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Paddy goes to Europe

Representations of Ireland in German Press and Travel Writing

1973-2010

Thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Presented to the Department of German

School of Languages, Literatures and Cultures

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by

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Abstract

This investigation examines and comments on German representations of Ireland in a variety of discourses from German press and travel writing between 1973 and 2010. In three content chapters, German perceptions of aspects of Irish sociocultural and economic life are reconstructed and analysed. In addition to informing German readers about Irish life, Ireland acts as a projection screen where German writers project their cultural values, fears and aspirations, in an interaction of auto and hetero-images, on to the constructed *Irlandbild*.

However, as a neutral representation of Ireland is not possible, German perceptions of Ireland are contingent on the individual perspective of writers and their specific agendas. The study considers differences in writer perspective and perception contingent on writer background, familiarity with Irish life and political views. The alleged bias of West German and East German newspapers is recognised and scrutinised. Similarly, the study discerns differences in the representation contingent on genre conventions and how these affect the representation.

The study detects patterns and modes of representation and notes shifts and changes in the representation, in terms of positive and negative valorisations, due to the passage of time and changes in circumstances. Stereotypes, with their adaptability and variability are identified and their purposes and uses are considered. Stereotypical representations of Ireland are discerned where depictions of perceived Irish backwardness and otherworldliness act as a foil for German achievements and sophistication. Likewise, *Feindbilder* and deliberately and purposefully constructed images are identified as part of a subtle communication system where German writers educate their German readers on moral issues.

The investigation discerns German fondness for Ireland conveyed by the overall tone and mood of the representation, underpinned by the *grüne Insel* motif and the legacy of Böll's *Irishes Tagebuch* construct of Irish friendliness and social cohesion as a model for German society.

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Introduction

What do Germans think of Ireland and its people? Are Germans interested in Irish culture and politics? The German travel writer Manfred Tieger emphatically proclaims: "Deutsche und Iren haben ein besonderes Verhältnis zueinander, das auf gegenseitiger Bewunderung beruht."¹ Tieger's remarks are at the core of this investigation that examines the German representation of Ireland and fundamentally hinges on German-Irish relations and the German perception of Irish culture.

A copy of Heinrich Böll's *Irisches Tagebuch* received in the late 1970s followed by a lengthy stay in Schleswig-Holstein from the mid 1980s to the late 1990s prompted this writer's academic interest in researching how Ireland and its people are represented, specifically in German language non-fiction texts. First-hand experience of German culture combined with teaching at various *Volkshochschulen* and subsequently at the *Fachhochschule* in Kiel afforded this observer ample opportunity to engage in regular conversations and discussions about Ireland and its people. Polite curiosity and cautious enquiries from German people revealed, from an Irish perspective, that in many cases German knowledge of Ireland was sketchy, inaccurate and tinged with sentimental fondness and therefore at odds with the Irish self-image of Ireland. Clearly, in this observer's view, these cultural generalisations, preconceptions and stereotypes formed part of Germany's cultural lore with respect to Ireland and this apparent 'disparity' could only be elucidated by academic research and clarified through a nuanced, interpretative process. This thesis, which examines the German reconstruction of the *Irlandbild* in selected German discourses from the press and travel writing between 1973 and 2010, is analysed from an Irish perspective.

This thesis aims to reconstruct the changing *Irlandbild* of German-speaking writers during a period marked on the one hand by Ireland's accession to the European Economic

¹ Manfred P. Tieger: *Irland: Die Grüne Insel*. München 1996, p. 180.

Community (EEC) in 1973 and on the other hand by the Irish financial crisis in 2010.² From a German perspective, the admission of Ireland to the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1973 signalled the introduction of new blood and fresh ideas into the existing Community. Furthermore, EEC expansion indicated the initial stages of the realisation of the Community's vision, namely the creation of a common and eventual single European market. Ireland's economic difficulties in 2010 also signify a milestone in European Union monetary affairs. Moreover, Ireland's financial crisis was of significant interest to German investors in Ireland and had ramifications for the eurozone.

The investigation examines and comments on representations of Ireland, by German writers, in non-fiction texts drawn from a broad variety of genres, ranging from articles in newspapers, magazines and journals to travel guides and other forms of travel writing. The investigation identifies and comments on German patterns of perception and methods of representation that underlie the way Ireland is depicted. As the German-speaking writers 'make sense of' Ireland, the representation reveals German attitudes, predilections, preconceptions and specific agendas, which are identified, analysed and commented upon. In light of the mixed-genre composition of the corpus, this investigation distinguishes between 'factual' images, based on testable report sentences or statements of fact, and deliberately and purposefully constructed images that are intended to convey significant moral or social points to readers. Likewise, as the public is entitled to 'objectivity' and 'the truth' from news publications, distinctions between (ideally objective) news and explicitly subjective commentaries are pointed out and remarked on. The investigation also focuses on detecting changes and shifts in the representation in terms of contrasting modalities and opposing valorisations, owing to the passage of time and changing circumstances. The construction and purpose of so-called *Feindbilder* is highlighted and examined, as well as the use and function of stereotypes, with particular emphasis placed on distinguishing differences and variations in the use of stereotypes, as time and conditions dictate. The investigation also discerns and comments on differences in the manner, style and tone of the representations, in respect of genre specific conventions.

² In this thesis, the term 'German-speaking writers' refers to writers from Germany, Austria and the German-speaking part of Switzerland.

The *Irlandbild* has evolved over centuries as contacts between Ireland and German-speaking countries have existed since the early Middle Ages. Ireland has often intrigued Germans and the German view on Ireland is generally positive. However, it is clear the image foreigners hold of a country, is as much determined by the 'reality' of that country as by the particular perspective of the foreign observer. The 'reality' depicted in the representation is fundamentally determined by the writers' level of familiarity with the country in question and the extent and frequency of contacts. The following observation by the travel writers Potting and Weweler highlights this notion: "Irland, eine Insel im wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Wandel, erschien uns wie eine große Projektionsfläche, auf der jeder sein Irlandbild entwerfen und bestätigen kann."³ The travel writers liken the developing Ireland to a projection screen where the projected German self-image interacts with the perceived *Irlandbild* and triggers myriads of 'factual,' subjective and ever-changing images prompted by the interaction of German auto-images and hetero-images of Ireland.

The quote from the German travel writers highlights the essential problem that this thesis will explore. The *Irlandbild*, like any other image that one nation has of another cannot be understood in an objective sense as each individual constructs and personalises his own particular *Irlandbild*. Images will vary between 'factual' images and deliberately and purposefully constructed images subject to the intentions and predilections of particular writers. These images may in some instances be used to romanticise or to criticise Ireland or to poke fun at Irish culture. Writers may simply intend to inform or advise their readers about Ireland, while other writers may seek to influence readers' opinions. Additionally, German writers may instrumentalise representations of Irish culture to convey 'messages' to their respective German readers. These 'messages' may valorise aspects of Irish life or serve as a warning against imitating perceived shortcomings in Irish society.

Ultimately, the German representation of Ireland is determined by the requirements and wishes of the target readers, the writers' familiarity with Ireland, the information they impart and their intention to convey particular 'messages' to their readers individually

³ Christoph Potting and Annette Weweler: *Anders Reisen Irland. Ein Reisebuch in den Alltag*. Reinbek bei Hamburg 1984, p. 7.

and collectively. Potting and Weweler note that Ireland has clearly developed in recent decades. The evolving Ireland not only represents material reality but is also a projection of the individual observer's self-image with hopes, fears and cultural values onto his personalised *Irlandbild*, which is subsequently communicated to readers.

Chapter Structure

This chapter introduces the research subject and specifies the research aims. A brief summary of German-Irish relations is outlined and recent studies and publications in related subject areas are examined. The question of text selection is explored and detailed, comprehensive information on selected newspapers, news magazines and travel writing is provided. An outline of the thesis structure concludes the chapter.

German-Irish Relations

Historical accounts often depict Germany as a dynamic and dominant force in Central Europe as exemplified by the country's pivotal role in the Holy Roman Empire during the Early Middle Ages. Early historical records, on the other hand, represent Ireland as a seat of learning and distinctive monasticism. Irish monastic influence on Germany is still manifest in the veneration of the Irish missionary St. Kilian, as the patron saint of Franconia. The late twelfth century heralded the piecemeal colonisation of Ireland while the German states pursued policies of territorial and economic expansionism culminating in the unification of Germany in 1871.

While the contemporary German *Irlandbild* may largely be inspired by conjecture and hearsay, long-established relations between Ireland and German-speaking people are recorded. German-language travel writings from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries recount conditions of abject poverty and misery combined with a rebellious spirit among the native Irish. At a time when nationalism was growing in Europe, these travel writings indicate German empathy with the Irish people and tacit support for mutually developing nationalist sentiments.⁴

⁴ Andreas Oehlke: *Fahrten zur Smaragdinsel: Irland in deutschen Reisebeschreibungen des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Göttingen 1993. Eoin Bourke: *Poor Green Erin: German Travel Writers' Narratives on Ireland from Before the 1798 Rising to After the Great Famine*. Frankfurt am Main 2012.

Germany in the early nineteenth century was a country of principalities (*Kleinstaaterei*) divided between conservative Prussian Protestants, liberal Rhineland Catholics and traditionalist Catholic Bavarians. The lives of citizens were controlled by the will and whim of local rulers with civil liberties and freedom of movement strictly limited. Apart from information gleaned from historical novels, whose authors are unlikely to have left the confines of their own country, Ireland was largely an unknown country in late eighteenth century Germany. From the late eighteenth century, Germany was gripped by enthusiasm for Celtic folklore, myth and literary 'Ossianism' prompted by the appearance of two epic poems supposedly composed by Ossian (Oisín) and 'translated' by James Macpherson, a Scottish schoolteacher. 'Ossian' was translated into German and French. Goethe, Herder and Napoleon Bonaparte were among many 'Ossian' enthusiasts. Although Macpherson's 'translations' were later revealed as forgeries, the vision of the misty and melancholy Celtic world lived on in the Romantic imagination and drew further attention to Ireland. Eoin Bourke remarks: "German poets began to refer to themselves as 'bards' and thought that they had found their spiritual roots in the moorlands and misty forests of a Celtic realm."⁵ Bourke further asserts: "Ireland had become a projection screen for German yearnings,"⁶ whereby Germans projected their hopes, dreams and ambitions onto a relatively unknown Ireland. Bourke notes that most German travellers to Ireland first visited Great Britain, "to witness and admire its progressiveness in industrial advancement, free trade, extraordinary wealth-creation, very advanced civil rights and parliamentary democracy," which they could not experience in Germany.⁷ These travel writers, who already had their own preconceptions about Great Britain and Ireland, now added British images of Ireland to their existing store of knowledge. Many of these German and Austrian travel writers corresponded with family and friends about their observations of living conditions in Ireland. It could be argued, that the perceptions and writings of these travel writers set a pattern, in terms of stereotypes, for subsequent German representations of Ireland. Publication of the works of these writers in Germany undoubtedly cast the so-called 'Irish Question' and living conditions under British colonial

⁵ Eoin Bourke: Introduction: 'The Niobe of Nations' - The Early Literary Manifestations of German Awareness of Irish Conditions. In: "Poor Green Erin:" German Travel Writers' Narratives of Ireland from Before the 1798 Rising to After the Great Famine. Ed. by Eoin Bourke. Frankfurt am Main 2012, p. 1-12, here p. 2.

⁶ *ibid.* p. 2.

⁷ *ibid.* p. 6.

rule in a different light and awakened public sympathy for the Irish situation and prompted a visit by Friedrich Engels in the nineteenth century.

Contemporary writers and journalists also underline cultural differences between Germany and Ireland. The Swiss writer Gabrielle Alioth, who resides in Ireland, maintains that while Germany progressed to become an industrial and military power, Ireland dwelt in a fantasy world: "Das Land der Technologie und der Vernunft gegen das Land der Träume und Geschichten,"⁸ representing Germany and Ireland, from her perspective, as polar opposites with contrasting and opposing cultures: "Für beide Seiten symbolisierte der andere das, was man selbst nicht war,"⁹ suggesting that cultural differences between the two countries were significant and opposing.

German-speaking visitors are supposedly enchanted by Ireland's geographical location on the periphery of Europe. Ireland's remote location accentuates the country's alterity and its non-conformity to European norms, according to one travel account: "Irland liegt am Rand, und in mancher Beziehung auch außerhalb von Europa [...]."¹⁰ The country's status as an island implied freedom from the constraints of life in landlocked Central Europe and thus contributed to its romanticised image. Ireland was consistently depicted as a poor country, plagued by emigration and emerging from a troubled past. The country was economically under-developed; the natural environment was pristine while Irish society is represented as placing more emphasis on spiritual rather than on material values.

The notion of Ireland as *die grüne Insel* is a recurrent motif in German representations of Ireland which has diverse associations and significance for German writers in their representations of Ireland. According to Eoin Bourke, Ireland's 'greenness' constituted poverty and repression for the German poet Heinrich Heine, who called upon peoples on the continent to muster a volunteer army to come to the rescue of 'Poor Green Erin.'¹¹ For Heinrich Böll, Ireland's 'greenness' had particular significance: "Ja, grün ist Irland, sehr grün, aber sein Grün ist nicht nur das Grün der Wiesen, auch das Grün des Mooses, [...],

⁸ Gabrielle Alioth: Neues Altes Irland? Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 30 August 2010, online archive, https://www.nzz.ch/neues_altes_irland-1.7377164 [24 June 2015].

⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰ Dieter Gose and Helmut Aschbacher: Goldstadt-Reiseführer Irland. Pforzheim 1973, p. 7.

¹¹ Eoin Bourke: Das Irlandbild der Deutschen. Tübingen 1991, p. 6-7.

und Moos ist die Pflanze der Resignation, der Verlassenheit,"¹² manifesting not only Böll's appreciation of Ireland's pristine, natural environment but also his insight into the Irish mindset. *Die grüne Insel* motif conjured up images of wide-open spaces, unspoilt natural beauty, an absence of urban sprawl and industrial contamination. It could be argued; the *grüne Insel* construct embodies a childlike longing to regress to a utopian state combined with a sense of otherworldliness. Romanticisation of Ireland's perceived simplicity and backwardness and the hankering of German-speaking writers for an idyll in a bucolic setting may indicate a nostalgic yearning to return to a lost idealized past and echoes the German concept of *Wehmut*.

Traditionally, Irish people are represented as being endowed with a strong sense of national identity and patriotism, which they proudly expressed, whereas many modern Germans struggled with the legacy of nationalism, particularly in the aftermath of the Second World War. Germany and Ireland were both divided countries whose positions and views on separation and eventual reunification differed. Ireland's long association with Catholicism is a further recurring theme in the traditional German depiction of Ireland. Irish people are represented as devoutly religious with the Catholic Church playing a pivotal role in Irish life against a backdrop of increasing dissatisfaction and declining church attendance in Central Europe. The Irish Catholic Church is traditionally represented as people-centred, a source of spiritual solace and comfort to those in need while working in close partnership with the state. Further images of the Irish Catholic Church recurrently depict the clergy as fervent advocates of the Irish nationalist cause and staunch defenders of Catholic morals. The stereotypical Irish 'Paddy' enjoys international reputation for his charming ineptitude and endearing shortcomings in the caricature of the 'Stage Irishman.' The genial 'Paddy' manifests his counter-image in senseless violence, in particular in the Northern Ireland conflict, and in the inebriated rendition of rebel songs. The stereotypical Irishman is devoutly Catholic and unsophisticated and displays a unique attitude to timekeeping and reliability. The popular German *Irlandbild* depicts Irish people as hospitable and explains, according to the journalist Meyer-Sickendiek: "Was den Deutschen an Irland zu jeder Jahreszeit gefällt: die gefühlvolle Spontaneität, die es zwanglos zuwege bringt, aus dem Fremdling in kürzester

¹² Heinrich Böll: *Irishes Tagebuch*. München, 1961. p. 32.

Zeit ein Mitglied der irischen Großfamilie zu machen."¹³ The journalist suggests Irish informality and willingness to integrate strangers into the close-knit community contrast with alleged Central European formality, polite aloofness and anonymity.

Tieger refers to the long-standing goodwill between Germany and Ireland:

"Geschichtsbewußt wie die Iren sind, spielt noch immer eine Rolle, daß Deutsche gelegentlich den Iren bei ihren erfolglosen Aufständen mit Waffenlieferungen helfen wollten."¹⁴ Germany's sporadic backing of Ireland's independence aspirations was reciprocated with a gesture of Irish 'nationalist' hospitality. During the Hitler era, several members of the Nazi party were employed in prominent positions in Irish public life where a mutual interest in the notion of Celtology was cultivated and propaganda material produced. Ireland's president de Valera controversially condoled with German authorities on the death of Adolf Hitler, during a turbulent period in the history of both countries.

The aftermath of the Second World War saw renewed German interest in Ireland and a rediscovery of the country as an unspoiled travel destination. Ireland was depicted as representing simplicity and innocence (*Unschuld*) and offering consoling respite from the after-effects of wartime carnage and destruction. Ireland's lack of sophistication was presented as the antithesis of modern German life and the *Wirtschaftswunder*. The tone of the post-war German hetero-image of Ireland was predominantly set by the publication in 1957 of Heinrich Böll's travelogue *Irishes Tagebuch*. The novelist's depiction of the simplicity and wholesomeness of Irish life was greeted with enthusiasm by critics of Germany's *Wirtschaftswunder* and resulted in a so-called German *Irland-Welle* or fascination for all things Irish. The popularity of Böll's travelogue prompted an influx of German-speaking tourists to Ireland who were eager to have their preconceptions of Ireland fulfilled. Numerous German-speaking *Aussteiger* or 'Blow ins,' apparently disenchanted with the consumerism of the *Wirtschaftswunder*, sought a comforting alternative to Germany in the perceived otherness of the Irish lifestyle. However, the changing reality of Böll's 'enchanted' Ireland proved disappointing, as the

¹³ Ingeborg Meyer-Sickendiek: Warum kommen so viele Deutsche nach Irland? Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 14 November 1974, p.3.

¹⁴ Manfred P. Tieger: Irland: Die Grüne Insel. München 1996, p. 181.

novelist eventually became aware. An epilogue titled *Dreizehn Jahre später*,¹⁵ written in 1967, conveys his disillusionment as he depicts Ireland's perceived loss of innocence and slow transition into the modern age.

While Böll's *Irishes Tagebuch* was a bestseller in Germany, the travelogue was less enthusiastically received in Ireland. Irish people did not wish to have their material poverty and perceived backwardness depicted in print or eulogised on screen in the film *Irland und seine Kinder*, which was made by Böll in 1959. The film caused great controversy when it was released in Ireland as the *Children of Éire* in 1965, although it was well received in Germany.

Böll's paradigm of Irish life as depicted in his *Irishes Tagebuch* established the novelist as a doyen or authority on post-war Irish matters, from a German perspective. The impact of his travelogue is evident in the work of subsequent writers. The travel writer Dirk Wegner refers to Böll's *Irishes Tagebuch* as '*Mutter-Buch*,'¹⁶ alluding to the influence of the writer's travelogue on the German hetero-image of post-war Ireland. Hugo Hamilton is an Irish-German writer, who in his journal *Die redselige Insel*,¹⁷ retraces the novelist's footsteps fifty years after the publication of his *Irishes Tagebuch*.¹⁸ *Der Spiegel* journalist Markus Feldenkirchen contrasts Böll's depiction of post-war Ireland with post-Celtic Tiger Ireland; while the *Irishes Tagebuch* is conceivably the muse that inspired Feldenkirchen's subsequent novel.¹⁹ Böll's literary legacy and its impact on German-Irish studies is an ongoing subject of discussion among scholars and academics who research the multi-faceted area of German-Irish relations. Gisela Holfter's book *Heinrich Böll and Ireland*²⁰ examines the writer's personal and literary connections with Ireland, his translations of works by Irish authors and the impact of the *Irishes Tagebuch* on the German image of Ireland. Achill Island remains a focal point for celebrating memories of the writer's time in Ireland. The writer's cottage was sold following his death in 1985 and has become a place of pilgrimage for many German tourists and writers. The cottage has primarily been in use

¹⁵ Heinrich Böll: *Irishes Tagebuch*. München 1998.

¹⁶ Dirk Wegner: *Anders Reisen Irland*. Reinbek bei Hamburg 1999, p.11.

¹⁷ Hugo Hamilton: *Die redselige Insel*. München 2007. Translated by Henning Ahrens.

¹⁸ Heinrich Böll: *Irishes Tagebuch*. München 1961.

¹⁹ See chapter 3.

²⁰ Gisela Holfter: *Heinrich Böll and Ireland*. Cambridge 2011.

as a residency for writers and artists since 1992 and is managed by the Achill Heinrich Böll Association which also organises an annual Heinrich Böll Memorial Weekend Arts Festival.

Böll's literary and political legacy extends beyond Ireland's shores. In Germany, he was regarded as the literary conscience of the country and did not shy from controversy. The *Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung* is a legally independent, political, foundation and think tank. In 1997, following a merger with other foundations it was formally affiliated with the German Green Party. The *Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung* fosters democracy, upholds human rights and defends the freedom of the individual.

While the German popularity of Böll's *Irishes Tagebuch* was unmatched, German post-war interest in Irish politics was also evident. German publications on the Northern Ireland 'Troubles' examined the historical and confessional²¹ as well as the social aspects²² of the violent unrest, mainly from a West German perspective. Additional German publications included a collection of the views on Ireland by Marx and Engels.²³ *Die Zeit*, one of Germany's leading newspapers, published a series of articles on Northern Ireland written by the respected journalist Rudolf Walter Leonhardt. The German author and travel writer Manfred Tieger examines the history of Northern Ireland and its attendant socio-political realities in his book *Nordirland: Geschichte und Gegenwart*.²⁴

German interest in Ireland was not confined to West Germany. The former East German state cultivated political and cultural contacts with Ireland, following the division of Germany. Cultural links between Ireland and East Germany were pursued and fostered through cultural exchange visits arranged through the Martin Luther University of Halle-Wittenberg. Professor Dorothea Siegmund-Schultze, who held the chair of English Literature at the University of Halle-Wittenberg, took a keen interest in Irish literature and in Irish Labour and Republican politics. A frequent visitor to Ireland, Siegmund-Schultze initiated and sponsored a number of conferences on Irish culture and society between 1976 and 1988. During this time, six conferences were held and six volumes of work entitled *Irland: Gesellschaft und Kultur* were edited and subsequently published by

²¹ Dieter Schröder: *Irland: Gottes geteiltes Land*. München 1972.

²² Peter Alter: *Gesellschaft und Demokratie in Nordirland*. Stuttgart 1974.

²³ *Irland: Insel in Aufruhr*. Ed. by Richard Sperl. Berlin 1975.

²⁴ Manfred P. Tieger: *Nordirland: Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Basel 1985.

Professor Siegmund-Schultze.²⁵ The conferences became the focal point of academic interest in Ireland among East German scholars. Conference proceedings indicate discussions on Irish politics, culture and economics between East German academics and intellectuals from the Irish Left.²⁶ Political contacts between East Germany and Ireland were established and maintained by the Communist Party of Ireland. In 1976, Michael O'Riordan (General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland), a frequent visitor to East Germany, addressed the Conference of Communist and Workers Parties of Europe (*Konferenz der kommunistischen und Arbeiterparteien Europas*) in East Berlin.²⁷ In respect of the Northern Ireland issue, the East German press pontificated at length against English oppression while ostensibly championing the rights of oppressed Irish Catholics. The primary aim of East German invective and propaganda was to woo support from the Irish Left while simultaneously undermining Britain politically. Mac Con Uladh claims that Ireland and Northern Ireland's Troubles were relatively unimportant to the East German regime except for propagandist or subversive purposes.²⁸ Research by de Wiel indicates competition by representatives of the Irish political Left to win the favour of the *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (SED)*.²⁹ The researcher's findings indicate the Communist Party of Ireland as long-term favourite, while the Workers' Party, formerly Sinn Féin-The Workers' Party (*SFWP*) established relations with the *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands* in 1988. Research by de Wiel regarding *Stasi* interests or activities in Ireland concludes that these were unexceptional and unremarkable.

Long-established cordial relations between Germany and Ireland continue to flourish and have been bolstered by reciprocal presidential visits. Membership of the European Union has furthered cultural and commercial links between Germany and Ireland. German companies are highly regarded in Ireland as employers and producers and providers of high-quality goods and services. In terms of culture, *Irland und seine Diaspora* was the focus of interest at the 1996 renowned, international *Frankfurter Buchmesse*. Irish music

²⁵ Ireland: Gesellschaft und Kultur. Ed. by Dorothea Siegmund-Schultze. Halle-DDR 1976-1988, online archive, <http://d-nb.info/011336617> [14 February 2018].

²⁶ Anthony Coughlan: Dorothea Siegmund-Schultze. In: Saothar 22 (1997), p. 19–24.

²⁷ See chapter 3.

²⁸ Damian Mac Con Uladh: Relations between the Left in Northern Ireland and the GDR. In: The Other Germany. Ed. by Stefan Berger and Norry la Porte. Augsburg 1990. p. 91-106.

²⁹ Jérôme aan de Wiel: East German Intelligence and Ireland, 1949–90: Espionage, Terrorism and Diplomacy. Manchester 2014.

and cultural events enjoy considerable popularity in Germany and the ubiquitous 'Irish' pub is popular among German-Ireland enthusiasts. Irish dairy products and drinks are well received by German consumers. As a holiday destination, Ireland is much sought after by German tourists. In the area of education, cultural exchange programmes, organised and promoted by educational institutions, foster good rapport among students and academics from the two countries. The range and extent of the German-language textual representation of Ireland is arguably disproportionate to Ireland's size, population and economic activity and indicates the German perception of cultural differences between Ireland and Germany makes Ireland yet again an appropriate projection screen for Germany.³⁰

Related Studies

Considerable scholarly work has been conducted on various aspects of German interests in Ireland, most notably in the area of literature and travel writing. With respect to the current investigation, which examines German representations of Irish culture, four relatively recent and diverse publications on German representations of Ireland are of particular relevance.

Doris Dohmen's monograph analyses representation of Ireland in German literature, illustrated books and travel writing from the Norman invasion to the 1980s, from an imagological perspective.³¹ Imagology, which is a branch of Comparative Literature, works on the theory that images of the Self and the Other, in respect of the representation of alleged national character, are partially based on empirical evidence but are mainly triggered by hearsay, conjecture and misapprehensions and are disseminated through literature and spoken communication. 'Imagology' studies the structure and development of images of alleged national character and how the interaction of these images influences the perception of the Self and the Other. Dohmen works chronologically and examines the interaction of auto and hetero-images and the use of stereotypes in German depictions of Ireland, within the selected period. Dohmen's examination of post-war German representations of Ireland's Otherness as the antithesis of Germany and

³⁰ See Eoin Bourke: p. 5.

³¹ Doris Dohmen: *Das deutsche Irlandbild: Imagologische Untersuchungen zur Darstellung Irlands und der Iren in der deutschsprachigen Literatur*. Amsterdam /Atlanta 1994.

continental Europe is particularly relevant to this investigation. She concludes that the hetero-image of Ireland may be encapsulated in two core and contrasting images manifesting unpredictable wildness and devout Catholicism, highlighted by the religiously motivated Northern Ireland conflict. She finds a sentimental-mystical image has remained dominant in modern times. Her analysis of the Northern Ireland issue as primarily a religiously inspired conflict is over simplistic and lacks a nuanced and overarching interpretation inclusive of the historical, political and social backgrounds of the divided communities. The broad scope of Dohmen's investigation may account for generalisations and interpretations that appear as oversimplifications of complex processes. Nevertheless, Dohmen's encyclopaedic work is thought-provoking and enlightening, particularly with regard to her examination of the Northern Ireland issue and the use of religious stereotypes. Furthermore, the use of 'Imagology' as a methodological approach indicates, for Dohmen's purposes, the viability and adaptability of the method and its methodological assumptions, making it worthy of consideration as being possibly suited to the requirements of this thesis.

Sebastian Stumpf's doctoral thesis³² examines how a number of German travel writers and journalists externalised Germany's political and societal problems and projected them onto Ireland during the *Vormärz* period.³³ In Stumpf's view, German interest in Ireland and the 'Irish Question' intensified during the *Vormärz* period prompted by the political situation in Germany. Some German commentators found similarities between Germany and Ireland in their respective struggles for social equality, religious freedom and nationalist aspirations. Moreover, according to Stumpf's research, "it is obvious that commentators do indeed tend to evaluate the Irish Question according to their [own] religious conditioning."³⁴ He concludes Lutheran writers (Friedrich von Raumer, Johann Georg Kohl and Knut Jungborn Clement) generally identify with the English 'side' and engage in denominational stereotyping despite having sympathy for the Catholic Irish. Stumpf's research shows that the works of the liberal, German, Catholic Jakob Venedy indicate recognition of the political potential of Ireland's particular brand of Catholicism.

³² Sebastian Stumpf: Ireland as a projection screen for German problems in *Vormärz* literature and journalism. PhD Thesis, National University of Ireland, Galway, Faculty of Arts, Department of German, 2006.

³³ See Eoin Bourke: P. 5.

³⁴ *ibid.* p. 91.

The investigation also explores journalistic efforts to evade Germany's strict censorship laws which favoured the aristocracy and conservatism and sought to hinder the development of nationalist or liberal sentiments. Stumpf's research shows that the 'Irish Question' and the men connected with it, in particular the Catholic revolutionary leader O'Connell, were prominent discussion themes in the daily *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* and its rival the *Kölnische Zeitung*. In Stumpf's view, discussion of the 'Irish Question' was used to circumvent strict German censorship controls in order "to provide the populace with a liberal political education without having to fear the censor's wrath."³⁵ Stumpf concludes that from the early to the mid-1800s ordinary people in Germany and in Ireland were beset with similar problems and that the empathy between the two countries facilitated veiled criticism of the German situation by means of discussion of the 'Irish Question.' Stumpf's observations are relevant to this current investigation particularly in relation to the use of religious stereotypes and Ireland's alleged role as a projection screen for Germany.

Verena Kaselitz's monograph is titled *Through Distant Eyes, Ireland in the European Press 1922-1985*.³⁶ Kaselitz analyses a quality newspaper and a news magazine from Austria, Britain, France, Germany and Sweden respectively to assess the quality of foreign news coverage in relation to Ireland from 1922 to 1985. *Der Spiegel* news magazine and the daily newspaper *Die Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (F.A.Z.)* were selected as representative of the German print media for the study. The study is part of a *Medien im europäischen Vergleich* (Comparing European Media) project.³⁷ According to Kaselitz, her "comprehensive empirical" study focuses on "the making of foreign news, its quality and its interdependence with stereotypes and images,"³⁸ in a quantitative-qualitative analysis. The investigation is of particular interest with respect to the representation of Northern Ireland's 'Troubles.' Kaselitz's research found that coverage of Ireland was predominantly and almost exclusively dominated by short-lived, negative and elite-dominated events unfolding in Northern Ireland. According to Kaselitz, her investigation focuses on analysing so-called 'events,' in relation to Northern Ireland, that were selected according

³⁵ *ibid.* p.119.

³⁶ Verena Kaselitz: *Through Distant Eyes: Ireland in the European Press*. Wien. 1999.

³⁷ Promoted and published by *Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* which advances study of multifaceted relationships between media and society by emphasising comparative dimensions of such research.

³⁸ Verena Kaselitz. p. 9.

to the dates of events.³⁹ Kaselitz's study leads her to conclude that news coverage of Ireland could be summarised under the heading 'Reduced to Stereotypes'.⁴⁰ Kaselitz is also critical of the absence of on-site foreign correspondents in Ireland and reliance on British news media sources for information.⁴¹ In her view, inadequate background knowledge and research, lack of supplementary material, "not only left the readers with little knowledge of the country it was also indirectly responsible for a rather stereotyped picture of Ireland."⁴² With reference to the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (F.A.Z.)* and its coverage of events in Northern Ireland, Kaselitz remarks: 'it can be doubted, however, if the *F.A.Z.* ever really understood the background to the Troubles and what it was all about.'⁴³ Furthermore, she is critical of *Der Spiegel*, which in her view, "chose a very [sic] exaggerated style which enhanced the lack of understanding and fostered alienation."⁴⁴ Issues relating to German press coverage of Ireland are examined and commented on in detail over the course of this thesis.

While Kaselitz's thesis supposedly concentrates on news coverage of Ireland in international press texts, she confines her examination to analysis of 'events' and stereotypical representations and neglects to consider the circumstances and socio-political factors that triggered particular 'events.' Despite its occasional vagueness and incoherence Kaselitz's investigation delivers an interesting if limited insight into the stereotypical representation of Ireland by the international press, which is also relevant to this thesis. Nonetheless, a quantitative-qualitative analysis approach is not sufficient to analyse the nuanced qualities of representations of alleged national character.

Fergal Lenehan's monograph from 2016 is a mixed-genre examination of German media representations of Ireland from 1946 to 2010.⁴⁵ Lenehan examines texts from the weekly German publications *Die Zeit* and *Der Spiegel* as well as representations of Ireland in German cinema from the same period. For practical purposes, Lenehan divides his examination of German press representations of Ireland into three periods, each given a

³⁹ *ibid.* p. 10.

⁴⁰ *ibid.* p. 119.

⁴¹ *ibid.* p. 115-117.

⁴² *ibid.* p. 118.

⁴³ *ibid.* p. 76.

⁴⁴ *ibid.* p. 117.

⁴⁵ Fergal Lenehan: *Stereotypes, Ideology and Foreign Correspondents*. Bern 2016.

thematic title indicating the particular focus of the chapter. The chapters which analyse the period from 1969 to 2010 are of particular relevance to the current investigation. Chapter 4 titled, 'Their hands still clasp prayer books and guns' examines German representations of Ireland from *Die Zeit* and *Der Spiegel* between 1969 and 1993 and focuses on the Northern Ireland conflict, the Catholic Church and contentious social and moral issues. Chapter 5 which is titled 'Nowhere is Europe so American as in Ireland,' explores German representations of Ireland from *Der Spiegel* and *Die Zeit* from 1994 to 2010 and concentrates on the so-called Celtic Tiger era and American investment in Ireland. While Lenehan's investigation is thorough and commendable, he works from a specific, distinctive perspective. His exclusive focus on the Hamburg-based *Der Spiegel* and *Die Zeit* represents a German, liberal perspective upheld by so-called 'elite' journalists from these two iconic and prestigious news publications and therefore forms a narrow basis for representing German press attitudes on any issue. The writer's concentration on a particular niche group of the German press, which is highly influential in German political discourse, excludes other German 'national' press voices that are examined in this current comprehensive investigation. Lenehan disregards the influential and politically unaligned *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. The conservative *F.A.Z.* is favoured by industrial and financial interests and highly regarded by the German business sector. Lenehan also overlooks the leftist *Frankfurter Rundschau* and the Berlin-based *die tageszeitung (taz)* with its appeal to an alternative readership. Furthermore, Lenehan's exclusive focus on Germany's liberal voice discounts the opinions of large numbers of German readers represented by the *Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands* or *CDU* whose supporters are enlightened by the conservative *Die Welt* and similar national and regional newspapers. Historically, both *Der Spiegel* and *Die Zeit* were outsiders to the dominant Christian Democratic culture of the new West German state and have since maintained and developed their traditional, liberal positions.

In the chapter outlining his theoretical framework (The Semantics and Syntax of Journalistic Articles of Other Cultures: Stereotypes and Ideological Narrative Meaning), Lenehan distinguishes between so-called cultural generalisations and stereotypes. His investigation pays particular attention to the various uses of stereotypes in his textual analysis from *Der Spiegel* and *Die Zeit* and from German cinema. Lenehan concludes that

indirect and intermittent German press coverage of Ireland leads to an excessive use of generalisations and stereotypes, drawn from German writers' extensive reservoir of Irish stereotypes and background information. German writers depict Ireland as un-European, old-fashioned, devoutly religious yet violently nationalistic, according to Lenehan. Although Lenehan examined German representations of Ireland from a 'limited' perspective, his research and findings from *Die Zeit* and *Der Spiegel* as well as his study of the notion of stereotypes are of particular relevance to this current investigation.

Corpus and Text Selection

The corpus for this investigation is of mixed-genre composition and comprises selected texts from the German print media and from travel writing with the intention of broadening the perspective and diversifying the scope of the research.⁴⁶ The investigation, which examines German representations of Ireland, focuses on a variety of German discourses covering diverse facets of Irish culture and represents a wide range of German writers' perspectives and opinions, in the interest of ensuring a broad-based cultural perspective and representation.

The traditionally prominent, societal position of the print media, its availability and accessibility as well as its influence both as a source of public information and opinion formation, warrant its selection as a research source. While the diversity of print media views informs a diverse public, it also reflects contemporary, public opinion and trends. As the so-called Fourth Estate, the press is generally held in high esteem and freedom of the press is regarded as one of the pillars of a democratic society. A further consideration, from a research perspective, is the access to online archives that are maintained by a large number of print media organisations. The decision to combine texts from German travel writing with textual representations from the German print media was prompted by the influence of Böll's *Irishes Tagebuch* as a so-called cult book in Germany, as well as the alleged German 'fascination' with Ireland and the popularity of Ireland as a travel destination for German-speaking visitors. Travel writing as a 'sociable' genre tends to be more expansive in expression and style in contrast to the more detached, reticent approach and style of the print media thus allowing the travel writer's predilections to

⁴⁶ See chapter 2.

become apparent. Moreover, the perception of the travel writer can be seen as a foil or complement to the perception of the journalist which is further enhanced by different stylistic conventions and writing styles. The combination of travel writing and print media texts thus contributes to the composition of an overarching and inclusive German representation of Ireland.

As the investigation focuses on German representations of Ireland, initial online searches of print media archives using the keyword '*Irland*' in combination with recurrent German discourses on Ireland, in relation to political, cultural and socio-economic themes, were undertaken. Print media texts that reflected diverse and diverging viewpoints on recurring themes were selected. In due course, the same criteria were applied in the thematic selection of travel writing texts where different forms of travel writing were examined (see below).

Text selection for the print media component of the corpus, therefore, centred on print media sources with a reputation for well-researched, informative journalism. Leading and long-established daily and weekly national newspapers and a prominent news magazine with wide circulations in both print and electronic versions were selected. In the interests of compiling a 'balanced' corpus, the so-called political bias of individual print media publications was considered in the selection process with the intention of including a cross-section of journalistic opinion. Newspapers and news magazines that provided scope for foreign correspondents and in-depth analysis of various shades of public opinion by representing a wide variety of outlooks across the political spectrum were favoured in the selection. The inclusion of selected texts from the East German press prior to German reunification in 1990 is intended to contrast with texts from contemporary West German press publications and take an East German perspective into consideration. Furthermore, incorporation of texts from East German newspapers acknowledges reciprocal East German-Irish political and cultural interests.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ See chapter 2.

The Press

Germans are avid newspaper readers whether online or in print format and Germany is reportedly the world's fifth largest newspaper market. Publishers, editors and journalists have a responsibility towards society. The press informs the public, contributes to opinion formation and freedom of opinion, and represents readers' interests by exposing abuses. Journalistic and ethical standards for the press are laid down in the Press Code. Freedom of the press is guaranteed under the German Constitution (*Grundgesetz für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland*) from 1949. Censorship of the 'enemy press' prevailed during Nazi rule, leaving the regime unrestricted freedom to disseminate its propaganda. At the end of the Second World War, the occupying Allies closed down existing newspapers in Germany and launched new newspapers which were scrutinised to prevent possible remaining influences from Nazism, at least in the West. In East Germany, press censorship and control were strictly applied by the *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (SED)* although the East German constitution theoretically avowed freedom of the press.

In 2015, the word *Lügenpresse* was selected *Unwort des Jahres* by a jury of linguists, journalists and authors indicating public concern regarding perceived infringement of press freedom and increased state control. The term *Lügenpresse* is a familiar one in the German language and was used during the First World War to refer to 'enemy propaganda.' National Socialism referred to unpatriotic and anti-regime media as *Lügenpresse*, while East Germany and other communist countries used the term to belittle the West German press. *Lügenpresse* was the catchphrase of West German student radicals during the 1968 protest movement as they railed at the German 'establishment' or 'elite' media. The far-right political grouping Pegida (*Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes*) which was founded in 2014 has used the term to protest against perceived mainstream media bias in reporting about the movement and its activities. The selection of the loaded term *Lügenpresse as Unwort des Jahres* highlights the pivotal role of the press in German society and furthermore brings the concept of so-called *Feindbilder* to public attention. It further underlines the notion

that *Feindbilder* are ever-present, lurking beneath the surface and ready to emerge in a new guise. In the following section, I will provide a brief account of selected German-language newspapers and their readership profiles.

The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* has appeared under the title *Zeitung für Deutschland* since 1949. The newspaper was established after the Second World War by a group of journalists who had previously worked on the highly respected *Frankfurter Zeitung*. The earlier newspaper was suppressed under National Socialism in 1943, and under the Allied occupation forces another newspaper, the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, was started. When control of the press was handed over to the new West German government in 1949, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* first began publication, pledging truth, objectivity, and fair treatment of opposing viewpoints. Business people and informed people with a special interest in the economy read the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. The newspaper functions as a watchdog of 'Ordoliberalism' or the German variant of social liberalism and provides in-depth analysis of business and financial matters, in long complex articles. In its cultural section, the *F.A.Z.* publishes texts that have triggered social debates on various occasions. In 1954, the newspaper published Heinrich Böll's impressions of Ireland which were later published as the bestseller *Irisches Tagebuch*. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* is highly regarded for its independence and eclecticism and enjoys a reputation for responsible reporting. The newspaper espouses liberal-conservative political views and appeals to middle-class readers. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung's* literary supplement (*Feuilleton*) leans towards the left while the newspaper maintains a liberal-conservative view in business and economic affairs. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* has one of the world's largest networks of correspondents, which makes it by and large independent of press agencies. The newspaper's direction and stance is determined by an editorial committee. In the opinion of *F.A.Z. Media Solutions*, which actively publicises its own products: '*F.A.Z. ist ein gefragtes Forum prominenter Gastautoren? Wer bei der Elite des Landes Gehör finden will, erreicht dies am besten durch eine Präsenz in der F.A.Z.*'⁴⁸ Created in 2001, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung* is the Sunday edition of the liberal-conservative daily *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, and is one of the

⁴⁸ www.faz.media/medien/frankfurter-allgemeine-zeitung-fuer-deutschland/ [30 December 2016].

leading weekend newspapers in Germany. The *F.A.Z.* has its head office in Frankfurt and is generally regarded as a prestige newspaper among German and international readers.

Established in West Berlin in 1979, *die tageszeitung (taz)* is a national, leftist, daily newspaper and claims to be the voice of 'serious' left-wing feminists, ecologists and pacifists and thereby representative of the prevailing counterculture. The *taz* has its roots in the autonomist movement that sprang up in reaction to German government attempts to constrain the press, in the wake of left-wing terrorist activities during the so-called *Deutsche Herbst* of 1977. The *taz* is a mixture of a serious and a satirical newspaper where controversy outweighs political correctness and its approach to topics is often regarded in journalistic circles as disrespectful and subversive. The German journalist, humorist and Irish citizen Ralf Sotscheck is *taz* correspondent for Ireland and Great Britain. According to the newspaper's media data *taz* readers are: 'Anspruchsvolle Leser*innen, die von sich selbst und der *taz* ein hohes Maß an gesellschaftlicher Verantwortung und Unabhängigkeit erwarten.'⁴⁹ The alternative newspaper *taz* is credited with raising awareness of environmental issues and contributing to the 'greening' of Germany.

Die Welt newspaper was established in 1946 by British occupying forces in Hamburg and modelled on the British daily newspaper, *The Times*. In 1953, *Die Welt* was bought by the publisher Axel Springer and was developed into the company's quality newspaper. The Axel Springer *Verlag* is a German digital publishing house which is the largest in Europe, with numerous multimedia news brands, such as the 'colourful', tabloid style, bestseller *Bild Zeitung*. In the opinion of media analysts: 'Der Welt.de-Leser ist weiblicher als der von Bild, SpOn⁵⁰ und Zeit, zudem etwas älter als die Nutzer der Süddeutschen, der Zeit und von Spiegel Online, schlechter gebildet und er verdient etwas weniger Geld.'⁵¹ While online readers of *Die Welt* tend to be female, their male counterparts prefer the newspaper's printed version. The editorial position of the broadsheet *Die Welt* is conservative with its head office located in Berlin. The newspaper also publishes *Welt am Sonntag* and *Welt Kompakt*. *Die Welt* has an extensive business section that is read by entrepreneurs in small and medium-sized businesses and by self-employed people who

⁴⁹ <http://www.taz.de/!111008/> [14 April 2019].

⁵⁰ Spiegel Online.

⁵¹ <https://meedia.de/2012/12/06/analyse-der-typische-welt-de-leser> [23 January 2016].

appreciate conservative values and support the *Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands* or CDU.

Die Zeit is a weekly newspaper published in Hamburg that provides a review of the week in politics and public affairs as they affect Europe and especially Germany. *Die Zeit* includes a weekly newsmagazine that gives extended reportage to major economic, political, and cultural topics beyond the coverage of related subjects in the newspaper itself. In February 1946, the founders of *Die Zeit* in Hamburg received their press licence from the British authorities and the first edition of the newspaper appeared on 21 February 1946. Early editions of the newspaper were critical of the failures and shortcomings of the occupying forces and the *Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands* or CDU and its perceived clericalism. During subsequent years, *Die Zeit* evolved to become a resolute advocate of Germany's right to self-determined democratisation thereby establishing the newspaper's journalistic reputation. The *Zeit's* editorial team remains committed to the fundamental values of freedom and pluralism, without supporting any particular political movement. The newspaper's arts and literary section (*Feuilleton*) which targets the educated, middle class developed under the guidance of the journalist and writer Rudolf Walter Leonhardt between 1957 and 1973. The newspaper's editorial position is liberal, and its contributors are highly regarded by German journalists, authors and the public. *Die Zeit* is known for its in-depth, often lengthy articles, refined language and diverse, cultural reporting. The newspaper's history has been marked by outstanding public figures who held management roles. Marion Dönhoff, one of Germany's leading post-war journalists and an intellectual, worked for over fifty years as an editor and later publisher of *Die Zeit*. In 1946, Dönhoff helped to establish *Die Zeit* and thereby contributed to the moral reconstruction of Germany. *Die Zeit* served as a medium to promote political debate, shape liberal thinking and advocate reconciliation with Eastern Europe. Former chancellor Helmut Schmidt joined *Die Zeit* in 1983 as co-publisher and was later appointed managing director. *Die Zeit* is considered academic; however, it is regarded by the German intelligentsia as essential reading with its open-minded, independent voice that makes it the pre-eminent broadsheet for news and political analysis. 'Zeit Leser haben eine starke Persönlichkeit und ein großes Informationsbedürfnis. Die Leser verfügen über eine hohes Einkommen, sind

konsumfreudig und haben einen hohen Anspruch an Qualität,'⁵² as maintained by the newspaper's marketing analysis.

In January 1947, the first edition of *Der Spiegel* was published with Rudolf Augstein as its publisher and editor-in-chief. The magazine, originally named *Diese Woche* was modelled on the American *Time* magazine and established in post-war Hamburg. From the outset, *Der Spiegel* set about querying government policy and accountability and in the process uncovered several scandals. The news magazine promoted the idea that democracy should not be left solely to its official representatives and advocated a radical, new social beginning and defensive democracy. The Spiegel Affair of 1962 was a confrontation between the government and the press and its outcome resulted in a surge in *Der Spiegel's* sales. German journalists and the public often express reservations about the ethics of *Der Spiegel's* investigative style of journalism. The centre-left *Spiegel* which is the top-selling German news magazine is known for its aggressively independent and vigorous reporting style. It is sometimes disparaged for its special brand of often irreverent journalistic jargon and its 'will to facticity,'⁵³ or employing strategies and devices to lend a factual status to its style of journalism. *Der Spiegel's* marketing analysis maintains: 'Zusammenfassend ist die Leserschaft des Spiegels also sehr männlich [...], sehr gut gebildet und mit hohem Einkommen ausgestattet.'⁵⁴ *Spiegel Online International* which offers articles translated into English was launched in 2004. It could be said, *Die Zeit* is the antithesis of the Hamburg-based *Der Spiegel*. While *Der Spiegel* epitomises 'revealing' research, an anonymous style of writing and hard-hitting opinion pieces, *Die Zeit* supports analysis, fosters the specific style of individual authors and encourages a balance between political camps.

In addition to texts from the West German press, the corpus also includes newspaper texts from the East German press prior to German reunification in 1990. West German interest in Ireland was primarily commercial and cultural and otherwise related to European Union affairs. The East German state also displayed a vibrant cultural interest in Ireland in addition to political involvement. The divergent representations of Ireland, by

⁵² www.iqm.de/print/marken/die-zeit/media/leserschaft-2/ [30 December 2016].

⁵³ Stuart Allen: *News Culture*. Buckingham / Philadelphia 1999, p. 198.

⁵⁴ meedia.de/2013/01/15/print-analyse-der-typische-spiegel-leser [14 December 2016].

journalists from the two German states, reveal auto-images of the disparate worlds of the two Germanies as they depict Ireland from their diametrically opposed perspectives.

The Soviet Occupation Zone was the area of Germany occupied by the Soviet Union at the end of the Second World War in 1945. On 7 October 1949 the German Democratic Republic, commonly referred to in English as East Germany, was established in the Soviet Occupation Zone. Control in the zone was centralised and included restrictions on the press which remained in force under East German rule.

Neues Deutschland with its head office in East Berlin was East Germany's largest daily newspaper. The newspaper was financed by and functioned as the official organ of the Central Committee of the *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (SED)*. *Neues Deutschland*, which was established in East Berlin in 1945, was familiarly known as the 'German *Pravda*' because it imitated the Soviet newspaper so faithfully in both style and content. In 1953, when popular uprisings swept East Germany, a liberalising trend was visible in the pages of *Neues Deutschland*, but by 1958 it had reverted to its traditional role in the development of party unity. The current *Neues Deutschland* newspaper espouses democratic socialism and Eurocommunism.

The daily newspaper *Berliner Zeitung* was first published in East Berlin in 1945 and is Berlin's oldest daily newspaper. Despite its close ties to the *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands*, the *Berliner Zeitung*, as a regional newspaper, enjoyed a degree of editorial autonomy and freedom thanks to its publisher the *Berliner Verlag*. The current *Berliner Zeitung* is controlled by foreign investors.

The daily newspaper *Neue Zeit* which was first published in 1945 was the voice of the *Christlich-Demokratischen Union Deutschlands (CDU)* in East Germany. The East German *CDU* was a so-called block or satellite party subject to the *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (SED)*. *Neue Zeit* presented a Christian perspective and was intended to inform and educate East German readers who were not 'reached' or influenced by other regional newspapers. Although *Neue Zeit* was a minor player in East German press terms, the newspaper had the highest circulation figures of the four block parties.

Travel Writing

Texts from travel writing examined in the investigation represent a broad cross-section of German perspectives on Ireland in light of the historical links between the two countries, the rediscovery of Ireland as a travel destination following the Second World War, and Ireland's increasing popularity as a holiday destination among German speakers. German 'fixation' with Ireland has produced an abundance of travel writing material to suit a diverse German-speaking readership, ranging from light-hearted, romantic accounts to satirical representations and more 'serious' travel writing.

The text selection which covers the period from 1973 to 2010 comprises a range of travel writing from romanticised depictions of Ireland to more down-to-earth representations in line with target reader preconceptions and expectations and writer predilections and intentions. Text selection for the travel writing section followed a similar procedure to the selection of print media texts and focused on recurring themes in the German representation of Irish culture. Texts from travel writing that complemented or contrasted with corresponding and analogous themes from the print media were selected for their diversity and contrasting viewpoints. The selected texts examine a wide range of German discourses relating to Ireland's socio-economic, political and cultural life. Travel writers' familiarity with Ireland and the extent of their so-called 'insider knowledge' of the Irish way of life played a decisive role in the selection of texts from the travel writing genre. Several travel writers, for instance, were long-term Irish residents and travel writing became an incidental occupation. Other travel writers visited Ireland in a professional capacity and subsequently committed their perceptions and observations to paper. Modern German travel writers unlike their predecessors from the early nineteenth century (see above) were unencumbered by political and societal constraints in their German homeland and wrote freely and without restriction about their personal perceptions of Ireland. Furthermore, these contemporary first-hand observations and impressions were mostly the results of direct personal contact with Ireland and its people unlike their predecessors whose perception of Ireland was filtered through the British perspective on Ireland. Texts were thematically selected in loose, chronological order

covering roughly four decades with the aim of presenting an overarching representation and taking into account changes in the hetero-image of Ireland during the selected period.

The text selection also includes a travelogue where the writer, in a similarly titled journal, virtually follows in the footsteps of the acclaimed German novelist Heinrich Böll, writer of the *Irishes Tagebuch*.⁵⁵ In addition to his representation of Ireland, while on his personal, spiritual journey, Ralph Giordano's *Mein irisches Tagebuch*⁵⁶ is a social commentary. Ralph Giordano is a German writer of Sicilian and German-Jewish descent. Ralph Giordano's *Mein irisches Tagebuch*, according to the publication material, constitutes: "Eine poetische Hymne auf eine schöne und gewalttätige, idyllische und zerrissene Insel in Europa."⁵⁷ The Böll 'connection' which involves visits to Achill Island by Giordano on his journey of self-discovery forges a close link between the writer and his readers. German-speaking readers who are admirers of Böll's *Irishes Tagebuch* place their confidence in his follower. The decision to include Giordano's *Mein irisches Tagebuch* in the text selection is based in the first instance on the writer's knowledge of Ireland which he gained during frequent visits. Giordano's dual heritage is a further determining factor that justifies the inclusion of his travelogue in the corpus. Dual heritage endows the writer with a different and distinct perspective and insight into cross-cultural differences. The writer's dual heritage, his personal, spiritual journey and his acknowledgement of the importance of Heinrich Böll's *Irishes Tagebuch* for German readers warrants the inclusion of his travelogue in a diverse text selection.⁵⁸

Limitations and Restrictions

Although the corpus for this investigation is comprehensive and diverse in its composition, it inevitably has its limitations. The investigation concentrates on German discourses on Ireland's socio-economic, political and cultural life. The investigation does not include an examination of environmental issues concerning Germany's beloved *grüne Insel*, which may disappoint German environmentalists. The representation does not

⁵⁵ Heinrich Böll: *Irishes Tagebuch*. München 1961.

⁵⁶ Ralph Giordano: *Mein irisches Tagebuch*. München 1999.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*

⁵⁸ See chapter 2.

cover the Irish language or the dedicated work of former German-speaking scholars in that particular area. A further omission from the investigation is an examination of the popularity of Irish literature and music in Germany, due to lack of space.

The selected print media texts represent a cross-section of German print media argument and opinion and indicate, in varying degrees, a knowledgeable interest in Ireland over a considerable period. The commentary indicates, where possible, the workplace and location of journalists since these circumstances may influence their perceptions and subsequent representations of Ireland. The majority of German journalists whose writings are quoted in this investigation were located outside Ireland and conceivably never visited Ireland, in a professional capacity, indicating negligible, direct contact with Ireland, as mentioned by Kaselitz and Lenehan above. Large numbers of German foreign correspondents writing about Ireland were resident in London or in Germany and provided second-hand information on Ireland, often supplied by news agencies. In a few exceptional cases, German foreign correspondents were based or temporarily located in Ireland, particularly during the so-called Celtic Tiger era, and these instances are indicated as they occur throughout the investigation. A further source of concern relates, in particular, to *Der Spiegel's* tendency to publish anonymised texts which may be an indication of editorial policy.⁵⁹

Thesis Structure

The content chapters in the thesis are structured around themes and related subthemes where each chapter examines and comments on German representations of Ireland from both travel writing and the press. Issues relating to the mixed-genre composition of the text corpus are examined in closer detail in Chapter 2. Each of the thematic, content chapters centres on analysis of the German hetero-image of Ireland relating to issues of concern and of topical interest to both countries. The focal point of Chapter 3 is analysis of the German representation of Ireland as a fellow member of the European Union where Ireland's stance on EU policy issues is examined. The chapter also explores the German perception of the so-called Celtic Tiger phenomenon and subsequent bankruptcy resulting in consequences for Germany and Ireland. Chapter 4 examines the German

⁵⁹ See conclusion.

representation of the relationship between church and state and the issue of secularism in Ireland. Other topics in the chapter explore the German perception of Irish religiosity and the scandal concerning the clerical abuse of minors. Chapter 5 analyses the German representation of Northern Ireland particularly in relation to nationalism and sectarian violence through to the eventual cessation of hostilities and a return to peace.

This thesis examines the entire island of Ireland as a geographic location for pragmatic rather than for political reasons. This German representation (*Irlandbild*) explores both the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland.

Methodological Approaches

This investigation examined the German reconstruction of the *Irlandbild* from 1973 to 2010. A variety of discourses from German travel writing and the press were analysed, from an Irish perspective, using the combined and developed methodological approaches of Imagology and Gadamerian hermeneutics, as part of a methodological toolkit.

The investigation identified and commented on German patterns of perception and methods of representation that underlie the depiction of Ireland and considered specific writer agendas. As the German-speaking writers familiarised themselves with Irish culture, they inevitably communicated subjective views of Ireland, which were influenced by German attitudes and sociocultural values, to their German readers. The study also pinpointed changes and shifts in the representation in terms of contrasting modalities and opposing valorisations, due to the passage of time and changing circumstances. The construction and purpose of so-called *Feindbilder* was highlighted as well as the distinction between 'factual' images and deliberately and purposefully constructed images in texts from German travel writing and the press.

The mixed-genre composition of the text corpus, which was drawn from German print media and travel writing sources, called for detailed consideration of categories of images and stereotypes with regard to genre convention and style. In addition to identifying stereotypes, a thorough study of the use and purpose of stereotypes, throughout the selected time period, was also carried out. Variations and differences in the manner, style and tone of the representations, in respect of genre specific conventions and specific writer agenda were also identified and commented on.

This current chapter details and clarifies why the methodological toolkit, which is detailed below, is the most appropriate to analysing German representations of Ireland, from an Irish perspective. The discussion begins with a summary of the current theory underlying the representation of cross-national cultural images and is followed by an overview of the historical background to the older notion of national character representation. Possible challenges, considerations and issues related to the analysis of a mixed-genre text corpus are explored and considered. Key concepts and terms essential to the thesis are then

scrutinised. A number of methodological approaches are subsequently examined and in due course a methodological approach is developed.

1: Theory

Contemporary scholarship holds the general view that cross-national cultural images and representations are as much determined by the 'reality' of the particular country as by the perspective of foreigners. The modern theory underlying the representation of national cultures, and in this particular instance, the perceived Irish lifestyle, hinges on the key concepts of perspective, perception and preconception. Our perception of the world around us and of other cultures is determined by our perspective. Our perspective, and consequently our perception of our immediate and more remote surroundings, is influenced by a myriad of factors, including our domestic culture and our history. Perspective and perception are societal constructs, which are culturally transmitted and further influenced by situation and history. We consciously construct mental 'images' of our native culture and of other cultures to serve our own needs. These cultural constructs, which are not entirely founded on empirical evidence, become embedded in our culture and are culturally transmitted through discourse. These 'images' or mental representations are not constant and are subject to change, adaptation and modification with the passage of time and changing social circumstances. In due course, these stock phrases and quasi-characterological attributes become imputed to particular nations. They become stereotyped by dint of repetition and gain social currency. Analysis and interpretation of representations of alleged national culture centre on examining culturally constructed 'images' of reputed national behaviour and attitudes, from a hermeneutical perspective. The contemporary scholarly view of cross-national images as cultural constructs is at variance with the historical, traditional belief in the alleged realness of so-called national characters, as outlined below.

History of National Character Representation

Western culture has a long-established interest in so-called 'national characters.'

Ethnological depictions of foreign peoples can be found in the works of classical authors such as Herodotus, Tacitus and in Caesar's *de Bello Gallico*. The twelfth century *History and Topography of Ireland* by Gerald of Wales (Giraldus Cambrensis) is an account of Ireland's people and landscape from a Norman perspective.⁶⁰ The *Völkertafel* or *Tableau of Nationalities* is an oil painting produced by an unknown artist in the early eighteenth century in the Austrian region of Styria.⁶¹ The work is a classic illustration of national characterisation in Europe. The *Völkertafel* depicts European men dressed in representative national attire and ascribes moral and social characteristics to each nationality in the representation. The *Völkertafel* as a system of the character of ethnic stereotypes remained intellectually dominant until the Enlightenment and beyond.

German philosopher and critic Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803) put forward the notion of romantic nationalism based on the celebration of difference, thereby making peculiarity the norm. Herder's theory of *Volksgeist* assumed that every ethnicity had specific features and culture and that its habits were a manifestation of national spirit. The essentialist view held that 'nations' existed in an objective sense and that each separate and distinct 'nation' was distinguished by its own distinctive national disposition that could be analysed from the particular nation's distinct cultural activity. Culture was indisputably viewed as national culture and singled out by the nation's innate 'typical' distinctiveness. Belief in the realness of national characters 'morally' legitimised and justified conquest and imperialism resulting in extensive colonisation and the suppression of allegedly 'inferior' peoples by supposedly 'superior' nations. Belief in Aryan and Anglo-Saxon biological superiority was sustained by advocates of National Socialism, proponents of Social Darwinism and cultural anthropologists, among others, well into the twentieth century.

⁶⁰ See Liz Curtis: *Nothing But the Same Old Story: The Roots of Anti-Irish Racism*. London 1996.

⁶¹ Franz K. Stanzel: *Europäer: Ein imagologischer Essay*. Heidelberg 1998.

In 1882, Ernest Renan's lecture: *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?*⁶² argued the voluntarist viewpoint that nationality was a set of human choices and not a fixed classification and was therefore to be analysed in a historical rather than in an anthropological context. As a prominent voice of French liberalism and secularism, Renan was influential in public life towards the end of the nineteenth century and his work was indicative of the rise of nationalist sentiments in Europe and the forces of modernisation in a changing world.

'Imagology' or Image Studies developed in response to the need for a more critical approach to the study of national identification and the deconstruction of nationalism in the wake of the Second World War. The specialism in Comparative Literature, which studies intercultural relations in terms of mutual perceptions and images, was developed in France, where its methodology took shape in the 1950s under the name *imagologie*. German scholars and theorists, in particular, considered the long-standing essentialist approach to national character analysis no longer tenable. Publication of Guyard's essay *L'étranger tel qu'on le voit* (1951)⁶³ shifted the focus of study and representation of cross-national cultures from the traditional notion of nationality *per se* to the concept of nationality 'as seen' or perceived and was regarded as a turning point in the study of purported national character. In the field of Comparative Literature, the study of cultural differences now focused on perspectives, attitudes and perceptions rather than on essences. The change of focus from the essentialist view was largely motivated by a desire for reconciliation following the destruction caused by the Second World War. The image of Germany was burdened with the inheritance of the Nazi regime and the destruction it had brought about. While sociologists and psychologists sought to understand the deep, root causes and effects of the German catastrophe, the disrupted German consciousness required redefinition, not only in the field of Comparative Literature.

However, René Wellek the influential American literary critic and representative of New Criticism was highly dismissive of the emerging branch of comparative studies and dismissed it as extrinsic to the proper task of comparative, literary criticism and thus unworthy of consideration. Hugo Dyserinck, professor of Comparative Literature at

⁶² Ernest Renan: What is a Nation? Paris 1992.

⁶³ Marius-Francois Guyard: L'étranger tel qu'on le voit: <https://imagologica.eu/CMS/UPLOAD/guyard.pdf>. [23 March 2018].

Aachen, undeterred by criticism, continued to develop Imagology from the late 1960s and publish his research.⁶⁴ Dyserinck's pupil Manfred S. Fischer proposed replacing the sociologically constituted concept of the stereotype with the literary term *imagotype* which, however, proved unpopular.⁶⁵ Dyserinck was joined by former student Joep Leerssen who proceeded with research into Imagology: the study of cross-national perceptions and images as expressed in discourse.

2: Challenges and Considerations

Mixed Genre Considerations and Issues

The corpus for this thesis differs in its composition from other mixed genre studies by combining non-fiction texts from travel writing with print media texts from the former East Germany and West Germany with the intention of incorporating a diversity of cross-cultural perspectives and writing genres in a comprehensive analysis. The inclusion of daily and weekly news publications in the corpus takes into consideration differences in perspective in terms of news reporting, background analysis and intended readership covered by particular newspapers. Newsmagazines, on the other hand, unlike daily or weekly newspapers are periodicals that focus more on supplying analysis and details rather than on 'merely' reporting news and consequently they address the needs of specific sections of the reading public.

The use of a mixed genre-text corpus in respect of this thesis is intended to broaden and enhance the scope of the investigation while reflecting the diverse usages and interpretations of the written word. The word *genre*, which is of French origin, is based on the Latin *genus* and refers to a class or kind. Youngs maintains: "One step is to identify the importance of the concept of genre. It is not merely a descriptive label but a way of making sense of the structures by which we describe our surroundings and perceive meaning in them."⁶⁶ Writing genres operate as textual codes and interpretative frameworks between writers and readers. Distinct genre conventions or codes pertain to

⁶⁴ Hugo Dyserinck: 'Zum Problem der 'images' und 'mirages' und ihrer Untersuchung im Rahmen der Vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft', *Arcadia*, 1 (1966), p. 107-120.

⁶⁵ Manfred S. Fischer: *Nationale Images als Gegenstand Vergleichender Literaturgeschichte*. Bonn 1981.

⁶⁶ Tim Youngs: Introduction. In: *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*. Ed. by Tim Youngs. Cambridge 2013, p. 1-19, here p. 2.

style, language and the target readership. When readers engage with a piece of writing, they classify it and expect a certain form. Readers also make assumptions regarding the underlying motive and subject matter of the particular piece of writing, its writer and its intended readership. One of the most fundamental types of textual code relates to genre and entails purposes, participants and themes. When readers recognise the genre of a particular piece of writing they understand the roles they have to play and the roles played by other people. Readers also expect a certain layout and organisation, tone, level of detail and rhetorical aspects.

The target readership for the print media is the public or particular social groupings. According to Allen: "As a form of social knowledge, a discourse identified as 'news' [original punctuation] exhibits certain evolving yet characteristic features which are shaped in accordance with cultural rules or conventions about what constitutes 'the world out there.'"⁶⁷ The function of news publications is to inform and educate readers about issues and events and how these influence their lives, while ideally functioning as 'watchdogs' or custodians of democracy, in their role as members of the so-called fourth estate. News publications analyse information, mould and influence opinion formation and with their mosaic of diverse elements serve as a social record and barometer of public opinion. A detailed and comprehensive outline of print media publications and their respective readerships, examined in the thesis, is provided in chapter 1.⁶⁸

The purpose of travel writing is to inform, educate and ultimately persuade the reader to 'travel' and to embark on an actual or on a metaphorical journey. The reader accompanies the writer on his encounter between the world and the Self. The travel writer acts as cultural guide and surrogate for the reader on the journey. The reader is assigned a third party or 'eavesdropper' role while the writer's journey of self-discovery and self-absorption is the principal focus. Youngs maintains travel writing, "throws light on how we define ourselves and on how we identify others and operates on individual and national levels and in the realms of psychology, society and economics."⁶⁹ Whereas travel

⁶⁷ Stuart Allen: Introduction: The Culture of News. In: News Culture. Ed. by Stuart Allen. Buckingham/Philadelphia 1999, p. 1-6, here p. 4.

⁶⁸ See chapter 1.

⁶⁹ Tim Youngs: Introduction. In: The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing. Ed. by Tim Youngs. Cambridge 2013, p. 1-19, here p. 1.

writers strive to create a personal bond and establish a confidential rapport with their readership in a particular location, the print media addresses and engages with the public on events and matters of contemporary societal concern, on a national level and on a global scale. The print media initiates and contributes to extensive, public debate and is publically perceived in the role of a detached and vigilant watchdog.

The subjective perceptions of travel writers, on the other hand, are 'fixed' and preserved for posterity in the particular textual context. Meier argues: "No contact with the unknown occurs in a vacuum. All things perceived are subject to, and co-determined by, the preconceptions and expectations of the observer."⁷⁰ Travellers embark on journeys complete with preconceptions and aspirations. Travel experiences and their subsequent representations are determined by the traveller's own cultural framework. When a travel writer gives his *imprimatur* to his perceptions, public discussion and debate seldom ensue. Travel writing often reveals more about the writer than about the visited area. The travel writer projects his cultural mindset onto the visited place and communicates his subjective perceptions to his readership. He establishes his omniscience on travel matters and the reader trusts this implicit 'infallibility.' In the same manner, the reader's response is contingent on his own particular latent preconceptions. The travel writer, with his subjective knowledge of both worlds, mediates between the familiar or home world and the alien world. He enhances the reader's existing knowledge and constructs the notion of 'otherness' by means of analogy, contrast and exaggeration thus enabling a schematic ordering of the reader's knowledge of the world. In the text corpus for this thesis, several writers, in particular travel writers, strive to fulfil reader expectations with the use of traditional stereotypes relating to religion, poverty and perceived cultural backwardness as 'identifiers' in their depiction of Ireland and thereby maintain the *status quo* in terms of the representation of otherness. This form of representation or verisimilitude strengthens the emotionality of the travel experience and conveys the notion that writer and reader are on the same 'wavelength.'

The travelogue foregrounds the author-narrator and his experiences in the process of self-discovery. The travel account includes elements of memoir, encounters with friends

⁷⁰ Albert Meier: Travel Writing. In: *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters*. Ed. by Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen. Amsterdam /New York 2007, p. 446-449, here p. 448.

and the inclusion of a second narrator, in a token capacity. These spontaneous and fortuitous incidents or episodes grant the writer the opportunity to moralise and expound on human nature and national culture. The use of hyperbole, spontaneity and the 'personal touch' are literary devices employed in establishing a heartfelt relationship between the travelogue writer and his readers. The didactic and moralising tone gives the writer the opportunity to assess his own values and his cultural identity on his own personal journey in a 'foreign' environment. Travel writers, regardless of their experience or 'insider' knowledge of the visited location are always 'visitors' or 'Blow ins.'

Travel writing contains a mixture of information and poetical components in an effort to satisfy a diverse readership with diverse interests and various levels of knowledge. As a textual construct, travel writing is not restricted to conveying hard facts. It strives to create a relationship based on informality and naturalness between the travel writers, the readers and the Other. A mood of cosiness and relaxation is achieved through the inclusion of anecdotes, interviews with 'real natives', exaggeration and 'insider' knowledge of 'typical' native culture. This contrived combination lends the construct a degree of apparent authenticity and verisimilitude. A detailed overview of selected travel writing texts which are analysed in the investigation is supplied in chapter 1.⁷¹

The subjective perspective of travel writing contrasts with the claims of 'fairness,' 'balance' and 'impartiality' asserted by the press. Allen acknowledges that: "While journalists typically present a news account as an 'objective', 'impartial' *translation* of reality, it may instead be understood to be providing an ideological *construction* of contending truth-claims about reality."⁷² The text corpus for this thesis covers a variety of writer perspectives which are taken into account in the analysis. News publications construct codified definitions of 'reality' couched in codified language in compliance with reader expectations and the particular newspaper's political alignment. Hall maintains newspapers classify and contextualise news events as part of a social process of 'making an event intelligible.' In Hall's view, newspapers assume the *consensual* nature of society: "The process of *signification* — giving social meanings to events — *both assumes and*

⁷¹ See chapter 1.

⁷² Stuart Allen: Introduction: The Culture of News. In: News Culture. Ed. by Stuart Allen. Buckingham /Philadelphia 1999, p. 1-6, here p. 4.

helps to construct society as a 'consensus.' We exist as members of one society *because* — it is assumed — we share a common stock of cultural knowledge with our fellow men: we have access to the same maps of meanings."⁷³ He further alleges that it is the target readership of individual newspapers that determines the particular 'mode of address' or 'public idiom' which individual newspapers employ, "the language employed will thus be the newspaper's own version of the language of the public to whom it is principally addressed and will be different for each news outlet."⁷⁴ According to Hall, this arrangement forms the basis for a mutually, beneficial relationship between readers and newspaper producers. Different political alignments and the alleged 'bias' of news publications, of which readers are aware, imply restricted perceptions owing to the social diversity of consumers and producers of news and must be considered in the analysis. Many German newspaper readers are accustomed to the inclusion of a *feuilleton* section or supplementary magazine devoted to fiction, criticism or light literature, in their daily or weekly newspaper. As the supplementary reading material is more focused on topical items rather than on reporting current events, a variety of different writing styles is employed in respect of the expectations of the different target reader groupings.

The absence of a mixed-genre element in this text corpus would entail restricting the overall perspective in a thesis where analysis of diversity and distinctiveness are essential elements. A mixed-genre corpus incorporates a diversity of writing styles and perspectives that reflect a diverse society where differences complement each other and where diversity enhances the overall quality of the text corpus. This investigation concerns an examination of cultural representations of Ireland by German-speaking writers in non-fiction texts, drawn from a broad variety of genres ranging from articles in newspapers, magazines and journals to travel guides and other forms of travel writing.

Texts examined in this investigation may be classified into the following main text categories: factual, narrative, and descriptive with text length varying from short text extracts to longer editorial pieces. The mixed-genre composition of the text corpus allows for a wide range of writer perspectives and writing styles. While the principal aim of the

⁷³ Stuart Hall, Chas Critcher, Tony Jefferson, John Clarke and Brian Roberts: *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order*. London 1978, p. 55.

⁷⁴ Stuart Hall, Chas Critcher, Tony Jefferson, John Clarke and Brian Roberts: *Policing the Crisis*: London 1978, p. 61.

German representation of Ireland is to inform German readers about Ireland, writers may use the opportunity to send explicit or implicit 'messages' to their German readers about matters of particular German interest and concern. Some writers may wish to admonish or educate their readers while others may seek to entertain or to moralise. As regards this thesis, writer agenda or purpose and writing genre determine and influence whether Ireland is represented in 'factual' images or in deliberately and purposefully constructed images. In similar manner, representations of Ireland in the German press vary between 'ideally objective' news reports and explicitly subjective opinion pieces.

3: Key Concepts and Terms

In the following examination, I will discuss some of the necessary key terms and concepts used in the course of this thesis. Terms and concepts which are examined include the concepts of representation, 'image' and the term the Other. These key concepts and terms are essential to an analysis of representations of national culture and underpin the theoretical framework of the thesis. This section opens with a brief examination of the notion of representation as relevant to an investigation into the representation of cultural differences and is therefore pertinent to this thesis.

3.1 Representation

In Stuart Hall's view: "Representation means using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent, the world meaningfully, to other people."⁷⁵ He maintains that representation is essential to the production and exchange of meaning between members of a culture which he defines in terms of 'shared meanings or conceptual maps,'⁷⁶ thereby highlighting the notion that interpretation and significance are firmly anchored in the cultural mores of a particular group or society.

According to Richard Dyer, representations are presentations, "entailing the use of the codes and conventions of the available cultural forms of presentation,"⁷⁷ and while these cultural codes may be restrictive they, nevertheless, enable representation. He notes,

⁷⁵ Stuart Hall: *The Work of Representation*. In: *Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. Ed. by Stuart Hall. London 1997, p. 13-75, here p. 15.

⁷⁶ Stuart Hall: *The Work of Representation*. London 1997, p. 13-75, here p. 18.

⁷⁷ Richard Dyer: *The Matter of Images: Essays on Representation*. London 1993, p. 1.

"the complexity of representation lies then in its embeddedness in cultural forms," and "its unfinishable relation to the reality to which it refers,"⁷⁸ suggesting that no existing form of representation can fully or faithfully represent the 'reality' it strives to comprehend or reconstruct. He foregrounds the concept of cultural embeddedness with its inherent limitations in relation to representation thus accentuating the subjective character of representation and interpretation. Dyer further argues, "What is re-presented is not directly reality itself but other representations,"⁷⁹ and requires investigation into the complex network behind the particular re-presentation. He contends representations of culture are contingent on existing (re)presentations by writers from other cultures which ultimately have a bearing on the representation in question and must not be disregarded.

Detailed examination of the concept of representation is central to this thesis which reconstructs the *Irlandbild* between 1973 and 2010 where German-speaking writers construct and personalise their hetero-images of Ireland. The constructed *Irlandbild* is determined by the 'reality' German-speaking writers perceive and it is also contingent on their own cultural perspectives. Furthermore, as the corpus for this thesis is of mixed-genre composition, knowledge and awareness of genre conventions in relation to the concept of representation are essential. Writing genres with their distinctive codes and conventions operate as interpretative frameworks between writers and readers and essentially determine how a society and particular aspects of a culture are represented.

3.2 Image

As this thesis primarily analysed the hetero-image of Ireland from the perspective of German-speaking writers, an examination of the concept of 'image' was essential. In respect of this thesis, which examined the German reconstruction of the *Irlandbild*, the term 'image' refers to the 'mental' representation of the domestic and foreign national cultures. According to Walter Lippmann, images of other people are pictures in our heads and these pictures lead to misunderstandings and can eventually lead to conflict

⁷⁸ *ibid.* p.2.

⁷⁹ *ibid.* p.1.

situations.⁸⁰ Lippmann ascribes visual qualities, similar to mental pictures or impressions, to the concept of 'image.' In Block's opinion, the meaning of mental image is vague: "I think construing 'mental' image as denoting the internal representations involved in imagery helps to make sense of the controversy over whether mental images are pictures in the head".⁸¹ Mitchell writes about the variety of images and produces a family tree to illustrate that variety with graphic, optical, perceptual, mental and verbal images. Under the category mental images he lists dreams, memories and ideas.⁸² Beller uses "the term *image* as the mental silhouette of the other, who appears to be determined by the characteristics of family, group, tribe, people or race. Such an *image* rules our opinion of others and controls our behaviour towards them."⁸³ Beller's use of the term *mental silhouette* indicating vagueness and lack of distinctness is in keeping with the inherently indefinable quality of the concept. Leerssen argues that in the representation of alleged national character, "most images of national character will boil down to a characteristic, or quasi-characterological polarity,"⁸⁴ and that these opposing core 'character' images generally constitute the fundamental cultural images of the particular nation. The representation of other countries is both self-centred and self-serving and as O'Neill argues: "An image is always reflexive, however, it always says as much of those who make it as of those who are its focus; it usually says more."⁸⁵ In this investigation, Ireland is represented as explicitly and implicitly different from Germany. The representation of other nations and cultures, whether in the form of positive or negative valorisations, conveys more insight into the mindset of the observer nation than into the culture of the nation which is being 'observed.' In this regard, this investigation proposes the German representation of Ireland reveals more about Germany than about Ireland.

National images, however, are not constant; they are adaptable and versatile and are subject to changes in cultural tastes and changing circumstances as manifested in image variation and mutation and resulting in inconsistency in patterns of positive or negative

⁸⁰ Walter Lippmann: *Public Opinion*. New Brunswick /New York 1998, p. 3-32.

⁸¹ Ned Block: *Mental Pictures and Cognitive Science* In: *The Philosophical Review* Vol. 92, No 4 (1983), p. 499-541, here p. 506-507.

⁸² William J. T. Mitchell: *What is an Image?* In: *New Literary History*, Vol. 15, 3, (1984), p. 503-537.

⁸³ Manfred Beller: *Perception, Image, Imagology* . In: *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters*. Ed. by Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen. Amsterdam /New York 2007, p. 3-16, here p.4.

⁸⁴ Joep Leerssen: *Image*. In: *Imagology: Amsterdam / New York 2007*, pp. 342-344, here p. 344.

⁸⁵ Patrick O'Neill: *Ireland and Germany: A Study in Literary Relations*. New York 1985, p. 301.

valorisations. Throughout the ages, subject to circumstances and the dictates of cultural preference, images generate their very opposite or counter-images: as in the image of the genial, affable Irishman and his counter-image of the merciless terrorist, or the image of the German poet-philosopher and his counter-image of the soulless technocrat.

Theoretically, images of a given nation or group accumulate and form composite layers of images and contradictory counter-images. At any given time, some of the images in this stockpile of images are active while others are latent yet all are subliminally present. In short, images of so-called 'national character' circulate freely in the public domain and are activated, modified and disseminated when triggered by opportunity or circumstances.

3.3 The Other

In the area of cross-national image studies, the term the Other is employed to refer to human beings and social groupings as distinct from the Self. We all refer to the Other in our daily lives. How do we characterise the Other? In the context of this thesis, the term Other circumscribes other human beings and social groupings and their differences from 'me' or 'us' and is applied across the broad spectrum which encompasses the way of life of people that is referred to under the term 'culture'. Our perception of alterity or Otherness is contingent on our perception of Self and our perception of cultural 'identity.' Our cultural conceptualisation of the Other, irrespective of the human form it takes, is conditional on and inextricably linked to our cultural self-image. Pickering claims that there is no real or actual Other. The Other is merely a conception and the perception of the Self when confronted with differences which are at variance with traditional or accepted cultural norms: "Conceptions of the Other and the structures of difference and similarity which they mobilise do not exist in any natural form at all. There is no pristine, real Other out there."⁸⁶ Differences we perceive in Others are subjective images we have created for our own purposes, in the interest of self-valorisation and self-actualisation. We cannot reify or concretise the conceptual Other. In the context of cross-national cultural studies, Beller contends: "There is no such thing as a pristine encounter,"⁸⁷ furthermore, he maintains our encounters with Others are marked by preconceived notions or prejudices. Our native culture engenders and reinforces preconceptions that

⁸⁶ Michael Pickering: *Stereotyping: The Politics of Representation*. Hampshire/New York 2001, p. 72.

⁸⁷ Manfred Beller: *Perception, Image, Imagology*. In: *Imagology: Amsterdam /New York 2007*. p. 3-16, here p.7.

influence our subjective perception of and interaction with other cultures. Consequently, Beller maintains: "It is not possible to distinguish what, in our attitudes, is primordial, pure experience, and what derives from culturally accumulated images." ⁸⁸

We validate and justify our own cultural attitudes by Othering cultures which oppose or challenge our own way of thinking. In practice, the process of Othering serves to create circumstances that result in the formation of so-called 'in- groups' and 'out- groups' and the creation of a 'them' and 'us' contest when referring to cultures which are different from 'us,' as perceived in cultural terms. Cultures which do not conform to the accepted standards or 'norms' of a particular group are excluded and Othered whereby Othering functions as a means of establishing group and social identity and maintaining the status quo. People need to construct images of the Other in order to create and perceive a sense of self and cultural identity. Images function as paired opposites and operate in a self-serving dynamic whereby one cannot exist without the other. Pickering alleges: "The Other says and reveals far more about the 'self' and its conditioned and self-directed possibilities than about the apparently all-determined Other."⁸⁹ The profile and attributes of the Other as dictated and projected by the Self onto the Other are more revealing about the Self than about the constructed Other. The Self has opportunities to develop and progress whereas the Other bears the 'status' or image allocated to him by the Self/Other. This thesis proposes that the projection of the German self-image onto the German-determined hetero-image of Ireland reveals more about German cultural values than about Ireland which is the subject of the cultural representation. Beller maintains: "Valorising the *Other* is, of course, nothing but a reflection of one's own subjective point of view,"⁹⁰ and simply a validation of the Self as perceived through the hetero-image of the Other. German writers' commendation of particular aspects of Irish culture suggests a reciprocal validation of German social values. The experience of alterity or *Fremderfahrung* where societies and cultures rationally differentiate between *fremd* and *eigen* can be the starting point and a breeding ground for the formation of stereotypes.

⁸⁸ *ibid.*

⁸⁹ Michael Pickering: *Stereotyping: The Politics of Representation*. Hampshire /New York 2001, p.74.

⁹⁰ Manfred Beller: *Perception, Image, Imagology*. In: *Imagology*: Amsterdam /New York 2007. p. 3-16, here p.6.

3.4 Stereotype

While the practice of stereotyping certainly predates the invention of printing, the American writer, Walter Lippmann, brought stereotyping in the media and in public life, to popular attention in his seminal work *Public Opinion* (1922). Lippmann wrote: "For the most part we do not first see, and then define; we define first and then see."⁹¹ Lippmann claims some print media outlets and consequently their readers readily form hasty and perhaps erroneous judgements, without adequate background research, thereby creating and reinforcing stereotypes. Stereotypes are not the products of rationality or logical thought. They are unthinking, knee-jerk reactions and are not processed by the power of reasoning. Lippmann maintains that the media and consequently we the readers prejudge people and situations based on our own cultural conditioning and the established norms of our tradition, "we pick out what our culture has already defined for us, and we tend to perceive that which we have picked out in the form stereotyped for us by our culture".⁹² When we encounter other cultures, we filter our first impressions through the cultural reservoir of our own culture, which Lippmann maintains is: "A repertory of stereotypes."⁹³ In the absence of empirical evidence, supported by the weight of tradition and combined with the bonding effects of social cohesion, we stereotype, classify and compartmentalise other cultures for our own convenience and to our own advantage.

Stanzel asserts that general-purpose and trite terminology demeans individual, cultural differences and distinctiveness: "Eine Denk-und Sprechfigur wie 'Einfach Typisch', bezogen auf eine soziale oder ethnische Gruppe von Menschen, ist so tief in unserem sprachlichen Handlungsrepertoire verankert,"⁹⁴ emphasising the tenacious and relentless qualities of stereotypes which are unaffected by rules of etiquette or political correctness. Hahn differentiates between cultural generalisations and stereotypes and alleges: "Normale Verallgemeinerungen stützen sich auf Erfahrungen,"⁹⁵ which can be verified or contradicted. However, "Stereotypen dagegen sind spezifische Verallgemeinerungen, in

⁹¹ Walter Lippmann: *Public Opinion*. New Brunswick/New York 1998, p. 81.

⁹² *ibid.*

⁹³ *ibid.* p. 89-90.

⁹⁴ Franz K. Stanzel: *Europäer: Ein imagologischer Essay*. Heidelberg 1998, p. 109.

⁹⁵ Hans Henning Hahn: *Das Selbstbild und das Fremdbild – was verbindet sie? Überlegungen zur Identitätsfunktion von Stereotypen in der europäischen Geschichte*. In: *Stereotypes and linguistic prejudices in Europe*. Ed. by Anna Dabrowska, Walery Pisarek and Gerhard Stickel. Budapest 2017, p. 137-154, here p. 142.

denen der emotionale Faktor dominiert,⁹⁶ stereotypes are specific generalisations which are defined and determined by emotion, which Hahn believes is their hallmark. Hahn believes that the emotional element of stereotypes makes them indestructible and irrefutable, "und daher resistent gegen kognitive Argumente und abweichende Erfahrungen sind."⁹⁷

Hahn refers to the so-called *Ossi-Wessi* stereotype: "Nach dem Ende des Kalten Krieges hätte man erwarten können, dass eine solch negative Stereotypisierung des 'Ostens' zu Ende gehen oder zumindest sich ändern werde."⁹⁸ He indicates the unfulfilled hope and desire for the acceptance and recognition of East Germans, as fellow citizens on an equal footing, in a reunited Germany. Hahn points out, that from an East German perspective, the former communist state was expected to abandon its sense of selfhood and difference and have its uniqueness subsumed and be henceforth collectively identified as German: "Ganz im Gegenteil – alle verlangten vom 'Osten', dass er 'Westen' werden solle, und sie waren empört, dass der 'Osten' der 'Osten' blieb."⁹⁹ This thesis shows that national images operate in tandem and are interdependent. West Germany's self-image as a beacon of social, liberal democracy found validation in its representation of East Germany as a communist dictatorship and a failing planned economy. Equally, East Germany valorised its communist stance by creating a hetero-image of West German capitalism and decadence. Journalists and writers in both Germanies made use of stereotypes in their writings to validate their respective cultures and to assure their respective readers that they lived in the 'better' Germany. The West German hetero-image of East Germany was crucial to the construction and maintenance of the West German auto-image of selfhood and vice versa, in a Self/Other dynamic, as examined by Pickering above. Edward Said examines analogous images of fear and mistrust in the construct of the Orient by the Occident, which he touches on, in the introduction to his book *Orientalism*.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ *ibid.*

⁹⁷ *ibid.*

⁹⁸ Hans Henning Hahn: Das Selbstbild und das Fremdbild – was verbindet sie? In: Stereotypes and linguistic prejudices in Europe. Ed. by Anna Dabrowska et al. Budapest 2017, p. 137-154, here p. 147.

⁹⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Edward W. Said: *Orientalism*. New York 1979.

Hahn's remarks on East German experience of being stereotyped are pertinent to this thesis in the context of East Germany's relations with Ireland. Scholarly work examining East German political connections with Ireland has previously been mentioned.¹⁰¹ East German cultural links with Ireland through the University of Halle-Wittenberg have also been touched on.¹⁰² Texts from the East German press prior to German reunification in 1990 are also examined in this thesis. East German journalists' propaganda campaign is heavily reliant on the use of stereotypes of imperialism and the British class system in the construction of so-called *Feindbilder*. While the ultimate aim of the propaganda exercise is to win the support of Left-leaning sympathisers in Ireland, the use of stereotypes serves to bolster solidarity among East German citizens. During the so-called Celtic Tiger period the new image of the successful Irish 'go-getter' is juxtaposed with the stereotype of the East German worker, whose work ethic and work practices were unsatisfactory and not 'truly' German, from a West German perspective. In this instance, the former East/West images of communism in opposition to democracy have mutated and have been overlaid with images of the stereotypical West German work ethic which then shifts onto the Celtic Tiger entrepreneur.

Acknowledging the versatility of stereotypes O'Sullivan claims: "Images can be brought into play to fulfil expectations and affirm current stereotypes; they can be used to contradict expectations [...]."¹⁰³ Stereotypes are flexible, adaptable and multifaceted and can be constructed or adjusted to serve the writers' objectives. The conscious juxtaposition of stereotypes in discourse is a further illustration of how writers trifle with their readers. Writers reference an old, familiar stereotype and consciously juxtapose and counterpoise it with a new and contemporary stereotype to manipulate and play with readers' preconceptions and expectations. A piece by Dirk Koch in *Der Spiegel* deliberately uses the stereotype of Irish fantasy and religiosity to satirise and poke fun at Irish farmers who in the writer's view are unjustly and deceitfully profiting from EU subsidies.¹⁰⁴ The journalist's use of irony, exaggeration and caricature is intended to challenge and liberate readers from traditional and long-held stereotypes of Irish

¹⁰¹ See Introduction.

¹⁰² See Introduction.

¹⁰³ Emer O'Sullivan: Imagology Meets Children's Literature. In: International Research in Children's Literature 4.1 (2011), p. 1–14, here p. 8.

¹⁰⁴ Dirk Koch: Brüssel ist wirklich Klasse, *Der Spiegel*, 21 September 1998, p. 190-193.

religiously-inspired 'goodness'. The article caused indignation in Irish farming circles and was given extensive coverage in the Irish media. *Der Spiegel* issued an apology for its reference to the 'Irish stereotype'.¹⁰⁵ The stereotypical and adaptable 'Stage Irishman' is consciously depicted in priestly attire to highlight and ridicule Irish flights of fancy and religiosity in relation to the construction of an airport in the back of beyond.¹⁰⁶

Representations of Ireland's 'moving statues' phenomenon are intentionally employed to affirm and mock the long-held stereotype of Irish religiosity and perceived lack of liberal modernity. Stereotypes of traditional Irish poverty are playfully juxtaposed with images of Ireland's new-found wealth particularly during the so-called Celtic Tiger period. The nature and prevalence of particular images and stereotypes change and may shift and mutate as dictated by circumstances, the passage of time and writers' perceptions and specific intentions. Traditional stereotypes and images may be 'revamped' when formerly positive valorisations become negative or vice versa. A perceptible change in the German representation of Ireland is discernible, in the print media, in representations of so-called 'crisis' situations, for instance, concerning Ireland's reluctance to ratify EU treaties and during the financial crisis. In these instances, writer tone is markedly sharper, commentaries are more subjective, explicit and less indulgent of the Irish way of life. Ireland is deliberately depicted in unflattering terms and new, unfavourable images or so-called *Feindbilder* are constructed.

Stereotypes are intrepid travellers. They do not die out. They are tenacious and enduring and their prevalence and usage invests them with a quality of their own. Stereotypes are used as background support by writers to display their creativity, impress readers and to manipulate opinions. Stereotypes are generally easily recognisable and their use is highly effective in getting the writer's message across. In representations of national cultures, stereotypes of the foreign nation act as a foil to valorise the domestic nation which is depicted in more favourable terms. Stereotypes of alleged national culture recede and mutate due to changes in international circumstances and popular preferences. National images and stereotypes recede into the labyrinthine recesses of our cultural repository. The re-emergence of national stereotypes can be triggered by changes in international

¹⁰⁵ Hausmitteilung, Betr: Irland: *Der Spiegel*, 12 October 1998, p. 3.

¹⁰⁶ See chapter 4.

circumstances or changes in popular tastes. The core and dominant elements of the stereotype remain the same. The core hetero-image is adapted according to the subjective perspective and perception of the auto-image of the observer nation. It could be said that stereotypes of alleged national attitudes and behaviour are cultural constructs and generalisations. They convey schematised opinions and are employed in a power play of one-upmanship. In the context of this thesis, stereotypes operate as coded, convenient linguistic formulas, which are drawn from our cultural reservoir and activated in our perception and representation of Others.

4: Methodological Approaches

In the following discussion, I will explore and discuss methodological approaches that were employed by other researchers, with a view to developing a suitable methodological strategy for this thesis. The examination commences with an exploration of the concept of metaphor.

4.1 Metaphor

The notion of metaphor which has long been interconnected with the processes of conceptualisation, cognition and communication and its study and application in academic and non-academic areas has become more important and more widespread. Lakoff and Johnson maintain the concepts that govern our thoughts are not just matters of the intellect but, rather, "they structure what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to other people".¹⁰⁷ The writers argue: "Metaphor is one of the most important tools for trying to comprehend partially what cannot be comprehended totally: our feelings, aesthetic experiences, moral practices and spiritual awareness."¹⁰⁸ With regard to this investigation, which also analyses texts from travel writing, examination of the use of metaphor in national representations is crucial.

This section begins with an examination of the cultural metaphor, outlined below, as a possible methodological approach to analysing representations of cross-national cultural

¹⁰⁷ George Lakoff and Mark Johnson: *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago 1980, p. 124.

¹⁰⁸ George Lakoff and Mark Johnson: *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago 1980, p. 134.

perceptions. Gannon and Pillai's book *Understanding Global Cultures*¹⁰⁹ was published in 2010. In the introduction, the writers assert their book describes an innovative method, the cultural metaphor, "for understanding easily and quickly the cultural mind-set of a nation and comparing it to those of other nations."¹¹⁰ The method involves identifying a phenomenon, activity or institution of a nation's culture with which people identify cognitively or emotionally and using this as a metaphor to describe and understand the essential features of that particular society.

The book contains 29 metaphors for selected nations that are then further analysed using the particular cultural metaphor as a support model. The cultural metaphor for Germany, according to the writers, is the German symphony suggesting the purported complexity of the German mindset and the simultaneous striving towards harmony. The metaphor also recalls Germany's celebrated love of music as well as the stereotype of the 'musical German.' Conversation, according to the writers, is the cultural metaphor applicable to Ireland, indicating the importance of social contact in everyday life, creativity in the arts and calling to mind the Irish stereotype of talkativeness. The metaphoric method employed in *Understanding Global Cultures* is underpinned by major dimensional approaches based on the work of cross-cultural psychologists and cultural anthropologists. The writers claim these dimensional approaches are useful for understanding cultures and provide an overall perspective on cultural differences and are enriched and supplemented by the writers' metaphoric approach. The writers insist: "Metaphors are not stereotypes. Rather they rely on the features of one critical phenomenon in a society to describe the entire society,"¹¹¹ suggesting their choice of particular metaphors 'reflects' societal consensus. Stereotypes are defined as: "At a minimum it [stereotype] represents a distorted view or mental picture of groups and their supposed characteristics, on the basis of which, we tend to evaluate individuals from each group."¹¹² The writers add that all human beings use stereotypes, which the writers consider are, "a shorthand and easy way of classifying the multitude of stimuli to which

¹⁰⁹ Martin J. Gannon and Rajnandini Pillai: *Understanding Global Cultures: Metaphorical Journeys Through 29 Nations, Clusters of Nations, Continents and Diversity*. California 2010.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 8.

¹¹¹ *ibid.* p. 21.

¹¹² *ibid.* p. 20.

we are exposed."¹¹³ In the writers' words, "the issue is not stereotyping itself but whether the stereotypes are accurate."¹¹⁴ This suggests a dismissive and simplistic view of the complex and negative aspects of stereotypes.

The use of metaphor in the interpretation and understanding of national cultures is interesting and merits further consideration. However, the approach proposed in *Understanding Global Cultures* bears the hallmarks of the discipline of intercultural management studies which employs ethnic-anthropological categories, behaviourism and determinism. The dimensional approaches which underpin Gannon and Pillai's method reflect inclinations, feelings and social conditioning. These dimensions disregard the cognitive and intellectual processes which generate images. The notion that national culture can be schematised and reduced to one 'critical' aspect is simplistic and condescending and implies cultural superiority on the part of the writers. This thesis examines and comments on the interaction of cognitive images in the Self / Other dynamic in the German representation of Irish national culture, thus making Gannon and Pillai's method decidedly unsuitable as a methodological approach. Having found the 'cultural metaphor' approach entirely inappropriate for my purposes, in the next section I will examine the qualities of 'Imagology' as a methodological approach.

4.2 Imagology

"Imagology is meant both to demonstrate and to facilitate the critical analysis of national stereotypes in literature (and in other forms of cultural representation), known in many languages as *imagology*."¹¹⁵ The term is a technical neologism and applies to research in the field of our mental images of the Other and of ourselves,"¹¹⁶ according to the editors Beller and Leerssen. Manfred Beller was Professor of German Language and Literature at

¹¹³ *ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*

¹¹⁵ While French and German scholars are accustomed to the term *Imagologie*, they may find Beller and Leerssen's use of the English language terms Imagology and Image Studies clumsy, inelegant and confusing.

¹¹⁶ *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters*. Ed. by Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen. Amsterdam /New York 2007. p. xii-xvi, here p. xiii.

the Italian Universities of Pavia, Messina, and Bergamo.¹¹⁷ Joep Leerssen is Professor of European Studies at the University of Amsterdam.¹¹⁸

Imagology or Image Studies is a working method in the study of cross-national perceptions as expressed textually in various forms of discourse and is a discrete branch of Comparative Literature. Imagology examines ethnic or national images, stereotypes, associated platitudes and trite sayings as subjective constructs as opposed to distinct identities or objective essences. Imagology which analyses, but does not seek to determine the 'truth' behind images of alleged national culture, emphasises the influence of subjectivity on the formation and spread of images of national culture: "Our sources are subjective; their subjectivity must not be ignored, explained away or filtered out, but must be taken into account in the analysis."¹¹⁹ The discipline is not concerned with the accuracy or truthfulness of particular stereotypes and images but rather with their recognisability and how they have become identifiable and associated with particular groups. Imagology works on particular methodological assumptions and is a study of cultural or national stereotypes, not a theory of national identity. It aims to understand a discourse of representation rather than a society and thereby is not a form of sociology. The subject matter and the material studied in Imagology are subjective as are its sources.

4.3 Imagology: Method

Leerssen lists four factors regarding Imagology's *raison d'être*. He claims: "Imagology furnishes continuous proof that it is in the field of imaginary and poetical literature that national stereotypes are first and most effectively formulated, perpetuated and disseminated."¹²⁰ His second theory is "[images] are tropes, commonplaces [that] obtain familiarity by dint of repetition and mutual resemblance; they are effective primarily because of their intertextual tropicality [...], the primary reference is *not* to empirical

¹¹⁷ Research interests: German and Comparative Literature, Thematology and Imagology. Publications: *Eingebildete Nationalcharaktere Vorträge und Aufsätze zur literarischen Imagologie*. Göttingen, 2006, *Imagology* (Ed.). (2007).

¹¹⁸ Research interests: Stereotypes of National Character, Romantic Historicism, and Transnational History of Cultural Nationalism. Publications: *Mere Irish and Fíor-Ghael: Studies in the idea of Irish nationality, its development and literary expression prior to the nineteenth century*. Cork 1996. *Imagology* (Ed.). 2007.

¹¹⁹ Joep Leerssen: *History and Method*: In: *Imagology: Amsterdam /New York 2007*. p. 17-32, here p. 27.

¹²⁰ Joep Leerssen: *History and Method*: In: *Imagology: Amsterdam /New York 2007*. p. 17-32, here p. 26.

reality but to an intertext, a sounding-board, of other related textual instances."¹²¹

Leerssen's third assumption is that literary sources and other forms of textual representation, depending on their canonicity, have a long currency and topicality and support the dissemination of images. His fourth hypothesis is that textual representation of cross-national cultural perceptions "is a privileged genre for the dissemination of stereotypes, because it often works on the presupposition of a 'suspension of disbelief' and some (at least aesthetic) appreciative credit among the audience."¹²²

4.4 Imagology: Terminology and Methodological Approach

Imagology focuses on specific sets of purported national characterisations and attributes, which are called *imagined*. Imagology is not concerned with statements of fact or testable reports. The term *spectant* denotes the observer nation while the opposing or counterpart nation is referred to as the *spected*. Self-images of the observer nation (*spectant*) are termed auto-images while images of the represented nation (*spected*) are referred to as hetero-images. These 'national' images emerge and form in a binary with both parts inextricably linked and interacting in a state of flux.

Analysis of national stereotypes presents the imagologist with a number of essential questions and tasks. Leerssen advises: "The demarcation between *imagined* discourse and testable report statements is not always obvious, and sometimes calls for interpretative acumen on the part of the scholar."¹²³ The first task is to establish the tradition of a given national representation as a trope and follow the tradition and history of that trope in terms of appreciation and depreciation. The analyst must then consider what kind of text is being examined: narrative, descriptive, humorous, propagandistic or otherwise. In this instance, text genre must be considered and the literary conventions which apply to the particular genre. Thought must also be given to the position or attitude of the particular writer as regards personal interest, familiarity with and knowledge of the particular subject area. Attention to the historical context and its bearing on the text are also important: "Historical contextualisation is also necessary.

¹²¹ *ibid.*

¹²² *ibid.*

¹²³ Joep Leerssen: *History and Method: In: Imagology*: Amsterdam /New York 2007. p. 17-32, here p.28.

[Literary] texts cannot be interpreted in a timeless, aesthetic never-never land."¹²⁴ Furthermore, the analyst must consider the target readers and the literary devices the writer employs to appeal to the particular target readership. The political and cultural dynamics which may cause images to shift between contrasting modalities and opposing valorisations must also be investigated.

4.5 Imagology: A Systematic Approach

The handbook (*Imagology*) provides an overview of Imagology's systematic approach and was compiled to facilitate the analysis of so-called national images. The handbook consists of three parts: the first part contains survey articles on ethnic and national images in European literatures and cultures over many centuries. The second part is, according to the editors: "an encyclopaedic survey of the stereotypes and characterizations traditionally ascribed to various ethnicities and nationalities."¹²⁵ The third part provides "a conspectus of relevant concepts in various cultural fields and scholarly disciplines."¹²⁶ The compendium is the collaborative work of more than seventy contributors. Beller and Leerssen's *Imagology* is a text-based discipline and is therefore relatively adaptable to the text-based nature of this thesis. However, the handbook *Imagology* is not without its shortcomings as the editors concede: "That there must unavoidably remain lacunae in our coverage of the disciplines and working concepts that deal with national and cultural stereotyping."¹²⁷ Apart from some weaknesses in the section, dealing with Relevant Concepts and Related Disciplines, the compendium is well structured and easily understood. The Survey Articles are well researched and informative. The Images of Nations Surveyed section provides background information and research on fifty 'nations' and countries. Each 'national image' is cross-referenced with further applicable information in the Relevant Concepts and Related Disciplines subsection. The Relevant Concepts and Related Disciplines section comprises analysis and discussion on sixty-four working concepts and approaches in Images Studies including contributions from related academic fields. However, some of the Introductory Survey

¹²⁴ Joep Leerssen: History and Method: In: *Imagology*: Amsterdam /New York 2007. p. 17-32, here p. 28.

¹²⁵ *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters*. Ed. by Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen. Amsterdam /New York 2007.

¹²⁶ *ibid.*

¹²⁷ *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters*. p. xii-xvi, here p. xiii.

Articles tend to be repetitive and confusing and require further editing. Despite its minor shortcomings, the handbook *Imagology* is a useful reference work and support in the study of cross-national cultural representation. Imagology has developed specific and applicable terms (see above) in the process of framing its constructivist premises. The clear and concise terminology is easily identifiable and aids the formulation and expression of ideas and concepts in a concise way. Imagology's methodological assumptions and method are somewhat vague and sketchy. Imagology relies to a large extent on generalisations and rehashed concepts and observations. While Imagology's specific terminology is applicable to this thesis, the discipline's working method is not fully adequate for the analytical requirements of this investigation where a thorough and minute scrutiny is essential. The next step is to explore the principles of Gadamerian philosophical hermeneutics as a potentially suitable methodology.

4.6 Gadamerian Hermeneutics

Hermeneutics is the theory and methodology of text interpretation. Apart from its former application in the study and interpretation of religious and legal texts, hermeneutics is also employed in the qualitative analysis and interpretation of texts in literature, business and the social sciences. Fully objective analysis or interpretation is not humanely possible. Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutics is a popular qualitative research interpretive method that aims to explore the meaning of individual experiences in relation to understanding human interpretation. Gadamer identifies that genuine engagement with reading requires awareness of the inter-subjective nature of understanding in order to encourage reflective engagement with the text. Analysis and interpretation are by nature subjective: subject to the prejudices of the author, the historical context and ultimately subject to the prejudices of the interpreter. The purpose of using a hermeneutic approach is to aid human understanding and to understand why people say and write as they do.

Hans-Georg Gadamer was a decisive figure in the development of twentieth century hermeneutics and gained a reputation and deep respect in Germany and in Europe in academic circles and beyond. In his seminal work *Wahrheit und Methode*,¹²⁸ first published in 1960, Gadamer analyses the area of text interpretation in the area of

¹²⁸ Hans-Georg Gadamer: *Wahrheit und Methode*. Tübingen 1990.

philosophical hermeneutics. Hermeneutics sees interpretation as a circular process whereby valid interpretation can be achieved by a sustained, mutually qualifying interplay between our progressive sense of the whole and our retrospective understanding of its component parts. Gadamer is credited with the so-called 'rehabilitation' of the concepts of prejudice and history or tradition with respect to textual understanding and interpretation. Gadamer embraced Plato's dialectical method, which required readers to challenge their own presuppositions as they struggle to understand the meaning of texts and thereby enhance objectivity.

Gadamer interprets prejudice, in a neutral sense, as a prejudgement: "An sich heißt Vorurteil ein Urteil, das vor der endgültigen Prüfung aller sachlich bestimmenden Momente gefällt wird."¹²⁹ He further argues: "So heißt *préjudice* wie *praeiudicium* auch einfach Beeinträchtigung"¹³⁰ suggesting that prejudice can impair or enrich the process of understanding: "In seinem Begriff liegt, daß es positiv und negativ gewertet werden kann."¹³¹ In Gadamer's opinion, positive traits such as empathy and tolerance can prejudice understanding just as strongly as superstition and stereotypical thinking. Since human consciousness is not a blank slate or *tabula rasa* people consequently interpret the world through what they already know. In Gadamer's view: "Darum sind die Vorurteile des einzelnen weit mehr als seine Urteile die geschichtliche Wirklichkeit seines Seins"¹³² arguing that our preconceptions inform our decisions and judgements and therefore determine our interpretation of 'reality.'

Our prejudices, as preconceptions, are inextricably linked to our perspective or 'situation.' Gadamer's concept of 'situation' which he relates to the concept of perspective is defined as: "Wir bestimmen den Begriff der Situation eben dadurch, daß sie einen Standort darstellt, der die Möglichkeiten des Sehens beschränkt,"¹³³ thus representing a standpoint that may limit the possibility of 'seeing.' Our standpoint or perspective may be narrow or broad depending on our 'situation' or perspective. Gadamer uses the concept of 'horizon' (*Horizont*) to refer to the range of our vision from a particular perspective:

¹²⁹ *ibid.* p. 275.

¹³⁰ *ibid.*

¹³¹ *ibid.*

¹³² *ibid.* p. 281.

¹³³ *ibid.* p. 307.

"Horizont ist der Gesichtskreis, der all das umfaßt und umschließt, was von einem Punkt aus sichtbar ist."¹³⁴ According to Gadamer, when people have a 'horizon,' they are not limited by or confined to what is within the confines of that particular horizon. Gadamer further asserts: "Der Fokus der Subjektivität ist ein Zerrspiegel,"¹³⁵ which impairs textual interpretation unless subjectivity is questioned and revised through an awareness and revision of prejudice.

The process of interpretation is a complex and skilful undertaking. When we first approach a text, we have already formed expectations and suppositions about the text. We may already be familiar with the subject matter or other writings by the same author. The meaning of a text is never a function purely of facts about the author and his original public; it is equally a function of the historical situation of the interpreter. From the outset, we must be aware of the burden of our own prejudices and the limits imposed upon us by our own 'situation' or cultural perspective. The interpreter must be prepared to challenge and question his own preconceptions and be willing to extend and broaden his 'horizons.' A continual and gradual process of self-examination, analysis and revision of prejudices in relation to the text and himself, guides the interpreter towards a partial and gradual explicit and implicit interpretation of the text. The interpreter must be prepared to project himself into the text, trade places with the writer and seek out the essence or 'being' of the text by acting as a mediator between the text and the various textual components.

In similar fashion, the text we are analysing is also 'prejudiced.' The author of the text bore a burden of prejudice, similar to our own: the authority of tradition and history. The author's distinctive perspective was subject to the constraints of his particular cultural and historical background that in turn determined his perception. Furthermore, the textual context has changed between the time of composition and subsequent reading by the interpreter. When we become aware of these prejudices, both implicit and explicit, we are then in a position to differentiate and decide which prejudices are useful for our interpretative purposes.

¹³⁴ *ibid.*

¹³⁵ Hans-Georg Gadamer: *Wahrheit und Methode*. Tübingen 1990, p. 281.

We are now conscious of the constraints that history, tradition and prejudice impose on us and that they may interfere with our interpretative skills. We are now better positioned to deal with familiar and new information or new horizons of learning. The leading metaphor in hermeneutical interpretation is that of 'a fusion of horizons' which Gadamer terms *Horizontverschmelzung*.¹³⁶ A 'fusion of horizons' ensues when the historically situated author and the equally historically situated interpreter manage to create a shared meaning. Texts can now be viewed as compositions of elements: as part of a 'hermeneutic circle' or circle of understanding. The parts or elements in a text are all part of its constituent components and therefore understanding the component parts is essential to an understanding of the whole text. Full understanding is not humanely possible but is part of an ongoing process of revision and learning. In Gadamer's opinion, people interpret the world through what they already know. People must be prepared to confront their prejudices, push back their 'horizons' and expand their existing knowledge. There is therefore room for constant reinterpretation and re-evaluation, as different meanings are projected upon the work being considered.

There can be no neutral German representation of Ireland. In order to achieve a meaningful and valid interpretation of German representations of Ireland from a mixed-genre corpus of German language texts, interpreters must be prepared to delve into the essence of the texts. They must strive to inquire into the history of the text and its writer and moreover be willing to follow the progress of the text and its interaction with other texts throughout its history. The interpreter must be willing to challenge his own preconceptions and those inherent in the text whether they are the writer's personal prejudices or historical and cultural preconceptions.

5: Methodology

Following a thorough evaluation of the methodological approaches in the preceding analysis, I have reached the conclusion that a single methodological approach is not adequate for the analytical requirements of this thesis. Bearing in mind the mixed-genre composition of the corpus and the complex and multifaceted nature of the interpretation of representations of national cultures, an interdisciplinary approach combining the

¹³⁶ Hans-Georg Gadamer: *Wahrheit und Methode*. Tübingen 1990, p. 312.

current working method of Imagology and the Gadamerian hermeneutical method, is considered the most suitable methodological approach.

The concepts, methods and terminology, which are employed in Imagology, are focused directly and specifically on the analysis of the cultural construction and representation of so-called national characters. Imagology advocates a cross-national and cross-cultural approach, in a historical context to the study and interpretation of textual representations of alleged national character. Gadamerian hermeneutics, on the other hand, is primarily concerned with the interpretation of texts and historical categories. However, the 'fusion of horizons' concept and the comprehensive interpretative process advocated by Gadamerian hermeneutics provide for exhaustive analysis and interpretation. Moreover, the Gadamerian hermeneutical method is a tried-and-tested interpretative process which can be applied across a broad, comprehensive and diverse range of disciplines. On the other hand, as Imagology is a relatively new working method and a branch of Comparative Literature its application is restricted to the field of cross-cultural studies analysis and interpretation.

Although Imagology and Gadamerian hermeneutics emphasise similar concepts concerning the notions of subjectivity, perspective and prejudice, both approaches complement each other in their application in the analysis of the representation of cross-national cultures. The combination of Gadamerian hermeneutics and Imagology promotes methodical and meticulous analysis, which ultimately contributes to a meaningful and valid interpretation of cross-national, cultural representations through a 'fusion of horizons.'

Ireland as a Member of the European Union

The current European Union traces its origins back to 1951 when the European Coal and Steel Community was established in the aftermath of the Second World War. Initially, the Coal and Steel Community undertook to stimulate economic cooperation based on the notion that economically interdependent countries are less likely to engage in mutual conflict. In 1958, the European Economic Community (EEC) was instituted to increase economic cooperation, initially between six countries. Currently, the European Union has twenty-eight members and a vast single market has developed. The initial economic union has developed gradually into an organisation that extends over a diverse range of policy areas. The organisation changed its name from the European Economic Community (EEC) to the European Union (EU) in 1993 to emphasise the organisation's diversity and its aims to promote peace and stability in an integrated Europe.

The European Union is a supranational organisation that aims to promote peace and ensure freedom, security and justice in Europe and beyond. Adherence to core EU values of inclusion, tolerance, justice, solidarity and non-discrimination applies across all member states, these standards being regarded as essential to the European way of life. The organisation aims to expand and maintain a prosperous, sustainable, and social Europe, supported by the principles of welfarism. As the largest trading block in the world, the European Union is committed to humanitarian aid, and acts in a diplomatic capacity to promote peace, security, and human rights at an international level. The EU has ensured peace and security and raised living standards in Europe for more than half a century. Membership of the EU guarantees freedom of movement and equal rights to all citizens within the Union, whether for work, study, or residency purposes.

The Federal Republic of Germany, as one of the founding members of the current EU benefits from a thriving economy and sustainable economic growth triggered by the post-war *Wirtschaftswunder* of the 1950s. German economic resurgence, capitalising on its pre-war expertise, emerged from the ashes of the Second World War and was symbolised in particular by the Volkswagen *Käfer* and the employment of *Gastarbeiter*. Germany firmly established itself as Europe's leading economy resulting from its sustained

economic growth. The country had to contend with violence and intimidation perpetrated by the urban guerrilla terrorist grouping *Rote Armee Fraktion* which emerged in the 1970s. The 1970s in East Germany heralded the start of the Honecker era and coincided with economic development and an improvement in the availability of consumer goods. Germany had been a divided country since 1949 and the two Germanies had developed from a common past into two distinctly different societies with diverging cultures and identities. The two Germanies were reunified in 1990 and Germany maintains its position as Europe's leading economy and staunch advocate of the European Union. Germany's energetic and committed advocacy of European integration as a post-war mission combined with the strength of its domestic economy ensured the country a dominant role in the European Union.

Ireland became a member of the European Economic Community (EEC) in January 1973 following rejected membership applications in 1963 and 1967. The country was troubled with large-scale unemployment, poverty, and mass emigration with the economy heavily reliant on agriculture and trade with the United Kingdom. As a postcolonial society, Ireland had little experience of statehood following independence and a divisive civil war. The country's leaders were determined to break away from self-imposed isolation, emerge from the shadow of the United Kingdom, and seek a better future for the people as a member of the supranational European Economic Community. In preparation for potential EEC membership, the Irish government had in the 1960s invested heavily in infrastructural reforms and education, with free second-level education introduced in 1967. With the intention of attracting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), the Irish government offered a range of supports including grant assistance to potential investors. The Fifth Amendment of the Constitution Act (1972) removed the 'special position' of the Catholic Church from the Irish Constitution with the aim of promoting social inclusiveness and rapprochement with Northern Ireland in an integrated Europe. The Northern Ireland issue was a constant cause of concern for citizens in Ireland and in Europe. Tensions between the divided communities in Northern Ireland were commonplace since the partition of Ireland and renewed outbreaks of violence were a major source of worry for successive Irish governments. Governments in the Republic of Ireland engaged in a

delicate balancing act in an effort to contribute to the search for a peaceful solution acceptable to all concerned.¹³⁷

Poor, underdeveloped Ireland, along with the more prosperous United Kingdom and Denmark became members of the European Economic Community (EEC) or Common Market in 1973, indicating that the EEC is an all-embracing organisation, accessible to states that comply with the organisation's rules and regulations. While Ireland's economic backwardness and old-fashioned traditional lifestyle presented challenges, the country's pristine landscapes and sparsely populated rural areas were a boon to investors and travellers. The combination of a well-educated, highly motivated, young workforce and Ireland's relatively untapped development potential on the periphery of Europe particularly enhanced Ireland's attractiveness to overseas investors.

The European Union, as a supranational organisation, has developed and expanded since its post-war inception as the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951. The current European Union has twenty-eight member states. The results of a referendum held in 2016 in the United Kingdom indicated a majority of voters in favour of leaving the European Union. The United Kingdom left the EU on 31 January 2020 with a deal called the withdrawal agreement. The 11-month transition period, which started immediately after Brexit day, ends on 31 December 2020.

This chapter analyses and comments on representations of Ireland as a European Union member state, from a German perspective. The analysis and commentary on the German representation of Ireland cover the period from Ireland's accession to the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1973 to Ireland's financial crisis in 2010. The German representation of Ireland's relationship with the European Union examines a range of socio-economic discourses and developments. The chapter likewise takes into account the relevant social and cultural context against a backdrop of long-established harmonious relations between the German-speaking world and Ireland.¹³⁸

Prior to its accession to the EEC, Ireland merited intermittent coverage in the German press. An article in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* from 1971 examines Ireland's close

¹³⁷ See chapter 5: German Representations of Northern Ireland.

¹³⁸ See chapter 1: Introduction.

trading links with Great Britain, Ireland's economy and rural life.¹³⁹ A text in *Der Spiegel* published in November 1973 examines regional differences in EEC member states in terms of living standards.¹⁴⁰ Ireland's accession to the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1973 received little coverage in West German print media since the focus of German and world interest in Ireland centred on the escalating violence of the so-called 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland. The West German newspaper *Die Zeit*, however, published an article by the *Irish Times* journalist Dennis Kennedy. The article titled *Die Iren glauben an Wunder* informs German readers of Ireland's aspirations as EEC members without outlining plans towards the realisation of the anticipated miracle.¹⁴¹ From a German perspective, the article conveys an image of the childish naivety of a newcomer on entering the world of EEC politics and economics. The title of the article indicates the difference between the starry-eyed Irish dreamer and the experienced, levelheaded German who will have wondered how this unlikely partnership would fare in the future.

The East German newspaper *Neues Deutschland* headlines EEC enlargement in 1973: "Hohe Profite für die Konzerne - schwere Lasten für die Werktätigen" and criticises high unemployment rates in Ireland with the implied prospect of EEC-powered capitalist gains.¹⁴² Michael O'Riordan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland (CPI) addressed the 1976 *Konferenz der kommunistischen und Arbeiterparteien Europas* (Conference of Communist and Workers Parties of Europe) in East Berlin, where he criticised Ireland's membership of the capitalistic EEC.¹⁴³ *Neues Deutschland* journalist Martin Kauders examines the effects of the British and the international financial crisis on the Irish economy and the burden it imposed on workers in, *Die Republik Irland im Sog der kapitalistischen Krise*. He argues: "Mit dem EWG-Beitritt im Januar 1973 erhoffte sich die irische Bourgeoisie einen weiteren Produktionsaufschwung und neue Absatzmärkte."¹⁴⁴ He insists to his readers and Irish adherents, from a Marxist-Leninist perspective, that the EEC only benefits rich capitalists implying that workers are being

¹³⁹ Jochen Rudolph: Irland sucht in Europa Wachstum, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 2 September 1971, p. 14.

¹⁴⁰ Anonymous: Hasen schießen, *Der Spiegel*, 19 November 1973.

¹⁴¹ Dennis Kennedy: Die Iren glauben an Wunder, *Die Zeit*, 5 January 1973, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/1973/01/die-iren-glauben-an-wunder> [12 April 2012].

¹⁴² Anonymous: Krisenjahr 1973 in Ländern des Kapitals, *Neues Deutschland*, 29 December 1973, p. 6.

¹⁴³ Michael O'Riordan: Rede auf der Konferenz der kommunistischen und Arbeiterparteien Europas, *Neues Deutschland*, 30 June 1976, p. 9.

¹⁴⁴ Martin Kauders: Die Republik Irland im Sog der kapitalistischen Krise, *Neues Deutschland*, 16 November 1976, p. 6.

duped and exploited. His use of the word *Sog* in the title conveys Irish workers' implied helplessness at being caught up in the turbulence of evil capitalism, from his perspective. The writer's intention is to discredit the EEC while implicitly lauding the benefits of communism.

European Economic Community Membership

German representations of Ireland from the 1970s focus on Ireland's implied 'weaknesses' evoking images of poverty and backwardness coupled with ambition in contrast with implied images of German prosperity, expertise, and canny yet benevolent investors. A travel account from 1973 presents familiar stereotypical images of both Germany and Ireland. The travel writers Gose and Aschbacher depict Ireland as a country on the margins of Europe and in many respects, isolated from Continental European norms: "Irland liegt am Rand, und in mancher Beziehung auch außerhalb von Europa, besonders wenn wir damit das vollmotorisierte, überzivilisierte, konsumbesessene, landschaftszerstörte und überbevölkerte Festland meinen."¹⁴⁵ The representation of Ireland's geographical location on the periphery of Europe indicates isolation from European norms that simultaneously serves as a safeguard against Continental European problems in environmental and social matters. The stereotype of the stressful German lifestyle, intent on making money at all costs, is consciously juxtaposed with the stereotype of the relaxed Irish lifestyle: "Wir finden ein Land ohne Wirtschaftswunder und Konsumrekorde, aber auch ohne Industriesmog, ohne Müllberge und ohne die Hast und den Zwang und die Gereiztheit des optimalen Geldverdienenmüssens."¹⁴⁶ Depiction of the idyllic Irish lifestyle calls to mind Heinrich Böll's stereotype of Irish innocence and backwardness embodying for Böll enthusiasts the antithesis of German life. Furthermore, representations of the simple, Irish lifestyle against a backdrop of geographic isolation, in an intact natural environment, evoke images of Otherness. The writers imply criticism of German society with its perceived *Leistungsdruck* or pressure to perform and the scourge of having to make money, *die Gereiztheit des optimalen Geldverdienenmüssens*, suggesting emulation of the German *Wirtschaftswunder* and the implied German compulsion to earn money. The foregrounding of perceived negative aspects of German lifestyle is

¹⁴⁵ Dieter Gose and Helmut Aschbacher: Irland. Pforzheim 1973, p. 7.

¹⁴⁶ *ibid.*

consciously intended to highlight the understated yet positive aspects of Irish life. The writers achieve this effect through repeated use of the German preposition *ohne* in relation to negative images associated with German lifestyle. The travel writers' implied disapproval of the perceived negative features of the high-performance German lifestyle juxtaposed with the implied simplicity of the Irish lifestyle is an implicit 'dig' at German society with its alleged preoccupation with money, supposedly to the detriment of society and the natural environment. The effects of poverty and isolation had long plagued Irish society and one of the cornerstones of the Irish government's plan of action was to attract foreign investment to the country and thereby raise the living standards of Irish people and stem the tide of emigration.

German Industrial Investment

Ireland's recent accession to the European Economic Community (EEC) and the country's determination to improve its economy are analysed in an article in *Die Zeit* from 1974. The journalist Rudolf Herlt wrote for several German newspapers and worked in London as economics correspondent for *Die Zeit*. The title of the selected text *Partner aus Überzeugung* suggests that Ireland's EEC membership is based on necessity, conviction, and the determination to improve economic prospects for its own people. From a German perspective, the title signifies confidence in the future partnership arrangement and the expectation of profit. EEC membership offered Ireland the opportunity to withdraw from its economic isolation and gain access to European markets. The writer indicates the degree and intensity of Irish enthusiasm to his readers: "Beim irischen Referendum im Mai 1972 stimmten 84 Prozent der Bevölkerung für den Beitritt, und ein Jahr nach dem Beitritt waren noch immer mehr als 80 Prozent der Meinung, daß die Entscheidung richtig war."¹⁴⁷ From a German perspective, Ireland's overwhelming support of EEC membership was an indication of commitment and future cooperation within the organisation and the prospect of access to new markets. Irish confidence in the EEC casts the organisation and Germany in a favourable light, conveying images of good-natured advisers and saviours of the languishing Irish economy. The writer assures his readers that Ireland's loyalty to the EEC is unwavering (*unwandelbar*) and that, "Die Iren sind auf der

¹⁴⁷ Rudolf Herlt: Partner aus Überzeugung, *Die Zeit*, 19 July 1974, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/1974/30/partner-aus-ueberzeugung/seite-2> [5 March 2012].

Flucht nach vorn."¹⁴⁸ He maintains Irish people are determined to tackle their economic difficulties through commitment and dedication to the EEC. Ireland's unaccustomed determination to succeed evokes a familiar German hetero-image of Irish fatalism and nonchalance. However, German readers are assured Ireland's changed attitude and positive outlook will persist under German and EEC guidance. Herlt strives to justify Ireland's acceptance and admission to the EEC to his readers. Ireland's poverty and underdeveloped economy presented uncertainty and risks for the founding members of the EEC including Germany. German journalists therefore endeavoured to convince the German public that investment in Ireland was worthwhile and that Ireland was indeed committed to a future within the EEC. Germany was developing its own economy by investing abroad and the German public was understandably sceptical about investing hard-earned money in a country with a poor economic record and an implied 'different' work ethic and stereotypical easy-going attitude. The writer suggests to his readers that investment in poverty-stricken Ireland entails monetary rewards and in addition moral respect for Germany in Europe and beyond.

While the journalist endorses Ireland's membership of the EEC for economic reasons, he is ambivalent about the social and cultural consequences of imminent industrialisation: "Auf diesem Außenposten Europas lebt eine Bevölkerung, die noch nicht das Opfer des rationalen Apparates einer modernen Industriegesellschaft geworden ist."¹⁴⁹ Ireland's remoteness (*Außenposten*) and otherness are foregrounded and juxtaposed with the negative images associated with industrialisation. The writer instrumentalises the term *Opfer* to signify, from his perspective, the impending destruction of culture and a unique lifestyle. The EEC is referred to as an apparatus of modern industrial society with its implied machinations and bureaucracy, conjuring up images of compliance, uniformity, and loss of cultural distinctiveness. Potential investors are represented as simply evaluating Ireland in terms of an untapped investment resource, to be exploited at will. The journalist underpins his argument against the cultural invasiveness of industrialisation, in a discourse of colonialism. He contends: "In einem Volk keltischen Ursprungs, das so lange in vorkapitalistischen Wirtschaftsverhältnissen lebte, stellen sich

¹⁴⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ *ibid.*

Glück, Zufriedenheit, Heiterkeit und der korrespondierende Weltschmerz auch bei niedrigem Einkommen ein,"¹⁵⁰ that industrialisation is a form of colonisation, in a postcolonial society, where culture flourished despite material poverty. In images redolent of the condescending tones of a colonial discourse, the writer underlines the cultural consequences of industrialisation: "Wer diese Menschen tanzen, singen und musizieren sieht, wird die Sorge nicht los, daß die vordringende Industrialisierung mit der Kommerzialisierung aller Lebensbereiche wichtige Lebensquellen stilllegen wird."¹⁵¹ Images associated with the implied benefits of *vordringende Industrialisierung* are juxtaposed with images conveying happiness and simple pleasures. The travel writers Hänel and Gerold condemn the exploitative and unprincipled nature of industrialisation by foreign investors in underdeveloped regions: "Die Firmen kommen, vor allem Chemie- und Computerkonzerne aus Deutschland, [...]. Dennoch sieht die Gesamtbilanz schlecht aus, weil die 'Ausländer' oftmals nicht allzu lange bleiben, wenn erst einmal die finanziellen Anreize wegfallen; [...]."¹⁵² The writers accuse developers of cynical self-interest and lack of moral responsibility, evoking images of greed, and a cavalier attitude towards countries that sponsored their projects, in the hope of fostering sustainable economic activity and securing employment for the native population. The writers' ambivalence about the questionable merits of industrialisation and modernisation in hitherto underdeveloped regions is evidence of modern German attitudes towards industrialisation, involving ethical and moral considerations. Modern Germans deplore and regret the country's short-lived imperial past and its consequences and have an aversion to colonialism and abuses of human rights. The prosperity of post-*Wirtschaftswunder* Germany resulted in a change of attitude in the country, particularly among young people. The so-called *68er-Bewegung* and student protests spawned a wave of *Neue Soziale Bewegungen* or *Alternativbewegungen* that were more interested in societal issues than in money, resulting in the foundation of the German Green Party in 1980.

The West German press encouraged prospective and hesitant industrialists and readers to invest in Ireland with the tempting prospect of making profit with Ireland's support in a

¹⁵⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁵¹ *ibid.*

¹⁵² Wolfram Hänel and Ulrike Gerold: *Irland: Walter-Reiseführer*. Olten 1991, p. 47.

newspaper text titled *Geld verdienen mit Irlands Hilfe*.¹⁵³ The text highlights Ireland's aspirations to develop industry in a predominantly agricultural country thus arousing the interest of potential, German industrialists. The country is referred to as *die grüne Insel*, from an investor's perspective, signifying underdevelopment and considerable scope and potential for industrial growth. Ireland is represented as an investor's paradise: "Die beachtlichen staatlichen Subventionen führten zusammen mit dem aus deutscher Sicht erstaunlich niedrigen Lohnniveau rasch zu zufriedenstellenden Renditen."¹⁵⁴ Risk-averse German investors were undoubtedly impressed by the generous conditions offered by the Irish government and were particularly incentivised by Ireland's low labour costs. The writer urges investors and shareholders to avail of this exceptional, low-risk offer with the probability of high returns and enhancement of Germany's profile as an industrial country.

The Irish government persevered with its campaign to attract foreign direct investment to Ireland. German investment interest continued and a 1976 article in *Die Zeit, Lockrufe aus dem Armenhaus* by Dieter Piel explores German business interest in Ireland. The title of the article refers to a paradoxical situation whereby Ireland, stereotypically represented as *das Armenhaus*, is now offering *Lockrufe* in the form of enticements or incentives to foreign investors. In what is constructed as a win-win situation, German investors are beneficiaries, in financial and investment terms and implied goodwill, both in Germany and in Ireland: "Diese Investitionen haben das Gesicht der Republik Irland während der vergangenen Jahre außerordentlich verändert."¹⁵⁵ Irish people are represented as profiting in terms of employment, training and improved infrastructure. The German public would have applauded the business acumen and apparent kindness of their investors who responded to Ireland's *Lockrufe* and were prepared to invest in an underdeveloped country in a remote European region. German investors are represented as shrewd, meticulous, and risk-averse: "Noch immer nämlich wiegen die Investitionsanreize der Iren schwerer als die geographischen Nachteile ihres Landes an der Nordwestecke der Europäischen Gemeinschaft und die Widrigkeiten der noch nicht

¹⁵³ Securius: Geld verdienen mit Irlands Hilfe, Die Zeit, 23 January 1976, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/1976/05/geld-verdienen-mit-irlands-hilfe> [25 June 2013].

¹⁵⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ Rudolf Herlt: Partner aus Überzeugung, Die Zeit, 19 July 1974, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/1974/30/partner-aus-ueberzeugung/seite-2> [5 March 2012].

kurierten Inflation."¹⁵⁶ German investors, who thoroughly weighed up the advantages and disadvantages of investing in Ireland, are swayed by the lure of attractive Irish investment incentives. The *Investitionsanreize* convey Irish desperation and determination to improve the country's economic situation, while, from a German perspective, this seemingly irresistible offer evokes images of German scepticism, prudence and enterprise. The German public was surely pleased with the generous investment conditions offered by the Irish government, involving comparatively little financial outlay by German companies and the prospect of handsome profits.

Deutsche, die im politisch stabilen Irland siedeln, erwartet eine Steuerfreiheit für alle Exportgewinne bis 1990; sie bekommen Investitions- und Ausbildungszuschüsse bis zur Hälfte der Kosten; Zuschüsse gibt es auch für Forschung und Entwicklung; und schließlich serviert man ihnen schlüsselfertige Fabrikgebäude, die sie nur noch in Betrieb zu nehmen brauchen.¹⁵⁷

The journalist reminds his readers of Ireland's poverty conjuring up images of an investor's dream with potential for substantial profits: "Gewiß, der Inselstaat ist noch immer eines der ärmsten Länder Europas und mit Sicherheit das ärmste in der Europäischen Gemeinschaft."¹⁵⁸ Ireland's poverty is emphasised to accentuate the scope of potential investment opportunity with implied financial rewards for German companies. German readers are familiar with Ireland's history of poverty from accounts by German travel writers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Modern Germans whose curiosity about Ireland may have been aroused by Heinrich Böll's *Irishes Tagebuch* are acquainted with depictions of Irish backwardness and hardship. German journalists sought to convince the German public that investment in Ireland was worthwhile and that the generous investment grants, good economic prospects and an implied boost to German prestige justified the financial risk.

In his enthusiastic efforts to persuade German readers of the benefits of investment in Ireland, the writer neglects to mention the Northern Ireland 'Troubles' and the potential

¹⁵⁶ Dieter Piel: Lockrufe aus dem Armenhaus, Die Zeit, 23 July 1976, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/1976/31/lockrufe-aus-dem-armenhaus/seite-2> [13 February 2012].

¹⁵⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ *ibid.*

for an escalation of violence.¹⁵⁹ German society was keenly aware of the terrorist campaigns being waged by the *Rote Armee Fraktion (RAF)* in Germany and the potential threat of similar terrorist activity in Ireland might have deterred German investors. German investors are depicted as stereotypically shrewd, cautious and yet benevolent, whereas the new hetero-image of Irish people and politicians conveys eagerness, organisation and optimism.

Ireland's European Council Presidency

In 1975, Ireland assumed its first presidency of the European Council. Dieter Buhl portrays Garret FitzGerald, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, as *Ein Mann wie ein Baum*. Dieter Buhl worked as political editor for more than thirty years with *Die Zeit*. Buhl introduces the EEC's new member state to his readers and focuses on the skills and competence of the Irish Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Buhl maintains Ireland, as a relative newcomer to the EEC, is still coming to terms with its unaccustomed role: "Nach nur zweijähriger Mitgliedschaft ist ihnen Europa mit seinen neuen Rechten und Pflichten noch immer ein Erlebnis."¹⁶⁰ The journalist implies Ireland may feel overwhelmed in the presence of experienced and seasoned EEC leaders for whom EEC business is a matter of routine. Ireland's poverty and technological underdevelopment are highlighted. Ireland is represented as an underdeveloped country whose infrastructural and technological backwardness are in striking contrast with higher German and EEC standards: "Die präsidiale Würde birgt für Irland eine Vielzahl technischer Belastungen."¹⁶¹ The telecommunications system is depicted as lagging behind that of other EEC states: "Das irische Kommunikationssystem ist unterentwickelt und überaltert; [...]."¹⁶² Shortcomings in Ireland's telecommunications network evoke images of ultra-modern German technology and indicate possible German prime investment opportunities in the unsophisticated Irish telecommunications industry.

¹⁵⁹ See chapter 5: German Representations of Northern Ireland.

¹⁶⁰ Dieter Buhl: *Ein Mann wie ein Baum*, *Die Zeit*, 24 January 1975, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/1975/05/ein-mann-wie-ein-baum> [22 May 2014].

¹⁶¹ *ibid.*

¹⁶² *ibid.*

Buhl emphasises alleged Irish character traits that are implicitly at variance with the alleged German national character: "Gelassenheit ist keine irische Tugend. Eher sind Jähzorn und Melancholie typisch."¹⁶³ The writer suggests Germans as polar opposites are even-tempered, placid, and optimistic. The Minister is represented as possessing leadership qualities: "Die Iren erhoffen vor allem von einem Schutz vor Pannen und Bredouillen: von Garret FitzGerald, einem Mann wie ein Baum, [...]."¹⁶⁴ The metaphorical usage of the term *Baum* connotes strength, reliability, and steadfastness, indicating qualities the German public also greatly values in its leaders. FitzGerald is subjected to a further vetting process, in a discourse of power and leadership, to determine his compatibility with other EEC members thus laying down German leadership standards and evoking the German self-image: "Der Enthusiasmus des Nachkömmlings könnte sich auch auf die desillusionierten europäischen Erstgeborenen übertragen."¹⁶⁵ The Minister is represented as *Nachkömmling* or 'late arrival' in reference to Ireland's previously unsuccessful applications for EEC membership and because of Ireland's 1973 EEC accession. The juxtaposition of the enthusiastic *Nachkömmling* with the disillusioned *Erstgeborenen* indicates German confidence in FitzGerald's ability, despite differences in rank and experience. Germany, the EEC's leading member, adds a caveat to its hesitant approval conjuring up images of Germany's power and a cautious wary attitude. The Irishman is represented as over enthusiastic even rash and outspoken, implying typical Irish traits which are not welcome in the EEC thus highlighting the importance of the German self-image of *Feingefühl*: "Fraglich bleibt indes, ob der Ire bei seinem großen Eifer den Überblick behält und ob seine gelegentliche Unverfrorenheit mehr bewirkt als das gewohnte Feingefühl der diplomatischeren Alt-Europäer."¹⁶⁶ The journalist indicates approval of Irish EEC membership, with reservations. He suggests an injection of new blood, a different perspective, and diplomacy, acquired over time will serve to invigorate the Community with fresh ideas.

FitzGerald is depicted as enthusiastic about the EEC and ambitious for his country, which appeals to and serves the interests of German politicians and investors alike. He is

¹⁶³ *ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ *ibid.*

represented in positive terms, as a confident, tenacious individualist who neither feels daunted nor overwhelmed as the representative of a small country in negotiations with larger and more powerful countries: "Garret FitzGerald ist selbstbewußt und frei von Kleinstaat-Komplexen."¹⁶⁷ The Minister is represented as being committed to the EEC and its ideals and envisaging Ireland's future as part of a liberal, democratic and inclusive European Economic Community: "Er ist ein überzeugter Europäer und hat sich einiges vorgenommen: [...]."¹⁶⁸ FitzGerald's leadership qualities and his commitment to a progressive Europe signify a departure in Irish politics from the regressive, republican nationalism espoused by former Irish leaders.¹⁶⁹ The Minister's liberal, pro-European perspective would have been hailed and commended in postnational Europe, in light of renewed sectarian violence in Northern Ireland. EEC leaders may have hoped for the prospect of a peaceful resolution to the Northern Ireland 'Troubles' through Ireland's intensive engagement with Europe and FitzGerald's insightful and responsible leadership. German intuition and astuteness regarding FitzGerald's leadership potential and pro-European stance were subsequently borne out when *Die Zeit* named FitzGerald *Ein Friedensstifter des Jahres* with the subheadline: "Irlands Premier FitzGerald kämpft für ein Ende des Nordirland-Konflikts."¹⁷⁰ Leonhardt acknowledges Taoiseach FitzGerald's role in the signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement with the British Prime Minister Thatcher, suggesting German approval of FitzGerald's tact and leadership. The agreement that gave Ireland an official consultative role in Northern Ireland's affairs was regarded as significant in easing tensions between the two governments, in the search for a solution to the Northern Ireland issue. EEC leaders, with Germany to the fore, are depicted as judiciously engaged in planning and administering the Community's future while simultaneously assessing the competence and suitability of politicians from new member states. Political deliberations took place while German-Irish investment and development partnership activity continued apace.

Piel maintains that with German help and support Ireland's economic situation is improving and slowly showing signs of turning a corner: "Dieses Wachstum vollzieht sich

¹⁶⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ See chapter 4: German Representations of Irish Catholicism.

¹⁷⁰ Rudolf Walter Leonhardt: Mit dem Herzen auf beiden Seiten, *Die Zeit*, 27 December 1985, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/1986/01/mit-dem-herzen-auf-beiden-seiten/seite-3> [11 April 2017].

zwar noch sehr langsam. Doch die Wende ist da. Die Iren kommen wieder zurück."¹⁷¹ The German public will regard with cautious optimism the upturn in Ireland's economic situation and consider it as evidence and justification for German investment activity. German investment in Ireland has benefitted Ireland in monetary and societal terms: "Doch für den wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Wandel des Landes gibt es ein sicheres Indiz: Seine Bewohner müssen nicht mehr auswandern, um überleben zu können."¹⁷² Reduction in Irish emigration figures indicates the availability of skilled and trained Irish workers thereby reducing German expenditure on training and resulting in an increase in profit margins. German-Irish development cooperation is represented as a mutually beneficial relationship with German developers establishing a foothold in the nascent Irish manufacturing industry, with low overheads, high returns and potential for further German investment.

Neues Deutschland's Knipping disputes West German cautious optimism for Ireland's sluggish economy and attributes Ireland's financial difficulties to radical and sweeping change: "Im Gefolge einer von der Staatsmacht zügig vorangetriebenen Industrialisierung hat das Land jedoch seinen einstigen Charakter als rückständiges Agrarland verloren und bedeutende Schritte auf dem Wege zum kapitalistischen Industrie-Agrar-Staat zurückgelegt."¹⁷³ The writer simulates concern at the upheaval in Irish society and the impending loss of the traditional lifestyle. He implies the collectivisation of agriculture, in line with East German centrally planned economic policy, would be more in keeping with Irish culture thereby preserving Ireland's agricultural tradition. He is critical of the Irish state (*Staatsmacht*) for encouraging industrialisation, deviously implying the superior East German state respects tradition and does not resort to coercion. In order to lend credence to his argument the journalist authoritatively and pompously refers to official sources: "So besteht gegenwärtig, wie Regierungsbehörden in der Hauptstadt Dublin einschätzen, eine schwierige wirtschaftliche und finanzielle Lage."¹⁷⁴ Knipping condemns the capitalist EEC for Ireland's current crisis: "Beschleunigt wurde dieser Prozeß nach dem

¹⁷¹ Dieter Piel: Lockrufe aus dem Armenhaus, *Die Zeit*, 23 July 1976, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/1976/31/lockrufe-aus-dem-armenhaus/seite-2> [13 February 2012].

¹⁷² *ibid.*

¹⁷³ Franz Knipping: Irland ist der Neutralität verpflichtet, *Neues Deutschland*, 21 November 1980, p. 6.

¹⁷⁴ *ibid.*

1973 erfolgten Beitritt der Republik zur EG.¹⁷⁵ He blames EEC policy for the country's dismal economic situation: "Die Politik der "offenen Türen für das Auslandskapital" setzte das Land zugleich ungeschützt allen Schwankungen und Krisen der kapitalistischen Weltwirtschaft aus."¹⁷⁶ He implies communist states would protect small countries like Ireland from the ravages and potential exploitation by larger countries with more financial power and expertise. Knipping's construct of the Irish economic situation, which conveys his fundamental antipathy to capitalism, is a cynical manipulation of public opinion directed at his East German readers and ultimately intended to canvass support from the Irish Left. He instrumentalises bombastic rhetoric to propagandise his communist agenda, criticise the EEC, affect concern for Ireland, and eventually indoctrinate his readers and maintain their uncritical support.

American multi-national corporations and EEC member states, including Germany, maintained foreign direct investment in the Irish economy. Effort and endurance were eventually rewarded as the Irish economy began to show signs of growth.

Development and Change in Ireland

Travel writer Wolfgang Kuballa remarks on the social and economic changes in Ireland since its accession to the EEC in 1973, thus introducing a hitherto unfamiliar trope in the German representation of Ireland: "Irland hat seit dem Beitritt zur Europäischen Gemeinschaft im Jahre 1973 einen enormen Aufschwung genommen."¹⁷⁷ Ireland's rapid economic growth is essentially attributable to EEC membership and German investment enterprise and initiative. In 1984, Kuballa claims that membership of the EEC shows Ireland is catching up with Europe in material terms: "Die Zahl der Autos ist rapide gestiegen, und in Dublin kann man zur 'rush hour' ein Verkehrschaos wie in anderen Großstädten erleben."¹⁷⁸ From a German perspective, the increase in the number of cars on Ireland's roads is an indication of higher living standards and increased purchasing power attributable to German investment and training. German car manufacturers and related industries producing high-quality German products will benefit from Ireland's

¹⁷⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ Wolfgang Kuballa: *Richtig Reisen Irland, Republik Irland und Nordirland*. Köln 1984, p. 27.

¹⁷⁸ *ibid.*

increased prosperity in terms of job creation, opportunity for further German investment, resulting in increased profits. Increased prosperity resulting in the purchase of consumer goods has influenced Irish cultural practices: "Auf allen Häusern sieht man Fernsehantennen. Außer den Programmen der irischen Stationen kann man in manchen Landesteilen auch die Sendungen aus Großbritannien empfangen, und das hat neue gesellschaftliche Einflüsse gebracht."¹⁷⁹ Access to the world, outside the confines of the island of Ireland, has led to a broadening of Irish horizons, open-mindedness, and receptiveness to new ideas, which is attributable to German investment. This new openness implies Irish people are distancing themselves from traditionalist Catholic morality and regressive nationalism. It is also, furthermore, an indication that Irish society is slowly nearing EEC standards. The writer interprets Irish people's access to consumerism as a positive outcome of the country's rapid economic development that is also favourable to the German economy. Germans, with their deep-seated antipathy to nationalism and resolute focus on progress and innovation, wholeheartedly approve of young Irish people's rejection of nationalism in favour of advancement and prosperity.

Far-seeing German developers who were already established in Ireland naturally sought to expand their operations and increase their profits. Ireland's attractive investment incentives and low-wages attracted additional German investment. Shrewd German industrialists focused on the young generation whose skills, education, and work ethic held the promise of future financial gain at a fraction of the costs in their native Germany. Young Irish workers are represented as anxious to progress and break free from the constraints of Irish society and the past while astute German manufacturers are represented as fully availing of a tempting opportunity. The emergence of a generation of technocrats is accredited to Ireland's EEC membership: "Irlands Eintritt in die EG 1973 bescherte dem Land einen Wirtschaftsboom und trug zum Entstehen jener Technokratenschicht bei, die jetzt nach einem Ausbruch aus der Vergangenheit sucht."¹⁸⁰ It could be argued; EEC membership and German investment spared a generation of talented young Irish people from the well-trodden path to emigration. Young Irish people are represented as looking towards Europe to distance themselves from nationalism and

¹⁷⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ Anonymous: Aufbruch der Söhne, *Der Spiegel*, 7 April 1986, p. 173.

traditionalist Catholicism: "Ihr Weltbild unterscheidet sich radikal von den Vorstellungen der Eltern."¹⁸¹ Similarly, post-war Germany society focused on rebuilding Germany and Europe following the destruction brought about by Nazism and reverted to the liberalism of the Weimar Republic.

Insightful German developers are depicted as being spoiled for choice with regard to staff recruitment while prospective Irish employees are portrayed as eager and competent, evoking images of the quintessential German employee: "So wünscht sich jeder Manager seine Mannschaft: hungrig nach Erfolg, motiviert bis in die Haarspitzen, jung, gut ausgebildet, mit Biß, flexibel, aber nicht zu teuer."¹⁸² German employers are rewarded for offering employment despite an oversupply of qualified candidates, indicating the reputation and quality of German workmanship: "In Irland findet er unter den 10 000 jährlichen Universitätsabsolventen genug Kandidaten, die derartige Tugenden mitbringen, dazu erhält er vom Staat noch 30 000 Mark für jeden eingerichteten Arbeitsplatz."¹⁸³ Ireland's generous grants with the express aim of attracting direct foreign investment may have given developers the impression they were in an investors' paradise, however, seasoned German entrepreneurs will have reacted with German equanimity, according to the proverb: *Des einen Not, des anderen Brot* and set to work. Investors were further motivated by the knowledge: "Die durchschnittlichen Lohnkosten liegen bei 12 Dollar pro Stunde, in Deutschland betragen sie mehr als das Doppelte. Kein Wunder, daß es wegen solcher Standortvorteile allein fast 200 deutsche Firmen auf die Insel zog."¹⁸⁴ The considerably lower wage and production costs in Ireland in comparison with Germany were a further deciding factor for profit-conscious, 'savvy' German developers to transfer operations to Ireland, implying that astute German investors would be negligent and irresponsible if they had not taken action and full advantage of Ireland's investment proposition.

¹⁸¹ *ibid.*

¹⁸² Dirk Wegner: *Anders Reisen Irland*, Reinbeck bei Hamburg 1999, p. 52.

¹⁸³ *ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ *ibid.*

The "new" Ireland

The Celtic Tiger period with its unprecedented economic growth changed German perceptions of Ireland. Ireland's meteoric rise from poverty to affluence baffled many Germans and some journalists sought 'plausible' explanations to inform their readers about the rapid change in Ireland's fortunes. Ralf Sotscheck, long-term Irish resident and *taz* correspondent for Ireland and Great Britain, subverts the stereotype of Irish poverty to explain Ireland's transformation and new material reality: "Wie hat es dieses rothaarige, sommersprossige und ständig betrunkene Volk am Rande Europas bloß geschafft, zu einer der reichsten Nationen der Welt zu werden?"¹⁸⁵ Sotscheck highlights familiar clichés and stereotypes depicting the alleged Irish character and culture that he then juxtaposes with images relating to Ireland's sudden and unexpected wealth. His exaggeration of Ireland's former poverty conjures up twee, picture-postcardish images of backwardness that contrast with his understated reference to Ireland's newly found wealth. A 1996 article published in *Die Zeit* analyses Ireland's Celtic Tiger. The German journalist, author and broadcaster Jürgen Krönig moved to England in 1984 where he now lives. Since 1990 Krönig has been *Die Zeit* correspondent for Great Britain and Ireland. In 2005, the journalist was awarded an OBE (Officer of the Order of The British Empire) for his contributions to British-German relations. Ireland's so-called *Wirtschaftswunder* was supported by EU funds and largely celebrated as an EU success story, from a German perspective. In economic matters, Ireland is now depicted as an object of envy rather than pity. Krönig claims: "Geld aus Brüssel beschert Irland ein Wirtschaftswunder [...]"¹⁸⁶ He argues that European Union investment is the driving force behind Ireland's unprecedented success. Images of Ireland's Celtic Tiger naturally evoke memories of Germany's post-war *Wirtschaftswunder* where German readers will inevitably draw comparisons. Krönig maintains Ireland's fairy-tale (*Aschenputtel*) rise to prosperity was sudden and unexpected which conjures up images of Ireland's troubled past: "Der dramatische Wandel des irischen Aschenputtels vollzog sich binnen einer kurzen Zeitspanne. Bis in die achtziger Jahre hinein galt Irland als liebenswürdig altmodisch,

¹⁸⁵ Ralf Sotscheck: *Nichts gegen Iren*. Berlin 2009.

¹⁸⁶ Jürgen Krönig: *Der keltische Tiger*, *Die Zeit*, 13 December 1996, online archive, https://www.zeit.de/1996/51/Der_keltische_Tiger [24 June 2015].

heiter und melancholisch zugleich, niedergedrückt vom Ballast der Geschichte."¹⁸⁷

Likewise, Germany's *Wirtschaftswunder* of the 1950s emerged unexpectedly following the destruction of the Second World War. The German *Wirtschaftswunder* resulted from German commitment, efficiency and the determination to succeed in transforming catastrophic destruction and loss of life into economic prosperity, in a liberal social democratic state.

Krönig emphasises the positive and pivotal role the European Union played in Ireland's economic development: "Die Hinwendung zu Europa war es, die den Prozeß entscheidend vorantrieb."¹⁸⁸ The journalist ascribes Ireland's unprecedented economic success and transformation to the country's commitment to Europe implying that without German and EU support, Ireland would still be a very poor country. Ireland's pro-European stance, its business-friendly and low-wage employment market together with a young, well-educated and motivated workforce are represented as tempting and advantageous to prospective investors: "Für ausländische Investoren ist Irlands europäisches Engagement ein zusätzlicher Bonus. Aber die ungewöhnliche Kombination von niedrigen Löhnen und einer Vielzahl gutausgebildeter, hochmotivierter junger Arbeitskräfte wiegt noch schwerer."¹⁸⁹ Ireland's innovative fiscal policy wins the German journalist's approval, implying consistency with elements of German tried and tested financial guidelines and monetary discipline: "Weil alle irischen Parteien sich einer Politik monetärer Disziplin und niedriger Zinsen verschrieben haben, gehören hohe Inflationsraten der Vergangenheit an."¹⁹⁰ The German *grüne Insel* construct with its former connotations of backwardness and pristine landscapes is now associated, in German economic circles, with industry, attractive investment potential and Irish commitment to Europe. The writer underlines the significance and benefits of EU membership not only for Ireland: "In Irland wird deutlich, wie sehr Europäisierung Modernisierung bedeutet."¹⁹¹ In Ireland's case, Europe has opened up new trading markets and market development potential, distancing the country from its past and Great Britain, its primary trading partner: "Mitgliedschaft in EG und EU bot die Chance, sich von dem übermächtigen Nachbarn Großbritannien zu

¹⁸⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁹¹ *ibid.*

emanzipieren und zugleich aus dem Schatten der eigenen Geschichte herauszutreten."¹⁹² Establishment of the original organisation, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1951, that developed into the current European Union constituted a mission and a challenge for post-war Germany to focus on the rebuilding of its own and Europe's economy, in the interests of securing European stability. The supranational EU promotes goodwill and harmony between European countries, big and small, aids development and strives to encourage European integration. Ireland is depicted as a success story due to the combination of German investment and EU membership. Ireland's transformation is evidence that the powerful EU can effect social and economic transformation and heal rifts between former foes, as in the case of Germany and its former enemies. German readers interpret Ireland's success as proof of shrewd business acumen on the part of German investors and a vindication of Germany's advocacy of the EU. Ireland's change of direction from a regressive nationalistic perspective to a European outlook has seen Irish society become more modern, pluralistic, and closer to European standards: "Die Hinwendung zu Europa hat die irische Nation moderner und pluralistischer werden lassen. Die Öffnung zur Welt half ihr, sich von einem rückwärts gewandten Nationalismus abzuwenden, mit seinen atavistischen, dunklen Leidenschaften."¹⁹³ The writer's reference to Irish nationalism is intended to serve as a reminder to his readers of the devastation caused by nationalism that resulted in the Second World War. The defeat of nationalism in Europe eventually gave rise to the institution of the supranational EU with its goals of peace and prosperity. Krönig advocates Europeanist ideals in a peaceful and economically prosperous Europe where the observance of mutual respect between member states seeks to preclude the rise of nationalist sentiment in Europe and beyond.

However, prosperity and unaccustomed and sudden wealth have their drawbacks, as the writer warns. Krönig fears for the detrimental effects unaccustomed prosperity will have on Irish society and Irish cultural identity: "Aber die Modernisierung drängte nicht nur düsteren Tribalismus zurück [sic] ökonomischer Fortschritt bedroht zugleich auch Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl und kulturelle Identität."¹⁹⁴ Krönig implies German society lacks a sense of community and that individuals are more concerned about their own

¹⁹² *ibid.*

¹⁹³ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁴ *ibid.*

needs to the exclusion of other members of the immediate and wider community. The writer displays a degree of ambivalence with regard to the role of the Catholic Church in Irish society: "Auch der Autoritätsverlust der katholischen Kirche erwies sich nicht nur als positiv."¹⁹⁵ On the one hand, the Irish Catholic Church is criticised for treating its flock like children '*gängeln*' and imposing a strict, conservative, moral code: "Gewiß hatte die Kirche die Menschen gegängelt und einer erkonservativen Moral unterworfen."¹⁹⁶ Krönig maintains the values inculcated in Irish society, by the Catholic Church, are specifically those values, that made Ireland and Irish people tolerant, likeable and friendly: "Andererseits trug der Katholizismus entscheidend zur Herausbildung nationaler Identität bei: Vor allem förderte er jenen sozialen Zusammenhalt und Familiensinn, der die kleine Nation am Rande Europas so freundlich, tolerant und liebenswert machte."¹⁹⁷ Moreover, from the writer's perspective, a moral and spiritual vacuum has developed which money and a European lifestyle cannot fill: "Nun ist ein moralisches und spirituelles Vakuum entstanden, das Europa nicht auszufüllen vermag."¹⁹⁸ Prosperity, he implies, has transformed Ireland from a conservative Catholic country into a materialistic and self-centred society with little social interaction or solidarity. The writer's criticism of the negative effects of prosperity on Irish life, in terms of morality and character, is an implied criticism of the perceived indifference prevalent in German society and the effects of material wealth on the community. He mourns the impending loss of a sense of community in Ireland that in the past, he suggests was admirable, and from a German perspective, a desirable and enviable feature of Irish society. He suggests, possibly from a Catholic perspective, that a religious dimension in a multicultural, pluralistic society contributes to social integration, harmony, and cultural identity.

An article by Zänker published in *Die Welt* in 1997 examines the Celtic Tiger period from a different standpoint. Ireland is referred to as *Der smaragdgrüne Tiger* or emerald-green tiger in an article that analyses Ireland's amazing economic boom where productivity may soon equal that of Germany. Zänker states: "Aus Dublin kommt eine erstaunliche Nachricht: Das boomende Irland hat 1996 erstmals eine höhere Pro-Kopf-Produktion

¹⁹⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ Jürgen Krönig: *Der keltische Tiger.*

erwirtschaftet als Großbritannien. Mit seiner neuen Dynamik wird es bald den EU-Durchschnitt überschreiten und um das Jahr 2000 wohl auch Deutschland einholen."¹⁹⁹ German readers may initially have been a little surprised and disconcerted by the unparalleled growth in the Irish economy. In general, the majority of Germans had complete confidence in the sustainability and reliability of their trusted and stable economy and were confident and unperturbed. The apparent strength of Ireland's economy is represented as seemingly robust and unrivalled. Ireland's economy is unaffected by the 'Eurosclerosis' (*Eurosklerose*) or economic stagnation which is widespread in Continental European economies: "Von der Eurosklerose, die den Kontinent plagt und nicht recht vom Fleck kommen läßt, keine Spur."²⁰⁰ The term 'Eurosclerosis' was coined by the German economist Herbert Giersch.²⁰¹ Eurosclerosis is characterised by high unemployment rates despite economic growth combined with the slow pace of European integration. Ireland's economy is apparently unaffected by stagnation and its sustained and continuous economic growth is viewed as an implicit threat to the German economy. Ireland is referred to as *das vitale Volk der Sänger und Dichter* evoking images of Germany as *Land der Dichter und Denker* implying a characterisation not normally associated with economic success. Stereotypes of Ireland's old-fashioned Catholic tradition and long-term poverty are juxtaposed with images of Ireland as Europe's new and unanticipated economic power: "Es ist, als hätte sich das vitale Volk der Sänger und Dichter vom Kontinent abgekoppelt. Aus dem katholisch-konservativen, armen Auswanderungsland von einst ist inzwischen Europas erfolgreichster Industriestandort geworden."²⁰² Germany's hallowed *Wirtschaftswunder* is juxtaposed with Ireland's unprecedented economic success: "Nüchterne Zahlen zeugen von einem Wirtschaftswunder, das sich mit jenem Deutschlands in den Erhard-Jahren vergleichen läßt- bei jährlichem Wachstum von sechs bis zehn Prozent, drei-bis viermal soviel wie in der EU."²⁰³ Reference to Germany's *Wirtschaftswunder* is an appeal to German people's sense of economic pride, an exhortation to abandon complacency

¹⁹⁹ Alfred Zänker: Der smaragdgrüne Tiger, Die Welt, 27 February 1997, online archive, <https://www.welt.de/print-welt/article634587/Der-smaragdgruene-Tiger.html> [26 June 2014].

²⁰⁰ *ibid.*

²⁰¹ Giersch, Herbert: Eurosclerosis, Kieler Diskussionsbeiträge, No. 112, Institut für Weltwirtschaft (IfW), 20 August 1985, online archive, <https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/48070/1/025296167>. [15 October 2014].

²⁰² Alfred Zänker: Der smaragdgrüne Tiger, Die Welt, 27 February 1997, online archive, <https://www.welt.de/print-welt/article634587/Der-smaragdgruene-Tiger.html> [26 June 2014].

²⁰³ *ibid.*

regarding past economic success and to work harder to retain Germany's status as Europe's economic powerhouse. Germany's *Wirtschaftswunder* is a symbol of the country's post-war economic success, a milestone in Germany's economic reconstruction and a source of pride and inspiration to the German people.

Comparison between Ireland and the former German Democratic Republic, in terms of perceived development, accords Ireland model status. From a German perspective, Ireland's former economic circumstances are similar to the economic situation in the new German federal states. The text indicates West German disgruntlement with fellow citizens from the former East Germany following German reunification in 1990: "Aus deutscher Sicht drängt sich der Vergleich mit den neuen Bundesländern auf. Sie konnten von massiven staatlichen Finanzhilfen und industriellen Impulsen vom großen Bruder im Westen profitieren und sind doch eine Region geworden, die durch hohe Kosten, Anspruchsdenken und mangelnden Leistungsanreiz konkurrenzunfähig bleibt."²⁰⁴ The writer snidely and haughtily remarks that people in former East Germany should learn from Ireland's example. He points out that Irish determination; willingness to learn and adaptability were essential components towards Ireland's economic success: "Das irische Beispiel zeigt, daß es vor allem auf die Lern- und Anpassungsbereitschaft und den festen Willen ankommt, es aus eigener Kraft zu schaffen."²⁰⁵ His *Ossi-Bashing* insinuations reflect the stereotyping of former East Germans as *Jammer-Ossis* by their *Besser-Wessi* fellow citizens in former West Germany. Despite major financial investment from West Germany, former East Germans are depicted as uncompetitive and lacking in initiative. The writer implies West German taxpayers, who financed reunification through payment of the *Solidaritätszuschlag* or *Soli*, see minimal returns for their investments and feel taken for granted. The rationale behind the writer's comparison is to embarrass former *Ossis* and pressurise them into conforming to *Wessi* standards and to developing an acceptable *Wessi* work ethic. The writer's remarks relate to the difficult process of German-German integration and the burden of history and he implies these difficulties are not confined to differences in work practices. German reunification triggered a shift in the auto and hetero-images of the two Germanies where stereotypes that had

²⁰⁴ *ibid.*

²⁰⁵ *ibid.*

accumulated over decades of separation and during the Cold War were revised and overlaid with new images, in the aftermath of the watershed event in German history. In a similar manner, Ireland's increased prosperity led to a paradigm shift in the German representation of Irish society.

Celtic Tiger Culture

Ireland's booming economy is likened to a shining light in an article in *Der Spiegel* from 1997. The Celtic Tiger has transformed Dublin's social life, according to Hoyng in a piece titled *Irland: Glänzendes Licht*. Hans Hoyng has been editor-in-chief of international news for *Der Spiegel* since 1999. Between 1988 and 1999, he worked in Washington and London as foreign correspondent for *Der Spiegel*. The juxtaposition of traditional Irish stereotypes with cultural generalisations of modern Ireland indicates a transformed social and cultural scene and conjures up images that are incompatible with German lifestyle: "Statt in den dunklen Pubs Irlands Leidensgeschichte über schwarzem Guinness zu rekonstruieren, hat sich in Dublin eine Café-Society etabliert, die in vollverglasten City-Treffs Carpaccio und Cappuccino zu sich nimmt."²⁰⁶ German readers would find Irish attitudes to their new affluence disturbing and even appalling and consider Irish people incapable of coping with prosperity. Germans who experienced their own *Wirtschaftswunder* did not squander their hard-earned money or abandon their values and traditional lifestyle. Germans saved and invested their money and did not indulge in lavishness or idleness. From a German perspective, Irish people are unwilling or unable to deal with the radical change in their lifestyle. While Germans drink coffee and celebrate and many observe the *Kaffee und Kuchen* tradition, work is prioritised before pleasure. The quintessential German prides himself on his work ethic and scoffs at layabouts who waste time and flaunt money. Dublin is also popular with wealthy German celebrities: "Unter kosmopolitischen Trendsettern gehören Stadtausflüge nach Dublin längst schon zum guten Ton. Rock-, Film- und Sportstars, darunter auch Steffi Graf, legen sich in immer größerer Zahl ein zweites irisches Heim zu."²⁰⁷ Ireland's popularity with rich German trendsetters indicates a change in German attitudes, by mixing business with pleasure, implying other German and international celebrities will obediently follow suit. The

²⁰⁶ Hans Hoyng: Irland: Glänzendes Licht, *Der Spiegel*, 02 June 1997, p. 151.

²⁰⁷ Jürgen Krönig: Der keltische Tiger.

representaion of the smart German property investor in 1990s Ireland is a modification and counter-image of the down-to-earth German industrialist in 1970s Ireland, indicating the diversity of German business interests, as examined above. Celtic Tiger Ireland is represented as a magnet for so-called 'blow-ins' or *Aussteiger*: "Unter ihnen besonders zahlreich vertreten sind Deutsche, die nach Irland kamen, um dem hektischen Materialismus daheim zu entkommen."²⁰⁸ German 'blow-ins' are represented as shrewdly capitalising on low property prices in remote areas in the west of Ireland, allegedly to flee German materialism. Luyken alleges Ireland is a tax haven and sanctuary for German-speaking exiles: "Irland als Fluchtpunkt und als Steuerparadies. Hier braucht, wer als Schriftsteller, Komponist, Maler oder Bildhauer sein Geld verdient, keinen Penny an den Staat abzuführen."²⁰⁹ German artists are represented as financially exploiting Germany's former image of *Land der Dichter und Denker* and the Irish government's grandiose plans to support the arts, implying German ingenuity has profited from Irish casualness, liberality and panache. German-speaking artists who have discovered the latent commercial potential of the arts in Ireland are depicted as true Germans and are, accordingly, reticent regarding tempting tax concessions and financial incentives: "Die meisten der vom Kontinent in Haugheys Künstlerparadies eingewanderten Autoren wollen von der Vermutung, es gehe ihnen in erster Linie um die Steuerersparnis, nichts wissen."²¹⁰ Shrewd German 'blow-ins' manifest the ability to identify a financially rewarding opportunity that Irish people failed to notice, suggesting Germans have a natural instinct and a compulsion to make money. Depictions of modern Ireland convey a departure from traditional moral values, indicated by falling birth rates and attributable to lifestyle changes together with a decline in Catholic Church influence: "Eine irische Großfamilie hatte fortan nicht mehr acht, sondern allenfalls zwei Kinder, Nachkommen waren nicht länger nötig, um ein Überleben im Alter zu sichern."²¹¹ Feldenkirchen juxtaposes traditional stereotypes of Ireland's large families with newer cultural generalisations conveying the effects of wealth, modernity and a European lifestyle. According to Hoyng, Ireland's booming economy and falling birth rates have resulted in

²⁰⁸ *ibid.*

²⁰⁹ Reiner Luyken: Seit wann leben Sie in Irland? Die Zeit, 5 December 1997, online archive, [https://www.zeit.de/1997/50/Seit_wann_leben_Sie_in_Irland_\[29_May2015\]](https://www.zeit.de/1997/50/Seit_wann_leben_Sie_in_Irland_[29_May2015]).

²¹⁰ *ibid.*

²¹¹ Markus Feldenkirchen: Ansichten einer Insel, Der Spiegel, 29 November 2010, p, 166.

shortages in the labour force : "So viele gutausgebildete Collegeabsolventen, wie gebraucht werden, sind in Irland bald nicht mehr aufzutreiben, weil die Mütter längst nicht mehr so gebärfreudig sind wie ihre frommen Vorfahren,"²¹² suggesting the need for migrant workers. Heinrich Böll's representation of Irish innocence and large families in his *Irishes Tagebuch*²¹³ has been eclipsed and Germany and Ireland now share the problem of declining birthrates. Labour shortages in Germany in the 1950s, due to the German *Wirtschaftswunder*, necessitated the employment of so-called *Gastarbeiter* whose hetero-image became synonymous with German prosperity.

Irish Hospitality

Irish society's implied lack of compassion and humanity is a recurrent trope associated with Celtic Tiger Ireland's prosperity that evokes a counter-image of former representations of Irish kindness and hospitality. Representations of Irish people as greedy and selfish are explored in an article examining Ireland's policy on granting political asylum. An article in *Der Spiegel* from 2002, titled *Lockender Boom* indicates: "Millionen Iren suchten in der Vergangenheit Zuflucht in der Fremde. Jetzt ist die Insel selbst das Ziel von Flüchtlingen."²¹⁴ The sub headline reminds the reader of Ireland's history of poverty and emigration and the irony of Ireland's prosperous Celtic Tiger situation: "Dass ausgerechnet Irland, lange als Armenhaus Europas verschrien, einmal Ziel von Flüchtlingen und Einwanderern werden würde, hätten sich viele nicht träumen lassen."²¹⁵ The writer is critical of the low number of asylum seekers recognised as refugees or granted permanent residency in Ireland compared with Germany. She implies a more humanitarian and compassionate policy is applied in Germany and in other European Union states: "Die irische Anerkennungsrate belief sich im Jahr 2001 auf knapp vier Prozent und zählt damit zu den niedrigsten in der Europäischen Union."²¹⁶ She implies Ireland is reluctant to accept its just share of asylum seekers as an EU member state and deliberately prolongs the asylum process. Germany's geographical location in central Europe resulted in the country's becoming a focal point for migration throughout

²¹² Hans Hoyng: Irland: Glänzendes Licht, *Der Spiegel*, 2 June 1997, p. 152.

²¹³ Heinrich Böll: *Irishes Tagebuch*. München, 1961.

²¹⁴ Julia Schünemann: *Lockender Boom*, *Der Spiegel*, 22 April 2002, p. 168.

²¹⁵ *ibid.*

²¹⁶ *ibid.*

history. Germany's tradition of warfare entailed coping with a diversity of people, in varying numbers, seeking refuge. At the end of the Second World War, while Germany lay in ruins, the country offered shelter to hundreds of thousands of refugees and expellees. Modern Germany enjoys an international reputation for world-embracing humanitarianism and has granted asylum to significant numbers of non-European asylum seekers from totalitarian states. Prior to German reunification, West Germany granted protection to so-called 'dissidents' and regime critics of the former authoritarian regime in the German Democratic Republic. Germany takes pride and satisfaction in its reputation as a staunch guardian of human rights, and as a country continues to emphasise the importance of integration in a multicultural, pluralistic society, in keeping with EU principles. In 2015, Germany admitted more than one million asylum seekers from various countries, notably from Syria and Iraq. The Chancellor's gesture of humanitarianism was hailed by liberals and employers' organisations who were also concerned about labour shortages. Populist movements and the far right instrumentalised the so-called migrant crisis to promote their respective agendas and secure *Bundestag* representation in the German federal election of 2017.

The journalist ascribes the 'new' Irish image of arrogance and indifference to the plight of migrants to Ireland's unaccustomed wealth: "Der keltische Tiger - Irlands Spitzname seit seiner erstaunlichen wirtschaftlichen Aufholjagd - fährt die Krallen aus, wenn es darum geht, den neuen Wohlstand zu verteidigen."²¹⁷ Due to their economic success and contrary to their traditional image Irish people are now depicted as having become selective when granting admission to the country. Ireland is represented as using its metaphorical claws, (*Krallen*) to protect its wealth and to prioritise the admission of qualified EU workers: "Die Iren wollen dagegen selbst bestimmen, wer zu ihnen darf: Während Asylanten mit Argwohn betrachtet werden, gilt für qualifizierte Fachkräfte aus dem Ausland das traditionelle 'Cead mile failte' - hunderttausend Mal willkommen."²¹⁸ The writer contends that Ireland's economy has boomed in the past number of years, with support from the European Union, leaving her astonished at alleged claims by Irish politicians about asylum seekers: "Umso befremdlicher, dass manche Politiker den

²¹⁷ *ibid.*

²¹⁸ *ibid.*

Flüchtlingen nun vorwerfen, sie kämen nur aus wirtschaftlichen Gründen."²¹⁹ While the writer's criticism of alleged hostility towards asylum seekers is ostensibly directed at Irish society, it is a cautionary tale and an implicit condemnation of particular elements in German society. The representation of Irish society with regard to societal integration is intended to highlight how cultural differences can be manipulated and orchestrated by populist elements, resulting in social discord. Claudia Bröll who worked as London correspondent for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* from 2005-2007, argues that Irish companies rely on workers from Eastern Europe and that Ireland's remarkable economic success is, in a large measure, due to 'foreign' expertise: "Die Unternehmen sind auf die Zuwanderer angewiesen. Ihnen ist das immer noch kräftige Wirtschaftswachstum zu verdanken."²²⁰ The writer implies that the traditional and unreserved hearty Irish welcome has been eclipsed by a half-hearted tolerance of non-Irish workers in the interests of profit and productivity: "Dennoch stehen viele Iren den ausländischen Mitbürgern nicht mehr so einladend gegenüber wie noch vor einiger Zeit."²²¹ The journalist asserts that Irish people, who fear job losses through the undercutting of wages, have become suspicious, rather than, in the past, openly welcome towards strangers: "Auch in Irland besteht die Sorge, daß die Ausländer den Iren Jobs wegnehmen und für einen Verfall des Lohnniveaus sorgen könnten."²²² The use of the word *auch* indicates that the fears of Irish workers with regard to job security are shared by German workers which result in unacceptable hostility and unfriendliness.

Representations of so-called *Ausländerfeindlichkeit* in Ireland evoke images of alleged hostility towards non-nationals in Germany. Despite diligent efforts by German authorities to promote integration, the potential for *Ausländerfeindlichkeit* in Germany and in other EU states, remains worrying. Modern Germany is a liberal, social democracy, which embraces the values of multiculturalism. Post-war Germany embarked on a campaign of reconciliation and forgiveness with its former enemies and forged a tolerant, democratic society distancing itself from the destructive National Socialism of the past.

²¹⁹ *ibid.*

²²⁰ Claudia Bröll: Zehntausende folgen dem Ruf des "keltischen Tigers," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 15 August 2006, p.10.

²²¹ *ibid.*

²²² *ibid.*

While incidents of *Ausländerfeindlichkeit* have occurred in post-reunification Germany and populist sentiment has increased, neither manifests core German values of tolerance, humanitarianism, and social solidarity. The process of German reunification involved major financial costs for the former West Germany and considerable social costs for inhabitants of the former German Democratic Republic. Decades of separation compounded by opposing cultural histories, assumptions, and expectations did not lead to a rapid fusion of the two German souls or social solidarity. When the two German states merged the resulting culture shock engendered mutual discontent between so-called *Ossis* and *Wessis*, prompting the phrase *Mauern in den Köpfen*. Dissatisfaction and disorientation periodically resulted in racist incidents, as the familiar East German *Vertragsarbeiter* were returned to their native communist countries and West Germany's society was home to a different cultural mix. Modern Germany prides itself on its cosmopolitan society and has always advocated freedom of expression in a tolerant, liberal democratic society. From a German perspective, differences of opinion are normal in a diverse society and indicative of a healthy democracy where state law and the rights of the individual are respected, in line with the German concept of the *Rechtsstaat*.

Social Integration

The travel writers Fieß and Kabel consider Irish-Polish relations confirm the traditional Irish hetero-image of friendliness and an easy-going, obliging attitude: "Viele polnische Immigranten machen allerdings positive Erfahrungen in Irland."²²³ Polish people living in Ireland are depicted as generally happy with their employers and with Irish people: "Sie mögen die aufgeschlossene Art der Iren, sind mit ihren Arbeitgebern meist zufrieden und genießen die gesellschaftliche Aufbruchstimmung und die persönlichen Entfaltungsmöglichkeiten, die ihnen das Leben hier bietet."²²⁴ Polish people view Ireland as offering more opportunities, in terms of a stimulating lifestyle and personal development, than their native country. The writers greet the harmonious integration of non-Irish workers into Irish society where 'foreign' cultures are seen to complement each other. Their remarks evoke images of the slow pace of integration and, to some degree, the existence of parallel societies, social fragmentation, and marginalisation in Germany

²²³ Astrid Fieß and Lars Kabel: *KulturSchock Irland/Nordirland*. Bielefeld 2008, p. 164.

²²⁴ *ibid.*

despite determined government efforts to promote social integration, over a considerable period. In an editorial piece, Johannes Leithäuser comments on the apparent ease with which 'newcomers' integrated into Irish society implying that this is not the case in other European Union countries. Leithäuser joined the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* in 1988. He worked as London correspondent for the *FAZ* from 2007 to 2012 when he returned to the newspaper's Berlin office. Leithäuser maintains that the large influx of Polish migrants caused little tension in Ireland: "Selbst die Ankunft Hunderttausender Einwanderer in dem Land, das, gemessen an seiner Einwohnerschaft, einst das größte europäische Auswanderungsland war, ist bislang ohne größere Spannungen geblieben."²²⁵ He suggests although immigration, as opposed to traditional emigration, was a new phenomenon for Ireland that Irish nonchalance and sense of community helped communities to integrate. He underlines the common religious bond between the predominantly Polish newcomers and the native Irish Catholic population: "Die Ankömmlinge stammten aus (ost-) europäischen Ländern, überdies teilten sie mit den Einheimischen den Katholizismus."²²⁶ The 1979 Papal visit to Ireland and Polish-Irish parallels have been examined above.²²⁷ The German public surely greeted the harmonious integration of Polish people into Irish society and viewed the decision of Polish migrants to settle in Ireland as a logical step on the grounds of a shared culture. Furthermore, the assimilation of Polish migrants into Irish society would be viewed, from a German perspective, as a validation of German and EU policy on the free movement of people in a diverse and harmonious multicultural society. German readers will also recall, in this context, Ireland's initial reluctance to endorse the Treaty of Nice on EU enlargement and the admission of new EU member states (see below). Leithäuser commends Irish efforts at social integration through support and encouragement and is impressed by Irish hospitality and friendliness: "Trotzdem bleibt erstaunlich, wie selbstverständlich irische Organisationen den polnischen Einwanderern in ihrer Heimatsprache Rat und Hilfe anbieten."²²⁸ He implies Irish people's natural and instinctive helpfulness and hospitality help non-Irish people participate in Irish society. The writer's

²²⁵Johannes Leithäuser: Der Taoiseach. Irlands neuer Ministerpräsident Cowen pflegt das Wir-Gefühl. Und setzt sich durch, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung*, 11 May 2008, p. 14.

²²⁶ *ibid.*

²²⁷ See Papal visit

²²⁸ *ibid.*

use of the terms *erstaunlich* and *selbstverständlich* implies foreigners find it difficult to integrate into German society. He admires the process of social inclusion in Ireland and implies German diffidence and reservedness are often misinterpreted as aloofness, whereas Irish nonchalance conveys openness and facilitates social inclusion. The writer's representation of the successful integration of immigrants into Irish society summons up hetero-images of Irish warmth and hospitality interacting with hetero-images conveying perceived German reservedness and detachment.

Money Matters

From a German perspective, Ireland does not live up to its familiar hetero-image of friendliness and hospitality towards tourists, according to journalist Peter Nonnenmacher who worked in London as correspondent for the *Frankfurter Rundschau* and the *Badische Zeitung*. Nonnenmacher is co-editor with Rosaleen O'Neill, the Galway-based academic and Germanist, of a collection of literary works from Northern Ireland.²²⁹ Nonnenmacher juxtaposes images of the traditional, welcoming Ireland: "Gewiss stößt man auch heute noch auf das Irland des 'Cead mile Failte', des tausendfachen Willkommens, das einen in der Vergangenheit mit allen Unzulänglichkeiten versöhnte"²³⁰ with images of Celtic Tiger Ireland: "Mehr finanzielles Kalkül als früher hat sich den sozialen Beziehungen beigemischt,"²³¹ where people are motivated by money. Traditional images of Irish generosity and hospitality are overlaid by Celtic Tiger era counter-images of greed, opportunism and the desire to rake in money: "Aber zunehmend wird der Ton geschäftsmäßig. Willkommen ist das Geld, nicht immer der Gast. Und was jetzt für den Euro geliefert wird, lässt oft zu wünschen übrig."²³² The journalist implies Ireland has lost its easy-going approach where people mattered more than money. Modern Ireland is represented as a materialistic society, offering poor value for money and prioritising wealth over personal relations and the traditional Irish way of life. The travel writers Fieß and Kabel uphold Nonnenmacher's argument regarding the exorbitant prices charged when holidaying in Ireland: "Böse Zungen übersetzen deshalb die für 'Republic of Ireland'

²²⁹ Rosaleen O'Neill and Peter Nonnenmacher: *Geschichten aus der Geschichte Nordirlands*. Darmstadt/Neuwied 1987.

²³⁰ Peter Nonnenmacher: *Flegeljahre eines Sternenkinds*, *Badische Zeitung*, 23 June 2008, online archive, <http://www.badische-zeitung.de/ausland-1/flegeljahre-eines-sternenkinds--2607121.html> [4 January 2015].

²³¹ *ibid.*

²³² *ibid.*

gebräuchliche Abkürzung 'Roi' als Rip-off-Ireland (*'Halsabschneider-Irland'*).²³³ German visitors are often disappointed with their Irish holidays and find their experience far removed from Heinrich Böll's *Irishes Tagebuch*²³⁴ image of Irish geniality and warm-heartedness, which enchanted generations of German readers and tourists. It is implied, that visitors to Germany are invariably treated with civility and courtesy while the German tourist industry does not specifically target and exploit tourists by offering substandard and lukewarm service.

Ralph Giordano the German writer and publicist was born in Hamburg of German-Sicilian parentage. Giordano whose work was greatly influenced by his Jewish family background was a frequent visitor to Ireland and well acquainted with the country and its people, through his travels. Giordano whose travelogue was written four decades after Böll's *Irishes Tagebuch*, maintains the Celtic Tiger era has damaged Ireland's distinctive character: "Wer heute durch die Republik fährt [...], der kann nach der äußeren Erscheinung eher den Eindruck haben, er durchquere ein Land von erklecklichem Wohlstand."²³⁵ The writer's representation of modern Irish affluence is at variance with Böll's depictions of poverty and hardship in his 1957 *Irishes Tagebuch*. Giordano implies that to the casual observer West Germany unlike Ireland has not radically changed, despite being a wealthy country, since the major reconstruction of the country following the destruction of the Second World War. West Germany modernised the state to be a high-functioning, efficient country and invested heavily in the country's economy: the lifeblood of German society. Germany's first-rate infrastructure, urban and rural landscapes indicate practicality and functionality and do not manifest wealth or boast about success or achievement. They are a testament to the German love of orderliness, efficiency, and practicality. The *Aufbau Ost* project, following German reunification, resulted in the renovation of deteriorating urban areas in the former East Germany. The major objective of the *Aufbau Ost* project, principally financed by West Germany, was to remove the structural legacy of decay and neglect created by the former East German regime and ultimately to create equal living conditions in the east and the west, in line with German and EU principles. Giordano contends, by comparison with Germany, that

²³³ Astrid Fieß and Lars Kabel: KulturSchock Irland/Nordirland. Bielefeld 2008, p. 148.

²³⁴ Heinrich Böll: *Irishes Tagebuch*. München, 1961.

²³⁵ Ralph Giordano: *Mein irisches Tagebuch*. München, 1999, p. 226.

appalling structures mar the natural landscape in modern Ireland and manifest the occupants' poor taste, wealth, and bourgeois mentality: "Überall sind neue Häuser gebaut oder alte restauriert worden, oft genug von zweifelhaftem Geschmack und allem kleinbürgerlichen Dekor, Gärtenzwerge eingeschlossen."²³⁶ Feldenkirchen criticises modern Irish building style, which in his view, apes American building design as seen on television series and indicates an Irish preference for American rather than native Irish or European decor. He implies the densely packed (*wimmeln*) American-style structures spoil the coastline: "An den Küsten wimmelte es auf einmal von bunten Häusern, die aussahen, als stammten sie aus amerikanischen Vorabendserien."²³⁷ He notes the trend towards the acquisition of a second or holiday home: "Der Trend ging zum Zweithaus,"²³⁸ indicating the availability of credit that supported unbridled ambition and ostentation. German taste and cultural patterns generally manifest common sense and practicality where serviceability is more important than outward appearance and design. Germans whose houses tend to be unobtrusive and unpretentious would consider Irish houses garish, kitsch and a waste of space and money. The majority of German households tend to rent apartments in so-called *Mehrfamilienhäuser*, for historical, financial, and practical reasons in *contrast* with high rates of home ownership in Ireland. The exterior of German apartments indicate plainness and sameness, in the interest of social equality and reveal nothing about the financial status of the occupants. From a German perspective, gaudy Irish house facades convey extravagance and bad taste while German homes evoke images of practicality, modesty, and simplicity. Giordano criticises Irish spending habits that are irreconcilable with German attitudes to money: "Aber selbst wenn der Kreditrahmen bis zum äußersten ausgereizt sein sollte, mit dem Cottage-Image von einst bis tief hinein in die zweite Hälfte unseres Jahrhunderts hat das Irland unserer Tage nichts mehr gemein."²³⁹ He condemns the Irish practice of living on credit, evoking images of German abhorrence of debt. As a nation of savers, Germans prefer cash transactions and avoid credit cards and loans. Germans save rather than borrow for special occasions, significant purchases and 'extras.' Germans take satisfaction in living within their means and conscientiously avoid overspending and debt. Giordano is critical of Celtic Tiger

²³⁶ *ibid.*

²³⁷ Markus Feldenkirchen: Ansichten einer Insel, Der Spiegel, 29 November 2010, p. 166.

²³⁸ *ibid.*

²³⁹ Ralph Giordano: Mein irisches Tagebuch. München, 1999, p. 226.

profligacy and refers to the *Cottage-Image* of the past when poverty controlled people's spending and obliged them to live within their means. Germany has a long history of saving and the first savings bank opened in Hamburg in 1778, indicating a well-established German culture of thrift. Saving is an integral part of the German self-image and regarded as a personal duty and a virtue to be cultivated and passed on to future generations. The German notion of the *Notgroschen* is a moral imperative as is the avoidance of debt. Similarly, the holy grail for German Finance Ministers is *eine schwarze Null schreiben* or to be in the black with public finances. German media and politicians regularly remind the public of the exemplary *schwäbische Hausfrau*, renowned for her frugality and budget-balancing skills, when austerity and saving are called for. The representation of the Irish lifestyle as squandering money and resources serves as a warning to German readers to respect and make practical and effective use of money and resources.

Bittner claims Ireland's spending frenzy is a substitute for the loss of traditional Catholic cultural values and corresponding social orientation: "Der hemmungslose Konsum bot eine Ersatzidentität für verlorene traditionelle Werte und Gemeinschaften. Durch Säkularisierung und kirchliche Skandale erodierte die einstmals dominierende Stellung des Katholizismus."²⁴⁰ Germany, as a liberal society and a secular state where religion plays a subordinate role in cultural life, adopts a respectful and sensible approach to money and saves for the future. German readers surely felt aggrieved and irritated with displays of Irish profligacy and recklessness as many German workers and the unemployed struggled under the restrictions imposed by the social reform package Agenda 2010 or Hartz reforms. The reform programme was introduced in 2003 by then-Chancellor Schröder, whose Social Democrats (SPD) were in a coalition with the Green Party. The aim of Agenda 2010 was to reduce unemployment and add impetus to the sluggish German economy. Agenda 2010 proved to be a boon to employers and reduced unemployment figures, however; its measures were loathed by the Left and by German trade unions. The reform package led to the creation of the so-called 'working poor' or '*Aufstocker*,' whereby workers who were in receipt of a low wage had this supplemented

²⁴⁰ Jochen Bittner: Sparpläne: Kuh statt Tiger, Die Zeit, 2 December 2010, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/2010/49/Irland-Sparplaene-Demonstration> [16 July 2015].

by welfare payments. Understandably, low-paid German workers envied the perceived generous remuneration and lavish lifestyle enjoyed by their EU counterparts in Ireland.

German representations of Ireland, since its accession to the EEC in 1973, generally depicted the Irish as committed and enthusiastic Europhiles. German firms had invested heavily in the Irish economy and in many cases, German companies acted in a mentoring capacity to support Ireland's fledgling economy. The German-Irish love affair ran into difficulties during the first decade of the twenty-first century against a backdrop of debate surrounding European Union principles and ideals. A noteworthy change in the German representation of Ireland is perceptible in German press coverage when Ireland refuses to ratify particular European Union treaties. The tone of much of the press coverage conveys exasperation and impatience, with Ireland's non-compliance represented as selfishness or ingratitude for years of EU financial support combined with criticism of Ireland for endangering the future of the EU.

The Treaty of Nice

The Treaty of Nice proposed to pave the way for EU enlargement. Germany as an EU founding member and Europe's leading economy was anxious to extend the benefits of EU membership to other European states, in keeping with the country's avowed post-war goal to ensure peace, stability, and prosperity on the European continent. EU member states had not suffered war since the establishment of the organisation and Germany was eager to extend the organisation's stabilising influence to former Eastern bloc countries. EU expansion naturally involved financial commitments to improve living standards in the accession states and existing member states were expected to comply with enlargement proposals. Ireland was the only EU state obliged by Irish law to vote in a referendum on the proposed EU treaty amendment. Irish voters rejected the Treaty of Nice in June 2001. In a second referendum, held in October 2002, the Irish electorate approved the Treaty of Nice. In a discourse of power and blame, Ireland is represented as ungrateful, inconsiderate, and acting against the EU ethos. In a series of deliberately and purposefully constructed images or so-called *Feindbilder* Ireland's stance is represented as an impediment to EU expansion and European integration.

Der Spiegel alleges Ireland's opposition to the Nice Treaty was unexpected. Irish people had been regarded as *Musterknaben* or Europhiles since the country's accession to the EEC in 1973: "Die bislang als Musterknaben der EU geltenden Iren haben überraschend die Ratifizierung des Vertrages von Nizza in Frage gestellt, der die Union auf eine Erweiterung um 13 neue Mitgliedstaaten vorbereiten soll."²⁴¹ Ireland's objection to the Treaty of Nice blocks preparations for the accession of 13 new EU member states. The writer asserts that Ireland's objection to the treaty is based on self-interest and the fear of losing its low corporation tax rate with the loss of potential investors: "Vor allem Konservative und Geschäftsleute haben hingegen Angst, dass die Bestrebungen zur Steuerharmonisierung das irische Niedrigsteuer-Paradies und den entsprechenden Zufluss von Auslandsinvestitionen bedrohen."²⁴² The writer implies Ireland is anxious to preserve its low corporation tax rates, attractive to American corporations headquartered in Ireland, which is a cause of envy and disagreement between Ireland and other EU member states, including Germany. Ireland is represented as ungrateful to the EU, which helped finance the country's economic rise to its Celtic Tiger status. Ireland's failure to ratify the Treaty of Nice, it is implied, jeopardises the future EU membership of Eastern European states: "Wegen des anhaltenden Booms kommen jedoch immer weniger Fördermittel aus Brüssel, und die Aufnahme der osteuropäischen 'Hungerleider', so fürchten viele Iren, könnte den Subventionsstrom ganz versiegen lassen."²⁴³ The deliberate reference to the accession countries as paupers or starving wretches (*Hungerleider*) is directed at German readers who were normally well disposed towards 'poor' Ireland and now feel disappointed. Ireland is now depicted as being so obsessed with money that it callously ignores the plight of other struggling economies and conveniently forgets the poverty and famine of its own past.

Dr. John F. Jungclaussen is a German journalist and historian who worked as economics correspondent for *Die Zeit* while based in London. Jungclaussen examines Ireland's surprise rejection of the Nice Treaty against a backdrop of German and EU indignation: "In Brüssel herrschte Überraschung und Empörung."²⁴⁴ Ireland is represented as selfish,

²⁴¹ Anonymous: No zum Vertrag von Nizza, *Der Spiegel*, 11 June 2001, p. 135.

²⁴² *ibid.*

²⁴³ *ibid.*

²⁴⁴ John F. Jungclaussen: Irland will nicht teilen, *Die Zeit*, 10 October 2002, online archive, https://www.zeit.de/2002/42/Irland_will_nicht_teilen [4 October 2015].

ungrateful, and unwilling to share. The juxtaposition of Ireland's Celtic Tiger and Germany's *Wirtschaftswunder* signifies, from the journalist's perspective that Ireland has benefitted considerably from Europe: "Profitiert haben sie wirklich von Europa. Nicht nur die Bauern, sondern das ganze Land. In seiner jüngsten Geschichte erlebte Irland einen fabelhaften wirtschaftlichen Erfolg."²⁴⁵ Ireland's poverty is juxtaposed with the German post-war *Wirtschaftswunder*, implying Germany's economic success was the result of hard work under very difficult circumstances. The writer suggests, by comparison, Ireland's economic success was a gift from Europe: "Noch in den fünfziger Jahren, als Europa sich von den Folgen des Krieges erholte und in Westdeutschland das Wirtschaftswunder begann, galt Irland als Armenhaus des Kontinents."²⁴⁶ The journalist takes the moral high ground and argues that since Ireland received considerable help from the EU, the country is consequently morally indebted to the organisation, and should therefore support its proposals. Jungclaussen perceives Ireland as a tax haven and low-wage country (*Steueroase und Billiglohnland*) with low corporation tax attracting multi-national corporations to the displeasure and disadvantage of Germany and other leading EU member states. He attributes Ireland's economic success to factors, he implies, are unfair and unethical as economic practices, thus giving Ireland a competitive edge and unfair advantage over other EU member states: "Irland gab sich eine neue wirtschaftliche Identität: als Steueroase und Billiglohnland. Unternehmen aus den Bereichen IT, Biotechnologie und Finanzdienstleistung bezahlen nicht mehr als zehn Prozent Körperschaftsteuer."²⁴⁷ Ireland's low corporation tax lured large American corporations to the country implying Germany and other EU locations were therefore less competitive and disadvantaged. The writer maintains that Ireland's prosperity is the result of considerable and extensive EU investment. Brussels, as the source of Ireland's financial aid, is referred to as a 'golden goose' or *Dukatenesel*: "Dazu kam der Dukatenesel in Brüssel, der mit jährlich 2,6 Milliarden Euro der Insel eine moderne Infrastruktur verschaffen will."²⁴⁸ The reference implies that Ireland views EU investment as an entitlement and an unlimited source of money. Moreover, it depicts Irish people as unappreciative and taking EU generosity for granted.

²⁴⁵ *ibid.*

²⁴⁶ *ibid.*

²⁴⁷ *ibid.*

²⁴⁸ *ibid.*

Changes in Ireland's economic circumstances are conveyed in a shift from familiar images of the ebullient and optimistic Celtic Tiger to images connoting pessimism, helplessness, and despair: "Doch mit dem Eintritt ins dritte Jahrhundert ließ der Boom langsam nach, und heute herrscht in Irland Katerstimmung. Die Arbeitslosigkeit ist zum ersten Mal seit zehn Jahren wieder leicht gestiegen, das Wirtschaftswachstum lahmt."²⁴⁹ The journalist maintains that Irish people are tired of Europe (*europamüde*) implying dissatisfaction with the proposals of the Treaty of Nice: "Nun sind die Iren europamüde und verkatert vom Ende der großen Aufschwungparty."²⁵⁰ The writer reminds his readers of a familiar stereotype associated with Irish people, by alluding to 'drink' and the after-effects of overindulgence in alcohol, with the terms *Katerstimmung* and *verkatert*. Irish people are portrayed as fair-weather Europhiles while the Celtic Tiger period is depicted as an *Aufschwungparty*. Ireland's economic slowdown, the writer implies, is ascribable to reckless, irresponsible fiscal policy and squandered wealth.

An editorial piece, written after Ireland's approval of the Treaty of Nice, in a second referendum in October 2002, and published in the liberal-conservative *Die Presse* takes a different viewpoint. The Austrian newspaper *Die Presse* was first published in Vienna in 1848. According to Friederike Leibl, Ireland will not be ostracised or treated as a pariah: "Irland wird nicht zum Schmuttelkind Europas, sondern darf weiter mitspielen,"²⁵¹ following the the controversy surrounding the Irish referendums in relation to the Treaty of Nice. Ireland's continued membership of the EU, despite the referendum controversy, depicts the EU as a democratic and sympathetic organisation where the principles of goodwill and decency apply and where dissent is tolerated and admissible. In Leibl's view, the Irish electorate has reservations regarding European Union policy as indicated by the result of the first referendum. However, she considers that Irish people are 'good' Europeans but with their own Ireland-related reservations: "Irland hat 'ja' zu Nizza gesagt - trotz der wegen Korruptionsfällen schwer angeschlagenen Glaubwürdigkeit der Regierung; trotz der latenten Angst, die Souveränität in militärischen Fragen zu verlieren,

²⁴⁹ *ibid.*

²⁵⁰ *ibid.*

²⁵¹ Friederike Leibl: Die Narben bleiben, *Die Presse*, 21 October 2002, online archive, https://www.ots.at/presseaussendung/OTS_20021020_OTS0071/die-presse-kommentar-die-narben-bleiben-von-friederike-leibl [12 March 2013].

trotz des Unbehagens über eine unklare Zukunft."²⁵² Ireland voted in favour of the Treaty of Nice despite issues relating to domestic politics and fears about the country's future. Leibl emphasises Irish goodwill towards Europe through repetition of the preposition *trotz* thus underlining a positive and pro-EU decision, from Ireland under difficult circumstances.

From the Leibl's perspective, the Irish 'Yes' to the Treaty of Nice represents a pyrric victory for Europe and brings to light underlying objections regarding European integration: "Doch dies ist kein Sieg für Europa. Denn die zwei Referenden haben trotz des guten Ausgangs jetzt eine unterschwellige Ablehnung gegen eine zu tiefe und zu schnelle Integration zutage befördert."²⁵³ She contends the European integration project is being progressed too quickly in particular by bigger countries including Germany, in their own interests. Leibl implies the initial Irish rejection of the Treaty served as a *Denkzettel* to the elite in Brussels regarding the concerns of smaller countries: "Darauf hat Europa nun endlich zu antworten."²⁵⁴ She comments dryly that the controversy regarding Ireland's reluctance to vote in favour of the Treaty of Nice raises issues for European politicians about the future direction of the Union. She clinically notes that two Irish referendums eventually produced the 'right' result from an EU perspective. Implicit in the title of the text *Die Narben bleiben*, is the underlying discontent of Europe's so-called 'small players' with the implied heavy-handedness of the 'big players' that the Leibl implies is not confined to Irish voters. German press coverage on the Nice Treaty referenda in Ireland is examined in detail in 'The spoilt children of Europe'.²⁵⁵ The research indicates a negative representation of Ireland with Irish voters portrayed as uncharacteristically 'bad' Europeans.

The Treaty of Lisbon

The Treaty of Lisbon proposed structural reform within European Union institutions with the intention of simplifying European governance. Ireland, as the only European Union member state constitutionally obliged to vote on the issue, held a referendum in June

²⁵² *ibid.*

²⁵³ *ibid.*

²⁵⁴ *ibid.*

²⁵⁵ Helen Kelly-Holmes and Veronica O'Regan: The spoilt children of Europe, In: *Journal of Language and Politics* 3:1 (2004), p. 81-116.

2008. The Irish electorate rejected the Treaty and in a second referendum in October 2009 voted to ratify the Treaty of Lisbon.

Controversy surrounding Ireland's rejection of the Treaty of Lisbon in 2008 reveals a further rift in Ireland's relations with the EU. German representations of Ireland reflect this discord and Ireland is largely depicted as a troublemaker and an 'outsider.' In a discourse of blame, conveyed in a succession of deliberately and purposefully constructed images or *Feindbilder*, Ireland is represented as a firebrand and a barrier to EU progress. Brigitte Kols, political editor of the centre-left *Frankfurter Rundschau* analyses the effect of Ireland's rejection of the Treaty of Lisbon. In a subheading, Kols sums up the situation from her perspective: "Irland hat No gesagt - und der Kontinent erstarbt. Keine Verfassung, kein Vertrag, kein Plan C. Gesiegt hat ein Kleinmut, der ein Europa der Sandburgen errichten möchte."²⁵⁶ Ireland is accused of impeding progress on the ratification of the Treaty of Lisbon. Europe is in a state of turmoil and uncertainty, the writer claims, due to Ireland's lack of courage. Kols regards Ireland's rejection of the Treaty as disastrous and a *Schwarzer Freitag für Europa*. The journalist's criticism of the Irish decision is conveyed in tones implying exasperation and indignation as she takes the moral high ground in her denunciation of Ireland's 'No' to the Treaty of Lisbon: "Irland, ganz oben links auf der europäischen Landkarte - das Kleinbonum, das keltische Widerstandsnest gegen das 'europäische Imperium', das Brüssel und alle braven Europäer das Fürchten lehrt."²⁵⁷ The journalist's standpoint is made clear in a 'them and us' construct in a discourse of power. Ireland is portrayed in negative and dismissive terms while Germany, as one would expect, is in control, and does not condone disobedience. Ireland's size and remote geographic location, compared with Germany, are deemed unimportant and insignificant: *ganz oben links*. Ireland's opposition to the Treaty of Lisbon is ridiculed and compared to the Adventures of Asterix in the French comic series. The country is derisively referred to as *das Kleinbonum, das keltische Widerstandsnest*, similar in its quirkiness to Asterix and his resolute defence of his territory. The tiny, Irish, rebel nation is depicted as taking on the might of Europe and trying to intimidate all

²⁵⁶ Brigitte Kols: Schwarzer Freitag für Europa, Frankfurter Rundschau, 13 June 2008, online archive, <https://www.fr.de/meinung/schwarzer-freitag-europa-11601354.html> [27 August 2014].

²⁵⁷ *ibid.*

upstanding Europhiles (*alle braven Europäer das Fürchten lehrt*).²⁵⁸ The comparison implies that the small and insignificant rebellious Irish are out of their league fighting against the EU elite or founding fathers (*europäische Imperium*), thereby conjuring a hetero-image of Irish rebelliousness. Kols implies Ireland's dissent questions: the implied moral prerogative of Germany as an EU founding father, Europe's leading economy, and the EU's principal financial contributor, to exert influence on the future direction of Europe and the Union. She suggests the current controversy manifests the precarious condition of the Union: "Irland bestätigt auf bittere Weise, welch fragiles Gebilde Europa noch ist."²⁵⁹ Ireland's intransigence has brought to light fundamental differences in perspective between member states: "Und es bestätigt auf fatale Weise die Angst der Regierenden, dass des Europäers Meinungsäußerung eher vom Bauch denn vom Kopf bestimmt ist."²⁶⁰ Kols indicates that German decision-making is based on rationality, implying moral superiority over certain other member states and implying that in states like Ireland decision-making is influenced by emotion and personal opinions.

Kols interprets Ireland's opposition to the terms of the Treaty of Lisbon as motivated and supported by populism recalling Ireland's objections to the Treaty of Nice in 2001. The journalist argues: "Dass eine gehörige Portion Populismus die Iren dazu gebracht hat, die EU erneut in die politische Ecke des unseligen Vertrags von Nizza zu boxen, in der sie sich kaum bewegen kann [...]."²⁶¹ References to populism and the controversy surrounding Ireland's initial reluctance to ratify the Treaty of Nice sends a clear signal to readers that the defiant and ungrateful Irish are yet again threatening to sabotage the sacrosanct principles of the EU and Germany's post-war mission. In the writer's opinion, Ireland's rejection of the Treaty of Lisbon is motivated by self-interest and she maintains, in familiar language, that Irish people, unlike Germans, 'do not give a hoot' (*schnurzegal*) about the future of the Union: "Den Iren ist schnurzegal, wie die Union künftig funktioniert."²⁶² She draws her readers' attention to Ireland's low corporation tax, used to incentivise investment, particularly by American software corporations, and which has long been a thorn in Germany's side: "Ihr Interesse gilt der hohen Arbeitslosigkeit im

²⁵⁸ *ibid.*

²⁵⁹ *ibid.*

²⁶⁰ *ibid.*

²⁶¹ *ibid.*

²⁶² *ibid.*

eigenen Land, sie fürchten sich davor, im Wettbewerb um die spitzesten ökonomischen Ellenbogen die niedrigen Steuersätze zu verlieren, die Konzerne ins Land locken."²⁶³ Kols's representation of Irish people, following the rejection of the first referendum on the Treaty of Lisbon, evokes images of selfishness and fecklessness: "Die simple irische Lektion heißt: Europa als wirtschaftliche Schönwetterveranstaltung ist was Feines,"²⁶⁴ implying Irish people enjoy the benefits of a thriving economy supported by the EU but lack implicit German conviction and moral strength in times of difficulty. The writer dismisses a familiar image of rebelliousness commonly associated with Irish people and now characterises Irish people as faint-hearted and spiritless: "Nein, Rebellen sind sie nicht. Eher Speerspitze der Ängstlichen, die ein Europa der Sandburgen bauen."²⁶⁵ The journalist conveys her indignation at a 'whippersnapper' economy having the temerity to challenge Germany's authority with the implicit assurance to her readers that Germany will doubtlessly prevail.

An editorial from *Die Welt* argues that the controversy concerning Ireland's rejection of the Treaty of Lisbon revolves around a difference of opinion and a political confrontation between Germany and Ireland. Germany as Europe's leading economy, the EU's co-founder, and staunchest advocate is pitted against miniature Ireland in a David and Goliath struggle over an EU reform treaty. Kielinger asserts Ireland has had a significant and a disconcerting impact on Europe: "Das kleine Irland, wie wir es manchmal herablassend nennen, ist eine große Nummer in der europäischen Geschichte, und das nicht nur, weil es zum vierten Mal in den letzten zehn Jahren Zünglein an der Waage spielt im Fortgang wechselnder EU-Verträge."²⁶⁶ Images depicting tiny Ireland are juxtaposed with images conveying Ireland's power as *eine große Nummer* to make the critical difference as *Zünglein an der Waage* in EU politics, where diminutive Ireland is represented as figuratively deciding Europe's fate against German and EU might. Ireland's rejection of the Treaty of Lisbon comes during troubled economic times for the country but essentially leaves Irish voters' determination unshaken: "Jetzt ist erneut Schmalhans Küchenmeister, die Immobilienblase geplatzt, die ausländischen Investitionen zum Teil

²⁶³ *ibid.*

²⁶⁴ *ibid.*

²⁶⁵ *ibid.*

²⁶⁶ Thomas Kielinger: Immer wieder Zünglein an der Waage, *Die Welt*, 30 September 2009, online archive, <https://www.genios.de/presse-archiv/quelle/WELT/0/1/die-welt-welt-am-sonntag.html> [11 June 2014].

abgezogen, Heulen und Zähneknirschen weitverbreitet."²⁶⁷ Images of Ireland's Celtic Tiger are rapidly reverting to images evoking dire economic straits and near bankruptcy.

Kielinger insists: "Aber ein 'basket case', ein hoffnungsloser Fall, ist Irland deswegen noch nicht, die Regenerationskraft dieser alteuropäischen Gesellschaft von heute 4,3 Millionen Menschen ist ein noch lange nicht ausgeschöpfter Fundus."²⁶⁸ The writer depicts Irish people as resilient despite their straitened economic circumstances implying long experience of hardship and evoking images suggestive of struggle, sacrifice, and eventual recovery. He implies the Irish are good losers having had centuries of experience.

Kielinger implies the writing is on the wall for the Irish economy; therefore, the referendum is a mere formality and practically a foregone conclusion with Ireland having little option except to defer to German economic might.

The writer ponders, with equanimity, the outcome of the impending Irish referendum on the Treaty of Lisbon. He urges his readers to respect the result as a democratic decision reflecting an Irish vote on exclusively Irish issues. In an implicit reference to bias and media controversy about the Treaty of Lisbon, he highlights the rights of the individual to self-determination, as upheld by EU law: "Was wird am 2. Oktober die irische Seele leiten? Nicht polnische oder britische oder deutsche Sorgen und Erwägungen, nicht Europhilie oder Euroskepsis, sondern allein die unergründlichen Beweggründe jedes Individuums, das frei seiner Selbstbestimmung nachgeht. Das Ergebnis muss man respektieren, so oder so."²⁶⁹ The tone and language of the text are informal and the writer makes liberal use of colloquial and figurative language as he refers, for example, to 'basket case' and *Schmalhans Küchenmeister*. The casual style of the text conveys the writer's composure as he seeks to encourage open-mindedness, among his readers, in a protracted debate on an issue with a predictable outcome.

Relations between Germany, the EU, and Ireland were strained due to Ireland's reluctance to ratify both the Treaty of Nice and the Treaty of Lisbon in the first round. Ireland eventually did the 'right thing' resulting in an improvement in relations.

²⁶⁷ *ibid.*

²⁶⁸ *ibid.*

²⁶⁹ *ibid.*

Controversy and debate related to Ireland's ratification of the Treaty of Lisbon occurred against the backdrop of serious economic decline in so-called Celtic Tiger Ireland.

Death of the Celtic Tiger

The momentum of the so-called Celtic Tiger began to slow down in 2002. This downturn was in line with a decline in worldwide economic activity and affected other European Union economies, including Germany. Ireland's economy recovered spectacularly for a brief number of years until the financial crisis and subsequent collapse of the Irish economy in 2008. The collapse of the Irish economy provoked controversy and deliberation in Germany particularly in light of the extent of German investments in Ireland. The German public naturally looked to their trustworthy, well-researched newspapers for information, clarification, and above all reassurance with regard to the security of their finances.

Gatzke informs his readers of the death of the Celtic Tiger, attributing the collapse of the Irish economy to risky speculation and lack of state control. Marcus Gatzke has been responsible for the departments of politics, society, and economics of *Zeit Online* since 2010. The writer's aim is to assure his readers of the security of German finances by analysing in detail the background and factors contributing to the collapse of the Celtic Tiger and simultaneously warn readers against the dangers of risky investment practices and hubris. The representation of the Celtic Tiger's dire circumstances conveys an implicit warning to readers against speculation and carelessness with predictably unpleasant consequences: "Irland hat sich verspekuliert. Lange war die grüne Insel so etwas wie das Eldorado der Finanzindustrie. Doch nun leidet das Land unter einer ausgereiften Bankenkrise und muss sich unter den Rettungsschirm der EU flüchten."²⁷⁰ The writer juxtaposes the traditional and familiar trope of *die grüne Insel* with a new and contrasting metaphor of Eldorado in relation to Ireland's financial difficulties. The familiar *grüne Insel* construct with connotations of former poverty and innocence is now brought into association with unfavourable images of speculative financial dealings. Markus Feldenkirchen has been deputy head of the *Der Spiegel's* Berlin office since 2007 and has

²⁷⁰ Marcus Gatzke: Der keltische Tiger ist tot, *Die Zeit*, 22 November 2010, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/wirtschaft/2010-11/irland> [19 August 2014].

received a number of awards for his articles. Feldenkirchen has also written and published a German-Irish love story.²⁷¹ Feldenkirchen identifies Dublin's Docklands as the core of Ireland and Europe's financial problems: "In Dublin wurde in wenigen Jahren eine Art Nebenstadt errichtet, die Docklands, Irlands neue Finanzwelt."²⁷² Dublin's financial centre is referred to a type of *Nebenstadt* conjuring up images of a financial culture involving 'shady' business practices. The journalist argues: "Später jonglierte man hier mit Finanzprodukten, die nicht mal ihre Erfinder erklären konnten."²⁷³ The use of the verb *jonglieren* emphasises Ireland's implied disreputable and dubious business culture while implying German business practices are highly regarded and beyond reproach. The journalist claims Ireland's financial 'attractions' were a magnet for investors: "Der Einladung in die "Sonderwirtschaftszone Docklands" war vor allem die internationale Finanzwelt gefolgt. Irland zog sie an, wie es einst die Hippies und Träumer und Heinrich Böll angezogen hatte."²⁷⁴ Reference to Heinrich Böll and hippies or 'Blow-ins' evokes images of Ireland's former innocence, natural beauty and the purity of *die grüne Insel* that enchanted numerous Germans: "Auf einmal hatte das züchtige Irland etwas von einem Bordell, einem Ort, zu dem man geht, um die schmutzigen Sachen zu machen, die man sich zu Hause nicht traut."²⁷⁵ Feldenkirchen juxtaposes the stereotype of the virtuous and wholesome Ireland, beloved by German visitors, with images of a *Bordell* conveying sordidness and the antithesis of the familiar German hetero-image of Ireland. German readers who are familiar with Böll's *Irishes Tagebuch* and its depictions of strait-laced Irish Catholicism and innocence would be shocked at the change in Ireland's moral standards and disappointed in their idyllic Ireland. Feldenkirchen conveys his readers' disenchantment at the loss of Irish innocence: "Gut, dass Heinrich Böll das Trauerspiel nicht mehr mitbekommt" and he concludes, "Böll hätte die Welt nicht mehr verstanden."²⁷⁶ Reference to Heinrich Böll, whose *Irishes Tagebuch* is regarded by many German readers as a masterpiece of the cultural representation of post-war Ireland through German eyes, accentuates Germany's loss of an idealized Ireland and coincides with Ireland's entry into the modern world.

²⁷¹ Markus Feldenkirchen: Was zusammen-gehört. Zürich 2010.

²⁷² Markus Feldenkirchen: Ansichten einer Insel, p. 166.

²⁷³ *ibid.*

²⁷⁴ *ibid.*, 166.

²⁷⁵ *ibid.*, 166.

²⁷⁶ *ibid.*, 164.

Bittner alleges: "Im keltischen Boom nach der Euro-Einführung haben die Iren viel mehr verbraucht, als sie geerntet haben,"²⁷⁷ reminding readers that German attitudes to money concentrate on saving and investing rather than on lavish spending. He jibes at historical Irish-American relations and extensive business ties: "Nach Jahrhunderten der Wirtschaftsflucht gen Amerika wandelte sich Irland zum Ort der Glückritter – doch mit der Schubumkehr kehrte auch eine fahrlässige, Euro-gestützte Anything-goes-Mentalität auf der Insel ein."²⁷⁸ His bashing of the so-called American business model (*Glückritter*) is intended to valorise the reliability and stability of the German economic model. Gatzke ascribes blame and responsibility for Ireland's financial troubles primarily to poor financial regulation. He implies Germany's stringent financial controls would prevent the occurrence of a similar situation. He claims: "Schuld daran ist vor allem eine viel zu laxe Finanzaufsicht. In kaum einem anderen Land der Euro-Zone wurden die Banken so wenig überwacht wie hier. Der Andrang war entsprechend groß und die Iren lockten die Zocker noch mit sehr niedrigen Steuern."²⁷⁹ The journalist claims Ireland's exceptionally attractive investment opportunities and lax financial controls lured speculators (*lockten die Zocker*). He instrumentalises language associated with gambling and risk taking to impress upon his readers the perceived recklessness of Irish financial practices. The writer implies that no true German financier would have invested so heavily in property, suggesting Germany holds and manages a diversity of assets, to minimise risk: "Der Immobilienmarkt erwirtschaftete zeitweise 15 Prozent des Bruttoinlandsproduktes."²⁸⁰ In a reproving tone, he acknowledges that German banks invested in Ireland for speculative purposes, implying fear of losing out on the Celtic Tiger bonanza: "Auch viele deutsche Banken eröffneten Dependancen in Dublin, um von dort über ihre Zweckgesellschaften munter mit Derivaten zu spekulieren."²⁸¹ With the benefit of hindsight, readers are warned against investing in tempting or enticing property schemes that invariably result in disaster: "Niedrige Zinsen und eine großzügige Kreditvergabe produzierten eine immense Spekulationsblase [...]."²⁸² Celtic Tiger Ireland was, from a German perspective,

²⁷⁷ Jochen Bittner: Sparpläne: Kuh statt Tiger, Die Zeit, 2 December 2010, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/2010/49/Irland-Sparplaene-Demonstration> [16 July 2015].

²⁷⁸ *ibid.*

²⁷⁹ Marcus Gatzke: Der keltische Tiger ist tot.

²⁸⁰ *ibid.*

²⁸¹ *ibid.*

²⁸² *ibid.*

full of promise, however as it transpired, it was a gamblers' paradise: 'Irland war das Kasino Europas'.²⁸³

Gatzke juxtaposes images of the Celtic Tiger's heyday with images evoking the current condition of Ireland's economy: "Im Rest der Welt wurde das Land für seine Erfolge gefeiert. In Deutschland hatte der keltische Tiger Vorbildcharakter."²⁸⁴ Ireland was a magnet for foreign investors. Germany was eager to emulate Ireland's economic success with German companies and individuals anxious to share in the Celtic Tiger 'windfall,' as previously mentioned. The writer implies the stark reality of Ireland's bankruptcy is attributable to mistakes and errors of judgement that Germany implicitly would not have made: "Doch jetzt bekommen die Iren mit voller Wucht die Folgen der mangelnden Regulierung und der Gier nach Größe zu spüren."²⁸⁵ Germany has learned through its painful history that moderation and not excess is the key to sustainability and success. The German economy is tended and managed with precision, meticulousness, and conscientiousness. German vigilance, attention to detail and love of rules would not permit any threat to the economy that has been the country's lifeblood since the Second World War. German diligence and watchfulness against threats to the country's economy are evidenced in the formation of the *Bundesanstalt für Finanzdienstleistungsaufsicht* (The Federal Financial Supervisory Authority) in 2002, replacing the existing regulatory system. Germans are implicitly low-key and circumspect about their financial success while Ireland is represented as over-ambitious, boastful, and full of self-assured hubris: *der Gier nach Größe*. Nonnenmacher claims the construction of the Spire of Dublin, completed in 2003, is a manifestation of Ireland's unbridled ambition: "Wie grenzenlos der Ehrgeiz war, den das neue Irland entwickelte, demonstriert Besuchern heute die steil in den Dubliner Himmel ragende Milleniums-'Stahlnadel' auf O'Connell Street."²⁸⁶ While the monument conveys the image of the Irish dreamer with his artistic disposition, the practical German realist would consider it a waste of money and probably invest the money in profit-making factories or technology centres. Modern Germany is modest and discreet about its accomplishments and refrains from erecting monuments to its

²⁸³ *ibid.*

²⁸⁴ *ibid.*

²⁸⁵ *ibid.*

²⁸⁶ Peter Nonnenmacher: Flegeljahre eines Sternenkinds, *Badische Zeitung*, 23 June 2008, online archive, <http://www.badische-zeitung.de/ausland-1/flegeljahre-eines-sternenkinds--2607121.html> [4 January 2015].

achievements or success. Germany's stable position as Europe's leading economy is evidence of the country's strength and resilience, while avoiding the limelight.

Jungclaussen declares that Ireland is insolvent. In a discourse of power, he explains the situation to his readers: "Irland ist bankrott. Zumindest für ein paar Stunden sah es so aus, als würde das Land eine neue Krise für den Euro auslösen."²⁸⁷ The writer reassures his readers that the Euro and their savings are out of danger. German readers' detestation of debt and aversion to financial risk surely prompted images of their beloved *Deutschmark* that served the country well from 1948 to the introduction of the euro in 2002 and had a worldwide reputation, unlike the euro, for its stability. Jungclaussen juxtaposes Ireland's downgrade with saving the Euro: "Die Pleite wurde knapp vermieden, und die Iren akzeptieren demütig ihren Abstieg."²⁸⁸ The use of the adverb *demütig* in combination with the noun *Abstieg* signifies a change in power relations. Germany is now, from a German perspective, restored to its rightful position as Europe's leading economy with Ireland represented as submissive and downgraded. Ireland, it is implied, has brought shame on itself and on the EU because of its reckless, financial practice of trading in debt: "50 Milliarden Euro soll die leichtsinnige Geschäftspolitik der Banken den irischen Staat jetzt kosten."²⁸⁹ Germany, it is implied, operates according to its traditional export-led growth model, suggesting Germany does not engage in dubious financial practices or incur enormous debt. Jungclaussen moralisingly indicates that the time has come for Irish people to think carefully about their their moral code and their priorities: "Nun hat die Zeit der Selbstreflexion begonnen,"²⁹⁰ implying Germany is above reproach with regard to financial speculation. He states the Celtic Tiger wealth was a sham and a fantasy, implying it was the product of debt-led growth thereby evoking the hetero-image of the Irish dreamer: "Der Reichtum war nur eingebildet, und er wird nicht wiederkehren."²⁹¹ He assures readers that a similar situation could not arise with Germany's export-led growth economic model that is based on solid foundations with stable assets and is grown in measured stages, thus evoking images of the German realist. Ireland's bankruptcy and

²⁸⁷ John F. Jungclaussen: Arme Grüne Insel, Die Zeit, 16 October 2010, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/2010/42/Irland-Finanzkrise> [28 June 2015].

²⁸⁸ *ibid.*

²⁸⁹ *ibid.*

²⁹⁰ *ibid.*

²⁹¹ *ibid.*

downgrade implicitly serve as a moral lesson to Germany to reflect on its own financial practices and to maintain vigilance.

Germany's Role

Dr. Uwe Jean Heuser has been head of the economics department at *Die Zeit* since 2000. Heuser acknowledges German shortcomings that unwittingly enabled the financial crisis to develop: "Natürlich sind die Deutschen daran nicht unschuldig. Wie schon in der Bankenkrise haben wir die Monster selbst erschaffen, die uns nun zu fressen drohen."²⁹² He concedes German involvement in the Irish financial sector was economically negligent yet permitted, and justifiable in the interests of the German economy: "Und als sich in Irland längst das Finanzwesen aufblähte, machte Berlin schnell noch den Weg frei für deutsche Banken, die mit ihren Tochterfirmen am irischen Wunder teilhaben wollten."²⁹³ Images of Ireland's metaphoric fall from grace trigger hetero-images of an uncharacteristic risk-taking Germany in conflict with the familiar German auto-image of financial rectitude and conscientiousness. Germany underhandedly ascribes blame for the financial difficulties of its own direct foreign investment projects to the host countries: "Nun bedrohen alle diese Länder unsere Währung und unseren Wohlstand."²⁹⁴ He justifies his position to his readers implying a moral dilemma and the well-being of the German public finances: "Niemand kann es sich heute leisten, den Euro zu verlassen. Auch nicht die Bundesrepublik, für die dann ihr wichtigster Exportmarkt zusammenstürzte."²⁹⁵ He appeals to his readers' sense of solidarity, their pride in the German economy and ultimately their concerns about their own financial security and future. Germany assumes its leadership role as Europe's leading economy and characteristically plots the salvation of the endangered eurozone: "Stattdessen muss Europa ein doppeltes Kunststück fertigbringen: den Not leidenden Euroländern durch die Krise helfen und gleichzeitig ein hartes Währungsregime für die Zeit danach schaffen."²⁹⁶ Germany is represented as decisive, rational, and business-like. The country is prepared to take responsibility in its own interests and presumably for the common good, at the

²⁹² Uwe Jean Heuser: Sündenfall Irland, *Die Zeit*, 18 November 2010, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/2010/47/1-Irland-Europa-Finanzkrise> [17 May 2015].

²⁹³ *ibid.*

²⁹⁴ *ibid.*

²⁹⁵ *ibid.*

²⁹⁶ *ibid.*

expense of its own popularity: "Es ist die Rolle der wiedererstarkten Deutschen, dabei der größte Zahler und der lauteste Mahner zugleich zu sein."²⁹⁷ Germany is represented as assuming responsibility for the eurozone and conveys an auto-image that indicates Germany is the embodiment of the European Union. The writer implies Germany feels an extra sense of duty and increased moral strength since German reunification: *die Rolle der wiedererstarkten Deutschen*.²⁹⁸ While the cost of German reunification imposed a considerable financial burden on the taxpayer, the writer suggests the country has benefitted from reunification and Germany is facing the eurozone crisis as a united country. Germany is aware that its actions will be unpopular. In an image conveying self-sacrifice and discipline, it is implied that the salvation of the euro is of paramount importance and that all other considerations are incidental: "Beliebt können wir uns später machen."²⁹⁹

Readers' opinions are manipulated and their financial concerns exploited in a depiction of a European financial catastrophe to justify the German government's intention:

"Deutschland hat allen Grund zu helfen. Mehr als 100 Milliarden Euro haben deutsche Banken in Irland an Krediten vergeben. Gingen die teilweise verloren, bräche die Bankenkrise auch zwischen Rhein und Oder wieder aus. Schlimmer noch: Es könnte zu einem europäischen Dominoeffekt kommen, falls Irland kollabierte."³⁰⁰ The journalist juxtaposes images of a conjectured European financial meltdown with fears about the well-being of the German economy while aiming to win readers' support for the German government's plan: "Daran kann niemand weniger interessiert sein als die deutsche Wirtschaft, die – allen Erfolgen in Fernost zum Trotz – immer noch mehr als 60 Prozent ihrer Exporte in der EU absetzt."³⁰¹ The German soul has a pronounced aversion to debt and the German term *Schuld* evokes moral connotations of blame, responsibility, and debt. Traditionally Germans maintain low levels of private debt and strive to live within their own means, by saving rather than borrowing. The German spirit is tormented by memories of the hyperinflation of the Weimar Republic and the debt and deprivation following the Second World War. Modern Germany's economy has its origins in post-war

²⁹⁷ *ibid.*

²⁹⁸ *ibid.*

²⁹⁹ *ibid.*

³⁰⁰ *ibid.*

³⁰¹ *ibid.*

destruction and was cultivated and nurtured to the spectacular *Wirtschaftswunder* of the 1950s. Germany's post-war economy has weathered political and economic difficulties, including the considerable costs of German reunification. The country has experienced continuous economic success, stability and prosperity since the 1950s and international recognition for the success of its export-led economic growth model and debt avoidance. German citizens feel great pride in their economy as the country's life force and the dynamic behind the European Union. German citizens are not willing to gamble the country's achievements and their own savings and therefore implicitly trust reliable German financial authorities, with their inherent sense of duty, to guide them through the current financial crisis. From a German perspective, and in consideration of the implications for the German economy and the eurozone, Ireland should be manoeuvred into a so-called financial bailout scheme: "Deshalb wäre es gut, wenn Irland sich unter den großen Rettungsschirm der Europäer und des Internationalen Währungsfonds flüchtete. Genau für solche Fälle ist er da."³⁰² Germany's recommendation that Ireland should enter the international bailout scheme indicates German authority and sense of moral responsibility in European Union financial decision-making, the vital importance of the German economy to EU survival and first and foremost German protection of its own financial interests. In a detached businesslike manner, suggesting Ireland's absence as a foregone conclusion, Heuser assesses the future of the euro from a German perspective: "Sicher wird der Euro auf absehbare Zeit nicht sein. Aber etwas sicherer muss er werden. Dafür darf Berlin ruhig drängen und drohen, loben und umarmen – eben all das tun, was Europa hilft."³⁰³ German financial expertise forecasts further difficulties for the euro indicating German in-depth knowledge and analysis of financial markets. Germany is represented as Europe's leading financial authority that is in a position, regardless of cost and effort to save the European Union. Germany is depicted as a stern father figure chastising his undisciplined dependants who have caused financial problems for the EU, through their carelessness and profligacy. Germany responsibly assumes the burden and moral responsibility of rectifying a difficult situation and reprimanding its wayward partners, without harming its own economy.

³⁰² *ibid.*

³⁰³ *ibid.*

German Banking Sector

Nienhaus and Siedenbiedel claim German banks are the victors in the Euro crisis:

"Deutschland soll jetzt auch Irland retten. Und die deutschen Banken finden das gut. Kein Wunder: Denn das schont ihre Bilanzen vor Abschreibungen. Längst hat die Finanzwelt die Politik fest im Griff."³⁰⁴ The writers indicate that the German government is beholden to the banking sector and its deceptive practices (*List*). Ironically, they suggest, the banking crisis has returned to its source and claim that the banking industry orchestrated the crisis: "Die Finanzkrise ist wieder dort angekommen, wo sie einmal anfang: bei den Banken."³⁰⁵ The writers claim the banking sector fabricates alarming financial scenarios with the intention of enhancing bank profits: "Die Banker schüren diese Solidaritätssemantik nach Kräften. Sie sprechen von Kettenreaktionen und Dominoeffekten, die auf Irland folgen könnten. Und skizzieren Schreckensszenarien, die eintreten würden, wenn man sie selbst an den Hilfen für Irland beteiligte."³⁰⁶ The banking system is represented as unscrupulous and amoral exploiting customers' fears and dictating to government and the private sector, in its own interests. Ireland's entry into the so-called bailout programme, it is suggested, is an instance of banking chicanery: "Irland hat tatsächlich lange gar nicht um Hilfe gebeten. Die Politiker des Landes betonten immer wieder, dass sie bis Mitte 2011 keine neuen Kredite benötigten."³⁰⁷ The writers suggest Ireland was prevailed upon to accept the bailout to relieve market pressures in the eurozone and to prop up German banks. The downgrade of Ireland's financial status ironically implies further business for the banks that enabled the bankruptcy: "Und schon wieder wittern die deutschen Banken den großen Reibach. Wenn nämlich die EU an Irland Geld vergibt, wird es sicherer, in ganz Europa anzulegen – und die Banken machen wieder mehr Geschäft."³⁰⁸ The writers suggest the banking sector has made itself indispensable, manipulates economic trends, dictates people's lives while its deceitfulness is known and condoned by government.

³⁰⁴ Lisa Nienhaus and Christian Siedenbiedel: Die List der deutschen Banken, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 22 November 2010, online archive, <https://www.faz.net/aktuell/wirtschaft/konjunktur/irland-krise-die-list-der-deutschen-banken-11070276.html> [1 August 2017].

³⁰⁵ *ibid.*

³⁰⁶ *ibid.*

³⁰⁷ *ibid.*

³⁰⁸ *ibid.*

Koch asserts German banks are implicated in dubious Irish investments: "Denn die deutschen Institute hängen mit Milliarden in der Pleite-Insel."³⁰⁹ Ireland is represented as a *Pleite-Insel* in contrast with the familiar German representation of Ireland as *die grüne Insel*. As a bankrupt island where German investors are threatened with huge financial losses, Ireland is represented as a threat to the German financial sector, justifying from a German perspective, the use of German economic influence to save German investments and calm public concern in Germany and in the financial markets. Koch focuses readers' attention on the pressure applied by Germany to compel Ireland to accept the financial rescue package, evoking images of the might of the German economy compared with the smaller and bankrupt Irish economy: "Die irische Regierung akzeptiert die aktuelle Finanzhilfe nur unter massivem Druck. Der kommt nicht zuletzt aus Berlin."³¹⁰ Use of the term *zuletzt* conveys Germany's considerable influence in the EU implying that weaker economies do not dare cross the authority of the German government, the de facto leader of the EU. Disclosure of the considerable amount of German lending in Ireland: "138,6 Milliarden Dollar, rund 101 Milliarden Euro, haben deutsche Finanzinstitute irischen Schuldern geliehen,"³¹¹ may have outraged German readers who were surely worried about the security of their investments yet implicitly unwilling to suffer the consequences of their own bankers' reckless speculation. In a juxtaposition of a possible worst-case scenario and stark reality, German investors' anticipated relief is conveyed: "Würde sich die Regierung in Dublin nicht unter den 750-Milliarden-Euro-Rettungsschirm ducken, drohte auch deutschen Banken der Teil- oder Kompletterverlust ihrer Forderungen an Irland. Weil Dublin nun aber einen Hilfsantrag stellen will, ist diese Gefahr vorerst gebannt."³¹² Koch rationalises German investors' reckless behaviour by implying Germans are born investors who act in good faith in the country's interests: "Die deutschen Banken investierten so viel Geld in Irland, weil das Wirtschaftsmodell der Insel bis vor Kurzem als solide und erfolgreich galt."³¹³ German investors are represented as astute and risk-averse, implying the investment difficulties were of Irish origin, and that well-intentioned German investors were caught unawares: "Unter anderem wegen der geringen

³⁰⁹ Hannes Koch: Bundesregierung rettet Banken, Die Tageszeitung, 22 November 2010, online archive, <https://taz.de/Finanzielle-Hilfe-fuer-Irland/!5131804/> [1 August 2017].

³¹⁰ *ibid.*

³¹¹ *ibid.*

³¹² *ibid.*

³¹³ *ibid.*

Steuerbelastung siedelten zahlreiche Industrie- und Dienstleistungsunternehmen ihre Europazentralen in Dublin an, was dem Land einen langjährigen Wirtschaftsaufschwung und vielen Iren neuen Wohlstand brachte.³¹⁴ Representation of the irresistible investment opportunities Ireland offered is intended to excuse German investors' uncharacteristic error of judgement, pacify investors, and stimulate future investment. Ireland's credit rating downgrade and bankruptcy are represented as a lifeline for German investments and the security of the euro. Germany is depicted as the ruthless and decisive power behind the EU, the rescuer of the eurozone and Germany's economy, regardless of the price to be paid. The writer affirms with relief and implicit self-satisfaction that ironically Ireland's submission to German pressure saved risky German investments in Ireland: "Dass die Regierung in Dublin die Eurofinanzhilfe annimmt, schützt auch die Investitionen, die deutsche Institute in irischen Staatsanleihen und Wertpapieren der Zentralbank getätigt haben."³¹⁵ He implies Irish compliance is taken as a given and a foregone conclusion in the face of German economic might. German readers have come to expect reassurance from the press and decisive action from their politicians to maintain Germany's status as Europe's leading economy and ensure the security of investments, at all costs.

Die gebeutelten Iren

An editorial in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, following Ireland's financial bailout, depicts a mood of calm, and resignation: "In Dublin haben am Montag weder Autos gebrannt, noch hallten die Häuserwände wider vom Protest empörter Demonstranten."³¹⁶ Post-Celtic Tiger Ireland is represented as peaceful without civil unrest or protests implying despondency and despair and evoking the stereotype of the dejected Irishman and counter-image of the cocky and exuberant Celtic Tiger entrepreneur. Irish people are depicted as behaving in a dignified manner while accepting their loss, implying that other countries did not take economic ruin with the same stoicism: "Das Notpaket der Europäischen Union und des Währungsfonds wird von

³¹⁴ *ibid.*

³¹⁵ *ibid.*

³¹⁶ Redaktion: Die Finanzkrise in Irland hat das Erfolgsmodell des "keltischen Tigers" nicht diskreditiert, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 23 November 2010, p. 1.

der irischen Bevölkerung eher mit Erleichterung als mit Zorn in Empfang genommen."³¹⁷ The editor comments on the perceptible feeling of reassurance conveyed by Irish people following the approval of the EU rescue package. He implies Irish people were relieved they had been delivered from the clutches of their own politicians and bankers. The writer suggests Irish people are aware that Irish society needs a strong and guiding hand to provide structure and a new direction thereby valorising German political stability and resultant economic strength. The rescue package for Ireland negotiated with EU support is from a German perspective, evidence of the effectiveness of the EU as a community in coming to the aid of a fellow member state and further justification for Germany's leading role in the organisation.

Jungclaussen's representation of the humiliated Irish conjures up images of Ireland's past:"Die Iren haben sich schon auf alles eingestellt. Doch kaum jemand sieht in der Pleite die Chance für einen Neubeginn. Stattdessen ist das Land innerlich auf dem Weg zurück in die Vergangenheit, in der Armut und Mühsal zum irischen Selbstverständnis gehörten."³¹⁸ Through an interaction of auto and hetero-images, Irish people are depicted as despondent and condemned to a fate of poverty and hardship. The writer implies this is the familiar, identifiable German stereotype of Ireland and not the hetero-image of the brash and reckless Celtic Tiger. Readers who are acquainted with Böll's *Irishes Tagebuch* will recall Böll's keen insight into Irish despondency and fatalism in the face of adversity and in particular, the historical trauma associated with emigration. Böll admired Irish stoicism, when faced with misfortune, which was communicated with humour and imagination in the oft-quoted Irish formula 'it could be worse.' A collection of essays on Irish history examines Ireland's self-image regarding a sense of victimhood in terms of global suffering.³¹⁹ Bittner argues: "Mit dem Ende des Nordirland-Konflikts starb auch der letzte Rest einer, wenn im Süden auch schon länger folkloristisch zelebrierten, gemeinsamen Opferidentität."³²⁰ The journalist suggests that the cessation of hostilities in Northern Ireland accompanied by Celtic Tiger prosperity made the Irish auto-image of

³¹⁷ *ibid.*

³¹⁸ John F. Jungclaussen: Arme Grüne Insel, Die Zeit, 16 October 2010, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/2010/42/Irland-Finanzkrise> [28 June 2015].

³¹⁹ Liam Kennedy: Unhappy the Land: The Most Oppressed People Ever, the Irish? Newbridge 2015.

³²⁰ Jochen Bittner: Sparpläne: Kuh statt Tiger, Die Zeit, 2 December 2010, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/2010/49/Irland-Sparplaene-Demonstration> [16 July 2015].

victimhood temporarily redundant and superfluous. While Irish despondency regarding a new beginning conveys the familiar stereotype of Irish, passive acceptance, it also implies that only a country of Germany's calibre could recover from utter destruction and ruin, following the Second World War, to become Europe's leading economy. Ireland's bankruptcy is furthermore an indication that Germany has learned to be more vigilant because of the Celtic Tiger debacle and will not tolerate another 'upstart' economy that does not obey the rules.

Ireland's post-bailout auto-and hetero-images indicate a return to the familiar Irish stereotypes of backwardness, frustration, and resignation to the well-worn path of emigration. The editor suggests Ireland's financial collapse should serve as a warning to the Irish political world and serve as a salutary lesson to other politicians: "Der Finanz-Zusammenbruch bietet der irischen Politik eine doppelte Lehre: Zum einen kann Provinzstolz auch in einem kleinen Inselland nicht länger das herausragende Merkmal für die Qualität eines Politikers sein."³²¹ The writer's criticism of Irish casualness and familiarity between politicians and their constituents valorises the detached businesslike approach of German politicians. Irish political informality and naturalness can, it is implied, lead to carelessness and corruption whereas German aloofness and professionalism minimise such risks. The writer is critical of the Irish practice of electing politicians based on personal popularity and background. By comparison, the detached duty-bound, professional, German politician who is elected on suitability, merit, and level of expertise is therefore deemed, from a German perspective, to be more effective and successful. It is suggested, that Ireland's closely-knit society and informal style of social interaction are conducive to an overlap in interests between society and politics which further contributed to Ireland's financial problems: "Und zum anderen braucht auch die politische und gesellschaftliche Elite eines kleinen Insellandes scharfe und transparente Abgrenzungsregeln - nicht obwohl, sondern gerade weil jeder jeden kennt."³²² The writer implicitly valorises the German political system with its clear parameters, lines of demarcation and professional boundaries that are more conducive to impartiality and the avoidance of vested interests. The overlap between church and state interests in Ireland

³²¹ Redaktion: Die Finanzkrise in Irland hat das Erfolgsmodell des "keltischen Tigers" nicht diskreditiert.

³²² *ibid.*

is examined in a separate chapter.³²³ Leithäuser claims Irish community spirit kept Irish society largely intact despite heady economic ventures during the Celtic Tiger period: "Der Gemeinschaftssinn, der sowohl religiös verwurzelt ist als auch durch alte tradierte Stammesbande bestimmt wird, hat die Iren im jüngsten Jahrzehnt bei ihrer halsbrecherischen wirtschaftlichen Bergfahrt vor größeren gesellschaftlichen Entgleisungen bewahrt."³²⁴ Post-war German society, in contrast, was riven by divisions that resulted in the formation of two separate states with divergent interpretations of history. The two German states forged their own distinctive identities and cultures, thereby manifesting the pronounced individualistic quality of the alleged German national character. Germany's secular state, it is implied, is less conducive to fostering a sense of community spirit whereas the historical symbiotic relationship between church and state in Ireland is credited with stimulating social cohesion.

Bittner examines Irish efforts at revitalising and regenerating the ruined economy: "*An meitheal* wird jetzt also das irische *Yes we can*, oder wie?"³²⁵ His mention of the Irish term *meitheal*, meaning teamwork or community spirit evokes images of Ireland's pre-Celtic Tiger society. Bittner's subtle reference to former US President Obama's 2008-victory chant, '*Yes we can*,' underscores traditional and nostalgic Irish-American relations and inspires Irish hopes for a new beginning. Bittner, however, reminds readers: "Doch sind die gebeutelten Iren aus kontinentaleuropäischer Sicht vor allem ein Problem, eben weil sie gegenüber ihren Euro-Partnern in den vergangenen Jahren alles andere als *an meitheal* praktiziert haben,"³²⁶ that while the Irish may be popular in the United States, from a European perspective, this was not always the case. German readers will recall Ireland's initial opposition to the treaties of Nice and Lisbon where relations between the EU and Ireland were strained and it was implied Ireland's intransigence threatened to jeopardise EU expansion plans. Bittner implies Irish loyalty to the United States may be stronger in straitened circumstances than commitment to the EU. He urges readers to bear this in mind considering the extent of American investment in Ireland, due to attractively low corporation tax rates. Gatzke insists Ireland must completely overhaul its

³²³ See chapter 4: German Representations of Irish Catholicism.

³²⁴ Johannes Leithäuser: Der Taoiseach. Irlands neuer Ministerpräsident Cowen pflegt das Wir-Gefühl. Und setzt sich durch. Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung, 11.05.2008, p. 14.

³²⁵ Jochen Bittner: Sparpläne: Kuh statt Tiger.

³²⁶ *ibid.*

financial system: "Irland muss außerdem sein Bankensystem komplett neu aufstellen und die niedrigen Unternehmenssteuern anheben."³²⁷ Ireland's corrupt and poorly regulated banking system was a contributory factor in Ireland's financial collapse. Ireland's attractively low corporation tax has been a source of irritation to German financial authorities who as Europe's leading economy have a vested interest in demanding EU corporation tax harmonisation. From a German perspective, Ireland's low corporation tax that fosters entrepreneurship and a start-up culture attracted mainly American multi-national companies that gave the country a competitive edge over Germany's traditional economic model.

Ireland entered the so-called bailout programme in November 2010 and exited the programme in December 2013. German representations of Ireland since the country's financial collapse and subsequent bailout are examined by O'Regan.³²⁸ O'Regan's research of German press coverage indicates Ireland is represented as a contrite and penitent debtor and regarded as setting an example for other EU debtor countries. Ireland is commended for adopting and conscientiously pursuing a course of fiscal austerity. The researcher finds, however, that German press coverage of events in Ireland is still reliant on the use of familiar Irish stereotypes. The CDU Finance Minister, Wolfgang Schäuble, achieved for the first time since 1969 a zero deficit target (*die schwarze Null*) for two consecutive years in 2014 and 2015 manifesting the difference between German financial prudence and Irish profligacy as evidenced in images of the German representation of Ireland's rags to riches story.

³²⁷ Marcus Gatzke: Der keltische Tiger ist tot.

³²⁸ Veronica O'Regan: German Media Perceptions of Ireland since the Bailout: From "Problem Child" to "Model Pupil." In: Ireland and the Irish in Germany-Reception and Perception. Ed. by Claire O'Reilly and Veronica O'Regan. Baden-Baden 2014, p. 147-173.

German Representations of Irish Catholicism

Religiosity and in particular devotion to Catholicism is a long-term and consistent trope in the German representation of Ireland. Modern, post-war Germany on the other hand, despite its enduring relationship with Christianity, is predominantly depicted in terms of economic might, efficiency and technological advancements. This chapter examines German representations of the role of the Irish Catholic Church, in a variety of discourses, from Ireland's accession to the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1973 until 2010 in the aftermath of scandals relating to clerical abuse.

The following brief overview is intended to contextualise and summarise the relevant social and historical background. Both Germany and Ireland have a rich cultural tradition of Christianity. Ireland gained a reputation as the Island of Saints and Scholars through the Dark Ages for its preservation of learning and religion. Germany was a linchpin in the Holy Roman Empire controlling vast swathes of territory. The English conquest of Ireland in the twelfth century resulted in the eventual bonding of the supportive Irish Catholic Church and oppressed landless Catholics. Catholicism became an ethnic marker defining social differences between the poor, dispossessed Irish and the English Protestant oppressor through the centuries of English political and military involvement in Ireland. Germany is the birthplace of the Reformation which in the sixteenth century caused a schism in the Catholic Church. In modern Germany, Roman Catholic culture is found in southern and western regions with Protestant culture predominant in northern and eastern areas following the principle introduced in the Peace of Augsburg (1555) that the inhabitants of Germany's numerous territories should follow the religion of the ruler. In colonised Ireland, efforts at introducing Protestantism according to the principle *cuius regio, eius religio*, largely failed making Ireland an anomaly in the progress of the European Protestant Reformation. Ireland's conservative Catholics resisted religious reform proposed by a foreign power in a foreign language thereby simultaneously underlining their fundamental antipathy to the English occupiers and their identification with Catholicism. The Ulster Plantation (1609-1690) which was intended to pacify and civilise the province saw Scottish and English settlers arrive in Ulster. Cultural differences between the settlers and the native Irish led to antagonism and segregation resulting in

animosity and sectarianism and ultimately contributed to the partition of Ireland. Centuries of tension and resentment were instrumental in the politicisation of religion and the outbreak of sectarian violence known as 'The Troubles' in Northern Ireland.

On the Continent, several divisive wars were fought partially inspired by religion including the notorious Thirty Years War (1618-1648) which ultimately defined the national borders of contemporary Europe. The unification of Germany was effected and the German Empire founded in 1871 following energetic campaigns by Chancellor Bismarck notably the *Kulturkampf* which was conceived to break Catholic opposition and resistance to German unification. Following the First World War, the constitution of the Weimar Republic declared Germany a secular state. During Germany's National Socialist years, leaders of the established churches, with few notable exceptions, were unwilling or unable to challenge the supremacy of the state. During the interwar period Ireland gained independence and was divided into two separate regions. The Irish state acknowledged the special position of the Catholic Church in the Irish Constitution until 1973. The aftermath of the Second World War saw a divided Germany. The former communist East German government discouraged religious observance yet tacitly exercised a degree of religious tolerance.

Modern Germany maintains its Christian tradition, in a secular state, where the established churches make public statements on moral issues. *Das Grundgesetz für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland* alludes to God in the name of the German people and the official oath sworn by members of parliament concludes with an optional reference to God. The titles of two of Germany's leading political parties the *Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands (CDU)* and the *Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern (CSU)* indicate the Christian standards and direction of both political parties and their supporters.

Throughout the centuries of English rule in Ireland, German representations traditionally depict the Irish as an oppressed yet caring people under the firm tutelage of the Catholic Church. Post-war German representations of Ireland were considerably influenced by Heinrich Böll's travelogue the *Irish Journal*. In 1957, the German writer Heinrich Böll published his acclaimed *Irishes Tagebuch* depicting an Irish idyll with God-fearing, warm-hearted people and the hetero-image of a people-orientated Irish Catholic Church. Böll's

Irish haven, constructed as a counter-image to German materialism, perceived arrogance and clericalism in the German Catholic Church, was not well received in Ireland. In Germany, Böll's *Irishes Tagebuch* triggered a wave of interest in Ireland and attracted thousands of enthusiastic German visitors eager to share the Ireland 'experience' and seek their own form of sanctuary. In the 1960s, leading Irish politicians argued that Ireland's future lay not in self-imposed autarky but rather in an integrated Europe. In 1973, Ireland became a member state of the European Economic Community (EEC) emerging from a history of isolation and Catholic nationalism. The new EEC member state was burdened with high unemployment and mass emigration and prided itself on a tradition of staunch Catholic conservatism.

This chapter analyses and comments on German texts from newspapers, news magazines and travel writing, including journals and other forms of travel writing. Analysis of the representation will show that the German representation of the Irish Catholic Church is an evocation of the German auto-image in a tolerant, prosperous, secular state which advocates liberalism and the ideals of the European Union. The analysis begins with an examination of texts by German travel writers whose experiential knowledge of Ireland complements readers' prior knowledge thus preparing them for their Ireland 'journey'. Fieß and Kabel lived and taught in Ireland for several years and have a background in Celtic Studies.

The travel writers argue that the construction of Irish national identity was synonymous with the fusion of Gaelic cultural heritage and Irish Catholic tradition: "Die Regierungen des irischen Staates waren sich in den ersten 40 Jahren in zwei Punkten einig: Erstens, dass Irland 'gälisiert' werden müsse, was vor allem hieß, dass Irisch wieder die erste Sprache der meisten Iren werden sollte."³²⁹ The travel writers maintain that the acknowledgement of the special status of the Catholic Church in Irish civil life was an essential and strategic component in the construction of the Irish post-independence self-image: "Zweitens, sahen die beiden großen Parteien Irland als katholisches Land, in dem auch der katholischen Kirche eine entsprechende Rolle zukommen müsse."³³⁰

Acknowledgement of the special position of the Catholic Church in the fledgling Irish

³²⁹ Astrid Fieß and Lars Kabel: *KulturSchock Irland/Nordirland*. Bielefeld 2008, p. 48.

³³⁰ *ibid.*

democracy implies state recognition of the Church's historic support for Irish nationalism. This recognition combined with the Church's moral authority and higher standard of education generate auto and hetero-images of the Catholic Church's perceived supremacy and indispensability in Irish society. The historical symbiosis of Irish national identity and Catholicism naturally resulted in the adaptation and inclusion of principles of Catholic Church corporatism in Irish civil life. The representation of Irish statehood, with its emphasis on traditionalist Catholicism in combination with nationalism, is at variance with the auto and hetero-image evoked by the rebirth of post-war Germany as a liberal, democratic and secular state. However, the notion of Catholic nationalist Ireland in the years preceding the Second World War is similar to earlier strands and theories of German and European nationalism. In the eighteenth century, the German writer and philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder had suggested that each culture must be regarded as an organic whole and valid in its own terms. Herder's theory of *Volksgeist* suggested the cultural spirit of the community (*Volk*) animated the 'nation'. Herder's theory fostered pride in Germanic culture and folklore in a form of cultural nationalism that influenced later forms of destructive German nationalism. The travel writers' representation of the construction of the Irish self-image and Irish national identity conveys the notion of cultural nationalism, in a postcolonial state, combined with Catholic Church influence, which modern German readers would view as old-fashioned and illiberal. From a modern German perspective, with the benefit of hindsight, Ireland was deemed to have taken a backward step at a watershed moment in its history instead of embracing the twentieth century with open-mindedness. Ireland is represented, as a sovereign, independent state attempting to transform an impoverished, agrarian society into a romanticised, Catholic, nationalist state at a crucial point in its history. The notion of the Gaelicisation of Ireland, with Irish as the vernacular, in a climate of economic autarky, conveys images of alleged Irish impracticality, emotionalism and romanticism. The writers imply the new Irish state intended to cultivate auto- and hetero-images conveying an aura of mystique and quirkiness while underlining Ireland's cultural distinction and moral superiority over its former British conquerors. Irish statehood is represented as marked by elements of separatism and retreatism with Catholicism acting as a moral shield against the implied moral turpitude of the outside world, particularly England. The ultimate aim of Irish nationalism, bolstered by the Catholic Church, was the achievement of a united Ireland

underpinned by conservative, Catholic principles. German nationalism was principally characterised by aspirations of national unification, expansionist policies and a drive and determination towards greatness. German nationalist sentiments were contributory factors to the eruption of two destructive world wars while Irish nationalist aspirations provoked the Irish Civil War and fuelled terrorist ambitions in Northern Ireland.³³¹

Tieger asserts: "Obwohl unzweifelhaft dominierend, ist die katholische Kirche in der Republik theoretisch nicht Staatskirche,"³³² indicating parallels with Germany where the Weimar Constitution solemnly declared Germany had no state church. The writer states further: "In der Konstitution wurde sie jedoch 1937 verankert, indem ihre 'besondere Position ' beschrieben wurde als die Religion der 'großen Mehrheit ihrer Bürger'. Das ist ein umstrittener Artikel, der 1970 [sic] geändert wurde, aber noch heute als eine Quelle des unüberwindbaren Mißtrauens der nordirischen Protestanten gegenüber der katholischen Republik angesehen wird."³³³ Tieger's reference to the 1973 amendment, by referendum, to the Irish constitution, which removed the special position of the Catholic Church, triggers images of the cautious emergence of liberal sentiments in Irish public life and is counter to the traditional hetero-image of Ireland as an alleged nationalist, theocracy. Liberal-minded Germans welcomed Ireland's intention to secularise the state particularly as a gesture of goodwill towards Northern Ireland. Ireland's new policy of liberalism and rapprochement, instead of militant nationalism, towards Northern Ireland surely met with approval upon Ireland's accession to the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1973. Ireland is represented as having embarked on a new course generating images of nascent liberalism interacting with images associated with traditionalism and religiosity.

Modern Germany forged a future as an advocate of liberal democracy in a secular state having emerged from two catastrophic world wars. In its own right, Germany became an industrial and economic success and experienced a post-war *Wirtschaftswunder* under far-seeing and resourceful leadership. The vanquished Germany condemned and distanced itself from the totalitarianism of National Socialism and adopted a course of

³³¹ See chapter 5: German Representations of Northern Ireland.

³³² Manfred P. Tieger: *Irland: Die Grüne Insel*. München 1996, p. 97.

³³³ *ibid.*

peace and reconciliation. Modern Germany supports the notion of a supranational state, embodied in the European Union, and the concept of 'constitutional patriotism'. Germany emerged from the disaster of the Second World War as an initiator and pioneer in advocating peaceful, economic stability and European integration. The post-war German spirit of commitment and toughness was crucial to the political and economic reconstruction of Germany and Europe while Germany came to terms with its own past. German readers will associate long-term images connoting resilience, practicality and leadership with the alleged German national character, particularly in times of crisis. The counterpart long-term images, on the other hand, attributed to Ireland; generally convey otherworldliness, sentimentalism and conservatism.

Der Spiegel contends, with a suggestion of Brit-bashing, that Anglophobia was a further essential component in the construction of so-called Irishness or Irish national identity: "Was die untereinander zerstrittenen Iren einte, war die Abneigung gegen die alte Kolonialmacht England. Nach Erringung der Unabhängigkeit träumten sie von einem idyllischen Staat und wehrten sich gegen jede Modernisierung, weil sie die als Vehikel für 'Anglisierung' fürchteten."³³⁴ The depiction of Ireland's long-standing and ingrained animosity towards England is counterpoised with the German spirit of peace and reconciliation following the Second World War, manifest in the enduring Franco-German friendship and co-operation. German readers appreciate the benefits of cordial relations with former enemies and do not allow old grudges darken their perspective in a prosperous, liberal European Union. The writer argues that Ireland's idealised and romanticised backwardness and policy of isolationism are outdated and not in keeping with modernity or the goals of a liberal, democratic European Union which emphasises peace, prosperity and social harmony. He implies the Catholic Church's support for Irish nationalism ultimately served the church's own mission to proselytise, control and make itself indispensable to Irish society.

German readers will draw parallels between Ireland's isolationism and economic autarky and the repressive dictatorship of the former German Democratic Republic. While Ireland's isolation from mainland Europe was facilitated by the country's geographic

³³⁴ Anonymous: Aufbruch der Söhne, *Der Spiegel*, 7 April 1986, p. 173.

location, the German Democratic Republic denied complicity with National Socialism, aligned itself with the Eastern Bloc and eventually constructed the Berlin Wall. Communist East Germany was anxious to protect its citizens from the implied contamination of capitalism emanating primarily from West Germany while bigoted Gaelic-Catholic Ireland feared its moral superiority would be undermined by liberal and 'permissive' English influences.

The influence of the Irish Catholic Church was not confined to the political domain. Roman Catholic Church authority pervaded Irish society as an essential, moral force. The travel writers Fieß and Kabel recall the words of a former Irish president which encapsulate the vision of his idealised Ireland and its Gaelic people: "Berühmt sind die de Valera zugeschriebenen Worte, in denen er sich das ideale Irland als 'ein Land der gemütlichen Heimstätten mit anmutigen Mädchen, die an den Wegkreuzungen tanzen, und mit dem Lachen kräftiger Jünglinge' vorstellte."³³⁵ Images conjured up by de Valera's 1943 speech, with its ideals of wholesomeness and innocence in a bucolic setting, are incompatible with the images of modern European life and in particular with the war-torn Europe of the period. On the other hand, Ireland's perceived lack of development and sophistication offered the prospect of comfort and solace to the German spirit troubled by post-war German materialism. Conflicting images foreground the cultural differences between Ireland on the periphery of Europe and Germany's central location on the European continent. Modern Germans who enjoy a liberal lifestyle would consider de Valera's construct of the virtue and moral standards of the 'Gaelic race' absurd and narrow-minded and completely at odds with the German auto- and hetero-image of liberal democracy. In the words of the travel writer Kuballa: "Es ist ein konservativer Katholizismus mit starken puritanischen Zügen."³³⁶ The construct of Gaelic-Catholic national identity envisaged a society untainted by worldliness or permissiveness. The perceived European permissiveness and avant-gardism following the Great War and during the Weimar Republic period are alien to de Valera's vision of innocence and chasteness for Ireland's idealised Catholic youth. From a German perspective, the construct of 'Irishness' with its bigotry, moral superiority and authoritarian imposition of

³³⁵ Astrid Fieß and Lars Kabel: KulturSchock Irland/Nordirland. Bielefeld 2008, p. 48.

³³⁶ Wolfgang Kuballa: Richtig Reisen Irland, Republik Irland und Nordirland. Köln 1984, p. 33.

cultural and moral codes resembles and borders on similar tenets expounded by National Socialism. The representation depicts Ireland as a conservative country ruled in an authoritarian fashion by the Catholic Church and the nationalist Irish state, in a symbiotic relationship. The writers suggest the Irish Catholic way of life is dictated by old-fashioned attitudes which have remained relatively unchanged since the foundation of the Irish state. Ireland is represented as unshakeable in its nationalistic aspirations, its Anglophobia and its isolation. Ireland is 'othered' from a German perspective due to its non-compliance with liberal European Union norms. The corresponding German auto- and hetero-images depict an innovative country and an economic powerhouse at the centre of Europe. Germany distanced itself from the atrocities of National Socialism and now pledges allegiance to the supranational European Union, while ever mindful of its inglorious past. Germany's defeat in the Second World War saw the country revert to the trustworthy, core German values of democracy and liberalism, associated with the Weimar Republic. Germany maintains, in principle, a distinction between the roles of church and state in a secular society. Germany is perceived as a liberal, democratic, pluralistic society where the rights of all citizens are guaranteed by law and integration and social inclusion are actively encouraged by the German state. Germany's rebirth following the cataclysm of the Second World War and the country's subsequent meteoric rise to economic stability and success, it is implied, are attributable to Germany's adherence to the principles of liberalism and democracy in a diverse, tolerant, cosmopolitan and secular society, where leadership and a sense of responsibility are key factors.

Power, Colonialism, the Hierarchy

The travel writer Dusik claims that Catholicism signifies power in Ireland implying that traditional Irish Catholicism is a controlling and determining factor in Irish society: "Die katholische Kirche ist einer der großen Machtfaktoren auf der Insel [...]. Irland lebt mit einer ungebrochenen katholischen Tradition, die weite Bereiche des gesellschaftlichen Lebens bestimmt."³³⁷ The representation evokes images of pervasive Church rule, political stagnation and the stifling of innovation and dissent associated with a bygone age or

³³⁷ Roland Dusik: Irland selbst erleben. Gleichen 1986, p. 24.

medieval mindset. Kuballa claims religion is an integral part of Irish national identity and cultural inheritance: "Während der Jahre der Unterdrückung entwickelte sich immer stärker die einfache Formel: katholisch gleich irisch, protestantisch gleich unirisch."³³⁸ He suggests Ireland's deep-rooted Catholic, nationalist culture leads to social alienation and division particularly in relation to Northern Ireland where religion, as an identity marker, was politicised by extremists on both sides of the cultural divide in order to advance their own particular agendas. Germany and the European Union advocate policies of social inclusion and integration indicating that Ireland's traditional cultural association of religion with political persuasion is not in keeping with European Union and modern German values.³³⁹ The notion of church influence in state affairs is alien and inconceivable to modern Germans. Germans live in a modern democracy where church and state are theoretically separate entities, as stated in the *Weimarer Verfassung* (Weimar Constitution) and reaffirmed in the *Grundgesetz für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland* from 1949.

The travel writer Manfred Tieger refers to alleged parallels between the dominant role of the Irish Catholic Church in society and colonialism: "Geschichtlich wird die Rolle der katholischen Kirche von Kritikern nicht ohne Bitterkeit beschrieben und mit der der Briten gleichgesetzt: Irland habe unter einer zweifachen Kolonialisierung gelitten."³⁴⁰ Colonialism is repugnant to modern German principles and calls to mind memories of Germany's imperial past and consequent nationalism. Germany's colonial empire was comparatively small and short-lived compared with other European imperial powers. Territories colonised by Germany in the so-called 'scramble for Africa' were surrendered under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. German experience of colonialism may have affected the mindset that inspired subsequent historical, nationalist movements in Germany and ultimately influenced the development of German liberalism. Germany does not indulge in self-glorification or self-deception about its past and is committed to *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*. Contemporary Germany has consistently pursued a policy of reconciliation with its neighbours and committed itself to the maintenance of peace and stability in Europe as co-founder and staunch advocate of the European Union. As part of

³³⁸ Wolfgang Kuballa: *Richtig Reisen Irland, Republik Irland und Nordirland*. Köln 1984, p. 33.

³³⁹ See chapter 5: German Representations of Northern Ireland.

³⁴⁰ Manfred P. Tieger: *Irland: Die Grüne Insel*. München 1996, p. 97.

Germany's commitment to *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* the country is gradually taking steps towards addressing its colonial past. The modern German regards colonialism with contempt and as a violation of human rights and the principles of civilized society. Tieger's sympathies lie with the oppressed Irish people conveying an auto- and hetero-image of contemporary Germany which champions human rights thus overlaying the now dormant historical image of German imperialism. He equates the role of the Catholic Church in Irish society with the barbaric and degrading practice of colonialism thereby accentuating the German commitment to human rights and freedom of conscience in a secular state.

While Tieger suggests similarities between the Irish Catholic church and colonialism, the Swiss journalist Alioth draws parallels between Iranian-style Islamic fundamentalism and Irish Catholicism prompted by the 1979 papal visit to Ireland and the 1979 return of the Ayatollah Khomeini as Supreme Leader of Iran, making Iran the world's first Islamic republic: "Irland, obwohl es sich im Kern seiner politischen Identität als Republik versteht, ist ein konfessionell gebundener Staat, eine Art Iran des Christentums."³⁴¹ Alioth's analogy between the Republic of Ireland and the Islamic Republic of Iran is intended as a criticism of fundamentalism, the interference of religious leaders in state politics and the resulting infringement of personal freedom. Iran, which has historical trade and cultural links with Germany, reverted from a cosmopolitan, allegedly secular state to an Islamic theocracy with its legal code based on Sharia law in 1979. Analogies between Ireland's Catholic culture and Iran's extreme form of Islam, situated on the distant Asian continent, 'other' Ireland in relation to Europe's liberal lifestyle and secular Christianity. German readers would find it difficult to reconcile images connoting Iranian-style fundamentalism and authoritarianism with Heinrich Böll's construct of the geniality and innocence of Irish Catholicism, with its smiling priests and nuns, in his *Irisches Tagebuch*.³⁴² In the preceding representations, Ireland's church-state partnership is associated with servitude, repression and socio-economic backwardness conveyed through the instrumentalisation of images associated with colonialism and Islamic fundamentalism. The representation of Catholic Church influence on Irish society in negative terms triggers German auto- and hetero-images of liberalism, personal freedom and material prosperity prompting the

³⁴¹ Martin Alioth: Ein Wink aus den Grotten, Die Zeit, 18 October 1985, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/1985/43/ein-wink-aus-den-grotten> [7 May 2012].

³⁴² Heinrich Böll: *Irisches Tagebuch*. München 1961.

reader to infer that a separation of church and state is the acceptable societal norm in the modern age.

Tieger's view of the symbiotic relationship between church and state in Ireland and Catholic corporatism in the public sphere indicates a fundamental incompatibility between German and Irish societies: "Der Begriff Kirchenstaat ist sicher nicht zutreffend, obwohl die konservative Struktur des Landes zum erheblichen Teil auf den Einfluß der katholischen Kirche zurückzuführen ist."³⁴³ In contemporary German society, church and state are, in principle, separate institutions with defined roles. Citizens of the liberal, democratic German state, which upholds Christian values, would consider church interference in civil society abhorrent and regressive. The former German Democratic Republic discouraged religious practice as incompatible with regime principles, but exercised a degree of religious tolerance, in its own interests. Liberal-minded, cosmopolitan Germans are progressive and favour multiculturalism and inclusiveness. They are aware of the devastation resulting from past conflicts sparked by religion and nationalism in Germany and elsewhere. Historical accounts of the consequences and devastation of the 30 Years War occasionally prompt German writers to liken Northern Ireland's protracted, complex struggle with its manifestations of sectarian violence, to central Europe's historic religious war.³⁴⁴ Tieger's analogy between the role of the Catholic Church in Irish society and colonialism reactivates latent images associated with the notion of national identity and the legacy of history in Germany and in Ireland. From a German perspective, the notion of the subjugation of Ireland by the Catholic Church triggers images of Germany's imperial past and affects the notion of contemporary German *Selbstverständnis*.

Giordano blames the Irish Catholic hierarchy and, by implication, their German counterparts for the growing disaffection among churchgoers in both Germany and Ireland. He suggests the Princes of the Church cling tenaciously to power and its associated historical privileges, evoking images of medieval power struggles, arrogant detachment and a select coterie: "Das zeigt sich gewiß nicht nur hier, doch was der irischen Situation ihre spezifische Note gibt, ist ein Hochklerus, der die alten

³⁴³ Manfred P. Tieger: *Irland: Die Grüne Insel*. München 1996, p. 100.

³⁴⁴ See chapter 5: German Representations of Northern Ireland.

Machtansprüche zäh wie in kaum einem anderen Land verteidigt und der die größten Schwierigkeiten hat, seine Traditionen mit einer sich rasch verändernden Wirklichkeit in Übereinstimmung zu bringen."³⁴⁵ The writer suggests a widening gulf separates the Catholic hierarchy from the laity and implies the Church as an institution with its medieval attitudes and privileges has little relevance to the lives of contemporary believers. Giordano implies the traditional culture of Catholic clericalism which prioritises and protects Church interests is pervasive in Catholic Church society. It has been suggested that Catholic Church clericalism was a contributory factor resulting in the sexual abuse of minors and subsequent cover-up by Catholic Church authorities worldwide. Giordano's book entitled *Mein irisches Tagebuch* which was published four decades after Heinrich Böll's celebrated *Irisches Tagebuch* is the outcome of Giordano's personal Irish journey. Böll spoke critically of the German Catholic Church in his epilogue to the *Irisches Tagebuch*.³⁴⁶ He strongly disapproved of clericalism in the German Catholic Church and objected to the German state in its role as tax collector for the church. Böll's denunciation of the German Catholic Church was matched by his admiration for the simplicity and devoutness of Irish Catholicism. His representation of the innocence and purity of Irish Catholicism may reveal the insight of a dejected visitor on a spiritual journey and not an understanding of the lives of those who lived, on a daily basis, with Irish Catholicism. The nostalgic qualities and consoling images evoked by Böll's Irish Catholic utopia lingered on in the auto- and hetero-image of Catholicism projected by the Irish Catholic Church and lay groupings. Remnants of exemplary Irish Catholicism are discernible in representations of the 1979 papal visit and beyond where images of traditional Irish Catholicism interact and clash with images depicting Irish society in the process of transition.

Papal Visit

Tieger asserts the 1979 visit by Pope John Paul II to Ireland was the fulfilment of Irish Catholic aspirations and a matter of national pride as signified by the enthusiastic reception the pontiff received: "48% der Erwachsenen machten sich auf dem Weg, um Papst Johannes Paul II. 'live' zu erleben, [...] 96% haben ihn in Fernsehen

³⁴⁵ Ralph Giordano: *Mein irisches Tagebuch*. München 1999, p.65.

³⁴⁶ Heinrich Böll: *Irisches Tagebuch*. München 1998.

gesehen."³⁴⁷ Devout German Catholics surely acknowledged the rapturous welcome the Pope received in Ireland and probably envied the throngs of worshippers in attendance while simultaneously reflecting on the decrease in church attendance figures in Germany and increasing numbers leaving the Christian churches. Non-believers, on the other hand, probably dismissed the experience as a ritual belonging to a bygone age and 'typical' of Irish euphoria. Kuballa draws parallels between the significance of the papal visit and the visit of the American President Kennedy implying the importance of Kennedy's Irish Catholic ancestry: "Der Besuch von Johannes Paul II., der im September 1979 als erster Papst den Fuß auf irischen Boden setzte, war auf geistigem Gebiet ein ähnlich bedeutendes Ereignis wie die Irlandreise des US-Präsidenten John F. Kennedy 1963 auf politischer Ebene."³⁴⁸ The juxtaposition of the papal visit in 1979 with Kennedy's 1963 visit foregrounds the intrinsic value of Catholicism in the Irish auto- and hetero-image as Kennedy's political success, it is implied, is essentially attributable to his Irish Catholic roots. From the perspective of a modern German, the religious beliefs of politicians and public figures are incidental and are of minor importance and of short-term interest. The association of Catholicism with authority and respect is intrinsic to Irishness, according to Kuballa: "Beide haben das Nationalbewußtsein der Iren gehoben, die Selbstachtung der Menschen gefördert."³⁴⁹ Catholicism, the writer suggests, boosts Irish self-esteem and emboldens people whereas he implies the self-esteem of modern Germans, in a predominantly Christian country, is fundamentally not determined by the prioritisation of religious observance. *Der Spiegel* argues: "Die katholische Kirche wurde auch deshalb so beherrschend, weil sie - ähnlich wie in Polen - als nationales Bollwerk gegen feindliche Einflüsse und Unterdrückung galt."³⁵⁰ In the writer's view, Catholicism in Poland and in Ireland served as a badge of identity and a cultural bond that united people, in both occupied countries, against foreign cultural influences while simultaneously fostering nationalism. The writer suggests an affinity between the Irish people, the Polish Pope and Poland's Catholics arising from a similar history of repression and fear of powerful neighbours. Furthermore, he conveys the impression Catholic nationalism and like-mindedness served in both countries as a safeguard against persecution. In Poland and in

³⁴⁷ Manfred P. Tieger: *Irland: Die Grüne Insel*. München 1996, p. 101.

³⁴⁸ Wolfgang Kuballa: *Richtig Reisen Irland, Republik Irland und Nordirland*. Köln 1984, p.34

³⁴⁹ *ibid.*

³⁵⁰ Anonymous: *Aufbruch der Söhne*, *Der Spiegel*, 7 April 1986, p. 173.

Ireland, the Catholic Church was perceived not only as a spiritual institution but also as a political and social force, championing the cause of the oppressed people. Kuballa maintains: "Der Katholizismus war das einigende Band gegen die Besatzungsmacht, die Geistlichkeit bis Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts der einzige Kristallisationspunkt für die unterdrückten Massen."³⁵¹ In modern times, Poland's Catholic Church was actively supportive of the independent Solidarity trade union founded in 1980 while the Northern Ireland civil rights movement, which dates back to the 1960s, was backed by the Catholic Church.³⁵²

Hansjakob Stehle who worked as Poland correspondent for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and as Vatican correspondent for *Westdeutscher Rundfunk* accompanied the Pope on his journey from Ireland to America. The writer's juxtaposition of images of Poland and of Ireland, posed as a rhetorical question, foregrounds the exceptional and outsider status of Europe's remaining Catholic strongholds that are under threat from liberalism and materialism: "Polen im Osten und Irland im Westen als letzte, wenn auch schon nicht mehr unangreifbare Bastionen gegen jede Art von Materialismus?"³⁵³ Poland and Ireland are represented as the last remaining, faithful bastions of traditionalist Catholicism with mass congregations of believers whose traditional faith is allegedly being undermined by encroaching liberalism and materialism which the Pope hopes to stem: "So schien es in den päpstlichen Predigten in Irland durchzuringen, wie die Beschwörung einer heilen Welt, die der Papst durch vieles bedroht sieht: [...]."³⁵⁴ Ireland's enthusiastic reception of the Pope, who advocates traditional moral values, triggers images of the halcyon days of traditional Polish and Irish Catholicism and conveys a valiant attempt to muster Irish Catholic support in the battle to retain the traditional Catholic way of life. The papal visit provided moral support to traditionalist Catholics and offered a brief respite from the realities of a world that is becoming increasingly materialistic and secular. The 1979 papal visit is represented as a significant milestone on Ireland's journey into the modern age. Catholic Ireland is depicted as rallying its devout supporters in a display of national pride to support the Pope who symbolises traditional Catholicism as he

³⁵¹ Wolfgang Kuballa: *Richtig Reisen Irland, Republik Irland und Nordirland*. Köln 1984, p. 33.

³⁵² See chapter 5: German Representations of Northern Ireland.

³⁵³ Hansjakob Stehle: *Beschwörungen einer heilen Welt*, *Die Zeit*, 5 October 1979, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/1979/41/beschwoerungen-einer-heilen-welt> [16 August 2012].

³⁵⁴ *ibid.*

continues his desperate crusade against materialism. Within the same decade, the Irish government which was intent on secularising the state, removed the special status of the Catholic Church from the constitution, Ireland became a member of the European Economic Community (EEC) and began to implement European social and economic agreements. The papal visit highlights the conflicting images of a society between the traditional and the modern and on the threshold of change. Ireland's accession to the EEC is represented as adding impetus to the country's existing desire to free itself from the constraints of the past and the dictates of the Catholic Church.

Media coverage of the Ireland visit of Pope John Paul II in 1979 naturally evokes images in German minds of his successor Pope Benedict XVI. The election of Joseph Ratzinger, a former German cardinal, as Pope Benedict XVI in 2005 caused mixed reactions among German Catholics and in German public life. Traditionalist German Catholics were proud of their fellow German as Pope while reform-minded Catholics and liberal politicians were concerned about the pontiff's hitherto conservative stance. Representations of Pope Benedict XVI's management of allegations concerning clerical sexual abuse of minors are examined below. The 2018 Ireland visit by Pope Francis, successor to the retired Pope Benedict XVI, to attend the World Meeting of Families, took place against a backdrop of a Church in crisis over clerical child sexual abuse in Ireland and around the world. The papal visit to a changed Ireland was met with protests and modest attendances where attendees were granted plenary indulgences in keeping with Vatican regulations. The sense of jubilation and well-being experienced in Ireland during the papal visit of 1979 resulted in a significant renewal of religious fervour and spectacular displays of spiritual activity in the country, particularly in the 1980s.

Moving Statues

During the mid-1980s, accounts of so-called 'moving statues' in rural Ireland inspired a number of articles by German writers. Reports of alleged miraculous appearances in the Irish countryside may have been interpreted by a minority of devout German Catholics as a sign of Irish religious fervour and consequently inspired fervent German Catholics to seek out these phenomena or to go on a pilgrimage along Ireland's well-advertised and well-

organised pilgrim paths. On the other hand, reports of such 'miracles' evoked the hetero-image of Irish flights of fancy and entertained the vast majority of level-headed, rational Germans. Martin Alioth instrumentalises the stereotype of Irish religiosity and the counter-image of otherworldliness, to condemn aspects of Irish society and the Irish national character. Alioth whose academic background is in medieval and modern history is a Swiss journalist resident in Ireland. The journalist declares: "Seit Beginn dieses Sommers, der dem Land nur Regen, Hagel und Sturm brachte, ist die Republik Irland in den Augen ihrer gläubigen Landeskinder Schauplatz göttlicher Fingerzeige."³⁵⁵ Irish people are represented as *gläubig* implying a combination of religiosity and credulity thus reviving the long-standing scholarly debate on the supposed connection between religion and superstition. Unseasonal weather evokes a sense of other-worldly foreboding among the assembled worshippers, who are represented as superstitious yet devout, as they await a supernatural sign in the form of *Ein Wink aus den Grotten*. Ireland's religious frenzy with its overtones of medieval cult worship and superstition is represented as increasing: "Beinahe täglich wird von neuen Marienerscheinungen berichtet."³⁵⁶ The travel writers Hänel and Gerold proclaim: " 27 Erscheinungen gab es allein im Jahr 1985; Madonnen weinten und steinerne Jungfrauen gerieten in Bewegung, die irischen Heiligen erschienen in endloser Reihe und einmal auch Gottvater und neben ihm sein Sohn, und Our Lady sprach und sagte [...],"³⁵⁷ underlining the variety and scale of the so-called apparitions. According to Alioth, religious enthusiasm is affecting large sections of society: "Abend für Abend fahren Tausende von Irinnen und Iren jeden Alters und aus allen Schichten der Gesellschaft in Autos und Bussen zu den Stätten der Erscheinungen,"³⁵⁸ and "Bei verschiedenen Gelegenheiten wurde die Zahl der versammelten Gläubigen auf über 20 000 geschätzt."³⁵⁹ Hänel and Gerold indicate neglect of 'normal' conventional religious services in favour of belief in the supernatural: "Tausende haben mittlerweile statt in ihren Kirchen auf dem Acker bei Culleen gebetet, andere fahren nach Ballinspittle oder Inchigella."³⁶⁰ The German Catholic Church would envy the mass appeal of religion amongst Ireland's worshippers considering the increasing numbers of German Catholics renouncing their faith and leaving

³⁵⁵ Martin Alioth: *Ein Wink aus den Grotten*.

³⁵⁶ *ibid.*

³⁵⁷ Wolfram Hänel and Ulrike Gerold: *Irland Walter-Reiseführer*. Olten 1991, p. 51.

³⁵⁸ Martin Alioth: *Ein Wink aus den Grotten*.

³⁵⁹ *ibid.*

³⁶⁰ Wolfram Hänel and Ulrike Gerold. p. 51.

the church. German Protestants, who reject Marian dogmas and the veneration of saints, would consider Catholic religious behaviour unbecoming and unbiblical. Non-believers would regard the alleged apparitions as pure spectacle and shrug them off as: "Die Iren und deren offenbar angeborenen Hang zu widersinnigem Tun."³⁶¹ The pilgrims are represented as so overwhelmed with emotion that they are unwilling or unable to think, understand, and form judgements logically: "Nur die Skeptiker fühlen sich bemüßigt, nach naturwissenschaftlichen Erklärungen zu suchen, die leicht zu finden sind. Selbst der Bischof von Killala zitierte jüngst aus einer opthalmologischen [sic] Fachzeitschrift, um die Bewegungen der Statuen als natürliche Folge von Licht und Schatten zu erklären."³⁶² Images associated with calmness, commonsense and logical thinking evoking German *Vernunft* are juxtaposed with images of agitated religious fervour, underlining differences in outlook and perception between Germany and Ireland. Church authorities are naturally impressed by the pilgrims' devotion yet they calmly urge against overreaction, pending official Church investigation and examination.

Emotional displays generated by religious devotion would perplex rational, well balanced Germans. Modern German social culture is not particularly characterised by religious worship or observance despite the country's historical links with Christianity and Germany's pivotal role in the Holy Roman Empire and the Reformation. Auto- and hetero-images of modern Germany convey a predilection for financial and technological prowess combined with humanitarianism as opposed to dramatic displays of religious enthusiasm. A significant number of German Christians are increasingly disillusioned with their respective churches as institutions. They condemn their churches for perceived arrogance, clericalism and the prioritisation of financial interests and prestige over matters of faith and the spiritual welfare of their parishoners. The German churches have witnessed large numbers of the laity officially renouncing their faith and leaving the church particularly in protest against *Kirchensteuer*, or church tax which is payable by church members and collected by German financial authorities. Kuballa examines the issue of church funding in Ireland, thereby evoking envy among German Christians: "Es gibt keine Kirchensteuer. Die Geistlichen werden aus einem zentralen Fonds bezahlt, in

³⁶¹ Anonymous: Befehl im Herzen, Der Spiegel, 11 August 1986, p. 144.

³⁶² Martin Alioth: Ein Wink aus den Grotten.

den alle Spenden und Schenkungen fließen,"³⁶³ underlining the difference in voluntary and mandatory contributions to church funding in Germany and in Ireland. Germany's *Kirchensteuer*, which is rooted in a specific historical tradition, suggests that a bureaucratic taxation system to support the Church suits reputedly thrifty and orderly Germans, whereas their Irish counterparts donate generously and spontaneously. Germans, it is implied, view the Church as an organisation where membership entails costs and obligations. Furthermore, when a member leaves the Church financial costs are incurred and the member forfeits entitlement to church rites. The Irish Church, on the other hand, is represented as more informal and unregulated in its financial relations with the Irish laity, indicating a historic and complex symbiotic relationship between the Irish Catholic Church and its flock, beyond the provision of spiritual guidance. The Weimar Constitution established the separation of church and state in Germany and granted the churches, as recognised corporations, the right to raise taxes. Germany's *Grundgesetz* or Basic Law (1949) reaffirmed the constitutional rights of the churches thus creating an overlap, in financial matters, between the German state and the churches.

Alioth contends Irish worshippers' preoccupation with the phenomenon of the 'moving statues' is an indication of a denial of reality: "Die Pilger, die derzeit in den Grotten auf einen Fingerzeig hoffen, neigen dazu, die Vergangenheit zu idealisieren, egal, ob sie die Welt selbst erlebt haben, als sie noch in Ordnung war."³⁶⁴ Germans, it is implied, are fully in touch with the reality of contemporary life and do not have old-fashioned attitudes. Irish people are represented as tending to deny reality by clinging resolutely to their idealised Catholic past: "So wird auch die aus dem Mund einzelner Statuen vernommene Warnung, binnen der nächsten zehn Jahre werde der Teufel die Herrschaft über die Kirche übernehmen, falls die Welt nicht zur Reue und Umkehr bewegt werden könne, durchaus ernst genommen."³⁶⁵ The 'moving statues' and resulting controversy are perceived as symptoms and symbolic manifestations of Irish society that is afflicted by a deep cultural malaise. Ireland is represented as being in the throes of a cultural identity crisis owing to the increasing secularisation of society. The country is depicted as at a crossroads between loyalty to conservative Catholic tradition and the opportunity to

³⁶³ Wolfgang Kuballa: *Richtig Reisen Irland, Republik Irland und Nordirland*. Köln 1984, p. 33.

³⁶⁴ *ibid.*

³⁶⁵ *ibid.*

embrace modernity and liberalism. The German state takes a proactive approach to governance and the management of state affairs whereas the Irish state is represented as adopting a more reactive stance by waiting for events to unfold. The auto- and hetero-images of German leadership and management convey initiative and consistency whereas the corresponding hetero-images of Ireland convey indecisiveness, casualness and reliance on external factors.

The image of the 'moving statues' with its connotations of cultural and economic backwardness, associated with religion, is instrumentalised in *Der Spiegel* to criticise the Irish state's failure and inability to provide for its people: "Wo sonst in Europa pilgern - wie letztes Jahr in Ballinspittle - Hunderttausende zu einer Marienstatue, weil die sich angeblich bewegt und aus deren Augen Tränen fließen?"³⁶⁶ The writer ridicules displays of Irish religious ardour which deflect public attention away from the stark realities of poverty, rampant unemployment and consequent emigration. Ireland is represented as a country that shirks its responsibility and focuses on illusion in contrast with implied hetero-images of German rationality and dependability. In a controversial article, *Der Spiegel's* Dirk Koch insinuates Irish farmers are fiddling records and unfairly profiting from EU subventions that, in his view, their German counterparts are rightfully entitled to: "Dann ist da noch die wundersame Geldvermehrung."³⁶⁷ Dirk Koch satirises Ireland's religiosity and its associated uncanny flair for making easy money, declaring: "Irland ist eine Insel der Wunder. Bunt bemalte Muttergottes-Figuren aus Beton werden zuweilen, zuletzt im Mai in Ballinspittle in der Grafschaft Cork, dabei beobachtet, wie sie das Haupt gütig neigen."³⁶⁸ He employs hyperbole to mock Irish religiosity and absurdly personifies inanimate objects while poking fun at the alleged Irish belief in the phenomenon of the 'moving statues': "Steinbrocken, die 'moving rocks', springen nachts die Autos harmloser Farmer auf der Heimfahrt vom Pub an und verbeulen ihnen die Kotflügel."³⁶⁹ Koch ostensibly views Irish people as confidence tricksters who operate under a veneer of assumed religiosity and expands on, in his view, the ludicrously improbable notion of 'moving statues' to encompass other equally ridiculous inanimate objects. The variation

³⁶⁶ Anonymous: Aufbruch der Söhne, *Der Spiegel*, 7 April 1986, p. 170.

³⁶⁷ Dirk Koch: Brüssel ist wirklich Klasse, *Der Spiegel*, 21 September 1998, p. 190.

³⁶⁸ *ibid.*

³⁶⁹ *ibid.*

and mobility of the 'moving statues' image indicate the adaptability, longevity and recognisability of images associated with the representation of national characters. Writers sensationalise and exaggerate the 'moving statues' episode to construct hetero-images of Irish religiously inspired eccentricity thus implying and valorising the virtues of the rational, level-headed, successful German. The phenomenon of Ireland's 'moving statues' did not receive official Church sanction, however, controversy arose concerning proposed developments relating to Ireland's existing, authorised, lucrative pilgrimage business.

Pilgrims and Miracles

Ireland's reputation as the Island of Saints and Scholars and its prominence as a centre of distinctive monasticism and learning drew scholars and pilgrims to holy places in remote, underdeveloped regions of the country. Similarly, from medieval times, German pilgrim sites, including the cathedrals of Cologne and Trier, were popular with Irish pilgrims. The travel writers Fieß and Kabel advise their readers: "Die drei wichtigsten Wallfahrtsorte in Irland sind Knock, Lough Derg und Croagh Patrick, alle in Nordwesten der Insel gelegen".³⁷⁰ In Germany, the majority of holy places are located in Bavaria in southern Germany and in the Rhineland and are advertised and marketed by the media. Protestant worshippers, on the other hand, embark on Faith Journeys to the Holy Land and to sites associated with their founder Martin Luther.

The controversy surrounding the proposed building of an airport near the official pilgrimage site of a reported 1879 Marian apparition at Knock, which is examined below, accentuates cultural differences between the rational German and the irrational Irishman. *Der Spiegel's* article, titled *Lourdes des Nordens* headlines with: "Der Dorfpfarrer von Knock [sic] fädelt den Bau eines Jet-Flughafens ein. Das Ergebnis ist die größte Fehlplanung der irischen Finanzgeschichte."³⁷¹ The writer indicates his view of the proposed scheme with disparaging references to *Dorfpfarrer, einfädeln and Fehlplanung* connoting provincialism, manipulation and ineptitude thereby implying that no right-minded German businessman would ever contemplate such an unprofitable, madcap

³⁷⁰ Astrid Fieß and Lars Kabel: *KulturSchock Irland/Nordirland*. Bielefeld 2008, p. 132.

³⁷¹ Anonymous: *Lourdes des Nordens*, *Der Spiegel*, 4 January 1982, p. 89.

scheme and nevertheless make a fortune on religion. The business venture was inspired by the papal visit to Knock in 1979 when: "Rund 500 000 Gläubige waren damals angerückt, um den Irland-Reisenden Papst Johannes Paul II. bei einer Messe unter freiem Himmel zu erleben."³⁷² The ambitious project, intended to rival Lourdes as a Marian shrine, has papal approval: "Die vergoldete Rose in der Vase aus feinstem Waterford Crystal legt Zeugnis ab von der päpstlichen Zustimmung zum ehrgeizigen Projekt,"³⁷³ and manifests, from a German perspective, an un-Irish attention to detail and planning. The shrewd priest ironically capitalises on religion and gullibility by peddling salvation thereby adding a new business dimension to Irish Catholic religiosity.

Klaus Viedebant writing in *Die Zeit* utilises a combination of hyperbole and farce to satirise the folly of the proposed airport scheme and simultaneously criticise aspects of Irish society. The German journalist and travel writer Viedebant worked for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and wrote a travel book on Ireland. The article *Mit dem Jumbo zur Jungfrau* ridicules *Monsignore James Horan, der Priester von Knock* and his dogged determination, despite government disapproval, to achieve his literal and metaphorical *himmelstürmendes Lebensziel*³⁷⁴ which is encapsulated in the absurd notion conjured up in the title of the article. The priest is represented as resourceful when faced with difficulties: "Der Appell an die Bauern, Traktoren für den Flugzeugtransport bereitzuhalten, und die Ankündigung, man wolle mit Torffeuern die teure elektrische Landebahnbefeuern ersetzen, war wohl eher als humoriger Beitrag zu diesem kuriosen Streit zwischen Kirche und Staat gedacht."³⁷⁵ The writer instrumentalises the stereotype of the apparently dim-witted and genial 'Stage Irishman' with his grandiose plans to accentuate German engineering expertise and thoroughness with regard to planning and detail. Images associated with Irish rural life connoting backwardness and impracticality are contrasted with images connoting and valorising sophisticated, German technology, practicality and efficiency. Horan displays ingenuity and resourcefulness combined with apparent guilelessness and charm to disarm his critics thus providing the perfect foil to the image of German obedience to rules and red tape. *Der Spiegel's* article, titled *Befehl*

³⁷² *ibid.* p. 90.

³⁷³ Wolfram Hänel and Ulrike Gerold: *Irland Walter-Reiseführer*. Olten 1991, p. 52.

³⁷⁴ Klaus Viedebant: *Mit dem Jumbo zur Jungfrau*, *Die Zeit*, 13 July 1984, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/1984/29/mit-dem-jumbo-zur-jungfrau> [17 June 2012].

³⁷⁵ *ibid.*

im Herzen, examines the outcome of the 'Irish joke' with the depiction of the successful 'Stage Irishman' who has achieved his goal and in the process, from a German perspective, predictably ignored procedure, cost and viability considerations: "Doch die Geschichte spielt in Irland, und so bekamen Horan und sein Herr ihren Flughafen - und was für einen: 2,5 Kilometer-Landebahn, Kontrollturm mit modernster Elektronik, Abfertigungshallen, Duty-Free-Shop, alles ausgelegt für 400000 Passagiere pro Jahr und Flugzeuge bis Jumbo-Größe."³⁷⁶ The completion of the foolhardy and outlandish undertaking accentuates the gulf between the German and Irish auto- and hetero-images whereby the scheming, charming Irish dreamer contrasts with the practical, hard-working, honest German: "Als der Airport Ende Oktober letzten Jahres eingeweiht wurde, lachte mal wieder die ganze Welt über die Iren und deren offenbar angeborenen Hang zu widersinnigem Tun."³⁷⁷ The writer's construct of Irish eccentricity and outlandishness conjures up and celebrates German auto- and hetero-images connoting reverential obedience to rules and regulations combined with precision and attention to detail and belief in scientific law. The representation of the Stage Irishman's flamboyance, his bending of the rules and his reliance on 'connections' surely scandalised and entertained German readers, thereby accentuating the sharp cultural differences between the two countries.

The stereotypical Irish Catholic is represented as a caricature of a bygone age where the fusion of Catholic fundamentalism and superstition embody the antithesis of the broad-minded, modern German liberal. Despite his charm, good nature and entertainment value, the stereotypical Irishman is depicted as dim-witted, disorganised, unreliable and dishonest signifying a wide cultural gulf between Catholic Ireland on the periphery of Europe and secular Germany in the heart of the European Union. The writer implies that the symbiotic relationship between church and state in Ireland is not conducive to efficiency or openness and fosters a culture of corruption and clientelism. He implicitly advocates a separation of church and state, similar to the German model. The writer suggests that Germany's position as Europe's leading economy indicates that the separate

³⁷⁶ Anonymous: Befehl im Herzen, Der Spiegel, 11 August 1986, p. 144.

³⁷⁷ *ibid.*

roles of church and state stimulate openness and transparency and contribute to material success and social harmony.

Horan is represented as a shrewd and scheming Irish-style businessman who has detected a lucrative niche in the market to address the spiritual needs of devout Catholics, provide local employment in a disadvantaged area and ensure his own eternal salvation. Horan's controversial and miraculous master stroke raises issues regarding the commercialisation of religion and the notion of buying eternal salvation. Horan's enterprise is represented as a resounding success with international appeal: "Auch aus dem Ausland reißt der jährliche Strom an Pilgerreisenden nicht ab."³⁷⁸ Nowadays, religious tourism is a lucrative sector of the booming tourist industry and while marketing techniques and technology have become more sophisticated, the mindset and belief of the pilgrims, it is suggested, remain unaltered since medieval times: "Viele Menschen suchen durch eine solche Reise Besinnung und Ruhe vom hektischen Alltag, manche kommen aber auch mit ganz konkreten Anliegen, um die sie bitten oder für die sie danken wollen."³⁷⁹ While Horan's grandiose scheme is represented in farcical terms and intended to entertain, the underlying criticism is directed at Catholicism which writers imply condones commercial practices and the exploitation of the credulity and faith of pilgrims. Although many pilgrims, it is implied, see themselves on a spiritual journey from ignorance to enlightenment, many, since the Middle Ages, are lured by the prospect of being granted a plenary indulgence, at papal discretion, towards the remission of sin. The commercialisation of religion and the exploitation of people's faith recall Martin Luther's censure of Catholic Church doctrine and the practice of selling plenary indulgences. Luther's condemnation of Catholic Church methods resulted in a schism in the Christian Church that has endured for centuries. Luther's Reformation led to the establishment of the Reformed and Protestant churches. According to Luther's teachings salvation is a gift of God attainable only through faith. The schism and resulting division into Catholic and Protestant churches prompted centuries of bloody conflict and power struggles allegedly in the name of the true faith. The foregoing representation suggests that the international pilgrimage industry is an elaborate money-spinner which may console the pilgrim soul

³⁷⁸ Astrid Fieß and Lars Kabel: KulturSchock Irland/Nordirland. Bielefeld 2008, p. 132.

³⁷⁹ *ibid.*

implying, however, that the Catholic Church and commercial interests are the true beneficiaries, as they dutifully seek to satisfy spiritual needs.

Ritual, Mindset, Change

The travel writers Gose and Aschbacher ascribe medieval characteristics to Irish Catholicism and an ardent devotion to religious observance: "Die (katholische) Religion ist in der Republik ein unumstößliches Faktum (kein Diskussionsthema) und der kirchliche Kult wird hier wie kaum in einem anderen Land mit mittelalterlich anmutender Frömmigkeit und Innigkeit praktiziert und zwar von jedermann."³⁸⁰ The representation by Gose and Aschbacher connotes traditionalism and ritualism associated with cult worship, implying Church control and curtailment of personal freedom which contradict the guiding principles of a modern, liberal society where the rights of the individual are protected and valued. Irish Catholicism is represented as *der kirchliche Kult* implying that the Church, as an institution and religious ceremonies outweigh personalised or individual spirituality and the engagement with the tenets of religious doctrines. From a German perspective, Irish Catholicism is depicted as old-fashioned, medieval and conservative, uninfluenced by the Enlightenment or contemporariness and hence embodies the antithesis of the German hetero-image of informed modernity. Irish Catholics are depicted as compliant and in thrall to the ritualism of traditional Catholicism thus evoking images of modern German Catholics as either devout churchgoers or sceptical, lapsed Catholics. Modern German Christianity is the legacy of centuries of debate and rational examination of doctrine that engaged the enquiring German mind through the Reformation and the *Aufklärung* to the democracy of the Weimar Republic and beyond. The travel account above touches on recurrent images and themes associated with the long-term stereotype of Irish Catholicism. The construct of Catholic Ireland signifies powerful, societal influence by the Catholic Church with its passive and resigned followers, who are under the spell of religion and kept in check by religiously inspired rituals. The representation of the central role played by religion in Irish society contrasts with the perceived general indifference towards religion among some modern Germans. Modern Germany is powered by practical considerations, a strong work ethic and a sense

³⁸⁰ Dieter Gose and Helmut Aschbacher: Goldstadt-Reiseführer Irland. Pforzheim 1973, p.17-18.

of responsibility and justice. While Germans would find Ireland's devotion to religion interesting in cultural terms, commonsensical Germans would consider Ireland's belief in the supernatural quaint, servile, unproductive and entertaining. The Irish Catholic stereotype is instrumentalised to highlight Ireland's perceived 'otherness' and difference from German readers' auto-image. The representation of Irish Catholicism in predominantly negative terms implies the ascription of positive and superior characteristics to the German way of thinking which the writer implicitly valorises. Accordingly, a journey to Catholic Ireland is represented as a unique and mystical travel experience, exclusive to the remote shores of Western Europe and no longer possible in cosmopolitan, central Europe which is predominantly secular and modern. Representations of Irish religiosity manifest a dichotomy between the traditional and the modern in terms of religious observance as symbolised and accentuated by Ireland's geographic location on the European periphery and Germany's central location in the pulsating heart of Europe and the European Union. In Alioth's opinion, Irish Catholicism with its medieval mindset has inculcated humility (*Demut*) and deference into the alleged Irish national character: "Über dem Ganzen liegt ein Hauch mittelalterlicher Universalität, aber auch mittelalterlicher Demut."³⁸¹ Alioth implies Irish Catholicism discourages individualism and self-assertion thereby locating the Irish Catholic mindset in medieval days and bearing little relation or relevance to the reality of contemporary Irish or European attitudes and lifestyle. He maintains Ireland's medieval mentality "eine andernorts versunkene Denkweise"³⁸² situates the country outside the norms of a dynamic, liberal, democratic European Union:

Irland manifestiert sich dem Betrachter, der von außen kommt, derzeit als Insel, auf der eine andernorts versunkene Denkweise sich ansatzweise bis in die Gegenwart erhalten hat, als Stätte für eine Archäologie mittelalterlicher Mentalität, die allein deswegen, weil sie auf dem Kontinent Aufklärung und Liberalismus nicht überdauert hat, nicht zwangsläufig minderwertig zu sein braucht.³⁸³

³⁸¹ Martin Alioth: Ein Wink aus den Grotten.

³⁸² *ibid.*

³⁸³ *ibid.*

The writer's evaluation of the Irish Catholic mindset is intended to remind his readers that the European Union is a streamlined organisation, requiring loyalty to and observance of core European Union values and norms. While Irish Catholic attitudes are represented as outmoded and consequently incompatible with EU norms, Alioth patronisingly considers the bizarre, idiosyncratic Irish Catholic mentality worthy of academic study because of its quaintness. He belittles Ireland's perceived lack of individualism and reason implying a valorisation and superiority of Swiss and German insight over Irish Catholic tradition. The writer implies that the secularisation of Irish society is an essential step towards approaching EU standards. Ireland is represented as an anomaly, and an 'island' far removed from the diversity of cosmopolitan, central Europe and the nerve centre of the European Union. Irish people are depicted, in contrast to their German counterparts, as backward, submissive, and out of touch with the reality of the modern world, evoking images of Ireland as a backward and conservative country and a bastion of Catholicism. Ireland's underdevelopment and traditionalism contrast with and underscore implied German liberalism and worldliness. Alioth's dislike of and irritation with the Irish mindset implies valorisation and advocacy of the German hetero- and auto-image of individualism, confidence, contemporariness and practicality. Alioth alleges perceived Irish backwardness is ascribable to the implied fanciful and emotional qualities of the alleged Irish national character combined with the controlling influence of the Irish Catholic Church. Germany, on the other hand, has prospered in a secular, cosmopolitan society that recognises and guarantees unrestricted freedom of conscience, thus empowering the individual and fostering personal development. Alioth's hetero-image of Irish Catholicism constitutes a *Gegenbild* or counter-image of Heinrich Böll's hetero-image of the innocence and kind-heartedness of Irish Catholicism as represented in his *Irisches Tagebuch*,³⁸⁴ first published in 1957 and allegedly constructed as a condemnation of German materialism. From a German perspective, Ireland is now a member state of the European Union; however the impact and influence of Irish Catholicism on the lives of modern Irish citizens is not in keeping with modern, liberal European Union standards. German readers who are conscious of the issue of sectarian nationalism and the politicisation of religion in Northern Ireland certainly regarded the combination of

³⁸⁴ Heinrich Böll: *Irisches Tagebuch*. München 1961.

Catholic fundamentalism and nationalism in the Republic of Ireland with unease and suspicion.³⁸⁵

Cultural attitudes in West Germany changed with the arrival of economic prosperity and stability which followed post-war reconstruction and a period of political apathy. Emboldened by prosperity and social stability, German citizens reasserted their democratic right to object and to demonstrate in public. Protests against proposed emergency legislation, the Vietnam War and nuclear power aroused public interest and inspired public initiatives on environmental issues leading to the formation of the Green Party. A more sinister side of the new politics saw the emergence of urban terrorism by the *Rote Armee Fraktion* which prompted the introduction of the *Radikalenerlass* barring suspected extremists from employment in the public service. In the German Democratic Republic, the illegal *Montagsdemonstrationen* which began in Leipzig in 1989 heralded the final days of the former East German regime.

The juxtaposition of images of Irish religiosity coupled with fantasy and images conjuring up the harsh reality of the country's troubled economy prompt another comparison with Germany in the aftermath of the Second World War: "Die Gegenüberstellung dieser angeblich intakten Gesellschaft mit der heutigen Realität, die von einer 17prozentigen Arbeitslosigkeit und gähnend leeren Staatskassen geprägt ist, muß zwangsläufig zu einer Bereitschaft führen, unkonventionelle Auswege ins Auge zu fassen."³⁸⁶ Alioth contrasts the rational, grounded German with the Irish fantasist-dreamer where Germany reliably confronts reality and responds accordingly while Ireland revels in an imaginary, idyllic past, denies reality and seeks refuge in a fantasy world and religious rituals. The writer argues that in view of Ireland's poor economic performance, a practical and sensible approach, from a German perspective, would be for the country to confront its economic woes and undertake immediate steps to remediate the situation, particularly as Ireland's economic performance is subject to EU guidelines. The aftermath of the Second World War saw Germany confronted with the reality of a country and an economy in ruins, vast numbers of refugees and loss of territory. Post-war German recovery efforts were assisted by the Marshall Plan (1948), which was a programme of financial aid and other

³⁸⁵ See chapter 5: German Representations of Northern Ireland.

³⁸⁶ Martin Alioth: Ein Wink aus den Grotten.

initiatives, sponsored by the United States and designed to boost the economies of western European countries after the Second World War. Germans faced their difficulties with commonsense and practicality, motivated by the desire to survive and succeed and achieved remarkable success within a relatively short period, by dint of perseverance and hard work. Germany's *Wirtschaftswunder* in the 1950s marked the beginning of Germany's ongoing success as an economic power in Europe and internationally and consolidated the country's leading role in the European Union. Changes in circumstances triggered the emergence of revised German auto- and hetero-images overlaying the hallowed, former German image as *Das Land der Dichter und Denker* and the reviled images of Nazi German atrocities. The current German auto- and hetero-images connote technological and scientific expertise, resolute leadership, responsibility and humanitarianism. Germany's remarkable economic recovery is contrasted with Ireland's poor economic performance, indicating government weakness and efforts at improvement impeded, Alioth suggests, by Catholic Church influence: "Die Arbeitslosen bleiben in Irland, als ständig präsenter Beweis, daß der junge Staat versagt hat."³⁸⁷ Alioth maintains Ireland's economic problems are primarily structural and emanate from social structures involving the role and influence of the Catholic Church in Irish society: "Die mehr oder weniger bewußte Einsicht, daß die Wirtschafts- und damit die Existenzprobleme Irlands strukturell und nicht konjunkturell bedingt sind, fördert das Gefühl der Hoffnungslosigkeit, fördert die Bereitschaft zur Flucht in die Irrationalität."³⁸⁸ He suggests the Catholic Church's claim to be a moral pillar safeguarding Irish society from the harsh realities of life, has in reality impeded and thwarted the development of a sense of self-reliance and a readiness to confront reality and tackle economic and social problems. The writer suggests that secular societies where religion does not play a prominent role, as in the case of Germany, are socially and economically more successful than those which rely on supernatural and religious guidance. Alioth indicates the long-established practice of Church-state cultural conditioning in Ireland, which cocoons people, also fosters reactionary attitudes and leads troubled people to resort to religion for miraculous solutions, rather than face reality. On the other hand, he suggests in secular societies where innovation is encouraged and different opinions are tolerated,

³⁸⁷ *ibid.*

³⁸⁸ *ibid.*

citizens thrive and the economy flourishes. He indicates that the contrast in lifestyle between continental Europe and Ireland is becoming apparent to Irish people, prompting a paradigm shift in Irish attitudes to religion: "Das Bewußtsein der außerordentlichen irischen Religiosität steht in starkem Kontrast zum Gefühl, in den letzten fünf bis zehn Jahren Zeuge eines erlahmenden irischen Glaubenseifers gewesen zu sein."³⁸⁹ Alioth implies Ireland's growing indifference to religion and the crumbling of Church authority are attributable to indications of economic success thus evoking long-standing, parallel images of a similar decline in religious observance in Germany and in other countries. Young Irish people in particular are represented as displaying less tolerance to Church authoritarianism. *Der Spiegel* argues: "Liberale, aufstrebende junge Menschen müssen viel mehr noch jene Einschränkungen als bedrückend empfinden, die Irlands mächtige römisch-katholische Kirche dem Inselstaat auferlegt hat."³⁹⁰ Ireland's educated young population is rebelling against the strictures of Catholic Ireland and seeking self-realisation outside traditional, cultural conventions, similar to their German peers in previous decades during the *68er-Bewegung*: "Das Land, dessen Bevölkerung zur Hälfte jünger als 25 ist, hat einen Überschuß an qualifizierten Ingenieuren und Elektronikern. Ausgebildet an Irlands Schulen und Universitäten, haben sie meist bei ausländischen Unternehmen im Land - 883 Betriebe, darunter 130 deutsche Firmen - praktische Erfahrungen gesammelt."³⁹¹ German companies that invested in Ireland would regard the enthusiasm and levels of education among their Irish workforce as a boon to productivity and profit. In the political sphere, Ireland is represented as distancing itself from traditional political and cultural patterns: "Aber Irland hat sich durch eine Entscheidung, die verdient, historisch genannt zu werden, gegen seine erstarrt vergangenheitsbezogene Parteienpolitik aufgelehnt,"³⁹² by turning away from nationalist policies and embracing the modern world. Grudinski interprets the election of a liberal, female politician as Ireland's president as a manifestation that Ireland is gradually approaching EU standards: "Aber Irlands erste Präsidentin Mary Robinson ist zudem linksliberal, parteilos, reformfreudig, nach irischem Maßstab 'feministisch' und eine international anerkannte

³⁸⁹ *ibid.*

³⁹⁰ Anonymous: Traurige Tage, *Der Spiegel*, 30 June 1986, p. 103.

³⁹¹ Anonymous: Aufbruch der Söhne, *Der Spiegel*, 7 April 1986, p. 173.

³⁹² Ulrich Grudinski: Gegen die Tradition von den Frauen gekürt, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 12 November 1990, p. 14.

Verfassungsrechtlerin.³⁹³ Ireland's cultural shift, it is implied, is attributable to the Irish government's investment in education, European Union membership and German direct investment that added new impetus to the groundswell of opposition to Catholic Church's rule and traditional nationalist politics.³⁹⁴ Ireland is depicted as a society in transition thereby validating the merits of EU membership and liberal, democratic norms which Ireland is striving to attain by liberating itself from the constraints of the Catholic Church. While Ireland is represented as making progress towards the development of a modern, secular state Heimrich contends: "Irland verändert sich, aber mit irischem Tempo,"³⁹⁵ suggesting there is change afoot in Ireland, not at a rapid pace as in Germany but at a stereotypically leisurely Irish tempo. The slow pace of change implies social and cultural obstacles, which are examined below, must first be cleared to enable progress. From a German perspective, the barriers impeding Ireland's entry into the modern world relate to the moral and cultural constraints imposed by the long-established symbiosis between Church and state, as Jungbluth declares: "Eine katholische Wagenburg wurde da errichtet,"³⁹⁶ suggesting the Catholic Church was determined to shield Ireland from unpleasant experiences and contaminating influences from the 'outside' world, thereby, from a German perspective, hampering the country's social and economic development.

Censorship

Williams claims: "Nirgends in Europa war die katholische Kirche so untrennbar mit dem Staat verwoben, hatte sie so viel Macht über das Volk und widersetzte sie sich derart allen Reformen wie in der Republik Irland,"³⁹⁷ implying that the Catholic Church, in effect, governed Ireland, thereby conjuring up images of a priest-ridden state. The 1929 Censorship of Publications Act empowered the state-appointed censorship board to impose a permanent ban on material considered to be indecent, obscene and offensive to Catholic morals. The British popular press was targeted by the censor and was obliged to publish sanitised Irish editions without information on birth control and distinctive tabloid

³⁹³ *ibid.*

³⁹⁴ See chapter 3: Ireland as a Member of the European Union.

³⁹⁵ Bernhard Heimrich: Scheidung auf irisch, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 27 November 1995, p. 1.

³⁹⁶ Rüdiger Jungbluth: Auf der Flucht vor der Armut, Die Zeit, 26 May 1989, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/1989/22/auf-der-flucht-vor-der-armut> [13 January 2017].

³⁹⁷ Colin Williams: Irland entgleitet zunehmend dem Griff des katholischen Klerus: Bastion der Kirche wankt, Berliner Zeitung, 14 January 1995, online archive, <https://archiv.berliner-zeitung.de/16928478> [28 December 2016].

smut content. Fieß and Kabel contend: "Was die Kirche im irischen Staat als Bedrohung der Moral ansah, wurde daraufhin von der Regierung kontrolliert oder verboten: Kinofilme, 'verdächtige' englische Zeitungen und Zeitschriften, moderne Jazz- und Jive-Tänze, zu freizügige Frauen Mode." ³⁹⁸ The travel writers, whose representation of the mutually beneficial relationship between the Irish state and the Catholic Church is examined above, depict the domineering Catholic Church as moral guardian of its flock acting with the sanction of the Irish state. The writers suggest Irish people experienced patronising attitudes from Church and state contrasting with the tolerance and broad-mindedness that are hallmarks of German society. From a German perspective, Ireland's policy of spoon-feeding its citizens infringes personal liberties and would be unacceptable in a modern, liberal society. Furthermore, it is implied Church-state control engenders resentment and frustration and stifles, from a German perspective, the invaluable capacity for critical thinking and entrepreneurship.

Books and literature by Irish and international writers, where the content was deemed indecent and improper, were prohibited by the censor, indicating, according to the travel writer Dusik the arbitrary power of the Irish Catholic Church: "Drastische Zensurgesetze, die auf Betreiben des Klerus erlassen worden waren, hatten schon Autoren wie James Joyce und Sean O'Casey dazu gebracht ins Ausland zu gehen, um der kulturellen Überwachung und Restriktion zu entfliehen."³⁹⁹ Reference to Ireland's draconian censorship laws evokes unpleasant memories of state control in Germany's past. German readers will recall the fate of intellectuals and regime opponents, the burning of books and the banning of 'unsuitable' material by the Nazi regime. Similarly, opponents of the regime in the former German Democratic Republic whose work was deemed not to serve state propaganda purposes fled or were 'obliged' to leave the country as dissidents. Likewise, a policy of strict censorship and careful monitoring by the *Stasi (Ministerium für Staatsicherheit)* was enforced forbidding access to 'foreign' media. Potting and Weweler contend the Irish press is right-wing and traditionalist: "Der Konservatismus der irischen Presse verhindert einen 'investigativen' Journalismus,"⁴⁰⁰ triggering a counterpart image

³⁹⁸ Astrid Fieß and Lars Kabel: KulturSchock Irland/Nordirland. Bielefeld 2008, p. 134.

³⁹⁹ Roland Dusik: Irland selbst erleben. Gleichen 1986, p.25.

⁴⁰⁰ Christoph Potting and Annette Weweler: Anders Reisen Irland. Ein Reisebuch in den Alltag. Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1984, p.95.

of German newspapers that inform the public, contribute to opinion formation and freedom of opinion, and expose abuses without government dictates. Irish newspapers, by contrast, are largely owned by media conglomerates or influential business interests. The travel writers maintain: "Ausgewogenheit ist alles – offene ideologische Kontroversen über Staat und Gesellschaft haben in den meisten Zeitungen nichts verloren,"⁴⁰¹ suggesting the content of Irish newspapers is lightweight and uncontroversial in the interests of maintaining the semblance of social harmony while serving the business interests of their owners. Post-war German newspapers have earned a reputation for high-quality journalism following periods of turmoil. Germany as the world's fifth largest newspaper market serves a diversity of opinions and does not shy away from controversy. Modern Germany prides itself on its liberal, democratic constitution and liberal approach to censorship which prohibits material likely to incite popular hatred (*Volksverhetzung*), promote unconstitutional organisations and undermine civil liberties. German law guarantees freedom of expression and *Pressefreiheit* which are governed by law. Journalistic and ethical standards are specified in the Press Code. The German public values high-quality, informative journalism and considers it crucial to the needs of a democratic society. Modern Germans abhor the notion of censorship, in particular, for propagandistic or religious purposes. Ireland's stringent censorship laws with their implicit authoritarian, paternalism are therefore out of keeping with German and European Union norms.

Irish censorship laws constitute, from a German perspective, an un-European mindset with regard to the rights of the individual and freedom of expression and emanate from the symbiotic relationship between Church and state in Ireland. German readers who enjoy the benefits of a liberal, democratic state would find Ireland's censorship regulations incomprehensible and thoroughly repugnant. In 1967, a new Censorship of Publications Act released more than 5,000 previously banned books. Irish censorship rules were gradually relaxed enabling access to 'foreign' television channels and 'other' media sources providing information on sexual health and opportunity to engage with liberal ideas.

⁴⁰¹ *ibid.*

Education

In modern Germany, education is constitutionally the responsibility of the state with religious instruction forming part of the curriculum. In Ireland, the Catholic Church is represented as having a significant impact on the education system: "Das Erziehungswesen der irischen Republik ist beinahe vollständig in der Hand der Kirche und ihrer Orden,"⁴⁰² implying a Catholic ethos pervades the Irish education system. Tieger criticises the inadequacy of multi-denominational or non-denominational schooling: "Nichtreligiöse oder überkonfessionelle Schulen gibt es in der Republik kaum. Es dauerte fast ein dreiviertel Jahrhundert seit der Staatsgründung, bevor 1995 in Galway die erste überkonfessionelle Schule eröffnet wurde,"⁴⁰³ suggesting Ireland lags behind Germany and other liberal EU states in this regard. He argues the Catholic Church's perceived monopoly of the education system alienates non-Catholics in Northern Ireland and is at variance with German and EU norms of societal integration: "Die Präsenz der katholischen Kirche in der Erziehung ist auch ein Grund für das Mißtrauen der Protestanten gegenüber allen Beteuerungen von Toleranz aus der Republik."⁴⁰⁴ Tieger condemns segregated education implying the practice fosters exclusiveness, isolation and discontent: "Das Erziehungswesen ist in Nordirland und der Republik ein Gebiet, das die beiden Staaten den Kirchenmännern überlassen, obwohl die Schule eine wesentliche Rolle spielen könnte in der Annäherung der konfessionellen Gruppen."⁴⁰⁵ The writer favours a system of integrated education, from an early age, as practised in Germany and in other liberal EU states: "So läßt der Staat es zu, daß die Jugend bis zum Alter von 16 Jahren konfessionell getrennt erzogen wird und schon dadurch Barrieren entstehen, die später nur schwer überwunden werden können."⁴⁰⁶ Tieger recognises the pivotal role of education in societal integration and development, particularly with regard to sectarianism in Northern Ireland and, by implication, other troubled regions.⁴⁰⁷ He suggests that state management of the education system, as is the norm in Germany and other EU states would enhance the prospects of peace and prosperity for Northern

⁴⁰² Martin Alioth: Ein Wink aus den Grotten.

⁴⁰³ Manfred P. Tieger: Irland: Die Grüne Insel. München 1996, p. 107.

⁴⁰⁴ *ibid.*

⁴⁰⁵ *ibid.*

⁴⁰⁶ *ibid.*

⁴⁰⁷ See chapter 5: German Representations of Northern Ireland.

Ireland and thus moderate sectarian sentiments. Williams reminds readers of the 1970 removal of the ban on Catholic students attending Dublin's Trinity College: "Vor noch gar nicht langer Zeit drohte der extrem rechte Erzbischof von Dublin, John McQuaid, katholischen Studenten, die Vorlesungen am protestantisch 'angehauchten' Trinity College hörten, mit Exkommunikation".⁴⁰⁸ The Catholic Archbishop is represented as a religious bigot whose attitudes to religion and education are reminiscent of a bygone age. From a German perspective, Ireland's education system evokes images of the Protestant Chancellor Bismarck's *Kulturkampf* sparked by his mistrust of Catholic loyalty to the newly created German Empire and the Vatican's proclamation of papal infallibility. Bismarck with the support of the liberals introduced measures to remove Catholic Church influence from schools and place them under state inspection and control. Bismarck's attempt to subject the German Catholic Church to state control led to a severance of diplomatic relations between the Vatican and the German Empire. German Catholics who were represented politically by the Centre Party opposed Bismarck's plans and suffered religious persecution and oppression. The representation of Ireland's education system with its predominantly Catholic ethos situates twentieth century Ireland in nineteenth century *Kulturkampf* Germany and far removed from contemporary European social norms. The impact of the Catholic Church on the Irish education system is represented as clashing with the principles of the contemporary German education system that implicitly functions as a microcosm of a multicultural, pluralistic, secular society where people's values are respected, regardless of their religious beliefs. The writers suggest that traditional, religiously inspired attitudes and a repressive, moral code determine and shape Ireland's education system thus inhibiting the personal development and exercise of free will that is advocated by the state education system in liberal Germany and is in line with European Union values. The involvement of the Catholic Church in Ireland's education system is represented as an anomaly and unmodern in contemporary Europe with Ireland regarded as acting against the prevailing European tendency. It may be argued, that elements of the school curriculum under the Nazi regime, in particular education in 'racial awareness', found their counterpart images in an Irish education system which fostered Irish Catholic nationalism and moral superiority. Wolf is critical of

⁴⁰⁸ Colin Williams: Irland entgleitet zunehmend dem Griff des katholischen Klerus: Bastion der Kirche wankt.

the practice of single-sex education in Ireland: "Jahrzehntelang hatte ein Schulsystem, in dem die katholische Kirche das Sagen hat(te), dafür gesorgt, daß Mädchen und Jungen, säuberlich getrennt, vor allem ihre traditionellen Rollen lernen,"⁴⁰⁹ indicating that gender segregation is detrimental to self-realisation and not generally practised by Ireland's more advanced European peers who favour co-education as a means of social development and integration. While German-speaking writers generally represent the Irish education system as unmodern, restrictive and under Catholic influence the following representations convey positive and commendable attributes: "Nachdem Irland in den sechziger Jahren die höhere Schulbildung vom Schulgeld befreite, gehen derzeit mehr als 50 Prozent der Schulabgänger in die Hochschulausbildung."⁴¹⁰ Wegner commends Irish investment in education as far-seeing and indicates successful outcomes. The benefits of Irish education standards to German investors have been examined above. *Der Spiegel's* Hoffmann foregrounds Irish government emphasis on education and its contribution to Ireland's remarkable success in the software industry compared with Germany: "Sechs von zehn irischen Schulabgängern absolvieren ein Studium,"⁴¹¹ suggesting that the German higher education system requires more investment to ensure greater diversification and adaptability in a highly competitive global economy.

The representation of the enduring symbiotic relationship between the Catholic Church and the Irish state in the 1980s with regard to the related areas of censorship and education activates images from Germany's past and simultaneously accentuates, from a German perspective, the virtues of the secular state. The Nazi regime instrumentalised the education system and the media to promote its totalitarianism and racial awareness. The former German Democratic Republic applied similar methods to propagandise its message and control its citizens. When one considers the perceived cornerstones of Irish national identity, as mentioned above, and the influence of the Catholic Church on Irish society, Ireland's incompatibility with German and European Union norms is accentuated, indicating, from a German perspective, the merits of secularism. Responsibility for education in the Republic of Ireland lies with the Irish state although many school

⁴⁰⁹ Ursula Wolf: In: Anders Reisen Irland. Ed. by Christoph Potting and Annette Weweler. Reinbek bei Hamburg 1990, p. 108- 121, here p. 110.

⁴¹⁰ Dirk Wegner: Anders Reisen Irland: Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1999, p. 54.

⁴¹¹ Kevin Hoffmann: Keltischer Tiger, *Der Spiegel*, 26 March 2005, p. 91.

buildings are privately owned and supported by different churches. Teacher salaries are paid by the Irish state. Building maintenance costs are financed by the state and through local fundraising. Reform of the Irish education system is an ongoing process with Catholic Church participation in the Irish education system dwindling against a backdrop of increasing secularisation and the decline in religious vocations. In 2018, religious instruction became an optional subject for pupils at Irish state-run secondary schools indicating the Irish government's intention to secularise the Irish education system. At present, parents wishing to enrol their children in Catholic Church-owned primary schools must present a baptismal certificate for their children. This regulation is currently subject to government review.

Women

Ursula Wolf maintains Irish women's lives and social status were determined by the male-dominated Catholic Church (*Patriarchat*). The writer attributes the perceived oppression of Irish women to the 'special position' of the Catholic Church in the Irish Constitution until the 1970s: "Denn die dann 'freie' Republik Irland wurde und wird dominiert von einem Patriarchat, das von der frauenfeindlichsten Institution der abendländischen Geschichte geprägt wird: der katholische Kirche."⁴¹² Wolf contends Irish women were subjected to discrimination and authoritarianism connoting a status as second-class citizens and subordinates. Irish women are represented as downtrodden and oppressed: "Für kämpferische, selbstbestimmte Frauen war da kein Platz."⁴¹³ The implied parallel auto- and hetero-images of modern German women connote independence and spiritedness. The writer's emphasis on the title *'freie' Republik Irland* indicates her belief in the contradictory nature of the title, which, from her perspective, does not grant equal rights to women. Wolf suggests that the special position of the Catholic Church in Irish society: "Ihr hatte die Verfassung bis 1972 eine besondere gesellschaftliche Position eingeräumt,"⁴¹⁴ is responsible for gender inequality thereby implying women in modern, secular societies are less disadvantaged. The legal status of Irish women is represented as constituting a form of subordination, according to Krönig: "Gewiß - die irische Verfassung

⁴¹² Ursula Wolf: In: Anders Reisen Irland. Ed. by Christoph Potting and Annette Weweler. Reinbek bei Hamburg 1990, p. 108- 121, here p.108.

⁴¹³ *ibid.*

⁴¹⁴ *ibid.*

schreibt heute noch als einzige in Europa den Frauen vor, wo ihr Platz ist, nämlich im Heim bei der Familie, und nach wie vor existieren Sozial- und Familiengesetze, die nicht gerade liberalen Geist atmen."⁴¹⁵ The position of women as stated in Article 41 of Ireland's 1937 constitution evokes images of a bygone age and a mindset that is out of touch with the realities of contemporary life.⁴¹⁶ Ireland's constitution is represented as an anomaly in societal terms when compared with other European Union member states. In the early 1970s, societal issues and in particular the status of women came to the fore in Irish public discourse. In 1970, the Irish Women's Liberation Movement was founded. 1973 saw the removal of the so-called marriage bar which had hitherto prevented married women from working in the public service. In 1977, the Irish government implemented the EEC's directive on equity by passing the Employment Equality Act, which also established the Employment Equality Agency. The reality of the everyday Irish situation is quite different from the law according to Krönig: "Aber die Verfassungswirklichkeit änderte sich noch schneller als Artikel und Gesetze."⁴¹⁷ The writer implies the pace of social change in Ireland has outstripped constitutional articles and Ireland has adopted a liberal course and is in the process of ridding itself of its conservative Catholic past. The journalist implies resourceful and spirited Irish women have sidestepped the constitution, entered and successfully competed in the workforce as indicated in the election of Ireland's first female head of state in 1990. Wegner represents the election of Mary Robinson as Irish president as a watershed moment in Irish social history: "Als Mary Robinson 1990 als feministische Präsidentin und erste Frau das höchste Staatsamt antrat, ging das konservative Erbe des Republikgründers de Valera völlig über Bord"⁴¹⁸ signifying a departure from centuries of reactionary Catholic conservatism and nationalism that had shaped the Irish state since its foundation.

Although the Weimar Constitution of 1919 had, in theory, proclaimed the equality of the sexes, Germany's Equal Rights Law (*Gleichberechtigungsgesetz*) first became effective in 1957. The representation of the lowly position of women in Ireland serves to validate

⁴¹⁵ Jürgen Krönig: Der keltische Tiger. Die Zeit, 13 December 1996, online archive, https://www.zeit.de/1996/51/Der_keltische_Tiger [24 June 2015].

⁴¹⁶ Bunreacht na hÉireann (Constitution of Ireland, enacted in 1937), Article 41.2.1° (The Family). In particular, the State recognises that by her life within the home, woman gives to the State a support without which the common good cannot be achieved.

⁴¹⁷ Jürgen Krönig: Der keltische Tiger.

⁴¹⁸ Dirk Wegner: Anders Reisen Irland: Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1999, p.13.

German broad-mindedness and the subsequent achievements of the feminist movement internationally and in Germany. German readers are aware of the long and difficult path to the contemporary status of women in German society. During the rule of the Nazi regime, women were relegated to subordinate roles and positions as dictated by the regime where they were confined to family roles or utilised as a labour force for state purposes. The former German Democratic Republic which proclaimed gender equality engaged in *Mutti-Politik* to sustain its image. In reality, working mothers bore the responsibilities of child rearing and household in a communist society where gender stereotypes persisted and survived. Since the late 1960s, women have occupied increasingly more leading positions in German public life while from a German feminist perspective the struggle for gender equality continues. The election of Angela Merkel as German Chancellor in 2005 and her long tenure of that office indicate German commitment to competence, gender equality, and social integration, in view of Merkel's East German background. The introduction of the *Frauenquote* law in Germany, implemented in 2016, indicates German society's commitment to gender equality thus enabling women to break through the so-called 'glass ceiling'. The writer welcomes the initial signs of official secularisation in Irish society signifying Ireland's entry into the twentieth century in terms of Church-state separation and indicates empathy with Ireland's women in their struggle for equal status.

The German representation of stereotypical Irish Catholic society presents Irish families as sizeable in comparison with average household size in Germany. The travel writers Potting and Weweler ascribe this state of affairs to Catholic Church influence and puritanical and straight-laced attitudes towards sexuality: "Daß Frauen Gebärmaschinen bleiben, dafür sorgen seit der politischen Unabhängigkeit Kirche, sexualfeindliche Moral und Familienpolitik gleichermaßen."⁴¹⁹ The travel writers instrumentalise a familiar, feminist battle cry *Gebärmachine* or 'breeding machines' to highlight Ireland's high birth rate implying misogynistic and backward attitudes contrasted with liberal and tolerant attitudes in Germany, with regard to women's rights and birth control. The travel writers' construct of the status of Irish women as chattels in the dark, repressive culture of the

⁴¹⁹ Christoph Potting and Annette Weweler: *Anders Reisen Irland. Ein Reisebuch in den Alltag*. Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1984, p.129.

1980s would enrage liberal-minded Germans and Europeans who widely favour gender equality. Ireland is constructed as a misogynistic country on the periphery of European civilisation while Continental Germany represents European endeavours towards gender equality and liberalism. Germany's central location smoothed the way for the spread of Enlightenment ideals. Germany played a pivotal role in the *Aufklärung* which influenced society, arts and culture and generated auto and hetero-images of German culture as a sophisticated and polished influence and inspiration. Colonial rule and nationalist aspirations supported by the Catholic Church deprived Ireland of Enlightenment influences evoking images connoting dullness and subjection. The writers ascribe Ireland's puritanical attitudes to sexual relations and lack of consideration for women to the strictures and repressive moral code imposed by the male-dominated Catholic Church, whereas church influence on German society is mainly confined to pastoral and doctrinal issues in a consultative role with the state. The use of the pejorative term *Gebärmachine* with reference to women deprives women of personhood, the right to bodily autonomy and reduces them to the status of human 'breeding machines' a concept which is abhorrent, illiberal and deplorable. High rates of infant mortality, rampant tuberculosis and traditional patterns of emigration to America and missionary zeal kept Ireland's growing population in check. In the interests of preserving the national image of model Catholicism, illegitimate children vanished from sight: "Weil sie unehelich waren, wurden in den fünfziger Jahren 1500 irische Kinder nach Amerika gebracht."⁴²⁰ The export of Ireland's 'problem' was instrumental in extending traditional Irish Catholic influence in America and promoting the spread of conservative Catholicism. This practice, furthermore, lends credence to the maxim of 'an Irish solution to an Irish problem' evoking images of implied Irish indecisiveness contrasted with implied German resoluteness. In Germany, the *Wirtschaftswunder* of the 1950s resulted in labour shortages and necessitated the employment of *Gastarbeiter* or migrant workers from Turkey and Mediterranean countries. While the German economy boomed, Ireland struggled with poverty, isolation and the authoritarianism of Church-state collusion.

⁴²⁰ Reiner Luyken: Zur Adoption exportiert, Die Zeit, 11 October 1996, online archive, https://www.zeit.de/1996/42/Zur_Adoption_exportiert [16 June 2012].

The symbiotic relationship between Church and state in Ireland imposed a strict puritanical moral code, as mentioned above, whereby procreation was the sole purpose of sexual activity thus ensuring the future of a morally superior Gaelic Catholic Ireland. The sexual revolution of the 1960s liberalising social and moral attitudes was greeted by German society which was already familiar with the emergence of social progressivism from the Weimar Republic period. German tolerance and broad-mindedness are fundamentally at variance with Ireland's situation where: "Lust und Sexualität stehen in Irland nach wie vor unter klerikalem Zugriff."⁴²¹ Wolf suggests the impact of the Catholic Church deprives Irish people of sexual pleasure, fosters prudishness, discriminates against women and impedes Ireland's integration into a liberal Europe, on an equal footing.

Contraception

Jungbluth maintains the teachings of the Irish Catholic Church are largely accountable for the considerably high Irish birth-rate and resultant large families when compared with other EU countries: "Den größten Anteil am Kinderreichtum hat wohl die katholische Kirche, die nirgends in Europa soviel Einfluß hat wie in Irland."⁴²² The dictatorial power of the Catholic Church is manifest in its influence on family planning guidelines that normally fall within the remit of civil authorities in secular states: "Nach wie vor gelingt es ihr, ihre Lehre zur Geburtenkontrolle in staatliche Gesetze umzumünzen,"⁴²³ indicating an interdependence of considerable duration between Church and state. The journalist implies the Catholic Church is negligent in its duty of care towards Irish children signifying that many will have to emigrate as Ireland's poor agricultural economy cannot support them. The Catholic Church is represented as abusing its position and consolidating its influence with little regard for the welfare and fate of parents and children. Jungbluth's image is in conflict with hetero-images of good natured Irish Catholicism and happy children in the 1950s, as depicted in Heinrich Böll's *Irisches Tagebuch*.⁴²⁴ In an epilogue entitled *Dreizehn Jahre später* and written in 1967, Böll is appalled and dismayed at the availability of artificial contraception in Ireland and the likelihood of fewer Irish children

⁴²¹ Christoph Potting and Annette Weweler: *Anders Reisen Irland. Ein Reisebuch in den Alltag*. Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1984, p.129.

⁴²² Rüdiger Jungbluth: *Auf der Flucht vor der Armut*, Die Zeit, 26 May 1989, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/1989/22/auf-der-flucht-vor-der-armut> [13 January 2017].

⁴²³ *ibid.*

⁴²⁴ Heinrich Böll: *Irisches Tagebuch*. München 1961.

whose enthusiasm and innocence delighted the writer.⁴²⁵ As a Catholic and critic of German post-war materialism, Böll's concern for Ireland's unborn children is probably a projection of his response to the 1961 introduction of the contraceptive pill into Germany. While Böll showed compassion for Ireland's poverty and high emigration figures, he romanticised and sentimentalised the simplicities and harsh realities of Irish life and extolled the exemplary devoutness of Ireland's Catholics compared to their German counterparts.

The impact of the Catholic Church on family planning matters in Ireland highlights the differences between liberal, secular Germany and Catholic Ireland, according to the travel writer Tieger. The representation of Irish society as backward and under clerical rule generates images of German society as worldly-wise and cosmopolitan: "In den konfessionell liberalen Ländern Europas ist man der Meinung, daß der Staat nicht 'moralische' Vorstellungen per Gesetz durchsetzen sollte und deshalb beispielsweise Verhütungsmittel frei und legal erhältlich sein sollten."⁴²⁶ Through a juxtaposition of images constructed in terms of a 'them and us' discourse, the writer acclaims liberal, democratic, secular Germany while casting the repressive role of the Catholic Church in Irish society in an unfavourable light. The positive attributes of German liberalism and secularism are commendable when compared with Irish backwardness and Church-state authoritarianism. German readers would be dumbfounded at Ireland's irresponsible approach to family planning and sexual health and resent Church interference in citizens' reproductive behaviour. German citizens who are accustomed to a separation of the roles of church and state and liberal attitudes towards family planning would regard Ireland's family planning regulations as an infringement of civil liberties and privacy. In view of Ireland's high birth rate and poor economic circumstances, family planning provision would be considered a necessary priority by commonsensical Germans. The attitude of Church and state in Ireland with regard to contraception is represented as being negligent towards citizens in matters of welfare and future progress. Cultural differences between secular, enlightened Germany and backward, Catholic Ireland are conveyed by the writer's explicit reference to the duration of the contraception ban in Ireland: "Irland hat

⁴²⁵ Heinrich Böll: *Irishes Tagebuch*. München 1998.

⁴²⁶ Manfred P. Tieger: *Irland: Die Grüne Insel*. München 1996, p.101.

erst jetzt den Verkauf von Kontrazeptiva wieder erlaubt, nachdem sie 45 Jahre verboten waren,"⁴²⁷ suggesting modern German citizens would not tolerate the banning of common items which had been readily available for a long time. German readers would regard the legalisation of artificial contraception as long-overdue: "Erst seit Anfang 1985 sind Kondome und Spermizide ohne Rezept für jede mindestens 18 Jahre alte Person verfügbar,"⁴²⁸ and consider the prohibition utterly absurd and contrary to common sense and a hindrance to Ireland's economic and social development. The legalisation of artificial contraception is represented in *Der Spiegel* as a victory for the Irish government against the powerful Catholic Church in its battle to save Ireland from perceived *Moralische Korruption*: "Zum ersten Mal in Irlands republikanischer Geschichte widersetzte sich eine Regierung erfolgreich dem bestimmenden Einfluß der katholischen Kirche."⁴²⁹ From a German perspective, the Irish government's historic success is a significant indication of the Irish state's intention to secularise Irish society thus bringing it into line with European Union norms. The Irish Taoiseach's response to the landmark parliamentary result indicates a firm resolve to counter Catholic Church influence and authority: "Die Autorität des Staates", freute sich FitzGerald, "hat sich gegen allen Druck behauptet."⁴³⁰ The writer juxtaposes images contrasting state and church authority implying entrenched opposition to state policy from the Catholic Church and large sections of the Catholic laity. In contrast, images signifying resistance to Church authority and tradition are now associated with the Irish state. German readers would consider the perseverance of the minority, liberal voice in Ireland and the success of their challenge to Church authority an endorsement of modern German society which advocates pluralism and tolerance and rejects nationalism as divisive and destructive. Legalised regulation of artificial contraception in Ireland focused public attention on the issue of divorce.

Divorce

The term *Scheidung* triggers the interaction of Irish hetero-images with corresponding German hetero-images with respect to division and separation. In the case of both countries, the activated images associated with the term *Scheidung*, instrumentalised in a

⁴²⁷ *ibid.*

⁴²⁸ Anonymous: Traurige Tage, *Der Spiegel*, 30 June 1986, p. 104.

⁴²⁹ Anonymous: Moralische Korruption, *Der Spiegel*, 4 March 1985, p. 130.

⁴³⁰ *ibid.*

metaphorical sense, evoke latent images with historical links. Grudinski maintains Ireland's 1986 proposed referendum on civil divorce signifies a further erosion of the Irish Catholic Church's political power and a further step towards the secularisation of Irish society. Developments in Ireland were closely observed by the German Catholic Church as Ireland had long been regarded as Western Europe's Catholic stronghold. The German Catholic Church was, for decades, beset with shrinking congregations and large numbers of people leaving the Church while the Irish Catholic Church maintained high church attendance figures: "Die große politische Macht der katholischen Kirche in Irland, oft 'Immunität' genannt, weil 95 Prozent aller Staatsbürger Katholiken sind und dies vom Nationalcharakter nicht zu trennen ist, wird durch ein Referendum über die Einführung der zivilen Ehescheidung gefährdet."⁴³¹ The Irish electorate rejected the 1986 referendum to remove the constitutional ban on divorce. In 1995, a second referendum on the divorce issue was held. Controversy over the need for a second referendum proposing the introduction of civil divorce in Ireland would bewilder German readers who generally accept divorce as part of German social culture: "Der Freistaat⁴³² hatte 1925 die Scheidung verboten; 1937 wurde ein Verbot, Gesetze für eine Ehescheidung zu verabschieden, auch Teil der Verfassung der Republik. Bis Freitag war Irland das einzige Land Europas, in dem nicht nur die katholische Kirche, sondern auch der Gesetzgeber bestimmte, daß die Ehe unauflöslich sei."⁴³³ From the perspective of German Christians, the close relationship between Church and state in Ireland is baffling as Germans are accustomed to a constitutional separation of church and state since the Weimar Republic era. Furthermore, Ireland's Church-state policy regarding the indissolubility of marriage would be considered as bearing the hallmarks of fundamentalism and authoritarianism and disregarding the rights of the individual. The Irish Catholic Church's anti-divorce stance is outmoded, from a German perspective and is not in keeping with mainstream European lifestyle practices and attitudes. The partnership between Church and state in Ireland is represented as authoritarian and uncaring signifying indifference to the welfare and wishes of citizens by obliging people to remain in unhappy relationships. Commonsensical Germans view divorce as routine and a matter for civil law which

⁴³¹ Ulrich Grudinski: Ein Riß in Irlands katholischem Fundament? Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 24 June 1986, p. 12.

⁴³² The Irish Free State established 1922 under the Anglo-Irish Treaty following the Irish War of Independence 1919-1921. The 1937 constitution renamed the state Ireland.

⁴³³ Bernhard Heimrich: Scheidung auf irisch, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 27 November 1995, p. 1.

regulates and terminates legal contracts between consenting adults. In 1875, divorce connected with civil marriage was introduced in Germany when purely religious unions were made illegal. This regulation was in line with Bismarck's *Kulturkampf* as he sought to curb the political influence of the Catholic Church and its resistance to his efforts to unify the country. Traditionally, prior to 1996, the majority of Irish marriage ceremonies were performed and registered in Catholic churches, thereby complying with church and state regulations. German readers would therefore consider the delayed introduction and the intricacies of the proposed Irish divorce legislation absurd and elaborate, evoking the German hetero-image of the Irish concept of time in interaction with the auto- and hetero-images of German efficiency, practicality and organisation: "Die Eheleute müssen vier der letzten fünf Jahre in unheilbarer Zerrüttung verbracht haben, und nach Ablauf der Frist müssen sie dem Gericht unwiderlegbare Beweise vorlegen, daß eine Aussöhnung auch fürderhin nicht erwartet werden kann."⁴³⁴ Irish divorce proceedings are represented as a lengthy ordeal, a test of endurance and a deterrent whereas the German approach to divorce is apparently businesslike, straightforward and practical. The Irish Catholic Church is represented as clinging tenaciously to its powerful role in society and maintaining its traditionalist, moral stance contrary to the wishes of many of its flock who are gradually abandoning traditional attitudes: "Die Regierung und alle Parteien sind für die Ehescheidung, die Bischöfe sind dagegen. Beiden geht es um mehr als nur die Unauflöslichkeit der Ehe."⁴³⁵ Heimrich claims the Irish civil divorce issue has a deeper significance and implies it affects the bedrock of Irish society. Tieger contends there is growing opposition in Ireland to Church interference in civil affairs and a perceived tendency towards the liberalisation of Irish society: "Und immer mehr gläubige Katholiken sind heute der Meinung, die Vertreter der Kirche sollten sich aus der Politik heraushalten, was offensichtlich nicht allen von ihnen leicht fällt, aber gerade in bezug auf das Nordirland-Problem so wichtig wäre, weil dort die britische Familiengesetzgebung gilt und ein allgemein liberales Klima herrscht."⁴³⁶ The writer juxtaposes images of Britain's liberal, family laws with images of Ireland's conservative, family legislation in the context of Northern Ireland, thus highlighting the wide cultural gulf that exists on the island of

⁴³⁴ *ibid.*

⁴³⁵ Bernhard Heimrich: Je näher der Tag der Entscheidung rückt, desto unentschlossener werden die Abstimmenden, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 21 November 1995, p. 3.

⁴³⁶ Manfred P. Tieger: *Irland: Die Grüne Insel*. München 1996, p. 21.

Ireland. Tieger observes that cultural differences between communities on both sides of the Irish border have, for centuries, alienated people and inevitably created friction. He recalls the ill-fated campaign by former Taoiseach Garret FitzGerald to liberalise Irish society with a view to accommodating Northern Ireland's way of thinking and to allay Unionist fears: "Deshalb wollte die Regierung FitzGerald Ende der achtiger Jahre die Verfassung ändern, um Nordirland die Angst zu nehmen, [...]." ⁴³⁷ FitzGerald's liberal views triggered the holding of the rejected 1986 divorce referendum: "Darüber hinaus wollte sie [die Regierung] das Verfassungsverbot der Scheidung aufheben und weitere Bereiche der Familiengesetzgebung liberalisieren." ⁴³⁸ The writer suggests FitzGerald was ahead of his time and regarded by his contemporaries as liberal, radical and innovative by the standards of the time: "FitzGerald's 'Kreuzzug' für eine 'Non Sectarian Republic' ist in Nordirland auf freundliche Zurückhaltung gestoßen und löste in der Republik heftige Kontroversen aus [...]." ⁴³⁹ FitzGerald is represented as a committed European and a liberal statesman whose progressive policies found little support among reactionary Catholic voters in the Republic of Ireland. ⁴⁴⁰

Grudinski focuses on the importance of Ireland's first divorce referendum in 1986 and suggests a possible threat to Ireland's long-held Catholic values: "*Ein Riß in Irlands katholischem Fundament?*" ⁴⁴¹ with implied political consequences "Ein Scheidungsreferendum, das auch politische Folgen haben kann." ⁴⁴² Grudinski highlights the metaphorical significance of the division (*Riß*) in Irish society which ironically may be healed by the outcome of the referendum on divorce: "Aber die politische Bedeutung reicht weiter. Stimmt die Republik mit Ja, für das Recht auf Scheidung, ist sie der nationalen Wiedervereinigung mit dem britisch regierten Nordirland einen großen Schritt näher gekommen." ⁴⁴³ Through a juxtaposition of images the journalist represents the diverging cultures and identities, conditioned by different interpretations of history, that epitomise Northern Ireland's Troubles and the partition of Ireland: "Stimmt sie mit Nein, bekommt die Staatsidee der 'einen Nation auf einer Insel', zur Freude der

⁴³⁷ *ibid.* p.98

⁴³⁸ *ibid.*

⁴³⁹ *ibid.*

⁴⁴⁰ See chapter 3: Ireland as a Member of the European Union, p. 11-13.

⁴⁴¹ Ulrich Grudinski: *Ein Riß in Irlands katholischem Fundament?* Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 24 June 1986, p. 12.

⁴⁴² *ibid.*

⁴⁴³ *ibid.*

protestantischen Ulster-Unionisten, einen schweren Schlag." ⁴⁴⁴ German readers would approve of gestures of reconciliation such as the introduction of divorce in the Republic of Ireland in an effort to heal the cultural and historic rift on the island of Ireland. The 1973 amendment to the Irish constitution, that in principle, removed the special position of the Catholic Church, referred to above, was intended as a sign of goodwill towards Northern Ireland's citizens and an endeavour to defuse tensions following renewed sectarian violence in the late 1960s. The European Union would regard peaceful relations on the island of Ireland as beneficial to all Europeans and in keeping with the Union's policy of a peaceful and inclusive Europe.

The complexity and intricacy of the Irish divorce issue summon up images of the divided Germany and subsequent reunification of the two German states. Decades of separation and the legacy of history compounded the separation of Germany and Ireland combined with circumstances particular to each country. The groundwork towards a resolution of the division of Germany was spearheaded by the German Chancellor Willy Brandt whose *Ostpolitik* of détente and rapprochement in the late 1960s helped to reconcile East and West and paved the way for eventual German reunification in 1990. German reunification was the result of a lengthy, painstaking process of diplomacy, tact and reconciliation. Periodic social tension experienced by German society since German reunification is an indication that the integration of diverging cultures with different interpretations of the past requires patience, engagement and commitment. Stereotypes of *Ossis* and *Wessis* and the notion of the so-called *Mauern in den Köpfen* are manifestations of the inherent difficulties of the ongoing acculturation process. Ireland remains a divided country. The Good Friday Agreement (1998) signed by both British and Irish governments, following a ceasefire declaration by opposing paramilitary forces, brought peace and stability to Northern Ireland. Referendums on the ratification of the Good Friday Agreement were held simultaneously in Northern Ireland and in the Republic of Ireland and carried with substantial majorities. In the Republic of Ireland, the referendum proposal concerned Irish nationhood and amendments to the keystone Articles 2 and 3 in the 1937 Constitution. The 1937 Constitution expressed the wish for a united Ireland by peaceful means and

⁴⁴⁴ *ibid.*

majority consent in both jurisdictions on the island. The new Articles in the 1998 amendment spoke of the 'will of the people' and focused on inclusion and reconciliation. Decades of hatred, bloodshed and deprivation were exchanged for the prospect of economic prosperity, social stability and co-operation in the liberal, pluralistic European Union. The Union's commitment to ensuring peace in Europe combined with its dedication to reconciliation provided the necessary framework for a return to peace and stability in Northern Ireland. The endorsement of the Good Friday Agreement by Irish and British politicians may be interpreted as a testament to the standards and influence of the EU with US diplomatic support in ensuring peace in Europe. Heimrich argues the issue of civil divorce in Ireland has a deeper significance which he interprets as a metaphorical separation (*Trennung*) and a gradual move towards secularisation: "Die Volksabstimmung hat aber auch über eine andere Scheidung - oder nach irischem Sprachgebrauch besser Trennung - befunden: zwischen Staat und Kirche."⁴⁴⁵ He contends Ireland is on course to break with its conservative Catholic tradition and embrace the modern world and a form of liberalism through the separation of church and state. Outside influences and changing circumstances have resulted in differences of opinion among Irish people who favour a clear separation of church and state in line with modern, liberal Europe and those who wish to retain Ireland's traditional church-state model and Catholic nationalist culture. The writer implies Ireland's contact with continental multiculturalism and liberalism provided impetus to an existing Irish desire for modernity in a European Union context. The November 1995 referendum on civil divorce in the Republic of Ireland was approved by a slight margin and the constitution was amended accordingly. In May 2015, an amendment to the constitution granting equality to same-sex marriages was passed into law in the Republic of Ireland having won a considerable majority of the electorate's approval in a referendum. In Northern Ireland, same-sex marriages have been legal since January 2020.

⁴⁴⁵ Bernhard Heimrich: Scheidung auf irisch, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 27 November 1995, p. 1.

Abortion

The highly emotive issue of abortion is the subject of protracted controversy in Germany and in Ireland. Citizens in both countries express a range of opinions on the matter manifesting different perspectives and cultural differences. The right to life is enshrined in both Germany's *Grundgesetz für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland* and Ireland's *Bunreacht na hÉireann*. This thesis examines the period from 1973 to 2010 during which abortion was banned outright in Ireland. Abortion was first banned in Ireland in 1861 under the British Offences against the Person Act and remained part of Irish law following Irish independence. The Eighth Amendment of the Constitution Act which outlawed abortion in the Republic of Ireland came into effect after a referendum in September 1983. Although abortion in Germany is practically possible for most women, it technically remains a criminal offence in all cases.

Ireland's Catholic Church is represented as harsh and uncompromising: "So wurde die rigide Haltung der katholischen Kirche zur Abtreibung 1983 gar zum Verfassungsgebot erhoben."⁴⁴⁶ The Catholic Church is depicted as autocratic, implying a browbeaten and intimidated people and a weak and submissive state. From the writer's perspective, the symbiotic relationship between Church and state exerts a hidden sinister influence: "Ob von der Kanzel, ob durch Zuträger in Regierung und Justiz oder durch Netzwerke wie 'Opus Dei' und 'Knights of Columbanus' - die katholischen Ajatollahs des irischen Kardinals Cahal [sic] Daly, 74, mischen immer mit."⁴⁴⁷ The Catholic Church is represented as an institution with insidious intent, relying on informers similar to the *Stasi* or State Security Service in the former German Democratic Republic. The writer's reference to *katholischen Ajatollahs* situates the Irish Catholic Church, in the writer's eyes, in Iran, a country known for its repressive, religious fundamentalism and far removed from modern European life. In a text titled *Die irische Abtreibungsdebatte rührt an das Selbstverständnis der Insel am Rand Europas*, Heimrich contends Ireland's perspective on abortion has historical roots: "Es gibt auch ein uraltes Entvölkerungs-Trauma. Das letztmal hat es sich in jener Hungersnot von 1847 eingebrannt, die der Geschichte der Iren fast ein Ende gesetzt

⁴⁴⁶ Anonymous: Traurige Tage, Der Spiegel, 30 June 1986, p. 104.

⁴⁴⁷ Anonymous: Morden für Europa, Der Spiegel, 25 May 1992, p. 176.

hätte,[...]"⁴⁴⁸ Heimrich claims this Irish perception relates to the perceived threat to the survival of the Irish as a people or ethnic group. The construct of the Gaelic Catholic race with its components of Catholicism and nationalism has been examined above. Nazi ideology believed in the superiority of the Aryan race and the science of eugenics was instrumentalised to further Nazi policies which involved the liberalisation of existing abortion laws. Modern Germany has distanced itself from the atrocities of Nazism and the country's contemporary abortion laws are influenced by the legacy of Germany's past, the ongoing process of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, and moral principles. Germany has amended its laws on the provision of abortion services to reflect changing circumstances and German reunification. However, critics, particularly in the women's movement, consider the law ambiguous, influenced by the country's past and inconsistent with Germany's alleged love of order, transparency and thoroughness. Heimrich's text, examined above, also applies to German *Selbstverständnis* on the issue of abortion legislation and *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*. The German auto- and hetero-images of *Leistung, Fortschritt* and *Erfolg* in commerce and industry evoke the complementary German auto- and hetero-images which grapple with the legacy of history, uphold Christian moral values and emphasise the importance of leadership and responsibility. The German representation of the Irish abortion discussion and its analogies with the German situation offers German readers an insight into the mindset of a traditional Catholic country on the subject of a delicate, moral issue where German legislators also have moral scruples and misgivings.

Giordano condemns Ireland's outright ban on abortion and claims: "Eine tiefere Verachtung der Frau ist kaum vorstellbar."⁴⁴⁹ While abortion is a sensitive issue and technically a criminal offence in Germany, terminations under particular circumstances and with medical certification are not punishable by law. From Giordano's perspective, Irish law is lacking in compassion: "Was zunehmend auf Widerstand stößt, ist jener abstoßend wirkende Fundamentalismus, der aus religiös-ideologischen Gründen überhaupt keinen Grund für einen Schwangerschaftsabbruch akzeptieren will, auch da

⁴⁴⁸ Bernhard Heimrich: Die irische Abtreibungsdebatte rührt an das Selbstverständnis der Insel am Rand Europas, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 24 February 1992, p. 3.

⁴⁴⁹ Ralph Giordano: Mein irisches Tagebuch. München 1999, p.65.

nicht, wo Vergewaltigung die Schwangerschaftsursache war."⁴⁵⁰ Irish attitudes to abortion are represented as fundamentalist, misogynistic and uncivilized and not in keeping with the liberal culture of modern Europe. Provisions under German law for women in so-called crisis pregnancies indicate the German state takes responsibility for its citizens and treats them with compassion. Ireland's outright ban on abortion connotes disrespect and contempt for the lives of women and human welfare while state-Church regulations condemn women in crisis pregnancies to their fate. The management of unplanned pregnancies in Germany and Ireland highlight the extent of the cultural gulf, on fundamental Christian principles, between traditional Catholic Ireland and Christian secular Germany. The secular German state is represented as taking responsibility for its citizens while Ireland's state-Church partnership is depicted as neglecting its duty of care and abnegating its responsibility towards its citizens. German readers who are familiar with Heinrich Böll's *Irisches Tagebuch* will inevitably draw comparisons between Böll's work from the 1950s and Giordano's similarly entitled travel journal from the 1990s. Böll's romanticised construct of Irish backwardness and innocence berated German Catholicism while valorising Catholic Ireland. On the other hand, Giordano's representation of the intolerance of Irish Catholicism casts the German secular state in a favourable light. German readers may reflect with pride and satisfaction on the achievements of their secular, liberal democracy in the interim and feel assured of the merits of a secular, Christian supranational state.

Der Spiegel depicts the Irish Catholic Church as shrewd and cautious in its determination to protect its Catholic stronghold against perceived European moral corruption:

"Nachdem Irland 1973 der EG beigetreten war, begannen die Moralisten zu fürchten, die kontinentale Lockerheit der Sitten könnte die grüne Insel infizieren."⁴⁵¹ The interaction of auto- and hetero-images conveys liberal, continental morality at variance with Irish Catholic conservative morality. The German construct of Ireland as *die grüne Insel* connotes a German hetero-image of Irish Catholic conservatism, purity and innocence interacting with the Irish Catholic auto-image of moral superiority, as previously examined. Liberal influences from abroad are represented as contaminating Ireland's

⁴⁵⁰ *ibid.*

⁴⁵¹ Anonymous: Morden für Europa, *Der Spiegel*, 5 May 1992, p. 176.

purity and innocence (*infizieren*) and as Heimrich further argues: "Als wäre die Grüne Insel ein Land wie jedes beliebige, sprich 'verdammte', andere."⁴⁵² Heimrich represents Ireland as *die Grüne Insel* evoking images of wholesomeness, virtue and assumed moral superiority while countries providing abortion services to Irish women are disparagingly othered. Martin Alioth maintains: "Die Neigung der Iren zu Scheinlösungen zeigt sich deutlich in den Überlappungsbereichen zwischen Kirche und Staat, bei Fragen der Moral und insbesondere der Sexualität."⁴⁵³ The writer suggests the overlapping of responsibilities between the Irish state and the Catholic Church results in stopgap or makeshift solutions on moral issues, implying vested interests that lead to arbitrary decision-making and lack of accountability: "Die Traditionalisten, die bisher stets die Mehrheit der Wähler gestellt haben, erwarten, daß wenigstens auf gesetzlicher Ebene der Anschein gewahrt bleibt, Irland folge den Lehren Roms."⁴⁵⁴ Conservative Irish Catholics are represented as more interested in maintaining their image as staunch Roman Catholics than in following Christian principles: "Die Tatsache, daß jährlich mindestens 4000 Irinnen in Großbritannien eine Abtreibung vornehmen lassen, ist kein Gesprächsthema, solange die irische Verfassung das ungeborene Leben unbedingt schützt."⁴⁵⁵ Alioth is critical of the implied hypocrisy of Irish Catholicism which conveniently ignores the plight of Irish women who have abortions performed outside Catholic Ireland thereby ensuring the image of Catholic Ireland remains untarnished. He suggests that authorities in secular countries who are experienced with working within clear parameters do not shirk their responsibility but endeavour to resolve difficult issues as humanely as possible while respecting legal and moral codes. The writers represent Ireland's position on abortion as Catholic yet unchristian, hypocritical and intent on keeping up appearances, evoking in political discourse, the mantra 'an Irish solution to an Irish problem'.

The legalisation of divorce in Ireland in 1995 was preceded by a liberalisation of the law regarding the availability of artificial contraception. In a referendum held in May 2018, two-thirds of the Irish electorate voted in favour of repealing the Eight Amendment to the

⁴⁵² Bernhard Heimrich: Die irische Abtreibungsdebatte rührt an das Selbstverständnis der Insel am Rand Europas, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 24 February 1992, p. 3.

⁴⁵³ Martin Alioth: Ein Wink aus den Grotten.

⁴⁵⁴ *ibid.*

⁴⁵⁵ *ibid.*

Irish Constitution (1983) which had outlawed abortion in Ireland. Under legislation enacted in December 2018 abortion is permitted in Ireland, under certain circumstances. Abortion in Northern Ireland was decriminalised in October 2019.

Although the Catholic Church and lay Catholic conservative groupings are depicted as persisting in their opposition to significant social reform and change, Irish society is generally represented as on the verge of social and economic modernisation and open-mindedness. Heimrich maintains: "Erst allmählich beginnt die Gesellschaft der Republik zu ahnen, daß auch ihr eine regelrechte '*Perestrojka*' bevorsteht - nicht in großen und katastrophalen Sprüngen, aber in kleinen, doch mitunter nicht weniger drastischen Schritten."⁴⁵⁶ Ireland's restructuring is proceeding at a leisurely pace without major upheaval. Germany has also experienced major reorganisation since the end of the Second World War. The post-war period saw West Germany gradually revert to the liberal, social democratic principles of the Weimar Republic era, distance itself from Nazism and strive to come to terms with the past. East Germany, on the other hand, allied itself with the Eastern Bloc, espoused Communism and denied past associations with Nazism. Political realignment was followed by economic success establishing and consolidating West Germany's position as the leading economy in Europe. Major changes of political direction in the former Soviet Union added impetus to the realisation of German reunification. The perceived slow pace of integration in reunified Germany may be attributable to the speed of reunification, the divergent interpretations of Germany's past which originally divided the country and ingrained prejudices acquired over decades of separation. Nevertheless, despite differences in political views, economic circumstances and the lingering notion of *Mauern in den Köpfen* the majority of German citizens regard the reunification of their country with a sense of accomplishment while being fully aware of the challenges which lie ahead.

While Ireland's economy is represented as thriving, a series of revelations concerning the sexual activities of some Irish clergymen shocked traditional Catholic Ireland: "Die gläubigen Iren mußten schmerzlich erkennen, daß selbst Gottesmänner ein Leben

⁴⁵⁶ Bernhard Heimrich: Je näher der Tag der Entscheidung rückt, desto unentschlossener werden die Abstimmenden, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 21 November 1995, p. 3.

unterhalb der Gürtellinie führten."⁴⁵⁷ Conservative Irish Catholics are depicted as *gläubig* suggesting a mixture of religiosity and naivety as regards their clerics. In a matter-of-fact tone Wegner informs readers: "Der Bischof von Galway hatte gar einen unehelichen Sohn und bezahlte das Schweigen der Mutter aus dem Kirchensäckel, andere kirchliche Würdenträger wurden in Schwulenlokalen und Bangkokker Bordellen entdeckt oder der Kindesmißhandlung überführt,"⁴⁵⁸ suggesting worldly-wise German readers are not as easily deceived or shocked as Ireland's unsuspecting Catholics. Wegner disparagingly refers to the Catholic clergy as *Würdenträger* evoking images of a priestly caste whose auto-image implies superiority over their deferential flock, apparent immunity from the law and the right to abuse their clerical privileges. While traditionalist Irish Catholics are represented as regarding clerics as paragons of virtue, the more cosmopolitan German is apparently unperturbed and unconcerned by clerical 'misdemeanours' and is familiar with the public discourse on the issue of clerical celibacy. The German representation indicates a growing trend towards the liberalisation of Irish society, particularly amongst young people and so-called lukewarm Catholics, attributable to higher standards of education, economic prosperity and exposure to European lifestyle. Well informed German readers will naturally conclude that the 'sexual indiscretions' of members of the Irish clergy were met with nonchalance and Irish humour by Irish Europhiles.

Clerical Child Sex Abuse

The 1990s saw unexpected growth in the Irish economy accompanied by an incremental shift towards the liberalisation of Irish society. German representations depict Ireland as increasingly focused on its thriving economy and less preoccupied with the past.⁴⁵⁹ Irish society had already been rocked by controversy concerning the sexual transgressions of allegedly celibate clergy. Heimrich maintains that against a backdrop of economic success Ireland is confronted with societal upheaval: "Auch beim Blick nach innen werden die Iren plötzlich gewahr, daß ihre Welt sich wandelt. Die Regierungskrise dieser Tage ist mehr als der Streit einer Koalition, mehr sogar als nur ein Ereignis der Politik."⁴⁶⁰ The traditional

⁴⁵⁷ Dirk Wegner: *Anders Reisen Irland*: Reinbeck bei Hamburg 1999, p. 13.

⁴⁵⁸ *ibid.*

⁴⁵⁹ See chapter 3: Ireland as a Member of the European Union.

⁴⁶⁰ Bernhard Heimrich: *Vieles stimmt nicht am Verhältnis zwischen Staat und Kirche*, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 21 November 1994, p. 4.

overlap of interests between Church and state in Ireland has provoked an unprecedented crisis in Irish society: "Die Krise brach aus, weil eine Ahnung schließlich zur Gewißheit geworden war: Die staatliche Obrigkeit hat eine Person der Kirche vor dem Gesetz der Republik geschützt und dabei beide Institutionen beschädigt."⁴⁶¹ Irish society is represented as finding itself at a crossroads as civil authorities insist on upholding state law and consequently disregarding the historically privileged position of the Catholic Church. Heimrich juxtaposes the terms *Ahnung* and *Gewißheit* hinting that if the Irish Catholic Church enjoyed protection and legal immunity from prosecution it was highly probable other Catholic countries and regions also benefitted from similar privileges. In the context of an impending referendum on divorce, as examined above, Heimrich indicates: "Eine andere Wunde, die aufgebrochen ist, scheint sich aber nicht mehr zu schließen."⁴⁶² Irish society is shaken by increasing numbers of allegations relating to clerical child sex abuse: "Die Reihe von Bekenntnissen und Enthüllungen über den sexuellen Mißbrauch von Jungen im Ministrantenalter will nicht abreißen."⁴⁶³ Revelations of incidents of clerical child sex abuse in Ireland inevitably alarmed Catholics abroad and may have encouraged victims in other Catholic countries to break their silence on incidents of abuse. The scandal in the Irish Catholic Church may also have afforded perpetrators in other Catholic countries an opportunity to close ranks and take stock of their own situation as further reports of wrongdoing came to light. The Vatican and the German Catholic Church cautiously monitored events related to clerical child abuse in Ireland as they unfolded. Anger and revulsion at Catholic Church sanctioned abuse triggered a paradigm shift in Irish society's attitudes towards the all-powerful Catholic Church and consequently a recasting of the German representation of traditional Catholic Ireland.

Heimrich claims the scandal empowered Irish people thereby evoking a counter-image of centuries of deferential and fearful cowering before Church might: "Neu sei nur, daß Opfer oder ihre Eltern heute nicht mehr bereit seien, aus kollektiver gläubiger Scham zu schweigen, und eine öffentliche Untersuchung habe dann zur anderen geführt."⁴⁶⁴ The

⁴⁶¹ *ibid.*

⁴⁶² Bernhard Heimrich: Je näher der Tag der Entscheidung rückt, desto unentschlossener werden die Abstimmenden, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 21 November 1995, p. 3.

⁴⁶³ *ibid.*

⁴⁶⁴ Bernhard Heimrich: Je näher der Tag der Entscheidung rückt, desto unentschlossener werden die Abstimmenden.

Irish state is represented as assuming responsibility for its people thus emphasizing the distinction between Church and state authority by establishing an independent, judicial inquiry into allegations of clerical sex abuse: "1999 setzte das irische Parlament eine unabhängige Kommission unter Vorsitz des Richters Sean Ryan ein"⁴⁶⁵ and "Im November 2009 folgte der Murphy-Bericht."⁴⁶⁶ The journalist commends the Irish government's thoroughness in its comprehensive process of investigation:"Die beiden umfassenden Berichte legen nahe, dass die Aufarbeitung in Irland weiter fortgeschritten ist als in anderen Ländern."⁴⁶⁷ The Irish government's rapid and decisive tackling of the scandal, it is implied, is uncharacteristic considering the historical bond between Church and state in Ireland. Furthermore, attention to detail and promptness are images associated more with representations of German social culture rather than with the alleged Irish national character. Heimrich claims that the day of reckoning for the Irish Catholic Church has come: "Die allgemeinere Schlußfolgerung scheint zu sein, daß nun auch in Irland die Endzeit der alten Ehrfurcht begonnen hat,"⁴⁶⁸ implying the German Catholic Church is already being held accountable for its perceived shortcomings which is manifest in increasing numbers of the laity leaving the church.

The writer's endorsement of the Irish government's conduct of official investigations into clerical child sex abuse allegations conveys the suspicion that Germany and other countries also engaged in deception, as they methodically attempted to whitewash allegations and conceal information in order to avoid reputational damage to the Catholic Church. Allegations of clerical abuse of minors made to the Catholic hierarchy in Germany and in Ireland, as it later transpired, were dismissed and offending clergy were systematically transferred or referred to psychiatric care in order to shield the Church's reputation. Irish report findings revealed a systematic cover-up and disregard by the Catholic Church of decades of complaints against members of the Catholic clergy: "Die Untersuchung stellte die katholische Führung auf der Insel an den Pranger: Systematisch hat sie demnach jahrzehntelang sämtliche Beschwerden über ihre Priester ignoriert und

⁴⁶⁵ Carsten Volkery: Die Salamtaktik der Bischöfe, Der Spiegel, 26 March 2010, online archive, <https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/gesellschaft/irland-die-salamtaktik-der-bischoefe-a-684659.html> [13 April 2012].

⁴⁶⁶ *ibid.*

⁴⁶⁷ *ibid.*

⁴⁶⁸ Bernhard Heimrich: Je näher der Tag der Entscheidung rückt, desto unentschlossener werden die Abstimmenden.

vertuscht.⁴⁶⁹ The Catholic Church is represented as a powerful, secretive organisation that essentially instrumentalised its societal position, influence and resources to safeguard its own interests and reputation. The Church considered itself above the law and its societal position as unassailable (*Immunität*) as suggested by Grudinski above. Members of the Catholic Church are depicted as abusing and betraying the trust of the people it had vowed to protect. The Catholic Church's reprehensible behaviour generates a counter-image of its own self-righteous moral preachings in interaction with its auto- and hetero-images as a paragon of moral virtue.

Images conveying public anger and government action are juxtaposed with images evoking the disdainful and complacent stance of the Irish Catholic hierarchy: "Doch die irischen Bischöfe reagierten nur zögerlich auf die öffentliche Wut."⁴⁷⁰ The Irish Catholic Church and, by implication, the German Catholic Church are represented as closed, elitist organisations whose societal positions entitles them to privileges and immunities not granted on the same terms to all citizens: "Bis in die Moderne hinein reichte die Kultur des Verschweigens und der Schonung kirchlicher Reputation, wenn immer Fälle von sexuellem Missbrauch oder ähnlicher Verstöße ans Tageslicht zu dringen drohten."⁴⁷¹ Kielinger argues the Church's attitude of superiority and entitlement to immunity from prosecution is based on cultural and historical factors. He reminds his readers that the Church's history is littered with incidents of degeneracy and clericalism and that the Church as an institution is shrouded in secrecy. The Church's projected image as *Seelsorger*, educator and advocate of the weak and needy, under an implied veneer of decency, constitutes the counter-image of the institution's historical and disreputable hetero-image. The Catholic Church is represented as the antithesis of the auto-image of kindness and compassion that it cultivated and projected for centuries. The long-term hetero-image of Catholicism as champion of social justice and humanitarianism is represented as subordinate to the Church's self-serving priorities of maintaining its considerable assets, avoiding scandal and reputational damage by engaging in a deliberate policy of secrecy and deception.

⁴⁶⁹ *ibid.*

⁴⁷⁰ *ibid.*

⁴⁷¹ Thomas Kielinger: Die Kirche und die Menschenrechte, Welt am Sonntag, 28 March 2010, online archive, <https://www.welt.de/debatte/article6958120/Die-Kirche-und-die-Menschenrechte.html> [13 April 2012].

Ireland was not the only Catholic country where members of the clergy were accused of child sexual abuse. *Die Welt* journalist Thomas Kielinger worked as the newspaper's chief correspondent in Washington D.C. until 1994. In 1998, Kielinger became London correspondent for *Die Welt* and held the position for several years. Kielinger claims: "Die Dinge spitzen sich zu. Nicht nur in Irland, der katholischen Kirche liebstes Kind, aber dort am Allergreifbarsten."⁴⁷² The journalist implies earlier accusations against members of the German Catholic clergy were initially ignored or systematically concealed by the hierarchy. Allegations against German clergy, akin to those in Ireland as examined by Heimrich above, eventually came to light and had to be confronted.⁴⁷³ In Germany, earlier rumours of clerical child sex abuse were eventually investigated as more details of the scandal involving the German Catholic Church emerged in 2010. It also became evident that a campaign of complicity and silence was conducted by the German Catholic hierarchy to protect its considerable and undeclared wealth and reputation by shielding offenders. As leader of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, Cardinal Ratzinger, later Pope Benedict XVI, was reputedly responsible for issuing a 2001 Vatican decree instructing bishops, under strict secrecy, to report all cases of child abuse to Vatican authorities. The decree made no mention of reporting crimes to the police or civil authorities. Revelations about the clerical sex abuse of minors in Germany were particularly distressing for devout churchgoers in the Catholic strongholds of southern Germany and the Rhineland. The pontificate of Pope Benedict XVI was controversial with criticism of his handling of clerical child abuse scandals and claims of subversion of state law in order to shield paedophile clerics thereby protecting the Church's assets and reputation. Kielinger claims wrongdoing, deception and flouting of the law involving the Catholic Church raise further doubts about the integrity of the Church. He indicates the Church's auto- and hetero-images of superiority, privilege and immunity from prosecution do not grant the Church a status above the law of the land: "Eine Kirche, die sich nicht rückhaltlos im Boden des Rechtsstaates verankert und die Hoheit des Strafrechts über alle Rücksichten anerkennt, muss geradezu in Atemnot geraten angesichts des Verlustes ihrer

⁴⁷² *ibid.*

⁴⁷³ Bernhard Heimrich: Vieles stimmt nicht am Verhältnis zwischen Staat und Kirche, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 21 November 1994, p. 4.

Glaubwürdigkeit."⁴⁷⁴ He suggests that the Church, in particular, because of its traditional societal position must manifest unfailing compliance with the constitutional rule of law (*Rechtsstaat*). Kielinger asserts the Church must also realise that its pronouncements on moral and political issues have lost trustworthiness in the light of the clerical child sex abuse scandal and that the Church's days as Catholic German society's moral voice are numbered. He points to the analogous situation in Ireland: "Und die Zeit der Symbiose zwischen Staat und Kirche, die Irland fast wie eine Theokratie hatte aussehen lassen, geht ihrem Ende entgegen,"⁴⁷⁵ suggesting the crumbling societal power of the seemingly unassailable Irish Catholic Church should serve as a warning to the German Catholic hierarchy. The writer suggests Church reform is long overdue and that regulations regarding the links between church and state in Germany need to be revisited and if necessary amended, to address the needs of contemporary German society.

Investigations into clerical abuse of minors in both Germany and Ireland encountered difficulties in accessing church records and archives. In 2011, the then Taoiseach Enda Kenny severely criticised the Vatican for perceived undermining of child protection guidelines and for alleged attempts to frustrate state enquiries. Furthermore, the Catholic Church displayed reluctance to compensate victims despite the Church's considerable wealth and assets. The Catholic Church is depicted as shamefully abusing its powerful societal position and compounding its crimes through systematic deception and denial. The representation portrays Irish people as having uncovered the Church's double standards and defied its traditional authority thus generating a counter-image of empowerment following centuries of deference and intimidation. Germany and Ireland are now confronted with the challenges of coming to terms with the legacy and long-term consequences of the scandal which has left deep wounds in both societies.

The foregoing German representation and analysis indicate the majority of writers are critical of the role of the Catholic Church in Irish society and favour the notion of a secular state. Krönig makes a case for the Catholic ethos in society and utilises the Irish Catholic way of life as a gauge to support his advocacy of Catholic culture. He argues: "Auch der

⁴⁷⁴ Thomas Kielinger: Die Kirche und die Menschenrechte, Welt am Sonntag, 28 March 2010, online archive, <https://www.welt.de/debatte/article6958120/Die-Kirche-und-die-Menschenrechte.html> [13 April 2012].

⁴⁷⁵ *ibid.*

Autoritätsverlust der katholischen Kirche erwies sich nicht nur als positiv. Gewiß hatte die Kirche die Menschen gegängelt und einer erzkonservativen Moral unterworfen."⁴⁷⁶ Krönig concedes that although Irish Catholics may have felt inhibited and restricted due to the Church's reactionary attitudes, he nevertheless insists that Catholicism, is an integral component of the Irish mindset which for centuries was moulded and guided by the Catholic faith. The writer, who seems favourably disposed towards Catholicism, possibly for personal reasons, suggests that religious beliefs offer a yardstick in our relations with others and have a social and spiritual function as an antidote to soulless materialism and complacency. Krönig maintains Ireland's distinctive quirkiness is attributable to the country's Catholic tradition, that the Catholic ethos distinguishes Irish people and that this cultural distinctiveness contributes to their popularity: "Andererseits trug der Katholizismus entscheidend zur Herausbildung nationaler Identität bei: Vor allem förderte er jenen sozialen Zusammenhalt und Familiensinn, der die kleine Nation am Rande Europas so freundlich, tolerant und liebenswert machte."⁴⁷⁷ The writer foregrounds Irish community spirit, tolerance and open-mindedness implying that these qualities are not a given in all European Union member states. Furthermore, he suggests European Union stability, uniformity and the secular state cannot replace spirituality or faith: "Nun ist ein moralisches und spirituelles Vakuum entstanden, das Europa nicht auszufüllen vermag."⁴⁷⁸ He implies materialism and the welfare state deprive the human spirit of challenge and comfort which religion provides. In the former German Democratic Republic, where the practice of religion was discouraged, religious faith nevertheless served as a bond of understanding and mutual support against state control. The harmonious demise of the East German regime and the transition to West German democracy were eventually achieved with the support of East German Protestant pastors. Krönig is critical of the European Union which he implies strives to impose administrative and cultural uniformity as a bland nostrum for European society, thereby stifling creativity and cultural distinctiveness which were traditionally the essential and distinguishing hallmarks of Europe's diverse peoples.

⁴⁷⁶ Jürgen Krönig: Der keltische Tiger, Die Zeit, 13 December 1996, online archive, https://www.zeit.de/1996/51/Der_keltische_Tiger [24 June 2015].

⁴⁷⁷ *ibid.*

⁴⁷⁸ *ibid.*

German Representations of Northern Ireland

The images we form of other countries and peoples, through direct or indirect contact, are informed by the interaction of the auto-image of our own country and the hetero-image of the other country. These images of ourselves and others are not constant and are subject to change and modification with the passage of time and changing circumstances. This chapter examines how the German perception of a troubled Northern Ireland evokes the auto-image of post-war Germany thereby representing Northern Ireland as the antithesis of the German self-image. The chapter analyses the German representation of Northern Ireland's culture through decades of violence and lawlessness culminating in a cessation of hostilities and a return to normality. Dominant motifs in the representation include nationalism, social division, and violence. The issue of the 1981 hunger strike is examined, from a German perspective, as well as representations of German investment interests in Northern Ireland. The analysis and commentary focus on the German representation of Northern Ireland in a range of non-fiction texts. The non-fiction texts represent a variety of genres ranging from articles in newspapers, magazines and journals to travel guides and other forms of travel writing. The chapter will guide the reader, by means of observation and examination of the ever-changing interaction between auto- and hetero-images, through the German representation of Northern Ireland. The representation and analysis cover the period from accession to the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1973 to the decade following the implementation of the Belfast or Good Friday Agreement.

Introduction

The chapter begins with a brief historical overview and summary of the Northern Ireland issue and conflict, euphemistically referred to as the 'Troubles'. Northern Ireland comprises the six north-eastern counties of Ireland. The legal basis for the setting up of Northern Ireland, with Belfast as its capital and seat of the new Northern Ireland Parliament, was the passage of the Government of Ireland Act on 23 December 1920.

The roots of the Northern Ireland problem lie in the historic conquest and subsequent colonisation of Ireland carried out through a series of so-called plantations, in the

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Under a British government policy scheme, known as the Ulster Plantation, English and then Scottish emigrants were settled in Ulster between 1609 and 1690. The English colonists were mainly Protestant while the Scottish settlers professed Presbyterianism. Cultural differences, exacerbated by colonial rule, led to resentment and tension between Protestant-Presbyterian settlers and the native, Catholic Irish. Over the centuries, communities in Northern Ireland were divided by history and national allegiance. The Protestant-Presbyterian Unionist majority was committed to maintaining union with Great Britain while the Catholic, nationalist minority strove for a united Ireland.

In the Republic of Ireland, the centuries-long struggle for independence continued. There were repeated attempts to introduce Home Rule for Ireland, to no avail. The Easter Rising of 1916 was suppressed and its leaders executed. The War of Independence or Anglo-Irish War began in 1919. The war ended in a Treaty (1921) dividing the island of Ireland into two separate parts; with 6 Ulster counties to remain within the United Kingdom and the 26-county Free State to be outside the United Kingdom but within the British Commonwealth. A bitter and divisive Civil War ensued, on the issue of partition, between pro- and anti-Treaty forces, with the anti-Treaty forces capitulating in 1923. The Republic of Ireland was officially inaugurated on Easter Monday 1949 and Ireland ceased to be a member state of the British Commonwealth. Northern Ireland remains one of the 3 legal jurisdictions which make up the United Kingdom and the official or legal name of the region⁴⁷⁹ is Northern Ireland.

In the late 1960s, demands by Catholic nationalists in Northern Ireland for equal civil rights gathered momentum. Tensions between the two communities increased and resulted in sectarian violence and terrorist activities. Armed insurgents and illegal paramilitary factions fought on both sides of the conflict with the British Army deployed in 1969, to maintain law and order. During the Troubles, Northern Ireland experienced the effects of internment without trial, civil rights agitation, hunger strikes and persistent violent, civil unrest.

⁴⁷⁹ The term 'region' is used, for practical purposes and in the interests of clarity, in this thesis, when referring to Northern Ireland.

In 1994, the IRA called a ceasefire followed shortly afterwards by a suspension of hostilities by loyalist paramilitary groups. Multi-party talks about the future of Northern Ireland were attended by representatives from Northern Ireland, the British and Irish governments and American diplomats. The conflict was formally ended with the signing of the Belfast or Good Friday Agreement of 1998. Under the terms of the Good Friday Agreement, the Northern Ireland Assembly is the devolved legislature for the region with a power-sharing form of government, thus ending the practice of Direct Rule by the United Kingdom government from 1972 to 1998. British army personnel were withdrawn from Northern Ireland in 2007 after thirty-eight years service.

The examination commences with an article by the journalist Rudolf Walter Leonhardt. He studied in London and worked in various capacities for *Die Zeit* and British newspapers, as well as working for the BBC. Leonhardt penned a series of articles analysing the Northern Ireland situation for the liberal *Die Zeit* while based in London. Leonhardt indicates general political indifference towards Northern Ireland from people in the Republic of Ireland: "Im Grunde ist die Lage doch so: Die Iren in Dublin und südlich davon interessieren sich nicht sehr für den Norden."⁴⁸⁰ The journalist suggests people in the United Kingdom are also weary of Northern Ireland: "Die Engländer interessieren sich nicht mehr sehr für Irland, wo es doch immer nur 'troubles' gibt"⁴⁸¹ referring to violence and discontent in Northern Ireland, thereby evoking the stereotype of the fighting Irish and implying Republic of Ireland support for the cause of Irish nationalism in Northern Ireland. To all intents and purposes, Northern Ireland is represented as a troubled region and culturally incompatible with its European neighbours. From a German perspective, Northern Ireland's lifestyle is at variance with the social and cultural norms of post-war West Germany. Leonhardt frankly but nevertheless diplomatically states that German and European Union interest in Irish politics is negligible, "Und die EG? Die Franzosen, die Italiener, wir? Brennend ist unser politisches Interesse an Irland (so sehr wir es als Ferienland schätzen, so sehr wir die Iren mögen) auch nicht."⁴⁸² He implies German and core European Union values are incompatible with the violent manifestations of loyalist

⁴⁸⁰ Rudolf Walter Leonhardt: Unionisten, Nationalisten, Republikaner, *Die Zeit*, 12 November 1976, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/1976/47/unionisten-nationalisten-republikaner/komplettansicht> [12 September 2011].

⁴⁸¹ *ibid.*

⁴⁸² *ibid.*

and nationalist sentiments and aspirations in Northern Ireland, which accounts for Germany's general indifference. Germany and the European Union take exception to the un-European, nationalistic, political stance in the Republic of Ireland and disapprove of its tacit support for nationalist sentiments. German and European Union disdain for Northern Ireland's political and social culture implies a German auto-image embodying the antithesis of the German hetero-image of Northern Ireland. Germany's first-hand experience of the futility of nationalism, with its devastating consequences nationally and internationally, saw Germany adopt a policy of non-aggression and propose the notion of constitutional patriotism and political loyalty to the values and norms of a pluralistic, liberal, democratic constitution as embodied in the European Union. Under German influence, the European Union strives to promote peace and prosperity in a united Europe where citizens' rights are respected in a harmonious union. Northern Ireland's European Union membership (as part of the United Kingdom) raises fears of the spread of Northern Ireland-style terror campaigns to mainland Europe thus undermining EU member states' commercial activities, the tranquillity and security of daily life and reviving memories of a former war-torn Europe. Citizens in post-war Europe are understandably concerned about possible alliances between Northern Ireland's nationalists and like-minded groupings in Europe as well as military support from rogue states. Neither Germany nor the European Union condones sectarian violence, tribalism and the abuse of civil rights for political ends in Northern Ireland and consequently the region is represented in terms of a pariah in the European Union. Although geographically situated in Europe the entire island of Ireland is represented as the Other and 'de-Europeanized' due to its cultural non-compliance with European Union norms.

Similarly, *Die Zeit's* Dublin correspondent Karl-Heinz Wocker, who was based in London, examines the visit of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt to the Republic of Ireland: "Von Adenauer bis Brandt kam kein deutscher Kanzler jemals nach Dublin."⁴⁸³ The writer implies, from a German perspective, that German politicians refrained from visiting Ireland and 'othered' the country because of the tribalistic and nationalistic nature of Irish politics, which is irreconcilable with liberal German politics and European Union

⁴⁸³ Karl-Heinz Wocker: Irland: Erster Kanzlerbesuch, *Die Zeit*, 19 October 1979, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/1979/43/irland-erster-kanzlerbesuch> [4 December 2014].

principles. The writer suggests that from a German perspective, that conditions in Northern Ireland are characteristic of the peripheralised and ostracised region, are incompatible with European Union norms and merit only cursory diplomatic reference. Wocker indicates that foreign statesmen are loath to visit Northern Ireland implying the region's culture of violence and religious sectarianism are repugnant to the principles of modern, open-minded Europeans: "Den Norden der Insel aber kann überhaupt kein ausländischer Staatsmann besuchen."⁴⁸⁴ Moreover, Northern Ireland's culture is depicted as alien and the region far removed from the culture of central Europe that is synonymous with multiculturalism, social justice, peace and prosperity, which Germany implicitly advocates. The German Chancellor's brief reference to the divided Germany touches on the West German approach to a delicate and unique situation between the two sovereign German states involving diplomacy, non-interference, respect for difference and hope for eventual German reunification: "Leichtfertigerweise schmeichelte er den Gastgebern mit dem Hinweis, auch bei ihm daheim wisse man, was ein geteiltes Land sei."⁴⁸⁵ The use of the verb *schmeicheln*, indicating blandishment or blarney, suggests the Chancellor's diplomatic approach to empathise with his Irish host concerning the division of their respective countries. The Chancellor's reluctance to offer advice regarding Northern Ireland indicates post-war Germany's policy of non-interference in the affairs of other countries: "Einmischungen jedoch oder auch nur sogenannte gute Ratschläge zu Nordirland wollte der Kanzler in Dublin nicht geben."⁴⁸⁶ Post-war Germany denounced nationalism and consequently distances itself from the violent, sectarian struggle in Northern Ireland. Moreover, modern Germany prides itself on promoting peace, reconciliation and tolerance, in accordance with the guiding principles of the European Union.

Typically, representations of Northern Ireland, from the perspective of politicians, present a region and culture to be disdained and shunned. On the other hand, depictions of Northern Ireland by travel writers represent the region in a more positive light and readers are encouraged to set out on a journey. Travel writers, as the following texts indicate, mediate the link between their own experiential knowledge of Northern Ireland

⁴⁸⁴ *ibid.*

⁴⁸⁵ *ibid.*

⁴⁸⁶ *ibid.*

and readers' prior knowledge and assumptions. A 1974 travel account by Ulrich Schmidt, *Unbeschädigt von Terror, Technik und Touristik*, published in *Die Zeit* questions media representations of Northern Ireland and provides a positive account of the region, as a holiday destination. The writer arouses reader curiosity through the use of rhetorical questions: "Wie bitte? Zum Urlaub ausgerechnet nach Nordirland? Wie kommen Sie denn auf die Idee? Da wird doch immer noch gebombt und geschossen!"⁴⁸⁷ Schmidt disapproves of, in his view, negative media reports concerning Northern Ireland which he implies could prejudice German people's opinions thereby resulting in a negative and distorted image of the region: "So reden die Leute. Kein Wunder nach alldem, was sie jahrelang an Nachrichten von dort vorgesetzt bekommen haben. Mit der Zeit ist ihnen der Nordteil der Grünen Insel zu einem schwarzen Fleck geworden."⁴⁸⁸ The journalist urges his readers to treat media reports about Northern Ireland with scepticism and to form opinions based on information and analysis from reputable newspapers and discerning travel writers. Schmidt juxtaposes media images representing Northern Ireland as a flaw in the otherwise favourable German representation of the *grüne Insel* with counter-images of the region that evoke natural beauty, tranquility and peace. He suggests Northern Ireland embodies contrast and contradiction with unspoilt landscapes set against a backdrop of violence and sectarianism, offering stressed and adventurous German tourists relaxation and inspiration: "Wenn sie die Terrorschwelle Belfast, die Trümmerszene und den Brandgeruch hinter sich haben, erleben sie plötzlich, in einem spukhaft anmutenden Wechsel, das genaue Gegenteil: ein friedliches Land, unbeschädigt von Terror, Technik und Touristik."⁴⁸⁹ His demonisation of the collective destructiveness of warfare contrasts with the idealised individualism and solitariness bestowed by the tranquility and peacefulness which 'untroubled,' rural Northern Ireland provides, from the journalist's perspective. Images of Northern Ireland's terror are juxtaposed with images associated with mass tourism and technology (*Terror, Technik und Touristik*) where the writer's use of alliteration highlights remote Northern Ireland's suitability as a travel destination for the insightful traveller. The travel writer Dusik writing in 1986 supports Schmidt's journalistic viewpoint and contrasts Northern Ireland's natural beauty with

⁴⁸⁷ Ulrich Schmidt: *Unbeschädigt von Terror, Technik und Touristik*, *Die Zeit*, 23 August 1974, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/1974/35/unbeschaedigt-von-terror-technik-und-touristik> [13 January 2016].

⁴⁸⁸ *ibid.*

⁴⁸⁹ *ibid.*

Germany's implied *Plastikzivilisation*. Dusik challenges his readers' assumptions by evoking unforeseen and uncharacteristic counter-images of Northern Ireland which is invariably associated with the Troubles: "Nordirland — das ist nicht Katastrophentourismus und Nervenkitzel im Vorfeld des Krieges, das ist nicht Pulverdampf und Maschinengewehrknattern."⁴⁹⁰ He juxtaposes images associated with warfare with images of pristine landscapes and spiritual tranquillity: "Nordirland — das ist ein ruhiges Ferienland von herber Schönheit und landschaftlichen Kontrasten, wo sich auf engem Raum Berge und Parks, Seen und Moore, rauhe Klippen und lange Sandstrände drängen; ein Land, in dem man Stille und Einsamkeit findet, weit weg von unserer überreizten *Plastikzivilisation*."⁴⁹¹ Dusik claims the peacefulness of Northern Ireland's natural world serves as an antidote to Germany's demanding and strained lifestyle. The travel writer suggests the intactness of Northern Ireland's natural landscape contrasts with German urbanisation and industrialisation which he refers to as *Plastikzivilisation* and which, in his view, lacks individual or natural character. He argues that Northern Ireland's natural environment despite the Troubles offers spiritual comfort and solace which Germany's stressful *Plastikzivilisation* fails to provide. A 1984 travel account by Potting and Weweler mainly agrees with the views expressed by Schmidt above in relation to the media. The writers are critical of what they perceive as 'bad press' in relation to the representation of the Northern Ireland issue. Analogies drawn by the international media between Northern Ireland and troubled areas outside Europe are sensational and confusing, from the travel writers' perspective, and not in readers' interests: "Schenken Reisende den internationalen Medien Glauben, so ist Derry Beirut und Belfast Südafrika. Terror und Mord überlagern eine rassistisch-politisch-religiöse Spaltung der Gesellschaft."⁴⁹² The writers indicate international media accounts about Northern Ireland are often exaggerated, overdramatised and lacking in background information and analysis: "Nur in Ausnahmefällen wird auf die politischen Treibsätze der Region eingegangen."⁴⁹³ The writers suggest their insightful, German perspective and

⁴⁹⁰ Roland Dusik: *Irland selbst erleben*. Gleichen, 1986, p. 180.

⁴⁹¹ *ibid.*

⁴⁹² Christoph Potting and Annette Weweler: *Anders Reisen Irland. Ein Reisebuch in den Alltag*. Reinbek bei Hamburg 1984, p. 224.

⁴⁹³ *ibid.*

comprehensive account of the Northern Ireland situation allows their informed readers to form their own opinions.

Leonhardt who previously stated Germany was indifferent to Irish politics as a whole, now queries EU and German society's awareness and perception of the Northern Ireland conflict. The journalist considers the Northern Ireland situation serves as a reminder of the fragility of peace in Europe and evokes images of the deprivation and the devastating effects of Europe's World Wars. As a committed European, Leonhardt foregrounds the fact that the Northern Ireland conflict with nationalism at its core is occurring within the European Union that was founded in the wake of the Second World War. While he acknowledges similarities between the Northern Ireland conflict and conflicts in Vietnam and Lebanon, he is alarmed at Europe's nonchalant and indifferent attitude towards the nationalistic conflict in a region of the European Union: "Der Krieg in Irland ist nicht weniger schmutzig, als der in Vietnam es war. Religion spielt dabei die gleiche zwielichtige Rolle wie im Libanon. Aber wir haben diesen Krieg in Europa, in unserer Europäischen Gemeinschaft."⁴⁹⁴ The emphatic use of the word *aber* is intended to shift readers' attention from wars in Asia and the Middle East and prompt them to focus on the conflict in a region of a fellow European Union member state. The journalist maintains European Union citizens are oblivious to the conflict in Northern Ireland and that reports of violence and unrest in 'remote' Northern Ireland have become the 'new normal' in a European Union which is focused on fostering peace, prosperity and stability: "Die meisten von uns erleben ihn allerdings kaum. Wir haben uns längst daran gewöhnt, daß Tag für Tag gemeldet wird: [...]"⁴⁹⁵ He acknowledges ambivalence in the German hetero-image of Ireland indicating that Germans are favourably disposed towards Irish people in general and the island of Ireland as a whole, but that regressive Irish nationalism, both north and south of the Border, is repugnant to the post-war German spirit of liberal, democracy and respect for human dignity. Germans are aware of the healing powers of diplomacy, forgiveness and reconciliation in conflict situations and deplore nationalism with its devastating consequences. From a German perspective, the country is coming to terms

⁴⁹⁴ Rudolf Walter Leonhardt: Terroristen, Polizisten und Soldaten, Die Zeit, 5 November 1976, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/1976/46/terroristen-polizisten-und-soldaten/seite-7> [19 June 2014].

⁴⁹⁵ *ibid.*

with its past, is reconciled with its neighbours and enjoys the benefits of peace and prosperity. Leonhardt considers modern Germany as proof positive of the benefits accruing from a rejection of the destructive power of nationalism. Germany is now viewed as an internationally respected power, is Europe's leading economy and as a staunch advocate and joint founder of the European Union, Germany is committed to ensuring lasting peace and stability in Europe and beyond. The journalist seems baffled that the outmoded mindset that inspires the violence and barbarity perpetrated in Northern Ireland could exist in modern Europe where the benefits of peaceful coexistence within the European Union, which Germany implicitly valorises, are within reach. Northern Ireland's representation as a conspicuous oddity or black spot, apart from its appeal as a travel destination, in an otherwise peaceful and prosperous European Union, will naturally arouse the curiosity of well informed German readers concerning the sociocultural factors which underlie and prolong the conflict.

Society in Northern Ireland

The following section examines the German representation of Northern Ireland's society and commences with analysis of a further text from the perspective of the West German travel writers Potting and Weweler who share their insight into the Northern Ireland situation with their readers. Northern Ireland's capital city, Belfast, is represented in negative and unfavourable terms with a perceptible absence of positive or appealing attributes. Belfast's 'bad' image valorises the implied positive and desirable image of German and European Union society: "Nirgendwo in Europa gibt es größere Slums, miserablere Wohnbedingungen. Die Arbeitslosigkeit macht diese überfüllten Viertel der Katholiken an der Lower Falls Road, in Ballymurphy, Turf Lodge oder Andersonstown oder die Protestantenquartiere an der Donegal Road, in Shankhill oder Sandy Row zum Pulverfaß."⁴⁹⁶ Housing segregation according to religious belief, social deprivation and the legacy of a history of inveterate, sectarian hatred convey images that are alien and inherently unacceptable in peaceful, modern Europe. The list of street names conveys and highlights the extent of social alienation and polarisation between the hostile communities. The use of the adverb *Nirgendwo* foregrounds Northern Ireland's society as

⁴⁹⁶ Christoph Potting and Annette Weweler: *Anders Reisen Irland. Ein Reisebuch in den Alltag*. Reinbek bei Hamburg 1984, p. 239.

an anomaly in a European Union social context while the use of the comparative form of the adjectives *größere* and *miserablere* in association with housing conditions imply the availability of better living standards in the European Union and in Germany. Belfast is represented as a city that embodies division, hardship, despair and strained community relations. German readers who live in prosperity and enjoy peaceful relations with their neighbours would consider Northern Ireland's atavistic mindset and social norms incomprehensible and incongruous in the context of a harmonious European Union. The depiction of Northern Ireland's housing conditions represents the polarised communities according to their long-term historical stereotypes, where for centuries religion has served as a badge of cultural identification and difference: "Nirgendwo sonst ist der Klassencharakter und die "religiöse" Diskriminierung in Nordirland besser ablesbar als am Zustand der Stadtteile und der Haussubstanz."⁴⁹⁷ Protestant Loyalists are represented as the upper and privileged class, living in good quality housing while Catholic republican-nationalists are invariably portrayed as downtrodden, disadvantaged and living in squalor: "Die Bogside – die Stadtteile, die an die Moore grenzen, wo schon im 19. Jahrhundert die arme katholische Bevölkerung Derrys wohnt – hebt sich von den vornehmen und aufgeräumten protestantischen Vierteln an den Hängen zum River Foyle nicht allein durch den Aussicht ab."⁴⁹⁸ The travel writers' graphic and poetic depiction of living conditions in Northern Ireland's second city is an appeal to the sensibilities of their readers and prospective travellers who benefit from the travel writers' first-hand experience and knowledge. The juxtaposition and interaction of the auto- and hetero-images depicting the living conditions of the divided communities indicate their religion and convey their implied class difference and socio-economic status. German readers would be appalled that a rigorous policy of discrimination and segregation, along religious lines, applies in Northern Ireland and that religious persuasion determines one's place of residence. They will reflect on the high quality, well-kept housing and accommodation in Germany where choice of accommodation is a personal matter and where the welfare state provides assistance, if required. As citizens of a secular and multicultural state that upholds Christian values, Germans make personal decisions with regard to religion and religious observance. The travel account represents Northern Ireland as a relic of bygone

⁴⁹⁷ *ibid.* p. 230.

⁴⁹⁸ *ibid.* p. 230.

days located in a remote, uncivilized and dangerous region on the periphery of Europe and far removed from the implied safety and security of life in central Europe and the European Union. Wiedemann claims: "Bomben und Zeitgeist haben eine Apartheid-Linie aus Schutt und Asche zwischen die Stadtteile der verfeindeten Konfessionen gezogen, die niemand leichtfertig überschreitet,"⁴⁹⁹ calling to mind the division of Germany where divergent interpretations of the same history and the perilous Berlin Wall separated the two German states. His representation evokes images connoting ingrained hatred, bigotry and foreboding, conveying a desire to destroy the region rather than integrate with other inhabitants. The writer's reference to South Africa's apartheid regime places Northern Ireland outside European norms, which is further emphasised by the writer's indication of contempt for this ingrained and indefensible mindset. Northern Ireland's state of readiness for war, in modern, peaceful Europe, would shock German readers who recall the fanaticism of the Third Reich with its manipulation and exploitation of religious and ethnic difference to promote its policies. Representations of religious bigotry in Northern Ireland imply racist and supremacist views and advocate the use of violence. These attitudes and sentiments are contrary to the familiar images of peacefulness, forgiveness and reconciliation normally associated with the Christian values upheld by Germany and the European Union. The European Union recognises the individual's right to freedom of religion and advocates the separation of church and state in a harmonious, tolerant, diverse society that condemns discord, social inequality, and intolerance.

West German writers and journalists, as examined above, largely represented Northern Ireland's culture of violence and sectarianism as repugnant to acceptable European Union norms. On the other hand, press coverage by East German journalists focused on promoting the communist regime's agenda through criticism of imperialism and capitalism expressed in propagandist tones and doublespeak. A 1974 article by the London correspondent Werner Otto published in *Neues Deutschland*⁵⁰⁰ identifies intense religious differences and their resulting problems as an underlying cause of unrest in Northern Ireland: "Tiefe Religiosität und echte Frömmigkeit sind ebenso im Spiel wie

⁴⁹⁹ Erich Wiedemann: Notfalls machen wir Hackepeter aus Ulster, *Der Spiegel*, 15 March 1982, p. 155.

⁵⁰⁰ *Neues Deutschland* (1946) self-declared *Zentralorgan* of former ruling *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands* (SED).

militante Bigotterie und calvinistischer Glaubensfanatismus."⁵⁰¹ Otto insists, however, from an East German perspective, that the actual roots of the Northern Ireland problem lie in imperialistic capitalism which he implies engenders nationalism: "Seit Jahrhunderten ist der nationale und soziale Befreiungskampf der Iren deshalb mit dem Katholizismus verbunden und der Protestantismus trotz seiner vielen Spielarten (Presbyterianer, Anglikaner, Methodisten, Baptisten) das einigende Band der Landräuber und ihrer Nachfolger, der bourgeoisen Ausbeuter, gewesen."⁵⁰²

In the East German journalist's construct of the Northern Ireland issue, the class system with its religious overtones, perpetrated by imperialistic capitalism is foregrounded as the actual root of the problem, implying that this glaring inequality does not exist under communist norms. The depiction of Catholic nationalists as long-term liberators of the oppressed is juxtaposed with negative images of the perceived unprincipled, exploitative, Protestant ascendancy with its many branches, referred to as *Ausbeuter* and *Landräuber*, implying the sympathies of the communist writer ostensibly lie with the oppressed Catholic underdogs. Otto's construct of Northern Ireland's Catholic community as a subjugated group implies an auto-image of the German Democratic Republic as champion of the subjugated working-class in the struggle against imperialism and capitalism. The journalist asserts, from a communist perspective, that discontent is inevitable in a society based on social inequality, self-righteously claiming that the allegedly classless German Democratic Republic, with its auto-image of a 'better' new Germany, is a paragon of social justice and equality. The German Democratic Republic disclaimed any involvement in the atrocities perpetrated by the Nazi regime and imported the auto-image of the powerful and victorious communist Soviet Union. East Germany interiorised the Soviet communist auto-image as a hetero-image and cast itself in a good light, leaving West Germany with the burdens of denazification and *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*. The German Democratic Republic argued that 'monopoly capitalism' as a socioeconomic system had led to the rise of Nazism and that ridding the new state of the remnants of Nazism required a radical transformation of capitalism. Otto's denigration of capitalism as the root of oppression, with nationalism as an inevitable consequence, is intended to justify and valorise the

⁵⁰¹ Werner Otto: Chaos ohne Ende, Neues Deutschland, 20 July 1974, p. 16.

⁵⁰² *ibid.*

German Democratic Republic's 'conversion' to communism and simultaneously belittle and represent West Germany as the inferior German state, throughout the Cold War period.

Otto pontificates further about the relationship between oppression and social discontent and feigns concern for the underdog. The writer portrays Northern Ireland's polarised communities according to their long-term religious stereotypes, from an East German perspective. Northern Ireland's Catholic proletariat is represented as downtrodden and subject to arbitrary discrimination: "Der katholische Bevölkerungsteil der Ulsterprovinz war seitdem faktisch unter Sondergesetzgebung gestellt. Von allen demokratischen Rechten ausgeschlossen, in Ghettos verbannt, sozial bis zur Hoffnungslosigkeit benachteiligt, mußte er als Menschengruppe zweiter Klasse existieren."⁵⁰³ On the other hand, the *bourgeoisie* or capitalist class is depicted as privileged and thriving: "Während den protestantischen Arbeitern durch Vergünstigungen bei der Arbeitsvermittlung, der Berufsausbildung, der Wohnungsvergabe das Gefühl der Privilegierung verschafft wurde, [...]"⁵⁰⁴ The writer juxtaposes images of despairing, oppressed and disadvantaged Catholics with images of successful Protestants whose social class, the writer implies, entitles them to privileges, while basic civil rights are denied to their Catholic counterparts. Otto sanctimoniously gives the impression of an abhorrence of the inhuman practices meted out to people under fascist regimes when he refers to ghettos and religious discrimination thereby underlining his regime's insincere disavowal of Nazism. From the perspective of the morally superior German Democratic Republic, which disclaimed any connection with the Nazi regime, Otto projects an anti-fascist image in order to legitimise the existence of the East German state. He shifts blame onto capitalism and, by extension, West Germany's social market economy as the driving force behind fascism. The writer considers Northern Ireland's class system reprehensible and incompatible with communist principles, claiming that social inequality, characteristically caused by capitalism, foments terrorism: "Das war auch der Boden, auf dem der brutale Terror militanter Kräfte seine Nahrung fand."⁵⁰⁵ He implies if Northern Ireland's citizens were to renounce nationalism and convert to communism the grounds for discontent and

⁵⁰³ *ibid.*

⁵⁰⁴ *ibid.*

⁵⁰⁵ *ibid.*

unrest would be removed. Otto's contrived abhorrence of injustice and inequality in Northern Ireland serves to remind his readers, in an opportunistic, propaganda exercise, of the virtues of communism and their good fortune as citizens of a tolerant, communist state. He exhorts his readers to solidarity with their downtrodden, Catholic 'brethren' in Northern Ireland implying, for propagandist purposes, that communism can 'accommodate' religion in the struggle for international justice and equality. The journalist's appeal to the sense of camaraderie amongst his readers to free Northern Ireland's Catholics from the yoke of imperialistic capitalism is intended to strengthen readers' communist convictions while simultaneously making overtures to the 'Left' in Ireland, signifying that the German Democratic Republic is sympathetic to the principle of equal rights for workers in Northern Ireland. The Northern Ireland conflict was a boon to the East German regime providing an ideal vehicle for its subversive activities and propaganda campaign in Western Europe. British imperialism was a long-term target of communist invective and East German alleged defence of victimised Catholics offered the regime ample opportunity for its underhand and clandestine activities. Religious differences associated with social class and nationality were instrumentalised by East Germany's insidious propaganda machine to seek the favour of different strands of the Left vote in Ireland. The East German regime had little interest in Northern Ireland's societal problems and conveniently exploited the so-called class struggle with religious overtones to advance its own interests in the power struggle between capitalism and communism. The regime subversively stoked resentment and encouraged conflict in troubled regions with the insidious intent of undermining democracy. East Germany understood the strategic importance of Northern Ireland to Great Britain and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). If the German Democratic Republic were to infiltrate Left-leaning organisations in the Republic of Ireland, this would represent a prestigious coup for the East and a severe blow to implied Western superiority. Research by Mac Con Uladh on relations between Ireland and the East German regime reveals that while East German officials and the East German press were vocal in their advocacy of equality for Northern Ireland's divided communities and Irish unification, the focus of the regime's criticism was directed against British imperialism.⁵⁰⁶ East German overtures and 'interest'

⁵⁰⁶ Damian Mac Con Uladh: Relations between the Left in Northern Ireland and the GDR. In: The Other Germany Ed. by Stefan Berger and Norry la Porte. Augsburg 1990. p. 91-106.

in Ireland, according to the researcher, were aimed at Irish socialist and communist sympathisers, who had an aversion towards imperialism, with the ultimate goal of garnering support for the communist cause.

Sectarian Violence

Northern Ireland's society is represented in images relating to various types of violence and forms of abuse that evoke the stereotype of both the victimised Irish and the British aggressor. These in turn are overlaid with hetero-images triggered by the brutality of events and situations depicting the 'normality' of daily life for Northern Ireland's polarised communities. East German journalists expressed apparent loathing at the introduction, by British imperialists, of internment without trial, in Northern Ireland in the early 1970s: "Immer weniger erwies sich das Unionistenregime in der Lage, das unruhige Geschehen unter Kontrolle zu halten."⁵⁰⁷ From an East German perspective, Unionists, who are representative of British imperialism, are predictably incapable of containing the turmoil resulting from the oppression of disadvantaged Catholics. East German representations of events in Northern Ireland convey hetero-images triggered by latent hetero- and auto-images connoting (West) Germany's inglorious past and simultaneously warning against the perils of nationalism. Otto instrumentalises images associated with Fascism: "Der schließliche Einmarsch der 17 000 Mann starken britischen Besatzungsarmee, ihre "Befriedungsaktionen" hauptsächlich gegen die katholischen Viertel, die KZ-ähnlichen Internierungspraktiken brachten keine Lösung, sondern eine Eskalation des Terrors von beiden Seiten,"⁵⁰⁸ to support his claim. He self-righteously reminds his readers of the devastating consequences of West Germany's nationalistic struggle and the alleged benefits of freedom under East German communism. East Germans refused to acknowledge any involvement in Nazism and assumed a mendacious anti-fascist image to whitewash their complicity in Germany's shameful past and simultaneously obscure the East German regime's true intent. The attribution of blame and responsibility for the atrocities carried out by the Nazi regime to capitalism and West Germany, valorises and legitimises East Germany's own assumed and interiorised anti-fascist image. East Germany's projected anti-fascist image, imported from the powerful Soviet Union,

⁵⁰⁷ Werner Otto: Chaos ohne Ende, Neues Deutschland, 20 July 1974, p. 16.

⁵⁰⁸ *ibid.*

conjures up images implying oppression, subterfuge and hegemonic ambition, from a Western perspective. Goldstein, the *Neues Deutschland* London correspondent simulates compassion and understanding for the plight of people affected by internment without trial in Northern Ireland. He instrumentalises a combination of images suggesting Catholic repression by referring to the 'Free Derry Corner', the Civil Rights Movement and ghettos in order to influence readers' sympathies: "An der "Free Derry Corner", dem Zusammentreffen von Straßen, die von der Stadt aus zum katholischen Ghetto Creggan führen und wo so oft Demonstrationen der Bürgerrechtsbewegung stattfinden, sammeln sich in diesen Vorweihnachtstagen Kinder."⁵⁰⁹ Goldstein refers to Long Kesh prison as a '*Konzentrationslager*' and '*Käfige*' utilising fascist terminology to convey his abhorrence of imperialist, Great Britain's justice system thus implying the East German justice system is marked by exemplary humanitarianism: "Sie bauen das Modell eines Konzentrationslagers, Kinderhände basteln *Käfige* zusammen, Abbilder der Wirklichkeit von Long Kesh, wo ihre Väter und Brüder schmachten."⁵¹⁰ The writer highlights his simulated loathing of internment through poignant references to Christmas and children's hands whereby the exaggerated and contrived sense of pathos evoked by the images is intended to persuade readers of the need to show solidarity with their oppressed brothers in Northern Ireland, in their so-called liberation struggle against an oppressive and imperialistic foreign power. East Germany's conservative newspaper *Die Neue Zeit* gives an account of fascist-type death squads and vigilantism in Northern Ireland.⁵¹¹ The *Neue Zeit* with its Christian links was of interest to readers whose 'needs' were not served by other official East German newspapers. The writer depicts organised groups of assassins operating with impunity: "In der Tat: Organisierte Mordkommandos, 'Killertrupps' bewegen sich ungehemmt durch die Straßen der nordirischen Hauptstadt. Sie fahren zur Menschenjagd von einem Wohnbezirk in den anderen."⁵¹² The writer is apparently outraged at the lawlessness of Northern Ireland's society that permits gangland-style killings, (*Killertrupps*) thus evoking for his readers images of similar activities under the Nazi regime. The British government, in his view, blatantly ignores Protestant lawlessness: "Den Terroraktionen, von der bürgerlichen Presse vielfach 'Safari'

⁵⁰⁹ Werner Goldstein: Derry – eine Stadt ohne Frieden, *Neues Deutschland*, 24 December 1973, p. 16.

⁵¹⁰ *ibid.*

⁵¹¹ *Die Neue Zeit* published in East Berlin 1945-1994 was the voice of the *Christlich-Demokratische Union* (CDU).

⁵¹² H. J.M: Kessel der Gewalt, *Neue Zeit*, 2 March 1973, p. 5.

und 'Blutige Poker' genannt, ist überwiegend eines gemeinsam: Sie kommen meist aus protestantischen Vierteln und kehren nach dem Gemetzel dorthin zurück."⁵¹³ The writer indicates contemptuously that the bourgeois press regards these murders as entertainment as the killers are mainly privileged, fascist Protestants. He sanctimoniously claims that any form of sectarianism is unacceptable in a communist state and that all citizens have equal access to and protection under the law in an equitable, communist society. He tacitly warns his readers that organised crime, gangs and breaches of public order are neither called for nor tolerated in a communist state and will be suppressed, hinting at the suppressed 1953 uprising in East Germany and at widespread problems with football hooliganism.

Der Spiegel depicts, from a West German perspective, how indiscriminate acts of barbarity have become routine and commonplace in Northern Ireland:

"Maschinenpistolen-Salven aus einem vorbeifahrenden Auto mähten fünf junge Burschen auf dem Bürgersteig nieder. Spielende Kinder fanden die nackte, entstellte Leiche eines Mannes. Ein Vorarbeiter starb auf der Fahrt zur Arbeit, zerfetzt von einer Handgranate, die in den fahrenden Bus geworfen worden war."⁵¹⁴ The writer aims to shock his readers by conveying images of Northern Ireland's indiscriminate and routine violence in a sensationalist, graphic, tabloid press style conveying images of gruesomeness and horror.

Der Spiegel's article *Gott spielen* from 1986 investigates IRA vigilantism that extends to criminals: "Mit Femejustiz und Strafkommandos maßt sich die IRA in den katholischen Vierteln Nordirlands eine eigene Gerichtsbarkeit an - nun auch gegen Kriminelle."⁵¹⁵ The writer implies Northern Ireland is in a state of chaos and paramilitaries have taken law enforcement into their own hands. A second *Spiegel* article, titled *Abschaum der Erde* from 1995, portrays the criminal activities of the IRA in Northern Ireland. The title of the article *Abschaum der Erde* indicates the writer's contempt for IRA vigilantism as the morally superior paramilitaries ironically stand in judgement over 'the scum of the earth'. Northern Ireland's vigilantes operate in both religious communities with relative impunity as they mete out summary justice: "In ihren Hochburgen in den Armenvierteln von Belfast und Londonderry gebärden sich die IRA und ihre protestantischen Widersacher -

⁵¹³ *ibid.*

⁵¹⁴ Anonymous: Andere Backe, *Der Spiegel*, 12 February 1973, p. 72.

⁵¹⁵ Anonymous: Gott spielen, *Der Spiegel*, 13 January 1986, p. 117.

weitgehend unbehelligt von Polizei und Gerichten - als selbsternannte Ordnungsmächte."⁵¹⁶ The actions of vigilante groups and thugs, mentioned by writers from the two German states, are a reminder to readers of the death squads and *Einsatzgruppen* that were a distinctive and life-threatening feature of life under the Nazi regime. The *Einsatzgruppen* were entrusted with persecuting and hunting down regime opponents and 'undesirables', on the basis of ethnicity or religion and were responsible for the deaths of millions of people. Representations of everyday sectarian violence in Northern Ireland by East German writers serve the regime's propaganda purposes through their condemnation of fascist imperialism and their adopted auto-image as defenders of the disadvantaged Catholic minority. West German journalists, on the other hand, represent the daily sectarian violence on Northern Ireland's streets as the antithesis of society in a peaceful and secure European Union. German readers will be struck by the apparent ease with which the polarised communities cope with the obvious contradiction of religious devoutness and the simultaneous perpetration of violent crimes. Readers will recall and draw parallels between the atrocities of the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) and the Northern Ireland conflict. The Thirty Years War which was initially a religious conflict between Catholics and Protestants was essentially a power struggle for control in Europe and akin to Northern Ireland's armed struggle, with its manifestations of atavistic sectarianism. Acts of savagery and barbarity, in the name of religion or nationalism, are out of place in a peaceful and prosperous Europe which values diversity and tolerance of religious and secular culture. Northern Ireland's society is depicted as belonging to a bygone age, manifesting reactionary attitudes and an insular mindset which alienates the peripheral region from the heart of liberal, multicultural Europe.

Northern Ireland is represented, in the foregoing images, as a region where anarchy and gang warfare prevail and where the norms of accepted civilized behaviour, respect for human life and the rule of law do not apply. German readers will be appalled to notice a deterioration in socio-economic conditions and an escalation in violence in Northern Ireland over a period of three decades. Readers will be aware that while Northern Ireland became bogged down in conflict, Europe prospered and experienced the end of the Cold War, together with the peaceful reunification of Germany and the development of a

⁵¹⁶ Anonymous: Abschaum der Erde, Der Spiegel, 20 November 1995, p. 216.

thriving economy in the Republic of Ireland. Images of Northern Ireland's relentless violence, mayhem and lawlessness are irreconcilable with accepted standards of normality in a peaceful, prosperous and friendly Europe under the guidance and direction of the European Union. The emphasis in post-war Europe has been on developing peaceful and constructive relationships between states, leading to the establishment of the European Union which promotes peace, stability and social justice. On the other hand, representations of the culture of Northern Ireland's fractured communities depict a society intent on destruction, anarchy and destabilisation while embroiled in a centuries-old nationalist struggle. The establishment of the European Union signified post-war forgiveness and reconciliation between former adversaries with the common goal of avoiding conflict in Europe and ensuring peaceful co-existence. Northern Ireland's insistence on the perpetuation of its un-European culture embodies the antithesis of European Union values and norms and while Northern Ireland, as part of the United Kingdom, is a member of the European Union, its culture is represented as an anomaly and incompatible with European Union standards.

East German Perspective on Terrorism

Northern Ireland's fractured society with its ongoing incidents of sectarian violence and vigilantism, as examined above, provided an ideal channel for East German journalists to pursue their own particular agenda. The protraction of sectarian violence and continuation of terrorist activity prompt the *Berliner Zeitung* journalist Klaus Wilczynski to reappraise the Northern Ireland situation, from a communist perspective.⁵¹⁷ This affords him the opportunity to project his auto-image of an inherently superior East German society onto his hetero-image of Northern Ireland; in a propaganda exercise directed at his readers. The writer asserts his country's position and its condemnation of terrorism. Wilczynski analyses, in a self-righteous moralizing tone, the situation following the outbreak of a new wave of violence and intimidation in Northern Ireland. His primary purpose is a valorisation of East Germany's communist policies that he conveys through a juxtaposition of hetero-images associated with Northern Ireland and implied auto-images of East Germany. The journalist sanctimoniously insists that terrorism is counterproductive

⁵¹⁷ *Berliner Zeitung* (1945) published in East Berlin. Compliant with *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (SED)*.

and not the solution to Northern Ireland's problems thereby covering up East German support of international terrorism: "Der Terrorismus von Extremisten auf der republikanischen Seite löst neuen Terror der reaktionären Unionisten aus, die zu den Säulen der britischen Kolonialherrschaft gehören."⁵¹⁸ His sententious rhetoric proclaims that terrorism is pointless and only serves Northern Ireland's imperialist ruling class: "Ein solches Klima nutzt nur den Unterdrückern Nordirlands."⁵¹⁹ His fulsome commendation of social equality is equivocal and propaganda-laden, dissembling his true purpose. His intention is to conjure up images of East Germany as the morally superior German state, rooted in communism and opposed to fascist-inspired capitalism. Wilczynski indicates his regime's purported rejection of violence and its advocacy of the Communist Party of Ireland's (CPI) stance on the Northern Ireland issue: "Daher hat die Kommunistische Partei Irlands den neuen Terrorismus der Provisorischen IRA entschieden verurteilt."⁵²⁰ The writer's endorsement of the Communist Party of Ireland's condemnation and repudiation of the Provisional IRA terrorism campaign implies East German authorities ostensibly favour a non-violent approach towards the achievement of social justice and equality in Northern Ireland. Acknowledgement of the Communist Party of Ireland sends a message to like-minded comrades in Ireland and reassures East German citizens that the East German communist cause is being promoted abroad and gaining support. The writer's alleged antipathy to terrorist violence and his supposed aversion towards the misguided fanaticism of the Provisional IRA are emphasised to unscrupulously manipulate his readers' opinions: "Doch die Argumente dieser kleinen Sekte irregeleiteter Fanatiker stechen nicht. Genau das Gegenteil ist der Fall."⁵²¹ The writer is outwardly at pains to project an image of peace and respect for human rights within an ostensibly all-embracing German Democratic Republic that in reality keeps its own citizens under stringent control while underhandedly supporting terrorism and fomenting political instability abroad. The apparent demonisation of the Provisional IRA is duplicitous, casting the East German regime in a favourable light and making it unambiguously clear to communist readers that the authoritarian regime's professed non-violent communist course is the true path to a just and equal communist society. East Germany had been

⁵¹⁸ Klaus Wilczynski: Morde zerstörten auch die Hoffnung, Berliner Zeitung, 4. January 1979, p. 7.

⁵¹⁹ *ibid.*

⁵²⁰ *ibid.*

⁵²¹ *ibid.*

shunned in the West until the 1970s and was anxious to establish political links with Ireland through the Communist Party of Ireland. In 1976, Michael O'Riordan, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland and frequent visitor to East Germany, addressed the *Konferenz der kommunistischen und Arbeiterparteien Europas* (Conference of Communist and Workers Parties of Europe) in East Berlin. Research by de Wiel indicates competition by representatives of the Irish political Left to win the favour of the *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (SED)*.⁵²² The researcher's findings indicate the Communist Party of Ireland as long-term favourite while the Workers' Party, formerly Sinn Féin The Workers' Party (SFWP) established relations with the *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands* in 1988.

Wilczynski maintains Northern Ireland needs a Civil Rights Charter guaranteeing and enshrining freedom of religion: "Nordirland braucht eine Bürgerrechtscharta, in der gleiche Rechte für Katholiken und Protestanten verankert sind"⁵²³ implying compliance with the provisions contained in the revised Constitution of the German Democratic Republic (1968). While the East German regime did not encourage religion and favoured atheism, a convenient arrangement existed between church and state. The post-war constitutions of the two German states initially resembled each other quite closely but with marked differences in their interpretation and implementation, particularly in the area of civil and human rights. Wilczynski contends: "Es [Nordirland] braucht demokratische Verhältnisse, die es den Werktätigen ermöglichen, sich in der von ihnen selbst gewählten Art und Form ohne ausländische Intervention zu entwickeln."⁵²⁴ The writer's 'panacea' for Northern Ireland's Troubles is an unequivocal advocacy and valorisation of the merits of communism, conveying an auto-image of East Germany that implies full commitment to and actualisation of exemplary communism and respect for human rights. The constitution of the former East Germany cynically guaranteed democracy in a state that was effectively and in reality under the control of *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (SED)* and the influence of the Soviet Union. In the early years of independent statehood, East German citizens learned that protest against the regime or any form of dissidence would be severely punished or brutally suppressed as occurred

⁵²² Jérôme de Wiel: *East German Intelligence and Ireland, 1949–90*. Manchester 2014.

⁵²³ Klaus Wilczynski: *Morde zerstörten auch die Hoffnung*, Berliner Zeitung, 4 January 1979, p. 7.

⁵²⁴ *ibid.*

with the *Volksaufstand* of 1953. The inner German border and the erection of the Berlin Wall in 1961 prevented East German citizens from travelling to the West, risking imprisonment or death if they attempted to flee. Readers will also recall the notorious activities of the East German *Stasi* or *Staatssicherheitsdienst* which carried out, among its other activities, mass surveillance of citizens through its collaborators or *inoffizielle Mitarbeiter* and meted out justice with official state sanction. The National Socialist regime and later the *Ministerium für Staatsicherheit (Stasi)* employed psychological warfare techniques (*Zersetzung*) against opponents involving the use of intimidation and surveillance to suppress opposition.

German reunification in 1990 brought together two separate German states which had developed in opposite directions over decades of separation. West Germany had tackled and come to terms with the legacy of the Nazi era. East Germany, on the other hand, evaded responsibility for Nazi crimes and in a post-war 'transformation' adopted and embraced the anti-fascist auto-image of Soviet communism which it projected as the hetero-image of the new and morally superior German Democratic Republic. The collapse of the Soviet Union, German reunification and the end of the Cold War resulted in major changes in power relations in Europe and effected a transformation in European society in the economic and cultural spheres. The union of the two German states, with their diverging identities and cultures, triggered changes in the auto- and hetero-images of the *Wessi* and the *Ossi*, resulting in a so-called culture clash. East Germans, who had disavowed responsibility for their activities under the Nazi regime and had instead camouflaged the punitive concept of 'collective guilt' with assumed communist moral superiority, were now bereft of the props of communism and the relative security of the planned economy. West Germans, who had financed German reunification, perceived East Germans as idle outsiders who were burdened with the baggage of unresolved history. Additionally, from a West German perspective, reunification entailed a further financial burden on taxpayers and perceived reluctance among East Germans to adjust to perceived superior West German norms. This so-called culture clash triggered incidents of *Ausländerfeindlichkeit*, contributed to the spread of populist movements and support for far-right politics culminating in the election of representatives of the *Alternative für Deutschland (AfD)* party as the third-largest group in the *Bundestag* elections in 2017.

While East German press coverage of Northern Ireland concentrated on propagandising the regime's pretence of moderation and respect for human rights in order to court the support of the Irish Left, their West German counterparts reported on the legitimate and financially rewarding activities of committed West German industrialists investing in Ireland.

German Investment

Germany's defeat in the Second World War and subsequent rebirth brought about an amelioration and modification in the country's auto-image and complementary German hetero-image. The image of Germany that emerged from the devastation of the Second World War conveyed leadership and a determination to rebuild a peaceful and prosperous Europe founded on principles of social justice thereby constituting a counter-image of the country's recent inglorious past. Post-war Germany spearheaded the establishment of the current European Union with the aim of preventing further conflict in Europe and securing lasting peace. Buoyed up by the remarkable post-war *Wirtschaftswunder*, Germany now focused on expanding its economic rather than its military might and the image of the German investor became synonymous with the image of post-war Germany. German investment in Northern Ireland began in the 1960s when German companies availed of investment incentives provided by the British government. German investment in the Republic of Ireland is analysed in an earlier chapter.⁵²⁵ Northern Ireland's troubled environment presented considerable difficulties to German investors who are represented as resolute and prepared to risk their lives to advance their investment ambitions. A 1977 text published in *Die Zeit* examines the fate of a leading German industrialist and the impact of his loss on further German investment: "Vor drei Jahren, am 27. Dezember 1973, wurde der deutsche Konsul und Grundig-Direktor Thomas Niedermayer aus seiner Wohnung im Westen von Belfast 'entführt.'"⁵²⁶ Leonhardt's emphasis on potential investment loss for Northern Ireland and particularly for German foreign investment outweighs concern for the fate of the 'kidnap' victim: "Der Fall ist von trauriger Bedeutung für Nordirland: Diese 'Entführung' trug dazu bei, deutsche und

⁵²⁵ See chapter 3: Ireland as a Member of the European Union, p. 6-10.

⁵²⁶ Rudolf Walter Leonhardt: Niedermayer und die IRA: Zeitungssente aus London, *Die Zeit*, 14 January 1977, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/1977/03/zeitungssente-aus-london> [13 April 2015].

überhaupt ausländische Investoren abzuschrecken."⁵²⁷ The juxtaposition of images associated with 'kidnapping' and implicit danger and images associated with financial investment suggest a German auto- image of ambition and financial gain at the expense of personal risk and well-being.

An article from 1981, *Gettos, Gewalt, Gewinn* with subheading *Wie die Wirtschaft in bürgerkriegsähnlichen Zuständen weitermacht* examines, from a German investor perspective, the difficulties faced by the dwindling number of German investors in Northern Ireland: "Drei große deutsche Firmen – Grundig, Olympia und Demag – haben die Segel gestrichen."⁵²⁸ The few remaining German investors are depicted as dauntless and unperturbed by Northern Ireland's mayhem and committed to their work despite past tragedy: "Das Schicksal des von der IRA entführten Grundig-Direktors Niedermayer, der die Gefangenschaft nicht überlebte, hat Lindloff nicht abgehalten, nach Nordirland zu gehen."⁵²⁹ Despite working in a dangerous environment with low productivity and poor employee morale compared with Germany, the resolute German industrialist is depicted as unwaveringly guided by economic considerations and profit margins: "Manager Lindloff, der für die deutsche Firma Arntz Optibelt mit 200 Mitarbeitern Treibriemen in Londonderry herstellt, registriert eine etwas geringere Produktivität als im Stammbetrieb in Höxter, hat aber auch niedrigere Arbeitskosten."⁵³⁰ German industrialists are represented as dynamic and dedicated to establishing and maintaining a foothold in Northern Ireland despite considerable difficulties and personal risk: "Gradel, deutscher Honorarkonsul in der Nachfolge von Thomas Niedermayer, scheint das Problem der persönlichen Bedrohung wegzuwischen, [...]"⁵³¹ Lower production costs than in Germany and investment incentives encourage astute German investors to invest in Northern Ireland in the expectation that profits will compensate for the risks involved and the 'different' work ethic: "Er [Jürgen Gradel] berichtet von gewissen Schwierigkeiten, die Mitarbeiter – inzwischen achtzig – zu motivieren, sie von der Dringlichkeit mancher Auftragsabwicklung zu überzeugen."⁵³² German manufacturers display foresight and

⁵²⁷ *ibid.*

⁵²⁸ Wilfried Kratz: *Gettos, Gewalt, Gewinn*, Die Zeit, 4 December 1981, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/1981/50/gettos-gewalt-gewinn/seite-2> [16 August 2016].

⁵²⁹ *ibid.*

⁵³⁰ *ibid.*

⁵³¹ *ibid.*

⁵³² *ibid.*

perseverance by investing in a troubled region in the knowledge that when 'normality' returns to Northern Ireland, their pioneering work will assure them a competitive edge and satisfy shareholders. German industrialists are represented as valiantly and courageously committed to extending the German field of investment activity and cementing Germany's pivotal role as Europe's leading economy. As employers of the native workforce, German manufacturers are represented as providing education and hope for a better future while contributing to the financial stability of Northern Ireland, thereby enhancing the profile and reputation of German companies abroad as fair-minded and upright employers and providers of high-class goods and services. The resilience of German firms in troubled Northern Ireland inspires and induces (*locken*) other German firms to follow suit: "Kürzlich konnte man eine Gruppe von mittelständischen Unternehmen aus dem Frankfurter Raum zu einem Informationsbesuch nach Ulster locken – während einer relativ ruhigen Phase."⁵³³ Kratz juxtaposes efforts to attract German investment to Northern Ireland with background information concerning the reality of the conflict thus creating a contrast between the stability and modernity of society in civilized, central Europe and the 'conflict normality' on the edge of Europe. As well as inducting 'newcomers' into the realities of the Northern Ireland 'Troubles,' the piece evokes the German auto- and hetero-image of perseverance combined with profit-driven entrepreneurship which is encapsulated in the title of the piece and emphasised through the use of alliteration. The writer exhorts investors with the German entrepreneurial spirit to persist and endure difficulties (*Gettos, Gewalt*) in order to achieve their goals (*Gewinn*). At the same time, Kratz reminds German readers and shareholders who are safe and secure in faraway Germany, of the reality of life in Northern Ireland thereby highlighting the risks undertaken by German entrepreneurs in a volatile, political situation which is fraught with danger: "Aber inzwischen erlebt die Provinz eine beängstigende Welle der Gewalt in der Auseinandersetzung zwischen den Extremisten der katholischen Nationalisten, die eine Vereinigung mit der Republik Irland anstreben, und der protestantischen Mehrheit, die genau das fürchtet und bekämpft."⁵³⁴ The German public and other EU citizens found it incomprehensible that a nationalist

⁵³² *ibid.*

⁵³³ *ibid.*

⁵³⁴ *ibid.*

struggle with overtones of religious sectarianism was taking place in modern Europe. Modern, post-war German society upholds Christian values in a secular, postnational state and having experienced the scourge of nationalism now prospers in a democratic, liberal, multicultural society that pledges loyalty to the supranational European Union. The journalist's reference to an escalation of violence in Northern Ireland in 1981 is related to the unrest sparked by the hunger strike undertaken by Irish Republican prisoners and resulting in the death of ten prisoners.

Republican Hunger Strike

Republican prisoners in Northern Ireland embarked on a hunger strike campaign in 1981 demanding the restoration of Special Category Status and recognition as political prisoners. Loyalist prisoners, who demanded segregated prison accommodation, abandoned their hunger strike on the assumption they would benefit from concessions if Republican hunger strikers' demands were met. *Die Berliner Zeitung* solemnly announces the death of two would-be political prisoners, including an elected Member of the British Parliament, in an article titled *Noch nicht genug Tote?* "Nach dem Unterhausabgeordneten Robert Sands nun Francis Hughes. Innerhalb weniger Tage erlag ein zweiter Angehöriger der Provisorischen IRA den Folgen des Hungerstreiks, mit dem eingekerkerte nordirische Mitglieder dieser Organisation von der britischen Regierung Anerkennung als politische Gefangene erkämpfen wollen."⁵³⁵

The East German writer ascribes blame and direct responsibility for the deaths of the Republican prisoners to, as he perceives, the arbitrary stance of the British government. He takes the moral high ground, by implying mendaciously for propaganda purposes, that prisoners in the German Democratic Republic would be treated in a humane fashion and granted due process of law. Wilczynski's concern for the IRA campaign is disingenuous, having previously criticised the organisation as misguided fanatics, the journalist now champions the cause for political prisoner status for IRA prisoners, conjuring up images of the East German regime and its propaganda press as duplicitous and hypocritical. The writer juxtaposes images of the perceived, historical tragedy of Northern Ireland with images of implied, British, guilt and blame: "In den Gefangenenprotesten widerspiegeln

⁵³⁵ Klaus Wilczynski: *Noch nicht genug Tote?* *Berliner Zeitung*, 14 May 1981, p. 4.

sich sowohl die Tragik der Situation in der von Irland abgespaltenen britischen Provinz Ulster als auch die schwere Schuld der mit dem Ausnahmezustand regierenden britischen Behörden.⁵³⁶ Wilczynski's purpose is to evoke sympathy and support among his readers for oppressed Republicans and animosity towards British imperialism, 'big business' and a perceived lack of democracy. The British government is depicted as despotic in its treatment of prisoners and responsible for their deaths: "Halsstarrig lehnte die Regierung Thatcher Haftverleicherungen für die eingekerkerten IRA-Angehörigen ab und kalkulierte somit den Tod von Sands ein. Jetzt verkündete sie erneut, keinen Schritt zurückweichen zu wollen, sollte dies auch neue Todesopfer fordern."⁵³⁷ The writer implies and sanctimoniously claims, from an East German perspective, that the communist regime is tolerant of different opinions, demonstrates fairness and understanding and treats dissidents with respect and humanity, unlike the fascist British government. The East German writer's propaganda spin conveys images of his country's form of 'democratic' socialism as exemplary and beyond reproach, in a one party state with a deplorable record of human rights violations. The writer's propagandist construct, which he achieves through exaggeration and the instrumentalisation of images contrasting British might and intransigence with Irish weakness and tenacity, conveys from an East German propagandist perspective, an auto-image of benevolence, fairness and humanity in the superior German Democratic Republic.

The centrist *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung's* examination of the Northern Ireland hunger strike focuses on the tragedy of hunger strikes, the destructiveness and futility of nationalism and the lessons learned through Germany's own experience of a nationalist struggle. In the writer's view, Northern Ireland's hunger strike is a stark reminder of the tragic senselessness of nationalism that causes despair and devastation, and from a German perspective, conjures up images of past conflicts. Modern Germany deplors nationalism, having experienced its consequences, and now optimistically focuses on the future while mindful of its troubled past: "Wer sich mit der nordirischen Szene befaßt hat, möchte jetzt am liebsten wegblicken: das Schauspiel bleibt eine permanente Tragödie, heillos, ohne Hoffnung."⁵³⁸ Media coverage and images evoked by the Northern Ireland

⁵³⁶ *ibid.*

⁵³⁷ *ibid.*

⁵³⁸ R. H: Die irische Tragödie, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 6 May 1981, p. 1.

hunger strike and its relation to terrorism naturally trigger images of terrorism in Germany perpetrated by the *Rote Armee Fraktion (RAF)*. Similarities in activity and tactics between Northern Ireland's IRA, the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA) and Germany's RAF undoubtedly raise fears among German readers of possible links between the terrorist organisations and the likelihood of the spread and escalation of terrorism in Europe. Northern Ireland's ethnonationalist conflict is represented as a blemish on the European Union's otherwise impeccable record and a reminder of a former war-torn Europe. The 1981 Republican hunger strike in Northern Ireland coincided with the eighth hunger strike by *Rote Armee Fraktion* prisoners in Germany. The death of the *Rote Armee Fraktion* hunger striker Debus preceded the death of the IRA hunger striker Sands and received close attention in German media coverage.⁵³⁹ The journalist contends the two dead hunger strikers have little in common apart from their hunger strike-related deaths and terrorist backgrounds: "Der junge Mann (und gewählte Abgeordnete des britischen Unterhauses) Robert Sands, der sich dem Tode zuwandte, ist deshalb nicht ohne weiteres mit dem Terroristen Debus zu vergleichen."⁵⁴⁰ The journalist emphasises the fact that Sands was an elected Member of Parliament of the United Kingdom which adds significance and impact to his actions: "Doch viel mehr als bei dem Deutschen Debus, der nur eine Randfigur des Terrorismus war, erhebt sich hier die Frage, wieweit ein Mann wie Sands unfrei, wieweit er nur noch Produkt eines Mythos war, den er nicht einmal miterfand, sondern der ihn formte."⁵⁴¹ The writer juxtaposes images of the urban guerrilla terrorist Debus with images of the Republican-nationalist terrorist Sands. Debus is depicted as a small player in terrorist circles who deliberately chose the path of terrorism and with his fellow terrorists aimed to provoke an aggressive reaction from the democratically-elected German government and thus spark an extensive revolutionary movement. Sands is represented as a victim of circumstances, conditioned by Northern Ireland's legacy of violence and social inequality and ultimately a pawn in a political game. The journalist implies there is little support among the general public for *Rote Armee Fraktion* terrorism except among a minority of like-minded individuals in Germany and on the international terrorist scene. Sands, whose immediate goal is recognition as a political

⁵³⁹ Sigurd Debus 07.05.1942-16.04.1981 was an alleged *Rote Armee Fraktion (RAF)* member. Debus died in prison in Hamburg-Fuhlsbüttel despite being force-fed while on hunger strike in April 1981.

⁵⁴⁰ R. H: Die irische Tragödie, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 6 May 1981, p. 1.

⁵⁴¹ *ibid.*

prisoner, is depicted as a leader and a high-profile terrorist within the IRA and as popular figure among his constituents who elected him to the British Parliament. The writer conveys the impression that the motivation and the particular circumstances connected with the hunger striker's actions warrant a fair hearing. The journalist snidely maintains Sands's death spectacularly highlights the weakness of British democracy with regard to the Northern Ireland issue implying heavy-handedness and an entrenched, authoritarian attitude: "Sands Tod bringt die Lösung nicht näher. Er lenkt nur, nachdem die Welt des nordirischen Dramas schon müde war, die Aufmerksamkeit wieder auf jene schwache Stelle der britischen Demokratie."⁵⁴² The journalist contends the German response to terrorism and hunger strikes is more level-headed, rational and resolute. He hints the British standpoint on the hunger strike issue and prisoner status is obdurate implying German prisoners are given an opportunity to state their views in a regulated and civilized fashion and have recourse to the law. The writer suggests willingness towards dialogue from both sides and a more compassionate approach towards imprisoned dissidents, by British authorities, would be in line with German democratic and humanitarian principles and European Union norms. Europe and the rest of the world, the journalist suggests, are exasperated by the relentless monotony of the conflict where death, injury and destruction have become associated with 'normal' life in Northern Ireland, culminating in the deaths of the Republican hunger strikers: "Und das war wohl der Sinn dieser schrecklichen Unternehmung: ein langer, qualvoller Selbstmord als Sensationsdarstellung."⁵⁴³ The death by hunger strike of the IRA, and by extension, *Rote Armee* prisoners is represented as a *Sensationsdarstellung* or horrifying performance, choreographed in a macabre manner to maximise media attention, cynically manipulate public opinion and ultimately pressurise the authorities into acceding to their demands.

Role of the Catholic Church

Sands's death calls to mind images of the centuries-old association of Catholicism with Irish national identity and the struggle for independence.⁵⁴⁴ Manfred Tieger is a German travel writer who spent fifteen years living in County Mayo in the late 1980s. He and his

⁵⁴² *ibid.*

⁵⁴³ *ibid.*

⁵⁴⁴ See chapter 4: German Representations of Irish Catholicism

wife operated a second-hand bookshop and were engaged in subsistence farming. Tieger's book about Northern Ireland was published in 1985.⁵⁴⁵ Tieger argues: "Die Haltung der katholischen Kirche und vieler ihrer Vertreter während der IRA-Hungerstreik-Kampagne in Nordirland hat nicht gerade ausgleichend gewirkt,"⁵⁴⁶ conveying images of political partisanship and unchristian animosity that are inconsistent with familiar images of peace and reconciliation traditionally associated with the implied, superior morality of the Irish Catholic Church. The writer implies the Church applies double standards on issues that relate to preserving and consolidating the Church's own sphere of power and influence: "Die pastorale Betreuung der verurteilten Gefangenen, die sich im Hungerstreik befanden und nicht exkommuniziert wurden, weil sie Selbstmord begingen, sondern nach ihrem Tod ein großes kirchliches Begräbnis erhielten, rief viel Kritik hervor."⁵⁴⁷ Catholic Church toleration of suicide for political reasons conjures up counter-images of the Irish Catholic Church which forbade artificial contraception, divorce and abortion through its advocacy of the sanctity and inviolability of human life and the implied superiority of Catholic moral standards. Tieger claims the Church tacitly supports the IRA:

In der emotional geladenen Stimmung der Begräbnisse von IRA-Hungerstreikenden, mit großen Umzügen und dem öffentlichen Auftritt von maskierten Paramilitärs, die zu Ehren der toten Kameraden Salut feuerten und so die kirchlichen Bestattungen zur IRA-militärbegräbnissen umfunktionierten, vermißten viele, auch Katholiken in der Republik, eine distanzierte und besonnene, unzweideutige Haltung der katholischen Kirche.⁵⁴⁸

He implies a clear definition and separation of the roles of church and state according to the German model would preclude the Catholic Church's interference in politics and possibly defuse a volatile situation. The Catholic Church is represented as adopting a militant rather than a pastoral role and ignoring the wishes of its followers who favour peace and reconciliation in line with traditional Church teachings. Tieger implies German Christian churches adopt a more distanced and conciliatory stance in managing similarly delicate and controversial situations, implicitly emphasising and valorising the separation

⁵⁴⁵ Manfred P. Tieger: Nordirland: Geschichte und Gegenwart. Basel 1985.

⁵⁴⁶ Manfred P. Tieger: Irland: Die Grüne Insel. München 1996, p.107-108.

⁵⁴⁷ *ibid.*

⁵⁴⁸ *ibid.* p.108.

of church and state in Germany. German citizens are accustomed to a separation and a clear definition of the roles of church and state since the Weimar Republic and all are familiar with the history of the so-called *Kulturkampf* or power struggle between the German imperial government and the Catholic Church. German readers would be outraged at the extent of Catholic Church interference in political matters and appalled at the Church's callous attitude to the prisoners' well-being. German society views the role of the clergy solely in a *Seelsorger* capacity and an adviser on moral issues and without political power or influence. Furthermore, German citizens would consider the Church's entrenched and unforgiving stance unchristian and more likely to exacerbate rather than remediate the crisis. The Catholic Church's stance on nationalism and death by hunger strike would be interpreted by German readers as aiding and abetting terrorism and suicide rather than fulfilling the Church's moral duty to ensure peace and the preservation of life.

From a German perspective, the Irish Catholic Church's ambivalent position on nationalism evokes images of outstanding allegations against the Vatican and the German churches of having deliberately ignored atrocities that were committed during the Third Reich. The writer indicates the Church applies double standards and waives the rules as circumstances dictate and power relations are at stake. The death of the hunger strikers, from the perspective of the Irish Catholic Church, for the sacred ideal of nationalism, evokes images of sacrifice and victimhood associated with religion. The Catholic Church's condemnation or condonation of suicide and terrorism at will, in order to maintain its own power and influence is comparable with the underhand practices of the East German regime, which ostensibly condemns IRA and Loyalist terrorism yet utilises chicanery and slick propaganda techniques, to relay mixed messages and manipulate interested parties and would-be communist sympathisers. German readers are fully aware of speculation regarding East German collusion with national and international terrorist organisations, and, in addition they are equally mindful of claims and instances of the East German regime's having harboured fugitives from West German and international justice.

Erich Wiedemann's representation of the pastoral role of a leading Catholic priest during the IRA hunger strike triggers counter-images of the traditional image of the Irish Catholic priest who generally offers spiritual guidance and is involved in pastoral care: "Pater Faul

ist Gefängnispfarrer in Long Kesh und ständiger Kronzeuge des Dramas. Er hat die zehn Todeskandidaten sterben sehen, er hat erlebt, wie Heldenmütter vor den Betten ihrer Söhne zusammenbrachen."⁵⁴⁹ Faul is represented as having witnessed tragedy and human suffering while the families, notably the mothers, (*Heldenmütter*) of the dead hunger strikers are represented as sacrificing their sons for the Republican movement. The Catholic priest projects the traditional Catholic image of pacifism, defender of the inviolability of human life and comforter of bereaved relatives: "Pater Faul läßt gar keinen Zweifel daran, daß er gegen die Fortsetzung des Hungerstreiks ist. Viele Katholiken, sagt er, seien gegen den Streik."⁵⁵⁰ Faul adopts and proclaims the official stance of the Catholic Church in its rejection of all forms of violence in the pursuit of peace and social justice. Reference to the IRA activates the priest's counter-image: "Aber niemand traue sich, gegen den Befehl der IRA anzugehen. In Irland müßten deshalb immer "die Priester die dreckigen Jobs erledigen."⁵⁵¹ The priest projects an auto-image of victimhood and resignation ascribing blame for his passive complicity to intimidation by the presumably ruthless IRA. Faul justifies his complicity by underplaying the role of the Catholic Church in the Republican struggle and representing his priestly role as simply dealing with the IRA's dirty work (*die dreckigen Jobs erledigen*). The *Spiegel* editor represents Faul as a cleric whose Republican sympathies and convictions are at variance with Christian doctrine. His chicanery and dissemblance enable him to serve his priestly vocation and terrorism at will: "Nur, Pater Faul ist nicht aus humanitären Erwägungen gegen den Streik, sondern 'weil der Streik nicht verantwortungsbewußt geführt wird', und weil er mit ziemlicher Sicherheit nicht zum Ziel führt. Hungerstreiks an sich hält er für eine legitime politische Waffe."⁵⁵² Through the interaction of images that shift from being dormant to activated, the chameleon-like priest is represented as a cleric or a Republican, as particular circumstances dictate. He is portrayed as a clever tactician, well versed in Republican politics and acting with the implicit sanction of the Catholic Church. Faul's duplicity evokes images of the East German regime's explicit condemnation of terrorism while underhandedly stoking unrest through deceitful and misleading propaganda, as examined above. Ireland's 'variable' morality is othered as being fundamentally incompatible with

⁵⁴⁹ Erich Wiedemann: "Bobby Sands wartet im Himmel auf dich," *Der Spiegel*, 28 September 1981, p. 161.

⁵⁵⁰ *ibid.*

⁵⁵¹ *ibid.*

⁵⁵² *ibid.*

conventional Christian teachings as practised worldwide and in Germany: "Die apostolische Moral der Iren ist weitmaschiger als die römische. Deshalb dürfen katholische Priester in nordirischen Gefängnissen auch, unbehelligt von ihren Prinzipalen, vom Durchhalten predigen."⁵⁵³ Wiedemann claims Irish Catholic interpretation of moral law is adaptable and determined by changing circumstances conveying a contradiction between the image of the implied, moral superiority of traditional, Irish Catholicism and the practice of religion in situations of political expediency.

Der Spiegel touches on the moral and legal issues surrounding the German debate on the matter of prisoner death by suicide: "Dürfen Gefangene sich zu Tode hungern? Der Hungerstreik, mit dem RAF-Häftlinge seit zwei Monaten gegen Haftbedingungen protestieren, hat von neuem eine Diskussion über die Zwangsernährung entfacht."⁵⁵⁴ Controversy and discussions surrounding the hunger strike by RAF prisoners in Germany concerned the rights of RAF prisoners and the legal responsibility of the German state and were conducted solely with regard to the preservation of human life and dignity. The German decision to outlaw prisoner death by suicide: "Denn der englische Weg - aus Staatsräson hungern lassen - verbietet sich in Deutschland aus Rechtsgründen,"⁵⁵⁵ indicates a humane and compassionate standpoint on account of legal reasons and consequently implies criticism and disparagement of the British viewpoint. Through a juxtaposition of the German position (*aus Rechtsgründen*) and the British standpoint (*aus Staatsräson*) on prisoner death by suicide the journalist implicitly valorises the German position which is rooted in law, whereas the British decision is interpreted as a purely political decision involving a deviation from openness, justice or honesty. Prisoners have a fundamental right to protest and the German state demonstrates leadership and responsibility for prisoners' welfare, public safety and social stability. While the German decision to permit the force-feeding of hunger strikers was prompted by humanitarian and legal considerations, the decision also deprived the hunger strikers and their mentors of the propaganda potential that death by suicide would otherwise have guaranteed. The writer disparagingly suggests that British government policy (*der englische Weg*), on the other hand, unwittingly facilitates the representation of the dead hunger strikers as

⁵⁵³ *ibid.*

⁵⁵⁴ Anonymous: Hungerstreik – "grünes Licht" für den Tod? *Der Spiegel*, 13 April 1981, p. 24.

⁵⁵⁵ *ibid.*

martyrs. The British standpoint on the Republican hunger strike is represented as intractable and uncompromising which consequently results in undermining its own authority. Perceived British obstinacy naturally raises media awareness, emotionalises the hunger strike and arouses public sympathy and outrage. On the other hand, Germany's management of the RAF hunger strike conjures up images of even-handedness and open-mindedness, indicating a situation where the government is in control, yet, willing to treat prisoners with compassion, without acceding to their demands.

The Catholic Church is represented as instrumentalising its historical position as a minority Church in Northern Ireland in combination with its long-standing image as defender of the victimised Irish in their struggle for independence against British colonial rule. The Church is depicted as capitalising on its status and its sense of entitlement to politically manipulate and radicalise its flock while publicly cultivating its image as pastor of the repressed and preaching Christian values. The spectacular media coverage generated by the hunger strike highlighted the Church's traditional image of care and support for its parishioners while it simultaneously consolidated the Church's position and power in Northern Ireland's society. The IRA hunger strike is represented as a power struggle between an intransigent British government and the oppressed Catholic proletariat for whom hunger strike is a matter of last resort and is intended to evoke public sympathy and support for the allegedly underprivileged Catholic minority. From a German perspective, Church interference in matters of the secular state is unconstitutional and abhorrent to German liberal, democratic principles. German management of the issue of force-feeding hunger strikers, which is represented as based on the rule of law and not on political decisions, valorises the humane and rational German way of thinking which is undelined by Christian moral values.

Campaign Tactics

The German public was aware of the parallel hunger strike being undertaken by *Rote Armee Fraktion* prisoners and their expressions of solidarity with the (Republican) IRA hunger strikers in Northern Ireland. German readers were also interested in obtaining insight into the workings of the IRA's terrorist system and organisation. *Der Spiegel* examines the masterminding and operation of the (Republican) IRA hunger strike in

Northern Ireland: "Das Sterben im Maze-Gefängnis und die Bereitschaft immer neuer Häftlinge, an dem Totentanz teilzunehmen, gehören zu einer Strategie, die an einem Frühlingssonntag dieses Jahres von den Anführern der insgesamt 446 IRA-Häftlinge entwickelt wurde."⁵⁵⁶ The writer refers to the hunger strike as a *Totentanz* indicating, in his view, a cynical and dramatised exercise by the IRA, in the interests of gaining media attention and support for its cause. The sheer weight of numbers of potential hunger strikers conveys the power of the IRA, challenges the authorities and encourages fellow and potential subversives nationally and internationally. The journalist expresses abhorrence at the callousness and military precision with which the IRA selects its potential candidates for death row: "Sie spürten zunächst nur solche Kandidaten auf, die am ehesten versprochen durchzuhalten, wenn nötig bis zum Exitus."⁵⁵⁷ Hunger strike candidates are depicted as pawns in an indoctrination and radicalisation process, duped by the myth of nationalism and the glory of martyrdom while images of the IRA connote cold-bloodedness, precise military strategy and a callous businesslike approach to the execution of their strategy. The IRA and, by implication, the *Rote Armee Fraktion* intended to maximise the potential of the hunger strike and use it as a lever against the authorities in the hope of achieving their respective goals. As terrorists, the IRA and the RAF shared similar goals and contacts in the international terrorist milieu and were united by bonds of solidarity. In a gesture of solidarity, the *Rote Armee Fraktion* named one of its brigades in honour of a dead hunger striker.⁵⁵⁸ German readers readily recognise similarities between the tactics employed by the IRA leadership and the master plan behind hunger strike campaigns undertaken by the urban guerrilla group *Rote Armee Fraktion*. In terms of competitiveness between terrorists, the writer contemptuously asserts the IRA are the 'superior' terrorists: "Und auch letzte Woche blieb sie (IRA) – anders als die deutschen RAF-Mitglieder, die gleich nach dem Tod von Sigurd Debus wieder aßen -- ihrer Taktik treu, jeweils vier Männer im Hungerstreik zu halten."⁵⁵⁹ The Republican hunger strikers, who are IRA members, are represented as fanatical, uncompromising and prepared to make the ultimate sacrifice, since they are motivated by patriotism and religious belief. Their reverence for dead hunger strikers, their group loyalty and unquestioning obedience

⁵⁵⁶ Anonymous: Wartende Schatten, Der Spiegel, 17 August 1981, p. 87.

⁵⁵⁷ *ibid.*

⁵⁵⁸ Patsy O'Hara of the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA) died in the Maze Prison on 21. May 1981.

⁵⁵⁹ Anonymous: Reduziert auf Null, Der Spiegel, 25 May 1981, p. 132.

to their leaders contrasts with the attitude of their German counterparts. *Rote Armee Fraktion* hunger strikers broke their hunger strike; it is implied, prompted by good sense, more humane prison conditions and recourse to a fair and impartial legal system.

The German public may have felt revulsion at the fatal consequences of the IRA hunger strike and compassion for relatives and innocent victims but experienced no sympathy or support for an extremist nationalist cause or any form of terrorism. German readers who were conscious of the cruelty and savagery of the Nazi regime and who were also familiar with the terrorist activities and hunger strikes of the *Rote Armee Fraktion* categorically rejected nationalist struggles and all forms of terrorism.

Aftermath of Republican Hunger Strike

Karl-Heinz Wocker, London correspondent for *Die Zeit* analyses the outcome of Northern Ireland's Republican hunger strike and finds no justification for the ultimate sacrifice in the name of nationalism: "Nach 216 Tagen und zehn Toten wurde der Hungerstreik der Häftlinge im Belfaster Maze-Gefängnis abgebrochen. Die IRA hat ihr vordergründiges Ziel – Anerkennung als politische Gefangene – zwar nicht erreicht, aber zumindest an Prestige gewonnen."⁵⁶⁰ Wocker accuses the IRA and by implication, all nationalist movements including Germany's former Nazi regime, of being more interested in enhancing the status of the movement than in the welfare of their own followers. He implies nationalist leaders are self-serving and only interested in furthering their personal aims and ambitions at the expense of their supporters, regardless of the consequences. The writer conveys his scorn for the IRA whose reputation has been enhanced through the deaths of its members juxtaposing the starkness of the hunger strike death toll with the IRA's concern for its reputation. Wocker challenges the IRA's policy in light of its pyrrhic victory and calls its rationale into question: "Ist die IRA nicht schwer angeschlagen?"⁵⁶¹ The IRA leadership, and, by extension, RAF leaders are represented as callous and indifferent to the fate of their followers and their families: "Aber die zehn Toten? Die am Ende übermächtige Protestwelle unter den Angehörigen der zum Tode verurteilten

⁵⁶⁰ Karl-Heinz Wocker: Nordirland: Zynische Bilanz des Hungerstreiks, *Die Zeit*, 9 October 1981, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/1981/42/nordirland-zynische-bilanz-des-hungerstreiks> [16 February 2015].

⁵⁶¹ *ibid.*

Streikenden? "⁵⁶² He denounces terrorist leaders who effectively sentence their followers to death with the hollow glory of martyrdom as their reward: "Die zehn sind längst zu Märtyrern erklärt worden."⁵⁶³ The journalist juxtaposes images of terrorists with images conjuring up the everyday lives of ordinary citizens and bereaved relatives affected by the hunger strike but not fanaticised by the same culture and milieu: "Wer aber fragt nach den andern, die während des Streiks in Nordirland getötet wurden: nach den Soldaten, den Polizisten und nach den zufälligen Opfern?"⁵⁶⁴ He argues the instrumentalisation of the hunger strike as a sacrifice implies a glorification of terrorism and deflects public interest from the loss of civilian life and the wider social implications and consequences of the conflict. Wocker uses a number of rhetorical questions and understatement to highlight his contempt for the selfishness of the IRA, subversives and nationalist movements in general and to underline the futility of nationalist and terrorist struggles. He implies nationalist struggles, including Germany's former Nazi regime, incite subversion, foment social unrest in a cowardly fashion and leave issues unresolved while survivors and non-participants must cope with the consequences of terrorist actions. He cynically implies that martyrdom is the only reward for all dead terrorists while their legacy is the propagation of their myths and the glorification of their deeds to like-minded disaffected groupings, regardless of their particular motivation.

Jürgen Busche's article, *Macht und Recht in Nordirland* from the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* expands on themes analysed by fellow journalists above, in relation to the power struggle at the heart of Northern Ireland's Troubles. The German journalist Jürgen Busche worked in an editorial capacity for several newspapers including the *Hamburger Morgenpost* and *Die Badische Zeitung*. He previously worked as speechwriter for former German president Richard von Weizsäcker. The journalist urges an end to the stalemate in the conflict for control of Northern Ireland. He considers that sincere and meaningful communication between the hostile parties could reduce tensions, contain terrorism and eventually bring about a peaceful solution, in accordance with German and EU principles. Busche maintains that Northern Ireland's war of attrition will continue into the foreseeable future unless Great Britain, as a democratic power, displays readiness to

⁵⁶² *ibid.*

⁵⁶³ *ibid.*

⁵⁶⁴ *ibid.*

communicate with the other parties involved in the hostilities: "Die Terroristen wären auch in Ulster zu isolieren, gäbe es hier wenigstens den Willen zur Verständigung."⁵⁶⁵ Busche is critical of Great Britain's implied intransigence on the Northern Ireland issue: "Doch Feindseligkeit und der Kampf um das Monopol, der Welt das einzig zutreffende Bild von dem Konflikt in Nordirland zu geben, läßt das politische Establishment in Belfast und London nicht los"⁵⁶⁶ and implies Germany would adopt a more conciliatory approach. Busche argues that the Northern Ireland conflict is primarily concerned with the monopoly of power and that other issues are of minor importance: "Es ist eine Machtfrage, ob die britisch-protestantische Rigorosität in Ulster erfolgreich ist. Nur die Machtfrage spielt gegenwärtig eine Rolle. Auf nordirischem Boden geht es in diesem Bürgerkrieg um die Macht, später einmal durchzusetzen, was Recht sein soll."⁵⁶⁷ His repeated use of the term *Machtfrage* and its association with the negative term *Rigorosität* indicates the writer's perception of Great Britain's role in Northern Ireland's power relations. Busche argues that the struggle for power in Northern Ireland takes precedence while factors relating to justice (*Recht*) receive less attention. Britain's perceived insistence on monopolising power in Northern Ireland is at variance with German and European Union principles regarding the well-being of citizens in a democratic society which advocate social justice. The journalist's call for leadership, democracy and compromise towards a peaceful solution to Northern Ireland's crisis evokes a German auto-image embodying the same qualities. German readers will recall Willy Brandt's successful *Ostpolitik* and his policy of rapprochement during the Cold War resulting in the easing of tensions between East and West, the establishment of harmonious relations and ultimately paving the way for German reunification in 1990. The writer implies Northern Ireland requires Brandt-style diplomacy if tit-for-tat warfare and intransigent attitudes are not to form part of 'normal' life for future generations in Northern Ireland. Northern Ireland's culture is represented as outside European norms with aspects of its culture outmoded and undemocratic. The writer suggests the British government and Northern Ireland's 'leaders' require the calibre of former politicians who understood the power of compromise, reconciliation and forgiveness and acted

⁵⁶⁵ Jürgen Busche: Macht und Recht in Nordirland, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 26 May 1981, p. 1.

⁵⁶⁶ *ibid.*

⁵⁶⁷ *ibid.*

accordingly. Likewise, the regeneration of Europe in the aftermath of the Second World War was based on positive values and the building of a modern democratic society. The lessons of history, from a German perspective, have proved that right must take precedence over might with a combination of willingness to forgive and resolve differences. Modern Europe and the European Union provide proof that former enemies can become friends, prosper together and enjoy the benefits of peace. Violence and brutality with sectarian incidents and paramilitary activities continued unabated in Northern Ireland during and after the 1981 IRA (Republican) hunger strike. While the IRA failed to achieve its goal and the British government made few appreciable concessions to prisoners' demands, the 1981 hunger strike is represented as marking a watershed in Northern Ireland's affairs. Public opinion in Northern Ireland and internationally was appalled and sickened at the loss of life in the region that climaxed with the spectacular and gruesome deaths of the hunger strikers. The hunger strike constituted a propaganda victory for the IRA over the British government, increased international sympathy and brought about a rise in active and tacit support for the organisation in nationalist areas. Sinn Féin concentrated its activities on politics and successfully extended its political support base in Northern Ireland and in the Republic of Ireland. Northern Ireland's Troubles began to peter out as Luyken claims in an article titled *Der abgelebte Krieg*.⁵⁶⁸ The German journalist Reiner Luyken is an international correspondent for *Die Zeit* and lives in Scotland. The journalist focuses readers' attention on the stark reality of the duration of the war and the death toll: "Der 5. Oktober markierte den 26. Jahrestag dieses Krieges, der 3170 Menschenleben gekostet hat"⁵⁶⁹ and concludes that the manner in which the war ended signifies the Northern Ireland conflict was contrary to reason and common sense: "Und er endete als der vielleicht absurdeste Konflikt dieses Jahrhunderts."⁵⁷⁰ Luyken is critical of the insular mindset and atavistic instincts that absurdly and perversely prolonged a senseless historical quarrel from the seventeenth century Plantation of Ulster into the twentieth century: "Die früher reale Diskriminierung der Katholiken findet seit zwei Jahrzehnten nur noch in den Köpfen der irischen

⁵⁶⁸ Reiner Luyken: *Der abgelebte Krieg*, *Die Zeit*, 21 October 1994, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/1994/43/der-abgelebte-krieg/seite-2> [18 April 2016].

⁵⁶⁹ *ibid.*

⁵⁷⁰ *ibid.*

Nationalisten statt."⁵⁷¹ He highlights the absurdness of claims of religious discrimination in Northern Ireland when European Union membership guarantees freedom of religious practice and social equality, implying that religion is not the cause of the region's problems: "Katholiken wie Protestanten haben Pässe mit der Aufschrift *European Community*."⁵⁷² Leonhardt examines the Northern Ireland conflict in a European Union and an international context. In Luyken's view, the European Union has brought material prosperity to Northern Ireland's polarised communities implying that it is bigotry, ancient animosity and narrow-mindedness which truly divide the communities: "Auf beiden Seiten der sogenannten Friedenslinien – Barrieren ähnlich der Berliner Mauer kreuz und quer durch Belfast – entstanden so neue Wohnsiedlungen. Der katholische und der protestantische Mittelstand haben einen höheren Lebensstandard als irgendwo sonst im Königreich."⁵⁷³ Northern Ireland is represented as stubbornly resisting change and harbouring ancient grudges despite being surrounded by increasing prosperity associated with the modern age: "Doch bei der Minderheit im Norden überdauerte die atavistische Ideologie, ausgeschmückt mit antiimperialistischen Phrasen und eingebettet in einen mittelalterlichen Katholizismus."⁵⁷⁴ German readers will draw parallels between Northern Ireland's changing circumstances and the final days of the German Democratic Republic where reform was triggered by internal and external factors. An ailing and aged Erich Honecker was increasingly beset with economic problems combined with social discontent resulting in anti-regime demonstrations. Moreover, East Germany was becoming increasingly surrounded by East Bloc states which were demanding and implementing social reform. Awareness of impending social and economic isolation and international rejection of their cultural norms prompted the German Democratic Republic and Northern Ireland to embrace a more liberal and enlightened culture encompassing social diversity, tolerance and inclusiveness. The transformation of culture in the German Democratic Republic and in Northern Ireland is attributable to the ethos of the European Union which has ensured peace and stability in Europe since its foundation. The conversion is interpreted as a validation of the commitment of European Union member

⁵⁷¹ *ibid.*

⁵⁷² *ibid.*

⁵⁷³ Reiner Luyken: Der abgelebte Krieg, Die Zeit Online, 21 October 1994, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/1994/43/der-abgelebte-krieg/seite-2> [18 April 2016].

⁵⁷⁴ *ibid.*

states to the organisation's aims to promote liberal democracy and social justice in a peaceful and prosperous Europe. From a West German perspective, the East German *Wende* vindicates West Germany's policy of post-war *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* and exposes the objectionable and feigned nature of East Germany's auto-image as an anti-fascist, 'purified' state. Luyken highlights the senselessness and futility of war and conflict with a rhetorical question: "Wo steht Nordirland heute? Genau dort, wo es angefangen hat."⁵⁷⁵ The writer implies that if common sense, tolerance and understanding had prevailed in the past, Europe's citizens might have been spared the unnecessary conflict and distress fuelled by entrenched attitudes and atavistic fears and instincts. German readers may conclude that the Thirty Years War in Europe changed the geopolitical face of Europe and the role of religion and nation-states in society, while Northern Ireland's thirty years of conflict resulted in no comparable significant achievement.

Peace and Goodwill

Europe and the world witnessed remarkable changes towards the end of the 1980s through the Soviet Union's policy change initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev whose policies of openness (*glasnost*) and restructuring (*perestroika*) brought an end to the Cold War. 1989 saw the fall of the Berlin Wall and in 1990 Germany celebrated reunification. In Northern Ireland, the IRA signed an unconditional ceasefire in 1994 and the Good Friday or Belfast Agreement was signed in 1998. Germany's auto and corresponding hetero-image underwent a modification as a result of the so-called *Wende* and subsequent German reunification. Correspondingly, the cessation of hostilities in Northern Ireland marks a paradigm shift and triggers new images in the German long-term representation of Northern Ireland as being synonymous with 'The Troubles', as an editorial from the liberal *Die Zeit* indicates. Northern Ireland's reform course indicates the region is nearing European Union norms by embracing democracy and working towards an integrated and inclusive society. The writer juxtaposes familiar and dominant hetero-images of Northern Ireland's past: "Nordirische Tristesse, alles wie gehabt. Hier sture Unionisten, dort trickreiche Republikaner, und am Ende liegt der Friedensprozess erst einmal wieder in

⁵⁷⁵ *ibid.*

Trümmern"⁵⁷⁶ with new and positive images connoting hope and peace: "In der einstigen Bürgerkriegsprovinz hat sich längst ein kleines politisches Wunder vollzogen, das selten gebührende Anerkennung findet."⁵⁷⁷ The writer indicates relief that the Northern Ireland issue is nearing a peaceful conclusion suggesting German and European Union satisfaction and reassurance that the troubled region on the periphery of Europe is actively engaged in a peace process with the prospect of stability, peace and prosperity for the region and for Europe. Furthermore, a peaceful and stable Northern Ireland would hold the prospect of increased investment opportunities for Germany, as explored by Kratz above, and simultaneously reduce the likelihood of IRA terrorist attacks on British forces stationed in Germany.⁵⁷⁸ The editorial acknowledges that leaders of the divided communities have seen "the writing on the wall," have come to their senses and renounced violence: "Auf beiden Seiten der nordirischen Konfliktlinie haben sich die entscheidenden Akteure gegen Gewalt entschieden und den Pfad demokratischer Politik eingeschlagen."⁵⁷⁹ Northern Ireland's political leaders are represented, in *Die Zeit's* editorial, as demonstrating strength of character, insight and a readiness to compromise. These qualities were recognised as vital elements, by Busche above, and essential towards a solution to the Northern Ireland issue.⁵⁸⁰ Northern Ireland's move towards the creation of an environment enabling a peaceful coexistence between former adversaries is a validation of German post-war reconciliation policies and European Union fundamental values. It signals that the region is approaching European Union norms in its acceptance of difference and diversity as a basis for a shared future in the broader context of an integrated Europe. The philosophers Habermas and Derrida maintain: "Auch die Anerkennung von Differenzen - die gegenseitige Anerkennung des anderen in seiner Andersheit - kann zum Merkmal einer gemeinsamen Identität werden."⁵⁸¹ In a discussion on Europe's role in the world and the composition of European identity, Habermas and

⁵⁷⁶ Redaktion: Kommentar, Nordirland, *Die Zeit*, 17 July 2003, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/2003/44/nordirland> [23 August 2016].

⁵⁷⁷ *ibid.*

⁵⁷⁸ See: Wilfried Kratz: Gettos, Gewalt, Gewinn.

⁵⁷⁹ Redaktion: Kommentar, Nordirland, *Die Zeit*, 17 July 2003, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/2003/44/nordirland> [23 August 2016].

⁵⁸⁰ See: Jürgen Busche: Macht und Recht in Nordirland.

⁵⁸¹ Jürgen Habermas und Jacques Derrida: Nach dem Krieg: Die Wiedergeburt Europas, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 31 May 2003, online archive, <https://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/habermas-und-derrida-nach-dem-krieg-die-wiedergeburt-europas-1103893.html> [8 November 2014].

Derrida stress the importance of the recognition and acceptance of cultural difference towards developing a common European identity.

The *Zeit's* editor juxtaposes the potential 'losses' at stake, from the perspective of the opposing parties, in the efforts towards establishing peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland. Long-term images of violence and intransigence associated with the Republican movement are overlaid with images evoking respect for democratic principles: "Gerry Adams bringt zusammen mit Martin McGuinness die republikanische Bewegung Schritt für Schritt dazu, auf den *armed struggle* zu verzichten und die Wahlurne als Mittel der Politik zu akzeptieren."⁵⁸² The Unionist community is represented as losing its traditional monopoly on power and committing to power-sharing: "Für die protestantische Mehrheit stellt sich die Geschichte der vergangenen 80 Jahre wie ein stetiger Abstieg dar vom Paradies ins Fegefeuer."⁵⁸³ Leaders of both communities are represented, in the editorial, as willing to renounce violence, make concessions and work in a democratic process until Northern Ireland's future is decided by the democratic will of the people: "Mehr noch: Sinn Fein/IRA haben sich damit abgefunden, dass Nordirland solange britisch bleiben wird, wie dies eine Mehrheit der Bevölkerung will. Auch wissen die Protestanten, dass die Union mit Großbritannien dann enden wird, wenn sich in Nordirland eine neue Mehrheit herausgebildet hat."⁵⁸⁴ The writer appreciates the difficulties of political leaders, across the traditional sectarian divide in Northern Ireland, as they adopt a new course and abandon their goals, thereby risking humiliation and possible dissent and opposition from their supporters. Northern Ireland's change of course is analogous to the transformation of the former German Democratic Republic which culminated in German reunification. Both East Germany and Northern Ireland chose, in accordance with democratic principles, to abandon an accustomed mindset and way of life since the advantages of capitalist democracy and social integration proved their respective former lifestyles unacceptable and unviable. Northern Ireland's abandonment of violence and terrorism and its commitment to democracy signals, from a German perspective, a vindication and valorisation of Germany's post-war similar change of course, ultimately leading to the establishment of the democratic European Union. Northern Ireland's change of course

⁵⁸² Redaktion: Kommentar, Nordirland.

⁵⁸³ *ibid.*

⁵⁸⁴ *ibid.*

brings the region closer to EU standards and earns respect for the moral courage of those who confronted and tackled the problem. The editor suggests that social and economic upheaval invariably leads to disaffection, hinders the process of social integration and requires intuitive leadership and vigilance, as in the case of German reunification. He indicates that societal change in Northern Ireland still presents difficulties and challenges: "Natürlich ist in Nordirland kein Paradies entstanden"⁵⁸⁵ which, by extension, must also be expected in Germany after a similar period of political and social upheaval associated with German reunification. The writer cautiously implies that radical change and adjustment require time and patience, while some dissenting, reactionary voices hanker nostalgically after the glorious and idealized past; the majority of citizens accept and embrace the material improvements and democratic stability of their new lifestyle as fully recognised and integrated members of the European Union. The writer indicates that politicians worldwide have a responsibility to the electorate to ensure the maintenance of democracy and social harmony, thereby preventing a return to violence and chaos: "Sie werden es den Politikern nicht verzeihen, sollten sie das erreichte, eine gewisse Normalisierung des Lebens, wieder verspielen."⁵⁸⁶ Politicians are duty-bound to ensure that dissenting, political voices do not exploit a volatile situation to further their respective agendas: "Auch in Zukunft muss mit dem Versuch von Fundamentalisten gerechnet werden, den Konflikt durch Gewaltakte neu zu entfachen."⁵⁸⁷ The writer's warning against complacency with regard to Northern Ireland's fragile peace process contains an implied warning to German authorities to be ever vigilant regarding the rise of far right and populist sentiments in Germany, particularly in the former East Germany. Northern Ireland's difficulties are similar to those being experienced by citizens from the former East Germany whose interpretation of a common German past differed fundamentally from the West German process of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* and who are undergoing a process of adjustment following German reunification. The writer advises sensitivity with regard to integration in both cases and reminds authorities that political groupings are prepared to exploit disaffection and subvert democracy.

⁵⁸⁵ *ibid.*

⁵⁸⁶ *ibid.*

⁵⁸⁷ *ibid.*

Der Spiegel's journalist Thomas Huetlin concurs with many of the arguments expressed by the previous writer and focuses on the issue of integration in post-Troubles Northern Ireland. Northern Ireland's housing culture is examined above by the travel writers Potting and Weweler.⁵⁸⁸ In the writer's view, social integration in mixed communities eases social tensions and forms the basis of social harmony leading to the development of community spirit: "In Belfast und Umgebung gibt es ein paar Inseln, in denen Protestanten neben Katholiken wohnen. Sie müssten mehr werden, damit der alte Hass nachlässt, aber daran haben die Bürgerkriegsparteien von gestern das geringste Interesse."⁵⁸⁹ The writer's views are not restricted to Northern Ireland but apply, by extension, to reunified Germany where integration counteracts potential animosity and subversive sentiments. Huetlin asserts that Northern Ireland's changed circumstances have polarised the already fragmented communities: "Aber Nordirland hat sich im Friedensprozess mehr denn je polarisiert: Die Zahl der Menschen, die in Ghettos wohnen, nimmt zu und die trennenden Mauern ebenfalls."⁵⁹⁰ The writer implies, from a German perspective, that a similar polarisation exists in Germany since reunification in particular in the area of social integration. In Germany, the terms 'Ossi' and 'Wessi' implying difference are bandied about and references to *die Mauern in den Köpfen* are frequent. Prejudices and stereotypes formed on either side of the Berlin Wall, as a result of decades of separation, influenced and hampered the German social integration process. East Germans in a united Germany feel the loss of the guaranteed, financial, safety net they were accustomed to under communism as well as their familiar way of life where all citizens equally shared state-controlled resources. West Germans reportedly feel morally superior to their East German counterparts having tackled their past connections with Nazism and developed their country into a European economic powerhouse. East Germans experience feelings of superiority over their western brothers due to East Germany's former assumed anti-fascist stance and alleged communist social equality. Similarly, people in Northern Ireland are out of their 'element' in their new peaceful environment and cling to familiar neighbourhoods and traditional practices. Huetlin advocates the development of a mixed housing policy in culturally diverse communities

⁵⁸⁸ See: Potting and Weweler: p. 7-10 above.

⁵⁸⁹ Thomas Huetlin: Auf dem Karussell der Paranoia, *Der Spiegel*, 29 August 2005, p. 122.

⁵⁹⁰ *ibid.* p. 123.

for Northern Ireland and, by extension, for Germany where many people live in so-called parallel communities. Huetlin claims social discontent is reflected in voting practices: "Die Trennung in den Wohnquartieren findet ihre Fortsetzung in der Polarisierung der Wähler. Die gemäßigten Parteien des Zentrums verlieren."⁵⁹¹ He implies people who live in polarised communities vote along hard-line traditionalist patterns and mistrust and reject moderate political views and policies. He contends lack of social integration and disaffection with authorities drive people to support subversive groupings and far right populist parties, as witnessed in Germany and other EU member states. Huetlin maintains social integration is essential to a healthy, civil society and urges authorities to act accordingly in the interests of citizens and democratic social stability.

In contrast with previous texts, Krönig's article *Demokratische Langeweile* adopts a light-hearted and optimistic tone. He implies Northern Ireland's ennui contrasts with the mayhem that dominated daily life for decades: "Es gibt viel Positives über Nordirland zu sagen. Dazu gehört, dass die Bevölkerung einen undramatischen, offen gesagt, gähnend langweiligen Wahlkampf ohne Murren über sich ergehen ließ."⁵⁹² He considers Northern Ireland has earned some respite and that the tedium of normality after decades of terror is a sign the region is returning to normality, democratic principles and guarded acceptance by the outside world : "Doch nach Jahrzehnten der Bomben und Terroranschläge hat es Nordirlands Bevölkerung verdient, neue, ungewohnte Zeiten gepflegter demokratischer Langeweile zu erleben."⁵⁹³ Post-Troubles Northern Ireland's lifestyle is depicted in terms associated with capitalist regions in Europe and worldwide, implying the power of democratic capitalism to ensure peace and stability. Northern Ireland's adoption of a peaceful course and a rejection of hatred and violence is evidence the region is reaping the rewards of democratic capitalism and is approaching European Union norms. The region is depicted as the antithesis of how it was once regarded, as an object of scorn and shunned by the civilized world: "Einst war Belfast eine dunkle, regenverhangene, hässliche Stadt, gezeichnet vom Bombenterror und Angst."⁵⁹⁴ The juxtaposition of images connoting prosperity with images associated with Northern

⁵⁹¹ *ibid.*

⁵⁹² Jürgen Krönig: *Demokratische Langeweile*, *Die Zeit*, 2 March 2007, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/online/2007/10/nordirland/seite-2> [29 July 2016].

⁵⁹³ *ibid.*

⁵⁹⁴ *ibid.*

Ireland's 'dark past' conveys optimism and tranquillity: "Ansonsten boomt es in der Hauptstadt der Provinz; überall entstanden neue Restaurants, schossen zwischen Shopping Malls und Einkaufszeilen neue Hotels und Kulturbauten aus dem Boden."⁵⁹⁵ Peace, it is implied, has brought the benefits of capitalist practices to Northern Ireland and consumers are pacified by the new and unaccustomed experience. Improvements in the economic climate and the property market imply from a German perspective, the prospect of further investment and an expansion of existing German interests, as examined above.⁵⁹⁶ German investors who are by repute far-sighted and shrewd are biding their time for circumstances to change in their favour. Foreign investment in Northern Ireland reminds German readers of the considerable financial supports West Germany made available to redevelop East Germany's ailing economy and neglected infrastructure. Northern Ireland's conversion to peace evokes images of post-war West Germany's conversion to democratic capitalism entailing a rejection of violence, a policy of reconciliation and the advocacy of social democracy. Northern Ireland is represented as a European Union success story, with Germany as a role model, where capitalism and the welfare state have contributed to the establishment of peace and a rejection of violence. Unlike previous writers, Krönig views Northern Ireland's petty crime and gangsterism as an inevitable by-product of the post-Troubles era, a short-term problem and not a cause for alarm or particular concern. Criminals from the polarised communities engage in illegal activities: "In den republikanischen Sozialsiedlungen kommt es immer noch zu den berüchtigten 'Strafprügeleien'; immer noch geben dort die harten Männer der IRA den Ton an, während sich die einstigen loyalistischen Paramilitärs entweder gegenseitig abmurksen oder mit Drogen handeln."⁵⁹⁷ In Krönig's view, there is little risk to peace in Northern Ireland despite former paramilitaries engaging in petty crime and anti-social behaviour. He considers such behaviour to be expected, but not condoned, in light of conditions in the region during the previous decades: "Auch das ist unumgänglicher Teil der 'Normalisierung' in Nordirland."⁵⁹⁸ He implies Germany, Europe's leading economy and European Union advocate, has had to contend with similar social problems

⁵⁹⁵ *ibid.*

⁵⁹⁶ See: Wilfried Kratz: *Gettos, Gewalt, Gewinn.*

⁵⁹⁷ Jürgen Krönig: *Demokratische Langeweile, Die Zeit*, 2 March 2007, online archive, <https://www.zeit.de/online/2007/10/nordirland/seite-2> [29 July 2016].

⁵⁹⁸ *ibid.*

particularly in the period following German reunification: "Solch unschönen Erscheinungen sind in gefestigten Demokratien alles andere als unbekannt."⁵⁹⁹ Northern Ireland's readjustment difficulties evoke images of social integration problems in post-reunification Germany where a so-called culture clash relating to differences in economic policy, work ethic and attitudes towards foreigners resulted in violence and slowed down the integration process. As societies in transition, both East Germany's and Northern Ireland's divided communities share difficulties in coming to terms with their respective histories. The journalist implies social problems, arising from cultural differences and social conditioning are part of normal life in a democratic society while effectively coping with such problems, from a German perspective, is proof of the stability of German democracy and an indication of German society's tolerance and liberalism.

The writer concludes that Northern Ireland, on the whole, is committed to democracy and peaceful co-existence. Northern Ireland's electorate is represented as being more progressive in its outlook regarding the region's future and will not be subjected to terrorist dictates or swayed by recriminations about the past from reactionary politicians: "In vieler Hinsicht scheint ein Gutteil der Bevölkerung weiter zu sein als ihre Politiker, die rhetorisch allzu oft auf die bitteren Konflikte der Vergangenheit zurückkommen, die Schuld der anderen Seite beschwören und Sühne fordern."⁶⁰⁰ Northern Ireland's citizens are depicted as convinced of the value of peace and stability with the promise of economic prosperity which they are not willing to put at risk by returning to violence in a senseless nationalistic struggle. The writer's approval of the region's change of course indicates a validation of Germany's change of course after the Second World War when the country rejected nationalism and embraced liberal democracy. The writer's respect and admiration for Northern Ireland's determination to defend and maintain its democratic values evokes images of a caring, democratic Germany. The writer implies if Germany had not unswervingly pursued a democratic, instead of a nationalistic course, the country would not be the pivotal economic force in Europe nor would it be in a position to play a leading role in the European Union which aims to maintain peace, stability and prosperity in Europe.

⁵⁹⁹ *ibid.*

⁶⁰⁰ *ibid.*

Conclusion

The primary aim of the travel writers and the print media journalists whose perceptions of Ireland are examined in this thesis is to inform and to enlighten their respective German readers about life and events in Ireland and how these might affect their lives. Inevitably, the German representation of Ireland is underpinned by German writers' own predispositions, their political leanings and their specific agendas. There can be no neutral representation of Irish life and the *Irlandbild*, similar to the image people have of any other nation, cannot be understood in an objective sense. The 'reality' depicted in the representation is always a construction based on a particular perspective and contingent on writer knowledge of and familiarity with Ireland and the Irish way of life. The 'rapport' between German writers and German readers is part of a communication process which enables writers to convey 'messages' to their respective German readers. In this regard, deliberately and purposefully constructed images of Ireland are instrumentalised, at opportune moments, to communicate significant social or moral ideas which are relevant for German readers. German writers frequently construct representations of Irish society as a model to be followed or imitated by German society. Or, conversely, images of perceived Irish foibles and weaknesses are constructed to warn German readers against imitation.

This thesis tried to analyse the perspective through which Germans view Ireland. The major findings indicate positive attitudes towards Ireland despite reservations about economic and societal issues.

German representations of Ireland as a European Union member generally cast Ireland in a favourable light, with the notable exception of the Celtic Tiger period. In German representations depicting the early years of Ireland's EU membership, Ireland's perceived Otherness is emphasised and conveyed in hetero-images evoking innocence and remoteness through the recurrent use of *die grüne Insel* construct. Ireland is portrayed as a poor and underdeveloped country with a young, educated and eager workforce supported by forward-looking, liberal-minded politicians who are committed to European goals.

Representations from the East German press and *Die Zeit* compare Ireland's impending industrialisation to colonialism and exploitation. Ireland's efforts at encouraging Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), with a view to industrial and economic development, are represented as proactive. Ireland's generous investment incentives initially prompted a cautious response from prospective German industrialists who are subsequently tempted by the lucrative prospects of investing in Ireland, which is represented as an untapped resource without a legacy of industrial problems.

Ireland's non-compliance with German expectations through its initial rejection of the Treaty of Nice and subsequently the Treaty of Lisbon led to a further paradigm shift in the representation. The Irish, hitherto, depicted as model and enthusiastic Europhiles are now portrayed as self-serving, ungrateful, and defiant considering the generous and long-term EU support of the Irish economy.

Ireland's Celtic Tiger success is depicted as analogous to the German *Wirtschaftswunder* in its suddenness and intensity of growth. Celtic Tiger society is represented as brash and vulgar while Celtic Tiger profligacy contrasts with German thrift, aversion to debt and a compulsion to save. The success of the Celtic Tiger phenomenon is represented as temporarily posing a potential threat to the German economy. Ireland's low rate of corporation tax that attracted American and other multi-national corporations is portrayed as an irritant and a source of envy to German financial authorities who strictly adhered to their traditional economic model.

While in economic terms, Ireland's booming Celtic Tiger economy approaches EU criteria, the representation signifies a propensity for risk-taking and speculation amongst Irish politicians and investors. German writers increasingly represent sectors of Irish society as brash, materialistic and indifferent to the plight of the needy, including asylum seekers and refugees. The texts indicate an abandonment of traditional Irish moral values in favour of American and European-style materialism. The representation welcomes the gradual emergence of a more liberal and pluralistic society, a rejection of traditional nationalism, and the hitherto undisputed position of the Catholic Church through the gradual separation of church and state. These changes are depicted as admirable, parallel developments that are in line with supranational European Union standards. The

integration of citizens from other EU member states and beyond into Irish society is represented in the texts as laudable and a model for German society.

The Celtic Tiger period triggered a modification in hetero-images ascribed to Ireland with the dormant image of the rebel Irish appearing in a new guise and defying the EU through the delayed ratification of treaties. The Celtic Tiger rebel is represented as recklessly ignoring economic forecasts and bringing about economic ruin. Traditional hetero-images of Irish poverty and underdevelopment are overlaid with images evoking wealth and bad taste. Hetero-images connoting greed and selfishness become more prominent than familiar images of Irish friendliness and hospitality. Ireland's rashness and profligacy are represented as a foil for commendable German caution, frugality, and rationalism.

Ireland's financial collapse and subsequent bailout by the EU and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are largely depicted in sympathetic tones, albeit with an underlying hint of smugness and superiority. The fall of the Celtic Tiger and resulting bankruptcy are represented as retribution for the 'sin' of hubris. Ireland is depicted as a wrongdoer who is morally obliged to enter the EU/IMF bailout scheme in atonement and in order to save the European economy from further damage. Germany is cast in the role of saviour of the euro. Despite criticism of numerous Irish imperfections and shortcomings during the Celtic Tiger era, German writers, nevertheless, commend Irish people's good-humoured fatalism and dignity in the face of adversity, indicating that these characteristics would be less prominent in Germany. The German representation of Ireland's performance as a European Union member is conveyed as a parable, directed at German readers, reminding them of the dangers of being overambitious, profligate and wasteful. The representation of Ireland's fall from grace and return to poverty is a cautionary tale admonishing German society to exercise fiscal rectitude, moderation, and prudence and to avoid complacency.

German representations of the role of the Catholic Church in Irish society underline German advocacy of the notion of the secular state in a liberal, Europeanised society. Throughout the representation poor, impractical Ireland is depicted as the perfect foil for rational, liberal Germany. Ireland's traditionalism and perceived shortcomings and foibles highlight German achievements, tolerance and modernity. Church-state symbiosis in

Ireland is represented as a major contributory factor in the German perception of Ireland's Otherness and implied social backwardness in comparison with modern, secular Germany. The German representation of the position of the Catholic Church in Irish society depicts an underdeveloped country in the stranglehold of the mighty Catholic Church, which has made itself indispensable in Irish society over centuries. Catholic Church influence is represented as omnipresent, pervading Irish society as a harsh, totalitarian regime which offers scant comfort or pastoral care to its people who have recently been liberated from centuries of colonial rule. The Church-state alliance is portrayed as a partnership where mutual interests take precedence over responsibility towards the Irish people. The newly independent Irish state is depicted as weak and indecisive and reliant on the Church for its credibility. The state's governance is characterised by indecisiveness, procrastination and failure to address poverty, emigration and social deprivation. Church-state partnership in Ireland is depicted as enforcing a repressive, fundamentalist, puritanical form of religion while the state clung to its nationalist ideals.

In the area of family life and in attitudes towards women, the effects of the Irish Church-state symbiosis are represented as reprehensible, based on outdated laws and incompatible with contemporary attitudes and practices. Writers depict dispirited Irish people deprived of civil liberties and cowed into submission by Church-state colonial type rule. The notion of Gaelic Catholic Ireland as a model of exemplary Catholicism and 'Irishness' is represented as outmoded and objectionable, connoting repressive nationalism and Catholic fundamentalism that are incompatible with society in contemporary Europe.

In addition to societal issues, Irish religious practices with their ritualism and perceived superstitions held a quaint fascination for German writers until the mid-1980s. The Irish phenomenon of the 'moving statues' and the ingenious Stage Irishman with his unorthodox business methods provided light relief and entertainment for German writers and readers. The second half of the 1980s indicates the early stages of a *perestroika* in Irish society with a perceptible paradigm shift in the German representation. The combination of Irish government investment in education, the benefits of EU membership and financial support combined with influences from abroad are depicted as contributing

to Ireland's transition from the traditional to the modern. Writers represent the diminishing influence of the Catholic Church, liberalisation of family law and Ireland's increased engagement with Europe as positive indications that Ireland is abandoning fundamentalist Catholicism and nationalism in favour of liberalism and European integration. The harmonious integration of citizens from fellow EU member states and beyond into Irish society is represented as exemplary and attributable to the Catholic ethos which constitutes the fabric of Irish society. Conduct of investigations into clerical abuse of minors is represented as thorough and exhaustive despite Ireland's history of centuries under Catholic Church rule. Irish people are represented as emboldened and having broadened their horizons through EU membership which brought material prosperity, liberalism and multiculturalism to Ireland's shores. While Ireland may be in the process of transition from the traditional to the modern, it is to be expected that the Irish Catholic tradition will remain an integral, but less dominant, component of 'Irishness' as Germany's Christian past also moulds the country's present and future.

The German portrayal of Northern Ireland depicts the region as a forbidding, inhospitable and dangerous area, poisoned by incestuous sectarianism and reactionary nationalism. The region's culture fosters violence and division resulting in its being Othered and generally shunned by Germany and other democratic EU states. Northern Ireland is represented as embodying the antithesis of EU and German values, thereby valorising German and the supranational European Union's commitment to democracy, cultural diversity and social justice.

West German journalists indicate indifference to Northern Ireland's power struggle and focus on the mindlessness of a nationalistic struggle and the human toll of the conflict. Their representations of the region with its atavistic instincts manifest a desire for peace and normality thus enabling German investors to advance their investment interests and reap the benefits of their dedication and perseverance. West German press coverage is both factual and analytical. The tone is generally dispassionate conveying incomprehension of the ill-fated nationalistic power struggle and frustration at its protracted and inconclusive nature.

East German writers, on the other hand, blame British imperialism for the plight of long-suffering Catholics whose cause they ostensibly champion in an effusive, propaganda-laden style. Similar to their West German counterparts, East German journalists indicate an abhorrence of nationalism, violence and loss of life. From an East German perspective, Northern Ireland's salvation lies in communism thus validating East Germany's much propagandised political stance while simultaneously wooing support from Ireland's Left.

German travel writers endeavour to discover redeeming aspects in Northern Ireland's society apart from squalid, overcrowded and segregated urban districts. Depictions of Northern Ireland by travel writers occasionally conjure up images of peace and tranquillity thereby inspiring cautious hope and optimism in a region that is otherwise represented in negative terms. In general, hetero-images associated with Northern Ireland throughout the representation predominantly convey doom, misery and ingrained prejudice as befitting an area on the edge of the European continent which, from a German perspective, is culturally outside European Union norms. Northern Ireland's hunger strike is depicted in images that convey and highlight the doomed nature of a nationalistic struggle. The role of the Catholic Church during the hunger strike is represented as contrary to accepted Christian moral standards.

The reactivated long-term stereotype of the 'fighting Irish', in a variety of forms, pervades the representation across Northern Ireland's cultural divide from the thuggish, loyalist vigilante to the nationalist, hunger-strike martyr. Traditional stereotypes associated with religion predominate in texts by East German journalists for propaganda and doublespeak purposes. The activities of extremist elements within Northern Ireland's society are represented as violent, unrefined and therefore incompatible with European Union and communist East German societal norms.

The IRA ceasefire and the ratification of the Good Friday Agreement trigger a paradigm shift in the representation. Familiar, negative hetero-images of violence and destruction begin to gradually recede and more positive hetero-images are slowly activated. Writers signify hope and cautious optimism that Northern Ireland has rejected violence and embraced democratic capitalism, in a just society. Northern Ireland is represented as gradually nearing EU standards in its commitment to peace and reconciliation.

Representations of the difficulties and challenges facing Northern Ireland, as the region slowly returns to normality, evoke images of a reunified Germany coping with the legacy of decades of separation. The German representations of Northern Ireland's troubled past and subsequent radical transformation serve both as a reminder and a cautionary tale about the devastating effects of nationalism, fundamentalism and politically-motivated violence. German readers will identify and empathise, in part, with some of the stages on Northern Ireland's journey to peace and reconciliation. Equally, German readers will applaud their own country's commitment to ensuring peace and stability in Europe, as co-founder, role model and leading advocate of the European Union.

As this thesis has demonstrated, German representations of Ireland show, to a considerable degree, a re-emergence, adaptation and modification of the stereotypical *Irlandbild* to compensate for, in many instances, a lack of firsthand knowledge of the country. A number of German-speaking travel writers lived in Ireland while others visited the country regularly. On the other hand, direct engagement with Ireland, by press correspondents, was sporadic and was dictated by so-called 'events.' In most cases, with a few notable exceptions, the German 'mainstream' press does not employ a resident, foreign correspondent in Ireland. German foreign correspondents for Ireland are located either in London or in Germany, indicating that German press coverage of events in Ireland is of minor significance. Foreign correspondents from the former German Democratic Republic also wrote their articles and reports on Irish life from their London base. The Swiss journalist, writer and broadcaster, Martin Alioth who has lived in Ireland since 1984 works for Swiss and German newspapers and broadcasting organisations. Journalist and travel writer Ralf Sotscheck is the only German foreign correspondent based in Ireland. Based in Dublin, Sotscheck has been foreign correspondent for Great Britain and Ireland for *die tageszeitung (taz)* since 1985. Writing for a so-called 'alternative' target readership, Sotscheck's articles in *die tageszeitung (taz)* and his travel writings focus on and cultivate a niche culture in German society that professes 'interest' in Ireland and its culture.

German print media representations of Ireland, prior to the so-called Celtic Tiger period present the traditional *Irlandbild* with familiar hetero-images of Irish culture complemented by interpretations of Irish history. Several articles published anonymously

by *Der Spiegel* use background, historical material as 'padding' or rehash information from previous articles. Stereotypical representation is part of the stock-in-trade of the travel writer's craft and this is accentuated by the folksy representations of Irish life in travel writings by Ralf Sotscheck. Print media journalists regularly highlight traditional and well-established hetero-images of Ireland in their representations which are instantly recognisable by German readers. These hetero-images and cultural generalisations are subsequently modified, adapted and contemporised to suit writers' specific agendas. The so-called Celtic Tiger era and subsequent period sees a pronounced reduction in the use of traditional Irish stereotypes in the representation. This may be ascribable to increased German investment activity in Ireland and more frequent direct contact with the country. The representation now focuses more explicitly on the delivery of 'coded messages' to German readers.

Writer disapproval of aspects of Irish culture, particularly in the areas of church-state relations and family matters, suggests to German readers that Ireland lags behind German and European Union norms, in some key aspects. Similarly, German writers' criticism of Irish financial practices, profligacy and recklessness is factual and less reliant on the use of traditional stereotypes during the same period. Likewise, German journalists and writers applauded the wave of liberalism that swept over Ireland and commended Irish community spirit.

German interest in Irish domestic politics is negligible and the German public is more interested in what makes modern Ireland or the Irish 'tick' in economic, cultural and social terms. German business interest in Ireland is confined to economic considerations and investments prior to and during the Celtic Tiger period. German politicians and investors obtain their 'insider' knowledge of Irish affairs from well-informed and well-researched sources within the diplomatic service and professional organisations. In terms of German foreign investment interests, the Irish economy is 'small potatoes.' Ireland poses no long-term or serious economic threat to Germany. As Europe's leading economy, Germany has weathered many economic crises and wise German economists probably view Ireland low rate of corporation tax as a temporary irritation and a challenge. German economists viewed the Celtic Tiger as a flash in the pan and a costly experience for Ireland. As a centre of economic power, German interests lie beyond Ireland's shores and Ireland has

no strategic importance for Germany. As a fellow EU member state, Germany is committed to fostering and maintaining cordial relations with Ireland and all other EU states in a peaceful and prosperous Europe.

Ireland has repeatedly been represented as a projection screen for Germany. This thesis refers to Eoin Bourke's comments on the visit of German travellers to Ireland in the early nineteenth century: "Ireland had become a projection screen for German yearnings."⁶⁰¹ In the 1980s, the travel writers Potting and Weweler assign Ireland a similar function in German-Irish relations, albeit under different political circumstances: "Irland, eine Insel im wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Wandel, erschien uns wie eine große Projektionsfläche, aus der jeder sein Irlandbild entwerfen und bestätigen kann."⁶⁰² Similarly, German-Irish relations have been described as a 'love affair' and the travel writer Manfred Tieger claims: "Deutsche und Iren haben ein besonderes Verhältnis zueinander, das auf gegenseitiger Bewunderung beruht,"⁶⁰³ suggesting a partnership that is based on long-term mutual respect and approval for the cultural differences of the other.

The German representation of Ireland in this thesis underscores the contention that representations of so-called national character are cultural constructs that are more reliant on historical patterns of national character representation than on empirical evidence and that these cultural constructs are ultimately determined by the perspective and perception of the observer. Furthermore, the German portrayal of Ireland depicts a relationship between cultural opposites based on limited firsthand knowledge or direct contact and yet in keeping with the phrase 'opposites attract.' The interaction of the German hetero-image of Ireland with the German auto-image, in the representation, generates a German post-war auto- and hetero-image evoking exemplary commitment to Europeanist principles in a tolerant, liberal, democratic and integrated multicultural society. Ireland's failings and shortcomings, as depicted in German travel writings and in print media texts, are a foil for Germany and accentuate German modernism, liberalism and materialism in a postnational Europeanist society.

⁶⁰¹ Eoin Bourke: Introduction: 'The Niobe of Nations' - The Early Literary Manifestations of German Awareness of Irish Conditions. In: "Poor Green Erin:" German Travel Writers' Narratives on Ireland from Before the 1798 Rising to After the Great Famine. Ed. by Eoin Bourke. Frankfurt am Main 2012, pp. 1-12, here p. 2.

⁶⁰² Christoph Potting and Annette Weweler: Anders Reisen Irland. Ein Reisebuch in den Alltag. Reinbek bei Hamburg 1984, p. 7.

⁶⁰³ Manfred P. Tieger: Irland: Die Grüne Insel. München 1996, p. 180.

Germany and Ireland experienced the horrors and consequences of nationalist conflict and now thrive in multicultural, liberal societies. Germany is now a reunited, prosperous and peaceful country. Peace and prosperity have returned to Northern Ireland despite outstanding nationalist issues. Past 'disagreements' and differences of opinion between Germany and Ireland have been amicably resolved and have not marred the traditional bonds of friendship between the two countries. In the foreseeable future, it is likely German-Irish relations will continue to develop in a spirit of mutual respect and empathy. Despite inevitable differences of opinion, Germany and Ireland staunchly support European goals and interests and will continue to cooperate in a spirit of harmony and goodwill in the interests of the common good.

In the interim, as the United Kingdom prepares its 'exit' from the European Union it also opens a new chapter in German-Irish relations, particularly with regard to the European Union. The United Kingdom's 'departure' from the European Union will fundamentally change how Ireland's role in the EU is perceived by Germany and other EU member states. Similarly, Ireland's self-image will undergo change owing to the withdrawal of its nearest neighbour from the European Union.

Germany and the European Union were staunch supporters of Ireland's stance on the delicate border issue between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland during Brexit negotiations. In a post-Brexit EU, from a German perspective, it is likely that Ireland's corporation tax rates, extensive American investment in Ireland, and Irish neutrality will again become contentious issues among EU partners. As the EU partners develop post-Brexit relationships in a 'changed' EU, the diversity of viewpoints will trigger new images providing ample opportunity for research into the next phase of German-Irish relations.

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