ties of mixed race individuals, further complicating their claims to an 'authentic' Irish identity. As Catherine Nash observes, since the 2004 Citizenship Referendum the 'rights to citizenship via descent for overseas residents with the appropriate and documented genealogical connections now outweigh the rights to citizenship of those born in Ireland to non-Irish parents' (28). As such, I conclude this chapter by briefly exploring how the GAA has accommodated minority ethnic Irish players, and the role that geographic scale plays in this integration.

In her thesis *Identity Formation among Teenaged Members of the Muslim Population of Ballyhaunis, Co. Mayo*, Orla McGarry draws on data gathered through interviews with thirty-three teenaged members of the Ballyhaunis Muslim community, one of the most established Muslim communities in Ireland.[25] McGarry notes that '[t]he majority of studies relating to immigration in Ireland have focused on top-down policies of interculturalism', an approach that 'does little to elucidate the everyday processes through which cultural difference are confronted by immigrant populations' (1–2). In contrast, McGarry focuses her study on 'the process through which cultural conflict and differences are actualised and addressed by younger members of immigrant populations in contemporary Ireland', centring her investigation on the primary sites of the home, the mosque, and school (4).

In analysing the site of the school, McGarry notes that for the more established male participants, 'the role of sports was highlighted as positively influencing relationships between [them] and members of the majority system' (235). These boys had attended the local primary school and so had long-standing relationships with their 'majority system' classmates that were often founded through participation in sport, particularly the GAA. As McGarry reports, 'The majority of 1.75 and 2.0 members of the established group who had attended *Scoil Iosa*, the local primary school, play hurling on the local G.A.A. team and on the Ballyhaunis Community School team' (236). Here, participation in the GAA was not purely recreational, but also functioned as 'an important means of increasing their respect within [the] majority system', allowing them to 'situate themselves as members of the majority system' (McGarry 237). Benefits of this membership include fewer instances of racist harassment, and being claimed and defended by their white Irish peers. One interviewee describes how 'we know all the people who play hurling and

[25] McGarry documents that 'Ballyhaunis has been home to a Muslim population since the early 1970s when a Pakistani entrepreneur purchased a local meat processing plant and founded the *Halal Meats Ltd.* factory […] Initially the Muslim population grew slowly; consisting in the 1970s of only six families; but had increased to thirty families of Pakistani and Middle-Eastern origin by the 1990s. Ballyhaunis became the site of the first purpose-built Mosque in Ireland in 1986' (3).

they're all our friends. And they stick up for you. And then when the other fellows bull ya, they're probably good friends with the other ones, and they might say commere [come here], and they're like "leave him alone, he's my friend' (McGarry 237).[26]

For these Muslim youth, Gaelic games operate as a gateway to cultural acceptance. It is important to note here that it is Gaelic games, and not sports such as soccer or rugby, that allow these youth to engage with the majority culture and demonstrate their ability to *be* Irish. While soccer is played regularly within the Muslim community, Gaelic games allows a bridging of cultures through the performance of Irish sport via minority ethnic bodies. By playing Gaelic games, these youth perform their engagement with the majority culture; in return, their teammates validate them as belonging. Further, the choice to participate in Gaelic games originates not in the infrastructure of the club but in the peer-to-peer relationships that occur organically on the scale of the school and schoolyard.

Significantly, McGarry's study demonstrates that this adoption of Irish culture is not assimilationist but intercultural. For example, one of the primary reasons given for the choice of hurling over Gaelic football is due to its similarity to cricket which, along with soccer, is played daily in the local mosque and 'in which almost all teenaged members of the established group participate' (178). McGarry argues, '[t]heir decision to play hurling was articulated in terms which can be interpreted as a transposition of cricket skills, learnt through the Muslim community system, to the majority system' (238). Similarly, McGarry notes the use of minority languages by

[26] Echoes of the analysis of Ó hAilpín's experiences above can be found in some of the comments made by the Ballyhaunis Muslim youth. For example, McGarry observes that 'The level of acceptance by, and intimacy with, members of the majority system […] was illustrated by the fact that they had been given joking nicknames on the hurling pitch', giving as her example the nickname 'Setanta' being applied to one of the boys (237). In her footnote to this McGarry expands, 'Setanta, also called Cuchulainn, is a legendary figure from Irish folklore renowned for his supernatural hurling skills. This nickname is possibly also a reference to Setanta O'Hailpin, a renowned contemporary hurler of mixed ethnic origin', and who is Seán Óg Ó hAilpín's younger brother (237). Thus we see a kind of intertextual, or inter-bodied link made between the mythic Irish warrior, the mixed race hurling figure and the Muslim peer.

the Muslim players when on the pitch together. She writes that while the 'use of Punjabi as a lingua franca on the hurling pitch is seen as a useful strategy in preventing the opposition from understanding the tactics to be used by the participants', like the transposition of cricket skills it also 'enables them to emphasise their identity as being consistent with membership of both systems' (238). Ultimately, these athletes are in fact performing a specifically Muslim-Irish version of the Gaelic games in which their bodies incorporate both majority and minority cultures.

Taken together with the anecdotal evidence provided by Ó Hailpín in his autobiography, McGarry's study illustrates how lower geographic scales support individual agency in integration and identity formation. In Ballyhaunis, it is not coaches or administrators encouraging participation in Irish sport but peers and the accessibility of Gaelic games in the daily schoolyard setting. Similarly, Ó Hailpín notes that it is two lads from his estate that invite him to play for the local club and who introduce him to the local school, describing them as 'a two-man integration committee' (17). At the lower scales of childhood spaces, minority ethnic youth are active agents in their own integration efforts and identity performance.

These bottom-up initiatives often positively influence the expanding scales of community, club and nation. Like the mixed race Irish players examined above, sporting success acts to validate minority ethnic Irish individuals as authentic Irish citizens. A clear example of this can be seen in the recent triumph of Mayo footballer Shairoze Akram who, in 2016, became the first Pakistan-born player to win an All-Ireland final. In a video clip in which a reporter asks Akram if he can verify this claim, Akram responds in a distinct Mayo accent while behind him white Irish fans cheer him on. Meanwhile on Twitter fans sent their congratulations to Akram on his achievement with one tweeting, 'Shairoze Akram first man born in Pakistan to win All-Ireland medal…There'll not be a cow milked in Lahore, proud day for the parish #Mayo' (@leftistrhetoric). Akram is thus seen as inherently belonging to the parish and lauded as a positive example of new Irish diversity. It is worth noting, of course, that this claiming of Akram is directly linked to his All-Ireland success, and that his status as one of a handful of minority ethnic players in the GAA makes him an exceptional

case. How such players would be received were their numbers to grow remains to be seen.

However, at least for now sporting prowess seems to insulate minority ethnic players from racist abuse or rejection along racial lines. This insulation does not mean that these players are immune from such abuse, but that—importantly—they receive support from the majority community in ways that others might not. And while culminating on a national level, Akram's integration again originated at the scale of the schoolyard among his peers. In an interview after his win, Akram 'thanked his club mate Andy Moran for forcing him to take up the game at age 11', noting that he 'was inspired to join the local GAA club on Moran's orders' (Rooney). In this way, Gaelic games do create a space of interaction that allows for both invitation and participation and in which minority ethnic Irish youth can perform themselves as Irish up and across geographic scales.

As noted earlier, the GAA itself has, as a national organisation, initiated a range of anti-racism and integration efforts such as Open Days and International Days to encourage wider community involvement. Yet even with the best intentions, these top-down initiatives tend to be underwritten with a latent 'soft racism' that depicts minority ethnic communities as problematic and passive elements that must be incorporated into the social fabric by active white Irish agents, and that rely on stereotypes of ethnic difference. For example, in an article documenting the 2015 integration day hosted by the Ballyhaunis GAA, most of the focus is on participants from the mostly African Ballyhaunis asylum centre, despite acknowledging that the asylum centre is only a part of Ballyhaunis' diversity. The article notes that GAA coach '[Declan] Conlon freely admits the club's interest in refugee children is not entirely altruistic. "They're natural athletes," he says' (Butler), thus playing on positive stereotypes of blackness.

These limitations of top-down integration efforts is echoed in Anna King's thesis *An Alternative Gathering: Pubic Space and Shared Agency in the Lived Experience of Multicultural Ireland*. King explores the recent cultural shifts in Doughiska, Roscam and Ardaun (DRA), an area outside of Galway City that in 'less than a decade […] transformed from a semi-rural

small Irish community to a city suburb with over 33 different nationalities' (iii). Focusing on community uses of space and place, King documents a sports festival organised by Castlegar Hurling Club on 10 May, 2009, in which sport acted as a vehicle 'to celebrate "together" the community' (209).

While the rationale behind the Castlegar sports festival was well-intentioned, the rhetoric surrounding the event belied a benevolent racism. As Mike Connolly, Chairperson of the Juvenile section of the Castlegar Club, explained in an interview with King:

> Our club is a wonderful opportunity for all newcomers, adults and children, to get involved in the community, make new friends and share interests. On this note we urge old members of our club to come out on this day and share with newcomers to the area the gift of our wonderful sport. We also hope to learn about our non-Irish members. […] In particular children from our African communities are so dextrous and athletic. I genuinely believe that they will really enjoy hurling (210).

This emphasis on African youth can be explained by the strong representation at the event of the African community.[27] However, it also obscures the range of diversity in the area and perpetuates those same stereotypes of black athleticism seen at the Ballyhaunis event. As King documents, the largest foreign-born population in DRA is Polish (11.9%), with an even higher concentration in Doughiska (24.51%) (168). Yet here diversity is drawn along a black-white binary that obscures the similar challenges white Polish youth face in integrating into Irish communities—a challenge that is the focus of the next chapter.

Overall, then, Gaelic games do offer a space of inclusion—but these spaces and the processes they accommodate are not always straightforward. On the one hand, the GAA is frequently hailed as an example of national openness, with exceptionally talented migrant and refugee athletes being claimed as Irish through the performance of sport.[28] And as we have seen

[27] The event included a dance performance by African youth and a presentation about Nigeria.

[28] Just a small sample of recent headlines featuring the GAA's role in integrating immigrants, and particularly refugees include: 'GAA and other sporting groups are being asked to play leading role in helping integrate Syrian refugees' (Dineen), 'From War-Torn Liberia to Westmeath: The Remarkable Story of Boidu Sayeh'

with both mixed race and minority ethnic players, sport—and the GAA in particular—allows for personal agency in performing and claiming an intercultural Irish identity. This seems to support Sara Brady's assertions that 'the Gaelic games now provide a space within which new immigrants to Ireland […] can "make" their own Irishness' and, together with established Irish communities, may 'forge "new" ideas of what it means to be "Irish"' (38–39).

On the other hand, the top-down efforts of the GAA are often well intentioned but flawed, perpetuating stereotypes of black athleticism and casting minority communities as a 'challenge' that must be solved by the majority. And while the GAA's firm stance on anti-racism is a huge step forward for an organisation that just ten years ago had no recourse for complaints of racist abuse, this has not resolved issues of racism in the sport and its fandom.[29] Further, due to a lack of data collected, it is unclear how effective the GAA's Integration and Inclusion strategy has been in increasing participation among minority ethic communities. Indeed, a recent study by Merike Darmody and Emer Smyth found that 'at nine years of age, immigrant-origin children are less likely to take part in organised sports […] than their Irish peers' (419) and that one of the contributing factors to this discrepancy might be 'that the types of activities on offer may be unfamiliar to immigrant-origin children as they are heavily focussed on team sports such as GAA games' (429). Thus, the GAA's parochialism can act as a double-edged sword, offering a potent space for the performance of Irishness but also acting as a barrier for those unfamiliar with this non-globalised sport.

(Browne), 'From Laois hurler Paddy Ruschitzko to Mayo's Shairoze Akram: How immigrants are playing increasing role in GAA' (Crowe) and '"They've really bought into the whole ethos of the club"—Syrian brother and sister secure Féile glory' (Ryan).

[29] Two recent youth matches had to be abandoned due to racist abuse and the reactions they provoked. On 11 February 2017, an under-18s match in Cavan devolved into a brawl that included adult spectators as well as youth players after opposing players used racial slurs against the Cavan Gael's two black players (Tierney and Quinn). Later in the same month, an under-12s game 'was abandoned after adult "supporters" allegedly hurled racist abuse at players who happened to be from traveller backgrounds' (News).

Conclusion

For both mixed race and minority ethnic Irish athletes, the GAA and Gaelic games provides a choreography through which to perform and be validated as Irish. If, as Roche writes, 'sport can be argued to play a formative rather than simply an expressive role in relation to human identity at the personal and collective levels' (4), then Gaelic games have the potential to support the formation of a distinctly Irish identity for minority ethnic Irish athletes. Yet scale plays a pivotal role in the level of success these expressions can have. Though not comprehensive, across all of these examples we see how sport operates as a space of integration and inclusion on the organic scales of youth spaces such as schoolyards and housing estates. While these models of integration often inspire action at higher scales, top-down initiatives tend to belie unexamined racist attitudes towards minority ethnic Irish communities. While this is not to argue that the GAA as an organisation should not make efforts to work toward integration and diversity among their players, it does advocate a change in approach that would allow for greater agency coming from within the minority ethnic communities themselves.

If in this chapter we looked at the performance of sport and issues of agency on the part of minority ethnic Irish in articulating an Irish identity, the next chapter examines the articulation of identity through speech itself, particularly through the performance and performativity of accent. Further, this chapter highlighted the ways in which a black-white racial binary can obscure the existence and experiences of racism for those that fall outside of this reductive dyad. As we saw across the various case studies, mixed race and minority ethnic athletes are often read through a lens of blackness, whether that lens is positive (and appropriative) or negative (and abusive). Yet in their own articulations of an intercultural Irish identity, Ó hAilpín and the Muslim youths of Ballyhaunis in particular have incorporated the customs, languages and cultural markers particular to their API and Muslim backgrounds, resisting this hegemonic erasure. If in this chapter I sought to disrupt this essentialising impulse that groups all ethnic minorities under a category of blackness, in the next chapter I seek to disrupt whiteness itself as a monolithic category by exploring the hierarchies of whiteness and

white minority ethnic communities in Ireland. In doing so, I transition from a focus on mixed race Irish individuals, who have the advantages of genealogical and community ties in Ireland, to minority ethnic Irish individuals, thus pushing the boundaries of identity and belonging even further.

Chapter Three: Speaking Across the Scales, Accent and Access on the Irish Stage

On 1 March 2017 the Irish government officially recognised the Irish Traveller community as an ethnic minority. The move was a long-fought victory, as the 'identification of Travellers as an ethnic group has been a central premise of the human rights and community development work of Traveller advocacy organizations from at least the 1980s' (Helleiner 4). Indeed, the Republic of Ireland lagged twenty years behind Northern Ireland in introducing the measure, where the British government have recognised Travellers as a distinct ethnic group since the 1997 Race Relations (Northern Ireland) Order. Long framed as Ireland's internal Other, Irish Travellers are an indigenous minority who 'are distinct from the surrounding population due to a range of differing cultural attributes' such as 'family structure, language, employment patterns and a preference for mobility that is inherent in the very ascription they attach to themselves' (Hayes 9). In his speech announcing the state's recognition, Taoiseach Enda Kenny said, 'Our Traveller community is an integral part of our society for over a millennium, with their own distinct identity—a people within our people' (O'Halloran and O'Regan). In doing so, Kenny and the Irish government legitimated Travellers as a population that is both part of but distinct from the settled Irish majority—a distinction often erased by the visual similarity of whiteness.

Yet if the Irish government now officially recognises Travellers as an ethnic minority, the place of Travellers in Irish society is still hotly contested. Six months after Kenny's speech, Gardaí submitted the findings of their investigation into the October 2015 Carrickmines fire. The fire, which broke out in a Traveller halting site in Carrickmines, claimed the lives of five adults and five children and shook the Traveller community. This tragedy also brought renewed attention to the on-going issues of poor living conditions, over-crowding and precarity in Traveller

accommodation.[1] A 2016 report on Traveller halting sites by the European Committee of Social Rights criticised the state for 'a lack of clean water and drainage, poor or non-existent bin collection, flooding and sewage issues, damp, and water ingress' as well as 'Ireland's public order laws which […] do not adequately protect travellers threatened with eviction or notify them of a time to leave' ("EU Watchdog Issues Warning over Traveller Housing Shortage and Site Conditions").[2]

Further, in a testament to the deeply engrained and yet seldom recognised racism against the Traveller community, when the Council attempted to create a temporary halting site to house the displaced victims just days after the fire, settled residents blocked access to the proposed site (C. O'Brien).[3] Even tragedy, it would seem, could not overcome anti-Traveller sentiment. Thus government recognition is only a first step in addressing the historic, long-standing and continued discrimination that Irish Travellers face in contemporary Ireland. As Robbie McVeigh observed of Travellers in Northern Ireland, though the 1997 Race Relations Order 'marked the end of the equivocation around Travellers and racism by central government […] Traveller ethnicity will continue to be contested at other levels given the persuasiveness of anti-Traveller racism' (13).

I open this chapter with the official recognition of the Traveller community and the tensions around the Carrickmines fire to flag how

---

[1] Travellers are historically an itinerant people, which increasingly became an issue as industrialisation brought more Travellers to urban centres in the 1960s. Since the 1963 Report of the Commission on Itinerancy, Irish government policies have tended to see Travellers as 'problems' which 'would be solved by "absorption" into Irish society, by reducing the opportunity for nomadism to be practiced and permanently "settle" Travellers' ("Accommodation - Key Issues"). Yet 'Travellers today prefer to live in what is called "culturally appropriate" or "Traveller specific" accommodation—namely, halting sites or group housing schemes, where large extended families live together based on Traveller's shared identity' ("Accommodation - Key Issues").

[2] Just one recent example of the lack of legal protections can be seen in Galway, where in 2017 ten families were given less than three weeks to vacate their current halting site, with no alternative housing solutions provided (Holl).

[3] In a 2001 Irish Political and Social Attitudes Survey, Irish Travellers were the group respondents were least willing to interact with, followed by Arabs, Muslims, Romanians and Nigerians (Fetzer 196). Fetzer also notes the social acceptability of such anti-Traveller racism, quoting Bryan Fanning that 'You don't get sanctioned for extreme anti-Traveller comments in most social settings' (196).

whiteness in Ireland has always been open, multiple and highly contested.[4] The previous chapters of this study have looked at the ways in which Irishness was cast as non-whiteness in its dialogic relationships with Britishness and WASP Americanness, and how whiteness was reclaimed as central to a contemporary Irish identity, often through appropriative cross-racial performances. In this chapter I wish to highlight how whiteness remains a contested and variegated identity within Ireland that is continually negotiated in assertions of Irish national identity. I look at a range of conceptualisations of whiteness as they operate in Ireland, including whiteness as variably defined as an ethnic, cultural, geographic and religious identity. In particular, I focus on how contemporary Irish theatre performances deploy Central and Eastern European (CEE) characters as a foil through which to assert Irishness as a white European identity and to frame the on-going tensions between Catholic and Protestant communities in the north of Ireland.[5]

---

[4] While I very much wanted to incorporate an analysis of contemporary performances of Traveller identities, this unfortunately proved to be beyond the scope of this study. Considering the ongoing contestation of the place of Traveller identity in Irish society and its now official status as an ethnic minority, an investigation into the ways that the Traveller community has been compared and contrasted to new minority ethnic communities, and whether the rhetoric of social interculturalism extends equally to these groups, is needed. There are excellent studies on the representation of Travellers in settled Irish media and literature, such as José Lanters's *The 'Tinkers' in Irish Literature: Unsettled Subjects and the Construction of Difference*, Elizabeth Cullingford's *Ireland's Others: Gender and Ethnicity in Irish Literature and Popular Culture* and Mary Burke's *Tinkers: Synge and the Cultural History of the Irish Traveller*. However, there has been a recent increase in self-representations of Traveller identities in film and theatre that are authored from within rather than outside of the Traveller community. Of note is the work of playwright Rosaleen McDonagh and her plays *Stuck* (2007), *Rings* (2012) and *Mainstream* (2016), which often portray the intersectional challenges faced by Travellers with disabilities. Michael Collins's one-man show *Ireland Shed a Tear?* (2016) was performed in the Dublin Theatre Festival to commemorate the one-year anniversary of the Carrickmines fire and its victims. John Connors, a Traveller actor who appeared in the RTÉ drama *Love/Hate*, made an RTÉ documentary on the Traveller experience, *I am Traveller* in 2016 and has been an outspoken advocate for Traveller rights and representation in the media. These works deserve dedicated analysis on their own, which I was not able to accommodate to the depth that it deserves within the parameters of this thesis.

[5] Throughout the chapter I will use both the terms 'Northern Ireland' and 'north of Ireland' to refer to the six counties and surrounding regions. I use Northern Ireland when referring to national or governmental policy that apply specifically and exclusively to the six counties as under the jurisdiction of the United Kingdom. However, I use 'north of Ireland' more generally when speaking about trends

If the Irish historically used cross-racial performances to attain whiteness abroad, I argue that the Irish currently employ cross-*ethnic* performances in order to maintain whiteness within Ireland itself. Rather than appropriating visual markers of blackness, today Irish performance appropriates the aural markers of Otherness through accent and voice. I thus examine the musical *Once* by Enda Walsh (2011) and the plays *Quietly* (2012) by Owen McCafferty and *Shibboleth* (2015) by Stacey Gregg. All three productions feature CEE characters, some of which are played by CEE actors while others are portrayed by white Irish, British or American actors. I read these productions along geographic scales of performance to reflect on how Irishness as a white identity is variously created and contested. Drawing on voice and accent studies I examine how accent operates aesthetically and symbolically in performance as a racial identifier, as well as the lived influence of accent as a means of discrimination through exclusionary casting practices.

The Role of the Intercultural Individual Within the Collective

While the first two chapters of this study took as their starting points the intercultural figure of the mixed race body to read individual performances across the scales, this chapter and the next shift their gaze to the minority ethnic figure as an intercultural body within collective performance. If, as Ronit Lentin has argued, the 2004 Citizenship Referendum created two classes of citizen within the Irish republic (Lentin, "Ireland"), then this shift in focus reflects those two classes. Thus the mixed race figure, by virtue of

---

across and between. As Tom Maguire notes in his book *Making Theatre in Northern Ireland: Through and Beyond the Troubles*, 'Northern Ireland', 'Ulster' and 'North of Ireland' are all used to refer to the same geographic location with the latter two being 'more evocative of political aspirations [unionist and nationalist respectively] than descriptive of a recognisable political entity' (6). Maguire goes on to note the permeability of the border as regards cultural and dramatic output, yet chooses 'Northern Ireland' as the key term for his study as both a legitimation of the state and an opportunity for a focused analysis of its theatre makers in the face of 'a tendency to regard Northern Irish dramatic output as a minor chapter in the canon of Irish dramatic literature' (7). While I recognise the importance of that distinction, as my own research and the plays that I am reading rely particularly on that very permeability, I follow Ciara Murphy in her choice of 'north of Ireland' in her discussion of performance practices in the north and south of Ireland as a 'specific reference to this sharing of performance paradigms between the two jurisdictions' (forthcoming).

its genealogical links to a *jus sanguinis* authenticity, has been imbued with greater agency to claim and be validated individually as Irish. In contrast, ethnic minority Irish continue to struggle to be recognised as Irish citizens, both legally and culturally. As a result, the minority ethnic figures that I examine in the following chapters are more reliant on collective vehicles of performance that are originated or authored by those outside of minority ethnic communities, and are particularly vulnerable to the influence of majority discourse in their process of self-representation.

As such, this chapter investigates Irish-authored theatrical productions featuring CEE identities, focusing on how these identities are conceived, cast and operate across a range of geographic scales. Specifically I investigate how Irish whiteness is negotiated through and in contrast to CEE 'not-quite' whiteness through the cross-ethnic performance of accent. In doing so, I examine how these performances operate differently depending on their scales of conception and circulation. Reading *Once*, which performs primarily on the international and global scales, allows us to examine contemporary shifts in the Irish brand as articulated through the creative industries. Inspired by the success of the independent film *Once* (Carney), *Once* was originally developed for Broadway where it ran from 2011 to 2012 before transferring to London's West End in 2013. Since 2015, *Once* has become an annual summer production in Dublin, appealing to the seasonal tourist crowd as its target audience. Consequently, *Once* is a play that speaks primarily to non-Irish audiences about contemporary Ireland from both within and outside of the island itself.

At the centre of *Once* is Girl, a young Czech woman living in Dublin with her daughter, mother, and collection of Czech friends. In his Author's Note to the published play script, Enda Walsh describes how the key to differentiating the stage version from the film was 'the "Girl" character, who, on page one, became the driving force, the idiosyncratic swagger of the piece, the person who would change everything' (v). Yet with the exception of the original London cast, Girl has never been played by a CEE actress. Instead, she has been played by American, British and Irish actresses of various ethnicities. And the cast of Czech characters that

surround Girl have been almost exclusively played by non-CEE actors.[6] While this distinction may seem inconsequential in the original Broadway context where American whiteness is now mutable enough to incorporate most white European identities, the fraught political climate for CEE communities within Ireland, as well as the limited opportunities for CEE actors in Dublin, means that their continued exclusion from the production is highly significant.

This significance is further highlighted by how the figure of Girl and the other Czech characters operate discursively within the play, particularly against the other Irish characters. In reading *Once*, I argue that the use of CEE characters within this global Irish vehicle, paired with the exclusion of CEE actors within it, reflects and reifies the contemporary discourse around Irishness as a white European identity in contrast to the 'not-quite' white, 'not-quite' European status of CEE migrants in Ireland. Accordingly, Homi Bhabha's conception of colonial mimicry can be expanded beyond a black/white binary and colonial power relations. Significantly, these characters are distinguished from the Irish characters on stage—as well as from the various bodies that portray them—through the manipulation and performance of accent.

The chapter then moves from the global to the national scale by examining two recent Irish plays produced by the Abbey Theatre: *Quietly* by Owen McCafferty and *Shibboleth* by Stacey Gregg. Both of these plays are ostensibly about the remaining tensions and sectarian conflicts in 'post-peace' Northern Ireland, and yet both feature Polish characters. In *Quietly*, Polish barman Robert acts as a witness to the confrontation between Catholic Jimmy and Protestant Ian in the Belfast pub where Ian killed Jimmy's father with a bomb thirty-five years before. In *Shibboleth*, a Polish builder named Yuri works to build peace walls with a group of Belfast

[6] Of the original casts of the first wave of professional productions (Broadway, West End, first US tour, Melbourne, Toronto, Dublin and second US tour), only the West End production featured an actor of CEE descent. In that production, Baruska was played by Vlada Aviks, who was born to Latvian parents in Germany and grew up in the United States (Aviks). In that same production, Andre was played by Jos Slavick, whose surname suggest a CEE heritage but this is not confirmed in interviews, which tend to focus on his West End career and his background as a musician.

construction workers while his daughter Agnieszka negotiates her intercultural identity as Polish-Irish, as well as her relationship with one of the young builders from her father's site. While the roles of Robert and Yuri in these productions were played by Polish actors Robert Zawadzki and Piotr Baumann respectively, the role of Agnieszka was played by Irish actress Sophie Harkness—a casting decision made based on Harkness' Belfast accent.

The north of Ireland, of course, has its own distinct and historical striations of whiteness where 'mixed' marriages refer not to interracial relationships but those that cross the dividing lines of Catholic and Protestant. These communities are often conceived of as distinct ethnicities, building on the conceptualisation of ethnicity as a common cultural tradition as opposed to a racial subset. Yet as McVeigh notes in his analysis of racism in the north of Ireland, while '[t]here are a number of different dimensions to the way in which religion and sectarianism structure racism in Northern Ireland' (19), at the same time 'Irish racism has an all-Ireland specificity which separates it from other racisms' (25). Thus while racism in the north of Ireland is situated in that region's history of sectarian conflict, the theatrical depictions of such speak just as much to understandings of racism in the south of Ireland. This is especially true when one considers that these productions were originally intended for a southern Irish audience, as they both premiered on the Abbey stage. While *Quietly* has toured to the north of Ireland as well as internationally to the UK and the US, *Shibboleth* has remained unproduced outside of the Republic of Ireland. Accordingly, I read these productions through the scales of the national and the regional, moving geographically between the south and the north of Ireland, specifically the cities of Dublin and Belfast.

The three case studies of this chapter, then, still do not adhere to established understandings of intercultural production as defined by aesthetic exchange across cultures as explored by Pavis, Thompson and Holledge or Lo and Gilbert. Nor do they reflect the rhizomatic cross-community collaborations explored by Knowles, as all three plays are authored by majority ethnic Irish-born playwrights without consultation

with CEE communities and often do not employ CEE actors to embody and interpret the written roles. However, they each contain and frame intercultural figures either through fictional minority ethnic characters, the casting of minority ethnic actors, or the intersection of both. It is these intercultural figures that I will centre my readings around, interrogating the relationships between representation and reality that are contained within and articulated by their various presences and absences.

This chapter thus posits minority ethnic Irish, like mixed race Irish, as intercultural figures, in which are nested multiple cultural contexts and through which these contexts are articulated in the form of intercultural identities. A scalar analysis of the circulation of these intercultural figures, both as lived realities and as projected stereotypes, reveals shifts in meaning and understanding as they move through local and global contexts. By focusing on CEE identities I explore how these communities act as both an 'invisible' minority and a highly racialised population within Ireland in ways that mirror the experience of Irish communities in Britain. I argue that this racialisation of Central and Eastern European ethnicities helps contemporary Irishness maintain white supremacy both within Ireland and abroad, and that accent is a key method of racialisation in this process.

As such, this chapter focuses on race not as a visual inscription but an aural one. Drawing on the work of Nina Sun Eidsheim, I borrow the phrase 'sonic blackness' and adapt it to 'sonic otherness'—in this case, an otherness encapsulated by the invisible but raced minorities of Central and Eastern Europeans. Accent can act as both a method of passing or assimilating as Irish but also, in these performance contexts, as a way of justifying casting practices that continue to exclude minority ethnic actors even when they are being portrayed on stage. Discussing representations of Asian-Americans in popular media, Shilpa Davé argues that 'the study of the relationship between race and language and accent offers a lens through which to examine the complex and variable nature of racial hierarchies presented in and by mass media' (142). Thus, *how* things are said in performance can be as important as what is said, if not more so.

Indeed, the 'how' of speaking often acts as a gateway or barrier to larger social inclusion. In her survey of anti-racist methodologies in accent studies, Nuzhat Amin cites Rosina Lippi-Green's argument that '"accent serves as the first point of gatekeeping" into American society because it is no longer legal to discriminate on the basis of ethnicity, race, and homeland, and hence "accent becomes a litmus test for exclusion"' (190). As Eidsheim echoes in her discussion of casting discrimination against black opera singers, the 'implication is that racial conflicts which, in late twentieth-century culture, were unable to be tackled head-on, could be freely discussed under the auspices of vocal aptitude' (662).

Schlichter and Eidsheim note in their introduction to the recent special journal issue of *Postmodern Culture*, voice 'plays a vital role in human ecology. Simultaneously tied to the body and entwined with the external environment, the voice exists in a complex interaction with multiple physical and sociocultural formations' (n.p.). Further, they point out that '*Voice* has been cast as a central metaphor in critiques of dominant regimes of representation—for instance, in the uses of the tropes of speech and voice versus silence, deployed to represent gendered and/or racialized relations of power. Yet the voice remains disembodied in such critiques' (n.p., emphasis in original). This chapter attempts to consider both the embodied act of accented speaking as well as the metaphoric 'voice' of representation, how these two registers of voice speak to each other in the moment of performance, and how voices resonates across different scales of performance.

Scales of Whiteness in Ireland

This chapter focuses on whiteness as a racial category that is at once hegemonic and in a constant process of revision. Since its emergence in the 1980s and 90s, whiteness studies has expanded the analysis of race and racism by critically examining whiteness itself as a racial construct, rather

than accepting it as a universal norm from which minority groups diverge.[7] Yet as Linda McDowell observes, 'Whiteness is a relational concept rather than a singular unvarying category. It is constructed by the way it positions others at its borders, as excluded and inferior' and is therefore 'fluid and mutable' (28). Similarly, Ashley 'Woody' Doane writes that, '[h]istorically, "whiteness" has exhibite[d] tremendous flexibility in redefining itself and group boundaries in order to maintain a dominant position' (10). These 'others' that are positioned at the flexible boundaries of whiteness are not always clearly demarcated by phenotype. Rather, as we have seen in the case of Irish racial identity as it traverses scales of history and geography, physical similarity to those that are firmly established as white does not automatically guarantee access to whiteness.

Ethnicity, then, can be assigned different racial qualities at various times and contexts, with the social and political advantages—or disadvantages—that attend them. In American racial histories, the 'difficult and contested nature of this process of boundary expansion was captured in the emergence of discourses of ethnicity and assimilation, discourses that reflected the continual re-formation of "whiteness" amidst ongoing political struggle' (Doane 10). Similarly, in their analyses of ethnicity, class and American whiteness, Noel Ignatiev and David Roediger demonstrate 'the fact that whiteness—as a central signifier of status and power—cannot remain undisputed in a racialized economy' (Bonnett 1045). In a European context, Alastair Bonnett finds that Europe's unique project of centralising whiteness in the construction of European identity 'necessitated the denial of other forms of white identity' (1043). This rhetoric of racial exclusion underwrote the colonial projects of Europe, yet it also impacted on those within Europe's own borders. As Bennett observes, 'the excessive nature of the European construction of whiteness, its exclusionary zeal, brings about its own impossibility: most whites are unworthy of whiteness' (1044). Issues of ethnicity, class and gender have all worked historically—and currently—to mark certain populations of Europeans as non-white. These

[7] For an overview of the history of whiteness studies as well as new directions of the field, see Ashley Done and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva's *White Out: The Continuing Significance of Racism*.

discourses of ethnicity and racial exclusion have become increasingly salient in an Irish context as various European migrants have created new communities within the nation, and as Ireland itself continues its own project of maintaining whiteness today.

Reading these productions through scalar interculturalism intervenes in these debates around contemporary European whiteness by critically examining how the different and shifting scales of context that are navigated by individuals in their performances of ethnicity—both internationally and intranationally—impact on understandings of a range of white identities with real political ramifications. This chapter thus seeks to engage with whiteness studies not in order to reify whiteness as a monolithic or essentialised racial identity, but rather to advocate 'the need for whiteness studies […] to take account of national ethnic specificity' (van Riemsdijk 132). In Ireland this national specificity is rooted in the historic processes of Irish racialisation as charted in the first two chapters, but also the more contemporary discourses of European whiteness and belonging.

In her analysis of the discourse around EU and NATO enlargement of 2004, Merje Kuus observes the 'dual framing of East-Central Europe as simultaneously in Europe and not yet European' (473). Kuus argues that while the old member-states of the EU tended to orientalise the A8 accession countries of the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia, as well as—though to a lesser extent—Cyprus and Malta, these states themselves employed a counter-discourse of 'nesting orientalism: a pattern of representation which reproduces the dichotomy of Europe and the East but introduces a gradation between these two poles' (479). Thus, Kuus argues that

> the orientalist assumptions about East-Central Europe persist not simply because they are imposed on the accession countries but also because *they are actively used by these countries against their particular Easts*. This reinscription works not as an absolute dichotomy of self and other, but as a more complex and contingent pattern of degrees and shades of otherness. […] By emphasizing their European credentials, the accession countries seek to shift the discursive border between Europe and Eastern Europe further east and to thereby move themselves into Europe (Kuus 479, emphasis added).

I similarly argue that a version of this nesting orientalism is employed by Ireland in its continual efforts to assert itself in a (white) European modernity. Though not part of Central and Eastern Europe geographically, as a peripheral and post-colonial nation that was recently re-racialised as one of the PIGS (Portugal, Ireland, Greece and Spain) nations of the 2008 economic crisis, Ireland's European belonging—and the whiteness that entails—remains precarious.[8] It is this precarity that necessitates the ongoing project of actively constructing and reconstructing Irish whiteness in relation to others, most recently in contrast to the newer A8 accession states and its citizens.

Contesting European Whiteness(es)

Ireland became part of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1973, which was in turn incorporated into the EU in 1993, making Ireland one of the fifteen established member-states of the EU. When a 2004 EU enlargement was proposed that would include the A8 nations, fears circulated throughout Western Europe around mass immigration from the new member states where 'it was assumed that they would either swell the unemployment figures or take the jobs of poorly qualified natives, as well as constitute a politically-awkward enclave population' (McDowell 20). And because rhetoric is always most potent when embodied, '[t]hese fears seemed to coalesce around the mythical figure of the Polish plumber' (McDowell 20). In the face of these concerns, the EU for the first time in its history allowed each member state to implement national restrictions on the conditions under which the new accession state citizens could migrate for employment. Of the existing member-states, only the UK, Ireland and Sweden allowed for complete freedom of movement.

As a result, after the enlargement in 2004, Ireland became a key destination for economic migrants from the new member-states, particularly Poland. The exact number of Polish migrants living in Ireland at any given

[8] For more on the racial inscriptions of the PIGS states in the media, see Jonas Van Vossole's article 'Framing PIGS: patterns of racism and neocolonialism in the Euro crisis'.

moment is difficult to determine due to that fact that as EU members they do not need to apply for work visas and that those who have applied for Personal Public Service (PPS) numbers for employment do not have to relinquish them if they have left the country. However, the most recent 2016 Census documented 122,515 Polish nationals currently resident in Ireland, and various other estimates put the population at between 200,000 to 300,000 at its height in the Celtic Tiger (Johns; Krings et al.).[9] Further, unlike migration in England 'where significant Polish immigration predated EU enlargement […] there were no similar migration histories between Ireland and Poland, marking the large-scale migration that ensued post-enlargement even more remarkable' (Krings et al. 90). Thus 2004 brought an unprecedented number of CEE communities to Ireland—providing Ireland with new internal white Others against which to measure and assert a European Irish whiteness.[10]

Ireland has frequently forged its whiteness in the crucible of economic migration. This has been theorised at length in the context of the Irish as an emigrant population abroad, particularly in the United States and Britain (see Ignatiev; Jacobson; Roediger; Walter). Yet if as a population of economic migrants the Irish negotiated an upward climb to whiteness, as a host nation Ireland has managed to maintain distinct racial hierarchies of whiteness between themselves and CEE migrants. As Micheline van Riemsdijk observes, while extensive research has explored the impact of racial discrimination on 'people who look phenotypically different from a presumed white majority population. […] whiteness studies has not examined differences within visually homogenous groups' (121).

[9] The 2016 Census reports the top nationalities living in Ireland as Polish (122,515), UK (103,113), Lithuanian (36,552), Romanian (29,186), Latvian (19.933) and Brazilian (13,640) (*Census of Population 2016 – Profile 7 Migration and Diversity - CSO - Central Statistics Office*). Thus of the top six nationalities, half of these are from the A8 accession countries. It is also interesting to note the impact that larger narratives have on which populations are deemed problematic; despite being two of the largest populations in Ireland, British and Brazilian nationals are rarely—if ever—noted in debates around migration and diversity.

[10] It is perhaps no coincidence that the 2004 Citizenship Referendum coincided with the same year as the EU expansion. Though the rhetoric of the Referendum centred on maternity and black bodies, it could be speculated that larger concerns about CEE migration also worked to fuel the xenophobic measure.

Investigating these distinctions and how hierarchies are enforced and maintained allows an investigation of contemporary processes of producing whiteness(es), and a potential tool toward the divestment of whiteness altogether.

In her own research around the experiences of Polish nurses in Norway, van Riemdijk finds that though Polish nurses benefit from a perceived whiteness they are also simultaneously racialised, concluding that

> Ethnic and national norms of [Norwegian] identity that do not fully include the Poles serve to rationalize their location in relatively low-status, low-pay (even if highly skilled) jobs. These rationalizations draw on stereotypes about the privileges of belonging to the nation and stereotypes that implicitly code Norwegians as "whiter" than Poles. These findings also indicate that ideas about Europeanness and Norwegianness are constructed in complex, shifting forms in relation to simultaneously shifting notions of whiteness (132).

These findings are echoed in Michael Johns' study of Polish migrants in Britain and Ireland where 'Poles were the faces of intra-EU migration from the East and therefore were the target of more attention and at time scorn compared to other groups' (30). Johns notes how 'A8 migrants as a whole, and Poles specifically [face] four general problems: (1) deskilling, (2) discrimination and social issues, (3) exploitation and (4) a chilly political climate concerning their presence in Ireland and Britain' (36–37). Indeed, '[t]ied to all of the issues outlined above there appeared to be a growing sense in Britain and Ireland that the Poles […] were simply not welcome' (43).[11] In order to justify this xenophobic approach to CEE communities, these communities needed to be stripped of their whiteness. Thus discourses around Polish communities have been framed in terms of otherness and stereotype, despite the many significant similarities shared by Polish and Irish nationals including Catholicism, histories of colonial or imperial occupation and phenotypical whiteness.

By positioning themselves as European in contrast to Central and Eastern European migrants, the Irish continue the project of whiteness that

[11] This sense of hostility was made explicit in the surge of anti-Polish hate crimes following the Brexit vote in 2016 (see Lyons; Rzepnikowska).

they have been engaged with since the seventeenth century. This negotiation is both an outward and inward facing endeavour, and one that has once again recruited the stage as a political tool. For if economic migration is one crucible through which Irish whiteness is forged, performance is another. But while in America and England the Irish used cross-racial performances in order to distance themselves from other raced peoples in an upward climb of racial hierarchy, in a contemporary Irish context whiteness is achieved through cross-ethnic performance. And one of the key ways in which otherness and whiteness is articulated is through accent.

Global Irish Whiteness in *Once*

Between the original production of *Once* at the New York Theater Workshop in 2011 and its transfer to the larger Broadway venue of the Bernard B. Jacobs Theater four months later, New York Times reviewer Ben Brantley had a change of heart. While he originally found the production 'overwrought' and full of 'what were probably inevitable excesses' ("'Once' at New York Theater Workshop"), in the transfer to Broadway what 'registered as a little too twee, too conventionally sentimental […] feels as vital and surprising as the early spring that has crept up on Manhattan' ("'Once' at Jacobs Theater"). One of the overwrought excesses of the play that Brantley embraced in its Broadway incarnation was the central character of Girl. In his original 2011 review Brantley bemoaned a script 'now steeped in wise and folksy observations about committing to love and taking chances, most of which are given solemn and thickly accented utterance by Girl (played by Cristin Milioti), who is Czech' ("'Once' at New York Theater Workshop"). Under the influence of playwright Enda Walsh and director John Tiffany, Brantley complained, 'Girl has turned into a full-fledged version of what she only threatened to be in the film: a kooky, life-affirming waif who is meant to be irresistible' ("'Once' at New York Theater Workshop").

In contrast, when reviewing Milioti's performance in 2012 Brantley writes, 'It is not easy playing a winsome life force with a foreign accent. But Ms. Milioti has mastered the assignment brilliantly. She brings a new

confidence to her portrayal, and an enhanced mix of wit and wisdom, which suggests a maturity in youth, a fatalism hard won during an Eastern European childhood' ("'Once' at Jacobs Theater"). Central to both of Brantley's readings of Girl is her Czech identity as expressed through both accent and the voicing of folksy wisdom. Yet of course these 'thickly accented utterances' are articulated by an Italian American actor, and the 'fatalism hard won during an Eastern European childhood' is the product of an Irish writer's script.

These multiple strands of voice—what is said, how it is said and by whom it is said—converge in the moment of performance and work to convey much about how the Irish seek to be seen both at home and abroad. Though the Irish characters of *Once* are just as often cross-ethnically cast by white American and British actors, it is primarily the Czech characters—authored by an Irish playwright—that fall into stereotypical depictions of a generic Eastern European Other. Further, the show's Dublin-based revivals provide annual roles for Irish actors; the same, however, cannot be said of the many Central and Eastern European performers based in Dublin, none of whom has yet to be cast in a version of *Once.* Thus accent in *Once* works as a way for an Irish performance industry to control representations of Central and Eastern European characters while denying access to Central and Eastern European actors.

It is important to note here that the target audience of *Once* is primarily that of white American and British theatregoers rather than the Irish themselves. In this way, *Once* is very much part of the global vehicle of Irish branding through the cultural industries. As Patrick Lonergan notes in his review, 'this very Irish story—which features such talented Irish artists as Enda Walsh, Bob Crowley, Glen Hansard and Aidan Kelly […] originated abroad, and that its all-too-short production in Dublin is, essentially, a warm-up for the West End run' ("Once: The Musical").[12] As such, before the annual Dublin revivals of the play, Lonergan flagged the irony that 'many Irish theatre-goers will only be able to see *Once* if (like

[12] Though *Once* played in Dublin at the Gaeity Theatre in Dublin before transferring to the Phoenix Theatre in London, this was only for a handful of performances, with London as the ultimate destination.

Guy) they leave Ireland' ("Once: The Musical"). Even the play's Dublin-based repertory is timed so that it coincides with the summer tourist season; even within Ireland *Once* speaks first and foremost to those outside of its borders. This outward-facing scale of the global and international is significant in what it says about Irish whiteness. Just as the performance productions triangulate between the US, the UK/EU and Ireland, so Ireland defines its whiteness in relation to the US and the UK/EU. Thus if Ireland continues to negotiate its whiteness through a nesting orientalism, aligning itself more closely with European and American whiteness in comparison to other white ethnic groups, then *Once* enacts this through the comparison of 'Irish' and 'Czech' bodies on stage.

Through Girl and the other Czech characters of the play, *Once* works to inscribe CEE communities with a racialised otherness that would otherwise be invisible. Indeed, this invisibility is apparent precisely *because* the white bodies themselves are interchangeable, with actors of various white ethnicities and nationalities playing across both Irish and Czech characters. If phenotypical whiteness is mutable, then, it is voice that sets them apart and it is accent that becomes the racial marker. The work of othering, both in the play and in Ireland itself, occurs primarily through the multiple uses of accent and language.

Once began as an independent film written and directed by John Carney, with music and lyrics written by Irish singer-songwriter Glen Hansard and Czech musician Markéta Irglová, who also starred in the film as Guy and Girl respectively. It was a surprise international hit that won Hansard and Irglová an Oscar for Best Original Song in 2008. The stage version of *Once* follows much the same plot and incorporates the original film score, including the Oscar-winning ballad 'Falling Slowly'. In the play, as in the film, Guy and Girl meet on a Dublin street one day when Guy is busking. Guy is a man adrift—his girlfriend has emigrated (in the film, to London; in the play, to New York) and left him emotionally stalled, living with his father above the family repair shop. Girl is a classically trained pianist working to support her mother and young daughter in Dublin; her estranged husband resides in her original Czech Republic. Over the course

of a few days, Guy and Girl bond over their shared love of music, roam the streets of Dublin and record a demo album to promote Guy's music career. Though they begin to fall in love with each other, in the end Guy leaves to join his ex and Girl awaits the arrival of her husband in Dublin.

As Brantley notes in his reviews, the stage version makes explicit much of what is merely implied in the film, and characters that appear briefly in the original are developed into full presences in the adaptation. For example, the film's music shop owner who allows Girl to play on the display pianos during his lunch break becomes the play's eccentric Billy, while the banker who approves Guy's loan application for the recording studio session becomes the aspiring musician Bank Manager. Meanwhile Girl's mother and flatmates, whom we only glimpse briefly in the film, become Baruska, Andrej, Svec and Reza, a clan of zany Czech nationals. While the focus remains on the thwarted romance of Guy and Girl, a side theme of the play becomes the meeting and melding of these two cultural communities in a staged intercultural encounter.

Throughout the play, language and accent are key themes through which identity and belonging are articulated. When we first meet Girl's flatmates, they are watching the popular Irish soap opera *Fair City,* which they use as a vehicle to learn English and—in the case of Svec—the Dublin accent. When he first meets Guy, Svec is keen to display this literacy in 'Dublinese':

> SVEC. Hey, Irish. (*Fierce Dublin accent.)* "Fancy a pint in McCoy's later, yeah bud?" "What d'you mean you're pregnant?! Jaysus dat's awful news!" "I'm keepin' da baby! I want ta keep da baby!"
> *A slight pause*.
> GUY. Very good.
> SVEC. Tank you.
> GUY. Great accent.
> SVEC. Deadly, isn't it?! (Walsh et al. 24)

Svec's—albeit limited—ability to perform a Dublin identity through accent acts as a gateway to acceptance. This is most explicitly seen in his relationship with the music shop owner Billy, when Svec is able to negotiate his belonging over and against the Cork Bank Manager. When Guy and Girl

attempt to create a musical ensemble with their various acquaintances, Billy takes an automatic dislike to Bank Manager:

> BILLY. It's the combination of Cork and banker, am I right!
> BANK MANAGER. And what's wrong with Cork?!
> SVEC (*in his Dublin accent*). Cork is a dump!
> BILLY. Exactly! Nice accent.
> SVEC. I learn me English offa *Fair City*.
> BILLY. Suzanne's looking great, isn't she—the more psycho she's gettin'?
> SVEC. Suzanne's a ride, man!
> ANDREJ. Suzanne is a monster!
> BANK MANAGER. Suzanne is mental!
> BILLY. (*to the* BANK MANAGER) You still here, Corkman? (41–42).

Svec and Andrej's ability to validate themselves as Irish through familiarity with Irish pop culture echoes Shilpa Davé's analysis of accent training programs for foreign call centres. Davé notes how this '[t]raining is not necessarily about mimicking the American accent but instead about achieving a "neutral" voice that is dependent on pronunciation and phonetic issues. The idea behind this "neutrality" is to eliminate traces of regional raciality and instead focus on speaking about cultural norms and topics, ranging from the weather to sporting events that might be relevant to a customer' (Davé 145). In other words, it is not only how one speaks but what one speaks about that moves one towards a 'neutral' voice. But, of course, voice—like body—can never be neutral, but is inevitably inscribed with meanings determined by hegemonic narratives of normality, ideality and difference. Thus it is telling that Svec's Dublin accent is only partial and reliant on particular identifiably Dublin phrases that would have appeared in the soap's dialogue. For the majority of the play he speaks in a Czech accent, flagging his essential Otherness that remains underneath his mimicry.

Further, the distinction between the Bank Manager's Cork accent and Svec's adopted Dublin accent works to highlight internal tensions within Irishness. Cork and Dublin have a long-standing animosity, not just as GAA rivals but also as two cities that have long vied for the status of

national capital.[13] And like the distinct working class Dublin accent of *Fair City*, Cork is (in)famous for its identifiable Cork drawl. As Billy shouts at Bank Manager (his own Dublin accent accentuated in the script), 'Get outta Dublin ya big Cork eejit! Ya make me sick! Your accent makes me sicker!' (44). When Bank Manager retaliates, calling Billy an 'ignorant fecker', Billy rejoins:

> BILLY. I might very well be an ignorant fecker—but at least I'm a Dublin one!
> SVEC. And Dublin's deadly, man!
> BILLY. As my Dublin friend says!
> BANK MANAGER. He's Czech! (42)

Svec becomes a Dubliner by assimilating the accent, cultural referents and regional prejudices of the city. This performance aligns him with Dubliner Billy, who earlier in the play vetted Guy with a similar line of questioning:

> BILLY: Dubliner?
> GUY: Yeah.
> BILLY: Whereabouts?
> GUY: Off the North Strand there.
> BILLY: Northsider?
> GUY: Yeah.
> BILLY: Respect. (9)

Consequently. the play echoes scalar spaces of belonging—placing the characters not just in Ireland but the urban centre of Dublin (as opposed to Cork), not just in Dublin but the traditionally working class region of North Strand.

In the relationship between Guy and Girl, language also works to represent the gulf of difference between them, one that ultimately makes impossible an actualised romance. In their very first encounter, Girl chides Guy for his reticence, asking:

> GIRL. Is it always me who has to start the conversation? […] It is not even my language, this English.
> GUY: You speak it well.
> GIRL: I have an accent.
> GUY: We all have accents.

[13] Cork, known as the 'rebel county' due to a centuries-long history of rebellion, played a significant role in the Irish War of Independence; Cork City became the centre for forces opposing the Anglo-Irish Treaty during the Irish Civil War, and has since claimed to be the 'real' capital of Ireland.

GIRL: We are people of the world. (5–6)

In the second act of the play, the two visit the coast at Howth Head where they discuss Girl's feelings for her husband:

GUY. So what's the Czech for, "Do you still love him?"
A pause.
GIRL. Ty ho este milujes.
GUY. So… Ty ho este milujes?
A pause. In Czech she answers:
GIRL. Miluji tebe.
We read "I love you" in the surtitles.
GUY. What does that mean?
She looks up above them.
GIRL. It looks like rain. (50)

In the world of the play, Girl is able to use the difference in language to both show and conceal her true feelings, while the play itself constantly highlights Girl's own difference through accent and language. Further, the theatrical devices used in the play work to establish a hierarchy of accents and languages that caters to an English-speaking audience.

One such device is the way the production cleverly sidesteps its own issues of language through the inverted use of surtitles. Rather than requiring that the actors speak in Czech and then projecting the English translation for the audience, the play designates the moments when Czech is being spoken by having the actors deliver their lines in English while projecting the Czech translations behind them. In this way, the (presumably) English-speaking audience does not have to shift away from the action to understand what is being said on stage; at the same time this conveniently avoids the need to source actors that speak (or can imitate) Czech itself. Further, even in the moments when they are speaking their own language, the Czech characters continue to do so with a Czech accent. Thus while characters such as Baruska might be more fluent when allowed to speak in 'Czech', they continue to be framed through a lens in which the English language and an Irish accent is the accepted norm, and where accent continues to mark them as foreign, even in their own language.[14]

[14] The hierarchy of language can also be seen in the fact that in the play script, the lyrics for the one song delivered in Czech are not actually in the Czech language, but rather written out phonetically for an English language reader. Thus the first

Though Guy may observe that we all have accents, as Lippi-Green writes, 'it is not all foreign accents, but only accents linked to skin that isn't white, or which signals a third world homeland, that evokes such negative reactions' (238–39). In *Once,* the performance of accent coupled with the narrative voice and how it portrays different characters works to racialise the Czech characters in a way that it does not for the Irish characters. And in Ireland particularly, accent becomes a double-edged sword of exclusion that disqualifies CEE actors for having non-Irish accents, but also allows Irish actors who can put on a foreign accent to be cast over CEE actors.

In an interview Polish actor Alicja Ayres described her struggle finding work in theatre and film in Dublin. Ayres identified a lack of roles for foreign characters and issues of accent as the two main issues faced by non-Irish actors. Regarding roles, Aryes noted that most of those available for Polish actors rely on stereotypes: 'they would usually only contact me for auditions just when they needed an Eastern European girl to play cleaners and prostitutes' (McIvor and Spangler 374). A further challenge for Ayres was that even though she is Polish, she does not naturally fit in with Irish stereotypes of Polishness. Therefore 'even those stereotypical parts, those prostitutes and cleaners, even though they want an Eastern European girl, they really want this kind of Russian, Slavic look and a strong Eastern European accent, more Russian. So even if they would contact me, I'm not what they would be looking for, because I don't look Slavic, I don't look Polish, I don't sound Polish as well. I'm in this kind of Nowhere Land' (McIvor and Spangler 377). Similarly, Davé notes how '[t]o perform the [stereotypical Indian] accent means success and recognition in standard Hollywood narratives, but it also denies the individuality, variety of experiences, and diversity of the actors who long to challenge the preexisting character stereotypes' (142). In this way accent and stereotype often work in conjunction to limit opportunities for accurate self-representation.

---

lyric, which is in Czech ('Ej padá, padá rosička''), is thereafter followed by 'Eh pa da, pa da ros sich ka/ Spa lee bi moh yeh oh cheech kah' (Walsh et al. 25). No translation for the lyrics is provided.

If the lack of Eastern European roles in Irish film and theatre reduce the chances for self-representation, ultimately it is accent that is the primary barrier to accessing roles more broadly. At Dublin's Gaiety School of Acting where she trained, Ayres recounts how 'They told [me] that I would probably need to work on my accent. In Poland, you have this kind of generic Polish most people use, and you don't really think about the way you are speaking. The accent is not at all an aspect of a character. Only when I came here did I realise that the way you speak and the accent is really important, because it automatically places you somewhere and gives you some identity' (McIvor and Spangler 375). As such, Ayres was advised 'to get at least the most neutral or most common accents like the Received Pronunciation for English, or the generic American or even neutral Irish' (McIvor and Spangler 375).

This emphasis on accent is not just an industry standard, but part of a larger Irish theatrical brand. This has much to do with what Patrick Lonergan identifies as the impact of globalisation in Irish theatre, in which Irish arts are increasingly deployed on behalf of and 'measured in terms of its contribution to state activities, such as tourism, education, and the attraction of FDI [foreign direct investment]' (*Theatre and Globalization* 68). Irish theatre that seeks to be successful in a global market thus tends to employ 'a range of authenticating markers allow[ing] the production to be branded as Irish, a status that ma[kes] it recognizable to audiences throughout the world, facilitating international touring and enhancing access to the theatre for tourist visitors to Ireland' (Lonergan, *Theatre and Globalization* 71). One of these key markers is the Irish accent and dialect, as '[l]anguage is used as a form of national identification: to be Irish means to speak in an Irish manner' (Lonergan, *Theatre and Globalization* 93). Actors in Ireland who are not able to speak in this 'Irish manner' are as a result less competitive for Irish roles, particularly in global vehicles such as *Once*.

But if on the one hand an actor's Eastern European accent disqualifies her for 'Irish' roles, neither does it necessarily *qualify* her to fill roles for non-Irish characters. Rather, as in the case of *Once*, white Irish

actors can assume Eastern European roles in a case of cross-ethnic colonisation. Indeed, the marketing campaign for the 2017 summer revival of *Once* in Dublin centred on the fact that this was the first 'all-Irish' cast, with reviews unironically celebrating the 'truly authentic experience' that this provided (Winston). Thus the sonic otherness of accent cuts both ways, especially for invisible minorities such as Central and Eastern Europeans in Ireland. This exclusion in fictional representation works to obscure the actual realities of a diverse Ireland, and to fortify the boundaries of who gets to claim an Irish identity. By controlling not only the narratives of other white populations but also the bodies that might articulate these narratives, Irish performance colludes with larger national and international discourses around who is allowed what types of whiteness and its attendant privileges—among them, speaking for yourself.

This analysis of *Once* and its use of CEE characters has examined the role of accent as a gatekeeper to both whiteness and performance. Focusing on the global scale of theatrical touring and tourism, I argue that as a global vehicle *Once* works to re-establish Irish whiteness through its cross-ethnic performance of Czech characters. Circulating in centres of cultural capital such as Broadway and the West End, the play aligns its Irish characters with the whiteness of their American and British audiences by further othering the Czech characters. Through the use of accent and cultural markers, *Once* works to make the Czech characters foreign and distinct from Irish culture in a theatrical version of the nested orientalism Ireland itself practices on a social and political level.

By focusing on the intercultural figures of the Czech characters of the play, as well as CEE performers seeking work in an Irish industry, we see how accent is used to doubly exclude CEE individuals on the Irish stage. On the one hand, accent is used as an excuse not to cast CEE actors who cannot assume a 'neutral' Irish accent; on the other, it is used to allow non-CEE actors to perform those ethnically specific roles that do exist. This casting discrimination echoes larger trends of accent discrimination faced by CEE individuals in Ireland. For example, Polish participants in one study 'complained that they felt that they did not receive the same level of service

once people heard their accent. They referred to incidents when they heard people speak about them under their breath, or when they were mistreated or verbally abused they were told it was a miscommunication because they did not fully understand the language. Many Poles also felt in some cases that because of their accent they had to prove themselves to an employer in ways that other migrants from western Europe or elsewhere did not' (Johns 39). Here Central and Eastern European migrants in Ireland are identified through—and excluded based on—language and accent. This identification will be harder to define with upcoming generations who have been born or raised in Ireland, with accents and identities to match.[15] Whether these invisible white minorities will be accommodated as Irish through their ability to 'pass'—both visually and verbally—or if new lines of exclusion will continue to be drawn remains to be seen.

If this section has focused on the scale of the global to read how CEE characters are used to solidify Irish whiteness through theatrical touring and tourism to audiences abroad, in the next section I move to the scales of the national and regional. Analysing the Polish characters in Owen McCafferty's *Quietly* and Stacey Gregg's *Shibboleth,* I argue that while new migration and diversity is a subtheme within the dramatic narratives, ultimately both plays are primarily concerned with the ongoing tensions in post-Peace Belfast. Thus, rather than using CEE characters and actors to assert a global brand of Irish whiteness, here they are used to frame the ethnic differences—and unifying whiteness—of Catholic and Protestant Irish for a primarily *internal* Irish audience.

Whiteness Across North and South: *Quietly* and *Shibboleth*

In Stacey Gregg's play *Shibboleth,* Polish migrant worker Yuri appears for his first day on the building site for a new Peace Wall, only to encounter a

[15] The recent 2016 Census notes that while 'the proportion of Poles aged 21 or less remained stable between 2001 and 2016 […] the proportion aged 0-5 halved. [..] This can be partially explained by an increase in the number of children of Polish parents classified as dual-Irish'. Further, 'Among mixed Irish/Polish households the age profile of Polish persons is, as expected concentrated in the 25 to 50 age group while those classified as Irish or Irish-Polish were predominantly children under 12 years of age' (*Census of Population 2016 – Profile 7 Migration and Diversity - CSO - Central Statistics Office*).

hostile cohort of Belfast brickies. The two youngest, Mo and Corey, full of unspent aggression and keen to prove themselves to their older peers, are particularly primed to harass the new arrival, especially as they see Yuri as having stolen the job from one of their usual crew. As Mo informs everyone, 'There's some Pole nabbin Dicky's job', reassuring them, 'Don't worry, we'll Look out for the Lads' (Gregg 20). When Yuri appears, Mo needles Corey to initiate an attack, prompting:

> MO: Ask him.
> COREY: Ask him what?
> MO: Does he know he looks Polish? (32)

The question's humour is two-fold, the first being simply that this is the best Mo can come up with by way of insult. Earlier in the play Mo had been asking his fellow builders 'What bad words are there for Pole? […] Pole doesn't sound very bad' (19). And the question becomes particularly ridiculous considering that, as a white European, Yuri looks much like everyone else on the building site. Yet Mo's provocation highlights the invented nature of racial and ethnic difference, particularly when it comes to the selective limits of whiteness. In implying that one can 'look' Polish, Mo draws a line between his whiteness and Yuri's.

Mo's distinction of a Polish versus Northern Irish whiteness echoes both the ways in which Polish communities have been racialised in Western European nations, as explored above, and the ways in which whiteness functions dramaturgically within the play itself. In *Shibboleth,* Yuri's Polish whiteness acts as both a foil and a mirror of the remaining sectarian tensions in 'post-Peace Process' Belfast, where ethnicity and otherness are rooted in cultural and historical divides rather than phenotypical difference. And *Shibboleth* is not the only contemporary Irish play about the north that deploys Polishness in this way. Owen McCafferty's *Quietly* similarly places a Polish barman, Robert, as the central witness to the confrontation between Catholic Jimmy and Protestant Ian in the pub that Ian bombed thirty-five years previously, killing Jimmy's father in the process.

In both plays, Polish whiteness acts to highlight how Catholic and Protestant communities in Belfast are at once indistinguishable and

irreconcilable.[16] Indeed, *Quietly* implies that reconciliation—and, thus, political change—is an impossibility, dooming new communities such as the Polish to bear the endless repetition of Troubles violence. If *Shibboleth* is more optimistic about the potential for change, it still envisions the integration of migrants as far easier than the integration of 'Usens' and 'Themens', to use the abstracted parlance of Gregg's brickies. Accordingly, this section examines how whiteness is constructed in Ireland at the scale of the national and the regional, and how both plays use the scale of the body and local sites of conflict to draw the boundaries of whiteness in Northern Ireland. Unlike *Once,* which originated outside of Ireland and was always intended primarily for a global audience, *Quietly* and *Shibboleth* were written expressly for a national audience, as both pieces were commissioned by the Abbey Theatre.[17] And while *Quietly* toured internationally after its Abbey premiere, *Shibboleth* has only ever been staged at the Abbey.[18] As such, both plays speak first and foremost to national concerns about unity, division and the contemporary politics of post-Peace Process reconciliation.

Yet the 'national' scale here is itself fractured: though both plays are set in Northern Ireland and written by Northern Irish playwrights, they

---

[16] In using the terms 'Catholic' and 'Protestant' in this section of analysis, I follows Robbie McVeigh's dichotomy of Northern Ireland's 'two majority ethnic blocs—white British/Protestant/unionist/loyalist and white Irish/Catholic/nationalist/republican' (16), as explored below. However, in using just 'Catholic' and 'Protestant' as community descriptors, I do not mean to equate all Catholic identities as republican or nationalist, or all Protestant identities as unionist or loyalist. Rather, the use of Catholic and Protestant is intended to reflect the broader range of identities in the North, which tend to be characterised by sectarian divide.

[17] *Quietly'*s production history is slightly more complicated; as Connal Parr traces in an article on the play, *Quietly* was originally commissioned by the Royal National Theatre in London; however as the play's writing progressed it shifted from a 'grand exercise with a plethora of characters' to a more focused and intimate piece (538). As such, the National declined to produce the play, and the Abbey 'swooped into seize the commission' (Parr 538). Though the play was not originally commissioned by the Abbey, the production and its intentions ultimately did speak to the national scale as indicated as director Jimmy Fay 'was personally determined to deliver a quintessentially northern play to a southern audience' (Parr 538).

[18] After it's 2012 run at the Abbey's Peacock stage, *Quietly* went on to play at the Edinburgh Fringe Festival in August 2013. It was then revived for a 2014 national and international tour, playing in Letterkenny, Longford, Dublin, Drogheda, Sligo, Castleblayney, Castlebar, Belfast, Virgina (Co. Cavan), Roscommon, Germany, London and Navan before returning to the Peacock for a final run.

premiered in the Republic of Ireland for Irish audiences. However, while legally the two nations are separate entities, socially, culturally and politically north and south remain deeply entwined. As Tom Maguire writes:

> Northern Ireland has never been hermetically sealed from the rest of the island by the creation of the border […] a number of institutions have continued to operate across the whole island including churches, sporting organisations and, notably in this context, both professional theatre and amateur drama organisation. Playwrights, actors, directors and designers have moved between institutions across the border. Both parts of the island have also shared (albeit asymmetrically) influences from the rest of the British Isles and beyond, including, for example, in the development of gender politics, cultural trends and economic changes. Laterally, the development of supranational economic, political and legal organisations have increased the permeability of the border, most notably the European Economic Community and later the European Union (7).[19]

These two plays therefore navigate a liminal kind of Irishness—one that speaks across borders to express both a sense of unified Irishness as well as a Northern Irish specificity. Indeed, it is this very liminality of addressing one's internal Other that I argue prompts the use of Polish characters as a metaphor for invisible differences within the plays.

This (inter)national dynamic is further nuanced by the scale of the region, with both plays set in the urban and political centre of Belfast and performed in the urban and political centre of Dublin. However, these two regions are differently classed, with the imaginary space of the stage populated by Belfast's working class communities—those at the centre of and most impacted by the violence of the Troubles—but being presented to a primarily middle class Dublin audience. This class disparity speaks to the long tradition of conflating authenticity with difference in Irish theatre. As Nicholas Grene argues in *The Politics of Irish Drama*:

> Where Irish drama is received abroad as different by virtue of its Irishness, in Ireland that difference is turned on a gap in a social milieu between characters and audience. This is true not

[19] Of course, this permeability has been recently challenged by the recent Brexit vote, which threatened the reinstatement of a hard border between Ireland and Northern Ireland, an issue that continues to remain unresolved (see O'Toole; 'Brexit').

> only of the western peasants of Synge, Yeats, Gregory, the small town denizens of Murphy or Friel appearing on the stage for the national theatre in the nation's capital, but even of O'Casey's Dublin trilogy where norms of middle class perception frame the spectacle of the tenements. The spaces of Irish drama, like the language of its people, are predicated as being authentic, truly reflecting the speech and behaviour of a reality out there. […] But it is always out there, somewhere other than the metropolitan habitat shared (more or less) by playwright and audience alike (263).

Despite the similar settings of metropolitan, urban capitol, the regional scales of Belfast and Dublin are separated by the gulf of class. This class difference, while working to authenticate the Belfast subjects, also threatens to create hierarchies of whiteness between north and south. In this way, the role of social and economic class within and around the plays speaks to historical and contemporary processes of defining whiteness, and race more broadly, as conflated with socio-economic status. As Theo Goldberg writes, 'Leaving biological interpretations aside […] the primary contemporary uses of *race* accordingly assume significance in terms of class or culture. […] As status, race is simply an index of social standing or rank reflected in terms of criteria like wealth, education, style of life, linguistic capacity, residential location, consumptive capacity, having or lacking respect, and so on' (547).

I argue that the insertion of working class *Polish* characters acts to diffuse this tension, bridging the differences between Irish identities in the face of an even more foreign presence. In this way, while both plays are ostensibly about the violence that continues to haunt the city of Belfast, they are also both reflections of how contemporary Ireland has continued its project of claiming and maintaining Irish whiteness within and across its own borders. Particularly, by framing Polish whiteness as distinct and excluded from Irish whiteness(es), these plays work to bridge the divides between the working class Belfast characters and the middle class theatre audiences of Dublin, while echoing the actual social exclusions and racism faced by Polish communities in the north.

In his analysis of racism in Northern Ireland, Robbie McVeigh highlights how sectarian conflict has created a system of racism that is

particular to the north as 'a number of communities are distinguished by ethnicity from the two majority ethnic blocs—white British/ Protestant/ unionist/ loyalist and white Irish/ Catholic/ nationalist/ republican. While "whiteness" may rarely seem to be a defining feature of either of these blocs, it is clearly a sub-text to both identities' (16). Thus, 'minority ethnic groups experience racism in a particular way precisely because the white majority ethnic bloc in the north of Ireland is deeply divided,' which in turn can undermine anti-racist alliances as 'identity with "one side" may involve further marginalisation from the other' (17). For this reason, McVeigh writes, it is 'particularly difficult to negotiate a place for minority ethnic identity in a situation in which there is no consensus around white identity' (17). While this holds true for communities of colour, this difficulty is perhaps even more challenging for the invisible minorities of CEE communities. In other words, with whiteness already so heavily contested in the traditional divides, finding a space as white Polish becomes exponentially more difficult.

This negotiation of contested whiteness is echoed on stage in *Shibboleth* and *Quietly*, which both employ Polish 'not-quite' whiteness to frame the animosity between two visually indistinguishable communities. In *Shibboleth,* Yuri and his daughter Agnieszka work to make Belfast their home despite discrimination from the majority populations. While Yuri is optimistic, Agnieszka complains, 'God the people here. It's crap. I hear Themens in the shops, little squawks and clucks' (Gregg 12). And while the play traces the eventual integration of the Polish characters, the primary storyline is that of a working class Belfast community as it continues to experience the economic and psychological fall-out from decades of violence. Brickie Alan is resistant to his wife Ruby's desire to send their son Darren to the new integrated school, and older site manager Stuarty struggles to reconcile the sacrifices of the Troubles in a neoliberal Belfast where 'Nothin feels the differ—all the best intentions drain away like piss in a drain night after night bleeds into mornin Prozac and Nescafé and the heart jumps only to the odd chime of religious bells that signify nothing, nothing, nothing—why'd we bother, brother, all that blood for what, for

why, for what…' (43). Meanwhile, the younger generation of brickies, Mo and Corey, struggle with feelings of working class disenfranchisement and the lingering histories of violence that they measure themselves against, with Corey lamenting 'I haven't even had a scrap before, my fair share of Trouble' and Mo echoing 'I was just a child when peace was signed, I haven't touched e'en a mouse' (17). The continued presence of the Troubles is represented on stage by the Wall that is being built by the brickies to separate the two estates of 'Usens' and 'Themens', acting as both an ironic commentary on the dynamics of 'post'-Peace Process Belfast and an active character on stage.

The Polish and Irish characters and their respective story lines come together in the homosocial space of the building site and the heterosexual romance between Agnieszka and Corey. While the work site allows for a sense of camaraderie and mutual respect to arise as Yuri proves himself to be a sociable companion who disrupts the prejudices of his co-workers, it is in Corey and Agnieszka's romance that things come undone. After a run-in with a female city councillor, Corey rages 'Back in the day men were in charge—now they get their balls handed to them on a lazy Susan!' (64). This anger becomes transferred to Agnieszka 'tellin me what to do tellin me slabberin on about graphic flipppen design' and is manifestd in an act of violence that leaves Agnieszka with a black eye (65). The assault is miscredited to Mo, whom the Brickies (including Corey) attack on Yuri's behalf, prompting Mo to kill himself.

Thus the introduction of the Polish characters is used to echo established tropes of conflict in the north and the lingering culture of violent masculinity, but ultimately also to signal a slow and gradual move toward sectarian resolution through interpersonal contact. Particularly, Alan and Yuri's friendship on the building site prompts Alan to change his mind about allowing his son to attend the integrated school, implying that exposure to different communities, rather than barriers between them, is the true key to peace. And though after her attack Agnieszka laments to her father, 'They won't let me be both', this is quickly followed by a sympathetic interaction with Ruby that implies that Agnieszka's experience

of domestic violence has actually initiated her into the community of Belfast women.[20] Through the interaction of differently white characters in the form of Polish and Northern Irish identities, the play sketches out a path to resolution for the differently white communities of Protestant and Catholic in Belfast.

In contrast, *Quietly* is more pessimistic in its use of a Polish character as the silent mediator of long-standing conflict and potential new victim of that violence's legacy. Rather than seeing the presence of Polish whiteness as a model for integration, McCafferty instead adds it to the roster of white identities that will never be fully reconciled, even if they are able to co-exist. *Quietly* is set in a Belfast pub manned by the Polish bartender Robert as the Poland versus Northern Ireland World Cup qualifier match plays in the background. Through text messages throughout the play we get glimpses into Robert's life in Belfast, including an unhappy Polish mistress, a Northern Irish partner waiting at home with their child, and the fact that Robert owes money from gambling over poker. Robert is joined by the Catholic regular Jimmy, who has set the pub as the meeting place for his confrontation with the Protestant Ian. When Ian arrives, we find that it is to apologise for murdering Jimmy's father, who along with six other men were victims of a bomb thrown into that very pub by Ian as a teenager.

McCafferty is explicit about Robert's role as witness to this sectarian encounter. As he waits for Ian's arrival, Jimmy warns Robert that there might be trouble but 'nothin for you to get involved in—ya understan—stay out of it—nothin to do with you' (McCafferty 16). Yet once Ian arrives, Jimmy insists that Robert's presence is actually central to their dialogue as 'Robert will be our committee—our truth an reconciliation committee' (30). As Connal Parr notes, 'Robert is *Quietly's* mainly silent truth commissioner, just listening to the story unfolding […] Simply by listening to this conversation, Robert becomes a vital part of what both men are trying to achieve' (539). However, Robert's role as facilitator makes him more of a

[20] Again, art imitates life: garda figures for 2016 revealed that there were nearly five times more domestic violence incidents recorded in Northern Ireland (29.000) than for the Republic of Ireland (6,000), despite the fact that Northern Ireland has less than half the population size ("Concerns Raised over Domestic Violence Figures").

dramatic device than a fully formed character. Though he insists that he is not interested, Robert does ultimately act as silent witness to the two men's stories, listening as first Jimmy and then Ian recount their experience of that fateful act of violence and its ramifications. Yet despite his attention, at the end of the play there is little hope that the meeting has affected any form of resolution between the two men. Rather, Jimmy and Ian leave at an impasse while Robert is left alone on the stage to face the threat of anti-Polish violence by the unseen youth outside.

If in *Shibboleth* the white Polish characters are used to model how Protestant and Catholic communities in Belfast can come together, in *Quietly* they are used to show how unresolved sectarianism translates into further violence. Yet in both cases, Polish whiteness is used as a transitive property through which either peace or violence can be passed on to the white majority blocs of Belfast. However, in using Polish whiteness in this way, the plays racialise Polish communities as outside of and distinct from the existing majority white identities of Northern Ireland. And because— as Mo's provocation about 'looking' Polish implies—these distinctions of whiteness are invisible, the plays instead define this difference through class tensions and cultural difference.

Both set primarily in spaces of work, *Shibboleth* and *Quietly* also portray how the economic tensions between working class Irish and Polish migrants inform the creation of racial hierarchies. When the brickies learn of Dicky's replacement on the site, they respond:

> BRICKIES: Pole?
> STUARTY: Nabbed Dicky's job?
> BRICKIES: Parasites
> COREY: Bastard (Gregg 19)

Site manager Stuarty greets Yuri's arrival with, 'Look what the European Union brought in' (Gregg 32), and Mo complains, 'We can't get the pay cos they're livin ten to a house and cheaper labour than us and back on an EasyJet. I have a friggen flat-screen TV to pay off for m'ma an I donno where the next job's comin from and I can't do anything else' (53). Gregg's characters echo the rhetoric of fear perpetuated by the EU expansion as they contemplate the loss of jobs to workers whose very exploitation makes them

competitive. Meanwhile when Alan sings the praises of Belfast he exclaims, 'No wonder everyone's comin here. Portuguese, Romanians, Mexicans, Philippinos, Poles. I'd come here too' (20). In doing so, Alan connects the Polish migrants to other more visibly raced groups in the minds of the audience in a nested orientalism as discussed above.

Similar rhetoric operates in *Quietly* in the exchanges between the bartender Robert and local regular Jimmy. Throughout the play the two follow the Poland versus Northern Ireland match on the television, with their banter about the teams acting as coded references to their feelings about national alliances and belonging, feelings that again place Poland and Northern Ireland on a racial continuum defined by economics. When Jimmy argues that Robert should support Northern Ireland over Poland as 'this is home now—the lovely belfast' Robert retorts, 'fuck northern ireland—do you support them?' Jimmy responds, 'not really—but then this place probably hasn't looked after me as well as it's looked after you' (McCafferty 13). Jimmy's sentiment certainly refers to the violence that affected him through the loss of his father, but it also speaks to the disenfranchisement experienced by Jimmy as a working class Catholic man growing up in the Troubles. As he comments later, 'more money here—peace process—when I was a kid no one came here—only people in belfast were belfast people—an british soldiers—the only black men here had uniforms on them' (17). In Jimmy's view, the primary recipients of the economic benefits of the peace process are those who were least affected by the conflict that proceeded it. He also conflates the blackness of the British soldier with the new arrivals of Polish migrants as interlopers in a country that is not theirs. Yet even through his clear disdain for his country of origin, Jimmy continues to insist on Northern Ireland's superiority to Poland, quipping:

> JIMMY: poland are shite
> ROBERT: so are northern ireland
> JIMMY: less shite (24).

In an inverse of Alan's positive endorsement in *Shibboleth*, Jimmy invokes a nested orientalism in which Northern Ireland is at least not the bottom rung.

By casting working class Irish communities as in economic competition with Polish migrants, these plays echo the historical processes through which the Irish claimed whiteness abroad. As Noel Ignatiev notes, for Irish workers in America, '[t]o enter the white race was a strategy to secure an advantage in a competitive society' (2). Rather than embracing the racialisation of Irishness in political alliance with similarly oppressed black communities, the Irish instead worked to distance themselves from blackness, aided by their phenotypical similarity to American whiteness. As David Roediger writes:

> The making of the Irish worker into a white worker was thus a two-sided process. On the one hand […] Irish immigrants won acceptance as whites among the larger American population. On the other hand […] the Irish themselves came to insist on their own whiteness and on white supremacy. The success of the Irish in being recognized as white resulted largely from the political power of Irish and other immigrant voters. The imperative to define themselves as white came from the particular "public and psychological wages" whiteness afforded to a desperate rural and often preindustrial Irish population coming to labor in industrializing American cities' (137).

In a similar moment where neoliberalism rather than industrialisation threatens working class Irish communities within their own borders, the process of again differentiating whiteness from competing populations comes into play. Additionally, the conflict between two different working class communities allows middle class southern Irish audiences to align themselves with the Northern Irish characters, despite their own class differences.

However, while in America the Irish could rely on visual difference to African Americans to assist in assimilation, with Polishness the visual similarity makes differentiation a challenge. Within the plays, cultural markers are used to demarcate identities, but these are often, and often intentionally, superficial. For example, in *Quietly* Robert complains 'you all drink harp—harp is dog piss—should drink good polish beer' (McCafferty 22). Significantly, this statement is delivered to the Protestant Ian, though it echoes an earlier conversation held by Robert and Jimmy. Thus Robert's

'you all' seems to encompass both of the majority blocs, uniting them by contrasting them to the Polish interloper.

In *Shibboleth,* Gregg actively works to demonstrate how ideas of cultural difference are often just stereotypes by highlighting the similarities and shared interests between Yuri and his Belfast co-workers. When Yuri begins humming a tune, Mo asks, 'What's that? Some Polish shite?' to which Yuri replies, 'Johnny Cash' and the Brickies chime in, 'Bit of Johnny, nice' (43).[21] Gregg further disrupts the constructs of class, culture and ethnicity by revealing that Yuri in fact has a college degree, was a quantity surveyor in Poland and is ethnically Ukrainian on his mother's side. She also uses Yuri's character to draw parallels between Northern Irish and Polish histories of occupation, partition and economic migration. Thus not even cultural difference is a reliable barometer of whiteness.

Ultimately, the primary distinction between Polish and Northern Irish whiteness is that of accent. Indeed, it is the shared and distinct Belfast accent that allows Gregg to play with the ambiguity of Usens and Themens, as sectarian divisions are both visually and aurally unmarked. In contrast, the Polishness of the characters in both plays comes through less in what the characters say and more in how they say it. Unlike in *Once*, both *Shibboleth* and *Quietly* employed Polish actors, with Yuri performed by Piotr Baumann and Robert played by Robert Zawadzki. This casting allowed not only opportunities for Polish actors in Ireland to appear on the national stage, but also lent authenticity to the productions themselves, particularly in *Quietly* with its gritty realist aesthetic. At the same time, these Polish characters continue to be authored by Irish playwrights, decentring their stories and relying on established tropes of Polishness in Ireland, and the professional opportunities that they offered remained limited.[22]

---

[21] Of course Johnny Cash himself is an export from America, so the reference here also acts as an ironic commentary on the collapsing of borders and the erasure of distinct national culture in the face of globalisation's hegemony.

[22] As explored in this chapter, Gregg is much more conscientious of disrupting these stereotypes and presenting faceted and developed Polish characters in her play. However, Yuri and Agnieszka still do remain outside of the primary storyline of Alan, Ruby and their community.

It is worth noting here the work of Polish Theatre Ireland (PTI) as a comparative model for Polish-Irish collaboration and approaches to voice and language. Formed in Dublin in 2008 by Kasia Lech, Helen McNulty and Anna Wolf, PTI brought together Irish and Polish theatre makers to stage the works of contemporary Polish dramatists. In the company's mission statement, PTI states that it 'merges the qualities of the Irish theatrical tradition with the nature of Polish drama to create a **new voice** in the Irish cultural scene […] providing a **platform** for Polish immigrants to have a place in the Irish cultural sector befitting their skill, expertise and experience' ("Mission Statement", emphasis in original). Working with an international cast of actors, PTI has used a range of approaches to language, including staging the same play in English and Polish on alternating nights, using a wide mix of the actors' languages all together, and translating from Polish into English with primarily Irish actors. Further, PTI conscientiously chose work with themes that would speak across cultural divides, not only addressing the significant population of Polish in Ireland, but also Irish audiences as well. Thus the work of PTI is much more of an intercultural dialogue that fits within the established frameworks of intercultural theatre and cultural exchange.

In contrast, in *Shibboleth* and *Quietly* this cultural exchange exists only as imagined by an Irish playwright. Though both productions cast Polish actors, the agency that these actors had within the productions themselves is curtailed by the hierarchies of the literary form, where author and director take precedence. If the Polish characters within these plays act mostly as devices for the Irish storylines, then the Polish actors act mostly as authenticating agents that come complete with 'real' Polish accents. While all actors are often constrained to the roles available to them, this lack of agentive voice becomes pronounced when there are so few roles for Polish actors in Irish theatre—not just as Polish characters but also as non-Polish ones due to the restrictions of casting and accents as explored above. In this way, the cross-ethnic performance is the character's Irish-authored voice on the page, even as the actors on stage play their own ethnicity.

Further complicating the issue of accent, difference and representation is the character and casting of Agnieszka in the Abbey production of *Shibboleth.* Agnieszka represents the next generation of Ireland—a minority ethnic character who is growing up with an Irish background. After being beaten by Corey, Agnieszka bitterly notes that Belfast has rejected her mixed identity, 'Even though I sound like them' (Gregg 67). It is this line that presumably prompted the Abbey to cast Northern Irish actress Sophie Harkness over a Polish actress, as Agnieszka's audible similarity is key in defining her as a different generation than her father. Yet in the script Agnieszka also pronounces herself as bilingual, and the stage directions that introduce Agnieszka and Yuri suggests that their exchange 'might be performed in Polish with English surtitles. Agnieszka may mix English and Polish' (Gregg 8)—a suggestion that was ignored in the 2015 production. Instead, the staging privileged an English-speaking audience and the specificity of a Belfast accent over a Polish-speaking audience and the specificity of a child growing up in a Polish-speaking household.

On the scale of the individual, then, and through the use of voice and accent these Polish characters and the actors that perform them reveal hierarchies of whiteness within Ireland both north and south. Through the use of accent and voice, white bodies are racially marked along boundaries of belonging, working in conjunction with the plays' narratives to construct a Northern Irish identity that—though internally fractured—remains distinct from Polish whiteness. When Robert challenges Jimmy's phrasing of the conflict as 'between us and the poles' with 'us—I thought you didn't support them', Jimmy—and the plays—ultimately concede, 'like it or not it's still us' (McCafferty 15). Even those who, like Agnieszka, can pass as Irish both visually and aurally, remain outside of Irish belonging through a theatrical act of ethnic essentialism. This exclusion is itself informed by traditional divisions of whiteness in Belfast, and is compounded by the scale of local sites of conflict.

Both plays locate their intercultural Polish bodies in spaces of construction and destruction, signaling towards the ways in which the

reverberations of violence continue to echo—and are inescapably engrained in—the landscape of contemporary Belfast. The once-bombed pub and the Peace Wall building site operate as palimpsestic spaces of conflict in which whiteness becomes layered and hierarchical, with the historic concerns of sectarian tensions in Belfast becoming overlaid and thus over-determining the contemporary anxieties around inward migration. In their respective plays Yuri, Robert and Agnieszka become both witnesses to and new targets of the violence that continues to bleed from one generation into the next.

At the opening of *Shibboleth,* for example, Mo complains of Polish workers, 'Themens have the jobs on the farms, hospitality, domestic, taxi-in. There should be like, border-control', to which housewife Ruby responds, 'O do y'think Mo? Cos that worked out dead good last time' (Gregg 13–14). Mo's sentiment frames the mentality of migrants as 'Themens' as a continuation of the legacy of 'Themens' as sectarian opposition, where the only solution is the redrawing of impossible borders. Itself an impossible border, The Wall functions in the play an active agent and listed character that hums, sings, speaks, growls, commands 'BUILD ME/BUILD ME/BUILD ME' (6). Every moment of violence in the play is instigated and encouraged by The Wall, reflecting the lived experience of violence in Belfast.

Originally introduced by the Stormont government in 1969 to mediate the escalating conflict, the peace walls have instead 'institutionalised the separation between the two dominant communities, reinforced different cultural identities and continue to illustrate the deep enduring antagonisms that exist between communities' (Byrne and Gormley-Heenan 448). Rather than reducing violence, then, the barriers became key sites of violence, with a recent survey of the geolocations of Troubles fatalities finding that 'the vast majority […] occurred within segregated communities composed of over 90 percent Catholic or Protestants, within areas of high deprivation […] and close to peacelines' (Mesev et al. 901). This irony is not lost on the characters of the play, with Alan quipping that it's 'like callin prisons "peace houses"' (Gregg 17). And as it encounters new communities The Wall draws them indiscriminately

into its geography of conflict, threatening violence on Yuri before actualising it on Agnieszka.

A similar narrative is enacted in *Quietly* through the space of the once-bombed pub. Indeed the entire play is haunted by the violence of the past as an endless revisiting on the present, not only through Jimmy and Ian's recounting of the events of thirty-five years ago in an ambiguous attempt at reconciliation, but also in the hints of impeding anti-Polish violence that hover on the periphery of the play. When Jimmy first enters the pub he notes, 'a few kids outside on the cider—they give you any grief' and offers to get rid of them for Robert. Robert dismisses them as 'only kids' to which Jimmy responds, 'kids can do more damage than you think' (McCafferty 12), a cloaked reference to the devastation that a sixteen year-old Ian managed to wreak on his own life.

Indeed, a recurring theme in Jimmy and Ian's stories is the rote hatred inculcated into the young men of Belfast. Jimmy recounts his reaction when a Protestant boy in his neighbourhood kicked his new football into the river: 'I beat the fuck out of him […] I was screaming in his face—fuckin orange bastard—it came out of nowhere—fuckin orange bastard' (29). In a parallel moment, Ian describes the moment of the bombing: 'I had the bomb in my hand […] I ran across the pavement—opened the door to the pub—shouted—shouted—fucking fenian bastards—threw the bomb in the bar then ran' (39). This fill-in-the-blank epithet resurfaces when Jimmy and Ian have both left and Robert is left to clean up the pub. As the stage directions describe, 'The kids on the street start beating on the window shutters. They shout abuse […] three-two—three-two—fuckin polish bastard' (54). The play ends with Robert standing with a baseball bat and listening to these voices, anticipating the violence that has been coupled to that phrase throughout the play as the lights fade to black.

Like the violence of The Wall in *Shibboleth*, the threat of racist violence in *Quietly* is a direct reflection of reality. In 2011, just one year before the play premiered at the Abbey, anti-Polish violence erupted in the town of Antrim. As Michael Johns documents, 'In March 2011 a Polish family decided to move away after having their car burnt out. In May 2011

three men were charged with breaking into a Polish house and attacking the occupants. […] in October 2011, a Polish family woke to find a pipe bomb on their windowsill. There were other reports of windows being broken and anti-Polish graffiti found on walls' (38). By restaging this violence against Polish communities in a space of historical sectarian violence, *Quietly,* like *Shibboleth*, casts racism as just another excuse for young men in Belfast to articulate the generational violence that they have inherited and, the plays imply, lies ever dormant within them.

While both *Quietly* and *Shibboleth* feature Polish characters and reflect the realities of anti-Polish racism in the north, their focus remains on resolving the lingering sectarian tensions that continue to simmer not too far below the surface of Belfast. The stories and experiences of Polish communities are incidental to the main action, marginalising these voices even as they are being presented on stage. Using the dramaturgical device of portraying Polish characters as both raced and white allows them to act as both a metaphor for the contested whiteness of Northern Ireland's majority blocs, and as a bridge that unites them—and southern Irish identities—in the face of the even more foreign.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined Central and Eastern European migrants as minority ethnic communities within Ireland and as intercultural figures both in their fictional representations and their lived expressions of identity. I have argued that if historically Ireland attained whiteness abroad through the manipulation of cross-racial performance, in a contemporary context this has occurred through cross-ethnic performances marked by accent rather than visual difference. The form and effect of these tactics vary depending on the scale at which these productions and performances originate and circulate. In the global vehicle of *Once,* non-Czech actors assume Czech accents—and non-Irish actors assume Irish accents—in ways that theatrically authenticate Irishness as a white identity aligned with that of the production's British and American audiences. In contrast, *Quietly* and *Shibboleth* use both Polish and Northern Irish actors and their respective

accents to address the long-standing sectarian conflict of the north and align Irish communities on both sides of an inter/intra-national scale.

In all of these productions, Irish playwrights appropriate the voices of CEE characters in order to comment on contemporary Irish identity, mobilising a nested orientalism that works to other CEE identities and place Irishness more firmly within European whiteness. This theatrical device thus replicates the social exclusions and inequalities experienced not only by CEE performers in Ireland who struggle to find work in the Irish performing industries, but also the broader narratives of racism and discrimination that CEE communities in Ireland have encountered as invisible minorities. Reading the minority ethnic characters and communities as intercultural figures thus allows us to examine whiteness as a variegated category and expose the ways in which is it constructed and hierarchically enforced.

Where this chapter has focused on voice, the next moves away from speech entirely, turning instead to the body as maker of meaning. As such, it investigates how dance as an embodied and somatic performance form might make space for the self-authorship of mixed race and minority ethnic Irish identities and broaden understandings of Irishness. By again contrasting case studies that originate and circulate at different scales, the following chapter builds on this chapter's analysis of how not only content but also processes of creation and consumption work to variously accommodate or restrict intercultural Irish identities.

Chapter Four: Dancing Across the Scales, The Intercultural Body in Performance

So far this thesis has examined how the intercultural figure can be read across geographic and temporal scales through the performance forms of theatre and sport. In this chapter I turn to dance and dance theatre in Ireland as spaces in which understandings of the Irish body—both as a raced subject and as a political collective—can be negotiated and (re)conceived through the performances of minority ethnic individuals. Structured around close readings of two recent Irish dance performances, Fabulous Beast Dance Theatre's *Rian* (2011) and Riverdream Production's *Riverdance: Hearbeat of Home* (2013), I argue that dance combines the narrative aspect of theatre with the somatic aspect of sport in ways that allow for not only the inclusion of minority ethnic identities into understandings of Irishness, but also greater agency for the intercultural figure to author these identities. However, this agency is again relative to the scales not only of performance but, critically, the process of production itself.

On the surface, *Heartbeat of Home* and *Rian* have quite similar themes and performance trajectories. Both productions blend choreographic, musical and visual signifiers to create utopic visions of Ireland and Irish belonging in a post-Celtic Tiger society. As the sequel production to the original *Riverdance*, *Heartbeat of Home* combines Irish step dance with Latin, Flamenco and Afro-Cuban dance styles to depict the diasporic journey of disparate cultures to a new, shared land. Similarly, *Rian* draws on the movement vocabulary of an international cast of dancers to devise a choreography performed to a traditional Irish music score. Both productions were created and premiered in Ireland before circulating on similar—though differently inflected—scales of international dance touring circuits that included North America, Europe and Asia. And as self-defined 'Irish' dance works, both *Heartbeat of Home* and *Rian* are in dialogue with the historic scales of Irish dance, where the body has been coded and regulated over time by larger Irish nationalist projects as well as contemporary discourses of the global Irish brand. Yet significantly, while both productions are

framed and marketed through narratives of Irishness, both employ casts of dancers that are majority non-Irish born.[1]

While these performances have very similar themes and are influenced along similar scales, they differ significantly when it comes to their models of production. Dance scholar Jo Butterworth proposes a Didactic-Democratic framework model for the creation of dance work in which the relationship of the choreographer and the dancer range from 'choreographer as expert, dancer as instrument' to both choreographer and dancer as co-owners (178). In its production process, *Heartbeat of Home* is more closely aligned to the didactic model, with a clear hierarchy of producers, directors and choreographers controlling the themes, narratives and movement choices, and dancers acting as commodified and interchangeable vessels to contain them. On stage this didactic model resulted in a globalised narrative of multiculturalism and the essentiaising of both Irish and Other identities, which was projected onto the bodies of the dance troupe through movement and staging.

In contrast, *Rian* took a more democratic and collaborative approach to creating a movement vocabulary through which to articulate Irishness. Similar to the processes of Pina Bausch, artistic director Michael Keegan-Dolan worked with his dancers' embodied archives to generate 108 discrete movements that were then used to build the choreography of the piece. By juxtaposing traditional Irish music and visual signifiers with this collective physical repertoire, *Rian* produced an inclusive vision of the Irish body, symbolically presenting on stage a version of both Irish dance and the Irish nation based on democratic participation and (inter)cultural fluidity. Thus the ways in which the dancers in *Heartbeat of Home* and *Rian* were ultimately framed in performance were greatly influenced by how they were framed in the production process itself, resulting in very different versions of what a utopic and inclusive Ireland might look like.

[1] In the original cast of *Heartbeat of Home* only three of the twenty-nine dancers were born in Ireland or Northern Ireland, and all three of these were in the Irish dance troupe. Of the remaining Irish dancers, six were born in the UK, six were born in Australia, three were from Canada and two were from the US, thus reflecting the show's emphasis on the Irish diaspora. In *Rian* none of the dancers are Irish-born.

As such, I read both productions along a range of interrelated scales that include the scale of the body as expressed by individual dancers, the national and historic scale of Irish dancing, the scale of the production in performance, the scale of the rehearsal room in which those performances were forged, and the international scale of touring and audience reception. In doing so I highlight the relationship between agency in the production process and representation on stage, and the ways in which the intercultural body itself speaks through movement. In this way, the 'body is not just a vessel through which the primary means of communication occurs, but the fundamental source and stimulus of lived experience, interpersonal politics and socio-political relations with the world' (Mitra 42).

Irish dance and dance theatre are potent sites in which to navigate ideas of identity and belonging, as they combine many of the elements examined in isolation in the previous chapters. Issues of narrative, movement, voice and self-representation all converge in dance—a form that straddles sport and art, the abstract and the concrete, technique and expression. As in sport, dance allows for the inclusion of bodies that can be successfully disciplined to perform specific codified motions and movement. And like theatre, dance communicates stories through bodies on stage that can challenge, reflect or reinforce larger social and cultural narratives. I therefore read *Heartbeat of Home* and *Rian* in relation to both sport and theatre. I argue that dance, like sport, creates a (conditional) space of belonging for minority ethnic Irish bodies, but goes farther than sport in presenting explicit narratives of belonging and inclusion. And as an embodied form of expression, dance can create a space in which individual dancers can contribute to and influence understandings of what the Irish body is and how it moves. Compared to the restrictive hierarchies of literary theatre as examined in Chapters One and Three, dance can allow greater agency for the performer to actively contribute to a production's meaning. Indeed, as Aoife McGrath argues in her book *Dance Theatre in Ireland: Revolutionary Moves*, contemporary dance theatre 'shatters the hegemony of the word with a celebration of heterogeneous corporealities' (12).

However, even in embodied expression this agency—as well as the limits of this incorporation—still rely heavily on how these intercultural figures are understood and influenced across geographic scales. In *The Irish Dancing: Cultural Politics and Identities, 1900-2000,* Barbara O'Connor notes that the 'cultural politics of dance operates at the micro-level of the individual dancer through the negotiation of dance norms and practices with others and at a macro-level by organisations and institutions who can determine the predominant meanings of dance and regulate and control dance practice' (9). Therefore, 'while societal institutions may have the power to regulate the dancing body through internalisation of dance norms, dancing bodies have the power to either produce, reproduce, resist, or challenge these same norms' (B. O'Connor 14). In this way the scale of the individual Irish dancer is constantly negotiating higher scales of not only companies and organisations but also historic and global connotations of Irish dance. I therefore analyse *Rian* and *Heartbeat of Home*, as well as key intercultural figures contained within them, through the framework of scalar interculturalism in order to make legible this nested process of negotiation.

To do so, I open the chapter with an exploration of the shared scalar landscape in which both *Heartbeat of Home* and *Rian* were created and circulated, focusing on the history of dance in Ireland. I then use the close reading of *Heartbeat of Home* to examine Irish dance on the scale of the global and diasporic. I argue that *Heartbeat of Home* is an evolution of the global Irish brand that was invoked by its predecessor *Riverdance*—one in which Irishness is performed as a discrete, essentialised and primarily white ethnic identity. I trace how Irish dance as a codified form has circulated and been disseminated through diasporic networks, and how *Heartbeat of Home* draws on these networks in its casting, marketing and production aesthetic. In its circulation in the diaspora, Irish dance has become a vehicle for diverse bodies to code themselves as Irish, and has also provided cross-cultural production in its historic exchange with African-American dance forms. However, while the extra-textual elements of the production emphasise this global reach and changing face of Irish step dancing,

ultimately the production itself adheres to a conservative model of discrete multiculturalism.

In comparison, *Rian* presents a truly *inter*cultural performance of Irish dance that combines the choreographer's and composer's Irish background with the international group of dancers' biography of movement. By using aural and visual signifiers such as traditional Irish music, Irish language, costume and scenography, *Rian* creates a frame of 'Irishness' that encourages audiences to read the dancers' multiethnic bodies and intercultural choreography as equally and authentically Irish. Further, *Rian*'*s* lack of narrative structure allows for an openness that avoids classifying or coding its highly diverse group of dancers along binaries of either/or, Irish and Other. In contrast, though the narrative structure of *Heartbeat of Home* is fairly loose, it still acts as a prescriptive device that directs the audience to read the bodies on stage in ways that limit the boundaries of Irishness. As with the analysis of Ruth Negga's casting at the Abbey and portrayals of Eastern European characters earlier in this thesis, we see how narrative forms, when authored by those outside of a community, repeatedly tend to Other those they are attempting to include.

I then turn to the scale of the production process by analysing the rehearsal techniques and creative hierarchies of both productions, and their subsequent impact on dancers' agency. I conclude the chapter with reception analysis of both productions through which I explore how these productions were read and understood in a national and international context. I argue that while the form and process of these two dance shows are significantly different, their reception as they toured was quite similar, with international audiences demonstrating a greater willingness to imagine an ethnically diverse contemporary Ireland than Irish audiences themselves. By analysing *Heartbeat of Home* and *Rian* across these nested scales of production, performance and reception, we can see how the historic and national scales of a highly regulated, contested and often exclusionary practice of Irish dance are today imbricated within increasingly outward-looking scales of training, collaboration and dissemination, all of which are contained within and can be expressed by the intercultural figure.

The Body and the Nation: Historical Scales of Irish Dancing

When discussing dance in Ireland, even the term 'Irish dance' is one that is hotly contested. In the introduction to her book *The Irish Dancing*, Barbara O'Connor discusses the difficulty of choosing an accurate title for her work. She notes that she 'considered two options, *Irish Dance* and *Dance in Ireland*. However, neither of these could easily capture the content' (17). The first title seemed inadequate because, she explains, while the majority of the book examines 'traditional' Irish dance forms, she also extends her analysis to Irish dance halls and ballroom dancing. Yet, she argues 'whether dancing is categorised as Irish or not is dependent not just on the perceived origins of the dance genre itself, but on other factors such as the location, the music, the ethnic origins of the people who attend or, indeed, the "techniques of the body" that have an Irish cultural valence' (17). Meanwhile the second option seemed to exclude her discussion of Irish dance in the diaspora—Irish dance outside of Ireland. O'Connor's difficulty in classifying exactly what we are referencing when we say 'Irish dance' is a common theme in studies of and around Irish dance. As Catherine Foley writes, 'Currently, in Ireland, there are multiple and distinct notions and understandings regarding what "Irish dance" is or is not. The label is used loosely, and its meaning would very much depend on the dance background of the dancer; the phrase "Irish dance" means something quite different to an Irish step dancer, and a ballet dancer, or a contemporary dancer in Ireland' ("Ethnochoreology" 149). In the end, O'Connor 'opted for *The Irish Dancing* as the most appropriate, since the main narrative […] is about the changing character of their cultural identities as danced by the Irish over the course of the twentieth century' (17).

This chapter take a similarly all-inclusive approach to the term 'Irish dance', using it to refer to both a recognisably Irish form of dance engaged in by both Irish and non-Irish bodies, and as dancing—regardless of form—that happens in Ireland and engages both Irish and non-Irish bodies.[2] Like

[2] Due to the nature of the case studies under discussion, the focus will be on dance and dance theatre rather than popular or recreational dance forms, though these

O'Connor, I find that this expansive use of the term 'Irish dance' allows me to put into conversation different styles and scales of dancing in and around Ireland in ways that make visible the politics and impact of dance as a form of national expression. Further, using the phrase 'Irish dance' when speaking about all contemporary dance practices in Ireland, regardless of form or the ethnicity of those who engage in it, advocates for a more inclusive understanding of Irishness itself.

Dance studies is a particularly rich lens through which to investigate expressions of national belonging and identity as nested within an intercultural figure. Perhaps more so than in any other discipline, in dance studies the body itself is read as both site and agent. For example, Susan Foster writes that '[d]ance is uniquely adept at configuring relations between body, self, and society through its choreographic decisions' as 'choreographic conventions can be seen as particular stagings of the body's participation in the larger performance of the body politic' (*Choreography & Narrative* xv–xvi). Similarly, Aoife McGrath writes, '[h]ow bodies are organised in time and space in a performance can then be read in relation to how bodies are organised in society, producing a correlation between the dancing body and the body politic' (3). However, the body in these moments of performance is dialectic, acting as both receptacle and generator of choreographic moments. Thus, as O'Connor notes, '[i]ndividual dancing bodies […] are not merely reflective of the social order, but are simultaneously active agents in the making of that order' (14). Indeed, Foster argues that '[d]ance, perhaps more than any other body-centred endeavor, cultivates a body that initiates as well as responds' (*Choreographing History* 205). Very much like the Homeless Vehicle as explored in the Introduction, dance choreography on stage allows the body to jump scale and make hypervisible the social and political scales in which they are situated and by which they are informed. In Ireland, one of the most influential scales informing these dancing bodies is the historic scale of cultural nationalism that continues to frame understandings of dance in Ireland.

---

would be a rich area for future research on expressions of intercultural Irish identities.

Like many of the other cultural practices examined in this thesis, dance in Ireland has long been embroiled with issues of Irish nationalism. Irish dance scholars such as Barbara O'Connor, Helen Brennan, Helena Wulff and Deirdre Mulrooney and dance historians such as Breandán Breathnach and Mary Friel have in various ways examined how 'tradition'—and, indeed, 'Irish'—have been fraught terms when applied to Irish dance. This is due to the fact that what is today considered 'traditional' Irish dance is an invented tradition that, like the Gaelic games, was intentionally crafted by the cultural institution of the Gaelic League. As Friel notes, 'what is now considered traditional Irish dance was simply contemporary social dancing that took selected elements of itself and carried them on' (9). This selection process was initially orchestrated by the Gaelic League, and later enforced by the Catholic Church and the Irish state.

Sharon Phelan writes that '[t]he turn of the twentieth century was a turning point in Irish dance. The Gaelic League aimed to formalise the traditional dance system; this would involve a regulated teaching system, supervised dance events and an approved repertoire' (127). Established in 1893, the Gaelic League was initially primarily interested in a revival of the Irish language. However, inspired by the success of the Scottish *céilithe* in London and keenly feeling the lack of social events in their cultural offerings, the Gaelic League hosted its own first *céilí* in London on 30 October 1897. From the beginning the Gaelic League was keen to cultivate an acceptable and specifically Irish dance repertoire, which led to fierce debates among members and put the League in tension with traditional Irish dance masters. O'Connor argues that due to the League's influence, 'dance was not just a static reflection of an "organic" culture but rather was being continuously shaped by the individuals and groups involved in the making of that culture' (27). Helen Brennan writes of the heated debates that raged in the columns of the League's newspaper over which forms of dance should be officially recognised and which should be censured as corrupting foreign imports. She notes that while the 'white-hot emotions which informed much of the contributions may seem, at this remove, somewhat

over-stated and comical […] they provide a fascinating insight into what was, in essence, a cultural civil war with dance as the arena of combat' (31).

This cultural war was, of course, not purely civil, but a response to the colonising force of the English presence in Ireland. A significant aspect of the Gaelic League's dance curation, like the parallel development of Gaelic games, was the desire to craft an embodiment of a racially distinct and positive Irish nationalism expressed through the body. As O'Connor describes it, 'Cultural Revivalists sought to bring into being an Irish dancing body that would be appropriate for expressing the spirit of the Irish nation' (37). She notes how

> many revivalists were eager to copy the embodied practices that would confer high/er status, either moral or social, and this applied to dance as much as to other embodied practices. The efforts to shape the dancing body to reflect the body politic led […] to three main objectives: to create a canon that was purely Irish and untainted by foreign influences, to establish and maintain appropriate gender roles in dance and to cultivate the "civilised" body in dance (25).

Yet, much as the discourse of the Gaelic games was indebted to English schoolboy athleticism, this civilised Irish dancing body was necessarily premised on an aspirational white British body. This body was 'imagined as tall, muscular, with eyes straight ahead and body at attention' (B. O'Connor 22), a description that perfectly encapsulates the stiff, straight, upright posture of the Irish step dancer. In reading historic dance instruction manuals published by the Gaelic League, O'Connor observes that '[t]he kind of posture and movement that the authors call for in the dancing body may be seen to correspond to values such as dignity/stateliness, uprightness/honesty, restraint, modesty, ease, grace, authenticity and national pride, called for in the body politic of the Irish nation' (31). In this way the Gaelic League shaped the dancing Irish body to reflect the ideal Irish body politic, attempting to mimic the idealised English body while simultaneously disguising this mimicry in a recognisably distinct Irish form.

Moe Meyer highlights this tension in his article 'Mapping the Body Politic: Embodying Political Geography in Irish Dance'. Meyer opens the piece by recounting the folklore surrounding the mystery of the immobilised

arms that are the visual trademark of 'traditional' Irish step dance. He writes that though there are multiple explanations provided for these stiff arms, glued to the side as the legs move freely, '[w]hat these stories have in common is the belief that the lack of upper-body movement was a response to English colonialism and oppression'—a way to disguise dancing as dancing from a time when the practice was illegal (67). Meyer, however, argues that while this distinct embodiment is certainly the result of English colonialism, its origin is actually *self* disciplinary.

Tracing the entangled history of politics and culture in the formation of Irish dance, Meyer argues that the influence of Sinn Fein on the Gaelic League from 1904 onwards prompted 'a nationalist cleansing of the art of dance' (69). He describes how the League 'began to draw rigid parameters around the concept of applied nationalism and to decide just what kinds of expression were suitable and acceptable for this agenda' (70). To this end, they established *An Coimisiun le Rinci Gaelacha* (The Irish Dancing Commission) which,

> until just a few years ago, was composed of 30 members, only eight of whom were dancemasters while the remainder were Gaelic League officials. It is this body that, to this day, controls virtually every aspect of Irish dance from transmission to performance. Their control is absolute and it is not possible to teach, learn, or perform without the approval of the Commission. Today, the offices of *An Coimisiun* are still housed in the old Sinn Fein building on Harcourt Street in Dublin (70).

Meyer thus highlights the impact that cultural nationalism continues to exert on Irish dance, not just through the Commission and its location's associations, but on the Irish dancing body itself. As Meyer argues, in regulating Irish dance the Commission had to negotiate the dancemasters' desire for artistic freedom with the League's need for a set and standardised repertoire. Ultimately, this resulted in a compromise through the territorialisation of the Irish body in which

> the arms were pinned to the sides of the body in order to put an end to the overly zealous innovations of the choreographers and their introduction of foreign elements in the dance. It was a trade—the League got the upper half of the body and the dancemasters got the legs and feet to do as

> they wished. The Irish dancing body is a glyph of the marriage of art and politics (Meyer 71).

This civil war of Irish dance, with its tensions between rural tradition and urbanised control writ large on the Irish dancing body, was to have far-reaching consequences for the future of dance in Ireland. As Catherine Foley challenges, '[t]o what extent does An Coimisiún—or any institution or organization in Ireland—actually speak for Irish dance or Irish dancing? […] [T]he Irish nation is not only one voice; it is multivocal, and consists of multiple identities' ("Ethnochoreology" 149). Yet through the institutionalising efforts of the Gaelic League, 'different regional dance styles and repertoires became gradually marginalized at the expense of promoting and disseminating the institutionalized "national canon"' (Foley, "Ethnochoreology" 148). The ethnochoreological work of Foley and other scholars such as Helen Brennan and Frank Hall seek to retrieve this multivocality and disrupt essentialising discourses around dance and nation.[3] Further, this work seeks to illuminate how the competing scales of the rural and the metropole, the individual and the institutional, and local tradition and national culture complicate monolithic understandings of Irish dance.

Thus the cultural and political debates around Irish dance and the Irish body were well established long before contemporary discourses around migration, integration and diversity. And while ethnochoreological explorations are a vital tool for reclaiming the lost histories of these diverse danced identities, contemporary Irish dance continues to push at the definitions of Irish dancing as the form looks to the future. By analysing *Heartbeat of Home* and *Rian* with their international and multi-ethnic ensembles, we can investigate Irish dance's political potential to expand these historically—and currently—prescribed understandings of Irish identity as embodied through Irish dance. I begin with an analysis of

[3] Ethnochoreography, also known as dance ethnography, is the anthropological study of dance and is closely related to ethnomusicology. According to the University of Limerick, which offers an MA in Ethnomusicology overseen by Catherine Foley, the approach 'embraces Anthropology, Cultural Studies, Gender Studies, Area Studies and Education in addition to other relevant areas in Dance Studies' ("Ethnochoreology MA").

Heartbeat of Home, which actively incorporates a specific branded version of traditional Irish dancing, to discuss both the produce and process of performance along the scales of the global and diasporic.

Riverdance and *Heartbeat of Home*: Irish Dance in the Global(ised) Diaspora

Heartbeat of Home premiered on 2 October 2013 at the Bord Gáis Energy Theatre in Dublin. A spin-off production of the original—and still touring—*Riverdance* show, *Heartbeat of Home* is similar to its predecessor in that both shows present Irishness as one of multiple co-existing ethnic identities that move from an essentialised homeland to meet in a diasporic New World. However, where *Riverdance* presented this narrative in an imagined past, *Heartbeat of Home* shifts it to an imagined present. In doing so, *Heartbeat of Home* focuses much more heavily on the theme of diaspora, both in its production process (including its casting campaign), its attendant marketing and in the stage performance itself. While *Heartbeat of Home* has been sold, and mostly read, on the level of a more inclusive Irishness meant to reflect the contemporary diversity of Irish identities, the show's hierarchical production process and multicultural narrative framing undermines this proposed integration. Instead, *Heartbeat of Home* continues to reify a white Irish identity by placing it at the top of a danced ethnic hierarchy that is articulated through choreography, casting and set and costume design.

In order to fully understand *Heartbeat of Home,* we must first look at *Riverdance*, both as *Heartbeat*'s parent production and as a defining cultural event that has impacted the landscape of Irish dance as a whole. Indeed, it is nearly impossible to discuss dance in Ireland without at least acknowledging *Riverdance*, perhaps the single most significant moment in Irish dance history. Originally a seven-minute interval act for the 1994 Eurovision Song Contest, *Riverdance* was developed into a full-length performance by Moya Doherty and John McColgan under their company

Tyrone Productions, and premiered in Dublin on 9 February 1995.[4] As of 2015, twenty years since the show's debut, *Riverdance* had 11,000 performances, 25 million viewers and a gross revenue of over €1 billion ("20 Years of 'Riverdance' by the Numbers").

While the literature around *Riverdance* ranges from the celebratory to the scathing, both perspectives tend to focus on the globalised nature of the performance and its particular brand of Irishness. As Barbara O'Connor summarises the two main threads of argument, *Riverdance*

> could be seen to construct a global identity that was strongly influenced by the globalisation process, leading to a branding of Irishness that was strategic, depoliticised and commodified. On the other hand, it was arguably a source of rejuvenation for traditional Irish culture and a sign of a confident society that was coming of age, proud of its achievements on the world stage (17).

Accordingly, the show's advocates saw *Riverdance* as the articulation of a new Ireland that was emerging into Celtic Tiger economic success and possessed new global cultural capital. For example, Natasha Casey argues that the show embodied 'a new respectable Irishness, neoteric and traditional, spiritual rather than religious, sanitized—devoid of both political signifiers and […] stage leprechauns' (12). And as Hazel Carby summarises the production, '*Riverdance* is the cultural vision of the economic narrative of the Irish as the success story of the new Europe' (329).

The show's detractors would certainly agree with this assessment, but not in its favour. Many have critiqued the production as part of a larger commodification of Irishness on a global scale, where 'traditional culture is taken, repackaged and sold back to the original owners of that culture' (B. O'Connor 129–30). G. Honor Fagan similarly argues that the 'spectacle of *Riverdance*, the music of the Chieftains and the "new" Irish films cannot be understood as national cultural forms. They may be partly constructed locally but it is with reference to a global cultural market: they are local cultural keys turning global locks' (117). And Liam Fay refers to

[4] Tyrone Productions is also the production company responsible for the 2016 *Laochra* performance, commissioned by the GAA, which was discussed in Chapter Two.

Riverdance as part of an 'ongoing campaign to sell Ireland abroad and to ourselves as a bucolic idyll peopled with happy-clappy bodhán rapping riverdancing rustics' (Fay).[5] Thus a huge part of *Riverdance's* success was the fact that it so successfully encapsulated—and, in doing so, reified—the global scale of the Irish brand.

Instrumental to this reification were the dancing bodies at the centre of the *Riverdance* spectacle, whose corporeal presences were inscribed with larger narratives around the Irish national body. McGrath notes the connection to global capitalism as well as the historic regulation of the Irish dancing body when she writes that the 'step-dancing bodies in the piece are perhaps no longer overtly performing a dance of exclusionary nationalism, but their demonstration of synchronisation advertises their ability to be economically "in step" with the global market' (7). McGrath also argues that 'chorus line scenes in the show can be read as spectacular displays of corporeal conformity and the subjugation of the body to an external force' (7). Donncha Kavanagh, Carmen Kuhling and Kieran Keohane go even farther in criticising the production's 'disciplined bodies, subjectified, transformed, improved and put to work as surely as the bodies of the patient, the prisoner or the proletariat forensically described by Foucault' (738). For its critics, *Riverdance,* its global success, and its treatment of the Irish dancing body all reflected the larger neoliberal turn in Celtic Tiger Ireland and its impact on the Irish citizen.

Yet though it certainly can be argued that *Riverdance* offers a reductive and commoditised version of Irish culture, it also promoted an

[5] It is also worth noting that earlier in the article, which pits the 'New Irish' of Celtic Tiger Ireland against old school 'Paddies', Fay writes that these two cultural groups 'could no more be said to share an identity in any real sense than could the Japs and the Yaps, the Hutus and the Tutsis' and that, '[l]ike many another despised minority before them, Paddies have decided to strike back by any means necessary. In the same way that gays started to use the word "queer" as a badge of honour and blacks proudly declared themselves to be "niggers", Paddies have begun to confidently reclaim their name' (Fay). He goes on to describe Shane McGowan's latest album at the time, *The Crock of Gold*, with tracks such as 'Paddy Rolling Stone,' 'Rock 'n' Roll Paddy' and 'Paddy Public Enemy Number One' as 'the glorious sounds of Paddyz With Attitude' (Fay). Here we see again how the long-standing tropes of blackness continue to be appropriated to describe a particularly subaltern form of Irish identity, as well as the casual racism that allowed such statements to be published in Ireland's largest-selling newspaper.

expansion of Irish dance both within Ireland and around the world. Indeed, Foley observes the irony that the very 'commodification of Irish step dance practice […] has acted as a major catalyst for the emergence of marginal dance practices and has reenergised the Irish step dance tradition' ("Perceptions" 34). This reclamation of lost histories was also matched by an increase in interest among new generations of Irish dancers. In her interviews with dancers who perform in *Riverdance*-style shows in Ireland, O'Connor discovered that 'the success of *Riverdance* internationally made step dance much more acceptable to their school classmates and friends, so that they no longer concealed the fact that they did Irish dancing. Irish step dance was now "cool"' (135). As one respondent observed, 'before, it was older people only who enjoyed Irish dancing; now everyone loves it and thinks you are great' (136).

This interest in Irish step dancing was not only reinvigorated within Ireland but spread throughout the world in the wake of the *Riverdance* tours. As such, the scale of the diaspora here refers not only to that of the Irish diaspora, as explored in previous chapters, but also the diaspora of Irish dance as a form of dance training. Irish dance, like Irish sport, has long acted as a way for diasporic Irish communities to practice their heritage culture; in countries such as the United States, Canada and Australia where there are long-standing Irish diasporic communities, step dancing schools have flourished and multiplied post-*Riverdance*. As a result, dancers around the world and from a range of ethnic backgrounds have begun to train in Irish dance in significant numbers. If Irish dance was traditionally a marker of cultural heritage for Irish communities abroad, post-*Riverdance* it has become a style of dance training that sits besides other technical training forms such as ballet, ballroom, hip hop or tap—circulating independently of ethnic origins and open to all takers.

Casting *Heartbeat* Through the Diaspora

It is this diasporic dissemination of Irish dance that the producers of *Heartbeat of Home* seized on in both their casting practices and performance concept. In an online campaign modelled on reality television

competitions, Irish dancers around the world were invited to audition for the production by video submission on YouTube. The judges—which included producer-director John McColgan, assistant director Padraic Moyles, choreographer David Bolger and TV personality Dearbhla Lennon—asked that dancers be 'original, creative and to show us the Heartbeat of their Home' ("Talent Search"). In the end, they received video submissions from 168 dancers across seventeen countries, including Ireland, Russia, Canada, Australia, Brazil, France, the UK, Poland, Mexico, Bulgaria, South Korea, the Philippines, Romania and the USA ("Talent Search"). The public was then allowed to vote for their favourites, and the judges invited twenty dancers to audition in person in Dublin based on the results of that vote as well as the judges' assessment. Of these twenty, ten were ultimately offered roles in the company.

Many of those who submitted audition videos through the online competition had no personal Irish connection, but instead demonstrated the diversity of the Irish dance community today. Particularly, those who earned roles in the production through the online competition exemplify how Irish dance today acts as much as a dance technique as it does a symbol of Irish identity. For example, Fred Nguyen—who will be discussed in detail later in the chapter—is Vietnamese-Canadian. In his audition video he is accompanied by Afro-Cuban percussionist and vocalist Israel Toto Berriel, and his spoken introduction highlighted his multicultural experience as a Vancouver native.[6] Australian sisters Gianna Petracic and Natasia Petracic are of Croatian, Argentinian and Uruguayan rather than Irish extraction, yet both had already performed in the Australian Irish dance production *Celtic Illusion* before they auditioned for *Heartbeat of Home*. Further, many of the Irish dancers in the show—both those sourced from within and outside of Ireland—had trained in multiple dance forms such as ballet, contemporary, jazz, tap and hip hop. Thus on a training level and at the scale of the body, a range of dance techniques drawn from multiple cultural contexts coalesced within these dancers.

[6] Berriel also submitted an audition video for *Heartbeat of Home* as a musician, but was unsuccessful.

While I will explore the idea of dance training and international dance communities in more depth in my analysis of *Rian*, it is important to note here that it is the mastery of Irish step dance technique that allowed diasporic—and even non-Irish—individuals to be read as or included in such a quintessential expression of Irish culture as *Heartbeat of Home*. As Judith Hamera notes, '[i]n critical terms, "technique," like "aesthetics," is a useful synecdoche for the complex web of relations that link performers to particular subjectivities, histories, practices, and to each other' (5). Yet while technique can act as a vehicle for inclusion, it also raises complex questions of access and appropriation as regards the cultural and often racial contexts through which dance forms have evolved. I am not arguing here that dancers such as Nguyen or the Patracic sisters should be seen as Irish simply because they excel at Irish dance, nor that their engagement with Irish dance is a negative appropriation of Irish culture. Rather, what I am querying is the relationship between Irish dance and Irish identity via technique, and how the dancing body is read and mitigated in performance across a range of geographic scales nested within the dancing figure itself.

Ultimately I argue that, though all of the Irish dancers in *Heartbeat of Home* are similarly technically skilled, the ways in which they are cast and choreographed within the production signal the boundaries of belonging in Ireland. For if *Heartbeat of Home* celebrates the role of the Irish diaspora in its casting process and its attendant marketing, in the framework of performance these diasporic inflections are obscured in order to privilege an essentialised—and primarily white—Irish identity. Though *Heartbeat of Home* attempts a danced integration, ultimately it stumbles over the fact that its very success is defined by how well it adheres to the globalised brand of contemporary Irishness that *Riverdance* helped cement. As the show's marketing describes it, the production 'blends the thunder and drama of Irish dance with the sultriness and attitude of Latin American salsa and the glorious rhythms of Africa' (*Heartbeat of Home*). *Heartbeat of Home* continues to position various cultures and their attendant dance forms as discrete and essentialised, relying on stereotypes rather than cultural specificity. In doing so, it obscures the dynamic cross-pollination and

aesthetic exchange that has informed Irish dance within these spaces of diaspora, even as its production process took advantage of that very exchange.

Heartbeat On Stage: The Multicultural Performance of Intercultural Bodies

Structured around the two key phases of emigration, *Heartbeat of Home* is split into two acts. 'Act One: A Dream Voyage' depicts the journey from an ancestral homeland as a voyage across the ocean, while 'Act Two: New Worlds' explores the lives that these communities make for themselves in their new diasporic destination.[7] 'Heartbeat', the opening dance routine of *Heartbeat of Home,* works to establish the key communities engaging in this diasporic journey through musical, visual and choreographic signifiers.[8] The number opens with Irish dancers positioned on a dark stage, picked out one by one by tight spotlights as they individually perform single steps in quicker and quicker succession. Eventually the pace evolves into a synchronised routine of Irish dance with its signature straight upper bodies and percussive footwork, and we are introduced to featured Irish dancers Ciara Sexton and Bobby Hodges through short solos.

The Irish dancers are then joined by flamenco dancers Stefano Domit and Rocio Montoya, whose rhythmic footwork echoes that of the Irish dancers. In turn, the Irish dancers echo the upper body positions of flamenco as they dance behind Domit and Montoya's duet. After the flamenco routine, a quick-change movement on stage reveals Curtis Angus and Clare Craze, representing Latin dance and, presumably, a generic Latin background. Angus, who presents as black or mixed race, and Craze, a white woman whose short cropped blonde hair echoes Sexton's black-haired pixie cut, perform an energetic and jazzy Salsa routine complete with

[7] The potentially painful connotations that might result from framing the diasporic journey as a sea voyage—with not only the fraught history of the Irish famine ships but also the much more loaded iconography of the African slave ship—are side-stepped by the production's contemporary setting, even if it then does read as slightly anachronistic in an age of air travel.

[8] Descriptions are based off of the official recorded version of the production, distributed by Decca Studios.

lifts, splits and twirls while framed by the Irish dancers in straight lines on either side.

Finally, the Afro-Cuban dancers take the stage. Teneisha Bonner, Keiran Donovan and Renako McDonald enter, their backs rounded, moving low to the ground before leaping in the air. While all of the dance styles to this point have been primarily upright with a focus on footwork and staccato rhythms, the Afro-Cuban dancers are defined by lyrical bodies, circular movements, acrobatic aerial leaps and floor work. As they dance, a line of four male Irish dancers cut through them, contrasting the stiff, upright posture of Irish dance to the fluid, low bodies of the Afro-Cuban style. The signature Afro-Cuban movement is a wing-like arm motion made while knees are bent, which is echoed by the Irish dancers on the stage for a moment before they jump back up into a straight Irish stance to complete the group routine, at the end of which dancers from each dance style—and, it is implied, each diasporic community—pose in separate and distinct spaces on stage.

'Heartbeat' choreographically summarises the general intention of *Heartbeat of Home*. Like *Riverdance*, this production proposes a multicultural project wherein distinct and separate communities travel from genealogical homelands—'Heartbeat' invoking biological as well as emotional ties—to encounter each other in a diasporic New World. This opening routine works to establish the different communities that we will be following, instructing the audience on how to identify each group through movement and other visual and musical signifiers. While the direct connection between Ireland and Irish dancing and Spain and flamenco is fairly straightforward, this linkage of dance and ethnicity becomes more problematic when the show seeks to incorporate other, more generic dance styles as representative of distinct cultures. For instance, it is never explicitly stated what Latin countries Latin dance is meant to represent. The closest the production comes to this is in the lyrics of 'Cuba Cuba', which identify various locations such as Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Puerto Rico, effectively erasing the political and cultural specificities of all of these countries in favour of a generic Latinidad. This generalisation becomes even

more pronounced in the vague, circum-Atlantic designation of 'Afro-Cuban'.

Further, as the performance progresses it becomes clear that while Irish and flamenco dancers (and bodies) remain visually and choreographically distinct, the Latin and Afro-Cuban dancers become relatively interchangeable. Thus in some routines the Afro-Cuban dancers perform Latin dances, while in others the Latin dancers—particularly Angus—are incorporated into Afro-Cuban choreographies.[9] Within the show, then, there is a hierarchy of purity, with European dance forms remaining the most culturally defined both choreographically and corporeally. Further, the contrast between the Afro-Cuban movement and European dance vocabularies recalls the historic racial project that worked to define Irish dance, as explored above. In this way the upright postures of Irish dance technique were the choreographies of an aspirational whiteness—a whiteness that contemporary global Irishness has firmly attained. In *Heartbeat of Home* this whiteness is further reinforced through choreographic choices that interpret and frame the black dancing bodies on stage as opposite to and distinct from the white Irish corps.

Therefore, and perhaps unsurprisingly, it is the 'glorious rhythms of Africa' and the treatment of the black bodies that perform them that become the most problematic on stage. First, the Afro-Cuban choreography stems not primarily from Afro-Cuban dances such as rumba, many of which evolved from the religious rituals and folk culture of distinct African groups that were trafficked to Cuba as slaves.[10] Nor does it draw on different African or Cuban dance styles more broadly. Rather, they are built on—as advertised in the call for auditions—tap and lyrical styles, with the incorporation of street and hip hop techniques in the Act Two routines. As a

[9] Interestingly, in an interview Angus notes that he originally auditioned as an Afro-Cuban dancer, noting that 'I've never danced Latin before and Clare [Curtis] had to teach me the sequence, which I had to pick up quickly. But since getting the show, I trained heavily in Tango and Salsa and now I'm a Latin dancer' ("Heartbeat of Home's Latin Dancers Curtis Angus & Clare Craze").

[10] For more on the cultural histories of Afro-Cuban communities, see Benedicte Ohrt Fehler's 'Afro-Cuban Diaspora in the Atlantic World', Carolyn Pautz's 'Afro-Cuban Folkloric Danc in the Age of Intellectual Property' and Kate Ramsey's 'Object Lessons: Afro-Cuban Religion at the Ethnographic Interface'.

result, the cultural and political histories of Afro-Cuban dance forms are ignored in favour of white-authored choreography and visual aesthetics projected onto black corporealities. Rather than recognisable or distinct cultural choreographies to signal a highly essentialised black identity, the production instead relies on epidermalised readings of race. In other words, the production seems to believe that if it is danced by black bodies, then it can be categorised as black dance.

Further, the fact these black bodies become interchangeable within the production, as mentioned above, means that *Heartbeat of Home* performs a colourist interpretation of the world. Visually, there is an epidermal gradient that has occurred in the casting in which the dancers of colour are allocated based on skin tone. The three Afro-Cuban dancers are all dark-skinned black dancers, Angus presents as black, but lighter than the Afro-Cuban dancers, and Irish dancers Blaine Donovan and Nguyen are lightest of all, and as such are allowed to dance—albeit, as we will see, conditionally—as part of the Irish troupe. Here the show's casting reinforces conceptions of race as defined by phenotype and plays into long-standing histories of colourism that have privileged light-skinned people of colour, even within their own communities.[11]

In addition to choreography and casting, the production's costume decisions also play a significant role in defining and differentiating the dancers on stage. While these choices are influenced on an aesthetic level, they are also highly raced and gendered. Throughout the performance, the male dancers of colour appear with bare torsos, while the (European) Irish and flamenco dancers remain fully covered at all times. While the male Irish dancers might appear in short sleeves or tank tops, Angus, Keiran Donovan and McDonald frequently appear with fully unbuttoned shirts, vests or unbuttoned jackets with no shirts underneath, or topless all together. For example, in 'Emigrant Lament' these three dancers perform shirtless while the male Irish dancer on stage is costumed in a black t-shirt. McDonald again appears shirtless for his solo in 'The Night I Danced With You', and

[11] For a comprehensive study on colourism see Deborah Gabriel's *Layers of Blackness: Colourism in the African Diaspora* (2007).

Angus and fellow Latin dancer Angelo Gioffre frequently perform their Latin routines wearing only vests, effectively racing the Italian Gioffre as Latin through these sartorial choices.[12]

The most glaring example of the racialised nature of these costuming decisions occurs in the Act Two routine 'Don't Slip Jig', which is performed on a platform made to look like steel beam suspended over the cityscape, evoking the famous photograph 'Lunch atop a Skyscraper'. In the routine, Angus, Domit and six of the male Irish dancers exchange 'taps', showcasing their various styles of percussive footwork. All of the dancers wear grey jeans and tank tops or work shirts except for Angus, who wears suspenders but no shirt at all. Thus consistently throughout *Heartbeat of Home*, the muscular bodies of black men are exclusively showcased (and racialised) through nudity.[13]

Throughout the performance, then, the various diasporic groups are marked by music, movement and costume in ways that reinforce a multicultural rather than intercultural understanding of cultural exchange, with each group remaining discrete and (racially) recognisable. But it is perhaps how the show handles its diasporic Irish dancers of colour that most clearly reveals the limits of the production's inclusivity. Though *Heartbeat of Home* features many of the ten dancers who were discovered through the online casting competition, Blaine Donovan and Fred Nguyen in particular are restricted in their time and space on stage. Donovan's treatment is subtler than Nguyen's, as he is present on stage for the Irish dance routines in both acts. However, in Act One Donovan is consistently placed at the very edges of the choreography, farther away from both the centre of the stage and the featured dancers, and farther from the visual focus. However,

---

[12] In an Irish context, 'vest' can often refer to what in America is called a 'tank top'—here I mean vest as the sleeveless part of a three-piece suit that is intended to go over a dress shirt and, in these cases, are worn over bare skin.

[13] In another jarring moment of racialised costuming, Keiran Donovan enters the stage to perform a hip-hip inspired number in 'Street Beats' wearing a short-sleeve black hoodie with the hood pulled up over his head. This performance, of course, predates the 2014 murder of Michael Brown and the following rash of highly publicised police shootings that politicised the hoodie as a symbol of the ongoing racial violence perpetrated against black communities in America. However, its use in the 2013 performance belies the fact that the production's design was conscientiously invoking markers of urban blackness in its costume choices.

in Act Two Donovan is consistently placed in the centre of the choreography, often directly behind Hodges, or is featured in smaller group numbers. Indeed, he gets his first solo performance moment in the opening number of Act Two. Donovan's visibility increases significantly once the performance moves to the diaspora, but is restricted when performing an essentalised homeland. The ethnically ambiguous Donovan, then, is dark enough to signal diversity but light enough to (nearly) pass as Irish.

Ngyuen, on the other hand, is completely restricted to the second act and is even limited in his stage access depending on the ethos of the number.[14] Nguyen, who looks distinctly Asian, is not racially ambiguous enough to cover in Act One and so is excluded completely. Instead, we first see him in the opening number of Act Two, 'Fiesta Mundo', when he enters with a group of male Irish dancers holding hurleys. Nguyen also appears in the 'Street Beat' and 'Cuba Cuba' segments along with Donovan and the Afro-Cuban dancers. In both 'Street Beat' and 'Cuba Cuba', connections between the Irish and Afro-Cuban diaspora are emphasised, both lyrically ('Managua, Nicaragua; Costa Rica, corazón/Dublin, Blarney, Clare to Killarney') and choreographically. It is in these danced moments that *Heartbeat of Home* most clearly strives for a sense of hybridity and inclusion, so it is no wonder that it features the most ethnically diverse dancers. Yet this reinforces the idea that diversity is something that occurs in the 'New World'—the place to which a white Irish identity journeyed from Act One, a journey from which Nguyen was excluded. This diasporic diversity, then, does nothing to disrupt understandings of Irishness itself as an essentially white identity.

Even when a featured Irish dancer, Nguyen is portrayed as a novelty and comedic relief rather than a part of the Irish corp. Nguyen is most prominently featured in 'Don't Slip Jig', where he plays the comedic role of the energetic young boy trying to fit in with the men around him as they show off rapid-fire taps. He grins and enthusiastically watches and claps

[14] As noted earlier, this reading is based on the recorded version of the opening performance in Dublin 2013. Since then, photographs suggest that Nguyen has in fact been incorporated into the First Act routines. It would be interesting to chart the progression of his casting—and where it occurs—to see how awareness of audience expectation (for example, in the China tours) might influence changes.

along to the flamenco dancer's virtuosic display, so wrapped up in his skill that he is left sitting on the beam when the other dancers have jumped up to dance, and when it comes to his own turn to solo, he freezes and misses the beat for another comedic break in tempo. When he does begin his performance, he opens with an exaggerated version of the Irish dance posture with his arms glued to his sides and his hands balled up behind him—a stance that recalls the beginner student of Irish dance and is a stark contrast to the free and improvisational style of the others around him. However, encouraged by the other dancers, Nguyen breaks out into an impressive display that equals that of the other performers. Yet even this triumphant moment is ended by his almost falling off the beam in his zeal, and having to be pulled back to balance by those on either side. Despite his own virtuosity, Nguyen is something to be laughed at, tying into larger stereotypes of Asian men as asexual, emasculated or 'socially and sexually impotent' (Huynh and Woo 364).

The issues of race and belonging in *Heartbeat of Home* are perhaps best encapsulated in the show's penultimate routine. In 'World Heartbeat' all of the dancers exit the stage except for fourteen of the Irish dancers and the two flamenco dancers. In an echo of the show's opening moments, the Irish dancers perform short movements that are picked up by tight spotlights. Accompanied only by percussion instruments, the two flamenco dancers perform solos, followed by Sexton and Hodges, and the piece ends with all of the dancers present performing in the iconic *Riverdance* line. The 'World Heartbeat' is one that is encapsulated not by the diverse array of dancers, as earlier in the production, but strictly by those of European ancestry, as communicated through dance form. Hybridity and integration occur at discrete moments of exchange, but a core ethnic identity remains—as further evidenced by Nguyen's absence from this number. Ultimately, the show conveys the message that while Irish dance is enriched by its encounters with other cultural dance forms, it remains safely intact as the star of the show.

This section has explored how *Heartbeat of Home* presents Irishness and the diaspora on the scale of performance, focusing on how choices of

choreography, casting and costume frame the dancing bodies on stage for a global audience. In my analysis I have argued that though the production professes the intention of promoting diversity and inclusion, it actually perpetuates hegemonic narratives of both an essentialised Irish whiteness as well as a racial hierarchy disguised as multicultural milieu. In the following section I turn to *Rian* on stage and how its own use of visual signifiers such as stage, lighting and costume design along with music and movement work to present a more utopic and intercultural Irish identity.

***Rian*: Dancing New Irishness**

Fabulous Beast Dance Company's 2011 dance show *Rian,* which means 'mark' or 'trace' in Irish, is a non-narrative piece set to and named after Irish musician Liam Ó Maonlaí's 2005 solo album of Irish language songs.[15] Featuring an international cast of dancers accompanied by four Irish musicians led by Ó Maonlaí himself, *Rian* is described by its marketing materials as 'an expressive cultural hybrid' that 'taps into healthy life-enhancing traditions with influences from faraway places to evoke a timeless vision of the real indescribable nature of things' (*Rian - Fabulous Beast Dance Theatre*).[16]

If *Heartbeat of Home* aspired to be a celebratory vision of a new Ireland, *Rian* managed to embody this vision. Key to the production's success in this regard were its own choices of visual and aural signifiers, including set, lighting and costume design, music and choreography. Unlike *Heartbeat of Home*, which relied on these signifiers to variously racialise bodies as non-Irish, *Rian* used them to include the multiethnic bodies of the dancers in a framework of Irish belonging. As a non-narrative piece, *Rian* also allowed for a more open reading of danced identity and, significantly, the production did not use the recognisable idiom of Irish step dance but rather the dancers' own embodied archive of movements as the basis of choreography.

---

[15] Ó Maonlaí is most well known as part of the Irish rock band Hothouse Flowers from 1985-1994.

[16] These musicians—Maitiu O'Casaide, Corma Begley, Peter O'Toole and Eithne Ni Chathain—went on to form the group Ré with O'Maonlai after *Rian*

Fabulous Beast Dance Company was established by Keegan-Dolan in 1997, and operated until 2015, at which point the company was dissolved and Keegan-Dolan established his current dance company, Teac Damsa, in 2016. With Fabulous Beast, Keegan-Dolan used dance theatre to speak piercingly to contemporary issues around Irish culture. This was particularly emphasised in the *Midlands Trilogy* productions *Giselle* (2003), *The Bull* (2005) and *James Son of James* (2008). In all of these pieces, Keegan-Dolan used a multiethnic and international ensemble of dancers to comment on the repressive culture of rural Ireland and the excesses of the Celtic Tiger. In contrast to these acerbic and darkly humorous productions, *Rian* is a light and uplifting performance that is more celebratory than critical in tenor.

Many aspects of *Rian's* production design mobilise recognisably—and almost stereotypical—Irish signifiers.[17] The set design for *Rian* is sparse and overwhelmingly green, with a cyclorama background that is lit by brilliant emerald lights. The stage itself is framed by a raised semi-circular platform upon which sit various musical instruments—including the iconographic Irish harp—as well as the dancers when not performing, evoking the feel of the Irish pub during a session. The show's costume design is similarly iconographic, with the women wearing housedresses of greens and browns and the men wearing suits that they gradually shed over the course of the performance. And *Rian's* score, while also incorporating a number of musical influences including the Greek bouzouki and Spanish guitar, is primarily based around traditional Irish instruments and tunes, with the majority of songs sung in the Irish language and accompanied by uileann pipes, bodhrán and harp.

Yet while the show's visual and aural signifiers are distinctly Irish, the choreography of the piece relies not on a recognisably Irish dance idiom but rather the movement repertoire of the diverse cast of dancers. *Rian* is performed by eight international and multiethnic dancers with an equally diverse range of dance training techniques: Saju Hari hails from Kerala, India; Anna Kaszuba, Keir Patrick and Louise Tanoto from the UK; Saku

[17] Descriptions of *Rian* are based on an archival recording of the performance, which was generously shared with the author by Michael Keegan-Dolan.

Koistinen from Finland; Louise Mocchia from Denmark; Emmanuel Obeya from Nigeria and Ino Riga from Greece. The choreography is built entirely from 108 base movements drawn from these dancers' own physical repertoire and assigned names such as 'Cutting Katya', 'Brap-Brap' and 'Bringing Rabbit Back to Life'. These movements, which are not in and of themselves identifiably Irish in the way that the Irish step dancing is in *Heartbeat of Home,* is instead authenticated as Irish by the accompanying music and the visual signifiers of the mise-en-scene. As such, *Rian* is ghosted by those older versions of intercultural performance that used multiethnic casts and multiple performance traditions to create a tableau of universal essentialism; however, *Rian* uses these techniques not to evacuate its dancers of their own cultural specificity, but to inclusively resignify them as Irish.

An analysis of the opening and closing moments of the performance demonstrates how ideas of an essentialised Ireland are invoked by the production's mise-en-scene and used to contextualise the dancers as Irish. *Rian* opens with a recording of an Irish folk tune played on the harpsichord as the curtain rises to reveal the dancers and musicians seated on the raised platform upstage. Obeya is the first to move—he stands and crosses the stage, lifts the harp from off the raised platform and sets it in the centre of the playing area. He stands for a moment behind the instrument and the lighting causes his shadow to blend with that of the harp so that the harp's shadow becomes Obeya's outline on the floor.

Obeya returns to his seat as the three other male dancers, Hari, Koistinen and Patrick, take the stage and place themselves behind and to either side of the harp. The harp between them, they begin a series of movements—lunging, turning, reaching their arms out to the side and around themselves. As the recorded music ends, the three men kneel, facing the audience, before turning to face the harp. With palms open and wrists together, they place their hands on their chests before reaching out to the harp and then back again, as if capturing the essence of the object and infusing it into themselves. They then repeat the series of movements, but this time end with their backs to the audience, facing instead the dancers and

musicians that remain seated on the platform. Again they press their palms to their chests before reaching forward, passing the benediction of the harp to the others on stage. Once this is done, O'Maonlai stands and walks downstage to sing the opening song, 'Inion An Fhaoit On nGleann'. Thus the opening moment of *Rian* draws on the icon of the harp to frame the Irishness of the production, but also works to resignify the harp itself with the presence of the multiethnic dancers. In the moment of shadow, the harp becomes Obeya and Obeya the harp, signalling a shift in who and what can be considered Irish. And this paradigmatic move from ethnic essentialism to national inclusion is extended to all on stage through the opening's *pas de trois* in which Irishness, as represented by the harp, becomes a transitive property.

The final moment of the piece similarly draws on the relationship between object and dancer to communicate belonging. Throughout the performance, various lighting moments highlight the instruments, lamp and candle that sit on the raised platform as black silhouettes against the green cyclorama. After the first bows at the end of the show, the curtains come up again for an encore performance of O'Maonlai on the guitar and Tanoto dancing solo. At the end of this reprise, all of the dancers and musicians join Tanoto, who is now standing on one of the chairs on the platform, and reach their hands up to the sky with circular motions. The lights shift so that the bodies themselves become black silhouettes, joining the vista of instruments that we have seen throughout the show. As with the moment in which shadow blended the body of Obeya with the harp, the shows ends with a unification of people and things.

Unlike *Heartbeat of Home*, where various signifiers were used to differentiate and racialise various bodies, *Rian* uses music and design to erase these differentiations. With its green colour palate and costume and set design *Rian* references an abstracted historical Ireland—but this is an essentialised Irishness sans racial essentialism. Despite a movement repertoire that incorporates the dancers' various training including Laban, contemporary dance techniques and the Keralan martial art of Kalaripayattu rather than the codified choreography of step dance, we are able to

understand this production as an Irish cultural vehicle. Indeed, Keegan-Dolan describes his approach to dance as 'a spiritual practice, it's a way of life, and when I'm dancing I'm praying. It's not about showing off or looking good, it's about connecting with something that is not necessarily tangible' (Wroe). It could be argued that in *Rian,* this intangible danced connection is with Irishness itself.

In analysing *Rian* and *Heartbeat of Home* I have discussed how the use of visual and aural signifiers can work to either include or exclude intercultural bodies and identities. Despite the fact that both productions sought to portray an open and diverse contemporary Ireland, it is ultimately *Rian* that succeeds in actually staging this. The reason for this success, I argue, lies not only in the production choices of design and choreography, as explored above, but the methods through which those choices were made. In the following section I turn to the scale of production to interrogate how the production process itself either supports or restricts the expression of inclusive Irishness and the agency of danced intercultural identities on stage.

The Scale of Production: Didactic versus Dialectic

In her chapter 'Too Many Cooks in the Kitchen?: A Framework for Dance Making and Devising', Jo Butterworth lays out five approaches to the process of making dance along a didactic-dialectic continuum. She lists these as 'Choreographer as Expert/Dancer as Instrument', 'Choreographer as Author/Dancer as Interpreter', Choreographer as Pilot/Dancer as Contributor', 'Choreographer as Facilitator/Dancer as Creator' and 'Choreographer as Co-Owner/Dancer as Co-Owner' (178). While Butterworth acknowledges that 'in practice there is slippage between these stages of the framework: that is, dance making in the studio may utilise several of these processes in the course of making a single choreography' (177), these five frameworks remain a useful way to characterise the overarching ethos of exchange between choreographers and dancers in the creation of new work. In *Heartbeat of Home*, I argue that it is the more didactic approaches that see choreographers as expert and author, and

dancers as instrument and interpreter, that underwrote the creation of the show and that resulted in a multicultural presentation rather than an inclusive expression of Irish identity. In contrast, *Rian* was shaped by a more dialectical process that saw its dancers as creators and contributors, which allowed it to be truly intercultural in performance.

In production, white Irish producers, directors, writers and choreographers were responsible for authoring the concepts, storylines, lyrics and choreography that shaped *Heartbeat of Home*. Because of this, the narrative of Ireland's Others were determined from above and projected onto dancing bodies, echoing the hierarchies of playwright and director as the curators of narrative as explored in Chapters One and Three. This influence of production hierarchies can be seen in the shifts that have occurred between *Riverdance* and *Heartbeat of Home.* Significantly, though both shows are produced by Doherty and McColgan, the change of choreographers has had a direct impact on the danced narratives.

In her article 'What is this "black" in Irish popular culture', Hazel Carby critiques the racial politics of *Riverdance* as an act of multicultural appropriation that displaces Irish suffering onto black bodies and 'present[s] Irishness for global consumption as the story of one successful ethnic group among many' (330). While this remains fundamentally unchanged in *Heartbeat of Home*, the interaction between these ethnic groups has altered significantly. For example, Carby points to the 'Trading Taps' routine in *Riverdance: Live From New York,* where Irish and tap dance solos are 'not performed as a cultural exchange, or even the miscegenation of dance steps, but as a "battle" […] a confrontation of ethnic masculinities' (336–37). Carby traces this antagonistic ethnic machismo to choreographer and lead dancer Michael Flatley, who has long denied any influence of black American culture on his dance, despite the long established history of exchange between the two forms and the more contemporary influences such as Michael Jackson that are evident in his choreography. Reading Flatley's independent projects *Lord of the Dance* and *Feet of Flames,* Carby traces his shift from 'the cultural aesthetics of multiculturalism, to a cultural aesthetics of fascism' (337). For example, in *Lord of the Dance* Flatley

performs 'a denial of the validity of the miscegenated aspects of cultural production in favour of the reinforcement of racial and sexual boundaries and the marking of racial and sexual fictions for global consumption' (Carby 341). More so than in *Riverdance*, where Flatley felt 'a lack of artistic recognition [and] control', in his independent projects Flatley is free to celebrate an unmitigated Irish white supremacy.[18]

Heartbeat of Home, in contrast, moves closer towards articulating the ideals of hybridity and exchange under the influence of choreographers John Carey and David Bolger.[19] Carey's biography as the first British dancer to perform in *Riverdance* connects with *Heartbeat of Home's* diasporic focus. Bolger, an Irish dancer and choreographer, founded his own dance company CoisCéim in 1995 and has worked on other high profile projects such as the choreography for the film version of *Dancing at Lughnasa*, the movement work for Druid Theatre Company and the Opening Ceremony for the Special Olympics held in Dublin.[20] McGrath describes 'Bolger's love of mixing different movement styles, using elements from acrobatic physical theatre and tap or jazz, in addition to more strictly modern or balletic techniques' (13), and this personal preference towards fusion is apparent in his choreography for the show.

Under the guidance of Bolger and Carey, Flatley's rival masculinities in *Riverdance* are replaced in *Heartbeat of Home* by an emphasis on homosocial bonding as key sites of cultural exchange. In fact, the show's most hybrid numbers tend to be couched in the homosocial spaces of the sports field (as performed with hurls in 'Fiesta Mundo'), the construction site (as enacted in 'Don't Slip Jig') and the call-and-response mash-ups of 'Street Beat' and 'Cuba Cuba', both of which feature all-male routines. In contrast, heterosexual romantic duets or dance partnering tend to remain contained within dance styles. Thus in numbers such as 'Tango

[18] It is of course worth noting that Flatley attended current U.S. President Donald Trump's 2017 inaugural ball to introduce his Lord of the Dance troupe's performance at the event.

[19] On the *Heartbeat of Home* website Carey is listed as 'Irish Dance Choreography', while Bolger is listed as 'Choreography/Musical Staging', indicating a division in the choreographic and rehearsal process itself.

[20] Bolger was also responsible for the choreography of *Laochra*, which was discussed in Chapter Two.

Nuevo', Irish dance couples might adapt the movements of the tango dances by the Latin couples, or Irish and Latin dancers might passingly partner across genre, but at the end of the number these divisions remain firmly in place. The focus on male bonding rather than miscegenation through romantic coupling is limited in the extent to which it can trouble or disrupt narratives of white essentialism at the heart of Irish identity. However, it does seek to convey a more cosmopolitan celebration of diversity than *Riverdance's* more antagonistic approach.

While in interviews dancers have highlighted the fact that their specific skills were incorporated into the choreography, these tended to be flourishes that augmented the predetermined structure already in place. For example, Craze notes how 'the producers would ask the dancers, "what can you do…how can we show your best skills?" If you can do some Samba, they'll throw in some Samba or if you can do some flips, they'll throw in some flips' ("Heartbeat of Home's Latin Dancers Curtis Angus & Clare Craze"). However, the overall production is still one that is imposed from above, and ultimately the ideal dancer in *Heartbeat of Home* is one that can move between a range of choreographies at the behest of the production team, as seen in Angus' ability to 'become' a Latin dancer to accommodate the role as written.

This ideal of the dancer who can accommodate a range of choreographic demands is what Susan Leigh Foster refers to as a 'hired body'. The hired body is a dancer who trains in multiple techniques not to articulate a clear aesthetic but to pursue a career in performance and is as a result 'a purely physical object, [which] can be made over into whatever look one desires' ("Dancing Bodies" 495). Far from the dialectic model of dancer as creator or co-owner, the dancer as hired body is an increasingly neoliberal model in which the ability to be adaptive, flexible and responsive to the needs of the production suggests an emerging process of choreographer as employer and dancer as precarious worker. This resonates with Kavanagh et al.'s critique of *Riverdance* as a production that 'consists of professional dancers put through their paces since childhood in hierarchically organized and officially adjudicated competitions' (738). As a

result of this hierarchy, 'Riverdancers are workdancers, cut from a pattern, rigorously quality controlled' (738).

Such critiques can be equally levelled against *Heartbeat of Home*—perhaps even more so as that production requires much more of its dancers in terms of fluency in multiple techniques while being no less technically (and physically) demanding. When discussing the experience of being in the production, Irish dancer and *Heartbeat of Home* cast member Jason O'Neill commented, 'You have to be a machine' (Velasquez). The reviewer concurs, 'Machine. There's no other way to describe the kind of perfection that graced Mirvish Theatre stage', noting that O'Neill himself was unable to perform in the Toronto premiere due an ankle injury sustained earlier in the week (Velasquez). O'Connor echoes the idea of dancer as machine when she relates anecdotes of the bigger professional shows like *Riverdance*, with stories circulating of 'extremely hard work with endless hours of rehearsal and problems of dehydration, blisters, sprained ankles and broken bones and limbs' as well as issues with drug use and eating disorders to meet the physical expectations (139). O'Connor notes how '[i]t was also thought that "they treat you like machines, robots" in some shows', with other performers complaining of degrading conditions or auditions in which 'dancers were treated "like a herd of cattle"' (139).

Though *Heartbeat of Home's* producers promote the way that Irish dance has expanded since *Riverdance,* with Irish dancers now training in multiple dance vocabularies, the commodification of these talents into the synchronised choreography of global vehicles like *Heartbeat of Home* in fact continues the national project that the Gaelic League began. As Kavanagh et al conclude, '[a]s a hybridized and consumable global product, *Riverdance* reflects and reproduces dominant accounts of Ireland's economic success consistent with a neo-liberal ideology, while at the same time it expresses moments of culture that are pre-global, having affinities with "tradition," however reinvented' (739–40). Therefore, *Heartbeat of Home* is a recolonisation of Irishness via global neoliberal capitalism, infusing the Irish body with the celebrated qualities of that economic

philosophy and limiting its capacity to express a more nuanced or diverse form of Irish identity.

In contrast to the limiting top-down hierarchies of *Heartbeat of Home*, *Rian* drew on the more democratic process of devising, which allowed the choreographer, dancers and musicians to more equitably contribute to the performance. This collaborative process is key to Keegan-Dolan's work generally, with McGrath writing that through Fabulous Beast, Keegan-Dolan is 'speaking about Ireland and writing about Ireland, using all the languages of the actors' body, rather than speaking from an authorial perspective' (1). Michael Seaver also notes the importance of collaboration for Keegan-Dolan, whom he quotes as saying, 'Ensemble is imperative in my process. It is my feeling that when people feel safe and harmonised then they are more creative' (106). Seaver observes that '[t]his sense of harmony is most evident in *Rian'* where the 'comfortable sense of ensemble between dancers and musicians mirrors Keegan-Dolan's ideal Irish society after the Celtic Tiger splurge' (106). In a direct opposition to *Heartbeat of Home*'s neoliberal machine, *Rian* resists hierarchies and emphasises the value of the individual within the collective through both performance and performance-making.

Because of this emphasis on ensemble, rather than imposing a predetermined movement narrative onto the dancer as hired body, Keegan-Dolan instead drew on the personal choreographies of the show's dancers. In her article 'Embodying Multiplicity: The independent contemporary dancer's moving identity', Jenny Roche challenges Foster's critique of the independent contemporary dancer as lacking aesthetic, instead advocating that 'independent dance practice perturbs, through emergent possibilities, the distinctiveness of specific dance styles' (106) and, along with them, their attendant cultural ideologies. In doing so, Roche argues for a shift in focus from choreographer as dance creator toward 'an acknowledgement of the significance of the dancer's role in the creation of independent contemporary dance' (105).

Roche acknowledges the impact of training in multiple dance techniques as critiqued by Foster and the 'legitimate concerns about the

potential to lose choreographic distinctiveness from dance piece to dance piece' (109). However, while the independent contemporary dancer does display the ability to—and challenges of—moving between styles, Roche argues that 'these styles leave their mark as movement traces which can form the dancer's particular movement signature. Like layers of sediment, which settle over time, these movement traces congeal into a repertoire of movement options that outwardly display the individuality of the independent dancer's career path' (110). In other words, rather than lacking a clear aesthetic, the independent contemporary dancer actually displays a distinctly *personalised* one.

It is this individual repertoire of movement that Keegan-Dolan mined for the 108 movements that formed the base of *Rian's* choreography. In an interview, dancer Anna Kaszuba described how the 'dancers and musicians were holed up in an old Irish farm for five weeks' where they 'were free to improvise for hours, simply allowing their bodies to respond to live music' (Halloran). Rather than a top-down imposition of choreographer-authored routines, *Rian* was collectively conceived from the specificity of the eight international dancers in response to the production's music and themes. By weaving together the unique corporealities of its diverse cast of dancers, who both contributed their own movements and took on each other's, *Rian* presents a performance vocabulary that is truly intercultural, both in the sense of Li and Pitches' conception of interculturalism as performer training, and in my and Mitra's understanding of interculturalism as individual embodied performance.

In her analysis of Akram Khan's danced interculturalism, Mitra dedicates the first chapter to his performance training, as '[t]o understand the kinaesthetic qualities of Khan's art requires an engagement with his dance vocabulary drawn from *kathak* and contemporary dance idioms', which is further inflected 'by his own biographical circumstances' (31). More than inflected, Khan's movement language is inseparable from his biography, as Mitra traces the various life events that motivated and informed his dance training choices. These include his Bangladeshi parents' desire to ensure that their 'home culture was preserved so that the [British-

born] children did not lose sight of their cultural heritage' (31), a result of which was Khan's engagement first with Bangladeshi folk dance, and then later with kathak dance.[21] Similarly, Khan's dissatisfaction with his focused kathak training resulted in his choice to enrol in performing arts programmes when he entered university, where he learned a range of techniques 'ranging from classical ballet, Graham, Cunningham, Alexander, release-based techniques and contact improvisation, to physical theatre' (Mitra 38).

Speaking to Foster's concerns about the aesthetic dilution wrought by multiple techniques, Mitra documents the physical confusion Khan encountered as, for example, ballet's 'ethereal verticality' became 'layered and clouded by his *kathak* training where Khan's body remained rooted to the ground' (39). But, like Roche's argument about the constructive and creative potentials of the multiply trained contemporary dance body, Khan's eclectic training ultimately translated into 'an organic and syncretic language generated in and through his own corporeality' (Mitra 44). These choices themselves were informed by his biographical experiences, as seen in the anecdote in which '[o]ne tutor told him that he did not have the body for contemporary dance because he was inflexible', prompting Khan to 'mak[e] inflexibility his strength, and […] to play with the speed and stillness his multiple training lent him' (Mitra 43).

Like Khan, each of the dancers in *Rian* came to the production with highly individual catalogues of dance training and life experience. For example, Saju Hari was born in Kerala, India where he trained in both contemporary dance and the martial art of Kalaripayattu before moving to the UK to dance with a number of companies, including Akram Khan Company (*ImPulsTanz Archive*). Louise Mochia is a Ghanaian-Danish dancer who trained at the London Contemporary Dance School before moving to Berlin. And Louise Tanoto is from Belgium and the UK, and studied Laban at an undergraduate and Masters level (Pro). By making their

[21] As Mitra notes, 'Khan's parents were thus unique on ensuring that alongside nurturing his appreciation and understanding of Bengali culture, Khan's childhood was also immersed in engendering a respect for trans-ethnic interactions and intercultural dialogue' (35).

danced interculturalism the basis for a production so heavily inscribed with Irishness, *Rian* incorporates these bodies and their bodily expression to create new understandings of Irish identity that challenge the hegemonic boundaries of Irishness. In employing a dialectic process in the rehearsal room, *Rian* ultimately rehearsed not only a dance production, but the democratic processes of intercultural dialogue and inclusion so touted by Irish social policy.[22] I argue that, whether or not it was visible to the audience in its final performance, it was this process that allowed the open and fluid conception of Irishness as danced on stage.

The Scales of Reception: *Heartbeat of Home* and *Rian* at Home and Abroad

In my analysis of the scale of production above, I examined how the rehearsal processes of *Heartbeat of Home* and *Rian* impacted the aesthetic and narrative choices of the shows, as well as the agency of the individual dancers in articulating an intercultural Irishness. In this final section, I turn to the national and international scales to analyse both shows' receptions and how these Irish performances were understood as they circulated on dance touring circuits. Whereas up to now I have highlighted the differences between these two dance pieces, in examining their reception I note the similarities in the ways in which both productions were read by national and international audiences. Strikingly, both *Heartbeat of Home* and *Rian* were seen as reflecting a diverse contemporary Ireland when they performed for audiences abroad, but when seen by Irish audiences this diversity was displaced either elsewhere as part of the diaspora (in the case of *Heartbeat of Home*), or as a metaphor for an affinitive or spiritual Irish blackness (as in the case of *Rian*). Thus despite their divergent creative impulses, at the level of reception we can see how hegemonic narratives of Irishness remain stronger *within* Ireland than without.

---

[22] For an incisive discussion of the intersections between theatrical interculturalism and interculturalism as social policy in Ireland, see McIvor's *Migration and Performance in Contemporary Ireland*; for a broader analysis of the intersection of intercultural art and social policy, see McIvor's 'Intercultural Dialogue as "New" Interculturalism'.

When touring abroad, *Heartbeat of Home* was very much read according to the cosmopolitan intentions expressed by its marketing material. Particularly as it toured in America and Canada, it was seen to reflect demographic shifts within contemporary Ireland itself.[23] In his review of its Chicago performance, Chris Jones notes that the show 'fuses the traditional forms with all that you might see in today's multicultural Ireland: Afro-Cuban dance, Latin dance, hip-hop' (Jones). Jones continues by remarking on the international and ethnically diverse casting of the Irish dancers, noting that 'relatively few of [them] are actually Irish […] They are multicultural. They are diverse. The Celtic Tiger now has many stripes' (Jones).[24] Another Chicago review similarly notes that the show 'reflects the 21st Century [sic] changes in Ireland and the enhancement of Irish step dancing as youngsters in the new multi-ethnic Ireland, Canada, Australia and the USA have grown up learning Irish step dancing' (Williams). In Canada, reviewer Richard Ouzounian writes that Doherty and McColgan have expanded the show 'to reflect some of the numerous ethnic changes that have occurred both in their native Dublin and around the world' (Ouzounian). Ouzounian continues, '[t]he famous "40 shades of green" that mark the Emerald Isle have added a whole palette filled with browns and blacks to the colour mix, reflecting the tides of Latin and Afro-Cuban immigration over the past 20 years since *Riverdance* first opened' (Ouzounian). Though the phrasing of that sentiment is less than optimal, it nonetheless reflects the general acceptance of a multi-ethnic Ireland as *Heartbeat* travelled the diaspora.

In contrast, the show's opening in Dublin was greeted in the *Irish Times* as 'a multicultural street party, a *fiesta mundo*, a global céilí' with praise for how 'Joseph O'Connor's loose narrative and lyrical songs reflect a new global and Irish *emigrant* experience' (MacReamoinn, emphasis

[23] Unfortunately, due to language limitations I am not able to discuss how *Heartbeat of Home* has been received in China, where it has toured extensively. This—and the franchise's enduring popularity in China—would be a very interesting project to undertake.

[24] Of course, Jones' use of the qualifier 'actually' indicates an ongoing essentialism of who gets to be Irish, though Jones is referring here to the dancers' countries of origin rather than race.

added). Within Ireland, then, the production was seen as focusing on the new world and diversity in diaspora, rather than on commenting on shifts in Ireland itself. This shift in reception could be explained by casting changes that occurred as the production toured. Production stills posted on the show's website seem to indicate that since its Dublin run, Nguyen and Donovan have in fact featured throughout the first act, meaning that as *Heartbeat of Home* toured abroad it became increasingly inclusive. Whether this shift was intentional and meant to cater to the tastes of a diverse international audience (and, in contrast, to a more conservative Irish audience when it first premiered), or if it was simply the result of logistical adjustments made due to other dancers leaving the tour or encountering injury is unclear.

However, a very similar schism in reception between Irish and international reviews can be seen as *Rian* traveled on its own touring trajectory, with international audiences being more open to seeing the production as reflecting a multicultural Ireland. For example, one review refers to the production as 'Ireland brought to Paris' even as it details the 'happy mixture of nationalities' of the show's dancers (Boccadoro). As Patraicia Boccadoro details, 'Emmanuel Obeya, a dancer who has been with the company since 2003, and trained at the Rambert school and at the Dance Theatre of Harlem in New York, was born in Nigeria, and while Keir Patrick is English, the others come from Finland, Greece, Estonia and Denmark. Louise Tanoto owes her long dark hair and expressive eyes to her Indonesian heritage' (Boccadoro). This diversity is seen to add to the success of the production as 'despite or maybe because of these differences, the complicity and enthusiasm of the troupe adds up to a harmonious whole' and in the end '[t]he whole theatre was on its feet, singing along in Gaelic with O Maonlai, giving away the fact that a very large number in the audience were Irish' (Boccadoro).

Ismene Brown, in reviewing the production when it moved to Sadler's Wells in London, similarly notes the presence of the Irish diaspora in the audience, as well as the show's inclusive tenor. She comments that '[u]s Englanders I guess will remain oblivious to a good measure of the

pleasure embedded in *Rian* because almost all its songs are in Irish (last night there were several Irish in the audience singing along lustily), but you don't need language to love and be delighted by the dancing and music' (Brown).[25] Brown argues that *Rian* 'isn't an ethnic Irish display, even if Culture Ireland is its main sponsor. In fact the performers come from Kerala, Helsinki, Athens, Nigeria, Denmark, as well as Ireland' (Brown). She goes on to observe the iconic Irish cues of the costume design, with the dancers wearing 'standard Irish togs, girls in virginal floral dresses with socks and lace-ups, boys in suits with braces underneath, all very Catholic on the outside, and it could feel out of true [sic]' (Brown). However the threat of twee Irishness is diffused as the dancers 'break out in full-bodied, abandoned dances rich not only with Gaelic but African and flamenco influences' (Brown).[26] Zoe Anderson, writing for *The Independent*, concludes that '[m]usicians and dancers get together, with a joyful sense of community. […] The production is traditional Irish with a multicultural cast' (Anderson). And the event description from *Rian*'s 2014 tour to Stockholm describes the show as 'an uplifting and poignant tribute to the Irish will to retain traditions while looking to he future' (*Rian | Dansens Hus*). Accordingly, as the production toured abroad, it was—like *Heartbeat of Home*—seen as reflecting a contemporary, diverse Ireland.

Yet in its Irish reception this diversity was again displaced, not to another place but, in this case, to another time. Rather than the futurity flagged by the Swedish show description, in Ireland the multiethnic cast was seen to represent a primal, primitive or pagan 'blackness' that echoes the tropes explored in the discussion of Cuchulain in Chapter Two. For example, Sara Keating's review for the *Irish Times* was critical of the lack

[25] The tone of phrases such as 'Us Englanders' and 'singing along lustily' implies a latent anti-Irish racism, which is perhaps most blatantly on display in Charlotte Kasner's review of the Sadler's Wells run which contains such choice phrases as 'Short of dressing up as leprechauns and swigging Guinness in the wings, they had everything else' and 'The dance was accompanied with variations on a theme of the Irish washerwoman with some wailing when they finished the toe-tapping bits' (Kasner).

[26] This review puts *Rian* directly in conversation (or competition) with *Riverdance*, as the surtitle for the review reads: 'A contagiously delightful night of Irish dancing and music that blows Riverdance out of the water' (Brown).

of connection between the movement and music beyond rhythm, writing that 'the choreography seems more interested in making contemporary dance as accessible as possible, particularly in the *tribal elements* called forth for the livelier numbers' (Keating, "Rian", emphasis added). Keating goes on to note that 'Keegan-Dolan's choreography mostly draws from a modern international register, and there is little trace (rian) of the influence of Irish dance' (Keating, "Rian"). Though she acknowledges the fabricated and nationalist nature of Irish dance, she still laments 'a missed opportunity both to reinvent common perceptions of Irish dance and for Fabulous Beast to stake a claim for itself as part of a more *authentic* free-form tradition than the familiar manufactured one that infiltrates popular culture' (Keating, "Rian", emphasis added). Yet arguably that is exactly what *Rian is* doing, despite the lack of engagement with codified Irish dancing.

When the show performed the next year at the Cork Midsummer Festival, Marc O'Sullivan of the *Irish Examiner* greeted it warmly as a piece that ''re-imagines Irish music and dance as modern forms, living and breathing, and far from the stultification of "tradition"' (O'Sullivan). While O'Sullivan signals towards the emergent, he sees this as predicated on the reclamation of an essentialist past when he continues, 'multi-ethnic dancers are swirling about in their bare feet. Their movements are *primal, pagan*, and wildly energetic, and far from the stilted image of Irish dancing' (O'Sullivan, emphasis added). A review for Entertainment.ie describes the show as 'a rousing release of our national spirit, restrained by a Catholic tradition yet chomping at the bit to shake off the shackles of oppression through freewheeling, galling and almost *pagan* play' (Entertainment.ie). The review lauds the fact that Keegan-Dolan's 'use of an international and multicultural ensemble bucks off the twee and allows the audience to step back from ourselves. Yet paradoxically it allows us to tap into the very aquifer of our nationality, not what we project but whom we are *inside*. […] theatre that reflects Irishness at its most fundamental level' (Entertainment.ie, emphases added). In other words, the multicultural ensemble is outside of the 'ourselves' of the (white) Irish audience, yet representative of that audience's spiritual (black) interiority.

In Ireland, then, the ethnically diverse bodies on stage evoked a primal, pagan black Irishness that is both invisible and, ironically, racially exclusive. Significantly, the reference to pagan or tribal aspects of the choreography drop out of the critical vocabulary as the show toured outside of Ireland, to be replaced by discussions around modern or contemporary dance, folk dance, and markers of Irishness that vary depending on cultural fluency—both of the dance world and of Irish culture.[27] While these differences in interpretation may be subtle, they point toward a resistance within Ireland to reimaging the ethnic makeup of the nation that does not seem to be present beyond its borders. This openness abroad to accepting Irish work as Irish without the condition of exclusive whiteness perhaps signals an optimistic shift in market tastes, and an opportunity to rebrand the Irish creative industries as one of diverse stories and voices.

In his book *Theatre and Globalization*, Patrick Lonergan wrote of the 'clash between identity and brand' in Irish theatrical work that seeks to succeed abroad. He observed that:

> At a time of increased multiculturalism, we might have expected Irish theatre to seek to redefine, expand, and transgress the boundaries that mark out Irish citizenship […] The problem, however, is that the international success of Irish plays appears largely determined by their use of familiar Irish stereotypes. Globalization has brought multiculturalism to Ireland, but the globalization of Irish theatre has, regrettably, meant that the most successful Irish plays are those that present Irishness in narrow and indeed restricted ways (*Theatre and Globalization* 196).

The challenge of diversifying representations of Irishness on stage has been ongoing, with little changed since Lonergan's critique in 2009 despite the sustained cultural diversity on the island. Yet the critical reception of *Heartbeat of Home* and *Rian* imply that perhaps the stereotypical nature of the Irish 'brand' has more to do with the seller than the consumer. If, as Kavanagh et al. complained of *Riverdance,* globalised Irish cultural vehicles 'repackaged and sold back to the original owners' a version of Irish culture, in this case that repackaging might not be the worst thing.

---

[27] For example, references to the Irish céilí are common in the UK reviews, but fall away when the show tours the United States and Europe.

Conclusion

In analysing the two dance productions of *Heartbeat of Home* and *Rian*, I explored the interrelated scales of production, performance and reception as they overlapped with the geographic and temporal scales nested within and traversed by the dancing body. Perhaps more so than in any other performing art, in dance the body speaks for itself. Yet this embodied voice still has its limitations, with the agency of the dancer's self expression contained by hierarchies of production and freedom of movement. In *Heartbeat of Home*, a globalised vehicle for a certain version of neoliberal Irish culture, dancers were prevented from expressing their own intercultural identities by the larger narrative and choreographic frameworks of the production. On the other hand, *Rian* and its dialectic rehearsal process more productively performed 'disruptions and reconfigurations of the usual positioning of bodies in societal structures [and] allow[ed] for alternative views of society to achieve visibility' (McGrath 3).

Over the course of my analysis, the paths of the two productions variously converged and departed, originating with similar intentions that were constructed and articulated quite differently, but ultimately received along parallel strands of understanding. While *Rian* was more successful in both practice and performance in expressing an intercultural Irishness, perhaps the most significant discovery is the tension held between how Ireland is willing—or unwilling—to see itself as ethnically diverse even as the rest of the world seems to have already accepted this as (danced) fact.

Conclusion

On 2 June 2017, Indian-Irish politician Leo Varadkar became Taoiseach of Ireland.[122] On the surface, Varadkar heralded a new vision of Ireland—the youngest, first openly gay and first mixed race Taoiseach ever elected. After his election, Varadkar positioned himself as an inspirational tale, noting that '[i]f somebody of my age, of my mixed race background and of all the things that make up my character can potentially become leader of our country, then I think that sends out a message to every child born today that there is no office in Ireland that they can't aspire to' (Halpin). Yet his politics remain firmly on the right side of his centrist party, Fine Gael. In the run-up to the election, Varadkar pushed 'initiatives like a high profile and costly campaign to stamp out welfare fraud' and initially opposed access to abortion for victims of rape (Kelly).[123] In his first year in office, he was as warm to Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau as he was with U.S. President Donald Trump. It therefore remains to be seen whether Varadkar's 'untraditional' background signals actual political change in Ireland, or if his gay and mixed race identity is simply being mobilised for their optics of progressivism.

More recently, on 22 August 2018, Waterford Rose Kirsten Mate Maher became the third mixed race woman to become the Rose of Tralee.[124] While she was preceded by Filipina-Irish Luzveminda O'Sullivan in 1998 and Indian-Irish Clare Kambamettu in 2010, Maher was the first African-Irish winner, with a father from Zambia. For the talent portion of the competition, Maher sang 'Feeling Good', a song made famous by African American singer Nina Simone, and she spoke in interviews about her changing relationship with her Black hair, which she wore naturally throughout the competition.[125] After being crowned, Maher spoke about the

[122] The Taoiseach is the Irish Prime Minister.

[123] Varadkar did change position on this stance and came out quite visibly in support of the campaign to repeal the 8th amendment, which made abortion constitutionally illegal in Ireland.

[124] The Rose of Tralee is an annual Irish beauty pageant that has been running since 1959. Contestants (or 'Roses') represent their counties or region of diaspora (for example, the Galway Rose, the Dubai Rose or the Florida Rose).

[125] For more on the politics and performance of Black hair, see Ingrid Banks's *Hair Matters: Beauty, Power, and Black Women's Consciousness,* bell hooks's

changing diversity of Ireland, noting that there 'is no "typical Irish woman" […] We're all different and we come in all shapes and sizes and skin colours and hair and freckles/no freckles. We're such a diverse community, and we need to embrace that' (Hughes). A week later, Maher suffered racist abuse on a night out with her boyfriend in Kilkenny, where she was verbally harassed by two men in a late-night chipper (Bray).

I end this thesis with these two anecdotes to signal recent developments and remaining tensions around the issues of race, identity and diversity in Ireland, and how scalar interculturalism and the intercultural figure might continue to inform our understandings of these themes. In both cases mixed race Irish individuals attained Irish offices that—whether practically or symbolically—place them at the centre of the nation. Both Varadkar and Maher note their mixed race backgrounds as inspirational examples, but there remains the question of whether their presentation as mixed race is accepted purely for symbolic (or cosmetic) purposes. For whether through their own actions or those of others, their espoused narratives of change and inclusion come into conflict with deeply rooted issues of racial and political conservatism that persist within Ireland today. Yet despite the ambiguity of these two examples, they nonetheless *matter*, as both the current Taoiseach and the reigning Rose of Tralee perform highly visible forms of intercultural Irishness.

The central claims of this thesis were that (a) the performative articulations of mixed race and minority ethnic identities can be seen and read as intercultural, (b) that this interculturalism is nested within and performed by the individual and (c) that this individual interculturalism can be revealed by analysing moments of performance through a scalar lens. Accordingly, throughout this study I have investigated how the shifting specificities of time and space impact how bodies perform and how these performances are received. I argued that multiple cultural contexts can—and do—meet and meld within the individual in a form of individual interculturalism. Further, the intercultural performances of the mixed race or minority ethnic individual can be analysed with most precision through a

---

'Straightening our Hair', Cheryl Thompson's *Black Women and Identity: What's Hair Got to Do with It?* and Paul Dash's 'Black hair culture, politics and change'.

scalar framework, as this allows for an examination of not just the moment itself, but those multiple contexts through which it is generated. This scalar analysis also highlights the *performative* aspect of these moments, acknowledging both the restrictions imposed on available identities and the agency of the individual in performing 'into being not merely new aesthetic forms but new social formations, new diasporic, hybrid, and intercultural social identities' (R. P. Knowles 45). Consequently, performances such as Varadkar's and Maher's—along with the case studies explored in this thesis—work to redefine the boundaries of Irish belonging.

Employing an interdisciplinary approach that incorporated theatre, sport and dance allowed me to comparatively assess various factors of performance such as body, voice and narrative across a diverse range of geographic and temporal scales. This approach revealed that narratives—whether they are fictional, cultural or historical—tend to restrict understandings of Irish identity along racial and ethnic categories when authored by those from within the white Irish community. By looking first at mixed race and then minority ethnic Irish individuals, I was also able to explore the different conditions of acceptance and belonging for those with *jus sanguinis* versus those with *jus soli* rights to citizenship, mirroring the divide of authenticity imposed by the 2004 Citizenship Referendum. In doing so I found that those with one Irish parent such as Ruth Negga, Jason Sherlock, Seán Óg Ó hAilpín and Lee Chin had greater agency in expressing a (mixed) Irish identity—either through performance or through platforms such as interviews and public profiles. In contrast, the minority ethnic case studies of Polish actors such as Alicja Ayres, Piotr Baumann and Robert Zawadzki or the dancers of *Heartbeat of Home* and *Rian* were more reliant on cultural vehicles authored by others, and as a result were often more vulnerable to those hegemonic narratives of exclusionary Irishness.

Ultimately, I argue that individuals are repertoires—both of their own performances, and of the narratives and social constructs that are projected upon them that accumulate in sedimentary layers of experience and expectation. Ruth Negga as an Abbey actress was not simply the characters Lolita, Java, Duck, Antigone, Bacchae or Abigail Williams. She was also the haunting and haunted spectres of the Celtic Tiger cosmopolitan

and the pregnant non-national, and was herself ghosted by larger histories of a pure white Irish Hibernia and circum-Atlantic connotations of blackness. Similarly, Seán Óg Ó hAilpín as Cuchulainn was not a simple representation of a mythical hero, but the mobilisation of Irish masculinity as 'spiritually' black in a key act of cultural remembering. At the same time both Negga and Ó hAilpín are mixed race Irish individuals who grew up looking different from those around them and with connections to heritage cultures both intimately present and far removed.

While the hegemonic scales of the historical, global and national often work on intercultural performers in ways that are out of their control, a focus on the scale of the individual reveals those moments of agency as still available. This agency can happen through active resistance, as in Lee Chin's public refusal to ignore racist abuse on the GAA pitch, or the authoring of new narratives of Irishness, as Polish Theatre Ireland sought to introduce into the Irish theatre sector with their work's unapologetic Polish-led interculturalism. But this agency can also happen through the reinscription of Irishness onto diverse bodies, as *Heartbeat of Home* and *Rian* did (to varying degrees of success) or as happens in the daily act of moving through the world as a racialised Irish subject.

I would like to conclude with some brief notes on how this thesis began, where it has gone, and where I hope it will go. In August 2008, just months before the economic crash that would herald the end of the Celtic Tiger boom, I began an MA in Drama at the National University of Ireland, Galway. In a class discussing theatre and globalization in Ireland, I casually mentioned that it would be fascinating to see how understandings of Irishness would shift as the new generations of migrant children grew up as Irish citizens. The reaction to this statement caught me off guard, especially for a room of young, fairly liberal twenty-somethings studying theatre. The backlash was immediate, hostile and almost dogmatic. 'No', I was told, 'That won't happen. *They* go home.' It was this reaction even more so than my initial question that piqued my interest, stayed with me, and became the seed that would germinate and grow into the study that you have just read.

Further inflecting and informing this project is the fact that by the time I began it, I had an even more personal connection to the topic. When I

began the PhD in 2014, my first day back at college was also my daughter's first day at créche. With a white Irish father and an Asian American mother, she is (as she proudly and inexplicably likes to proclaim at random) 'Japanese-American-Korean-Irish'. As we have both progressed through the years at our respective institutions, I have observed how her school peers are predominantly either ethnically mixed or of migrant backgrounds, with at least one parent from outside of Ireland—a fact that is celebrated annually at the school in its 'One World Week' festivities where families are invited to come and share aspects of their heritage culture. Yet on a daily basis, all of these students are speaking the Irish language, learning about Irish history, playing Irish sport and are generally immersed in Irish culture. They *are* home.

Ireland is changing; Ireland has changed. The vague, threatened 'They' that my classmate alluded to have stayed, have put down their own roots, have become part of the national fabric—whether or not they are acknowledged or appreciated as such. This study sought to create a framework that would allow for an analysis of how these intercultural Irish identities are individually formed and articulated, as well as advocate for their inclusion into those larger national narratives that they so frequently butt up against. As a result, scalar interculturalism seeks to parse apart what is happening in the moment of performance as much as it endeavours to prise open the doors of those larger scales, to better accommodate those Irish individuals who—so intimately, so authentically, so clearly—belong.

Bibliography

"20 Years of 'Riverdance' by the Numbers." *The Seattle Times*, 27 Oct. 2015, https://www.seattletimes.com/entertainment/dance/20-years-of-riverdance-by-the-numbers/.

"About the Abbey." *Abbey Theatre*, https://www.abbeytheatre.ie/about/about-the-abbey/. Accessed 11 June 2018.

"Accommodation - Key Issues." *Irish Travellers Movement*, https://itmtrav.ie/strategic-priorities/accommodation/accommodation-key-issues/. Accessed 20 Aug. 2018.

Anderson, Zoe. "Fabulous Beast, Sadler's Wells, London." *The Independent*, 28 Oct. 2011, https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/theatre-dance/reviews/fabulous-beast-sadlers-wells-london-2376738.html.

Antonsich, Marco. "Interculturalism versus Multiculturalism – The Cantle-Modood Debate." *Ethnicities*, vol. 16, no. 3, June 2016, pp. 470–93. *Crossref*, doi:10.1177/1468796815604558.

Arrowsmith, Aidan. "Plastic Paddies vs. Master Racers: 'Soccer' and Irish Identity." *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, vol. 7, no. 4, Dec. 2004, pp. 460–79. *CrossRef*, doi:10.1177/1367877904047864.

Aviks, Valda. "Valda Aviks." *LaCarlotta.Com*, http://www.lacarlotta.com/shr/aviks.html. Accessed 19 Aug. 2018.

Barter, Pavel. "Interview." *Sunday Times*, 3 Feb. 2008, pp. 26–27.

Baxter, Jonny. "Austerity Was Not Main Cause of Ireland's Economic Reovery, Book Says." *University College Dublin*, 31 Jan. 2017, http://www.ucd.ie/newsandopinion/news/2017/jan/31/austeritywasnotmaincauseofirisheconomicrecoverybooksays/.

Bertrand, Michael. "I Don't Think Hank Done It That Way: Elvis, Country Music and the Reconstruction of Southern Masculinity." *A Boy Named Sue: Gender and Country Music*, edited by Kristine McCusker and Diane Pecknold, University of Mississippi, 2004, pp. 59–85.

Bharucha, Rustom. "Peter Brook's 'Mahabharata': A View from India." *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 23, no. 32, 1988, pp. 1642–47.

---. *The Politics of Cultural Practice: Thinking Through Theatre in an Age of Globalization*. Athlone, 2000.

Billington, Michael. "Duck, Traverse, Edinburgh." *The Guardian*, 4 Aug. 2003. *www.theguardian.com*, https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2003/aug/04/theatre.edinburghfestival20033.

Boccadoro, Patricia. "Rian: Ireland's Fabulous Beast." *Culturekiosque*, 2 June 2013,

http://www.culturekiosque.com/dance/reviews/rian_fabbeast801.html.

Boland, Rosita. "How 11 Striking Irish Workers Helped to Fight Apartheid." *The Irish Times*, https://www.irishtimes.com/news/world/africa/how-11-striking-irish-workers-helped-to-fight-apartheid-1.1618635. Accessed 2 Aug. 2018.

Bonnett, Alastair. "Who Was White? The Disappearance of Non-European White Identities and the Formation of European Racial Whiteness." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 21, no. 6, Nov. 1998, pp. 1029–55. *CrossRef*, doi:10.1080/01419879808565651.

Boucher, François, and Jocelyn Maclure. "Moving the Debate Forward: Interculturalism's Contribution to Multiculturalism." *Comparative Migration Studies*, vol. 6, no. 1, Dec. 2018. *Crossref*, doi:10.1186/s40878-018-0078-2.

Brady, Sara. "Sporting 'Irish' Identities: Performance and the Gaelic Games." *Crossroads: Performance Studies and Irish Culture*, edited by Sara Brady and Fintan Walsh, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, pp. 34–44.

Brandi, Sylvia. "Unveiling the Ideological Construction of the 2004 Irish Citizenship Referndum: A Critical Discourse Analysis." *Translocations*, vol. 2, no. 1, 2007, pp. 26–47.

Brannigan, John. *Race in Modern Irish Literature and Culture*. Edinburgh University Press, 2009.

Brantley, Ben. "'Once,' the Musical, at New York Theater Workshop - Review." *The New York Times*, 6 Dec. 2011. *NYTimes.com*, https://www.nytimes.com/2011/12/07/theater/reviews/once-the-musical-at-new-york-theater-workshop-review.html.

---. "'Once,' With Steve Kazee and Cristin Milioti, at Jacobs Theater." *The New York Times*, 18 Mar. 2012. *NYTimes.com*, https://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/19/theater/reviews/once-with-steve-kazee-and-cristin-milioti-at-jacobs-theater.html.

Bray, Allison. "Gardai Probe 'racist Abuse' of Rose Winner Kirsten." *Herald.Ie*, 28 Aug. 2018, https://www.herald.ie/news/gardai-probe-racist-abuse-of-rose-winner-kirsten-37258723.html.

Brennan, Helen. *The Story of Irish Dance*. Brandon, 1999.

Brennan, Patrick. "Negga Shows on Her Professional Stage Debut That She Is a Natural Star." *Irish Examiner*, 18 Sept. 2002.

"Brexit: EU 'Ready to Improve' Irish Border Proposal - Barnier." *The Irish Times*, https://www.irishtimes.com/news/politics/brexit-eu-ready-to-improve-irish-border-proposal-barnier-1.3584255. Accessed 4 Sept. 2018.

Brown, Ismene. "Fabulous Beast Dance Theatre, Rian, Sadler's Wells." *The Arts Desk*, 25 Oct. 2011, https://theartsdesk.com/dance/fabulous-beast-dance-theatre-rian-sadlers-wells.

Browne, PJ. "From War-Torn Liberia to Westmeath: The Remarkable Story of Boidu Sayeh." *Balls.Ie*, 24 May 2018,

https://www.balls.ie/gaa/boidu-sayeh-westmeath-footballer-389565.

Butler, Eoin. "GAA Club's Integration Policy Pays off in Ireland's Most Ethnically Diverse Town." *The Irish Times*, https://www.irishtimes.com/life-and-style/people/gaa-club-s-integration-policy-pays-off-in-ireland-s-most-ethnically-diverse-town-1.2237262. Accessed 17 Aug. 2018.

Butterworth, Jo. "Too Many Cooks? A Framework for Dance Making and Devising." *Contemporary Choreography: A Critical Reader*, edited by Jo Butterworth and Liesbeth Wildschut, Routledge, 2009, pp. 177–94.

Byrne, Jonny, and Cathy Gormley-Heenan. "Beyond the Walls: Dismantling Belfast's Conflict Architecture." *City*, vol. 18, no. 4–5, Sept. 2014, pp. 447–54. *Crossref*, doi:10.1080/13604813.2014.939465.

Cabranes-Grant, Leo. "From Scenarios to Networks: Performing the Intercultural in Colonial Mexico." *Theatre Journal*, vol. 63, no. 4, 2011, pp. 499–520. *search.library.nuigalway.ie*, doi:10.1353/tj.2011.0135.

Cahill, Liam. "The Inspirational Seán Óg Ó HAilpín." *The Twelve O'Clock Blog*, 15 Dec. 2013, https://liamcahill.wordpress.com/2013/12/15/the-inspirational-sean-og-o-hailpin/.

Cantle, Ted. "National Identity, Plurality and Interculturalism." *The Political Quarterly*, vol. 85, no. 3, 2014, pp. 312–19.

Carby, Hazel. "What Is This 'black' in Irish Popular Culture?" *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, vol. 4, no. 3, 2001, pp. 325–49.

Carney, John. *Once*. *www.imdb.com*, http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0907657/. Accessed 28 Sept. 2018.

Carty, Ciaran. "Realm of the Forbidden." *Sunday Tribune*, 8 Sept. 2002.

Casey, Natasha. "Riverdance: The Importance of Being Irish American." *New Hibernia Review*, vol. 6, no. 4, 2002, pp. 9–25.

Catanese, Brandi Wilkins. *The Problem of the Color(Blind): Racial Transgression and the Politics of Black Performance*. University of Michigan Press, 2011.

Census of Population 2016 – Profile 7 Migration and Diversity - CSO - Central Statistics Office. https://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/ep/p-cp7md/p7md/. Accessed 20 Aug. 2018.

Chaudhuri, Una. "Beyond a 'Taxonomic Theater': Interculturalism after Postcolonialism and Globalization." *Theater*, vol. 32, no. 1, 2002, pp. 33–47. *search.library.nuigalway.ie*, doi:10.1215/01610775-32-1-33.

Clancy, Luke. "Theatre with Luke Clancy." *Evening Herals*, 24 Oct. 2003, p. 6.

Comer, Patrick. *Tall, Dark and Ó HAilpín*. Telegael, 2007.

Commissioner, Office of the Refugee Applications. "Home - Orac." *Office of the Refugee Applications Commissioner*,

http://orac.ie/website/orac/oracwebsite.nsf/page/index-en. Accessed 26 Sept. 2018.

"Concerns Raised over Domestic Violence Figures." *RTE.Ie*, Feb. 2017. *www.rte.ie*, https://www.rte.ie/news/2017/0205/850363-domestic-violence-figures/.

Connell, R. W. *Masculinities*. 2nd ed., Polity Press, 2005.

Cork Dry Gin Profile. Dubliner, 13 May 2003. Abbey Theatre Digital Archive at National University of Ireland, Galway, 4819 PC 0002 p. 47.

Coulter, Colin. "The End of Irish History? An Introduction to the Book." *The End of Irish History?: Critical Reflections on the Celtic Tiger*, Manchester University Press, 2003, pp. 1–33.

Crawley, Peter. "Romeo and Juliet." *Irish Times*, 14 Feb. 2008, p. 10.

Cronin, Mike. "'Is It for the Glamour?': Masculinity, Nationhood and Amateurism in Contemporary Projections of the Gaelic Athletic Association." *Irish Postmodernisms and Popular Culture*, edited by Wanda Balzano et al., Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2007, pp. 39–51. *Springer Link*, doi:10.1057/9780230800588_4.

---. *Sport and Nationalism in Ireland: Gaelic Games, Soccer and Irish Identity since 1884*. Four Courts Press, 1999.

Crowe, Dermot. "From Laois Hurler Paddy Ruschitzko to Mayo's Shairoze Akram: How Immigrants Are Playing Increasing Role in GAA." *Independent.Ie*, https://www.independent.ie/sport/gaelic-games/from-laois-hurler-paddy-ruschitzko-to-mayos-shairoze-akram-how-

immigrants-are-playing-increasing-role-in-gaa-35302328.html. Accessed 17 Aug. 2018.

"Culture, n." *OED Online*, Oxford University Press. *Oxford English Dictionary*, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/45746. Accessed 26 Sept. 2018.

Cummiskey, Gavin. "Duo Are Banned for Racist Abuse." *Irish Times*, 20 June 2012, https://www.irishtimes.com/sport/duo-are-banned-for-racist-abuse-1.1067510.

Cusack, Michael. "A Word about Irish Athletics." *United Ireland*, 11 Oct. 1884, p. 5.

Daniel, G. Reginald, et al. "Emerging Paradigms in Critical Mixed Race Studies." *Journal of Critical Mixed Race Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1, Jan. 2014. *escholarship.org*, https://escholarship.org/uc/item/2db5652b#author.

Darmody, Merike, and Emer Smyth. "Out-of-School Social Activities among Immigrant-Origin Children Living in Ireland." *The Economic and Social Review*, vol. 48, no. 4, Winter, Dec. 2017, pp. 419–39.

Davé, Shilpa. "Racial Accents, Hollywood Casting, and Asian American Studies." *Cinema Journal*, vol. 56, no. 3, 2017, pp. 142–47. *CrossRef*, doi:10.1353/cj.2017.0030.

Dean, Tanya. "Staging Hibernia: Female Allegories of Ireland in Cathleen Ní Houlihan and Dawn." *Theatre History Studies*, vol. 33, no. 1, 2014, pp. 71–82. *CrossRef*, doi:10.1353/ths.2014.0018.

Dineen, Kieran. "GAA Are Being Asked to Play Leading Role in Helping Integrate Syrian Refugees." *The Irish Sun*, 31 Mar. 2018, https://www.thesun.ie/news/2384767/gaa-and-other-sporting-groups-being-asked-to-play-leading-role-in-helping-integrate-syrian-refugees/.

Doane, Woody. "Rethinking Whiteness Studies." *White Out: The Continuing Significance of Racism*, edited by Ashley "Woody" Doane and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, Routledge, 2003, pp. 3–20.

Doyle, Roddy. *The Commitments*. 1st Vintage contemporaries ed, Vintage Books, 1989.

---. *The Deportees: And Other Stories*. Vintage Books, 2008. *Gemeinsamer Bibliotheksverbund ISBN*, McGly.

Edensor, Tim. *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life*. Berg Publishers, 2002.

Eidsheim, Nina Sun. "Marian Anderson and 'Sonic Blackness' in American Opera." *American Quarterly*, vol. 63, no. 3, 2011, pp. 641–671. *search.library.nuigalway.ie*, doi:10.1353/aq.2011.0045.

Elam, Michele. *The Souls of Mixed Folk: Race, Politics, and Aesthetics in the New Millennium*. Stanford University Press, 2011.

Entertainment.ie. *Rian Review, Cork Midsummer Festival, Entertainment.Ie - Reviews*. 25 June 2012, http://fabulousbeast.net/production/review/rian-review-cork-midsummer-festival-entertainment.ie.

"Ethnicity, n." *OED Online*, Oxford University Press. *Oxford English Dictionary*, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/64791. Accessed 26 Sept. 2018.

"Ethnochoreology MA." *Graduate School, University of Limerick*, 22 Mar. 2013, https://www.ul.ie/graduateschool/course/ethnochoreology-ma.

"EU Watchdog Issues Warning over Traveller Housing Shortage and Site Conditions." *Independent.Ie*, https://www.independent.ie/irish-news/news/eu-watchdog-issues-warning-over-traveller-housing-shortage-and-site-conditions-34718107.html. Accessed 20 Aug. 2018.

Fagan, G. Honor. "Globalised Ireland, or, Contemporary Transformations of National Identity?" *The End of Irish History? Critical Reflections on the Celtic Tiger*, edited by Colin Coulter and Steve Coleman, Manchester University Press, 2003, pp. 110–21.

Fannin, Hilary. *Doldrum Bay*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2003.

Fay, Liam. "Paddy Whacks Back!" *Independent.Ie*, https://www.independent.ie/irish-news/paddy-whacks-back-26202260.html. Accessed 12 Sept. 2018.

Feehily, Stella. *Duck*. Nick Hern, 2003.

Ferriter, Diarmaid. "Introduction." *The Gaelic Athletic Association: 1884-2009*, edited by Mike Cronin et al., Irish Academic Press, 2009, pp. xvi–xx.

Fetzer, Joel S. "Opposition to Irish Travellers' Halting Sites in the Republic of Ireland: Realistic Group Conflict or Symbolic Politics?" *Irish Journal of Sociology*, vol. 25, no. 2, 2017, pp. 195–206. *search.library.nuigalway.ie*, doi:10.1177/0791603516676097.

Fischer-Lichte, Erika. "Introduction: Interweaving Performance Cultures--Rethinking 'Intercultural Theatre': Toward an Experience and Theory of Performance beyond Postcolonialism." *The Politics of Interweaving Performance Cultures: Beyond Postcolonialism*, edited by Erika Fischer-Lichte et al., Routledge, 2014, pp. 1–24.

Foley, Catherine. "Ethnochoreology as a Mediating Perspective in Irish Dance Studies." *New Hibernia Review*, vol. 16, no. 2, 2012, pp. 143–54.

---. "Perceptions of Irish Step Dance: National, Global, and Local." *Dance Research Journal*, vol. 33, no. 1, 2001, pp. 34–45.

Foster, Susan Leigh, editor. *Choreographing History*. Indiana University Press, 1995.

---. *Choreography & Narrative: Ballet's Staging of Story and Desire*. Nachdr., Indiana Univ. Press, 1998.

---. "Dancing Bodies." *Incorporations*, edited by Jonathan Crary and Sanford Kwinter, Zone 6, 1992, pp. 480–95.

"Freedom of the City." *Cork City Council*, http://www.corkcity.ie/yourcouncil/freedomofthecity/). Accessed 25 Sept. 2017.

Fricker, Karen. "The Bacchae of Baghdad." *The Guardian*, 12 Mar. 2006.

Friel, Mary. *Dancing as a Social Pastime in the South-East of Ireland, 1800-1897*. Four Courts Press, 2004.

"From the Producers of Riverdance - Heartbeat of Home | Talent Search." *Heartbeat of Home*, http://heartbeatofhome.com/talent-search/. Accessed 13 Oct. 2017.

"F-Words Cut from The Commitments Stage Musical." *Independent.Ie*, https://www.independent.ie/entertainment/movies/fwords-cut-from-the-commitments-stage-musical-29974278.html. Accessed 1 Aug. 2018.

GAA Official Guide. Part 1, Gaelic Athletic Association, 2018.

Gardner, Lyn. "The Commitments – Review." *The Guardian*, 8 Oct. 2013. *www.theguardian.com*, http://www.theguardian.com/stage/2013/oct/08/the-commitments-musical-roddy-doyle-review.

Garner, Steve. *Racism in the Irish Experience*. Pluto Press, 2004.

Geibheannaigh, Liam O. "Referendum on Citizenship." *The Irish Times*, 7 Apr. 2004, p. 15.

Ging, Debbie. "Screening the Green: Cinema Under the Celtic Tiger." *Reinventing Ireland: Culture, Society and the Global Economy*, edited by Peadar Kirby et al., Pluto Press, 2002, pp. 177–95.

Goldberg, David Theo. "The Semantics of Race." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 15, no. 4, 1992, pp. 543–69.

Gregg, Stacey. *Shibboleth*. 2017. *Open WorldCat*, http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781784603847.00000002.

Gregory, Augusta. *Our Irish Theatre; A Chapter of Autobiography*. G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1914.

Gregory, Derek, editor. *The Dictionary of Human Geography*. 5th ed, Blackwell, 2009.

Grene, Nicholas. *The Politics of Irish Drama: Plays in Context from Boucicault to Friel*. Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Halloran, Melinda. "Anna Kaszuba." *Map Magazine // THE DREAMERS*, 6 Sept. 2013, http://theweekendedition.com.au/mapmagazine/anna-kaszuba/.

Halpin, Padraic. "Leo Varadkar: Son of an Immigrant Set to Become Ireland's Youngest PM." *Reuters*, 2 June 2017. *www.reuters.com*, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-ireland-politics-varadkar/leo-varadkar-son-of-an-immigrant-set-to-become-irelands-youngest-pm-idUSKBN18T2KV.

Hamera, Judith. *Dancing Communities: Performance, Difference and Connection in the Global City*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Harris, Susan Cannon. *Gender and Modern Irish Drama*. Indiana University Press, 2002.

Harvie, Jen. *Staging the UK*. Manchester University Press, 2005.

Hayes, Michael. *Irish Travellers: Representations and Realities*. Liffey Press, 2006.

Haynes, Amanda, et al. "Public Exercises in Othering: Irish Print Media Coverage of Asylum Seekers and Refugees." *Facing the Other*, edited by Borbála Faragó and Moynagh Sullivan, Cambridge Scholars Press, 2008, pp. 162–80.

Heaney, Mick. "Hope Is the Thing with Feathers." *Sunday Times*, 14 Sept. 2003.

Heartbeat of Home. Decca, 2014.

"Heartbeat of Home's Latin Dancers Curtis Angus & Clare Craze." *TorontoVerve*, 12 Feb. 2014, http://www.torontoverve.org/2014/02/heartbeat-of-homes-latin-dancers-curtis_12.html.

Helleiner, Jane Leslie. *Irish Travellers: Racism and the Politics of Culture*. University of Toronto Press, 2000.

Hill Collins, Patricia, and Sirma Bilge. *Intersectionality*. Polity Press, 2016.

Hill Collins, Patricia, and John Solomos. "Introduction: Situating Race and Ethnic Studies." *The SAGE Handbook of Race and Ethnic Studies*, edited by Patricia Hill Collins and John Solomos, SAGE Publications, 2010, pp. 1–16.

Holl, Kitty. "Council to Evict 10 Traveller Families from Galway Halting Site." *The Irish Times*, https://www.irishtimes.com/news/social-affairs/council-to-evict-10-traveller-families-from-galway-halting-site-1.3105732. Accessed 20 Aug. 2018.

Holledge, Julie, and Joanne Tompkins. *Women's Intercultural Performance*. Routledge, 2000.

Howitt, Richard. "Scale as Relation: Musical Metaphors of Geographical Scale." *Area*, vol. 30, no. 1, 1998, pp. 49–58.

Hughes, Brendan. "New Rose of Tralee: 'There Is No Typical Irish Woman.'" *The Irish News*, 23 Aug. 2018, http://www.irishnews.com/news/republicofirelandnews/2018/08/23/news/new-rose-of-tralee-there-is-no-typical-irish-woman--1413920/.

Hughey, Mathew. "Racializing Redemption, Reproducing Racism: The Odyssey of Magical Negroes and White Saviors." *Sociology Compass*, vol. 6, no. 9, 2012, pp. 751–67.

Humphries, Tom. "Blending in While Still Standing Out." *Irish Times*, 11 Aug. 2001, p. 27.

---. *Green Fields: Gaelic Sport in Ireland*. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1996.

---. "The Last Action Hero." *Irish Times*, 26 Aug. 2006, p. B5.

Hutchinson, John. *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State*. Allen & Unwin, 1987.

Huynh, Kenneth, and Benjamin Woo. "'Asian Fail': Chinese Canadian Men Talk about Race, Masculinity, and the Nerd Stereotype." *Social Identities*, vol. 20, no. 4–5, Sept. 2014, pp. 363–78. *Crossref*, doi:10.1080/13504630.2014.1003205.

Ignatiev, Noel. *How the Irish Became White*. Routledge, 1995.

ImPulsTanz Archive. https://www.impulstanz.com/en/archive/artistbios/id1223/. Accessed 20 Sept. 2018.

Ingle, Roísín. "Targeting the Teenagers." *Irish Times*, 5 Jan. 1998, p. 19.

Innes, Catherine Lynette. *Woman and Nation in Irish Literature and Society, 1880 - 1935*. Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993.

"Irish Give Key to City To Panthers as Symbol." *The New York Times*, 3 Mar. 1970. *NYTimes.com*, https://www.nytimes.com/1970/03/03/archives/irish-give-key-to-city-to-panthers-as-symbol.html.

Is Fada an Turas é ó Fiji Go Corcaigh Agus ó Corcaigh... - YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qqe72bcouPY. Accessed 28 Sept. 2018.

Jackson, Joe. "Duck Naked." *Hot Press*, 3 Nov. 2003.

Jacobson, Matthew Frye. *Whiteness of a Different Color European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*. 1st Harvard University Press pbk. ed., Harvard University Press, 1999. *search.library.nuigalway.ie*, http://libgate.library.nuigalway.ie/login?url=http://libgate.library.nuigalway.ie/login?url=http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.02522.

Jerald, Morgan C., et al. "Subordinates, Sex Objects, or Sapphires? Investigating Contributions of Media Use to Black Students' Femininity Ideologies and Stereotypes About Black Women." *Journal of Black Psychology*, vol. 43, no. 6, Sept. 2017, pp. 608–35. *SAGE Journals*, doi:10.1177/0095798416665967.

Johns, Michael. "Post-Accession Polish Migrants in Britain and Ireland: Challenges and Obstacles to Integration in the European Union."

European Journal of Migration and Law, vol. 15, no. 1, Jan. 2013, pp. 29–45. *CrossRef*, doi:10.1163/15718166-12342022.

Johnson, Toni O'Brien, and David Cairns, editors. *Gender in Irish Writing*. Open University Press, 1991.

Jonas, Andrew. "Pro Scale: Further Reflections on the 'scale Debate' in Human Geography." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, vol. 31, no. 3, 2006, pp. 399–406.

Jones, Chris. "'Heartbeat of Home': A Changed Ireland Still Dancing - Chicago Tribune." *Chicago Tribune*, 7 Mar. 2014, http://www.chicagotribune.com/entertainment/ct-xpm-2014-03-07-ct-ott-0307-heartbeat-review-20140307-story.html.

Jones III, John Paul, et al. "Neil Smith's Scale." *Antipode*, vol. 49, no. S1, 2017, pp. 138–52.

Kasner, Charlotte. "Fabulous Beast Dance Theatre: Rian." *CriticalDance*, 20 June 2014, http://criticaldance.org/fabulous-beast-dance-theatre-rian/.

Kavanagh, Donncha, et al. "Dance-Work: Images of Organization in Irish Dance." *Organization*, vol. 15, no. 5, Sept. 2008, pp. 725–42. *Crossref*, doi:10.1177/1350508408093650.

Keating, Sara. "Crucible." *Sunday Business Post*, 3 June 2007.

---. "Rian." *Irish Times*, 8 Oct. 2011, https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/stage/rian-1.614560.

---. "The Commitments Review: Full of Heart and Soul, but Not Drama." *The Irish Times*, https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/stage/the-

commitments-review-full-of-heart-and-soul-but-not-drama-1.2830505. Accessed 1 Aug. 2018.

Kelly, Dara. "New Leader Leo Varadkar Considered Far Too Right-Wing by Many Voters in Ireland." *IrishCentral.Com*, 5 June 2017, https://www.irishcentral.com/news/politics/new-leader-leo-varadkar-considered-far-too-right-wing-by-many-voters-in-ireland.

King, Anna. *An Alternative Gathering: Public Space and Shared Agency in the Lived Experience of Multicultural Ireland*. National University of Ireland, Galway, 2014.

King, Jason. "Contemporary Irish Theatre, the New Playboy Controversy, and the Economic Crisis." *Irish Studies Review*, vol. 24, no. 1, Nov. 2015, pp. 1–12. *search.library.nuigalway.ie*, doi:10.1080/09670882.2015.1113007.

King-O'Riain, Rebecca Chiyoko, editor. *Global Mixed Race*. New York Univ. Press, 2014.

Kitchin, Rob, et al. "Placing Neoliberalism: The Rise and Fall of Ireland's Celtic Tiger." *Environment and Planning A*, vol. 44, no. 6, June 2012, pp. 1302–26. *Crossref*, doi:10.1068/a44349.

Knowles, Ric. *Performing the Intercultural City*. University of Michigan Press, 2017.

Knowles, Richard Paul. *Theatre & Interculturalism*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Komolafe, Julius. "Nigerian Migration to Ireland: Movements, Motivations and Experiences." *Irish Geography*, vol. 41, no. 2, July

2008, pp. 225–241. *search.library.nuigalway.ie*, doi:10.1080/00750770802077016.

Krings, Torben, et al. "Polish Migration to Ireland: 'Free Movers' in the New European Mobility Space." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 39, no. 1, Jan. 2013, pp. 87–103. *CrossRef*, doi:10.1080/1369183X.2012.723250.

Kuus, Merje. "Europe's Eastern Expansion and the Reinscription of Otherness in East-Central Europe." *Progress in Human Geography*, vol. 28, no. 4, 2004, pp. 472–489. *search.library.nuigalway.ie*, doi:10.1191/0309132504ph498oa.

Lally, Conor. "Significant Increase in Numbers Seeking Asylum in Republic." *The Irish Times*, https://www.irishtimes.com/news/crime-and-law/significant-increase-in-numbers-seeking-asylum-in-republic-1.3465992. Accessed 2 Aug. 2018.

"Laochra – The GAA Commemorates 1916." *Www.Gaa.Ie*, http://www.gaa.ie/gaa-now/laochra-the-gaa-commemorates-1916/. Accessed 26 Sept. 2017.

Lee, Josephine. "Racial Actors, Liberal Myths." *Xcp: Cross Cultural Poetics*, vol. 13, 2003, pp. 88–110.

@leftistrhetoric, (Des Henderson). *Shairoze Akram First Man Born in Pakistan to Win All-Ireland Medal...There'll Not Be a Cow Milked in Lahore, Proud Day for the Parish #Mayo*. 1 May 2016, https://twitter.com/leftistrhetoric/status/726741888565428224.

Lei, Daphne Pi-Wei. "Interruption, Intervention, Interculturalism: Robert Wilson's HIT Productions in Taiwan." *Theatre Journal*, vol. 63, no. 4, 2011, pp. 571–586. *search.library.nuigalway.ie*, doi:10.1353/tj.2011.0118.

Lentin, Ronit. "Black Bodies and 'Headless Hookers': Alternative Global Narratives for 21st Century Ireland." *The Irish Review*, no. 33, 2005, pp. 1–12.

---. "Ireland: Racial State and Crisis Racism." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 30, no. 4, July 2007, pp. 610–27. *Taylor and Francis+NEJM*, doi:10.1080/01419870701356023.

Levey, Geoffrey. "Diversity, Duality and Time." *Multiculturalism and Interculturalism: Debating the Dividing Lines*, edited by Nasar Meer et al., Edinburgh University Press, 2016, pp. 201–24.

Li, Ruru, and Jonathan Pitches. "The End of the Hour-Glass: Alternative Conceptions of Intercultural Exchange between European and Chinese Operatic Forms." *Studies in Theatre and Performance*, vol. 32, no. 2, June 2012, pp. 121–37. *CrossRef*, doi:10.1386/stap.32.2.121_1.

Lippi-Green, Rosina. *English with an Accent: Language, Ideology and Discrimination in the United States*. 2nd ed, Routledge, 2012.

Lo, Jacqueline, and Helen Gilbert. "Toward a Topography of Cross-Cultural Theatre Praxis." *TDR/The Drama Review*, vol. 46, no. 3, 2002, pp. 31–53. *search.library.nuigalway.ie*, doi:10.1162/105420402320351468.

Lonergan, Patrick. "Half-Hearted: Irish Theatre, 2003." *New Hibernia Review*, vol. 8, no. 2, 2004, pp. 142–51. *Crossref*, doi:10.1353/nhr.2004.0043.

---. "Once: The Musical." *Irish Theatre Magazine*, 5 Mar. 2013, http://itmarchive.ie/web/Reviews/Current/Once--The-Musical.html.

---. *Theatre and Globalization: Irish Drama in the Celtic Tiger Era*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Loyal, Steve. "Welcome to the Celtic Tiger: Racism, Immigration and the State." *The End of Irish History?: Critical Reflections on the Celtic Tiger*, edited by Colin Coulter and Steve Coleman, Manchester University Press, 2003, pp. 74–94.

Lynch, Donal. "Homing in on Simpson No Job for Amateurs." *Sunday Independent*, 26 Feb. 2006. Abbey Theatre Digital Archive at National University of Ireland, Galway.

Lyons, Kate. "Racist Incidents Feared to Be Linked to Brexit Result." *The Guardian*, 26 June 2016. *www.theguardian.com*, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/26/racist-incidents-feared-to-be-linked-to-brexit-result-reported-in-england-and-wales.

Mac Éinrí, Piaras, and Allen White. "Immigration into the Republic of Ireland: A Bibliography of Recent Research." *Irish Geography*, vol. 41, no. 2, July 2008, pp. 151–79. *Crossref*, doi:10.1080/00750770802076943.

MacClancy, Jeremy, editor. *Sport, Identity and Ethnicity*. Berg, 1996.

Macdonald, Bryan. "Baghdad Brilliance Breaks Abbey Habit." *Irish Daily Mail*, 10 Mar. 2006.

MacReamoinn, Seona. "Heartbeat of Home." *The Irish Times*, https://www.irishtimes.com/heartbeat-of-home-1.1549240. Accessed 13 Oct. 2017.

Maguire, Tom. *Making Theatre in Northern Ireland: Through and Beyond the Troubles.* University of Exeter Press, 2015. *Open WorldCat*, http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=1982418.

Mahony, Donald. "Playgirl of the Western World." *Village*, 74th ed., 23 Mar. 2006.

Mann-Klerr, Deepa. "Identity and Racism in Northern Ireland." *Racism and Anti-Racism in Ireland*, edited by Ronit Lentin and Robbie McVeigh, Beyond the Pale, 2002, pp. 63–72.

Markus, Hazel Rose. "Pride, Prejudice, and Ambivalence: Toward a Unified Theory of Race and Ethnicity." *American Psychologist*, vol. 63, no. 8, 2008, pp. 651–670. *search.library.nuigalway.ie*, doi:10.1037/0003-066X.63.8.651.

Marston, Sallie. "The Social Construction of Scale." *Progress in Human Geography*, vol. 24, no. 2, 2000, pp. 219–42.

McCafferty, Owen. *Quietly*. Faber and Faber, 2012.

McCarthy, Margaret. *My Eyes Only Look Out*. Brandon Books, 2001.

McDowell, Linda. "Old and New European Economic Migrants: Whiteness and Managed Migration Policies." *Journal of Ethnic*

and Migration Studies, vol. 35, no. 1, Jan. 2009, pp. 19–36. *CrossRef*, doi:10.1080/13691830802488988.

McGarry, Orla. *Identity Formation among Teenaged Members of the Muslim Population of Ballyhaunis, Co. Mayo*. National University of Ireland, Galway, 2012.

McGlynn, Mary. "Why Jimmy Wears a Suit: White, Black, and Working Class in 'The Commitments.'" *Studies in the Novel*, vol. 36, no. 2, Summer 2004, pp. 232–50.

McGrath, Aoife. *Dance Theatre in Ireland: Revolutionary Moves*. 2013. *Open WorldCat*, http://openurl.uquebec.ca:9003/uqam?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&url_ctx_fmt=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:ctx&ctx_enc=info:ofi/enc:UTF-8&ctx_ver=Z39.88-2004&rfr_id=info:sid/sfxit.com:azlist&sfx.ignore_date_threshold=1&rft.isbn=9781137035486.

McIvor, Charlotte. *Migration and Performance in Contemporary Ireland: Towards a New Interculturalism*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

McIvor, Charlotte, and Matthew J. Spangler. *Staging Intercultural Ireland: New Plays and Practitioner Perspectives*. Cork University Press, 2014.

McMillan, Joyce. "Duck." *The Scotsman*, 4 Aug. 2003.

McVeigh, Robbie. "'There's No Racism Because There's No Black People Here': Racism and Anti-Racism in Northern Ireland." *Divided Society: Ethnic Minorities and Racism in Northern Ireland*, edited by Paul Hainsworth, Pluto Press, 1998, pp. 11–32.

Meaney, Gerardine. *Gender, Ireland and Cultural Change: Race, Sex and Nation*. Routledge, 2010.

Meany, Helen. "Reviews--The Burial at Thebes, Abbey Theatre, Dublin." *The Irish Times*, 7 Apr. 2004, https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/reviews-1.1307162.

Mesev, Victor, et al. "The Geography of Conflict and Death in Belfast, Northern Ireland." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol. 99, no. 5, Oct. 2009, pp. 893–903. *Crossref*, doi:10.1080/00045600903260556.

Meyer, Moe. "Mapping the Body Politic: Embodying Political Geography in Irish Dance." *Performance Research*, vol. 6, no. 2, Jan. 2001, pp. 67–74. *CrossRef*, doi:10.1080/13528165.2001.10871789.

Migration and Citizenship Research Initiative. *Getting on: From Migration to Integration, Chinese, Indian, Lithuanian, and Nigerian Migrants' Experiences in Ireland*. Immigrant Council of Ireland, 2008.

Miller, Arthur. *The Crucible: A Play in Four Acts*. 47. [print.], Penguin Books, 1994.

Miller, D. Quentin. "The Signifying Poppet: Unseen Voodoo and Arthur Miller's Tituba." *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, vol. 43, no. 4, Oct. 2007, pp. 438–54. *Crossref*, doi:10.1093/fmls/cqm065.

"Mission Statement." *Polish Theatre Ireland*, 22 Jan. 2013, https://polishtheatre.wordpress.com/about-us/mission-statement/.

Mitra, Royona. *Akram Khan: Dancing New Interculturalism*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Modood, Tariq. "Interculturalism: Not a New Policy Paradigm." *Comparative Migration Studies*, vol. 6, no. 1, Dec. 2018. *Crossref*, doi:10.1186/s40878-018-0091-5.

---. *Multiculturalism*. Polity, 2007.

Molony, Julia. "The Face of the Future." *Sunday Independent*, 4 Apr. 2004.

Mooney, Jennifer. *Irish Stereotypes in Vaudeville, 1865-1905*. 2015.

Moran, James. *Staging the Easter Rising: 1916 as Theatre*. Cork University Press, 2005.

Morrison, Angeline D. "Irish and White-Ish: Mixed 'Race' Identity an the Scopic Regime of Whiteness." *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol. 27, 2004, pp. 385–96.

Morrison, Connall. *The Bacchae at Baghdad (Prompt Script)*. 2006. Abbey Theatre Digital Archive at National University of Ireland, Galway.

Nagel, Joane. "Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture." *Social Problems*, vol. 41, no. 1, Feb. 1994, pp. 152–76. *Crossref*, doi:10.2307/3096847.

Nash, Catherine. *Of Irish Descent: Origin Stories, Genealogy, and the Politics of Belonging*. Syracuse University Press, 2008.

Negra, Diane. "The Irish in Us: Irishness, Performativity and Popular Culture." *The Irish in Us: Irishness, Performativity, and Popular*

Culture, edited by Diane Negra, Duke University Press, 2006, pp. 1–19.

News, The Red Card. *Shock as Underage Game Abandoned amid Allegations of Racism | Show Racism The Red Card*. http://theredcard.ie/2017/02/22/shock-as-underage-game-abandoned-amid-allegations-of-racism/. Accessed 18 Aug. 2018.

Nichols, Jeff. *Loving*. 2016. *www.imdb.com*, http://www.imdb.com/title/tt4669986/.

Nowatzki, Robert. "Paddy Jumps Jim Crow: Irish-Americans and Blackface Minstrelsy." *Éire-Ireland*, vol. 41, no. 3&4, 2006, pp. 162–84.

Nyongó, Tavia. *The Amalgamation Waltz: Race, Performance and the Ruses of Memory*. University of Minnesota Press, 2009.

Ó hAilpín, Séan Óg. *The Autobiography*. Penguin Ireland, 2013.

O'Brien, Carl. "'They Don't Live the Same Way We Do, It's Just a Fact.'" *The Irish Times*, https://www.irishtimes.com/news/social-affairs/they-don-t-live-the-same-way-we-do-it-s-just-a-fact-1.2392169. Accessed 20 Aug. 2018.

O'Brien, Harvey. "Duck – Stella Feehily." *CultureVulture*, 9 Oct. 2003, https://culturevulture.net/theater/duck-stella-feehily/.

O'Connell, Jennifer. "Duck." *Sunday Business Post*, 5 Oct. 2003.

O'Connor, Barbara. *Irish Dancing: Cultural Politics and Identities, 1900-2000.* Cork University Press, 2013.

O'Connor, Ciarán. *Capital Letters*. 2004. *www.imdb.com*, http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0439490/.

O'Dowd, Ciara. *The on and Off-Stage Roles of Abbey Theatre Actresses of the 1930s*. 11 May 2016. *aran.library.nuigalway.ie*, https://aran.library.nuigalway.ie/handle/10379/5789.

O'Halloran, Marie, and Michael O'Regan. "Travellers Formally Recognised as an Ethnic Minority." *The Irish Times*, https://www.irishtimes.com/news/politics/oireachtas/travellers-formally-recognised-as-an-ethnic-minority-1.2994309. Accessed 27 Nov. 2017.

O'Kelly, Emer. "In the Doldrums at Doldrum Bay." *Sunday Independent*, 18 May 2003.

---. "Lolita's Destruction of Innocence." *Sunday Independent*, 8 Sept. 2002.

O'Riordan, Alan. "Eternal Lessons to Be Learned from the Finest Tragedy." *Sunday Tribune*, 3 June 2007.

"Óró Sé Do Bheatha 'Bhaile Lyrics and Chords." *SongsInIrish.Com*, https://songsinirish.com/oro-se-do-bheatha-bhaile-lyrics/. Accessed 14 Aug. 2018.

O'Sullivan, Marc. "Rian, Cork Midsummer Festival, Irish Examiner - Reviews." *Fabulous Beast Dance Company*, 23 Oct. 2012, http://fabulousbeast.net/production/review/rian-cork-midsummer-festival-irish-examiner.

O'Toole, Fintan. "The Brexit Vision That Reveals England's Perfidy over Ireland." *The Observer*, 25 Feb. 2018. *www.theguardian.com*, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/feb/25/brexit-vision-england-perfidy-over-ireland-good-friday-agreemnt.

Ouzounian, Richard. "Heartbeat of Home Is a Stage-Thumping Success: Review." *The Toronto Star*, 26 Jan. 2014. *Toronto Star*, https://www.thestar.com/entertainment/stage/2014/01/26/heartbeat_of_home_is_a_stagethumping_success_review.html.

Pan, Darcy. "Student Visas, Undocumented Labour, and the Boundaries of Legality: Chinese Migration and English as a Foreign Language Education in the Republic of Ireland." *Social Anthropology*, vol. 19, no. 3, 2011, pp. 268–287. *search.library.nuigalway.ie*, doi:10.1111/j.1469-8676.2011.00159.x.

Parker, Alan. *The Commitments*. 1991. *www.imdb.com*, http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0101605/.

Parr, Connal. "Something Happening Quietly: Owen McCafferty's Theatre of Truth and Reconciliation." *Irish University Review*, vol. 47, no. supplement, Nov. 2017, pp. 531–48. *Crossref*, doi:10.3366/iur.2017.0308.

Pavis, Patrice. *Theatre at the Crossroads of Culture*. Routledge, 1992.

Perea, Juan F. "The Black/White Binary Paradigm of Race: The Normal Science of American Racial Thought Latcrit: Latinas/Os and the Law: A Joint Symposium by California Law Review and La Raza Law Journal: Race, Ethnicity, and Nationhood." *La Raza Law Journal*, vol. 10, 1998, pp. 127–72.

Phelan, Sharon. "Irish Dance during the Gaelic Revival: Conflicts of Consciousness." *Nordic Irish Studies*, vol. 14, 2015, pp. 127–37.

Pollak, Sorcha. "Q&A: What Is Direct Provision?" *The Irish Times*, https://www.irishtimes.com/news/social-affairs/q-a-what-is-direct-provision-1.3373747. Accessed 2 Aug. 2018.

"President Appalled by Sherlock Revelation." *Hoganstand*, 10 Dec. 2012, http://www.hoganstand.com/article/index/182205.

Pro, ©2018 Groundwork. "Louise Tanoto." *Groundwork Pro*, https://groundworkpro.com/people/louise-tanoto/. Accessed 20 Sept. 2018.

"Race, n.6." *OED Online*, Oxford University Press. *Oxford English Dictionary*, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/157031. Accessed 26 Sept. 2018.

Reddin, Daragh. "Case of Tiral and Terror." *Metro*, 1 June 2007.

Rian | Dansens Hus. https://dansenshus.se/en/event/rian/. Accessed 20 Sept. 2018.

Rian - Fabulous Beast Dance Theatre. http://fabulousbeast.net/production/rian. Accessed 20 Sept. 2018.

Roche, Billy. *Lay Me down Softly*. 2008.

Roche, Jenny. "Embodying Multiplicity: The Independent Contemporary Dancer's Moving Identity." *Research in Dance Education*, vol. 12, no. 2, July 2011, pp. 105–18. *Crossref*, doi:10.1080/14647893.2011.575222.

Roche, Maurice. *Sport, Popular Culture and Identity*. 2nd ed., Meyer & Meyer, 2000.

Roediger, David R. *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. Verso, 1991.

Rooney, Declan. "Mayo's Pakistani Youngster Thanks Skipper for Forcing Him to Take up Gaelic Football." *The42*, http://www.the42.ie/shairoze-akram-mayo-2747273-May2016/. Accessed 28 Sept. 2018.

"Ruth Negga Gets Distracted by Jimmy's '80s Irish Politician Mustache - YouTube." *YouTube*, 23 June 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H0srmfNAHbU.

"Ruth Negga Shows You How to Make an Irish Coffee | Secret Talent Theater | Vanity Fair - YouTube." *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OtYcw1QXKYs. Accessed 29 Sept. 2018.

"Ruth Negga's Best Worst Jokes | Vogue - YouTube." *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3aQNOYBsJP8. Accessed 29 Sept. 2018.

Ryan, Max. "'They've Really Bought into the Whole Ethos of the Club' - Syrian Brother and Sister Secure Féile Glory." *Independent.Ie*, https://www.independent.ie/sport/gaelic-games/theyve-really-bought-into-the-whole-ethos-of-the-club-syrian-brother-and-sister-secure-file-glory-36815707.html. Accessed 17 Aug. 2018.

Rzepnikowska, Alina. "Racism and Xenophobia Experienced by Polish Migrants in the UK before and after Brexit Vote." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Apr. 2018, pp. 1–17. *Crossref*, doi:10.1080/1369183X.2018.1451308.

Samuels, Gina Miranda. "Building Kinship and Community: Relational Processes of Bicultural Identity Among Adult Multiracial Adoptees." *Family Process*, vol. 49, no. 1, 2010, pp. 26–42.

Schechner, Richard. "Race Free, Gender Free, Body-Type Free, Age Free Casting." *TDR (1988-)*, vol. 33, no. 1, Apr. 1989, pp. 4–12. *search.library.nuigalway.ie*, doi:10.2307/1145934.

Schissel, Wendy. "Re(Dis)Covering the Witches in Arthur Miller's The Crucible: A Feminist Reading." *Modern Drama*, vol. 37, no. 3, 1994, pp. 461–473. *search.library.nuigalway.ie*, doi:10.3138/md.37.3.461.

Schlichter, Annette, and Nina Sun Eidsheim. "Introduction: Voice Matters." *Postmodern Culture*, vol. 24, no. 3, 2014, p. <xocs:firstpage xmlns:xocs=""/>. *search.library.nuigalway.ie*, doi:10.1353/pmc.2014.0012.

Seaver, Michael. "Insider and Outsider: Michael Keegan-Dolan in the Irish Dance Landscape." *"That Was Us": Contemporary Irish Theatre and Performance*, edited by Fintan Walsh, Oberon Books Ltd, 2013.

Shandy, Dianna. "Irish Babies, African Mothers: Rites of Passage and Rights in Citizenship in Post-Millennial Ireland." *Anthropological Quarterly*, vol. 81, no. 4, 2008, pp. 803–31.

Sherlock, Jason. *Jayo: My Autobiography*. Simon & Schuster UK, 2017.

Shields, Paula. "Hooked on Classics." *Irish Examiner*, 23 Feb. 2006.

Singleton, Brian. *Masculinities and the Contemporary Irish Theatre*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

---. "Sick, Dying, Dead, Dispersed: The Evanescence of Patriarchy in Contemporary Irish Women's Theatre." *Women in Irish Drama: A Century of Authorshop and Representation*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, pp. 186–200.

Smith, Neil. "Contours of a Spatialized Politics: Homeless Vehicles and the Production of Geographical Scale." *Social Text*, no. 33, 1992, pp. 55–81. *search.library.nuigalway.ie*, doi:10.2307/466434.

---. "Geography, Difference and the Politics of Scale." *Postmodernism and the Social Sciences*, edited by Joe Doherty et al., Macmillan, 1992, pp. 57–79.

Song, Miri. *Choosing Ethnic Identity*. Polity Press ; Blackwell, 2003.

---. "Comparing Minorities' Ethnic Options: Do Asian Americans Possess 'More' Ethnic Options than African Americans?" *Ethnicities*, vol. 1, no. 1, Mar. 2001, pp. 57–82. *Crossref*, doi:10.1177/146879680100100110.

Spickard, Paul. "Not Passing--Shape Shifting: Reflections on Racial Plasticity." *Keynote Address*, 2016.

Staunton, Denis. "Chinese Mother and Irish Baby 'Entitled to Live in EU.'" *The Irish Times*, https://www.irishtimes.com/news/chinese-mother-and-irish-baby-entitled-to-live-in-eu-1.1141026. Accessed 13 Aug. 2018.

Stock, Cheryl. "Beyond the Intercultural to the Accented Body: An Australian Perspective." *Contemporary Choreography: A Critical Reader*, edited by Jo Butterworth and Liesbeth Wildschut, Routledge, 2009, pp. 281–97.

Strategic Plan 2018-2021. Gaelic Athletic Association, 2018.

Sun, William H. "Power and Problems of Performance across Ethnic Lines: An Alternative Approach to Nontraditional Casting." *TDR: The Drama Review*, vol. 44, no. 4, 2000, pp. 86–95. *search.library.nuigalway.ie*, doi:10.1162/10542040051058492.

Swyngedouw, Erik. "Neither Global nor Local: 'glocalization' and the Politics of Scale." *Spaces of Globalization: Reasserting the Power of the Local*, edited by Kevin Cox, Guildford Press, 1997, pp. 137–66.

Taylor, Charles. "Interculturalism or Multiculturalism?" *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, vol. 38, 2002, pp. 413–23.

Tchen, John Kuo Wei. "Quimbo Appos Fear of Fenians: Chinese-Irish-Anglo Relations in New York City." *New York Irish*, edited by Ronald H Bayor and Timothy J Meagher, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996, pp. 125–52.

"Terrace Abuse for Jason Sherlock." *Sunday Independent*, 07 1995, p. 52.

Tierney, Pat, and Trevor Quinn. "Racist Slur Causes Mass Brawl between Two GAA Minor Teams." *Irishmirror*, 14 Feb. 2017, http://www.irishmirror.ie/sport/gaa/gaelic-football/gaelic-football-news/racist-slur-causes-mass-brawl-9818319.

Tormey, Anwen. "'Everyone with Eyes Can See the Problem': Moral Citizens and the Space of Irish Nationhood." *International Migration*, vol. 45, no. 3, 2007, pp. 69–100.

Valente, Joseph. *The Myth of Manliness in Irish National Culture, 1880-1922*. University of Illinois Press, 2011.

van Riemsdijk, Micheline. "Variegated Privileges of Whiteness: Lived Experiences of Polish Nurses in Norway." *Social & Cultural Geography*, vol. 11, no. 2, Mar. 2010, pp. 117–37. *CrossRef*, doi:10.1080/14649360903514376.

Velasquez, SJ. "Forget the Olympics, True Physical Mastery in 'Heartbeat of Home' (VIDEOS)." *IrishCentral.Com*, 28 Jan. 2014, http://www.irishcentral.com/culture/entertainment/Forget-the-Olympics-true-physical-mastery-in-Heartbeat-of-Home-VIDEOS.html.

Villar-Argaiz, Pilar, editor. *Literary Visions of Multicultural Ireland: The Immigrant in Contemporary Irish Literature*. Manchester University Press, 2014.

Walsh, Enda, et al. *Once*. Nick Hern Books, 2013.

Walter, Bronwen. *Outsiders inside: Whiteness, Place, and Irish Women*. Routledge, 2000.

White, Lucy. "Love's Young Scene." *Metro*, 14 Feb. 2008, p. 15.

Williams, Tom. "Heartbeat of Home." *Theatre Reviews*, 6 Mar. 2014, http://chicagocritic.com/heartbeat-home/.

Wilson, August. "The Ground on Which I Stand." *Callaloo*, vol. 20, no. 3, July 1997, pp. 493–503. *search.library.nuigalway.ie*, doi:10.1353/cal.1998.0096.

Winston, Frances. "Theatre Review: Once The Musical, Olympia Theatre." *EILE Magazine*, 7 July 2017, https://eile.ie/2017/07/07/29835/.

Wood, Gaby. "Loving Star Ruth Negga On Biracial Politics: 'I Get Very Territorial About My Identity.'" *Vogue*, Dec. 2016, https://www.vogue.com/article/ruth-negga-january-cover-loving-movie-interview.

Wroe, Nicholas. "Michael Keegan-Dolan: Handel's Beautiful Darkness." *The Guardian*, 21 Sept. 2012. *www.theguardian.com*, https://www.theguardian.com/music/2012/sep/21/michael-keegan-dolan-handel-beautiful-darkness.

Yancy, George. *Black Bodies, White Gazes: The Continuing Significance of Race in America*. Second Edition, Rowman & Littlefield, 2017.

Yau, Nicola. "Celtic Tiger, Hidden Dragon: Exploring Identity among Second Generation Chinese in Ireland." *Translocations*, vol. 2, no. 1, 2007, pp. 48–69.

Yeats, William Butler, and John Kelly. *Selected Poems*. Phoenix, 2002.

Ying, Yun Wang. "Chinese-Led Migrant Activism beyond Invisibility: The Irish Chinese Sichuan Earthquae Appeal Committee." *Migrant Activism and Integration from Below in Ireland*, edited by Ronit Lentin and Elena Moreo, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, pp. 119–39.

Ying, Yun Wang, and Rebecca Chiyoko King-O'Riain. *Chinese Students in Ireland*. NCCRI, Deptof Sociology, NUI Maynooth, 2006.

Young, Harvey. *Embodying Black Experience: Stillness, Critical Memory, and the Black Body*. University of Michigan Press, 2010.

---. *Theatre & Race*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.