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EVERYDAY RACISM IN THE WEST OF IRELAND

by

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A thesis submitted to the School of Political Science and Sociology

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Abstract

Everyday life might be described as a rhythmic flow of routines and practices that frame social life's multitudinous interactional episodes. Everyday social life is also punctuated by various types of racism that can be mapped along a continuum, from racist physical and verbal abuse to more subtle practices and discourses of racialized exclusion. Combining qualitative interviews with (auto-) ethnography, this thesis explores everyday racism in the City of Galway in the West of Ireland. The last census (2011) recorded 19.4 percent of the city's resident population as 'non-Irish nationals', making it the most 'multi-cultural' city in the Republic of Ireland. As this thesis demonstrates, everyday racism is very much a feature of multi-cultural Ireland, evidenced for example when the rhythm of everyday praxis, such as walking a dog on a local beach is ruptured by a violent racist assault, as was the case with one of my informants. At the other end of the continuum are banal racist episodes which generally exist beneath the radar of reported (and reportable) actions and experiences.

The everyday is theorized using six core concepts: the social, social space, practices, scripts, flow and temporality, drawing on the work of Bourdieu (1977, 1989 and 1990), Giddens (1984) and Pink (2012). The methodological journey describes how reflexivity was key to addressing incumbent methodological and ethical challenges facing a white female researcher interviewing and volunteering with people from various multi-ethnic backgrounds. The research findings are divided into three parts: episodes of overt racism, including physical assault and verbal abuse; everyday racism, comprising discourses and practices of exclusion which occur in fields of social life including education, work and leisure; and everyday racist discourse which occurs without the presence of the Other and yet remains an intrinsic part of the process that constitutes racialized difference. These three areas describe how overt racism disrupts yet also shapes the lives of those impacted, while more banal episodes

become part of everyday life and practices, with both underpinned by racist discourses which circulate and change over time, configuring and re-constituting us/them relations in Irish society.

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Statement of Originality

I, Anita Naughton, hereby certify that all of the work described within this thesis is the original work of the author. Any published (or unpublished) ideas and/or techniques from the work of others are fully acknowledged in accordance with the standard referencing practices.

Signed:

Date:

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Introduction

Light in August

William Faulkner's 1932 novel *Light in August* is set in the southern state of Georgia in the United States and it describes episodes in a small town named Jefferson, with characters including Byron Bunch and Joe Christmas. Byron is a stereotypical hard worker in the local sawmill, steady and reliable, while in contrast Joe is a wanderer who arrives at the Ferguson sawmill one day, only to be interpreted as a 'foreigner' in his mode of dress and behaviour. Faulkner's characters are complex and Joe represents darkness, with his violence and deviance, threatening his friend Brown and wearing unsuitable work-clothing, all of which are deemed racial in the text due to ambiguous racial ancestry. Joe is suspected of having 'negro blood', rumour follows him from childhood in the orphanage where he was given his name having been abandoned on Christmas day. Byron, a man whose blood-line can be traced back generations, appears as the centre of moral rectitude, representing what is light and 'good' and ultimately white.

Analysing this text ten years ago I noticed similarities between these characters and people I had met. Similar to Joe, a black migrant named Lewis¹ arrived in Ireland and worked with a group of Irish people. Lewis was initially deemed a 'foreigner', his difference tolerable but this changed after he was accused of inappropriate behaviour among a group of women. After this episode Lewis became Other, comparable to the portrayal of Joe in Faulkner's novel: 'I always thought there was something funny about that fellow' (Faulkner, p. 76, 1932). Also, a number of people, like Faulkner's Byron Bunch, upstanding members of their community, became involved in gossip about Lewis. Lewis was retrospectively described as dangerous and threatening, his deviant behaviour explained in the manner of Joe, 'that he

¹ Lewis is a pseudonym.

carried with him his own inescapable warning, like a flower its scent or a rattlesnake its rattle' (Faulkner, p. 29,1932), a biological and therefore racial warning. This episode in Ireland did not use the same racial language of Faulkners' Georgia, the word 'negro' or similar was never uttered but racial attributes of being less than human, animalistic and primitive 'explained' Lewis's behaviour and circulated in gossip, 'that single idle word blown from mind to mind' (Faulkner, p. 55, 1932). Faulkner uses Byron to question how ideas circulate and points to habitual language and behaviour:

Because always, he thinks, when anything gets to be a habit, it also manages to get a right good distance away from truth and fact. (Byron Bunch in Faulkner's, *Light in August*, p.57-58, 1932)

Habit enables social actors to make sense of the world, to engage in everyday activities such as reading, writing and eating. At a young age we learn colours, that is white and this is black, if a colour is mistaken we correct the young child until they can clearly identify each colour. These colour 'facts' need not apply to the multitude of variation in people, and yet in habits and routines people are observed and perceived using this type of categorical logic.

This research project investigates the manifestation of everyday racism in the West of Ireland. Race is part of the everyday, inscribed onto bodies through routine interactions, and is a vehicle for shared and contested meaning. As social scientists we learn to hold the concept of race at a distance, to highlight its contingency and to communicate the fact that it has no essence or non-linguistic substance and yet it remains a resilient feature of the social, in both language and action, despite anti-racist education and legislation. It is customary in some academic writing to use scare-quotes with the word race to denote a purposeful distancing of the author from the terms' multifarious and nefarious meanings. Some academic literature has called for new terminology (see Banton, 1998 and Gilroy, 2002) to replace the tarnished term race, arguing that continuity of usage amounts to a reinforcement

of historical ideas. However, nomenclature and hyphenation cannot alleviate the continuously contested status of the ideas which attach to race and belligerently endure in society.

The focus throughout this project has been on everyday racism experienced by people rather than specific groups of people who experience racism. Participants in this research are from a variety of backgrounds sharing the common experience of racism rather than a specific ethnicity, as can be seen in other research about racism. Inter-group conflict has been analysed through ethnicity with valuable insights into ethnicity and its role in society (Malesevic, 2004 and Jenkins, 2008), however the focus of this research is about experiences of everyday racism in society. Cole, in his ethnographic study of racism in Italy, argued that working class Sicilians were not racist (Cole, 1997). The more important question which Cole addressed I think was the existence of racism and how it operated, to state whether a group is racist or not is a moral judgement which I would argue is counterproductive and unnecessary in the examination of everyday racism in society. The categorisation and labelling as either racist or anti-racist applies moral censure, leading to the reification of society into 'good' anti-racists and 'bad' racists, with this reification unhelpful in the exploration of racism as a social phenomenon. Spivak eloquently addresses the position of the author and how the author can be complicit in the very subject of investigation:

I'm of course, with every bit of my conscious thinking, every bit of my work, in all of my interventions, strongly, fundamentally, and in every way anti-racist. But history is larger than personal goodwill. Therefore, I think we must confront the possibility that in what we produce there may be residual elements that can give fuel to the other side. (Spivak, 1996)

While I agree with Spivak's important point that authors can be unintentionally complicit in the very subject they are challenging, the juxtaposition of anti-racism as one side opposing a racist other side is in itself an example of the unhelpful reification of society.

A focus on the everyday in sociology can be traced to Le Febvre (1991) and de Certeau (1984) with Billig's work on banal nationalism (1995) and Pink's research into everyday practices (2012) examples of important contributions to analyses of the everyday. This research project, drawing on the work of Berger and Luckmann (1967), Bourdieu (1977, 1998 and 1999), Sztompka (2008) and Pink (2012) focuses on the everyday, the mundane actions that can be part of everyday life which flows unreflexively:

The man on the street does not ordinarily trouble himself about what is 'real' to him and about what he 'knows' unless he is stopped short by some sort of problem. He takes his 'reality' and his 'knowledge' for granted. (Berger and Luckmann, 1967)

The term 'man on the street'² denotes the average person, a social entity that is arguably fictional but necessary to exemplify social knowledge. The Other on the street is the subject of this research – the everyday Other who can be excluded by the subtle movement of a handbag away from their physical presence or an enquiry into their legal status in the country by a 'man on the street' (see Section 2). Both of these actions are anchored in the stocks of knowledge we use in everyday life, about the Other who does not belong 'here', who are a threat to personal property, with their presence resulting in reflexive acts that constitute discourses and practices of exclusion.

The study of racism globally has generated copious research projects, monographs, and scholarly articles over the past centuries in many academic disciplines. Much of the work has

² This equally could be 'woman on the street'. The term 'man on the street' is from Berger and Luckmann's original text and the language throughout their 1967 monograph can be read today as sexist in the manner and tone 'man' and 'woman' are used. In using their concept of everyday social interaction, 'man' translates to social actor.

been geographically specific, focusing on the United States and the United Kingdom in particular, with many other important contributions globally. This has made a literature review of the topic vexatious as the vast literature is not always relevant to the Irish situation and yet there are resonances, echoes of the Irish situation in international literature. For example, Vron Ware mentions the case of a child in the United States, at the end of the nineteenth century, being removed from her family home in the so-called black side of town because she was perceived as white due to her white skin tone while her parents were black (Ware, p. 136, 2005). This is similar to cases in Ireland in 2013 where two Roma children were removed from their homes because they had blue eyes and blond hair and did not look like their parents (see report of the Ombudsman for Children, Emily Logan, 2014). These comparative examples place racism in Ireland in a global context, however the underlying reasons for removal of children from their families are more complex than a simple comparison of circumstances across time. Theoretically race is a contested concept with ethnicity a recently more acceptable term, even though some argue (for example Carter & Fenton, 2009) it suffers from some of the same theoretical problems as race (more detail in chapter 1). Racism is a derivative of the contested term race yet exists in legislation in many countries and is defined in human rights discourse. An added complexity is the normative definitions of racism which exist in society, and how the word racism is used in everyday life. Banton and Hill refer to a folk theory of racism prevalent in society, where many in society see racism in explicit acts of exclusion and violence and blame this on a minority of uneducated people who 'know no better' (Banton, 1998, Hill, 2008).

To contextualise everyday racism, a continuum of racism(s) is utilised here as referred to by Anthias and Yuval Davies (p. 155, 1992), Garner (2010) and used by Jiwani and Richardson (2011) who draw on Liz Kelly (1987). The use of a continuum allows a focus on the variety of forms of racism and positions everyday racism in relation to other forms. The plural term racisms is also used here and has previously been utilised by Back (1996), Goldberg (2006),

Garner (2010) and others to account for the diversity of types of racism. This thesis begins with a synchronic analysis of racisms and is expanded and illustrated further by a diachronic analysis of particular historical moments in Ireland which have contributed to ideas about race and racism. A number of historical periods in Ireland are reviewed where race was relevant to the particular epoch, while Rolston and Shannon (2002), Garner (2004) and Fanning (2002) have addressed some of these timeframes previously, my approach is to analyse specific time periods when ideas about race can be traced rather than the existence of explicit racism historically. There is a focus in this historical analysis on Travellers, the perception in Ireland of peoples from Africa and Asia, and responses to migration in Ireland.

Racism in Ireland in context

A recent period of extraordinary economic growth, referred to at the time as the Celtic Tiger economy (1995 – 2007), resulted in an increase in inward migration and applications for asylum to Ireland. This led to unprecedented demographic change, and a higher level of ethnic diversity than in any other period in Irish history. Galway city, for example, was recorded in the last census as having the most diverse city population in Ireland with 19.4 percent of residents born outside Ireland (CSO, 2012). This increase in diversity also coincided with a rise in recorded incidences of racism even though others have shown that racist ideas have long been part of Irish society before this period (Helleiner, 2001, Fanning, 2002, Rolston and Shannon, 2002, and Garner, 2004 for example). The economic downturn in 2008 resulted in concerns that racist incidences would increase further (Smyth, 2009) due to competition for scarcer financial resources and growing unemployment. Ironically, the first round of financial cuts to State spending by the Irish government in 2008/2009 resulted in the closure of the leading non-governmental organisation (NGO) combatting racism in Ireland, the NCCRI (National Consultative Committee on Racism in Ireland). This was a clear

message to that organisation and society in general that racism was a low priority for the Irish State. Statistics from the state police force (An Garda Siochana) demonstrate a downward trend in racist incidences, reinforcing the idea that racism is not prevalent in Ireland (Clarke, 2013). NGO's working in the area strongly dispute state statistics, because in their experience migrants face racism on a daily basis. NGO's developed their own recording tools challenging the accuracy of the state system in 2012/2013 (Clarke, 2013). At a state level in Ireland there is a denial of racism as a problem in society while at an NGO level there is frustration at the continuous reduction in financial resources and the denial of racism as a societal issue³. NGO's and the Irish state also share a focus on legislative and human rights frameworks, i.e. on explicit racism, such that in relation to this research everyday racism would not likely be recorded by either the Irish State or NGO's. This brief introduction into the broader background of racism in Ireland at state and NGO level highlights the contested nature of explicit racism in Ireland which provided the backdrop to this research project.

While research into racism encountered by newer ethnic minorities is relatively new in Ireland much research has examined the position of Travellers in Irish society over the past century (Gmelch, 1991, Helleiner, 2000, McVeigh, 2008). Research has shown that Travellers have been and continue to be a subjugated minority, whom settled people (i.e. not Travellers) have come to distance themselves from socially long before recent inward migration. It is commonplace in Irish society to denigrate Travellers' way of life, dress code and general behaviour.

³ Interviews with Margaret O Riada of Galway Traveller Movement and Triona Nic Giolla Choille from Galway Refugee Support Group highlighted the reduction of financial resources and denial of racism despite their experiences in dealing with Travellers and asylum-seekers and refugees on a daily basis.

A local council candidate in 2014 withdrew his candidacy after derogatory comments about Travellers were found on his social media account dating back to 2011:

Great to turn on Sky News and see the knackers kicked up and down the dale
however will the cops get the smell of nack off their batons (sic). (Flynn, 2014)

The word 'knacker' in this quote is a derogatory reference to Irish Travellers, and is synonymous with dirt and violence, with this comment exhorting violence used in describing the eviction of Travellers from an illegal camping site in Dale Farm, Essex. This comment on social media is an example of the nature of everyday negative discourse which circulates about Travellers. Nomadism and Traveller culture are not accepted as a central part of Irish society by either the Irish State or society as evidenced by continuous closure of traditional halting sites and ongoing opposition in the settled community to the establishment of new halting sites. Stuart Hall uses the idea of a 'reservoir of racism', where racism is a vast resource which can be drawn upon in many different social situations (Hall, 2009 and Lentin and McVeigh, p. 38, 2002). Irish society has a vast historic reservoir of racist language in relation to Travellers; taking the word 'knacker' as an example, this is a derogatory term which is not acceptable to Travellers and yet can be heard in everyday life (as above and further discussed in Chapter 5). It is a term so readily available that it appeared unproblematically in the Irish edition of the style supplement of the Sunday Times in November 2013, see Figure 1.



Figure 1 'Optional Extras', Michael Hennegan, *Sunday Times*, 24 November 2013.

Overview of methodological journey

Reflexivity has been used as a tool to acknowledge and interrogate my own position as researcher in the research process (Davies, 1998 and 2008). As a white, middle-class settled woman researching racism experienced by people considered Other in the West of Ireland I became aware over the course of the research project of my position of relative privilege in Irish society. This was a process of self-realisation, particularly through the literature review, stories of disadvantage and discrimination reinforced my position of privilege in society.

About a year into the project while shopping for groceries in Galway a young Traveller girl, about five years old pushed the shopping trolley I was using to the next aisle. After stopping for a moment I became aware that my gut instinct was one of suspicion but I consciously quelled this suspicion, walked to the next aisle and explained to the girl she had mistakenly taken the shopping trolley I was using. A group of women were ahead of us in the shopping aisle, whom I presumed were female relatives ahead observing our conversation. The girl let go of the trolley and I resumed shopping at which point I started to congratulate myself on my respectful treatment of the Traveller girl. But then I realised that I should not have to think about being respectful and kind to a Traveller child – it should be automatic and natural. My smug self-congratulation quickly dissipated as I realised I had to consciously

think about treating a girl with respect, that my initial reaction was suspicion because of her perceived ethnicity (I do not even know unequivocally that she was a Traveller but that was my perception at the time). This highlighted to me my own prejudices and how I had to be mindful of these in the research and fieldwork in particular. I found reflexivity, as described by Davies, 1998, particularly a written diary, useful to process and acknowledge this and other issues as they arose. At the same time, as argued by Back, there is a danger of a focus on white privilege becoming a 'navel-gazing exercise' in research about racism, moving the focus away from those who experience racism (Back, 2010). Mindful of Back's caution it is necessary to acknowledge the position of the researcher and the work required to mitigate any personal bias or prejudices as part of the research process without the researcher becoming the subject of the research.

The data presented in this research was collected during 2012 and 2013 using semi-structured in-depth interviews. Given the nature of the everyday as a taken-for-granted part of social life and following analysis of studies of everyday racism in other countries, interviewing was the most promising method to collect suitable data to support the thesis. The work of Philomena Essed from 1991, her theory of everyday racism based on data from interviews with women in the United States and the Netherlands was a key influence from the beginning of the project. Essed's careful analysis and ground-breaking study of everyday racism inspired many further research projects, and I am indebted to her analytical and methodological frameworks which informed this thesis. Berg (2007) describes the research process as one where progress is uni-linear and cyclical, this project was of that nature. During the research process it became evident that potential participants were understandably reluctant to participate in research about racism, particularly with an unknown researcher. The denial of racism as a problem in Ireland also compounded difficulties in recruiting participants. Some I met were pragmatic in their approach because of this denial, and chose not to dwell on racism they encountered, seeing it instead as a fact

of life and choosing to ignore it when it happened. As a researcher it was necessary to learn about the issues facing migrants in Ireland from their perspective in addition to reviewing the pertinent literature. Interviews with local NGO's provided initial background and this was supplemented through volunteering with local organisations who worked with migrants. Volunteering also provided the opportunity to build relationships with potential participants. Through snow-balling and some NGO contacts the data was collected for the research project between 2012 and 2013. This process was anything but linear however and resulted in a cohort of participants who had a variety of experiences from a multitude of backgrounds, sharing a common experience of everyday racism in their everyday lives.

In their study of racism in the taxi industry in Galway, Jaichand and colleagues struggled with terminology to define their participants (Jaichand, 2010). Irish society has struggled to name ethnic minorities, it has taken many years for 'Traveller' to be recognised as an acceptable name for Travellers and many people still revert to terms such as 'knacker' in everyday language. As is customary in other academic works (McCann, O'Siochain & Ruane, 1994) people in Ireland who self-define as Travellers or Irish Travellers are named Travellers using a capital 'T'. The descriptive language for other groups is not so easily defined, with terms used by governmental organisations including non-national (Central Statistics Office, 2008), a somewhat disturbing terminology as it denotes a sense of un-belonging, of negative nationality, absence rather than presence. During the research process participants described themselves as Irish, Black Irish, Irish Traveller, Asian with Irish citizenship, Asian, Nigerian and Polish. Only one participant describes herself as black Irish and no other participant used the term black to describe themselves even though they reported others had used that term to describe them and members of their community at times. Black has been associated with political and cultural movements in the US and UK, invoking discourses of civil rights and equality in addition to culturally defined black music, dance and literature. In Ireland, the term black borrows from these discourses arguably more from a cultural

perspective than a political one, the word black is not visible in any organisations which support people who could be described as black. Organisations which support minority ethnic groups in Ireland are based on the term 'migrant', for example Migrants Rights Centre Ireland and Akidwa (Swahili for sisterhood) 'a national network of migrant women living in Ireland' (AkidWa, 2014). Ireland's primary multicultural newspaper entitled 'Metro Eireann' is described as 'the primary source of news and information on Ireland's fast-growing immigrant and ethnic communities' (Metro Eireann, 2014). The terms used in this research to describe people are migrant, black and ethnic minority and although these terms undoubtedly have historical and geographical connotations they are a compromise on utility versus contention.

The unique contribution of this research and importance in the Irish context is the fact that everyday racism has not been researched in Ireland previously. The everyday lives of people who experience racism are described in some research, for example Gmelch and Helleiner detailed the everyday practices of Travellers in their anthropological studies (Gmelch, 1991, Helleiner, 2000). A report by Coakley and Mac Einri (p. 17, 2007) about integration experiences of families in Cork also includes a paragraph on the disturbing feeling of exclusion felt by some migrants in public in Ireland. This research project focuses on the everyday, building on the work of Essed (1991) and uses racism(s) and a continuum to plot everyday racism among other forms of racism. Using Bourdieu's theory of social space (1989), the everyday is described in this research as a socially constructed space where language and actions can be used in very subtle ways to exclude people perceived as Other. This leads to an understanding of racism as something prevalent in society, not as a moral censure of society but in the hope of highlighting the social ubiquity of something usually considered aberrant.

This thesis is divided into two sections, with section 1 providing the theoretical framework to explore everyday racism and explores historical moments where race can be traced. Section 2 starts with a discussion of methodology and follows with four chapters, firstly examining overt racism followed by chapters exploring everyday racism in the fields of public space, employment and education, and leisure and consumption. The final chapter examines everyday racist discourse, the type of everyday conversations which constitute 'them' and 'us'.

SECTION 1

Chapter 1: Race and racisms

1.1 Introduction: The new colour line

During the summer of 2012 I was sitting beside the entrance of a campsite in Lake Garda. The area is teeming with people as is usual in high season when thousands visit the campsite. The lakeside entrance is monitored by a black security guard⁴ – he watches carefully to ensure no one enters without the required yellow wristband. Situated on the footpath, just outside the boundary of the campsite are a group of black women offering hair-braiding services. The women carefully negotiate the boundary between footpath and campsite, they are forbidden to enter but they want to avail of the opportunity to promote their services. What is notable about this scene is the contrast between those on the inside and those on the outside of the boundary and the person who polices the boundary, distinguishable by skin colour. There is no law preventing the women from entering; no apartheid or Jim Crow laws prohibit the women entering the campsite. It could be argued that the basis for the women's exclusion is purely financial – if they could afford to pay the necessary fees of the campsite they too could enter the space. It could be argued that race is not a factor at all in this scenario and that the women offering hair-braiding services and the security guard just happen to be black.

To what extent, if any, does race matter in this particular scenario? That the only black people visible in this place and at that time were situated on the periphery of the campsite, or in a job considered low status is not coincidence. What can current theories of race and racism offer to explain how this scenario occurs? Whiteness theory outlines that privilege (McIntosh, in Garner 2010) associated with being white (or categorised as white) explains why white people can enter the campsite and black people are only welcome as workers in

⁴ Black is used here in a descriptive sense, to describe what was most striking about the outward appearance of those observed. The observation this paragraph is based upon was momentary and as people were not interviewed, self-identity is unknown. In short, I am using the very knowledge upon which everyday racism is based in ascribing 'black', and later white, as a descriptor about the people I observed that day.

low-status formal and informal employment. Whiteness theory explains that a hierarchy exists with white as the norm and black and other ethnic identities assigned an inferior position with this hierarchy, which is reinforced in everyday life (Garner, 2013). Perhaps theories of racialization fit better – that the women’s status as migrants has become racialized – they are on the fringes of society because they are ascribed a racially inferior status. Not just because of phenotypical features but because they belong to a social category which has a particular meaning of race (Garner 2013). A more convincing theory could be that of ‘new racism’ (Barker, 1981) or ‘colorblind racism’ (Bonilla-Silva, 2006, 2015), where it is argued in society that skin colour does not matter and is not referred to overtly, but that race is still the defining category; where race is dismissed as a possible cause because in a post-race society everyone has equal opportunity and these women have merely not reached their potential according to liberal ideas of equal opportunity. Intersectionality theory also has some explanatory power; the women outside the boundary being monitored by a security guard working inside the boundary points to the intersection of gender and race in this situation (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992, Rattansi, 2007 and Walby et al, 2012). Class could also be used to analyse the positions of the women, the security guard and those camping, intersectionality theory argues that people are disadvantaged in particular ways due to the intersection of multiple disadvantage. In this situation race, gender and class are three of the possible factors; black women having a ‘natural’ ability to braid hair, a commodified expertise in the informal tourism economy which middle-class tourists consume while also providing an income to the women. The security guard also ‘fits’ the gendered and racial stereotype of the threatening and physically superior black male (see bell hooks, 1982, for analysis of this stereotype) which renders him suitable for a role in the security industry. This example demonstrates how current theories of racism have something to offer in the analysis of an everyday scenario. It is easy to dismiss race as a factor in this situation – the many other *explanandums* are theoretically sharper, that is the boundaries of class and

gender while porous are not as conceptually 'messy' as race. Using neo-liberal, politically conservative or economic rationale it is also easier to blame 'them' for their position in society than to question what has contributed to this position. There are many reasons why those particular women were on the boundary while the security guard was arguably only barely inside the boundary of that campsite that day, but it can be argued that their physical position in that context was similar to their social positioning as black men and women in Italy in 2012, on the periphery of society.

Ali Rattansi's short monograph, *Racism A Very Short Introduction* (2007), articulates some of the challenges faced in writing about racism today. Race, the concept upon which racism is based, has been scientifically disproven yet continues to be used in the social world and with various meanings. Definitions of race are enshrined in the legal systems of the United Nations and many Western nation states, therefore even if scientifically disproven⁵, race exists. In the social world, the meaning of race fluctuates across time and space within societies while at an individual level, one person can hold conflicting opinions about race which vary depending on the context and people involved.

One method of dealing with this complexity is to utilise Wittgenstein's family resemblance concept (1967), as used by Haugaard in relation to theories of power (Haugaard, p. 4, 2010).

The family resemblance concept works on the basis of:

Viewing concepts as a set of conceptual tools entails that one moves away from any kind of reified views of essences, which usually entail evaluative judgements concerning correct and incorrect usages. (Haugaard p. 427, 2010)

⁵ The scientific validity of race is largely disproven yet recent monographs such as *Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life* by Richard L. Herrnstein and Charles Murray (1996) and *A Troublesome Inheritance: Genes, Race and Human History* (2014) by Nicholas Wade, continue to argue that race is a valid scientific category of analysis.

Another approach which attempts to manage some of the complexity is to use racisms, acknowledging the different forms of racism which exist (see for example Back and Solomos, 2000 and Garner, 2010). By using racisms the focus is less on developing one over-arching theory to explain the minutiae of all types of racism than of acknowledging the various different forms of racism and how they are interconnected. This approach is not without criticism and some critiques of this approach are explored in further detail in section 1.2.

To place a more coherent structure on the wide-ranging term racisms, it is possible to plot various forms of racisms along a continuum (for example see Garner, 2010, Jiwani and Richardson, 2011). The usefulness of the continuum is that racisms are represented as being inter-related, as having a shared basis. Episodes of racism, as experienced by individuals and groups, can also be plotted on the continuum, demonstrating the impact of repeated banal episodes. The continuum also allows recognition of the multifarious forms of racisms, from extreme forms of violence such as genocide to more every-day, mundane exclusion. The continuum of racisms will be explored in further detail later in this chapter.

The first section of this chapter starts with a very brief diachronic overview of theories of race and racism, to contextualise the origins of ideas of race and how these ideas have been used across time to justify certain regimes and practices, for example eugenics. Some of the recent debates about racism within sociology, including the use of racisms as mentioned above, are also reviewed, reflecting the continuously contested nature of the field of racism. The chapter then focuses on theories which are particularly relevant to the analysis of everyday racism – whiteness, intersectionality and racialization. These three theories have been used previously to analyse racism and are brought together here in the analysis of everyday social interaction. Moving to a focus on the socio-historical context in Ireland, section 1.6 begins with analysis of the literature about racism in Ireland. This is followed by a focus on ethnicity and nationalism, allotropes of racism (Jenkins, 2008a) which exist both

with and alongside racism and are particularly important to understanding racism in the Irish context.

1.2 Stepping back in time – Exhibit B, a very brief history of race

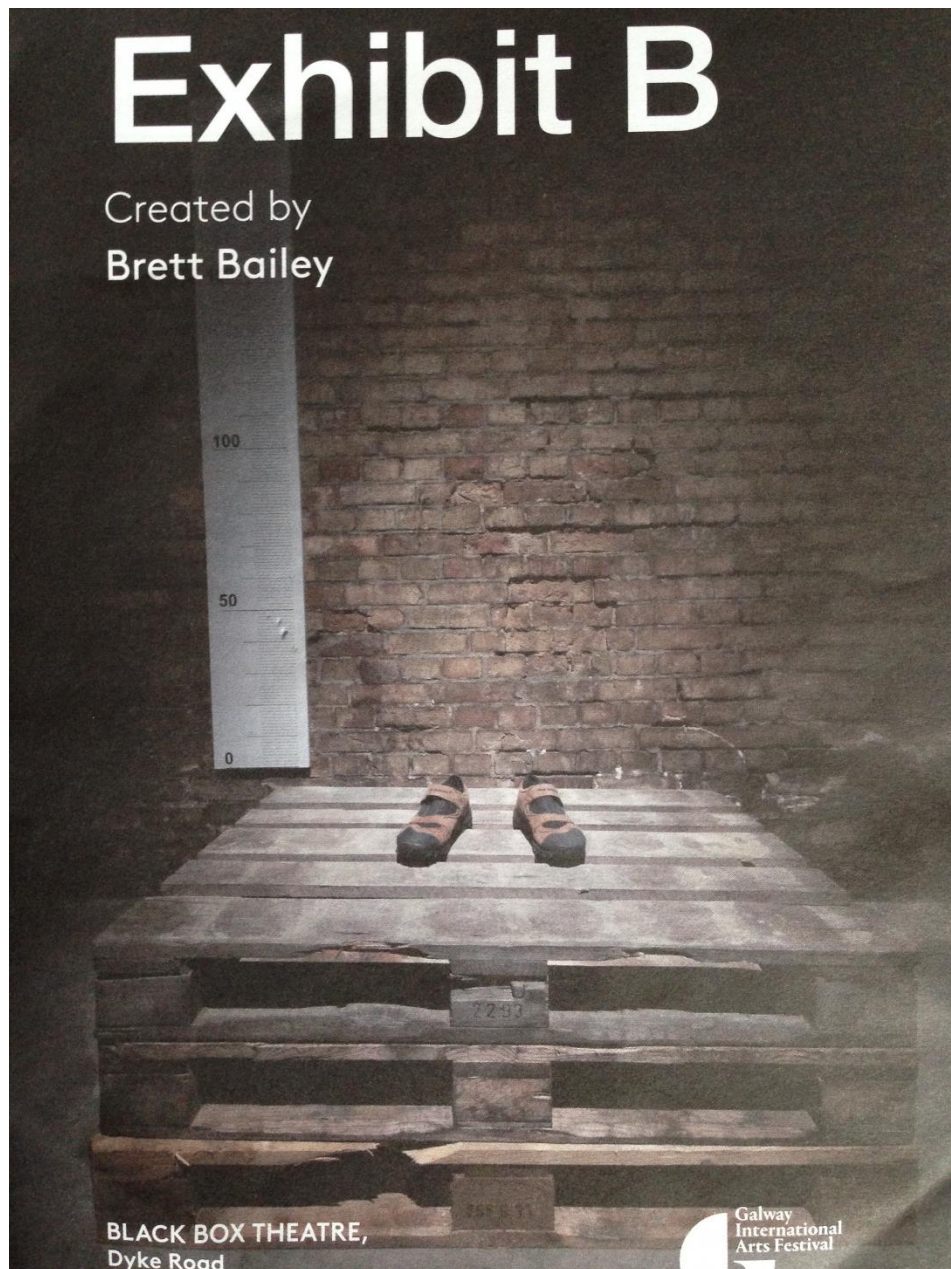


Figure 1.1 Exhibit B Program cover, July 2015, photography by author.

Brett Bailey's performance/installation visited Galway in 2015 as part of Galway International Arts Festival. The installation, which Bailey describes as 'a powerful critique of racism', has received both critical acclaim and criticism on the part of anti-racism groups, such is the provocative content. Walking through the installation is an emotional journey, even though familiar with some of the history, coming literally face to face with the reality of what people faced during colonial and more recent times is difficult. One of the most disturbing recent scenes depicted is that of Jimmy Mubenga, an Angolan man who was forcibly restrained on a plane leaving Heathrow while being deported to Angola and died en route. The generic plane seats, a well-dressed man sitting with his ankles in chains, echoing slave shackles. The banality of the ubiquitous travel scene is disrupted by the shackles and the accompanying document which reveals how Mubenga died on a plane full of people travelling to Angola for business and pleasure. To understand how this could happen, it is necessary to understand the origins of ideas of racial inferiority.

The idea of race has been contested since its inception with little agreement on the original form and use of race. Knox and Gobineau (Augstein, 1996) have been identified as being among the first to use race in its modern form, while Banton traces race as lineage to 1508 (Banton, p. 1, 1998). A review of the sociological analysis of the history of race has variously focused on how race has been used as a way of explaining the persistence of inequality (Malik, 1996), race as a concept implicitly tied to the history of the United States (Gossett, 1997) and the evolution of the idea historically in academic and everyday usage (Banton, 1998). In an analysis of the history of the idea from the perspective of medicine, Augstein argues the idea originates from a mix of theoretical, political and medical 'breakthroughs' (Augstein, 1996). Added to this, some have traced the evolution of race during historically important periods (for example Arendt, 1944) or in specific geographical locations such as Goldberg's theory of racial Europeanization (Goldberg, 2006), or places such as London in Back's ethnography *New Ethnicities and Urban Culture, Racisms and multiculturalism in young*

lives (1996) and Solomos's monograph *Race and Racism in Britain* (Solomos, 1993) which analyses the particular manifestation of racism in Britain from the 1950's to the 1990's. All of these analyses share the common difficulty of cataloguing the evolution of race as an idea which has changed over the centuries while remaining salient in different forms at different times. Firstly, taking the arguments of Augstein, Malik and Banton I argue that race and racism have a particular genealogy.

Taking a systematic and chronological approach, Augstein analyses the idea of race which prefaces a volume of original writings on the topic of race from 1760 to 1850. Augstein argues that no single author can be assigned as the creator of race, even though Robert Knox and Joseph Arthur Comte de Gobineau are credited as the first to formulate 'fully-fledged expositions of a biologically founded racial theory' (Augstein, p. xxx, 1996). Augstein argues that ideas of race and racial theory had their foundations in diverse fields:

Liberal, lay, anti-monarchical political outlook; the rise of the nation-state; biological and zoological investigations; phrenological and physiognomical fortune-telling; a political interest in finding a scientific justification for slavery; and the philological investigation of languages as a mirror of national culture. (Augstein, p. x, 1996)

Augstein's list includes political movements, scientific communities and people with common political goals as contributing to the idea of race. This diverse field includes people who would have been authoritative both politically and academically and also helps to explain the widespread appeal of the idea though this does not mean that it has remained free of criticism from the very beginning (Malik, p. 89, 1996). Based on nineteenth century ideas, if peoples were truly different races with different characteristics and sensibilities then it was only 'natural' to treat people differently based on their race. Race supported colonial rule, slavery and segregation even though it was by no means the founding principle upon which any of these practices and forms of social organisation were based.

Malik's theory offers a threefold explanation: firstly that race was a means of explaining the persistence of inequalities in society; secondly that race presently relies on cultural difference rather than on biological difference, and thirdly that the current re-positioning of race as an issue is due to the re-politicization of race rather than a simple increase in racist beliefs and attitudes (Malik, p. 6-7, 1996). Malik traces the historical evolution of race and argues that during the Enlightenment, discourses were formed and influenced by various scientists, social commentators and political activists, in agreement with Augstein, which during Victorian times led to the formation of 'scientific racism' (Malik, p. 100, 1996). The emergence of scientific racism tracks the growing salience of particular social issues, specifically the 'problem' of the working classes and the management of the colonial Other – both groups who were deemed unfit due to their inferiority compared to white middle and upper classes.

Racial theory provided a way of understanding the antimonies of the post-Enlightenment world through a discourse that could still claim affinity with Enlightenment rationality. (Malik, p. 103, 1996)

According to Malik, proponents of scientific racism were convinced of the validity of their claims; in that time period it was the only viable explanation, given scientific theories of the time, for persistent inequality in society. The discourse of scientific racism was later transformed into eugenic policies in the U.S., Britain and Germany in the early twentieth century, articulating the intersection of race and class (Malik, p. 114, 1996). Galton for example developed the concept of eugenics in Britain, where in the context of domestic policy it was primarily applied to class but later contributed to race theory and eugenic theory. Lombardo argues that eugenic theory continued to be applied in healthcare practices in the U.S. until the 1960's, with people of childbearing age incarcerated in mental health institutions and involuntarily sterilized (Lombardo, 2011). These theories influenced the formation of liberal democracy so that certain 'classes' of people, the poor and colonial

subjects, were subject to paternalistic control – the child and the primitive are basically interchangeable from a eugenics perspective.

Ireland formed a part of Britain's colonial regime over a number of centuries and similarly Irish people too were classified as an inferior race. Madison Grant hypothesised about the origins of Irish people in his 1922 monograph *The Passing of the Great Race*, and argued that;

Being, like Brittany, situated at the extreme western outposts of Eurasia, it has more than its share of generalized and low types, the Firbolgs, have imparted a distinct and very undesirable aspect to a large portion of the inhabitants of the west and south and have greatly lowered the intellectual status of the population as a whole. The cross between these elements and the Nordics appears to be a bad one and the mental and cultural traits of the aborigines have proved to be exceedingly persistent and appear especially in the unstable temperament and the lack of co-ordinating and reasoning power, so often found among the Irish. (Grant, p. 202, 1922)

The Irish were an inferior race due to geographical location and the mixing of previous races, according to Grant. This intermixture is presented as the cause of an inferior racial element and Grant attributing what he knew about Irish people and their perceived lack of civility to race. Grant was politically influential in the United States and later in Europe and is credited with aiding the passing of miscegenation laws in the United States (Spiro, 2002). Theories of race are often associated with slavery and colonisation and yet race seeped into political debate and state policies globally throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century.

Banton traces the origin of the word race in the English language to a 1508 poem, but insists that the meaning of the word has changed from one of classification, as an opposition to monogenesis⁶, to contemporary ideas which Banton argues draws on the everyday meaning

⁶ Monogenesis is defined as humans originating from a single race whereas polygenesis is defined as humans originating from a number of different races.

of the word race (Banton, p. 235, 1998). Banton's account of the evolution of race is based on specific historical periods when race changed from race as lineage, type and subspecies, which align with eighteenth and early nineteenth century ideas, to more contemporary theories of race as status, class and social construct. Banton's argument, that the meaning of race has changed, corresponding with different historical periods and their particular social and political circumstances, demonstrates how the idea has evolved in discourse. This historical metamorphosis of race is partly why there have been calls for its removal from theoretical debate. Banton has called for race to be replaced, with ethnicity proffered as a concept which has less historical 'baggage' and therefore a 'cleaner' conceptual tool to use in analysis (Banton, p. 235, 1998). The concept of ethnicity will be explored in further detail later in this chapter.

The historical analyses of Augstein, Banton and Malik demonstrate how race has changed from race as category to race as a scientific concept to the more contemporary meaning where scientific validity has been expunged and yet traces of essentialised biological difference remains in contemporary times. As argued by Hall, people see race because they 'see' difference, 'what is on the surface, what constantly appears, is what we are always seeing' (Hall, p. 38, 1996a). Each author argues that race has been important as a concept and became relevant in historical periods where it was a useful concept to describe difference among peoples. There was a marked change after the Holocaust when the concept was used to justify the mass extermination of millions of people, the concept was abandoned as evil and abhorrent (Gossett, 1997, Goldberg, 2006). Goldberg argues that race became a 'dirty' word in Europe after World War Two and gained the status of 'that which must not be uttered' (Goldberg, 2006). This rendering of race as unspeakable has resulted in the removal of race from much social discourse. However racism, which relies on historical ideas of race, persists as a feature of social relations.

1.3 Learning from theoretical legacies and debates

This section provides an overview of the literature about theories of racism and analysis of a cross-section of debates within the field. Theories of racism can be divided geographically, the United States and Britain have, among others, been significant sites of theoretical and academic analysis, and streamered by theoretical underpinning, such as rational choice (Banton, 1998) and neo-Marxist approaches (Gilroy, 2002 and Miles and Brown, 2003). Other theories focus on specific structures of racism: racial formation (Omi and Winnant, 2008, 2009), systemic racism (Feagin, 2006) and racial regionalizations (Goldberg, 2006). Still more analyse newer forms of racism: color-blind racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2006 and 2015) and new racism (Barker, 1981). As mentioned previously, some theorists have used the term 'racisms' to encapsulate the variety of forms that racism takes (Anthias and Yuval Davis, 1992, Back, 1996, Lentin and McVeigh, 2002, Goldberg, 2006 and Garner, 2010). The use of racisms opens up the field of analysis and dissipates temporal and comparative hierarchies.

Throughout history racisms of the more violent and overt forms have been implicated in some of the greatest episodes of human suffering, as for example during slavery in the United States, apartheid in South Africa or the Holocaust in Europe. Sociological analyses and other academic enquiry have attempted to understand how and why these events unfolded as they did. For example, in his analysis of the Holocaust, Zygmunt Bauman attempted to understand why ordinary people took part in a system which erased the humanity of many diverse groups in European society (Bauman, 1991). Bauman's analysis offers a sociological explanation of how this happened, while human rights systems set-up in the aftermath sought to punish those found guilty of crimes against humanity, to deter this type of event from happening in the future. Bauman's attempt to explain the support of the 'silent majority' rather than the minority who were directly involved and indicted for their crimes, points to the need to examine the inherently social nature of racism. Bauman's analysis also

points to the validity of exploring all aspects of racisms on the continuum, to understand how racisms operate in society.

Looking at the history of sociological analyses of racism, the race relations paradigm made a significant contribution to the sociology of racism as shown in the work of the Chicago School in the United States and in the work of Michael Banton in the United Kingdom. It is impossible to ignore the contribution of race relations to the analysis of racism, though the theoretical framework has by now been somewhat discredited for contributing to the very issue it was investigating, nevertheless the method of analysis remains relevant today.

Methodologically, the race relations paradigm was established by examining the relationship between social issues and particular groups in the greater Chicago area and London in the twentieth century. Ethnography served to identify some of the pressing social issues at that time with residential segregation, race riots and disparities in education subsequently analysed through the lens of race relations (Banton, 1967 and Lal, 1986). It can be argued that race relations was temporally and geographically situated in the historical context of the United States, as it evolved from a country where slavery was legally and socially acceptable in many parts of the United States to a time when rights and positions in society depended on categorisation according to skin colour and heritage. The study of race relations in the United States was important in the development of theory and policies at that time but was limited in the manner it supported the very thesis it was trying to explore – how it reproduced the concept of race even as it examined racial inequalities.

Banton and Miles' critique of conceptual conflation has also been fruitful in exploring what can or should be within the remit of analysis of racism. Miles and Brown (2003) and Banton (1998) are highly critical of conceptual conflation and of intersectionality theory in particular as attempting to focus on too many concepts, removing the focus from race and racism. Song (2014) also questions whether there is now a 'culture of racial equivalence' in British society, where racism is identified in the actions of some public figures in a problematic manner to

the point that discussions about racism in British society become about these public actors thereby ignoring the operation of racism, structural inequalities for example, in society presently and historically.

Narrow definitions of racism can result in the division of society into racists or anti-racists.

Rattansi suggests the difficulty with some theories of racism is the need to identify 'real racists':

One of the main impediments to progress in understanding racism has been the willingness of all involved to propose short, supposedly water-tight definitions of racism and to identify with more or less certainty who is *really* racist and who is not.

(italics in original, Rattansi p. 2, 2007)

Rattansi highlights how anti-racism can create an overly neat division of society into racists or anti-racists. Exhibit B, mentioned above, was criticised by a coalition of anti-racist groups in Britain named Boycott The Human Zoo (BTHZ), with calls for the installation to be withdrawn from the Galway Arts Festival (Andrews, 2015). BTHZ argued that the display of black bodies echoed and reinforced the same racist structures which existed during 'human zoo' exhibitions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Europe. Part of the exhibit included narratives by the artists involved in Exhibit B, where they outlined why they had chosen to be involved in the project, predominantly to draw attention to racism both in colonial times and presently. Another controversial example of challenging racism is Kara Walker's artwork, such as 'Tales of Slavery and Power' where Walker reconfigures images from the past. Walker's black and white silhouette artwork, for example, uses physiognomy stereotypes, often exaggerated and sometimes ambiguous. Walker has been criticised by other black artists who argue that she reinforces stereotypes rather than challenging them, her response is that, 'The silhouette says a lot with very little information, but that's also what the stereotype does' (Walker in Alberro, 1996). Exhibit B and Walker's art are examples of

artistic endeavour challenging racism in a more nuanced manner. Rather than ignoring or erasing stereotypes, both historical and contemporary, they are highlighted so that people can 'see' them.

Feminist scholars also challenge dichotomous analyses, with bell hooks' work particularly relevant in this regard, with her focus on understanding and acknowledging the impact of racism on all social actors in society.

To be an oppressor is dehumanizing and anti-human in nature, as it is to be a victim.

(hooks, p. 114, 1982)

hooks' vivid and emotional descriptions in her monograph *Aint I a Woman* detail how white women and men in the U.S. are also impacted by racism within the patriarchal system and by contributing to a gendered racism are themselves further imbricated in the patriarchal system (hooks, see pages 114 and 120, 1982). hooks' argument is that everyone involved in oppression, based on race or gender, is disadvantaged in the reproduction of their racial and gendered roles, how white men are constrained in the manner they must 'fit' gendered notions of masculinity while white women's historical subjugation of black women also inadvertently reaffirmed white women's inferiority to their male counterparts. hooks addresses how racism (and sexism) reinforce positions of disadvantage in society, resulting in devastating consequences for those directly affected while also keeping everyone in society in their gendered and racialized 'place'.

Understanding how history and experience impacts upon and becomes part of the present is also addressed by Stuart Hall, he discusses the importance of addressing both sides of a particular issue. The following refers to Hall's discussion of the Danish cartoon controversy, 2007:

I think you always need the double perspective...you have to understand what it is like to come from that 'other place'. How it feels to live in that closed world. How

such ideas [Islam] have kept people together in the face of all that happened to them. (Hall in Adams, 2007)

Hall is referring to intercultural conflict here, how understanding comes from acknowledging the lived experience of exclusion and how this shapes the nature of social life. Examining everyday forms of racism also benefits from analysis which moves beyond rigid categories of racists and anti-racists, to attempt to understand and analyse where these discourses and practices originated, as ever-changing and amorphous as they are.

Gilroy also critiques anti-racism as contributing to the very racism it tries to ameliorate. Gilroy argues that particular visual campaigns in the 1980's actually added to underlying discourses and stereotypes rather than challenging them (Gilroy, 2002). His critique included analysis of a Conservative Party election poster, (see Figure 1.2 below), in which a young black man, dressed in a suit and presented as a 'model citizen type' was in direct opposition to the stereotypical 'black mugger' as described by Solomos and Back (1996), which was prevalent in media discourse at the time. Gilroy argues that the young black man conforming to purported standards of Englishness – dress code and behaviour in particular – was reinforcing the message that young black men, Rastafarian in particular, were not socially acceptable and would only become acceptable once they conformed to specific standards of dress and behaviour.



Figure 1.2 Conservative Party election poster fragment, 1983 as originally published in Gilroy, p. 64 *Aint No Black in the Union Jack* (2002).

This review of some of the debates about theories of racism and anti-racism points to disagreements about how to define racism and how the analysis of everyday racism can be considered problematic from some theoretical standpoints. The use of racisms (plural) goes some way towards addressing some of the difficulty in addressing the variety of forms of racism, thereby focusing on one form of racism does not lessen the impact and need for investigation and addressing other forms of racism. Analysis of everyday racism attempts to elucidate that while racist violence and verbal abuse are part of lived experience, so too is everyday racism. The danger of conceptual conflation and 'racial equivalence' are substantial concerns, racism cannot nor should it be attributed to every social disadvantage and situation

in society. Conversely, in agreement with Rattansi (2007), narrow definitions of racism constrain the field of analysis and have arguably led to a focus on extreme forms of racism and those who perpetrate such acts as the only form of racism worthy of investigation. The types of subtle and seemingly innocuous racism which exist at a societal level have a relationship to the more overt and extreme forms of racism, and investigation of this more subtle form elucidates how racism operates in society.

1.4 Racialization without race

Following on from Goldberg's assertion that race became 'that which cannot be uttered' in Europe after World War Two, the question arises as to how racism can operate without a direct link to the concept of race (Goldberg, 2006). This section reviews recent literature about racialization, exploring the Marxist inspired framework of Miles and Brown (2003), followed by the edited monograph of Murji and Solomos (2005), particularly the chapter by St Louis (2005). Garner's recent analysis of the racialization of asylum-seekers develops the concept to include situations where race is not an overt category or topic and yet can be invoked (Garner, 2013).

Back argues that the British National Party in the UK changed their language of exclusion to focus on other more neutral categories such as immigrant and British national (Back, 2010). By using language which is not directly linked to race it is less contentious to espouse racist ideas. The EDL also appropriated the language of tolerance and multiculturalism to promote intolerance. After a historical period where race and racism were acceptable concepts we now have a situation where the ideas remain but the language of race has changed. The question that follows succinctly articulates this point:

From this perspective the question of whether race is an ontologically valid concept or otherwise is in many ways not the most relevant question to ask, since it is

perhaps more important to understand why certain racialized subjectivities become a feature of social relations at particular points in time and in particular geographical spaces. (Back and Solomos, p. 20, 2000)

The point here reflects the focus on why and how racialization occurs at particular moments and in particular locations. In other words, context is vital.

Murji and Solomos point to the diversity of conceptions of racialization in sociology and other disciplines (Murji and Solomos, 2005). Their edited monograph brings together a variety of perspectives, including St Louis who argues that at times racialization can be invoked by previously disadvantaged groups, thereby having a positive effect (St Louis, 2005). The Black Power Movement in the United States and Rastafarianism in the UK (Gilroy, 2002) are examples of this process which Brubaker describes as 'deliberate projects of group-making' (Brubaker, p. 32, 2009). The appropriation of race as self-racialization where it has a positive outcome is deemed necessary to challenge racism. This conversion of racism into political and cultural capital also resonates with Hall's argument:

People who take very different political positions in relation to race seem to depend, in part, on the same set of assumptions, that paradox is very important and very puzzling. (Hall, 1996c)

Hall is describing here how race as a concept can be invoked to combat discrimination, as for example pertaining to the rights bestowed based on membership of a race. The paradox is that the very language which is criticised, the language of race, can be used to combat and underpin racism and yet prolongs the existence of race, similar to the race relations paradigm.

Miles and Brown (2003), drawing on the original definition by Miles (1982) define racialization⁷ as follows:

...to denote a dialectical process by which meaning is attributed to particular biological features of human beings, as a result of which individuals may be assigned to a general category of persons that reproduces itself biologically. (Miles and Brown, p. 102, 2003)

This dialectical process recognises how meaning can also be attributed to those who are racializing, in the manner of a pendulum motion (Dillon, p. 39, 2014) where in defining others one also defines oneself (Miles and Brown, 2003). Miles and Brown also directly link the process of racialization to biological features, while elsewhere defining culturally-based categorisation as ethnicisation (Miles and Brown, p. 98, 2003). This narrower conception of racialization excludes islamophobia from analysis, based as it is on perceived fixed religious/cultural traits rather than biological traits. The reluctance to broaden criteria to include religious/cultural traits from racialization reflects the focus on avoidance of conceptual conflation, however Garner (2013) and Rattansi (2007) work with this broader process of categorisation.

Garner (2013) argues that the process of racialization can be applied to people who do not share phenotypically similar features, based on empirical analysis of the response of local residents to a planned asylum accommodation centre. Garner analyses how future asylum-seekers in a small town in England were discursively racialized, created as negatively Other, 'not belonging here', with 'here' denoting a middle-class rural area.

⁷ For a review of the history of racialization by Fanon and others, see Miles and Brown (2003) pages 99-100.

Race can thus be made, through racialization, without a stable phenotypically defined object...By characterising the other group with negative values, the racializing group thus defines itself as the opposite of these. (Garner, p. 507, 2013)

This dialectical process of defining 'us' in opposition to 'them' relates to Hall's thesis of identity formation and his use of the constitutive outside (Hall, 1996b). Hall argues that it is not simply a dichotomy of us/them, that the process of defining ourselves is accomplished through our relationship with different others. Drawing on the work of Derrida (1981), Laclau (1990) and Butler (1993), Hall explains that:

This entails the radically disturbing recognition that it is only through the relation to the Other, the relation to what it is not, to precisely what it lacks, to what has been called its constitutive outside that the 'positive' meaning of any term – and thus its 'identity' – can be constructed. (Hall, p.5, 1996b)

Linking this to the process of racialization, as referred to by Garner, of superimposing negative group characteristics on an ethnically and culturally diverse group, a group artificially created initially by the nation state asylum application system, and further discursively imagined in the media and by the political far-right, is based on ideas of innate unacceptable difference. The availability of discourses of race as applied to asylum-seekers, through mainstream media and far-right political ideologies, and the deployment at a particular point in time, as in this example where there was a perceived threat to the welfare of the residents in Garner's study, highlights how racialization can operate in society. As noted above and argued by Malik and Solomos and Back, race becomes salient and politically charged at particular points in time and in particular circumstances.

The concept of racialization, for the purpose of this research, is defined as the dialectical process of ascribing immutable characteristics to people, on the basis of perceived difference rooted in historically informed notions of racial, cultural and social difference. This definition

adopts the dialectical process as outlined by Miles and Brown (2003) while also incorporating Garner's conception of racialization (2013) as a process applicable to people who can be ethnically and culturally diverse, yet imagined as a group with fixed characteristics.

1.5 Does whiteness matter?



Figure 1.3 Poster issued to international media outlets October 2013, cbc.ca, (John Kolesidis/Reuters).

In Greece and Ireland in October 2013 being blond, blue-eyed and white was purportedly incompatible with Roma parentage. The case of the media dubbed 'Blond Angel' Maria in Greece led to international distribution of the poster, reproduced in Figure 1.3, which also included a picture of the young girl, for the purpose of identifying her 'real' parents. The poster outlines basic information about the girl with the very last item detailing her skin colour, a categorisation deemed important in this case. This story drew on stereotypical myths of nomadic Roma people stealing children and with a number of high-profile child abduction cases in the past ten years, it seemed possible that Maria could have been one of these missing children, and that she might be returned to her rightful (presumably white) parents. The basis for denial of biological racism and the post-race argument are that

phenotypical attributes such as hair and skin colour do not matter and yet in this case the young girls' physical characteristics were deemed of the greatest importance.

Publication of the poster was based on the premise that children should look like their parents and that Maria's parents were white and not Roma, probably with blond hair and blue eyes similar to their daughter. The discursive framing was that Maria did not belong with Roma people because of her physical appearance with her whiteness reinforcing the inferiority of Roma people. Maria's whiteness was used to claim her as one of 'us', and thus distinguish her in a way that resonates with Mary Douglas's idea of 'matter out of place' (Douglas, 2002). When Maria's genetic mother was traced to Bulgaria and found to be a member of the Roma community the story was immediately dropped by international media, returning Maria to her former position in society once genetically 'proven' to be a Roma child.

Whiteness theory is important in understanding the way it confers belongingness on certain people while excluding others. The above case also demonstrates how certain people, like the Roma, are not quite white enough. Whiteness theory has been utilised in English literature (Morrison, 1993), history (Roediger, 2007), feminist analysis (Frankenberg, 1993) and sociology (Garner, 2006 & 2010, Twine and Gallagher, 2008). Dyer and Back, while arguing from differing theoretical perspectives, agree that whiteness studies require a careful focus to avoid a number of pitfalls (Back, 2010, Dyer, 2000). Back in particular calls for,

The study of whiteness to be more sociable, and prioritise the ways in which white actions, definitions and understandings are implicated within the cultures of racism. (Back, p. 445, 2010)

Frankenberg defines whiteness as a location of privilege, culturally normative space and as a standpoint (Frankenberg, p. 242, 1993). Frankenberg's argument is based on an empirical study of white women in the United States during the 1980's and while acknowledging the

limitations of the project, her framework highlights the concept of privilege, how whiteness confers resources which are largely unacknowledged. Garner's definition of whiteness demonstrates the tangible usefulness of whiteness as a resource while also reinforcing a particular order in society:

Whiteness is most effectively conceptualized as both a resource and a contingent hierarchy, and its utility is that it enables collective identities to be examined in a more nuanced way than is allowed for by the hegemonic black/white, or more accurately, white/non-white paradigms. (Garner, p. 257, 2006)

Whiteness as a critical lens is important in understanding how invisible privilege is entangled in notions of superiority. The hierarchy of whiteness is also expanded further by Back et al. who argue that hierarchies of belonging have been created in society where some migrants and ethnicities are more tolerated than others (Back, Sinha and Bryan, 2012).

Roediger (1997) is regarded as one of the first to interrogate whiteness in his historical study of the evolution of working-class allegiances. He argues that:

Whiteness was the way in which white workers responded to a fear of dependency on wage labor and to the necessities of capitalist work discipline. (Roediger, p. 13, 1997)

Tracing the history of interaction between various migrant groups and white workers he argues that whiteness is rooted in the formation of a working class which was both threatened and threatening towards new groups which challenged their position. Among these groups were Irish migrants and Roediger, similar to Ignatiev, argues that Irish migrants in particular were careful to differentiate themselves from black freed slaves working and living in similar areas (Roediger, p. 136, 1997, Ignatiev, 1995). Irish migrants in New York City in the 1850's were reported to have chanted 'Down with the Niguars' and 'Let them go back to Africa, where they belong' (Roediger, p. 136, 1997). This alludes to a level of racism

towards black people by Irish migrants who were anxious to differentiate themselves as a group, to acquire the advantages whiteness conferred.

Criticisms of whiteness studies have included a focus on a super-inflated vulnerability and narcissistic value of a white identity (Dyer, 2000 and Back, 2010), the return of a normative focus on white as the base line or normality for the human condition and the associated guilt which immobilises people who consider whiteness a burden (Dyer, 2000). These criticisms highlight how whiteness can be utilised in a negative way, to explain or condone inequalities rather than challenge them. Back's call to focus on whiteness within the analysis of racism retains whiteness as a part of the larger phenomenon of social exclusion rather than a specific field of analysis. Walter too criticises the earlier focus on working class men in the study of whiteness, how the exclusion of women from analysis points to the invisibility of women and gender (Walter, 2001 and 2011).

Whiteness, as both a resource and contingent hierarchy, as utilised by Garner (2006) can be used to analyse the case of Maria, referred to at the beginning of this section. Whiteness conferred on Maria the possibility of privilege which she was not entitled to as a Roma child. The genetic testing which resulted in identifying Maria's biological parents as Roma ultimately returned Maria to where she had been, to the Roma community. The contingent, hierarchical nature of whiteness is noted where certain groups have historically gained whiteness and the associated privilege, Roma in most societies have not acquired this privilege (Dyer, 2000 and Ignatiev, 1995). White children and their parents, or more correctly, children and parents who are categorised as white, arguably occupy a higher position on this contingent hierarchy than Roma children. How whiteness is configured in Irish society is explored in the next section.

1.6 Intersectionality: race, ethnicity, gender, class and nation

Intersectionality theory addresses the multifaceted nature of disadvantage and explores how various factors influence the manifestation of inequality. For example, Muslim women and men living in western society can be disadvantaged in different ways (Lentin and McVeigh, p. 36, 2002 and Rattansi, 2000). The visual impact of 'wearing the veil' in western society, for example, can be one of difference marked by mistrust (what is she really saying behind that veil?) and pity (poor Muslim woman being forced to cover her body by Muslim men).

Anthias and Yuval Davis provide one of the first accounts of intersectionality in their monograph *Racialized Boundaries* (1992):

An adequate analysis has to consider processes of exclusion and subordination in intersection with those of the other major divisions of class and gender as well as processes of state and nation.

This initial exploration of intersectionality has been further developed by McCall (2005) in her analysis of categorization, Anthias (2008) focusing on translocational positionality and more recently Anthias (2012) in relation to intersectional framing and multi-level analysis. Walby et al. (2012) recently addressed some of the challenges of using intersectional analysis and suggest ways of ameliorating some concerns with current usage. Recent scholarship has also moved away from analysis of nation-making processes which was part of the initial analysis of Anthias and Yuval-Davis, reflecting the development of intersectional theory but also perhaps the assumption that ethnos (used by Anthias to encompass both race and ethnicity) usurps nation and nationality. This point is developed further in the following section and followed through in the next chapter in relation to the Irish context.

Anthias (2013) also added other dimensions to intersectional analysis, such as sexuality and ability/disability, to which I also add life cycle stage (a concept which encompasses life stage and familial responsibilities). Discrimination experienced in childhood, early adulthood or as

a parent or carer differ, for example an adult who is a carer, parent or guardian has the additional complexity of understanding racism as it applies to the child they are responsible for, in addition to how it impacts upon themselves, this is explored in Chapter 8.

Rattansi also links intersectionality to racialization:

Racialization tells us that racism is never simply racism, but always exists in complex imbrication with nation, ethnicity, class, gender and sexuality. (Rattansi, p. 296, 2005)

This follows from Rattansi's criticism of 'formulaic and clichéd thinking' (Rattansi, p. 1, 2007) about racism and highlights how intersecting forms of classification leads to discrimination which is more complex than the notion of compounded discrimination. Taking the example at the beginning of this chapter, black women braiding hair were doing so because of the manner in which gender and race intersect, inferring a gendered skill of hair-braiding which was saleable in that location, at that time, not simply because they were doubly disadvantaged as black and women.

Walby et al. recently discussed six dilemmas in intersectional theory, of which two are discussed here (Walby et al, 2012). Firstly, to effectively analyse the intersection of multiple disadvantage comprising processes which are continuously in flux, Walby et al. propose that 'concepts need to have their meaning temporarily stabilized at the point of analysis' (Walby et al, p. 236, 2012). This stabilisation of concepts is true for all parameters in intersectional analysis, being mindful of their historical processual nature. The second point concerns the operation of intersectionality:

...inequalities mutually shape each other rather than mutually constitute each other at their point of intersection. (Walby et al., p. 237, 2012)

Thus the example above of Muslim men and women and how they are differentially treated is due to their treatment as gendered and religiously culturally racialized people rather than gender-racialization as a specific phenomenon. The elements of intersection do not

amalgamate into a separate and distinct form of discrimination or exclusion but rather contextually and continuously shape each other. For example, a Muslim woman who wears a veil in public can be treated very differently to a Muslim woman who does not wear a veil because the veil is a visible and hence legible signifier of her perceived position and role in society. Indeed using the descriptive term 'wearing the veil' encompasses multiple customs and practices of veil wearing, from the more reserved 'burkha' to various versions of the 'hijab' headscarf.⁸ To compare with a similar historical form of female dress, suitable attire for female members of religious congregations at one point consisted of a black head-dress, not dis-similar to the traditional Muslim 'hijab' scarf, see Figure 1.4 and Figure 1.5 below.

⁸ 'Wearing the veil' can be interpreted as a uniform practice, a visit to Dubai in 2010 highlighted the diversity of practices visible in public space in Muslim societies. Women in Dubai at that time wore various types of clothing, from a full black covering with eyes barely visible to coverings with more of the face visible. Other women wore headscarves of many varieties of styles and colours, some black but many more consisting of bright, vibrant colours. The brightly coloured ones were reminiscent of the types of headscarves worn by women in Ireland during the 1950's.



Figure 1.4 'Four Muslim women in burkas sit on the bench in Istanbul', Instagram effect, photograph by Oleysa Kuznetsova, no date.



Figure 1.5 'Five Nuns', photograph by Dziewul, no date.

Figures 1.4 and 1.5 depict two modes of attire which at different points in time and places have been acceptable and normative for certain women to wear. The images can be viewed as symbolic of gender, religious and institutional norms, and they pose many interesting

questions about how social norms of dress code change and acquire meaning over time. They also exemplify intersectionality in everyday clothing, how at different points in time wearing these clothes signified religion, gender and power/powerlessness. This also resonates with De Certeau's vivid description of the everyday black attire of widows attending a church in a rural town in France (De Certeau, 1984). All of these items of clothing originated from similar bales of rolled black material and were transformed through practices of signification (Hall,1996c) to mean much more than the sum of their material parts.

Intersectionality acknowledges the manner in which experiences are not ascribable to one specific form of discrimination, how factors such as race, ethnicity, class and gender continuously shape social interaction. This multi-faceted nature of incidents of racism and sexism, for example, poses a potential problem in the pursuit of legal redress, however sociological analysis of racism requires the acknowledgement of all the factors involved. Experiences of racism require this intersectional analysis to fully interrogate the issues influencing particular situations.

1.7 What about racisms in Ireland?

Academic analysis of racisms in Ireland has been relatively recent, following a significant increase in immigration during the last decade of the twentieth century and new levels of diversity within the island. Racisms, however, are not new to Ireland (Garner, 2004, Rolston and Shannon, 2002), rather an increase in racist incidents occurred which required explanation. To analyse racisms in Ireland, thereby building upon scholarship to-date, a series of questions follow.

1. What is the genealogy of race and racisms in Ireland?
2. What frameworks exist to understand racisms in Ireland?
3. Where and how do nationalism and ethnicity intersect in the analysis of racisms?

4. How can racialization and whiteness theory explain racisms in Ireland?

The use of racisms rather than racism is purposeful here, denoting the plurality of racisms in Ireland. This is to broaden the research question to all racisms along the continuum of racisms before narrowing to the focus of the thesis on everyday racism.

1.7.1 What is the genealogy of race and racisms in Ireland?

At key historical moments when race and racism were prominent globally it can be argued that Ireland and Irish society was more concerned with colonial rule and emigration. Major texts referred to earlier such as Gobineau's 'Races of Men' have no direct comparator in Ireland, and yet ideas which Gobineau presented underpin racism experienced by Irish people in Ireland, the United Kingdom and the United States (Garner, 2004) and in racism and exclusion faced by minority groups in Ireland (Helleiner, 2000, Fanning, 2002, 2012 and Lentin, 2002). The historical experience of Irish people as racialized is reflected in the work of Ignatiev (1995) and Dyer (2000) while the more recent experience of racialization in Britain, is explored in the work of Hickman and Walter (1997), Hickman (1998) and Mac an Ghail (2002). More recent studies have begun to focus on the experience of British migrants in Ireland (Gilmartin, 2013) and the relationship between historic othering of British migrants, Protestants and Travellers and the treatment of newer migrant groups (Feldman, 2008).

Irish people were part of administrative and military sections of the British Empire (at that time the Irish state in its current form did not exist) yet Irish people were also involved in slavery in the Caribbean (Garner, 2004) and the United States and colonial administrative roles in India (Rolston and Shannon, 2002). Ireland, as a former colonised territory within Europe, configures Irish people as both colonised and coloniser which Rolston and Shannon (2002) argue impacted the reception and transmission of ideas of race to and from Ireland during the nineteenth century. Lentin and McVeigh also highlight how 'Ireland is

quintessentially 'between two worlds' – both perpetrator and survivor of racism' (Lentin and McVeigh, p. 8, 2002).

The first groups excluded by the new Irish nation state formed in the early twentieth century were Jewish people, as discussed in detail by Lentin (2002), Fanning (2002) and Garner (2004), and Travellers (Helleiner, 2000, Gmelch, 1991, McVeigh, 2002 and 2008). Travellers in Ireland have experienced exclusion throughout the twentieth century, with Garner arguing that historical anti-Traveller violence is a particular feature of Irish racism (Garner, 2004). Anti-Traveller racism can be described as an eruption of violence from the usual normality of harassment and exclusion which Travellers have faced on a daily and weekly basis (see Helleiner, 2000). Sharon Gmelch, in the biography of Traveller woman Nan Donohoe, describes the violence encountered by Nan and her family: stones thrown at her caravan which fatally injured her young son while in later life children threw stones at Nan and her husband as they were drinking by the Canal in Dublin (Gmelch, 1991). These examples demonstrate episodic violence against Travellers, which is rooted in habitualised racist attitudes which, as will become apparent later in the study, is transferable to other groups. In other words, there is a repertoire of deeply rooted anti-Traveller racism which is transposed onto other Others.

1.7.2 What frameworks describe racisms in Ireland?

There is ample evidence of racism in Ireland prior to recent increases in immigration (Fanning, 2002, 2012, Helleiner, 2000, Garner, 2004, Loyal, 2011, McVeigh, 2002 and Rolston and Shannon, 2002). A review of literature about racism in Ireland reveals a focus on establishing the existence of racism in Ireland with historical analysis providing a counter-narrative to the denial of racism as a feature of Irish society. Building on these initial analyses, recent research has been conducted about racism in education (Devine et al., 2008)

and racism in the Taxi Industry (Jaichand et al., 2010), Islamophobia (Carr and Haynes, 2015) while there has been limited analysis of everyday forms of racism (see Coakley and MacEinri, 2007 p. 17 for discussion of an aspect of the everyday).

Garner (2004) provides a framework describing socio-historical characteristics of racism in Ireland. Garner's framework explores immigration, emigration, competing nationalisms, absence of far-right political parties, history of racism towards Travellers and other ethnic minorities, and the influence of historical political violence (Garner, 2004). Garner also argues that while rates of incidences of racism may increase with immigration, this does not negate the presence of racism without the presence of racialized Others. Drawing on Garner's framework, the next chapter focuses on particular moments in recent Irish history when immigration, nationalist discourse, episodic violence and Christian paternalistic discourses were used in the racialization of Travellers, migrant women, 'black babies' and German land-owners.

1.7.3 Where/how do nationalism and ethnicity intersect in the analysis of racisms?

Nationalism, ethnicity and race have been described as allotropes by Jenkins (Jenkins, p. 85, 2008a) while Anderson describes race and ethnicity as originating in differing historical contexts (Anderson, 1991). What can be agreed upon is that these processes occur concurrently in society, some becoming more obvious and coherent at points in time while also existing and being reinforced in the relative anonymity of everyday interactions (Billig, 1995, and Jenkins, 2008a for example).

Nationalism in Ireland has evolved against racialized discourses of Irishness as to be Irish, in a racial sense, in the nineteenth century was defined by others:

In tracing the evolution of anti-Irish stereotypes and polemics, then, from the sixteenth century through the nineteenth and into the twentieth, one comes face to

face with a process of racialization rooted in conquest, colonization and Anglicization.
(Nelson, p. 44, 2012)

With this historical backdrop it can be argued that the Irish nationalising project, a high point of nationalism, was in a sense the first opportunity for Irish people living in Ireland to define themselves, to create a sense of nationality and identity. To be Irish, in a nationalist sense, was to belong to the imagined community of a people (Anderson, 1991) who belonged to a particular territory, no matter where they originated. The first group Irish nationalists in Ireland defined themselves against were British colonisers:

For many cultural nationalists, the necessary tasks were to fend off 'West-Britonism', to restore the Irish language to primacy in the cultural life of the nation, and to turn inward and focus on 'Ourselves'. (Nelson, p. 46, 2012)

The Irish nationalising project was used to confront and somewhat ameliorate anti-Irish sentiment – a defence against accusations of laziness, incivility and lack of culture. A continuous mantra and justification of imperial colonial rulers was that the Irish people were 'ungovernable' and therefore self-rule could never be an option (Nelson, 2012). The nationalising project was in direct opposition to this conception of Irishness, to prove that Irish citizens were fully capable of self-government required what Anderson describes as the building of a historical national identity from the past, 'finding' language and cultural artefacts which supported this (Anderson, p. 196, 1991).

Nationalism influenced formal construction of the Irish state which began a process of inclusion and exclusion. Drawing on Laclau and Mouffe's conception of the constitutive outside, which speaks to Hall's conception of identity (Hall, p.5, 1996b), to be Irish has been defined against others, by what it means not to be Irish as much as through what it is to be Irish (Laclau and Mouffe, 2001). Irishness has also been historically constructed internationally by diaspora Irish (who are formally recognised in the Irish Constitution) who

live outside Ireland, which has resulted in an uneven and ambiguous relationship between Irishness in Ireland and diasporic Irishness (see Hickman et al, 2005, for empirical study of Irish identity in Britain).

Another process of social assemblage, ethnicity describes how people act collectively based on shared culture and practices. Malesevic defines ethnicity as follows:

Ethnicity is not a thing or a collective asset of a particular group; it is a social relation in which social actors perceive themselves and are perceived by others as being culturally distinct collectivities. (Malesevic, p. 4, 2004)

This definition emphasises the essentially social nature of ethnicity rather than folk conceptualisations such as ethnic clothing and food which are usually associated with ethnicity in everyday language. Jenkins describes ethnicity as a feature of social relations which involves both processes of self-identification and external categorisation which are continuously reinforced in social interaction, ever evolving (Jenkins, 2008a). Both conceptualisations focus on ethnicity as a social process, with Jenkins anthropological model more explicitly focusing on social interaction.

Traveller ethnicity can be defined as a shared culture between a group of diverse people, a particular way of being in the world, including nomadism, and a shared historical language (Helleiner, 2000). Applying Jenkins' model (2008a), ethnicity as a process in Irish society is exemplified in the manner Traveller ethnicity is (re)created through processes of self-identification and external categorisation through social interaction. More importantly for this analysis, Traveller ethnicity has been defined and pathologised against the norms of the settled community (non-Travellers) (see also analysis of 'them' and 'us' in McVeigh, 2008), in a process which occurs through social interaction between Travellers and settled people, often resulting in anti-Traveller racism. Travellers embody the constitutive outside within Irishness, they are the Other within the Irish nation.

Although Travellers trace Traveller culture to the sixteenth century, Traveller ethnicity became more distinct over time and as Ireland modernised during the middle of the twentieth century, Travellers were depicted as less modern, backward and in need of rehabilitation and assimilation. This pathologising of Travellers and their way of life is analysed in the next chapter.

1.7.4 How can racialization and whiteness explain racism in Ireland?

In a society without a history of structured black/white race relations, where post-colonialism comprises being both oppressor and oppressed colonial Other, as discussed earlier, and with nationalist discourse more prominent than ethnic and race discourses in everyday language, how is it possible to conceptualise what whiteness means? Whiteness, in the Irish context, can be conceptualised as a resource and a contingent hierarchy (Garner, 2006) while whiteness as a standpoint (Frankenberg, 1993) is also pertinent.

Using the metaphor of a knapsack of privilege (McIntosh in Garner, 2010), white Irish settled people have access to resources which are taken-for-granted in their everyday lives. Using intersectional analysis other forms of privilege also manifest, for example class, gender and age and while these are examined in greater detail in later chapters, as an introduction the focus here will be on privilege associated with perceived ethnic and ethno-national identity which can be racialized.

The descriptor, white Irish settled, can be criticised for being narrow and racializing in itself. What I argue is that resources are accumulated and performed, mostly unknowingly, by people within this category which albeit can be uneven when intersecting with other social and economic factors but nevertheless these resources are not available to Others, for example Travellers and Black Irish.

For example, a white Irish settled person's privilege means he or she can enter a shop in Ireland and expect not to be questioned about their intention to buy an item, ability to pay for products or services and expect their shopping experience will not include surreptitious surveillance. Access to the labour market has been a difficulty for Travellers in Ireland (Kelleher et al., 2010) however a report by the ESRI also demonstrated how applicants with 'Irish sounding names' were more likely to be called for interview than those with names not considered Irish (McGinnity et al., 2009). This example of structural inequality in employment can be traced to informal practices by people in organisations where formal legal constraints can be circumvented by inadvertent bias. This also leads to another type of more subtle privilege, where exceptions are made on the basis of a 'good faith' argument, for example an employee who usually attends for work on time every day can be excused for not attending on time one day on the basis this is a minor infringement and can be overlooked, even though it is technically a breach of that person's contract of employment and could lead to a warning from their employer, as will be seen in chapter 7. These exceptions are often not available to people who cannot draw on the resource of whiteness, they are subject to the full rigour of implementation of rules of the workplace, school and in everyday life.

The hierarchy of whiteness also explains how in certain contexts the resource of whiteness can be conferred on people. An example of this happened to an Asian woman who described how a shop assistant in Dublin motioned to her, 'threw her eyes up to heaven' when a Traveller entered the shop. She described how she was included in the exclusion of the Traveller, disregarding whether she shared the opinion of the shop assistant, her inclusion reinforced the inferiority of the Traveller customer.

Whiteness as a standpoint also can describe how discriminatory practices can be justified as 'making sense' when the context uses whiteness. Travellers in Ireland do not share the knapsack of privilege (McIntosh) and are deemed unsuitable neighbours by many, as demonstrated by continuous protest about location of Traveller halting sites in Ireland

(Holland, 2015). A recent example of this occurred when a number of Traveller families had to be rehoused after a fire where a number of adults and children died. The first site identified by the local authority to provide temporary accommodation was blocked by local residents, one of whom stated, 'No one can object to people living somewhere. Everyone has a right to live somewhere, but it's just too close to our houses. It wouldn't be safe for them either.' (Holland, 2015). The tone of equity, everyone has a right to live somewhere, changes to a focus on security and by implication, which is not actually stated, the resident highlights her concern for her own safety. 'Reasonable' prejudice can be justified from the standpoint of the speaker (Billig et al., 1988). Protests by residents against location of Traveller halting sites have been a feature of Irish society for decades, drawing on discourses of inferiority, dirt, criminality and inherent violence, a nimbyist (not in my back yard) standpoint can be rationalised as self-evident common-sense - 'reasonable' racism.

The earlier case of Maria, discussed in relation to whiteness, had implications for two Roma children and their families in Ireland.

It started with an anonymous message to TV3's 'Paul Connolly Investigates' web page last Monday containing a disturbing allegation: a Roma family appeared to have a blonde-haired, blue-eyed seven-year-old girl who couldn't possibly be theirs. Within hours, there was another allegation. This time a member of the public in the midlands alerted gardaí to a two-year-old boy with fair hair living with a Roma family. (O'Brien, 2013)

Both children were removed from their parents on the basis that two members of the public highlighted that the children did not 'look like' their parents. A report by the Ombudsman for Children also revealed that another member of the public reported concerns to the Gardai (Irish Police Force) in Ballinasloe about a Roma family with a little boy who had blonde hair and blue eyes, hours after the family had been reunited with their son who had been placed in foster care (Logan, 2014). Both cases involved a number of issues, including the lack of

resources available to both Roma families and the excessive burden of proof which was required of them to prove their parentage. Disturbing is the ease with which members of the public reported concerns based on a similar case in Greece (two reports referred explicitly to the case in Greece) which highlights how deeply prejudiced attitudes were readily available and actionable.

In the cases of both Child T and Child A in Ireland, there was a categorical link to the reporting of the case of 'Maria' in Greece. The media coverage of the case in Greece was influenced by, and indeed fed, unfounded and deeply prejudiced myths regarding members of the Roma community abducting children. Sadly, it is clear to the Inquiry that some people living in Ireland share those deeply prejudiced and racist opinions, asserting that members of the Roma 'rob' children as a means of accessing social welfare benefits. (Logan, p. 108, 2014)

Racialization can be invoked by the ascription of essentialised immutable characteristics on people based on ethnic, national or other group categorisations. This process of racialization can be identified in the pathologising of Roma, as above, Travellers and other particular nationalities and ethnicities. The racialization of nationality is explored in the next chapter where a group were configured as threatening Irishness and resulted in violent protest. The racialization of black people in Ireland is also accomplished using historical language of inferiority, reinforced by practices which impact in Ireland and so-called developing countries. This process is explored in the campaigns of Trocaire in the next chapter.

1.8 Summary

Theories of race and racism were used at the beginning of this chapter to analyse a visual representation of inclusion and exclusion in Italy, 2012. This chapter reviewed the history of race, theories of racism, drawing on debates about conceptual conflation and the difficulty with neat division of society into racists and anti-racists. Some will challenge the theoretical framework outlined here as conceptual conflation, however the exploration of everyday life, the banal routines and practices of social actors requires a focus on racialization which is accomplished through a continuum of subtle and banal scripts and practices.

Three strands of theories about racism are used in this project; racialization, whiteness and intersectionality. These are underpinned by the use of racisms and the continuum of racism(s) which draws together different forms of racisms, demonstrating how they are part of an overall process. Racialization here, drawing on Garner (2013) and Miles and Brown (2003) is defined as the dialectical process of ascribing immutable characteristics to people, on the basis of perceived difference rooted in historically formed notions of racial, cultural and social difference. This definition focuses on perceived difference as social interaction is heavily reliant on perception. The historical and dialectical nature of racialization as a process, ever-changing rather than static, is also important, with the next chapter focusing on particular moments in Irish history. Drawing on Garner's (2006) concept of whiteness as a resource and contingent hierarchy, with the addition of Frankenberg's whiteness as standpoint, these three facets of whiteness are used in the empirical analysis which follows later. The final element of the conceptual framework is intersectionality, how factors such as gender, religion, nationality and ethnicity intersect. This intersection, following Walby et al.

(2012), involves individual factors which mutually shape each other and require stabilisation at the point of analysis.

Irish people, as both coloniser and colonised (Rolston and Shannon, 2002), leads to the experience of being racialized while also engaging in racializing practices and scripts.

Evidence from previous research has revealed a level of racism in Ireland in the treatment of Travellers, Jewish people and more recently, Muslims and black taxi drivers. The processes of ethnicity, as a process of self-identification and external categorisation, and nationalism, as an inherent inclusionary and exclusionary process, have and continue to influence the socio-historical trajectory of racism in Ireland.

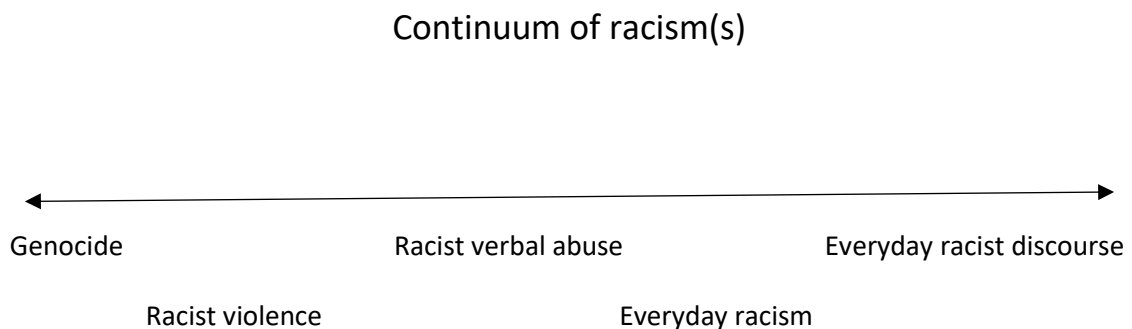


Figure 1.6 Continuum of racism(s)

The above diagram is a visual representation of the continuum of racism(s) described earlier in the first section of this chapter. The continuum is populated with types of racism described in this thesis and highlights how although these types of racism are different, they also have a shared basis in racializing processes identifiable in practices and discourses which are more or less explicit. In the Irish context, due to socio-historical factors, including nationalism and coloniser/colonised history, it is particularly important to understand the right side of the continuum, how everyday racism operates. The following chapter examines

particular historical moments in Ireland which also can be plotted on the continuum of racism(s) as being explicit and subtle forms of racialization.

Chapter 2: Historical Moments

2.1 Introduction: race and racialization in Ireland

In what manner, if at all, does the collection of art displayed in the National Gallery of Ireland in 2014 reveal historical ideas about race in Ireland? Any national art collection is prone to the vagaries of taste and opportunity, comprised of art works which are deemed important or sought after by curators of the gallery. It can be argued that the value of art is defined in terms of financial and cultural capital which together with the authoritative knowledge of experts in the field produces a specific selection of the thousands of pieces of art produced over previous centuries. The current Irish collection comprises, according to the Companion Guide, a collection of great breadth and depth considering it was sourced through private donations and gifts (Croke, 2009).



Figure 2.1 'The Artist's Studio: Lady Hazel Lavery with her Daughter and Stepdaughter Eileen, 1909-1913' by John Lavery.

Paintings in the Irish section of the Gallery are particularly interesting in relation to this project, comprising artistic representations of Ireland throughout the centuries. One particular portrait, reproduced above in Figure 2.1, by John Lavery, entitled 'The Artist's Studio: Lady Hazel Lavery with her Daughter and Stepdaughter Eileen, 1909-1913' depicts a servant, who is described in the accompanying guide as a 'Moorish maid' (Companion guide, p. 52). The painting is a representation of the Irish artist's London home with the Lavery

family seated towards the front and their maid further behind, to the left carrying a platter of fruit⁹. The social position of the servant is partly denoted by her absence (along with the dog) in the title, and partly through her symbolic function in the overall composition, which is to represent the status of the artist and his subjects. The servant's colourful and decorative clothing is ambiguous, as is her purposeful stance, whether these reflect her own cultural ideas or those of the artist or her master and mistress is not clear. The painting, taken in the simplest terms, depicts the lower status of servant women, however this did not depend on racial status alone at this time, as servants were often English women from the lower classes¹⁰.

Viewing Irish paintings in the National Gallery as a collection, Lavery's painting casts into relief the historical absence of race in the overarching field of representation. The white faces peering out from each canvas solidifies the historical idea that Irish people are and have been historically white and that race in Ireland is a 'new' phenomenon. This chapter challenges this absence of race and builds a picture of a place and people which have had a particular relationship with the idea of race and while at points in time this relationship is palpable, at other times racialization intersects with and becomes obscured and entangled with other social processes.

In keeping with the focus of this project, the examples explored in this chapter include the spectrum of racisms, from racist discourse to acts of violence. Racism, in the overt sense, has

⁹ John Lavery was an Irish, Catholic artist who lived in London and was respected and admired by the new Irish Free State. He was commissioned to design the first new Irish legal tender, whilst being funded by English and international benefactors in London. For further information, see McCool and Dempsey, 2010, available at <http://www.hughlane.ie/past/160-sir-john-lavery-passion-and-politics>.

¹⁰ See 2016 exhibition entitled 'Swept Under the Carpet', Geffrye Museum of the Home, London: a collection of historical images of domestic servants in London 1600-2000.

been examined in great detail by Helleiner (2000) in relation anti-Traveller racism, Fanning (2002, 2011 and 2012) and Lentin (2002) regarding anti-Semitism, with Carr and Haynes more recent work focusing on islamophobia (2015). The ambiguous relationship of Irish people as both coloniser and colonised, as noted in the previous chapter, leads to racism being embedded in the lived experience of Irishness. Added to this historical duality is the *prima facie* social unacceptability of racism while racism has been and continues to be a feature of social relations. The focus on racializing discourse of a more subtle nature, which can intersect with ethno-national discourses, reveals that while racist violence may be the portent of a minority in society, these practices are a rupture of normalised everyday racism which is reinforced through everyday discourses and practices.

This chapter focuses on how Others have been described at particular moments in Irish history, beginning with language and ideas of the Report of the Commission on Itinerancy published in 1963 and focusing on the racialization of Traveller practices and culture. The second section reviews land ownership and redistribution leading to events in County Meath during 1969, when arson attacks on a number of farms owned by Germans by dissident Republicans were based on discourses of ethno-nationalism with the mantra 'land of Ireland for the people of Ireland'. These two sections, focusing on the exclusion of ostensibly white Others, is followed by analysis of visual imagery and more opaque discourses used by Trócaire, an Irish Christian aid organisation founded in 1973. Images of black people in Christian aid campaigns draw on particular discourses of otherness which became more explicit during the recent Irish Citizenship Referendum in 2004, when children born to migrant women were considered threatening to the Irish nation, as will be analysed in the final section.

2.2 The racialization of Travellers - 1963 Report of the Commission on Itinerancy

2.2.1 Who are Travellers?

The 1991 biography *Nan: the life of an Irish Travelling woman* by Sharon Gmelch is an evocative account of the life of a Traveller woman based on stories Nan shared with Sharon Gmelch over a number of years. Nan's biography highlights the nomadic origins and changing circumstances of Travellers from a time when Travellers were considered a seasonal workforce, in the 1930's and 1940's, somewhat useful to the settled rural population, to the current urban and evermore marginalised position of Travellers as barely acceptable, tolerated members of Irish society. Nan's stories are a vivid description of her life and the myriad of experiences which framed her life as a Traveller. Nan would be described in Irish terms as having had a 'hard life', from her early years of travelling in a caravan to formal training in domestic duties in Britain to her tempestuous and abusive relationships and struggle with mental health problems and alcohol abuse. The account also encompasses moments when Nan remembered the contempt and violence she encountered as a Traveller woman – at times from within the Traveller community and from members of the settled community. Nan described her excitement when she first moved into social housing and how she hid her Traveller ethnicity, lest her identity cause any difficulties in her new neighbourhood. The biography is a version of Nan's life-story and provides a narrative of Traveller life during the twentieth century.

Academic analyses of Travellers in Ireland includes the work of Sharon Gmelch noted above, also her anthropological work with George Gmelch (Gmelch and Gmelch, 2014, for example). Delaney (2001) traced the construction of Travellers as Other in Irish literature, while Helleiner (2000) has traced racist discourse through the decades in local government discourse. McVeigh has also explored the State's responses to Travellers (2008), while Ryan

traced the marginalisation of Travellers in his analysis of nomadism and the politics of order in Irish society (2007). Travellers in Ireland today trace their nomadic ancestry to previous centuries (Helleiner, p. 29, 2000) and while many Travellers live in houses, this sedentary lifestyle is considered compatible with Traveller culture and customs. In the 1960's, somewhat in response to the Irish State attempting to assimilate Travellers into the settled community, Travellers formed rights-based organisations, Pavee Point and the Irish Traveller Movement, to lobby for their right to a nomadic lifestyle and distinct culture and to combat racism and discrimination.

2.2.2 The Other within the nation – racialization of Travellers

A major landmark in the racialization of Travellers is the Report of the Commission on Itinerancy¹¹ in 1963 which was formed to: 'enquire into the problems arising from the presence in the country of itinerants in considerable numbers' (Commission on Itinerancy, p. 110, 1963). The Traveller 'problem' had been widely publicised in print media and parliamentary debate at the time (*The Irish Times*, 1960). The Commission was comprised of 'experts' including members of the Catholic Church, medical profession and civil servants, though notable is the absence of a representative from the Traveller community itself. This analysis focuses on the report as representative of the perception of Travellers in Irish society at that time. The 1963 report contains evidence of ideas which circulated in society, demonstrated by the language of the report, the author's findings and of particular interest, ideas which the Commission rejected as unsuitable. The Commission sought submissions

¹¹ The Irish State used the term 'itinerancy' to describe a nomadic group in Ireland who lived predominantly in caravans and tents. Employment of 'itinerants' varied from casual farm labour, tin-smithing for men with women and children supplementing income and basic needs such as food and clothing by begging.

from interested parties and the general public and many of these ideas, which were rejected by the Commission, represent the most blatant racializing language of the report.

It can be argued that this report was an expression of both overt and normalised racial ideas about Travellers in a formal manner, solidifying disparate ideas into a policy document.

Themes present in the report which link to the data presented in Section 2 of the thesis are the religious tone of the report, which links to the othering of this group through the frame of paternalistic charity, the negative attitudes of the settled community toward Travellers and the racial basis of some suggestions from members of the public. Banton (1998) warns of the dangers of presentism, which has a bearing on the analysis, the discounting of historical ideas based on current standards and knowledge and yet discourses identifiable in this report from the 1960's bear a striking resemblance to discourses about Travellers today, indicating little in the way of change, in the direction of greater equality.

From the outset Travellers, then known as 'itinerants' or 'tinkers', were considered a problem in Irish society, framed in terms of dirt, destruction of private property and criminality. The solution to this problem, according to the terms of reference of the report was to 'promote their absorption into the general community' (Commission on Itinerancy, p. 111, 1963).

Traveller life and culture was antithetical to norms of settled behaviour and the concept of absorption reflects what McVeigh describes as the genocidal logic of the Irish state (McVeigh, 1997 & 2008).

2.2.3 Contingent toleration

Many Travellers have close personal and community links with Catholicism, for many it is central to their lives with births, deaths and marriages taking place within the institution of the Irish Catholic church. Equally, within the settled community, with high levels of religious belief and practice together with a religious hierarchy closely connected to and heavily

influencing policies of the Irish State, it is unsurprising to trace religious ideas and the reinforcement of religious norms in the report (Inglis, 2007, Malesevic, 2010). For example, the Report of the Commission on Itinerancy details the Commission's praise of efforts by Traveller parents to have their children prepared for Catholic sacraments with the co-operation of the Irish police force (Gardai). Traveller families were usually 'moved on' by the Gardai, this was the usual and expected treatment of Travellers during the 1960's, however illegal camping was tolerated when Travellers camped near a school while their children were preparing for Catholic sacraments. The efforts of Traveller parents and the Gardai were praised in the report as a reflection of Traveller parents being 'good Catholics' and doing their best to adhere to rules of the Catholic Church (Commission on Itinerancy, p. 88, 1963). Brown's concept of tolerance explains how a group of people are tolerated but only to a certain point are they allowed to exist and participate in society without being fully accepted (Brown, 2006). In short, Travellers were tolerated when they adhered to norms of Catholic behaviour, illegal camping was allowed in these exceptional circumstance, but this toleration was contingent and short-lived.

The Commission also recognised in the report that the settled community at the time was hostile towards the Traveller community (Commission on Itinerancy, p. 104, 1963) however the Commission expressed the opinion that Irish ideals of 'Christian charity and brotherly love' would prevail and the settled community would come to accept Travellers in the community. Unpacking the language of Christian charity, charity is based on the notion of poor people, those less well off than 'ourselves' being given charity. Yet, this charity is conditional upon those receiving charity observing Christian norms. 'Primitive', nomadic Traveller lifestyle would be modernised by absorption and when Travellers did not adhere, they were chastised. 'The Legion of Mary', a Catholic lay organisation, was described during the 1960's as the 'only organisation' working with Travellers (Horgan, 1964). A description of visits by members of the Legion of Mary to Traveller campsites by Gmelch reflects the

paternalistic chastisement of Travellers who did not abide by Catholic norms – ‘they were rebuked like little children for not attending Mass’ (Gmelch, p. 187, 1991). The notion of ‘Christian charity’ was also later expressed in the aspirations of the Catholic Church setting up Trócaire, a Christian aid organisation, 10 years later. The idea of Christian charity, of settling Travellers and thereby rescuing them from their ‘primitive’ lifestyle, a way of life deemed problematic, particularly when it encroached on the lives of settled people, meant that Travellers were to be pitied and reformed but as long as Travellers retained their customs and norms, this perceived ‘primitiveness’ envisions them as the constitutive outside (Hall, 1996b).

2.2.4 ‘Itinerants’: ‘Menace to public health’ and ‘criminals’

Numerous sections of the Report of the Commission on Itinerancy highlight the negative attitude of the settled community towards Travellers. This negative attitude is at times justified in the report as resulting from provocation, from the behaviour of Travellers, for example assaults on Travellers and Traveller encampments by landowners whose land or property had been damaged by Travellers was excused because of the ‘ever growing and justifiable resentment by the owners’ (Commission on Itinerancy, p. 96, 1963). Evidence in the report also points to this negative attitude being out of character for Irish people; ‘Hostility to a class or group as now exists in relation to the itinerant is uncharacteristic of our people’ (Commission on Itinerancy, p. 104, 1963). This statement firstly divides Irish society into ‘our’ settled community, in opposition to ‘those’ Travellers. Travellers are positioned as outsiders, not part of ‘our people’ and hostility towards Travellers is deemed unusual, a departure from Christian ideals of ‘brotherly love’. That Irish people could possibly be so negative towards any group of people was considered aberrant, and could only happen due to provocation of a usually welcoming people.

The report also highlights how Travellers at the time were blamed for a number of problems in the community for which they were not responsible and yet linked to, for example:

Itinerants are often blamed for many more crimes of this nature than they commit and for many other crimes of a nature which they seldom commit. (Commission on Itinerancy, p. 94, 1963)

This links directly with the Roma case study detailed in the previous chapter and with data in Chapter 9, where two research participants describe discussions about alleged Traveller crime. Travellers have historically been linked with crime and while Travellers and criminality may be reinforced by media representations at the present time, this links back to previous ideas which endure. A further example of exaggerated claims made to the Commission by external parties links dirt and contamination directly with Travellers:

There have been allegations of contamination of wells by reason of their use by itinerants and allegations that itinerants are in general a menace to public health. (Commission on Itinerancy, p. 50, 1963)

Travellers were blamed for the contamination of drinking water, that Travellers were dirty and unsanitary and a threat to the settled community by their very presence. The Commission found these allegations to be untrue however as is common with such myths, (analysed in greater detail in Chapter 9), the validity or accuracy of these types of stories does not stop their circulation in informal conversation, thereby reinforcing their validity in social discourse.

Everyday forms of anti-Traveller exclusion are also detailed in the Report of the Commission on Itinerancy in relation to allocation and experiences of social housing. The Commission found evidence that Travellers and their children were often excluded and shunned by their settled neighbours (Commission on Itinerancy, p. 60, 1963). This exclusion was also exacerbated by cases where some potential tenants on public authority housing lists refused

to accept a new house beside Travellers already housed (Commission on Itinerancy, p. 60, 1963). These examples demonstrate how Travellers could be excluded by indirect actions, without having to ever speak face-to-face with Travellers, without having to use any derogatory language. The settled community clearly excluded Travellers from social housing without the need to raise a single placard or march on government buildings. These types of practices existed alongside more explicit types of protest, for example later campaigns about the location of Traveller halting sites throughout the 1980's and 1990's (Helleiner, 2000), which at times were violent and were replicated in later decades in the form of protests about accommodation of asylum-seekers (Irish Times, 2000). These explicit campaigns, which at times turned violent, were a rupture of the everyday undercurrent of harassment and exclusion Travellers experienced.

2.2.5 Explicit racialization of Travellers

The rationale built into the policy of 'settlement' was that Travellers could be 'civilised' by housing them in areas alongside the settled population, and closely monitoring compliance to this process; absorption and integration were key concepts in the report (for example see Report of the Commission on Itinerancy, p. 62, 1963)¹². The plan to assimilate Travellers, which was framed by the concept of 'absorption', was a core tenet of the Commission's work from the beginning, detailed in the terms of reference, that this was the only viable 'solution'. McVeigh argues that this is a demonstration of the essentialised racialization of Travellers, echoing a cultural version of genocidal 'final solution' (McVeigh, 1997). Travellers were deemed to be causing problems to the everyday lives of settled people and the common-sense idea was that despite shared religiosity, nationality and territory Travellers were not

¹² Report of the Commission on Itinerancy, page 62 'Regular contact should be maintained with each family housed so as to take whatever steps are necessary to assist in the integration process'.

quite Irish enough and therefore inferior, with their way of life unacceptable. This designated inferiority and its fixedness as innate to Travellers is the racializing element of the argument for assimilation.

In addition to the implicit racialization of Travellers, a number of overtly racial ideas detailed in the report are evidenced by suggestions made to the Commission about how to manage Travellers in society. Even though these ideas were rejected by the Commission they reflect ideas present in Irish society at the time. Similar to programmes in Australia (Ryan, 2007), one suggestion was to remove Traveller children from their parents and place them with settled people to rid them of their 'itinerancy', to 'settle' them (Commission on Itinerancy, p. 69, 1963). These types of resettlement programmes are argued as not racially based and yet they were explicitly applied to a racially constructed 'primitive' group in order to civilise them. Other ideas presented to the Commission were to issue Travellers with identity cards so they could be monitored more closely by the police force (Commission on Itinerancy, p. 100, 1963) and that Travellers should be housed in sub-standard dwellings (Commission on Itinerancy, p. 63, 1963). Both of these suggestions point to the potential segregation of Travellers in society, to maintain a physical distance between Travellers and settled people in housing and how some wanted this segregation to be formalised in both policing and housing.

Language used to describe Travellers in the report included that their cooking methods were 'primitive' (Commission on Itinerancy, p. 45, 1963), they were 'unemployable' p. 79 (this referred to Travellers who lived in tents specifically), and having a 'disposition to lack of self-control and the tendency to fight and brawl'. Viewed together, these comments can be described as racial language, similar to that used in historical literature about peoples from Africa and Asia during the nineteenth century and also used to describe the racial attributes

of Irish people by Grant in the early twentieth century (Grant, 1922). Ni Shuinear argues that Irish othering of Travellers was a transference of anti-Irish racism onto the main internal indigenous group (Ni Shuinear, p. 190, 2002). There is no doubt that anti-Irish racism has had an impact on the manifestation of racism in Ireland, however essentialised racial ideas about Travellers and other Others reflects the historical iteration of scripts and practices which reinforce racism in Ireland.

As noted in Chapter 1, Travellers denote the constitutive outside within the Irish nation, the Other within. Travellers resided within the Irish nation state territory and, as has been shown in the language and content of the Report of the Commission on Itinerancy, from paternalistic civilising discourses of 'primitive' Travellers to more overt racializing discourses, Travellers also defined what it meant to be Irish and settled.

2.3 1969 'The land of Ireland for the people of Ireland'

2.3.1 *The English are gone, Bull*

Flanagan: The English are gone, Bull

'Bull' McCabe: Gone, because I drove them out: me and my kind. Gone but not forgotten Flanagan. No outsider will bid for my field.

This excerpt from the 1990 film *The Field*, based on John B. Keane's play (rev. 1991) of the same name, captures the connection between nationalism and land ownership in Ireland.

The fictional 'Bull', is a dramatized representative small tenant farmer, 'me and my kind', whose ancestors endured suffering and hardship under English rule¹³. The 'outsider' denotes someone who does not belong, a person who embodies the constitutive outside (see Section

¹³ A 2008 case of an English employee in Ireland who was racially abused at work and awarded compensation by the Equality Tribunal demonstrates how more recent anti-English sentiment can be couched in nationalist rhetoric (rte.ie., 2008).

1.6). The slogan 'the land to the people' can be traced to the Irish Land War of 1879, when mass mobilisation of tenant farmers by the Irish National Land League became part of the Irish nationalist movement, 'the Land War represents a pivotal moment in Irish nationalism: from it emerged a strong national identity' (Kane, 2000).

This section describes a less well known episode which can be linked to the ideas of the Land War, how land ownership became contested in Ireland during the 1960's, culminating in the burning of farms belonging to German land owners. The nationalist and racist tone of the debate leading to these events is explored in parliamentary debates and national newspaper coverage of the land ownership issue.

2.3.2 Land redistribution 1900 - 1960

Land ownership policies in Ireland, including land redistribution, in the decades leading to the 1960's reinforced social and religious norms of the new Irish state, as the analysis of Norris (2016) demonstrates.

The land redistribution element of the socialised home ownership project in particular also completed the familist social model, which enjoyed wide political, social and religious support in Ireland during the first half of the 20th century. (Norris, 2016)

Land redistribution, the division of larger tracts of land into smaller holdings for distribution among landless small tenant farmers, was more than an economic model to provide an income for the then majority rural dwellers of the Irish State. The division of larger plots of land provided a means to support the familial unit, the start of a process of encouragement of property ownership which would later result in high levels of home ownership in the new urban Ireland during the 1970's and 1980's (Norris, 2016). The history of land ownership, in particular the Land War of 1879, is also influenced by the association of colonial rule with

English landlords' mistreatment of Irish tenants, thereby linking the nationalist movement to land redistribution (Norris, 2016). The purchase of land by 'outsiders' resulted not only in political debate but also violent protest.

2.3.3 'Aliens', foreigners and non-nationals purchasing Irish land

The shortage of farm land for small tenant farmers became inextricably linked with the purchase of land by continental Europeans, with purchasers predominantly described as German even though land had been purchased by people from 13 different countries including England, France and South Africa (Maguire, 1970a). 'German' serves to mould difference into a threatening Other, comparable to the coloniser/colonised dichotomy. The response to these acquisitions can be traced to the State in the form of legislation, the *Land Act 1965* and taxation (higher rate for purchasers who were not Irish) while in civil society two groups were active in campaigning against land acquisition by 'aliens' – the Land League, a civil society group drawing on the same nationalist ideals of the original Land League founded eighty years previously, and the Irish Republican Army (IRA), the military wing of the nationalist movement (Ferriter, 2005). Opposition to land purchase had been fomenting for a number of years, for example in 1964 a public protest march was held in Ardara, Co Donegal against 'foreigners buying land in Ireland' (Donegal News, 1965) while in 1960 there was fear of an 'invasion' of Germans when a German business-man announced a ten million pound investment in property for tourism in the West of Ireland (Maguire, 1970b). These two incidents foreground the level of opposition which foreign investment attracted during the 1960's – 'invasion' draws on military language referencing Germans in World War Two, a palpable threat to the Irish State.¹⁴

¹⁴ Ireland remained neutral during World War Two which also included accepting a few hundred of the millions of refugees who sought shelter after the war (Fanning, 2002).

Opposition to the purchase of land by ‘foreigners’ can be traced in newspaper articles, for example in June 1969 ‘Sinn Fein had continuously opposed the foreign take-over of Irish land’ (The Irish Press, 1969). Later in 1970 Dan McCarthy, President of the Land League, stated ‘...they cannot come in and take over our land, our most precious possession after our faith’ (Maguire, 1970a). Describing land and faith as elements of national identity follows nationalist sentiment expressed during high points of the Irish nationalizing project and explicitly detailed in the *Irish Constitution 1937*.

The tone of a November 1969 Irish Parliament (House of Oireachtas) debate by the Committee on Finance about Land was one of frustration with the Land Commission, (the statutory government body created to distribute land to Irish farmers) and continuing difficulties faced by small farmers due to a perceived shortage of arable farming land for Irish farmers. ‘The land of Ireland for the people of Ireland’, drawing on the Land War slogan of ‘the land to the people’, was a slogan used during an election campaign in the 1960’s, repeated by John Donnellan T.D. in the 1969 parliamentary debate, highlighting the historically embedded nationalist nature of concerns with land ownership in Ireland (Committee on Finance, HO Deb 1969). As noted earlier in this chapter, the term ‘people of Ireland’ did not include Travellers, the term described primarily settled Irish men as women rarely owned property at the time.¹⁵

The purchase of tracts of land by people variously described as Germans, aliens, foreigners and non-nationals (pages 6, 17 and 51 of Committee on Finance, HO Deb 1969 for example) was contentious and although there was official condemnation of the burning of German farms, (discussed below) during 1969 in counties Meath and Louth, several members of the

¹⁵ There was a gendered tone to later debates about land ownership which arose during the divorce referendums of 1995 and 1986, as land ownership was linked to male family members and the threat of women owning land on their own behalf as settlement in divorce proceedings caused concerns in some sections of the community (Hogan, 1995).

Irish parliament, including Oliver J Flanagan T.D. and James Tully T.D., pointed to a justification of the frustrations which resulted in violent protest:

If the Land Commission are interpreting the Act to the effect that they have the right to allow non-nationals to buy large farms, there is an argument in favour of what these wild men are doing. I do not agree with what they are doing but they can say: Somebody has to do something about it. Dáil Éireann is doing nothing about it.

(James Tully T.D., Committee on Finance, 1969)

This justification of violent acts against Others during parliamentary debate echoes the justification of violent acts against Travellers referred to in Section 3.2.2 above. This follows Garners' framework of the specificity of racism in Ireland which includes a legacy of political violence (Garner, 2004).

Ferriter has described 'a racist tone' to many of the discussions about land ownership at a local level while the tone at parliamentary level, as evidenced in the November 1969 debate, was more nationalist than racist (Ferriter, p. 547, 2005). Land purchasers were not only outsiders, they functioned discursively as a constitutive outside, that produces, through deeply contextual yet also historically embedded processes, Irishness itself. Social distance is created and maintained using language such as alien, foreigner and non-national and is similar to analysis of the insider/outsider relationship explored by Elias and Scotson (2008). People who bought land were not considered part of the local community, the use of the word local as an opposite demonstrates this. 'Local' is a way of laying claim to entitlement denied to those who do not have blood ties to the soil. In the Dail debate, Irish people were referred to as locals with the adjective local also used to refer to community and services (see p. 5, 7, 16, 19, Committee on Finance, HO Deb 1969). Local is an effective instrument of inclusion and exclusion, in the manner used to describe people and places, denotes location and social space as belonging to Irish people only.

2.3.4 Burning of German farms 1969-1970

The burning of farms was highlighted in national newspapers on 12 June 1969 when two farms were targeted, the first owned by a Dr Andree, a barrister originally from Germany who lived near Slane, Co. Meath. The property of Johannes Koln, also originally from Germany, who lived near Kells, Co. Meath was also targeted. Both men were awoken by their dogs when sheds and outhouses on their properties were set alight in arson attacks (*The Irish Times*, 1969). Koln's car was also set on fire and he is reported as having been very surprised and puzzled as to why his farm had been burnt as he perceived his relationship with the local community as a positive one (*The Irish Times*, 1969). It is also reported in January 1970 that another German owned farm was targeted, this time two buildings in the farmyard were set alight and one Mr Ibsy who lived there was fearful that those responsible for setting the building ablaze 'wanted to take the land away from me' (Murphy, 1970). For the period from June 1969 to January 1970, local police kept watch on estates owned by continental Europeans due to the number of attacks and the perceived threat to people and property. This episode links directly to data collected during this research project, a participant interviewed mentioned an incident during her childhood of farms owned by Germans in the late 1960's being burned and a threat to her family that resulted from this. The impact of these events stretched to other non-Irish Europeans who were perceived as owners of Irish land with families living in fear of arson attack. Inward migration has always been a feature of Irish society, (see Fanning, 2002 and 2012 for discussion of Jewish settlement in Ireland) and while numbers may have been relatively small in this case, the purchase of land resulted in violent attacks on property of people described as 'aliens'. 'Aliens' in Ireland were tolerated, treated with friendliness but not accepted as entitled to legitimate ownership of Irish land. The trajectory of this episode, building from rumours of invasion to calls from politicians and nationalist organisations in 1969 for the cessation of land sale to non-Irish, the discourse can be summarised from placards used by Sinn Fein in protests outside the German

Embassy in June 1969 'Irish land, Irish Industry for the Irish People' (The Irish Press, 1969).

The symbolism of Sinn Fein 'fanning the flames' of nationalism, at a time when Irish nationalism was becoming less militant is noteworthy. The burning of farm property is another rupture of everyday discourse, where nationalist ideas of Irish land for Irish people could justify arson attacks as a very public enforcement of this idea.

2.4 'Black babies': 1973 founding of Trócaire



Figure 2.2 Trócaire Box - Photograph by author 2014.

The Trócaire box, pictured in Figure 2.2, is an ubiquitous symbol in Ireland which has helped to shape ideas of race over the past forty years. The following discussion is not a critique of the work of Trócaire or other aid organisations but a critique of the ideas which require pictures of ethnic minorities to be used to discursively create them as objects of pity who are thus worthy of tolerance and charity. Charity in Ireland, as noted in the previous section in relation to Travellers, is rooted in a Christian based system of charity or alms-giving, where

money given to the poor, especially the poor in other countries, is a positive step towards being a good Christian. Charity is a type of asymmetrical power relationship where the 'helper' is owed a debt of gratitude by the 'helped'. This can lead to a paternalistic notion of superiority which grants social actors power over the 'helped', which in turn can pave the way for aggressive and violent abuse, a rupture of everyday tolerance and pity.

The campaigns of organisations such as Trócaire are a delicate balance where the subject in need of help is presented in a socially acceptable manner of dress and comportment yet the prospective audience must be able to perceive their need. The difficulty is that assistance elicited in this manner comes at a cost, people in poorer countries must be presented as vulnerable and poor enough to encourage financial donations while conforming to acceptable western ideas of religion, education and economy. This has a bearing on how 'they' are perceived and treated when they move out of the realm of representation (the image) and into 'our' lived reality through immigration and the asylum process: they are expected (required) to live beneath 'us', and if they exhibit anything more in the way of wealth and status, then they may be framed as the 'precocious child' or the 'uppity negro'¹⁶.

2.4.1 Origins of Trócaire: 'help our needy brothers'

The historical roots of Trócaire, the ideas which underpin the organisation and the ethos it promotes through campaigns are visible today. Trócaire is a non-governmental organisation founded by the Catholic Bishops of Ireland in 1973. The organisation was set-up by the Catholic Church, according to a Pastoral Letter issued to churches in 1973, to 'share our wealth and to help our needy brothers'. This is similar to the language of the Commission on Itinerancy report, discussed earlier, which seeks the 'brotherly love' of settled people to

¹⁶ This terminology has been explored in relation to stigma in the United States, for example with reference to Rosa Parks remaining on a bus which was designated for 'whites only', see Eckstein & Allen, 2014.

accept Travellers in society. The founding of this organisation, and other similar organisations, marked a time when Ireland had just joined the then European Economic Community, now known as the European Union. Ireland was becoming more economically successful and the Catholic Church consolidated previous responses to natural disasters, such as the famine in Biafra under a more co-ordinated and coherently structured organisation which would work on a continuous basis.

The Bishops of Ireland have set up a fund which is called Trócaire, the Irish word for 'mercy'. It will provide an official channel through which Irish Catholics, like Catholics in other developed countries, can express their commitment on an ongoing basis, to the needs of the Third World. This will be a further contribution to the overall effort in favour of the developing countries. (Pastoral Letter, 1973)

The establishment of Trócaire fitted with the structures of other European Catholic non-governmental agencies such as Cordaid in the Netherlands. The Irish Catholic Church sought a more co-ordinated approach which resulted in annual campaigns by Trócaire during the Catholic period of fasting called Lent, hence the issuing of Trócaire boxes became known as a Lenten Campaign, which continues to the present day. The practical operation of the Trócaire box is that through fasting from certain luxuries surplus funds can be given to the poor, in this case the poor of other countries. This links the campaigns to personal religious sacrifice, to be a 'good Catholic' means to be generous in donating money to poorer people. The Trócaire box then becomes a symbol of the poor in other countries, a daily reminder of the need to keep any Lenten promises made and to put money in the box regularly.

The particularity in Ireland is that Trócaire boxes have become an everyday object in the homes of many people in Ireland from 1973 to the present day. Today in Ireland 90% of primary schools are under the patronage of the Catholic Church with the figure only decreasing in recent years with the establishment of Educate Together Schools which are

non-denominational (Department of Education and Skills, 2016). Trócaire boxes have been distributed through Catholic schools and Catholic churches since the 1970's leading to this object becoming a normal part of many people's lives for a couple of weeks each year for generations of Irish people, part of their *habitus* (see next Chapter for analysis of Bourdieu's concept, 1990). The images used on Trócaire boxes and in television and print media campaigns have changed over the years, as depicted in Figure 2.3 (Broadsheet.ie, 2014). The first impression of the montage of boxes is the multitude of brown and black faces of children which have been used in numerous campaigns. There is also a juxtaposition of the white faces of two Irish children in this particular montage, their faces signify solidarity but also contrast and distance 'us' from the Other.



Figure 2.3 'Forty Years', photograph commemorating 40 years of Trócaire, published on Broadsheet.ie (Mark Stedman/Photocall Ireland, 2014).

Trócaire boxes are constant reminders of the poverty of people from Africa and Asia in Irish homes over the decades and the images link charity to pity and ultimately superiority. The

images on Trócaire boxes have altered over time from earlier ones of emaciated children wearing very little clothing to more recent pictures of happy, well-dressed children, however the underlying message remains the same. These are the images generations of Irish children grew-up with of people from Africa and Asia, people who were to be pitied, in need of charity, who lived in far-away exotic places that most people knew from a map or through stories from missionaries who travelled back to Ireland to recount stories of poverty and hardship. The particular way some charity organisations use images of African or Asian people, often children as demonstrated in Figure 2.3, to fundraise maintains stereotypes which can feed racism, particularly of the everyday variety. O'Sullivan (2014) is critical of the paternalistic tone of comparable NGO's:

Steeped in imperial and missionary continuities, and often paternalistic in language and practice, NGO's tended to reinforce and re-articulate rather than challenge existing stereotypes of the Third World. (O'Sullivan, 2014)

The images of children on Trócaire boxes, Figure 2.3, also conforms to western ideas of dress and culture, for example the pink hospital wristband on the baby pictured on the box positioned in the bottom right corner of Figure 2.3 is linked to western ideas of gender and control in maternity hospitals, which is an issue I return to in some detail below.

2.4.2 'Black babies'

The discourse in Ireland of 'black babies' has been discussed by Rolston and Shannon (2002, p. 66), Guerin (2002), Lentin (2004) and O'Sullivan (2014). El-Tom also critiques Frank McCourt's monograph *Angela's Ashes* and discusses the section of the book referring to 'black babies' and a collection tin which was presented to Frank as a child. The tin was shaped like the head of a black boy complete with 'kinky hair, big eyes, huge lips and an open mouth' (Mccourt 1997 p157-158 in El-Tom, p. 86, 1998). Some of the images on Trócaire

boxes evoke 'black babies' – the baby wearing a pink wristband and two of young children along the bottom of Figure 2.3 evoke images in newspapers which became representative of the Biafra famine in the 1960's (O'Sullivan, 2014). The implicitly racist vessel which Frank McCourt described above has been transformed into a more modest cardboard money-box with conventional pictures of black and brown children as in Figure 2.2, but the underlying ideas remain the same – they are poor – we must pity and help them.

The physical stance of the girl pictured on the Trócaire box in Figure 2.2, kneeling washing dishes demonstrates how the girl is vulnerable, without running water and needs financial assistance to get the water she needs. The picture again conforms to western gendered notions of women and housework while the textual message portrays the girl without agency to change her fate. Images such as this transmits a message that people from Africa and Asia are primitive and inferior, in a similar manner to Travellers depicted in the 1963 Report of the Commission on Itinerancy who also required civilising. These scripts of 'primitives' can result in people treating men, women and children from Africa and Asia (and Travellers) on the street in Ireland in a paternalistic manner, that 'they' are not simply different from 'us' but also somehow 'less' than us – worthy of charity perhaps but not 'our' equals.

2.5 Migrant women and 2004 Citizenship Referendum

The early 1990's was a time of economic growth in Ireland resulting in high immigration rather than emigration. In addition to migration, the number of people seeking asylum in Ireland also rose with large numbers of asylum-seekers coming from some countries which had traditionally been the destination of missionary Irish priests and nuns, such as Nigeria (Luibhéid, p. 336, 2004, Rolston and Shannon, p. 87, 2002). The figure of the asylum-seeker was framed in the Irish imaginary as the 'bogus' asylum-seeker, who allegedly came to Ireland to claim social welfare and sponge off the state (see Luibheid for discussion of media

discourse, p. 340, 2004 and Haynes, Devereux and Breen, 2008). In the late 1990's newspaper media reports started to appear about a crisis in Irish maternity services and while this crisis was attributed to a number of factors it also included the argument that migrant women were arriving in Ireland in the late stages of pregnancy to gain Irish citizenship for their soon-to-be born child and thereby acquire Irish residency for themselves. Luibheid highlights how it was administratively easier for women to claim Irish residency on the basis of having an Irish born child rather than apply through the asylum process, as citizenship rights were automatically conferred on all those born in Ireland (Luibheid, 2004). A 1990 legal case named the Fajujonu ruling reaffirmed a parents' right to residency on the basis that this was in the best interests of the Irish citizen child (Luibheid, p. 338, 2004). A second legal case, the Chen case, was also deemed pertinent; a Chinese woman who was at risk of deportation from the UK was advised by her lawyer to give birth to her child in Ireland, thereby granting EU citizenship to her child and conferring residency rights on the mother (See Garner for full discussion of this case, p. 442, 2007). These two legal cases highlighted the use of this 'loop-hole' in Irish citizenship legislation, whereby the Good Friday agreement conferred Irish citizenship on people born on the island of Ireland.¹⁷ This 'baby tourism' was framed as abuse of Ireland's citizenship laws and put forward as one of the reasons why the 2004 Citizenship Referendum was necessary. The Irish government gave citizens the opportunity to have their say about who would have a right to citizenship in future in Ireland and more importantly who would be excluded. This time period also crystallises some of the historical ideas dealt with so far where migrants, who originated from the places featured in Trócaire campaigns, came to live in Ireland, and became 'matter out of place' (Douglas, 2002).

¹⁷ The Good Friday Agreement, also called the Belfast Agreement of 1998, was a political settlement of violent and political conflict in Northern Ireland proposed jointly by British and Irish governments and agreed by a majority of the people of Northern Ireland, see O'Duffy (2000) for further discussion of the Good Friday Agreement.

Garner is highly critical of the lack of public debate preceding the citizenship referendum in Ireland and argued that the amendment was fundamentally racist (Garner, 2005). Lentin (2004) and Luibhéid (2004) analysed the discourses and representations of migrant women as gendered and racialized in the years before the 2004 Citizenship Referendum whereas Garner (2007) specifically analyses the referendum and argues that this period was a point in time when 'pregnant women's bodies became a site of perplexity about the borders of the twenty-first century Irish nation' (Garner, p. 437, 2007). All three authors discuss the Irish nation and the perceived threat to that nation posed by migrant women who tried to access residency through pregnancy rather than through the asylum or work-permit process.

Linking with the theory of nationalism reviewed in Chapter 1, nationalism creates an imagined community (Anderson, 1991). The 2004 Citizenship Referendum gave citizens the opportunity to decide who could belong to this imagined community, the Irish nation.

Luibhéid and Lentin analysed some of the public discourse which underpinned this creation of the nation:

Keeping in mind that racism is a discourse that cites bodies and seemingly objective physical criteria to legitimize itself, it is striking that, in Ireland, asylum seeker women's childbearing has become the supposedly objective truth about bodies, which circulates before us through media imagery, governmental discourses, and everyday experience. (Luibhéid, p. 341, 2004)

Luibhéid and Lentin focus on the role of the Irish state, and while the Referendum was organised and campaigned for by parliament, it was the Irish voting public who returned an overwhelming majority of votes, 79% (of the 59.95% turnout), in favour of amending the Irish Constitution (Referendum Results 1937 – 2013, Department of the Environment, Community and Local Government). The analysis here draws on some of the insights by Garner, Luibhéid and Lentin while focusing on the racializing discourse in newspaper articles.

2.5.1 Migrant women, the nation and citizenship

The announcement of the Referendum to change Ireland's citizenship laws in the *Irish Times* in March 2004 linked the establishment of the Referendum on Citizenship with migrant pregnant women (Beesley 2004 and Barnes 2004). Garner argues that the Irish state used a fourfold reasoning, though I will focus here specifically on one of those dimensions, the construction of migrant women as Other and outside the nation. According to an *Irish Times* article, the Masters of the four main maternity hospitals in Dublin had complained of migrant women arriving to their hospitals in the late stages of pregnancy, with Michael Geary, Master of the Rotunda Maternity hospital reported as stating that:

He felt the case of women travelling to Ireland late in their pregnancies 'is unsafe', adding that some women were arriving to 'have their baby in this country with a view to having citizenship'. (Barnes, 2004)

Estimates by a group of doctors opposing the referendum put the total number of women (including Irish women) who arrived in late pregnancy to hospital for the first time as 548 (Doctors for a No Vote in Holland, 2004). Statistics documenting the number of women who attended maternity hospital in late stages of pregnancy for the purpose of claiming citizenship for their child were not recorded and in place of these unknown statistics the Irish government quoted the number of non-EU and non-national women who gave birth, which included for example migrant workers and students (Garner, 2007 and Rajsekar, 2004).

Data collected by the reception and integration agency from the Dublin maternity hospitals recently showed that one out of every five children now born in Dublin has a non-EU-national mother. It is clear that the citizenship entitlements of children born in Ireland and the resulting claims to residence by their parents has been the single most important factor in bringing non-EU-nationals to Ireland to give birth. (Irish Citizenship Referendum booklet in Rajsekar, 2004)

This excerpt from the Citizenship Referendum Information booklet referred to all non-EU mothers as suspected of so-called 'baby tourism'. The 'single most important factor' quoted above disregards the employment of hundreds of non-EU women in the health sector, for example nurses from the Philippines. The estimated five hundred and fifty women who arrived in the late stages of pregnancy became conflated with migrant women who came to work or study in Ireland, or who had lived in Ireland for a number of years and retain their non-EU citizenship. While the argument for a citizenship referendum allegedly originated in obstetricians' concern for patient safety, both mother and child, the referendum was justified on the basis of problematic child-bearing of all non-EU nationals, the majority of whom, as noted by Rajeskar (2004), are visible by the colour of their skin.

A review of newspaper letters to the editor from national and regional newspapers reveals the ideas members of the public expressed when calling for a 'yes' vote in the referendum and in relation to the link to migrant women and maternity hospitals.

The Dublin maternity hospitals are under severe pressure with the number of non-nationals and the problems they present with HIV, Hep B and TB2. (Kennedy, 2003 in Irish Independent)

This argument was a general comment made before announcement of the referendum in a letter calling for tougher migration laws and highlighting how migrant women are blamed for pressure on the maternity system and their presence a danger to public health with infectious diseases, similar to arguments about Travellers in the 1960's. Population explosion is another such argument made, after the launch of campaigns for the Referendum:

You can rest assured if a 'no' vote is passed then word will get out and we will see a dramatic increase in the numbers...or would it not make more sense to do it now so

as WE (note, capitals in original) the Irish people can be in control and not the one billion? (O’Kelly, 2004 in Westmeath Examiner)

This links back to the concerns about a German invasion during the 1960’s in Section 3, that Irish people would be swamped by Others. ‘WE, the Irish people’ draws on previous nationalistic slogans, again constituting Irishness by constructing a threat in the form of a racialized Other. The letter this quotation is taken from also includes reference to agencies such as Trócaire and Concern and the ‘excellent work there trying to raise their living standards...the solution as far as the developing world is concerned must be found within their own countries’ (O’Kelly, 2004 in Westmeath Examiner). This brings together the argument that people living in the so-called developing world are deserving of charity but not welcome to live in Ireland as Irish citizens. This may be taken as a particular argument of an individual, however evidence from newspaper articles about the crisis in maternity services linked to migrant women can be traced to 2001 when ‘the hospitals have warned that Dublin women may have to go outside the city to give birth to their babies’ (*The Irish Independent*, 2001). The article goes on to argue that migrants giving birth in Ireland should not be blamed yet the linking of the number of migrants of child-bearing age to the issue does just that.

Letters to the editor in the weeks before the Referendum demonstrate how accusations of racism by the ‘yes’ campaign were refuted using well-documented refutations of racism described in research from other countries (Van Dijk, 1992 and Nelson, 2013). On the basis that racism is socially unacceptable, to be called a racist was itself deemed insulting, as in ‘casually label anyone who disagrees with them as racists’ (Maloney in Irish Times, 2004). Another strategy was to accuse people who made accusations of racism as dampening debate through ‘the dreary ideology of political correctness’ (Daly in Irish Times, 2004). These letters demonstrate how the debate focused on migrant women, the notion of a

potential threat of 'swamping' Ireland with non-European children and that debate which referred to the racist tone of the campaign using migrant women as a threat to the Irish state was dismissed as an over-reaction and over-use of political correctness.

In addition to the information booklet provided by the Irish government noted earlier, statistics quoted during the debate in newspaper articles also focused on migrant women in general rather than the small number of migrants who arrived in late pregnancy who were the target group according to the 'loophole' argument. In 2003, the increase in births was accounted for due to 'the increase in asylum-seekers having babies, the return of migrants and the country's growing wealth' (CSO statistics quoted by Kearns, 2003). Statistics provided to bolster the 'yes' campaign were that 4,440 births in Dublin in 2002 out of 22,273 were to non-nationals (O'Connor and McKenna, 2004). This refers to births to all mothers who recorded their nationality as not Irish, and masked the much smaller number of migrant women who allegedly chose to have their child born in Ireland to gain residency status (Garner. P. 440, 2007). Rough estimates are also used in articles which supported migrant women but still give the impression that large numbers of migrant women were giving birth 'at present, up to a third of children born in Dublin's maternity hospitals are born to non-nationals' (Quinn, 2004). To the reading public, the concern was generalised to all migrant women who gave birth to children in Ireland.

Migrant women, especially pregnant black migrant women, were symbolic of the charity-giving Trócaire encouraged from the 1970's. In the 1990's the previously constructed 'black babies' were being brought to Ireland in the wombs of their mothers and with the idea they would become Irish citizens (Lentin and McVeigh, 2002 and Lentin, 2004). This was a jarring of the Irish psyche which always associated 'black babies', and the racial connotations attached, to a place far away, somewhere that was not 'here'. A comment made to me in a

casual conversation resonates with this idea; ‘when we gave money to the black babies we didn’t expect them to come here’. This comment links the migration of people from Africa and Asia with the charitable works of agencies such as Trócaire. The idea of giving money to charity in Africa was so that people could survive in their own countries, that race would stay in its place.

2.6 Conclusion

The main focus of this chapter was to analyse specific historical moments when race became salient in the Irish context and empirical data presented in the following chapters will show how people perceived as Other in Ireland are treated which can be linked to this genealogy of racialization. Laclau and Mouffe’s conception of the constitutive outside (2001) as used by Hall (1996b) describes how various groups over time can embody this constitutive outside. As described in this chapter, Irishness has been historically constructed against a constitutive outside comprising Travellers, Germans, black people in the developing world and migrant women. This process of constructing Irishness has been dialectical, as described by Jenkins (2008a), ethnicity is both self-identification and external categorisation, a mutually constitutive process, with those who could be considered Irish always constructed against those who could not be considered Irish.

The Commission on Itinerancy was formed to deal with the Traveller ‘problem’ and assimilate Travellers into the settled community, with the language of the report containing many examples of racializing language. The inferences to dirt and hygiene in the report can be linked to later media discourses (O’Connell, p. 54, 2002) which will be shown in the data presented in Section 2. The nationalist and racist element of the ‘land of Ireland for the people of Ireland’ which became an overt campaign of violence against the property of

Germans provides a more nuanced analysis than a simple black/white dichotomy can achieve.

The idea of charity, of providing support to people from Africa and Asia as envisioned by aid agencies such as Trócaire links with the same idea of charity which the Commission on Itinerancy sought for Travellers. These two very broad ethnic categories have a different historical trajectory in the Irish imaginary, but both conform to not being fully Irish in the sense of Irishness created through the nationalist project and culminating in a present where both groups are marginalised, even though in different ways. Irish diaspora in particular is based on the idea that the homeland is the most appropriate place for people, Irish people in Ireland with African people belonging in Africa because that is their homeland. This also links to nationalistic ideas of 'the land of Ireland for the people of Ireland', with Irish meaning white, Catholic and settled. The 2004 Citizenship Referendum follows the same trajectory, that Ireland was a place for Irish people and that migrant women in particular did not belong in Ireland and their children born here should not be entitled to become citizens of Ireland at birth. Ideas about the unacceptability of Travellers are similar to the descriptions of black migrant women and their children as framed in the Citizenship debate.

The moments described in this chapter can also be described as underpinned by intersecting ethno-national and racializing practices and discourses which are then ruptured, as for example by violence such as arson attacks and anti-Traveller violence. These moments are also temporary crystallization of practices and discourses of othering, as noted by Walby et al. (2012), intersectional analysis requires the temporary stabilisation of factors which are in constant flux. Electoral support to change the Irish Constitution and limit citizenship to a racialized group drew not only on contemporary arguments but on historical notions of otherness and can be linked to visual images of the Other in aid campaigns. This crystallization also applied to the Report of the Commission on Itinerancy, where assimilation of a 'problem' group was a matter of civilising the Other within the Irish nation.

Drawing together the analysis of racism in Chapter 1 and the genealogy of historical moments in this chapter, the everyday can be described as both the site and context of experiences of exclusion. What follows in the next chapter is an exploration of what the everyday means and how everyday racism can be conceptualised.

Chapter 3: The everydayness of everyday racism



Figure 3.1 Man walking dog on a beach in Galway (Photograph by Aoife Clarke, June 2016).

3.1 Introduction

The image above depicts a man walking his dog but suggests nothing out of the ordinary. In fact it might be seen to depict the ordinary or everyday: one of my informants, Kumara¹⁸ walks his dog in Galway every day. He walks a number of different routes in the city including a walk along an area of Galway known as the Claddagh, to a beach where he plays with his dog. Kumara has been walking in Galway city for fifteen years, he knows the city well and he knows other people who walk there too. Walking along the Claddagh to the beach has become part of his everyday life, he is familiar with the landscape, his physical surroundings and with the reception he receives from other people who walk the routes he frequents. In

¹⁸ All names used in this thesis are pseudonyms to protect the identity of the research participants.

September 2013 Kumara walked his dog one morning, a morning no different to any other, and the following excerpt from his interview describes what happened:

Kumara: 'you know I was in the beach and throwing the ball to the sea to my dog... ahm and this guy came straight to me and I thought very friendly, he is coming and I said, 'good morning', then he said bad words he used to me and he said, ah, the 'shut up' he said and he came and he assault me, yeah, my face.'

Kumara was approached by a man he did not know, called a 'black bastard' and punched in the face. Kumara's everyday was violently interrupted. The usual routine of walking his dog and playing ball on the beach was disrupted and required actions that are not usual in this routine - a phone call to local police, a visit to the local police station to make a statement and medical care to ease the swelling on a bruised face. This verbal and physical assault is the type of racism socially condemned which comes to mind when the word racism is mentioned. Kumara continues to walk his dog every day but he now inhabits a somewhat different everydayness.

There are other places in Galway that Kumara does not frequent, places where he has not been verbally or physically assaulted and yet he knows he is not welcome there. Kumara noticed shop security staff in a large department store in Galway following his movements around the shop one day. He noticed security staff also following other people who have dark skin but not people who have paler skin. Security staff in this department store followed Kumara in an unobtrusive manner but their actions were obvious to Kumara who has been trained in security techniques and is able to interpret the body language and signals of security staff. Kumara assumed he was under surveillance because of the colour of his skin and other people too were under surveillance because of the colour of their skin. Kumara doesn't shop there any more.

These two examples of the everyday demonstrate how racism is a rupture of the everyday in some circumstances and a part of the everyday in others. In both examples the everyday is the context of the racist incidence. The first, racist assault is easily defined as racism by legal and normative standards. The state offers protection for people who are victims of this type of racism, it is clear that it is not legally or socially acceptable in Irish society to call someone a 'black bastard' and physically assault them. It is very different in relation to more subtle types of racism, racial profiling in shops for example. There is no law against racial profiling as described above, shop security staff surveillance of ethnic minorities is defensible on the basis of protection of private property – allowing the owner of property identify when private property is at risk of theft and to prevent this happening. There is no legal recourse for the person subject to surveillance, their only options are to make a complaint and remove themselves from the surveillance, from the space where this happens. There are no social sanctions against this practice either – it is perfectly acceptable in Irish society to follow people who are considered a threat to private property, many reports from the Traveller community in Ireland are testament to this (McGaughey, 2011).

The common element of the everyday in both examples is the interaction of people in social space. In both interactions two social actors meet and behave using particular learned behaviour in the presence of the other. The second interaction can be attributed to institutional systems, an employee following procedures however this can also be personal, can be a particular security guard using a particular personal frame of reference in his or her work. The difficulty of defining how these interactions happen, why social actors behave in this particular way rather than just document the behaviour is the focus of the later data analysis. To explain the everyday and everydayness a number of theoretical frameworks are here discussed; the work of Berger and Luckmann on everyday interaction; Pierre Bourdieu, particularly in relation to the field, *habitus* and social space, and Anthony Giddens concept of

ontological security. Firstly, the term everyday has a particular meaning in sociology and the history of sociological analysis of the everyday is discussed briefly.

The notion of the everyday can be found in everyday language and numerous scholarly articles use the word everyday in their title with the understanding that the everyday is a universally understood concept which does not require clarification (Pink, 2012).

Alternatively, the everyday has been a focus of theoretical debate in the latter half of the twentieth century, with Henri Le Febvre and Michel De Certeau two prominent theorists of the everyday who explored how people negotiate the social world of the everyday or *quotidienne* (in French) (Sheringham, 2006). More recent work on the everyday includes Sheringham (2006) who analyses the history of the everyday in both a social and cultural sense while Highmore's focus is more resolutely on the cultural (Highmore, 2001 and 2011).

Berger and Luckmann's theory, although reworked and used in many ways since 1967, is still a useful starting point to position social knowledge and the moment of interaction. Bourdieu did not use the term everyday in his voluminous work but his theoretical concepts of *habitus*, social space and field are useful in constructing a theoretical framework for the analysis of everyday racism. This chapter will draw together the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1989 and 1990), Anthony Giddens (1984) Sarah Pink (2012), Piotr Sztompka (2008) and Michael Sheringham (2006) in relation to the everyday. Six attributes of the everyday are important in the analysis of everyday racism: the social, social space, practices, scripts, flow and temporality.

3.2 The social

Researching everyday racism from a sociological perspective it may seem obvious to state that a base requirement is the social, in the sense of social interaction and socially defined practices. 'Everyday life is the observable manifestation of social existence, and therefore

always includes relationships with other people' (Sztompka, p. 31, 2008). Sztompka also argues that even when we are alone 'others are virtually present in our thoughts, memories, dreams' (Sztompka, 2008). This sociality can be experienced through indirect encounters with others, such as an encounter with racist graffiti, whereby the actions of one or more actors alter social space in a way that shapes the experience of others who also inhabit that space. Racist graffiti would usually be thought of as explicit and overt racism rather than everyday. How racist graffiti operates in particular locations means that it can become an everyday phenomena if it is a regular occurrence which becomes part of the everyday for people who occupy the social space where it is located. Most weeks I walk a particular route near to where I live, along a path where a very small piece of graffiti is visible on a road sign. Many people use the same path as a walking route as it is one of the only well-lit footpaths in the area. Some evenings I do not notice or attend to the graffiti but it is still there. It has become a part of my everyday since January 2013. Racist graffiti, as depicted in Figure 3.2, requires the presence of at least one person when the graffiti is drawn with other people potentially as witnesses to the drawing, viewing, censure, removal and remembering of the graffiti. There is a basic sociality to racist graffiti which on the face of it seems a solitary type event.



Figure 3.2 'Go home Roma scum', racist graffiti in Galway, Galway Advertiser, April 28, 2011
Photo:-Mike Shaughnessy.

The two examples at the beginning of this chapter include social interaction with other people. The interaction in the example of shop security staff is more subtle than usual face-to-face interaction however it can still be classed as social interaction which can be non-verbal as well as verbal. It is also not necessary for both parties to be aware of the interaction – shop security were most probably unaware that they were being surveilled using the very techniques they themselves were using. The everyday of everyday racism requires social actors who are implicated in a form of action, discourse or behaviour which impacts on the other person. Sheringham describes how other social actors are present in the everyday: 'The ensemble in which we are immersed comprises other people: *quotidiennete* implies community,' (Sheringham, p. 360, 2006). This means other social actors are present taking the broadest possible definition of community as a group of people who share social space rather than the narrower definition of a group according to geographical location or

membership. The multifarious practices and discourses of social actors in social space are often taken-for-granted:

The man on the street does not ordinarily trouble himself about what is 'real' to him and about what he 'knows' unless he is stopped short by some sort of problem. He takes his 'reality' and his 'knowledge' for granted. (Berger and Luckmann, 1967)

The everyday is part of the social, with much of the social interaction of the everyday so common-place that social actors may be unaware of this sociality unless an event disrupts this everydayness. Racist graffiti is a phenomenon which stretches this idea of the social as the social element involves people interacting 'at a distance' with the physical environment in a way that is social.

3.3 Social Space

Social actors occupy physical space but their treatment can differ in different locations due to the socially constructed aspect of that space. Kumara was under surveillance in one particular shop – the problem was constituted in relation to his presence in the presence of other social actors in that particular location. The theoretical terms used to describe physically situated social space can vary from Bourdieu's social space and field to Pink's place (Bourdieu, 1989, Pink 2012). Sztompka refers to everyday life as being 'localized in space' with the characteristics of the place reflected in the 'character, style, form and content of social events' (Sztompka, 2008). The emphasis on the location of the everyday is firmly rooted in how that space is used by social actors who occupy that space. The idea that as humans we are a 'bag of flesh and bones' can also be applied to the physical space we inhabit (Sztompka, p. 25, 2008). Social space is located in physical space, everyday racism can happen in shops with floors, doors and fittings however the physical space is not the focus –

the social use of this physical space, the way social actors operate and how they occupy this space are the important aspects for this research.

Bourdieu uses the concept of social space as a 'system of relations' (Bourdieu p. 16, 1989). Using this concept social space is comparable to geographic space in that social distance and geographic distance have similar properties (Bourdieu, p. 16, 1989), to be geographically close to a person has similar properties to being socially close. In the two examples at the beginning of this chapter there is a perceived social distance between Kumara and both the person who assaulted him and security staff who perceive him as a threat. This social distance is couched in Kumara's difference, his perceived membership of an ethnic group. Bourdieu also describes how social actors are distributed in social space according to the volume of different types of capital (economic, cultural, social and symbolic) they possess (Bourdieu, p. 17, 1989). According to stereotypes, migrants in particular are low in all of the four types of capital and while this may not be true for all migrants it is the perception in public space that effects the outcome in relation to everyday racism.

The 'social reality' objectivists speak about is also an object of perception. And social science must take as it's object both this reality and the perception of this reality, the perspectives, the points of view which, by virtue of their position in objective social space, agents have on this reality. (Bourdieu, p. 18, 1989)

Perception of people in social space is as important in everyday interaction as objective reality. Short periods of interaction between people in public social space who do not otherwise know each other means a reliance on stereotypes and scripts, on the perceptions of what behaviour is expected of a particular person based on their perceived membership of a particular group. Personal traits, values and beliefs of the person perceived as a potential threat matter less than perception in this regard. A man with dark skin shopping in a department store, whether he has financial motivation to steal in shops or not, or whether

his personal belief system incorporates stealing as a legitimate survival strategy or not have little bearing on his treatment in public social space – if he is deemed a threat because of his perceived ethnicity then he will be treated as threatening. This threat is perceived by visual interpretation of the person as Other. Ethnic minorities are not alone in this perception, youth who display ‘provocative behaviour’ can also be interpreted as a threat (Ziemer, p. 237, 2011). The situation of ethnic minorities who are perceived as a threat is a matter of presence rather than speech or action. A person who is perceived as Other does not have to speak, can sit motionless and behave in the most non-threatening manner and still be perceived as a threat merely being present in social space.

Bourdieu also uses the concept field which defines specific areas of social space. Bourdieu describes field in the most practical sense in relation to the game as ‘the pitch or board on which it is played, the rules, the outcome at stake etc.’ (Bourdieu, p. 67, 1990). This creates the impression of the field as a sports field, like a soccer pitch where players compete using a specific set of rules with the aim of the team to score more goals than their opposition.

Bourdieu also describes social fields:

...which are the products of a long, slow process of autonomization, and are therefore, so to speak, games ‘in themselves’, and not ‘for themselves’. (Bourdieu, p. 67, 1990).

Giving more detail and elaborating on the relationship between the game and the field, Bourdieu highlights that the player or social actor can be unaware of the depth of their own knowledge about and embeddedness in the particular field:

The earlier a player enters the game and the less he is aware of the associated learning (the limiting case being, of course, that of someone born into, born with the game), the greater is his ignorance of all that is tacitly granted through his investment in the field and his interest in its very existence and perpetuation and in everything

that is played for in it, and his unawareness of the unthought presuppositions that the game produces and endlessly reproduces, thereby reproducing the conditions of its own perpetuation. (Bourdieu, p. 67, 1990)

Using this definition of field, as a subset of Bourdieu's social space, the different locations where everyday racism occurs can be analysed as separate but related zones that make up social space which still conform to an overall system of relations (see Chapter 5). In this way the fields of public space, education, workplace, consumption and leisure can be analysed separately within an overall system. The Bourdesian field has the attributes of a playing field in that it has tacit rules and regulations with players who have different skills and knowledge of the game – from novices to 'old pro's'. Jenkins is critical of Bourdieu's lack of clarity of the boundaries of the field (Jenkins, p. 89, 2002) and while I agree that this could be elaborated in more detail, Bourdieu's field is constructed just enough to have clarity without becoming so restrictive as to exclude certain fields from analysis. The social actor's position in the field is also impacted by the different types of capital the person is deemed to or does actually possess. The difficulty people who are perceived as ethnic or racial Other encounter is that they may be 'novices' when they come to live in Ireland as migrants initially. At this point of entry into Irish society the types of capital that are relevant in country of origin may not apply in Ireland, for example university qualifications frequently are not recognised in European countries when qualifications are obtained from African or Asian educational institutions (Andersson & Guo, 2009, Morrice, 2013). Economic migrants also enter the country to gain economic capital not available to them in their country of origin; it may be a motivating factor. This means there can be an actual low level of capital for some migrants when they arrive in Ireland. The normative basis of migration is that it is possible to gain an increase in all the forms of capital over time, however perceived ethnic and racial stereotypes can prevent recognition of these forms of capital, even if they have been accumulated.

Pink (2012) works with a definition of place as 'a theoretical and abstract notion rather than as an actual bounded physical location' (Pink p. 26), similar to Bourdieu's field and social space. The concept of place used by Pink is an abstract definition which identifies multiple processes while acknowledging the interconnection between practice and place. Pink uses an abstract concept of place, 'that seeks to understand the multiple material, sensory, political and social processes that constitute the environment can enable us to understand how people create the 'sense of place' and the role of practice in this' (Pink, p. 24, 2012).

Everyday racism is experienced in the everyday among other concurrent social and political processes, for example racial profiling occurred while shopping, chatting with friends and in the course of the working day for shop security staff. Pink also accounts for the role of social actors in creating their 'sense of place', how this is negotiated and not proscribed (Pink, p.24, 2012). This links to Jenkins definition of ethnicity as produced and reproduced in social interaction (Jenkins, 2008a). Everyday racism is implicated in informing this 'sense of place' by the practices that are part of it such as racial profiling in shops. Kumara felt uncomfortable while shopping in a place where he was being watched by shop security staff, he felt unwelcome there and chose not to go back to that department store in the future. The practices of security staff informed him that he was a perceived threat and led to his interpretation of this particular shop, to a 'sense of place' that he did not want to encounter again. This analysis of the example of Kumara and security staff is a crude extrapolation of one practice in one location but demonstrates how the experience of everyday racism in effect gives a negative 'sense of place' even though that is only one aspect of the location – it does not define its totality but is powerful enough to give a negative perception of place.

The everyday is both the location and the context of our everyday life. Experiences which happen in the everyday can be very different for different groups in society including ethnic minorities. President Barack Obama in the United States described recently how people have reacted to him and other African-American men in the past:

There are very few African-American men in this country who haven't had the experience of being followed when they were shopping in a department store. That includes me. There are probably very few African-American men who haven't had the experience of walking across the street and hearing the locks click on the doors of cars. That happens to me – at least before I was a senator. There are very few African-Americans who haven't had the experience of getting on an elevator and a woman clutching her purse nervously and holding her breath until she had a chance to get off. That happens often. (Obama, reported by Cohen, 2013)

Obama qualifies his second statement, that he heard doors locking as he approached until he became a senator, until he was recognisable as having more symbolic and social capital than previously. As President of the United States, Obama has arguably very high levels of social and symbolic capital; he would not expect any of the above incidents to occur in his role as President of the United States because of the highly visible nature of this role. Obama's experiences and those of other African-American men highlight the habitual and routine of the everyday. The places he describes are generic and public; a department store, an elevator and on the street. All of the above examples are situated in the everyday in public space and even though they are examples from the United States they echo some of the examples highlighted in this research.

Taking a more local example, evidence from a report about integration of migrants in Cork highlighted how migrants were concerned about their reception in public space. Migrants had difficulty pin-pointing a particular incident and indeed could not point to a particular example that was the cause for this perception of hostility in public space:

A potentially more destructive, but less overt set of experiences also comes to light. Many people, even those who feel that they themselves have not been the victim of racist thinking, state that they have been made conscious of their skin

colour/ethnicity whilst in public space but could not identify the exact cause of this experience. Certainly, no one violent or abusive incident needs to be experienced. Rather, the people who report on such feelings tend to state that they felt as if they were being evaluated by the population as a whole. This equates with an incipient sense of racism lurking beneath the surface of daily life. Such feelings can best be conceptualised in terms of 'the gaze' and are most commonly experienced in public space. (Coakley and Mac Einri, p. 17, 2007)

All of the above examples comprise social interaction and practices which are taken-for-granted and occur on a repeated basis in public social space. Recent research has also shown that these practices can be incredibly subtle and difficult to pin-point however there are certain practices which have been identified in this research. For the purposes of this research the term field is used to define locations in social space where certain social rules and regulations are in play within a system of relations, where social actors use their perception of people in practices that define a 'sense of place' within this social space. These practices inform a 'sense of place' and while different forms of capital have an impact on where people are positioned in social space the perception of social actors position in society is what is relevant in everyday racism.

3.4 Practices and scripts

Within social space there are sets of practices and scripts which people use on an everyday basis. Using Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* these practices and scripts are part of an overall process people use to make sense of the social world. Giddens structuration theory is also useful here, his use of practical consciousness and discursive consciousness are useful in describing everyday practices that are habitual and 'common-sense' (Giddens, 1984).

Looking at practices Pink argues that place is 'both the context for practice... and a product of

practice' (Pink, p 27, 2012). Practices constitute the place and place is constituted by those same practices. Everyday racism occurs within the practices of the everyday – surveillance of customers is one of the many practices of security staff in shops. Pink also argues for an open analytical concept of practice which sees human action having 'multiple potentials' (Pink, p. 19, 2012). This argument is rooted in the debate about whether practices should be viewed as normative or resistant with Pink calling for analysis that takes an open approach. Jenkins is critical of Bourdieu's model of field and social space as being 'essentially one of equilibrium and stability...social change is peripheral to the model and difficult to account for' (Jenkins, p. 90, 2002). The same criticism could also be levelled at Giddens theory of structuration. A tension exists between everyday practices as reoccurring into the future and where and how these practices may change over time, ultimately how social change is possible. Using Pink's idea of 'multiple potentials', it is important to note that everyday racism is something which can occur into the future but is not a determined outcome of every interaction.

In his structuration theory Giddens defines practical consciousness as:

What actors know (believe) about social conditions, including especially the conditions of their own action, but cannot discuss discursively. (Giddens, p. 375, 1984)

Giddens defines practical consciousness as the knowledge people use in their everyday lives which they do not actively thematise but use nevertheless. Taking the example of the field of shopping, shop security staff have a particular job to do in their everyday work, there are parts of that job which are habitual, for example lights to switch on and doors to open, mundane tasks which form part of the everyday role of shop security staff and are part of their practical consciousness. The surveillance of people who security staff suspect could steal items from the shop is taken as a normal part of their daily work routine.

Routinization is vital to the psychological mechanisms whereby a sense of trust or ontological security is sustained in the daily activities of social life. Carried primarily in practical consciousness, routine drives a wedge between the potentially explosive content of the unconscious and the reflexive monitoring of action which agents display. (Giddens, p. xxiii, 1984)

From the perspective of the shop customer, they also have a particular routine or set of practices in shops which also fall into the category of practical consciousness, for example in relation to trying on clothes, payment method and who they choose to shop with. All of these habitual practices make shopping a routinised experience within all the available options for social actors within certain acceptable social parameters. To be subject to surveillance as part of this habitual practice of shopping is something many social actors may not be aware of. Members of the Traveller community in Ireland have reported being overtly followed around shops by security staff with security staff behaving in an openly hostile manner towards Travellers in particular (see Katie's interview in Chapter 8). In the particular case highlighted at the beginning of this chapter, more subtle methods were employed, shop security staff did not harass the person perceived as a threat. The person subject to surveillance was also trained in surveillance – the practice became visible to him while not necessarily being visible to others, he disrupted the usual unseen nature of this type of surveillance.

Practices make everyday racism visible in the way that a number of practices, when viewed together, demonstrate how everyday racism is something which can occur throughout different fields in social space. The example of shop security staff above is one of subtlety – this does not apply to all practices. Kumara also described in his interview how on public transport people choose not to sit beside him, even to the point they prefer to stand rather than sit beside him (see Kumara's interview, Chapter 6). There can be many reasons for this type of behaviour, however the length of time this has been happening (over fifteen years)

and the visibility of this to Kumara together with other experiences discussed later, lead to the inclusion of this example. This type of practice is also subtle and yet the person choosing not to sit beside Kumara knows on some level Kumara is aware of their choice. It can be argued that this choice is using either practical consciousness or discursive consciousness; with the latter pertaining to 'what actors are able to say, or to give verbal expression to, about social conditions of their own action; awareness which has a discursive form' (Giddens, p. 374, 1984). Giddens argues that practical consciousness and discursive consciousness are not distinct areas with clearly defined parameters, knowledge can move from one level to the other depending on the particular circumstances. Some people who choose not to sit beside Kumara may not be aware of their action at a conscious level – it could be automatic, almost common-sense that they choose not to sit beside the 'paki' on the bus (the term 'paki' was used by others to describe Kumara as detailed in Chapter 5, and is used here purely to give context).

Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* describes how practices are configured within the field.

The conditionings associated with a particular class of conditions of existence produce *habitus*, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. Objectively 'regulated' and 'regular' without being in any way the product of obedience to rules, they can be collectively orchestrated without being the product of the organizing action of a conductor. (Italics in original, Bourdieu, p. 53, 1990)

This passage from Bourdieu's *The Logic of Practice* introduces the concept of *habitus*, the idea that there is a systematic organisation to decision-making which has a logic that is not

directly accessible but is identifiable. Bourdieu also goes on to link *habitus* to, 'embodied history, internalized as a second nature and so forgotten as history – is the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product' (Bourdieu, p. 56, 1990). Bourdieu also calls for analysis of the social world to make the connection between the social conditions which formed the *habitus* and the prevailing conditions in which *habitus* is applied (ibid). This important point links to the historical basis of everyday racism, as explored in Chapter 2, and how racism can be linked to the *habitus* of people and groups of people and how they interact with ethnic minorities in the present time period.

Habitus explains the continuity of social life, that decisions in social life are not made on a purely rational basis in each moment but based on shared history and previous experience which is shaped by the social space a social actor occupies now and previously. The person who does not sit beside Kumara on the bus uses *habitus* in this decision-making process. Different people, with different histories and different social situations made the same decision, not to sit beside Kumara on the bus. *Habitus* explains how, over a fifteen year period, people have made the same choice based only on the knowledge of a perception of the man who is seated as they enter the bus.

There has been criticism of taking a piecemeal approach to Bourdieu's work (Maton in Grenfell, p. 62, 2012) while Thomson argues that taken together with field and capital, *habitus* forms a trio of theoretical tools which 'offers epistemological and methodological approach to an historicized and particular understanding of social life', (Thomson, p. 79, 2012). The concepts of *habitus* and field explain the everyday and how everyday racism manifests while the concept of capital is useful in a narrower sense in this particular research. *Habitus* in particular is pertinent in explaining how these practices are normative and normalised in Irish society.

In short, being the product of a particular class of objective regularities, the *habitus* tends to generate all the 'reasonable', 'common-sense', behaviours (and only these) which are possible within the limits of these regularities, and which are likely to be positively sanctioned because they are objectively adjusted to the logic characteristic of a particular field, whose objective future they anticipate. At the same time, 'without violence, art or argument', it tends to exclude all 'extravagances' ('not for the likes of us') that is, all the behaviours that would be negatively sanctioned because they are incompatible with the objective conditions. (Bourdieu, p. 55, 56, 1990)

Overt racism in the forms of physical and verbal abuse are not in general socially acceptable behaviours within Irish society. Everyday racism is not immediately evident as it is part of the *habitus*, for example stereotypes of African people in Ireland as 'lazy' and 'illegally in the country' have been openly expressed on a national radio station without challenge from radio presenters (Broadcasting Authority of Ireland Complaint, 2013). There is a strong connection between the normativity of discourses and practices. This discourse structures current and future practices in relation to this particular group, it becomes part of the *habitus* of social actors.

Similarly Sztompka describes how everyday life can be informed by 'certain un-reflexive deeply internalized scripts' (Sztompka, p. 32, 2008). Scripts describe ways of thinking, ways of doing which are contextually 'scripted' enabling us to function socially without the need for careful reflection on what we are doing and why. These are not 'new' scripts, as shown by Helleiner in her work on racism directed at Travellers in Ireland, there is an historical legacy of racism towards minority ethnic Others in Ireland which can be traced back through the twentieth century (Helleiner, 2000). Chapter 2 also demonstrates how discourses of charity, of 'black babies' create dissonance when those who are identified as 'belonging' elsewhere arrive 'here'. The evidence in this research originates in historical ideas which

form part of current scripts which are in turn part of the *habitus* of people which also impacts on the future.

Practices make it possible to 'see' everyday racism, they also have an impact on the social space where they happen and vice versa. *Habitus*, as a 'structuring structured, structure' explains how practices are historically constituted while also structured in a manner where practices can be normative. Scripts, as discourses which are available to social actors, can be described as part of *habitus* in that they are also the product of the past, are future orientated, structure the present, and which also allow the possibility to improvise (Jenkins, p. 93, 2008b).

3.5 Flow and temporality

The everyday flows in a way that is rhythmic and fluid, this fluidity is visible in the manner in which social life flows in a continuous and constant manner. Each action in social space is part of an everyday that flows temporally – as time moves forward and people with it.

Memory is also a 'looking back' that can modify the linearity of the flow, as for example the translating of practical consciousness into discursive consciousness during interviews. The example of walking a dog, a specific practice, captures the idea of rhythm and flow. The dog and owner will walk in a rhythm on a route that is both directional and temporal – with a time-bound start and finish. Everyday racism is part of this everyday flow or rhythm even though overt racism ruptures this same flow and rhythm. Shop security staff who watched Kumara did so in the flow of their workday using practices which are ritualised and familiar. People who avoid sitting beside Kumara on the bus also do so as part of the routine of going on a bus journey which is situated in time as well as space. As mentioned earlier 'the everyday invokes something that holds these things together, their continuity and rhythm, or lack of it,' (Sheringham, p. 361, 2006). This flow of the everyday also helps outline criteria for

inclusion and exclusion of incidents as everyday racism or not. Overt racism tends to disrupt the everyday – it interrupts the continuity and flow whereas everyday racism is part of the everyday, is part of the rhythm of everyday life. As argued previously, racist graffiti would usually be classified as overt racism – as a rupture of the everyday and it can be when it initially appears in a location. The shock of seeing excluding and discriminatory words ruptures the everyday initially. Graffiti is not always immediately removed and when it remains for a long period of time it can become part of the flow of everyday life, we see it without ‘seeing’ it – it fades into the background of perception.

Giddens also addresses temporality in his structuration theory, two elements which are useful in this analysis are his focus on the life-span and positioning of social actors in time-space.

Every individual is at once positioned in the flow of day-to-day life; in the life-span which is the duration of his or her existence; and in the duration of ‘institutional time’, the ‘supra-individual structuration of social institutions.’ (Giddens, p. xxiv-xxv, 1984)

Kumara moved to Ireland as an adult from the country where he was born and lived for his childhood and early adult life. The experiences of exclusion in Ireland when he arrived in his twenties were new and disturbing to him, he had been accustomed to living in a society where he was accepted and did not experience discrimination. He was unprepared for the exclusion he experienced and struggled to cope with the discrimination he encountered. The experience of other participants, who were born in Ireland and have lived in the country all their lives is a different experience. Katie, a participant from the Traveller community, was visibly upset describing events which had happened during her childhood, years previously but were moments which had a significant impact on her life (see Katie’s experience of education, Chapter 7). Where and when these experiences occurred are important and point

to moments in the life-span when everyday racism can be more devastating to particular people. It also highlights how the specific relationship between that particular moment and the place where it occurred, the interaction is influenced by both the timing and place.

Drawing on Goffman and ethnomethodology Giddens argues that positioning in space and time is important to describe fully what he means by routine in his structuration theory:

All social interaction is *situated* interaction – situated in space and time. It can be understood as the fitful yet routinized occurrence of encounters, fading away in time and space, yet constantly reconstituted within different areas of time-space. (Italics in original, Giddens, p. 86, 1984)

Giddens points to the everydayness of routine and habit and how social life is constituted in what happens at particular points in time and space. The incident of racial profiling in shopping is one that is replicated across time and space within the experience of the individual and experiences of social actors in society. Giddens also argues that routine and habit do not merely happen but that it has to be ‘worked at’ (Giddens, p. 86, 1984). This can be compared to the skills used to drive a car, the routine and habit involved in the practical consciousness required to drive a car are continuously updated each time the driver drives a car. The shop security staff who use racial profiling are also continuously updating who is considered a threat and who is not, this changes over time with groups such as Travellers who have been historically present (see Chapter 2) and other groups such as Nigerians who are recently added to the list of what Nickels et al. describe as ‘suspect communities’ (Nickels et al., 2012) (see also discourses of Nigerian fraudsters in Chapter 9).

The concept *habitus* also links with temporality in that the structuring of *habitus* includes past and future practices. The practice of surveillance of ethnic minorities in shops is one that has been historic and continues currently and unless there is a major change in the management of security or a change in the legal status of security procedures, is anticipated to continue

into the future. This future practice which is anticipated is partly what makes everyday racism very difficult to counter – something that sediments in practical consciousness as *habitus*, part of the common-sense of everyday will arguably continue into the future. Security staff will continue with practices which are part of their role as security staff including carrying out surveillance of ethnic minorities just as they do at present and have done in the past – there is an expectation that this will continue into the future. Pink (2012) argues that there are many possible outcomes in relation to practices, that practices can change and social actors have the power to alter future practices however in relation to everyday racism what happens in a habitual manner is expected to happen again in the future on a repeated basis. This expectation is what stops Kumara from going back to the shop where he was under surveillance by security staff – there is a chance that this may not happen again but there is also the likelihood that it will.

3.6 Conclusion

This section of the thesis provides three main tenets of the framework for analysing everyday racism. Chapter 1 briefly summarises race and racism theoretically and historically, focusing on the Irish context. Chapter 2 reviewed historical moments which can be plotted on the continuum of racisms, see figure 1.6, Chapter 1. For example, arson attacks on German farms and physical assault of Travellers by landowners due to ‘justifiable resentment’ can be plotted on the left of the continuum. Travellers being shunned by their neighbours, blamed for crimes and contamination of water are examples of everyday racist practices and discourses, the right side of the continuum. Overt racism, in the form of physical and verbal abuse are well-documented while everyday racism is not, hence the gap this research aims to bridge. This thesis captures fleeting encounters during everyday social interaction, verbal and non-verbal communication based on perception that have a cumulative effect in terms of

constituting and sustaining everyday racism. The following chapter outlines how the data was collected which is presented in Section 2.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

Berg (2007) describes a spiralling research process with each stage spiralling back and forth to the earlier stage. The below 'doodle' by the artist Julia Gamolina (2014) is also useful in describing the path of some research projects.

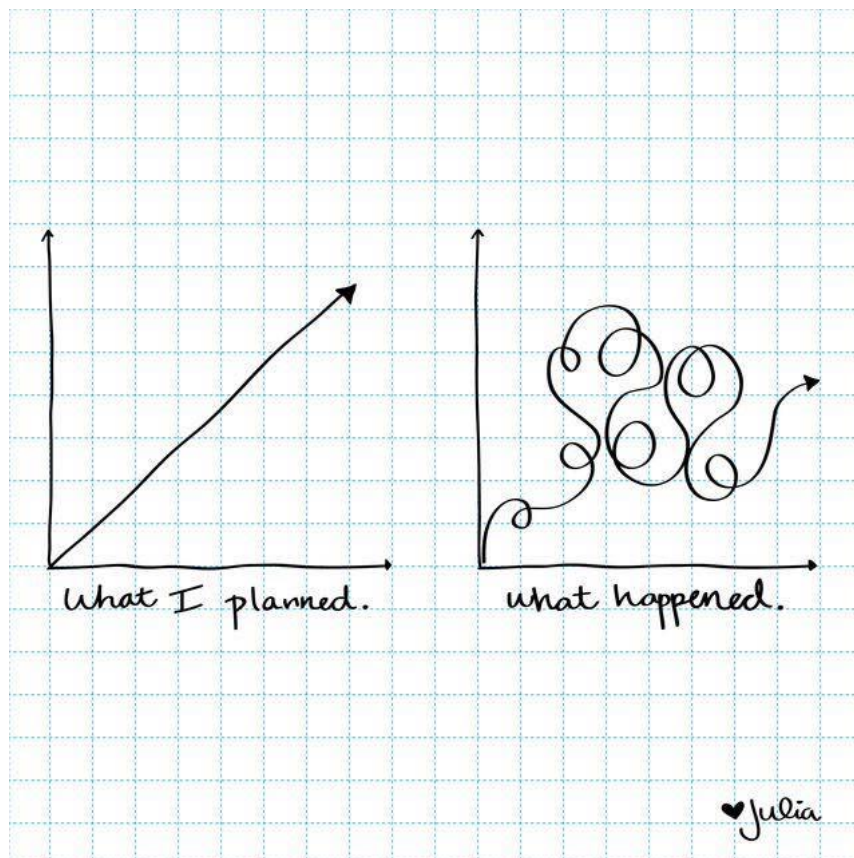


Figure 4.1 'Doodle' copyright @jgamolina, <http://juliagamolina.com/>

While Berg's spiralling process 'encompasses both the research-before-theory and theory-before-research models' (Berg, p. 24, 2007), it also demonstrates the relationship between theory and data collection, in the manner that theory informs data collection while theory can then be influenced by the data collection process. The research process is often represented as a linear trajectory, where literature review is followed by data collection and while this is the manner in which literature and data collection are presented, the actual

research process is more of the nature described by Berg. Taking this one step further, at times the research process can seem more like Gamolina's diagram above; a journey which takes many turns, sometimes seeming to regress before making further progress. Bourdieu too addresses the multi-directionality of scientific investigation and how this state of flux is often presented in an idealised manner; linear, neat, valid scientific information with no additional baggage of a methodological or other kind:

Rhetoric takes short cuts which almost makes one forget that scientific practice never takes the form of an inevitable sequence of miraculous intellectual acts, except in methodology manuals and academic epistemology. (Bourdieu, p. 16 1990)

Qualitative methodology texts analyse issues such as roadblocks and gatekeepers – how issues can arise in the research process which seem to thwart progress of the project. What is often unacknowledged is the learning that occurs; that roadblocks, for example, are something which have to be overcome but in overcoming these a learning opportunity occurs. Encountering a roadblock can be very frustrating, the power differentials at play in particular situations can make the roadblock seem insurmountable but learning how to manage and to progress the research project is a key skill learned along the way.

This chapter starts with a review of the literature which informed data collection for this project including reflexivity, ethnography, qualitative interviewing and key texts which explore research about race with minority ethnic participants. This is followed by a review of the progression of this project, which at times involved a restructuring of the research. It is difficult to pinpoint specific reasons as to why the project progressed as it did, however a number of factors which were influential are discussed here. A brief discussion of ethics and ethical approval concludes this chapter.

4.2 Qualitative research

The overall methodological focus of this project has drawn on the work of Philomena Essed about everyday racism (1991) and Yasmin Gunaratnam (2003). The literature about interviewing in the social sciences includes Holstein and Gubrium (1995), Berg (2007), Bryman (2008) and May (2011). May, in his 2011 edition monograph *Social Research, Issues, Methods and Processes*, situates interviewing in the social sciences in addition to providing practical information about 'how' to conduct interviews. Bryman (2008) also provides practical guides about interviewing including a checklist, which was adapted for the interviews for this project, and a list of key interviewer attributes for interviewing in the social sciences (Bryman draws on Kvale (1996) and adds two additional items). May describes the value of interviews in empirical research as they provide 'rich insights into people's biographies, experiences, opinions, values, aspirations, attitudes and feelings' (May, p. 131, 2011). This points to the potentialities offered using interviews to explore a sensitive topic such as everyday racism with participants who may have experienced everyday racism. In relation to semi-structured interviews in particular May explains that:

In between the focused and structured methods sits one that utilizes techniques from both. Questions are normally specified, but the interviewer is freer to probe beyond the answers in a manner which would appear prejudicial to the aims of standardization and comparability...This enables the interviewer to have more latitude to *probe* beyond the answers and thus enter into a dialogue with the interviewee. (May, p. 134, 2011)

The semi-structured interview is a somewhat taken-for-granted, self-explanatory method; an interview which is structured to a point, with some guidance but not completely free-flowing, however the semi-structured interview is more than just a list of questions that can lead to other questions. Holstein and Gubrium (1995) go one step further and describe the active

interview as an 'interactional event'. In this description, the researcher most certainly sets the agenda but they participate in a social encounter (the interview) which produces knowledge for both parties. In recognition of the interviewee being part of the interview process in a more active manner, the term research participant is chosen in this project rather than respondent, subject or interviewee to give the person who gave their time and participated in the project the title which most accurately describes their involvement.

Yasmin's interview, detailed in chapter 6, reveals how this particular research participant vocalised questions about her own opinions and the opinions of other people about Travellers. Yasmin struggled to vocalise whether her opinions and others were racist or not, she could name some of what she had witnessed previously as racism while she continued to struggle with other events in naming them as racist or not. In articulating her own experience she was further developing her own understanding of racism during the interview, a new understanding based on the articulation of certain experiences and recalling them in the context of a discussion of everyday racism. This example personifies an interactive interview, where participants not only verbalise ideas and opinions but come to articulate a particular version of ideas and opinions during the interview. Additionally, participants in this research project were aware that they were going to be asked about everyday racism in advance of the interview and had time to reflect on what was going to be spoken about and what they thought about the topic, in advance.

Holstein and Gubrium address the issue of researchers 'leading' participants to expected responses in a semi-structured interview:

This is not to say that active interviewers merely coax their respondents into preferred responses to their questions. Rather, they converse with respondents in such a way that alternate considerations are brought into play. They may suggest orientations to, and linkages between, diverse aspects of respondents' experience,

adumbrating – even inviting – interpretations that make use of particular resources, connections and outlooks. (Holstein and Gubrium, p. 17, 1995)

While the researcher has to be aware of bias, (their own and others), it is important to allow an interview to flow and to add any information that can help tease out particular issues. Referring to Yasmin's interview again, this provided a particular challenge as it appeared at the time of the interview that the research participant could have been voicing a racist opinion of young black children when they make accusations of being excluded because of racism, i.e. an instance of reverse racism. The expression of a lack of understanding of the position of black children and other minority ethnic children during the interview prompted the researcher to ask questions to explore the topic further, to highlight other issues that may be a factor. After reviewing the audio recording a number of times it became apparent that the participant was vocalising how conflicted her ideas about racism were, she had awareness of social equality and was trying to apply this to her own experience.

Holstein and Gubrium also address the importance of and value in ethnographic research combined with interviewing:

By drawing on background knowledge, active interviewers can make their research more productive, incorporating indigenous interpretive resources, perspectives, and landmarks into their enquiries. This is, of course, an implicit argument in favour of combining ethnographic observation with interviewing, not only to heighten rapport with, and understanding of, informants but to take advantage of, and reveal, the local *whats* of experience. (Holstein and Gubrium, p. 45, 1995)

This highlights the utility of combining ethnography with interviews, how in certain circumstances ethnography can supplement the researcher's knowledge of the research participant and their background and circumstances by developing an awareness of certain

issues, which in turn can limit the chance of miscommunication and misunderstanding. Berg also recommends an 'understanding of the culture of the subjects you work with' (Berg, p. 132, 2007). This points to the importance of knowing as much as possible in a practical sense about participant's background, specific culture and experiences. For this project, volunteering with organisations which provide services for migrant groups assisted me in becoming aware of some of the many issues facing migrants in Ireland today, the specific learnings are discussed in detail later in this chapter.

The active interview style described by Holstein and Gubrium also highlights the building of knowledge that occurs as interviews progress, a 'growing stockpile of background knowledge', how learnings from early interviews have an influence on later ones, how each interview is part of a learning process for the researcher in relation to content, topics and questions (Holstein and Gubrium, p. 46, 1995). Berg recommends reviewing tapes from interviews as interviews progress so that any initial learning on the part of the researcher can be used in later interviews (Berg, 2007). May also describes the 'co-construction of meaning' which takes place during interviews and how it is necessary for the researcher to be aware of their relationship with participants and how this influences the discussion of the topic. This is explored in further detail in a discussion of reflexivity below, and the usefulness of this in relation to ethnography in particular.

The work of Berg, Essed and Gunaratnam is useful in interrogating the issues when researching specifically about racism. Berg, in looking at the role of the interviewer and potential interviewee apprehension (discussed by Collins, Shattell and Thomas 2005 and Thomas and Pollio, 2002) suggests that:

The solution, then, is for the interviewer to become somewhat more reflexive in his or her efforts throughout the interaction and to become a more *self-conscious performer* during the interview (italics in original). (Berg, p. 119, 2007).

This refers to the researcher as interactively involved in the interview, as discussed by Holstein and Gubrium, and also brings in what can be argued as the influence of Goffman's dramaturgical performance into the interview process (Goffman, 1971). This also introduces the idea of reflexivity which has been discussed in some detail in relation to ethnography (see Davies, 1998 and 2008 for a full discussion of reflexivity). This research project involves elements of ethnography yet it cannot be described as an ethnography in the traditional sense where a researcher is immersed in a particular field. This project involved working as a volunteer with migrant groups and I also attended a number of intercultural events during the research project, however this did not involve a complete immersion in the lives of research participants. The level of involvement and being a volunteer did require an awareness of these particular roles in addition to being a researcher and the lessons from reflexivity, as used in ethnography, were helpful in this regard. Davies' main argument (2008), using a critical realist framework, informed by both feminist and post-modernist approaches about reflexivity is as follows:

...an informed reflexivity is compatible with, indeed is essential for, both a realist ontology and a commitment to social scientific knowledge in the sense of knowledge that is based in, and can inform about, a real social world and that is public and open to critical analysis. (Davies, p. 216, 2008)

This type of reflexivity calls for more than the 'navel-gazing' approach which has been criticised by Rosaldo (1989 and cited in Davies, 2008) and Back (2010), specifically in relation to whiteness as a focus of research rather than racism. By using an 'informed reflexivity' the researcher is required to be aware of his/her position in the research process, being able to reflect and acknowledge the role this plays without becoming the subject of the research. This also means reflecting on the actual real-world issues that are present in the research, for example asking a research participant who has been emotionally distressed during a first

interview to a second interview and exposing them to further emotional distress would have been ethically questionable and demonstrating a level of disregard for the research participant. In this manner ethics are also important in underpinning a process that has both integrity and validity while also respecting the position of research participants. The final point raised by Davies above is that this type of reflexivity does not create an unchallengeable position; reflexivity must involve a type of research methodology that is open to further scrutiny.

Gunaratnam (2003) explores issues which may arise in researching about race from an epistemological and practical perspective and which were relevant during this project. In particular, she argues that the 'race-of-interviewer effect' (RIE), which has been theorised predominantly in the United States, is implicated in the very racializing discourses under investigation. She also argues that RIE is rooted in the epistemology of 'a racialized research "subject", a single "truth", and essentialized and congealed conceptions of "race" and/or ethnicity' (Gunaratnam, p. 77, 2003). The 'solution' to RIE is to 'match' an interviewer's ethnicity to the participant, thereby reducing the possibility of RIE. Gunaratnam explores the advantages and disadvantages of the matching approach, acknowledging the usefulness of such an approach depending on the circumstances. Gunaratnam's key message is that there are no absolutes in qualitative research, while 'matching' can be useful it is not a guarantee of identification between researcher and participant. It is important that a researcher involved in a project with a diverse group needs to continuously review her position in each interview.

In the context of this discussion on interracial interviewing, what I want to emphasise is the need for methodological approaches to recognise how constructions of commonality and difference, and the 'local' and the 'wider', are always already connected and located within research interactions. (Gunaratnam, p. 102, 2003)

It is important to acknowledge the potential grounds of commonality and difference due to ethnic, cultural, gender, class and other various social factors. Gunaratnam argues that it is not good enough to simply 'match' for race or ethnicity as issues can arise in interviews related to ideas of similarity and difference across the social spectrum. Reflexivity was necessary in this research project to acknowledge my position of privilege as a researcher and how this positionality changed in each interview context.

4.3 Who and why

Participants in this research are people who live in the Galway area, people any of us could walk past any day in Galway city. They are not a group *per se*, they come from a variety of backgrounds and yet they have experiences in common, though refracted through their own personal experience. The boundary described in the introduction to Chapter 1 is not as visible in Galway as it was in Lake Garda – people perceived as being from minority backgrounds seem in Galway to be integrated into society. Media reports of racist graffiti (Nee, 2010) and the occasional report of crime involving ethnic minorities (Nee, 2011) blight a somewhat pristine reputation as a city of diverse population which welcomes thousands of tourists every year. Research into the media portrayal of ethnic minorities (Mitchell, 2011) and racism in the taxi industry in Galway (Jaichand, 2010) point to issues in specific areas however do not demonstrate an everyday experience of racism. Other cities in Ireland may have seemed a more attractive research base – Belfast the 'race-hate capital of Europe' as it has been named in the media and analysed academically (Knox, 2011) would have generated numerous examples of places to conduct research, while the capital city Dublin has the largest urban population and therefore would also provide a larger number of opportunities for research access. My interest in Galway is one of analysis of the seemingly successful integration of ethnic minorities in what has been described by the Central Statistics Office as

the most diverse city in Ireland in 2011, with a 19.4% of the population born outside Ireland (CSO, 2012a). Traveller's rights groups would rightly challenge this 'rosy' picture of interculturality as there has been historical conflict between the settled and Traveller community in Galway throughout recent decades (see Helleiner, 2000). My argument is that everyday racism exists in Ireland and by focusing on a location in Ireland where there is apparent inter-cultural harmony I explore how this everyday racism manifests in the West of Ireland.

4.4 Position of the researcher

The theoretical basis of the position of the researcher has been explored by Banton (1998) and Bourdieu (1990). Banton argues that the researcher must distance themselves from the research subject in order to objectively describe the research subject using the concepts of emic and etic. Hoare et al. (2012) describe etic as 'observing and reporting behaviour without the viewpoint of those within the cultural group' while 'emic analysis portrays features of a particular culture from inside the group'. Bourdieu uses a different approach and speaks of the distance the anthropologist puts between himself and his object as enabling the researcher 'to stand outside the game' (Bourdieu, p. 47, 1990). This description fits with Bourdieu's analysis of the field as a social space where social actors compete for social capital (Thomson, p. 67, 2012). To be able to stand outside the game enables the researcher create a distance, to be able to 'see' the social objects clearer than if the researcher is immersed completely within the field. In research about racism multiple strategies have been utilised by researchers, for example Solomos and Back were involved at a community level in their field of study in their work in Britain and at a point in time they had to decide whether to become involved politically in a situation that arose during their research (Solomos and Back, 1996). Other researchers describe themselves as activists – this would also denote a deep

level of involvement in the field of their study, for example Lentin and McVeigh firmly place their analysis within an anti-racism framework (Lentin and McVeigh, 2002). My level of involvement as researcher in this research project cannot be described at the level of political activist and yet cannot be described adequately using Banton's emic and etic model. Bourdieu's description of being able to 'stand outside the game' without losing the connection with participants, best describes my position as researcher in this project. It was vital to gain the confidence and trust of research participants who would potentially describe traumatic experiences in their lives.¹⁹ Working as a volunteer with groups, understandably not all members of the groups participated in the research; it was not expected that this would happen given the nature of the topic and variety of experiences. Volunteering gives the opportunity to share something of value with potential research participants and their wider community, not *quid-pro-quo* but a relationship building exercise where the researcher builds relationships with research participants in addition to working with gate-keepers, as is the more traditional route.

From the very beginning of this research project I have been conscious of my own position as a white, heterosexual, settled woman researching racism in Ireland. To say that I have no personal experience of what it is like to be subject to racism is correct, but does that make my position as researcher untenable? Some would argue that people who have first-hand experience of racism are in a better position to conduct research as they know at a personal level the impact of exclusion and discrimination based on ideas of race and/or ethnicity and therefore can empathise better with people in a similar position. As a sociologist it was important for me to understand, as best I could, without being able to experience first-hand myself, what people were experiencing. This led to the literature review which began with Essed's 1991 monograph *Understanding Everyday Racism: An Interdisciplinary Theory*,

¹⁹ Nina Eliasoph also volunteered with her research participants, see "'Everyday Racism' in a Culture of Political Avoidance: Civil Society, Speech, and Taboo' (1999).

including narratives of racism as experienced by people in Ireland with the accounts of Rosaleen McDonagh, of her experiences as a disabled Traveller woman (McDonagh in Lentin and McVeigh, 2002 and 2012 and 2013) and the biography of Nan Donoghue, a Traveller woman who told her personal story to Sharon Gmelch, an anthropologist, being influential texts (Gmelch, 1991). The stories of black people in Ireland are not as well documented (see Sinha, 2002), however NGO's have conducted research which provided some insight into the experiences of racism as experienced by migrants (Speirs & Morris, 2006 (NCCRI, Equality Commission of Northern Ireland & NPAR), National Women's Council of Ireland, 2010, MRCI & McGaughey, 2011). Monographs by American authors such as bell hooks, Toni Morrison and Alice Walker also helped to outline some of the current and historical issues facing women in particular (hooks, 1982, Morrison, 1993 & 2012, Walker, 2004). The theoretical literature review combined with personal accounts of racism created a new level of awareness of racism and my own position of privilege. This awareness meant that I became aware of people behaving in a racist manner that would previously have been un-noticed and most probably I had been complicit in these everyday occurrences in the past without consciously being aware of what was happening (see Figure 4.2 below).



Figure 4.2 'Snow', Image circulated on social media 2013, which appeared in Facebook feed of author.

These experiences were very uncomfortable however it is not possible to 'un-see' racism and at this point it was necessary to accept that racism was part of life, including my life. It also meant that perhaps at this point I was as ready, as I ever would be, to begin the process of gathering empirical data.

4.5 Researching the everyday

Essed (1991) and Pink (2012) have been influential in choosing a methodology to explore the everyday experiences of social actors. Van Dijk has documented the practical difficulties in capturing the everyday in relation to racism, how it is impractical to 'follow' social actors in the 'hope' that they will experience everyday racism (van Dijk, p. 18, 1987). Pink, in her exploration of everyday energy usage had the opportunity to speak with and learn from her participants in their everyday lives:

When we attentively watch another person undertaking an activity that we are seeking to learn about the experience of, we use our own biographical embodied experiences to empathetically imagine what the experience of the other person is. (Pink, p. 43, 2012)

Pink's research methodology and subject are very different to everyday racism and yet there is a similarity in the way that the researcher interacts in both circumstances. The researcher in a semi-structured interview also uses their own 'biographical embodied experiences' to make a connection with the participant but also to attempt to understand the experience the participant is describing. Pink also comments on the limited uses of auto-ethnography and how it can be useful, in her experience, as a starting point (Pink, p. 42, 2012). There is little agreement in the social sciences about the use of auto-ethnography, the limited discussion earlier about the position of the researcher is one element of the critique of this research method as the ability to 'stand outside the game' is curtailed when the social field is the field of the researcher's own social life. Auto-ethnography is used in a much narrower sense in this project to describe the learnings of the researcher from the ethnographic element of this research.

Pink also reflects on how the researcher is involved in the movement of everyday life:

It requires us to understand how we as researchers *move* through, experience and participate in research contexts and how as producers and consumers of representations we are involved in both creating and exploring images and texts that simultaneously tell about and are part of the everyday. (Pink, p. 47, 2012)

This links to flow of the lives of participants in the research project, how people move through life adapting to their past and current circumstances. The researcher may be a part of the participants' life for a very short period of time or for an extended period, depending

on the project. Participants who take part in interviews can be constructed as static persons who verbally 'unload' their experiences and afterwards resume their everyday lives, as if nothing had happened. Being involved in a research project where the researcher has developed a relationship with participants, the experience has been different. After an interview the relationship would continue as if the interview had not happened. The interview as an intervention, if it can be called that, is like a dream that never happened – not to be mentioned to maintain confidentiality and at the risk of upsetting the person, yet both participant and researcher are aware of the interview having taken place, and of the change in relationship that happens as a result. Pink's reference to movement links to the earlier point to the difficulty in following a person around Ireland who has experienced everyday racism in the 'hope' that they would encounter this racism again in the presence of the researcher so the researcher could 'see' what it was like. Essed regarded the recalling of experiences as sufficient in her work due to the stress it causes people to have to deal with racism (Essed, 1991). The decision to use semi-structured interviews was influenced by Essed and the ethical concern of 'doing no harm' to participants in the research process. It is also important to acknowledge that the narratives generated during interview with research participants are by no means the only or most important defining moments of their lives (see also Sinha, 2002). Racism and everyday racism in particular has an impact, it is something participants would rather not have to deal with but it does not wholly define their life experience or social world.

4.6 'It's like poking at an open wound' (Interview with Tariq)

...talking about issues that affect people personally like issues about racism is actually like poking an open wound that sometimes might be starting to heal and then, and then you poke it and it opens up again and then you become very, very sensitive to

all these issues once again for a while and then with time again you get to where you were before the interview started which might take a longer process and then eventually arrive at that situation where it is starting to heal and you are overcoming it again and someone shows up again and says 'sorry, I would like to conduct' and you are like 'oh my god, not again thank you'... (Tariq, page 19)

Experiencing racism can be very emotional and traumatic, while speaking about experiences of racism in many ways brings the original experience, even momentarily, back into the life of the participant. Tariq, in his interview, described speaking about racism as akin to 'poking at an open wound'. Sinha has described how people learn to cope with racism in their lives and do not allow it to become the totality of their experience (Sinha, 2002), yet everyday racism is part of that experience. A number of participants were visibly emotional during interviews, ranging from anger and frustration to confusion and near tears. Some participants spoke about their own coping strategies, Patricia spoke about how she eventually began to confront everyday racism in her life, depending on the circumstances. Kumara also took action against some of the more overt forms of everyday racism while being unable to confront more covert forms. Katie was particularly emotional during her interview, she was visibly upset remembering discrimination she faced as a child and the direct impact this had on her life.

It was anticipated that interviews about everyday racism would require the availability of information about support networks for particularly vulnerable research participants. The contact details of support networks were available before, during and after interviews, however participants who had numerous experiences of everyday racism had their own coping strategies, their own way of dealing with their trauma and hurt. It was difficult at times to continue to ask questions, to continue to 'poke at the open sore' however the structure of the interview and the consent process were in place to protect research participants. The option to finish the interview at any point or take a break was emphasised

at the beginning of every interview. The resilience of research participants was visible during interviews and demonstrated by their contribution to a research project which came at an emotional cost to themselves.

4.7 Ethics

There are two levels to ethics which are relevant here, firstly the formal ethical approval process which the researcher is required to obtain in advance of collecting data and secondly the ongoing ethnical compass a researcher uses throughout the research process. The receipt of ethical approval from a university Research Ethics Committee does not absolve the researcher from any further thought of ethics, it is merely a form of approval that also gives the researcher confidence to proceed. As reviewed by Richardson and McMullan in their critique of over-reliance on formal systems of governance:

The first idea is that no matter what forms of governance are in place, in the end, the ethics of any particular research situation have to be the responsibility of the individual researcher. (Richardson and McMullan, p. 1128, 2007)

In keeping with their focus on the researcher and the research process Richardson and McMullan describe 'ethics as process':

...because social research is situated within a dynamic relationship between researcher and researched, ethics is a continually changing process of negotiation. (Richardson and McMullan, p. 1129, 2007)

The research process detailed later demonstrates how decisions at particular points in time were necessary and these had to be managed ethically. Both organisations I volunteered with provided services to migrants and had clear policies and contracts about confidentiality of information shared during volunteering. This meant there was a clear demarcation

between role of volunteer and the role of researcher. In one group, I had a particularly close relationship as a mentor with a woman and this posed a difficulty in relation to how to interview someone I had developed a particularly close relationship with. As a volunteer mentor I provided support to assist her in her goal to seek employment and this involved a number of informal one-to-one meetings and emails over a period of months. The information shared as part of the mentor relationship was separate to the research relationship – it would have been very difficult to keep interview and mentor information separate and the decision was made prior to interviews to specifically not ask this woman to be a research participant. The main concern was that free informed consent was difficult to obtain from someone who could feel pressurised to participate in the research project. Other researchers may take a different view, that it was possible to interview someone who researchers have a close relationship with however in the particular circumstances, given the level of personal information shared with me in a different role, governed by a confidentiality agreement, it was impossible to ‘forget’ this confidential information and exclude it from an interview and it was also most likely that her voluntary permission to participate would have been questionable.

4.8 Sample

Holstein and Gubrium frame a vital question about sample selection in research, ‘whose voices will be heard and whose voices silenced if we conceive of people in particular ways?’ (Holstein and Gubrium, p. 27, 1995). The easiest approach to this project would have been to approach people who visibly ‘looked’ ethnically different to participate in the research as they would be more likely to face discrimination (see European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, 2006). This would have excluded people who, in my opinion, ‘looked’ like they would be acceptable in Irish society. The decision to work with migrant groups was on

the basis of a likelihood of experience of racism but also ensuring heterogeneity within the sample. Holstein and Gubrium also describe the sampling process, when using active interviewing, as 'indigenous and never fully under the control of a sampling design' (Holstein and Gubrium, p. 56, 1995). This points to the lack of a discrete sampling method, where a specific number of people would be chosen, for example, based on age, class and other measurable social factors. The sampling here was driven by willingness to participate in research about everyday racism, and of the thirty-plus people invited to be interviewed, those who chose to be interviewed became the resultant sample of fourteen research participants, together with people who were contacted via snow-balling.

Members of two migrant groups were invited to participate in interviews. The first group comprised migrant women of various age (all over eighteen years), nationality and religious affiliation. The second group comprised men and women, again with a variety of age profiles, nationality and religion. Other participants were people who were introduced by participants from the two groups using snowball methodology (Essed, 1991). Gilmartin used a number of recruiting methods for her research into British migrants experiences in Ireland including using personal contacts, snowballing, fliers and online discussion groups (Gilmartin, p. 641, 2013). As British migrants are not usually perceived as being migrants, this required Gilmartin to use multiple methods due to the invisibility and unlikely participation of this group in her research.

While this research project has a mix of age, gender, ethnic and religious affiliation it cannot be described as wholly representative of all permutations of ethnicity to be found in the local area. Muslim migrants were invited to participate in the same manner as other participants, however no Muslim participants volunteered and therefore Islamophobia is not recorded in this research even though it is most likely a feature of life for Muslims living in the area. This is a criticism of this study, however the project would have needed to be of a larger scale and

to be funded by an external organisation for this type of expansive research²⁰. It is also important to note that volunteers in both organisations were also invited to participate in the research as a number had a migrant background and many had an awareness of issues relating to racism in working with migrant groups. The decision to allow people to self-select for interview was to ensure free informed consent and acknowledging the fact that my perception of a person's ethnicity may not reflect that person's self-identification or experiences of everyday racism.

The experience of racism is often a vicarious one, Essed also recorded vicarious episodes of racism in her work on everyday racism in the United States and the Netherlands (Essed, 1991). The use of vicarious experiences in data collection has also been recently used by the NGO ENAR Ireland (European Network against Racism) in their online reporting tool iReport (available at iReport.ie) where third parties have recorded incidents of racism where the people involved may not have been aware that they were being directly discriminated against or may not have felt in a position to report the incident. One example from Galway reported to ENAR (2013) was from a restaurant patron who noticed a Traveller family being told there was no table available in a restaurant. When the restaurant patron offered to vacate her table to accommodate the Traveller family, the waitress told her that would not be necessary as the Traveller family were not welcome in the restaurant. The Traveller family had been told there was no room when in fact there was plenty of room in another part of the restaurant and while they may have had suspicions about the refusal of service they would probably not have been aware of the situation in as clear a manner as the restaurant patron who reported the incident.

²⁰ A large-scale project of this nature has been undertaken in the Galway area in relation to migrant health (MacFarlane et al., 2009)

4.9 Methodology path

The literature review I conducted initially pointed to the experiences of racism by Travellers and ethnic minorities, particularly people who were visually different such as Nigerian migrants (see European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, 2006 and Helleiner, 2000) and this resulted in initially contacting Galway Refugee Support Group, the main organisation in the locality advocating on behalf of asylum-seekers and refugees in the Galway area, and also Galway Travellers Support Movement, the main local organisation advocating for Travellers, at the end of the first year. Representatives of both of these organisations provided information on the status of asylum-seekers, refugees and Travellers, in their experience at the time and both suggested strongly that I should contact an organisation called Galway City Partnership²¹ which had overall responsibility for Galway Anti-Racism -Strategy, 2005-2008.

At a meeting with the co-ordinator of the Galway Anti-Racism Strategy it was outlined how a number of migrant groups, organised roughly by ethnicity, met on a regular basis in the area and had a small amount of funding to organise intercultural activities. In 2011 I attended a family intercultural day based in National University of Ireland, Galway as a parent with my child. The event was a showcase of cultural dance from different countries and workshops based on the concept of inter-culturality. This was one of the last of these type of events to be run by the migrant groups themselves as funding was cut shortly afterwards. The co-ordinator also repeated a few times during one meeting that migrant groups were suffering from 'research fatigue' in Galway, that migrants had participated in a number of research programs and that nothing really changed; the message was that there was no benefit to

²¹ 'Galway City Partnership is a local and community development company working in Galway City. We have been in existence since 1996 and our aim is to tackle disadvantage and social exclusion – and focus particularly on those who are long term unemployed' (Galway City Partnership, 2016). The organisation was also responsible for the co-ordination of Galway anti-Racism Strategy, Towards a City of Equals, 2005-2008.

migrants participating in research. He suggested that a questionnaire might be the best way of gathering information from the groups who had already taken part in other research projects. Questionnaires were organised on the basis that this may collect some initial data which could then be built upon by focus groups or interviews at a later stage. Questionnaires were distributed to the groups at a time when funding to the groups had been drastically cut due to economic recession and the co-ordinator distributed the questionnaires, meaning that participants only knew what the research was about through an introduction on the questionnaire. In addition to the questionnaire being quite a socially sterile way of collecting sensitive data, the groups were at a point of disbandment. The co-ordinator did his best to personally deliver the questionnaires to the leaders of the groups and responses were received from two groups however there was insufficient data to work with. This phase of the research was unsuccessful in gathering data however it highlighted the need to be more involved with potential research participants and the importance of understanding the issues that were facing these groups in Galway. There was a need to build relationships with people before they would discuss issues so personal and at times so traumatic.

The groups I had attempted to work with were also participating in a research project using PLA, Participatory Learning in Action (O'Reilly-de Brún & de Brún, 2010). This participatory type of research was very successful, with participants from the groups being trained in research methods and becoming researchers themselves, they were included as authors in subsequent journal articles which were published using the data (MacFarlane et al., 2009). There was consideration given as to whether this methodology would have been appropriate for this project however practical factors such as lack of resources and funding for reimbursement of expenses relating to training interviewers in PLA and the co-ordination that would be required to manage a group of interviewers were not available for this project. It was also questionable if this methodology would yield any better data, participants would undoubtedly be more willing to speak to a member of their own community but whether

they would speak about racism was unknown. This experience of the researched becoming researchers themselves was very positive for participants who took part in the PLA project, some spoke of the positive effect at a workshop I attended. It is also understandable that migrant groups who had been involved in an empowering, participatory and positive process might have been more reluctant to participate in a more traditional type of research where their level of participation would be more limited. The PLA technique was also used later by Galway Rural Development to gather the opinions of the same migrant groups in relation to a County Intercultural Strategy, this method became the preference of some migrant groups in the Galway area (Galway County Integration and Diversity Strategy, 2013 – 2017).

At this point it was necessary to refocus the research process and volunteering with migrant groups was beneficial on two fronts; it provided me with background knowledge of the issues facing migrants and access to a potential group of participants. The first organisation approached, Galway Refugee Support Group (GRSG), were recruiting volunteers on a mentoring program for migrant women and I worked as a volunteer mentor from October 2011 to April 2012. The women who participated in this mentoring program were a diverse group with some from Nigeria, China and Iraq. Some were refugees, having come through the asylum process in Ireland and some were migrants living in Ireland. The purpose of the program was to assist the women in finding employment in Ireland and included modules about interview skills, computer skills and curriculum vitae preparation. The role of volunteer mentor was to provide monthly one-to-one support to an assigned mentee where we would meet in an informal place, like a coffee shop, to talk about progress applying for employment opportunities or help with any other issues. The program also involved monthly group meetings to organise a conference in April 2012. In addition, the program included training for mentors about issues around asylum, refugees and cultural awareness. During the program it became apparent that the mentors were also a diverse group with some women who were migrants themselves. Towards the end of the program, in April, permission was

sought from the program co-ordinator to invite all women, mentors and mentees, to be interview participants and ethical approval from the university was sought at the same time. The interviews were to be conducted using Holstein and Gubrium's active interview, the semi-structured and in-depth interview would enable people share their experiences but that the construction of the everyday and racism and what these meant to people was to be constructed during the interview and not completely imposed by the researcher.

The mentoring program ended in April 2012 with a conference and unfortunately a couple of weeks later GRSG also closed its doors, after years of supporting asylum-seekers and refugees in the locality, nationally and internationally. The closing of GRSG had a devastating impact on the group of migrant women, I attended an informal gathering the week before closure and there was a sense of loss and grief palpable in the room. GRSG was more than an advocacy service, it was a place where the women knew they would be welcomed, knew someone would listen to them, it was a place they had a voice and were treated with dignity and respect – the antithesis of their experience in the asylum-process and, at times, in wider society. There were no tears in public that day but there was a quietness and subdued atmosphere in a place that was usually buzzing with activity. This undoubtedly had an impact on the women and when they received an email from me the following September, inviting them to be part of the research process, none of the mentees volunteered to be involved in the interview process, however a number of the volunteer mentors did agree and were interviewed in phase one of interviews. The mentees, perhaps, did not identify with the white researcher they knew through GRSG, an organisation which no longer existed, whereas mentors who volunteered their time found it easier to identify with the researcher.

The closure of GRSG and the small number of interviews required another re-focus of the research process and the decision to volunteer with a different organisation, Croi na Gaillimhe, as an English language tutor in a conversational English class for migrants.

Volunteering in GRSG had the impact of developing an awareness of issues for the researcher and had helped to build relationships with potential participants. The group of migrants learning English was a more diverse group and again involved volunteer tutors and students. The relationship between tutor and members of the groups was different in that the group changed on a regular basis, almost weekly, and students came from diverse backgrounds. Some had been living in Ireland a number of years whereas others were living in Ireland a couple of weeks to months, the group comprised a range of ages and there was a variety of ethnic groups across gender, religion and class. The unifying factor was a desire to improve English language skills and while some were beginners others had a reasonable grasp of the English language. Volunteering on a weekly basis, over 35 weeks with a group that varied from 10 some weeks to 30 on busy weeks and with groups that changed on a weekly basis meant that the volunteering itself was challenging but the knowledge gained about the diversity of Galway's migrant experiences was extremely beneficial. A number of months into volunteering, access to invite the group to participate in the research process was sought and received from management in Croi na Gaillimhe. It was not suitable to email people in this scenario given the varying levels of English language skills, so the group were invited verbally one afternoon to participate in the research and a number of people volunteered. Again, the invitation was open to people who were volunteer tutors as well as students and both groups comprised people from diverse backgrounds. This resulted in phase two interviews of the research and was where the most in-depth information was collected.

A number of factors contributed to this project taking a number of different directions during the data collection part of the research process. It proved difficult to recruit participants for interview and ultimately get access to the data. Some of the reasons include external factors such as a cut in funding to organisations working with migrants to pure bad timing in connecting with an organisation that ceased to exist at a crucial stage in the research. These

difficulties are part of the research process, part of learning how to work within constraints that are not within the control of the researcher.

4.10 Reflexivity

Volunteering with two different groups where there is a confidentiality agreement that information disclosed will be kept confidential does not stop the researcher from learning or making observations. The most accurate manner of describing this knowledge gained is presented here in a form of auto-ethnography. It is specifically the auto-ethnography of a volunteer who in working with people from various ethnic backgrounds has learned that there is as much diversity as there is commonality among migrants. In some cases there were people from a similar background in the groups – a couple of Nigerian women in the mentoring group, two French men and a number of Spanish people in the language conversation classes for example. Age, gender, religion and personality meant that people had a variety of perspectives which were shared freely, particularly in the language conversation classes. To have been a researcher doing pure ethnography I would no longer have been a mentor or tutor, I would have become a researcher first and these other roles second. The route chosen was to invite people to participate as participants so that the role was bounded, the interviews that took place were separate to my role even though they were most certainly influenced by our prior relationships.

Over the past three years, as a volunteer working with migrants the following are the main points which have been highlighted:

1. Migrants have various reasons for coming to Ireland, from economic to cultural to educational.

2. Migrants have a variety of access to resources – some have access to a large amount of capital both monetary and social whereas others have less.
3. The majority of migrants the researcher met are generally happy in Ireland and have carved out a niche in the country with some being very involved in their wider community while others, for various reasons, prefer to stay within a smaller network.
4. Most migrants are proud of their country of origin and talk animatedly about their childhood, different traditions including recipes for favourite family dishes.
5. One person commented how she felt ‘safe’ in Ireland – that comment has stayed with me as security is something we take for granted in Ireland.
6. Life stage has a big impact on people and their position in society. Some migrants are single while others have life partners and dependents, some have children, all of which meant that success, both financially and otherwise, had higher stakes for those with dependents.
7. Many people who have lived in Ireland for a number of years and were not fluent in English after this period of time lacked confidence in their ability to learn the language. Some had little opportunity to learn due to life circumstances and others had difficulty acquiring English without help through formal education.
8. It always amazed me how enthusiastic new migrants were about learning as much as possible about Irish life and culture, that people who make the choice to move to a new country are quite open to learning about their host country even if they still retain their cultural values from their country of origin. The job of ‘making the familiar strange’ in my work was helped by interaction with people who genuinely found Ireland and Irish ways strange, as in new and novel.

During the past two years in particular it has been a privilege to listen and share the stories of people who are migrants in Ireland, part of my role as a tutor was to provide a secure space where people could talk and practice their English language skills. This often meant asking

people about topics they were familiar with, about their country of origin and their opinion about topics. This led to people sharing their stories, their lives and their hopes and dreams.

4.11 Becoming a researcher

The day students like myself start a PhD programme we are assigned the title researcher overnight but there is a process of becoming a researcher and for each person that journey is different. My journey has been impacted by my previous work and experience in the private sector and recruitment, where projects were commercially driven with knowledge acquired on the basis of achieving specific business objectives. The skills from the private sector were most certainly helpful during the course of the project, however it was not possible to simply transfer those skills into a completely new setting. Many methodology texts highlight the issue of roadblocks in a project, this project encountered a number of roadblocks and it was necessary to refocus the data collection aspect of the research a number of times. Research fatigue was highlighted as an issue where potential participants had previously taken part in a number of research projects and this may have had an impact on the lack of participation of some groups. Throughout the project economic recession in Ireland has had an impact: a dramatic drop in funding for state and non-governmental organisations, contraction of financial contributions from the public and the social impact of this on migrants in particular. Benjamin's piece of work about recession is a powerful indictment of society at that time and the powerlessness and human impact of recession is palpable in this work as it was and continues to be in the Republic of Ireland (Benjamin, 1997).

The data collected during this project reflects the diversity of participants and documents, over many years, the everyday racism they have experienced. There is also an everyday racist discourse which became apparent and although not grounded in experience as in other cases it also is presented as evidence of discourses that underpin the racialization process of

the Other in Irish society. The following chapter begins with analysis of overt racism, episodes of verbal and physical abuse.

SECTION 2

Chapter 5: Racism and Racialization as a Continuum: Between the Overt and the Everyday

5.1 Introduction

Processes are established, routine and subtle; only occasionally will an individual act of racial discrimination become visible within these processes, and only intermittently can one individual actor be identified as responsible for the exclusion of another from rightful opportunities. The denial of racial discrimination is common because, quite simply, it can be denied, due to the normality of its invisibility.

(Solomos, p. 80, 1993)

If racism becomes invisible and part of normality, then it can be difficult to verbalise and describe what is actually happening. During interviews a variety of experiences were shared by research participants ranging from physical abuse, verbal abuse to more subtle practices of verbal exclusion and non-verbal othering. These experiences can be plotted along a continuum under the broad headings of, overt verbal and physical abuse, to everyday racist discourse and practices. The impact of racism was palpable in experiences recounted in each interview and yet, though these experiences are uniquely personal, they also form part of a pattern through the manner in which individual narratives overlap and intersect. Experiences of racism are also highly emotive, something which can be lost when people are transformed into 'data' for the purpose of analysis, for this reason pseudonyms are used rather than numbers or codes, remembering that these are people's lived experiences.

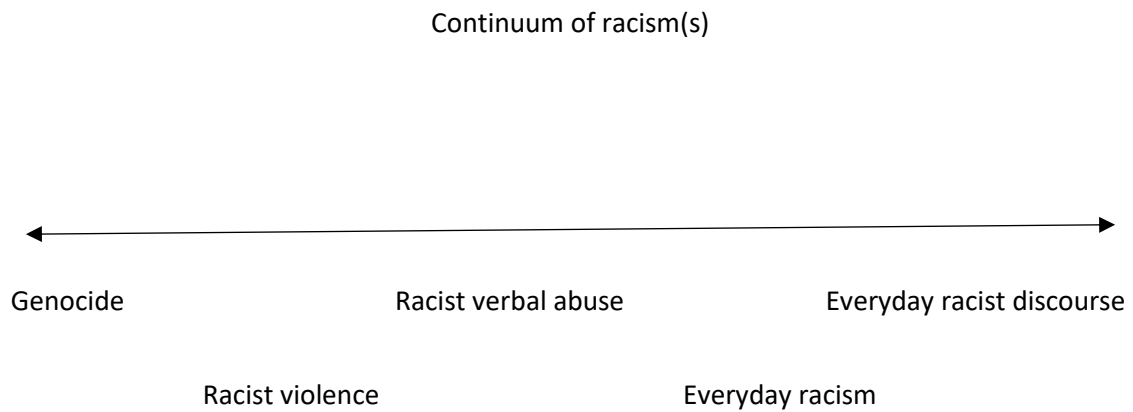


Figure 5.1 Continuum of racism(s).

Analysis of the data from interview transcripts revealed three distinct areas, which can be located on the continuum of racism(s) (Figure 5.1)

1. experiences of overt racism (racist violence and racist verbal abuse)
2. everyday racism (practices and scripts)
3. everyday racist discourse

This chapter examines the first topic; racist verbal abuse, with the following three chapters moving on to everyday racism, whereby people are excluded using racialized discourses and practices, which was described in the direct experiences of research participants in the course of their everyday lives. Everyday racist discourse will be examined in Chapter 9, also described as ‘racetalk’ in the United States, and can be found in the most banal conversations of everyday life, chatting at a bus-stop, in a hospital waiting room or at the side of a football pitch. For the purpose of presentation and analysis three distinct facets of racism are identified, however these form cumulative experiences of racism of those historically constituted through notions of the Other, described in Chapter 2. Though particular episodes of everyday racism are recounted by individual research participants, it is nevertheless possible to identify a repertoire or set of practices and scripts.

As outlined in Chapter 2, Bourdieu's concept of social space is the over-arching theoretical concept used to position social actors in the everyday – participants in the research and those they interact with. Bourdieu's social space is further subdivided into a number of fields, to focus on research participants' experiences in common across particular specific fields. These fields, to summarise from Chapter 2, comprise socially constructed places where 'rules of the game' apply and social actors perform roles, sometimes unreflexively (Sztompka, 2008), using scripts and practices to 'go on' in life, as described by Giddens (1984).

This chapter examines racist verbal abuse experienced by three research participants, together with analysis of the specific language used in the context of Irish society.

Experiences of racist verbal abuse are examined for two purposes, firstly to contextualise experiences of racism(s), thereby showing that research participants' experiences span the continuum including overt expressions of racism, and secondly to demonstrate the relationship between overt racism, everyday racism and everyday notions of the Other. A key aspect of overt racist episodes, which is not shared to the same degree with everyday racist episodes, is the opportunity to challenge overt incidents. Overt racism was more likely to be challenged by research participants as, for example, many racial epithets are unacceptable and contestable in Irish society. As noted in Chapter 2, Kumara was physically assaulted days before his interview, with his face still visibly bruised from the assault as we spoke. There is a normative expectation that a racist physical assault, one of the most violent experiences on the continuum, would be the most upsetting experience for Kumara to verbalise during the interview. However, this experience did not dominate discussion during the interview. Kumara had so many more experiences of racism, both overt and everyday, spanning his time living in Ireland.

The subsequent chapters of this section focus on everyday racism, on episodes which occur in the ordinary routines of walking, shopping, working and socialising. Chapter 6 analyses experiences in the field of public space, which is described as brief yet significant encounters

between people who are usually unknown to each other. Public space is analysed as a separate field due to the nature of this type of interaction – how social actors constantly interpret or ‘read’ those they meet, however momentary or illusory that meeting may be, with interpretation leading to certain practices and scripts. Chapter 7 examines everyday racism in the fields of work and education and although distinct fields, they exhibit similarities. Specific ‘rules of the game’ operate in workplaces and educational spaces, often based on contingent knowledge about people in these fields. Similarly, chapter 8 examines data derived from the distinct but comparable fields of consumption and leisure. Consumption and leisure are both based on neoliberal ideas of equality of access to resources associated with individual freedom and choice, expressed within spaces which are accessible to all who have the means to exercise the freedom to consume. In this sense, in the context of neoliberalism, consumption frames the liberal democratic ideal of personal freedom and equal opportunity. There has been historically documented exclusion of Travellers from these consumption and leisure spaces with less focus on migrant’s experiences in these fields. My argument is that the scripts used in racist verbal abuse and everyday racist discourse form a basis for practices and scripts used in everyday interaction in social space, as evidenced by the fields analysed in this section. Everyday racist practices and scripts which are often un-noticed by many in Irish society have become part of their practical consciousness (Giddens, 1984). Everyday racist practices and scripts are visible to research participants however, because of the impact on their everyday lives.

5.2 Overt racism – racialization of the Other through verbal abuse:

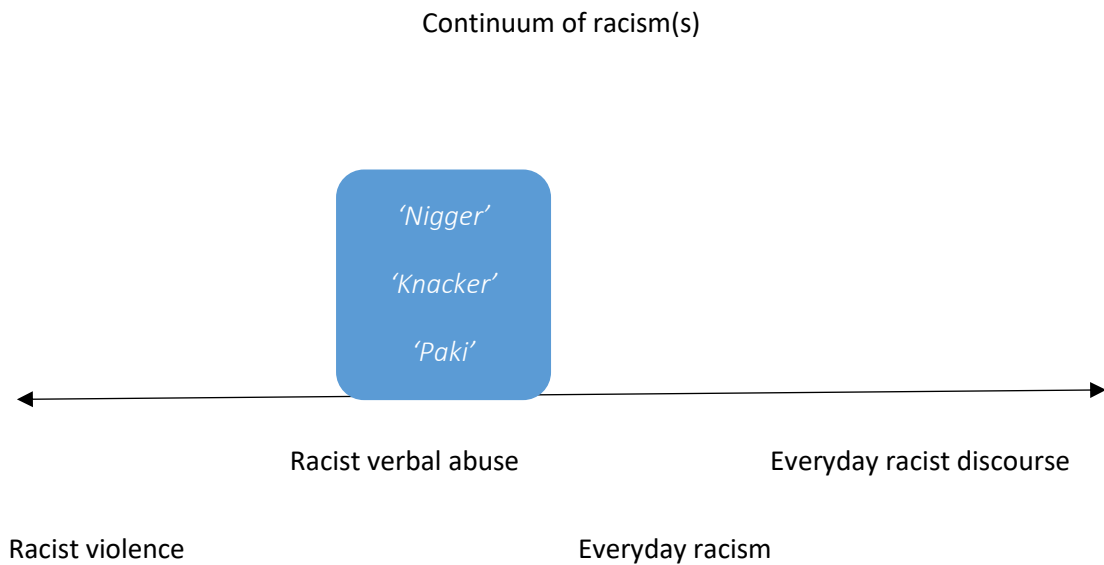


Figure 5.2 Continuum of racism(s) with examples of racist verbal abuse

The continuum of racism(s) depicted above in Figure 5.2 highlights the position of racist verbal abuse, language which is socially unacceptable and morally censured and yet is a feature of the experiences of research participants. Three examples are discussed here, starting with the experience of each research participant before locating that experience within the wider social and historical context. Newspaper archive material was examined to demonstrate how racial epithets such as ‘nigger’ and ‘knacker’ are constituted and utilised in Irish society. Concerns have been expressed in Ireland about recent low levels of reporting of racism in Ireland, including racist verbal abuse (Clarke, 2013). ENAR (European Network against Racism) is bridging this gap which will result in greater access to data about racist incidents for future research projects. Newspaper archive data has been successfully used to investigate racism by van Dijk (1991) and nationalism by Billig (1995) while Haynes, Devereux and Breen explored Irish print media coverage of asylum-seekers and refugees (2008). Newspaper media reports are used here to provide evidence of incidents which occurred

contemporaneously with episodes recounted by research participants, highlighting how racist verbal abuse recounted here by three research participants are not isolated incidents.

5.2.1: Patricia's experience

Patricia describes herself as a Black Irish woman, born and living in Ireland since the 1960's. I met Patricia early in the research project and later she volunteered to participate in the research, she describes herself as an anti-racism activist. Patricia spoke about racism she experienced throughout her life, as a child growing up in Ireland and later as a woman who was verbally abused many times. Patricia's experiences of racism over time disputes the normative idea that racism became an issue in Ireland with recent migration, also supporting the arguments of Fanning (2002) and Rolston and Shannon (2002). Patricia has in-depth knowledge about racism, as argued by Essed (1991), minority ethnic women (and men) have knowledge about their experiences which is valuable in academic analysis.

'...like there was this guy, you know, and he was a big fella and he had a few drinks on him, you know, and I passed, now I was tiny compared to him and I passed him and he says, 'ah, look at the 'nigger', and I went right up and I went right into his space and says 'what did you say?' and the guy freaked and it's so funny, it was like he had not expected me to turn back because like, you know, I always know they don't expect you to be a certain way either, they don't expect you to actually challenge them as well and when you do they crumble...' (Patricia)

The racist abuse was not directed to Patricia but loud enough in her presence that she could hear the comment as she walked by – disrupting the flow of her everyday life. The structure of the comment 'ah, look at the "nigger"' denotes the invitation to 'look', to notice or attend to 'the 'nigger' – thereby drawing attention to Patricia, to her presence. This 'look' is part of the 'gaze' which is used to interpret social actors in public space and is analysed in further detail in Chapter 6. Indirect verbalisation, loud enough to be heard but not directed to the

person, is also noted in later episodes described by other research participants. The influence of alcohol, 'he had a few drinks on him', could be a factor in this episode, or a potential lack of social awareness, however this type of language is literally 'tip of the tongue', readily available. It is arguable that 'nigger' is part of the Irish lexicon for people described as Other and although censured, remains part of informal vocabulary and used in social interaction.

Patricia mentions her smaller physical frame relative to the larger physical presence of the man, she was aware of the disparity which embodies the intersectional nature of this interaction. Intersectionality emphasises the gendered way in which this episode is structured – Patricia felt that as a black woman she was not expected to respond but to accept the verbal abuse as representative of her perceived position in Irish society. Patricia reported experiences of overt racism predominantly from encounters with men, which could be explained by an overall patriarchal order which intersects with race in Ireland (Share, Tovey and Corcoran, 2007).

The surprise and shock of the man, when confronted by Patricia, is open to interpretation. 'They don't expect you to be a certain way' alludes to Patricia's interpretation of her reception in public, she perceives that she is expected to behave in a particular manner. Patricia's response, when she 'went right into his space', could explain his surprise, perhaps her reaction was unexpected. Patricia also speaks with an Irish accent – his expectation would most likely have been that her accent would be as Other as he perceived her to be. The racial epithet 'nigger' is historically constituted and arguably a script, part of a wider discourse that was familiar to him and available to use to describe a black woman who walked by him in public space.

'Nigger' has an historical association with the United States and the particular race relations paradigm which evolved there over time (Banton, 1998) however it also has an historical and contemporary status in Ireland. The meaning of 'nigger' fluctuates at different times, drawing

on historical notions of the Other and available in Irish society's 'reservoir of racism' (Hall, 2009 and Lentin and McVeigh, p. 38, 2002). To provide some context for the use of the word 'nigger' in Ireland, a search of Irish newspapers in the Nexis database for the previous five years (2009 to 2014) reveals numerous matches. Matches vary from reference to historical use of 'nigger' in English language literature such as Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer & The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1992)²² with many other examples referring to use of the racial epithet to racially abuse people in Irish society. Specific examples include a newspaper article detailing historical use of 'nigger' to describe black Irish people incarcerated in Irish institutions between 1940 and 1980 (Gartland, 2014). Gartland's article also documented other racist insults, for example 'monkey' and 'savage', as being prevalent in Irish institutions. A second example from newspaper reports, dated from an incident in the 1980's, is an excerpt from the 2013 sports biography of Sean Og O hAilpin, an Irish-Fijian sports star who experienced racist verbal abuse. O hAilpin recounted how he was standing with his mother when a passer-by shouted at him, 'nigger. Go home and wash yourself' (Kimmage, 2013). These two examples from newspaper reports emphasise the recurring nature of racist verbal abuse, evidence that racist abuse is not a new feature of Irish society.

Recent newspaper reports of racially motivated violence have also included racist verbal abuse. In 2014, a German citizen resident in Ireland reported hearing someone shout 'come out nigger...you niggers come here to take our jobs' before his apartment was petrol-bombed (Agamah in Cusack, 2014). This links the racist epithet to more general scripts about migrants and scarce resources. A second incident, during 2012 in County Clare, was reported by a Nigerian man who was 'called a bastard nigger' before being assaulted and losing two front

²² In 2011, a global debate about removing the word 'nigger' from Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* centred on the decision of a Professor of English in the United States to amend Twain's text. The debate centred on whether this form of historical revisionism was warranted or advisable. See O'Driscoll (2011) Irish Times article for details of the debate.

teeth (Deegan, 2012). These two incidents, both occurring during the time period of this research, demonstrate a link between violence and verbal abuse – how the utterance to Patricia in other circumstances has been accompanied by physical violence and the potential risk Patricia took in confronting the speaker. Another newspaper report from 2012 in Cork demonstrates racial verbal abuse in schools with a boy, whose mother is African, reporting being called a ‘nigger’ and assaulted, leaving him with a broken jaw (Bielenberg, 2012). The evidence presented here aligns with the chapters to follow, how racism of both the overt and everyday occur on the street and in schools. This short review of newspaper media reporting also reveals how the word ‘nigger’ is available, used at times in conjunction with physical violence and part of racist discourse which is reproduced in the present but which stretches back in time.



Figure 5.3 Racist graffiti from Halal shop, Dublin, November 2013. Image from muslimsisterofeire via Facebook available at TheJournal.ie.

Figure 5.3 demonstrates how racist language can seem fluid and malleable, the racist insult ‘nigger’ does not seem to apply to owners of a Halal shop and yet in practical terms it proves transferable. A young Nigerian woman commented in a 2012 newspaper article ‘I was called a “Paki” once. It’s like they don’t even know how to be racist right,’ (Daisy in Freyne, 2012). Racist language is used to insult and designate a group as Other, thus extending ‘niggers’ (or ‘Nigges’/’Niggrs’ as spelled in the graffiti shown in Figure 5.3) to people of Asian descent and

'Paki' to people of African descent does not negate the racist origins of the language. The shortening of racial slurs in graffiti, or mis-spelling, is often used to point to the 'un-educated' status of writer(s) according to folk theories of racism (Banton, 1998, Hill, 2008), yet abbreviation has become a convention in the world of text messaging and social media. In racist graffiti, this could also be a practical sign-writing error, the maximum usage of space available without following spelling convention. This amendment of language can be purposeful and linked to current trends in everyday language, the current social context, rather than the education status of those involved.

It can also be argued that the script 'nigger' can be invoked, without the necessity of uttering the actual word. Patricia has experienced exclusion which has racist undertones without being explicitly racial, yet the absence of the racist word does not negate inherent racialization.

I remember one incident, there was a guy, two guys behind me and I could hear, it took me a while to realise that these guys were actually insulting me, I had headphones on and I was listening and then I could hear, 'ah, there she is, there she is', you know, 'what is that, what is that?' and I realised they were talking about me and I turned and I laid into him and he cowed, he just crumbled in front of me.

(Patricia)

In direct comparison to the first incident, the men on this occasion refer to Patricia as an object, as a 'thing'. The usage of language such as 'there she is' is directly referring to Patricia's presence, similar to 'look at' in the first example. The language then turns to objectification in a literal sense in questioning, 'what is that?'. This questions Patricia's actual presence in a more sinister way than the overt epithet 'nigger' as the question describes her as an anomaly in society which is beyond category or classification, what Bauman refers to as ambivalence (Bauman, 1991). There is also the strategy of avoiding an accusation of racism

in this case, as no racial language is used, Patricia is indirectly objectified, her basic humanity is erased.

5.2.2: Katie's experience

Katie is a Traveller woman and has lived in Ireland all her life, she is passionate about Traveller equality and spoke about her frustration with the lack of support and resources for Travellers in Ireland. Katie described how she and members of her family have been verbally abused, excluded from socializing, followed around shops and treated appallingly by teachers in the education system. Katie and her family plan where they go and who they meet based on previous experiences, they know where they will be tolerated and where they risk being verbally abused and excluded. Katie is also exposed to additional everyday racist discourse because she does not conform to the stereotypical image of Traveller women in Ireland – she has been told that 'she does not look like a Traveller' meaning that when she is apart from other Travellers and among people who do not know her, she is perceived as a settled woman, while among Traveller friends and family she is treated as a Traveller – often excluded and verbally abused by the same people who treat her as one of 'us' when she is not perceived as a Traveller.

Katie's experience of verbal abuse involves the term 'knacker' which as noted earlier has historical derogatory connotations and yet is ubiquitous in everyday language among settled people in Ireland.

...going to a bar for the night or something like that and gettin stopped, you know, and told to 'go home' like, you know, and I was actually called a 'knacker' to my face by a bouncer. (Katie)

This episode exemplifies Katie's experience of exclusion in public space, a routine experience which most settled people have no knowledge of and noted by many other members of the Traveller community. In this particular example Katie describes two scripts which are

verbalised with physical exclusion – ‘knacker’, a racist insult to Travellers and ‘go home’ which is more commonly associated as relating to migrants. The use of ‘go home’ in this context can be interpreted at face value as Travellers being told to ‘go away’, of not being welcome or allowed to occupy social space with settled people. Ireland has been ‘home’ for generations of Travellers but due to lack of acceptance of Travellers as an integral part of Irish society, Travellers occupy space that is physically in Ireland but socially outside Irish settled society. Whereas many Traveller families once lived on the roadside in ‘barrel wagons’ and caravans (Helleiner, 2000), Travellers now reside in places which are less visible (housing or halting sites which are not visible on roadsides) but nonetheless on the margins of Irish society.

‘Knacker’ is a colloquial term with a particular cultural meaning in Irish society and often traced back to historical Traveller employment in the ‘knacker’s yard’. The origin of the term is sometimes used as a justification for utterance however contemporary usage is an insult linked to fixed negative cultural attributes of Travellers as inherently violent, dirty and smelly which relates to the racialization of Travellers. The origin of the term in an historically situated occupational category associated with animal slaughter only further reinforces the identification of ‘dirty’ and ‘smelly’ with ‘knacker’.

A search of the word ‘knacker’ in the Nexis newspaper database between 2009 and 2014 reveals dual usage²³; firstly and predominantly as a racist insult to Travellers, but also as an insult to settled people.

²³ O’Curry and Michael (2013) also report that ‘knacker’ can be used to denigrate working class youth in addition to Travellers in online reporting of racist incidents.



Figure 5.4 'Knacker', photograph by author – representing report by Traveller girl of 'knacker' often written on school blackboard (Boland, 2011).

Walking into a classroom, sitting down at a desk, taking out books and pens are some of the everyday activities of students. Occasionally, there might be something written on the blackboard (or whiteboard), usually of the nature that will not interrupt the routine of the students. Not so for the young Traveller girl, reported in Boland (2011), who entered the classroom to find the word 'knacker' written on the blackboard, depicted in Figure 5.4 above. As a young Traveller woman, it is a challenge for her to remain in education, statistics show that Traveller girls often leave school early and do not complete their formal education. This type of incident can be described as temporary racist graffiti, the erasable word 'knacker' confronting the student on a regular basis in her classroom an ongoing reminder to her of her apparent unacceptable difference.

A comparable example of verbal abuse was reported in 2013, when a Traveller man who plays football in Kerry reported being called a 'smelly knacker' and a 'tinker' during a football game (Irish Examiner, 2013). The infinitesimal number of Travellers who take part in sports considered 'settled' leisure activities face exclusion and social barriers to their participation with this example referring to 'smelly' attaching to the already insulting term 'knacker'. A subsequent newspaper article by McCann in the Irish Times also highlighted how Travellers

are excluded from public houses in Ireland. McCann noticed ashtrays in a pub which seemed incongruous with the current smoking ban, with an explanation proffered that it was 'for when the knackers are in town', that is for settled people to smoke indoors, which is illegal, making it easier to close the doors of the pub in order to exclude Travellers (McCann, 2014). This refers to the ubiquity of usage of the term in conjunction with exclusion and with the practice of villages and towns closing social amenities when Travellers are expected to visit the area (see also Chapter 8). This also highlights how settled consumers are accommodated while Travellers are excluded, the public house appears closed from the outside with patrons inside reproducing the communal sense of 'us', for the profit of the owner, while also facilitating patrons breaking the law which bans smoking indoors.

The following example, from a local regional newspaper, documents a conversation between two women involved in a court case: 'The girls said something about being a k****er, and Karen said you'll just prove you're a k****er if you get up and hit me' (Enniscorthy Guardian, 2012). This report is unusual, 'knacker' alluded to yet censored, denoting the editor's categorisation of language unsuitable for public consumption. Those involved in this case were not Travellers but used the term 'knacker' to insult each other, as a 'put-down' and linking Travellers to violence, revealing the embeddedness of representations of Travellers as violent in Irish society. The association of Traveller, using 'knacker', with violence has become part of practical consciousness so that the insult to a settled person is that they are 'no better than a "knacker"'.

One final example reported how a district court judge was also criticised for 'using the word "knacker" to describe people who burgle businesses' (Byrne, 2013). There is an expectation that members of the judiciary are impartial and yet here the implicit bias of the judge is evident in the language he uses. There is also reinforcement of the idea, circulating in Irish society, that Travellers are the prime suspects in cases of burglary, which is explored further in Chapter 9. This draws on nineteenth century conceptualisations of vagabonds and

strangers as petty criminals (Ryan, 2007). The district court judge did apologise for the remark, however the language, which was familiar to him, made 'sense' given the original context, 'knackers' being interchangeable with thieves. These examples signify 'knacker' meaning immoral or repugnant character or behaviour – a moral judgement.

5.2.3: Kumara's experience

Kumara is an Asian man living in Ireland for fifteen years, some of his experiences of overt and everyday racism were discussed earlier in Chapter 3. Kumara moved to Ireland as an adult and his first experience of working in Ireland was in a manufacturing facility where he was the only black man and non-Irish person in his workplace. Kumara is also trained in security techniques and lip-reading, he has the skills to identify surveillance when many other people may be unaware of such surveillance. Kumara's level of English language skills results in his narrative tending to be concise and to the point, although his interview was of average length due to the number of incidents described.

Kumara reported being called a 'Paki', which left him bemused as demonstrated in the following excerpt:

...some people you know the...the... some young, young guys, ah because I'm not from Pakistan and the people, ah, some people, some young guys calling like 'Paki'.
(Kumara)

This example is not specific, it is a general memory of being called a name on multiple occasions. What remains in the comment above is the memory of the name and the most defining feature of those who use this language being their gender and age. This places this example in the everyday – repeated and remembered as cumulative experience. 'Paki' is not widely documented in literature about racism in Ireland, necessitating a review of British literature. The word 'Paki' is defined in the Oxford English Dictionary as being slang of an offensive and derogatory nature, primarily used in Britain about 'a person of Pakistani (also

more generally, South Asian) birth or descent, especially one living in Britain' (OED, 2014). This points to usage situated in a British context and Song refers to the 'deep resonance and stigma' which attaches to racial epithets such as 'Paki' in Britain (Song, p. 119, 2014). Racial epithets such as 'knacker' and 'nigger' may be more familiar in Irish society, but 'Paki' has also appeared in the contemporary Irish racist lexicon. In Ireland, the word 'Paki' draws on similar discourses of exclusion and while arguably not as readily available in discourse as 'knacker' and 'nigger', there is evidence of usage in relation to racist violence. A search of Irish newspapers (Nexis database) between 2009 and 2014 demonstrates how the use of 'Paki' has been implicated in racist physical assaults in Cork and Belfast in recent years (Browne, 2013, McCrory, 2014). In Galway a man was jailed for, among other offences, racially abusing a doctor, calling him 'Paki', in the Accident and Emergency Department of University College Hospital, Galway (Nee, 2009).



Figure 5.5 Racist graffiti in a Halal shop, Dublin, November 2013. Images from [muslimsisterofeire](https://www.facebook.com/muslimsisterofeire) via Facebook available at TheJournal.ie.

As discussed in chapter 3, racist language can take the form of written as well as spoken words, such as the graffiti depicted in Image 5.5. The above example, daubed on walls in the absence of a shop owner anticipates the later presence and reaction of those targeted by the graffiti. This type of graffiti, where it is aimed at a specific person or group of people, is an echoing reverberation of racist verbal abuse²⁴. The graffiti in figures 5.3 and 5.5 were daubed during the same episode, with the message that those targeted were interpreted as both 'niggers' and 'Paki', indicating how these are used as interchangeable epithets.

These examples of racist verbal abuse demonstrate how participant's experiences include overt expressions of racism with news media analysis further reinforcing that these episodes are recurring and can be accompanied by physical violence. Legal and human rights based analysis must necessarily demarcate what is identifiable and provable in a court of law, however this does not encapsulate people's experiences of racism in society. The positioning of overt racism also points to the ability of research participants to challenge this type of racism, it is clear that the word 'nigger' is unacceptable and contestable as evident from Patricia's experiences discussed above. Katie's experience of being excluded and verbally abused is challengeable in a court of law, however practical difficulties in presenting evidence and delays in processing claims of unequal treatment are well documented (see Galway Refugee Support Group, 2010, Crowley and Migrants Rights Centre Ireland, 2010, ENAR, 2014)²⁵. Kumara was somewhat bemused at being called a 'Paki', he did not challenge this particular incident of overt racism as he did not interpret it as applying to him though he did report the racist physical assault, discussed earlier, as well as other overt incidents (discussed in Chapters' 7 and 8).

²⁴ This draws on imagery used by E.M. Forster in *A Passage to India* (2000), the echo in the Marabar caves.

²⁵ Fanning et al. (pp. 23-24, 2011) discuss the case of Jenny, who made a formal complaint of racist verbal abuse in her workplace. Jenny had recourse to the Equality Authority and chose to follow the formal complaints procedure of her workplace which unfortunately was mismanaged, thereby demonstrating that only some cases are pursued through formal channels.

Banal experiences of everyday racism are much more difficult to challenge as they are subtle and more difficult to document or 'prove', largely because of the ways in which these differ from the more overt examples examined above. This also reflects the challenge in delineating everyday racism: what should be included, or not. Where there are specific references to racist epithets which are socially unacceptable in Ireland (see article by Waters, 2013 regarding publication of a report detailing language Irish people find offensive) this is categorised as overt racism. Where racial language is not identifiable but the experience is couched in perceived embedded racial or ethnic attributes of the person, this is presented as everyday racism and is the focus of the remaining chapters in this section.

Chapter 6: Everyday Racism in Public Space

6.1 Public Space

Public space here comprises places where social actors interact during short, even momentary episodes, excluding education/employment and leisure/consumption which are addressed in later chapters. Public space is also where Patricia and Kumara have been racially abused, called 'nigger', 'Paki'. Social interaction occurs in public space where *habitus*, including historically constituted knowledge leads to racializing practices and scripts which can also intersect with other domains of discrimination. The use of field here to describe public space stretches Bourdieu's conception and yet public space is comprised of places where interactions occur, more often than not, without the support of inter-personal knowledge, but in accordance with routine practices which are more or less scripted. Bourdieu's 'loose' conception of field, which has been critiqued by Jenkins (2002), also accounts for the rhythms and flow to the mass anonymity of public sociality. People inhabit public space, in this context, where they interact through and perceive each other through the lens of practical and discursive consciousness (Giddens, 1984) and *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1990).

An important feature of public space is that perception is key to social interaction. Social actors in public space are perceived as belonging to and perceive themselves as belonging to a certain group or category and social interaction is based on this perception using practices and scripts. Katie's experience in this regard is poignant, as noted earlier, she has been told that she does not 'look like a Traveller':

...comments like I get like, ahm 'oh, you don't look like a Traveller (surprised tone), that's great (emphasis on great)'...you know, like, what's a Traveller meant to look like? Why is it great? (Katie)

When people meet Katie for the first time, without introduction, she is perceived as a settled woman. 'You don't look like a Traveller' is based on the assumption that Travellers are visibly identifiable on the basis of an excessive appearance relating to dress-code, hairstyle, makeup and jewellery with female Travellers expressly stereotyped in television media as being overtly sexualised (Big Fat Gypsy Wedding in McDonagh, 2012 for example). Bourdieu, in his 1984 monograph *Distinction*, describes how cultural consumption patterns also express social actors position in social stratification, with Travellers in Ireland deemed low both in cultural consumption and social status. Katie does not embody the stereotypical Traveller and she is perceived as a settled woman and 'congratulated'. This apparent positive comment, that it is 'great' Katie does not look like a Traveller inverts into negative reinforcement and points to the lack of acceptance of Traveller identity, and Traveller patterns of cultural consumption, of Traveller women in particular in Irish society.

Katie routinely encounters racist discourse *about* Travellers, precisely because she is not perceived to be a Traveller, but she also experiences anti-Traveller racism when in the company of other Travellers, she is then also subjected to overt and everyday racism. Katie's position in society fluctuates from being one of 'us', the settled community to one of 'them', a Traveller. This is a difficult position for Katie as she is exposed to additional racist discourse about Travellers in a manner many other Travellers are not, which is discussed further in Chapter 9.

Drawing together the theory of racialization, as used by Garner, and scripts as used by Sztompka, thematic analysis of the data, inspired by Berger and Luckmann's focus on social interaction, the following sections explore the social shape and texture of everyday racism in public space. A specific focus on 'unreflexive, deeply internalized scripts' (Sztompka, 2008) and practices (Pink, 2012) demonstrates how the past (as discussed in the historical moments chapter) influence the present and enter into the flow of everyday because of entrenched

notions of otherness which are readily available for use in everyday social interaction.

Seemingly isolated episodes become part of a cumulative process, or what was described in Chapter 3 as the flow and temporality of everyday racism.

6.2 Cumulative episodes of everyday racism

Kumara's experiences on public transport is an example of these cumulative episodes of exclusion, he described how every time he travels on public transport people choose not to sit beside him, preferring to stand rather than sit beside him:

...now I'm here like fifteen years in this country but still if I go by bus or train... I know that, that I'm sitting by one seat and, you know, other half is free, no one coming to sit down beside me. (Kumara)

This type of cumulative experience is emblematic of the everyday, where repeated occurrences become blended in memory to the extent that it is difficult to verbalise or separate specific episodes. Research participants remembering of experiences in this manner reinforces how everyday racism which occurs regularly becomes part of their practical consciousness, completing the circle of exclusion, reinforcing that they are Other. Each moment contributes to the overall experience of being excluded, no matter how transient or inconsequential it may seem in isolation.

An episode, taking the theoretical notion of temporality in Chapter 3, ranges from specific experiences which have defined characteristics of place and person or people involved to more fleeting, shorter experiences, notable for the inseparability of contextual information.

6.2.1 'Paki thief' – practices and scripts

The following excerpt from Kumara's interview describes how his remembering of episodes can be cumulative:

...especially the ladies and they are thinking, you know the every, every, the black people and stealing...stealing...yeah...and when I was in the queue to the bus or anything and in front of if the lady with the bag and quickly they taking the bag into the front. (Kumara)

Kumara motioned the physical movement of an object as he verbalised the moments described above – he demonstrated how women move their handbag from his presence and clutch it to their person in a protective manner. The subtle accusation of being a potential thief exasperates Kumara – he describes his personal belief system as the antipathy of stealing which renders the accusation even more hurtful to him personally. Kumara's actual belief system is inconsequential when people and women in particular encounter Kumara in public space, the automatic response to attending to his presence is the movement of personal property away from Kumara. The repetitive nature of these moments, in the banal routines of life – going on a bus journey or queueing typify everydayness. The physical presence of Kumara is interpreted using the script of 'Paki thief', he 'looks' like he might steal resulting in a reflex action which is essentially a socially scripted response to his presence.

Kumara also describes specific episodes of exclusion. In the following example a man in a restaurant angered Kumara by explicitly referring to him as a potential thief:

...in the pizza restaurant in,...and then ah one of ah, the Irish, the man and the woman, a couple came and they sit down and had a pizza and I went and ah I ordered pizza and I was sitting down ah, ah beside them at another table and then they both looked me and then ah...the man told to the lady, and ah, 'careful, your bag'... yeah, I heard very nicely and then ah that time I got very angry and I shout to them, 'I said, I

don't need, ah, your money and I didn't come to steal this one, I, I came to eat something', like that then ahm I took my, my, pizza takeaway and I ate outside.

(Kumara)

The reference to 'they both looked at me' can be linked to the 'gaze' – and to the moment when the couple 'read' Kumara (Hall, 1996a) using the knowledge available to them, thereby converting practical consciousness to discursive consciousness (Giddens, 1984). This 'gaze' is described in further detail later in relation to Patricia's experiences, however for now the 'gaze' is noted as a moment of interpretation when Kumara is assessed based on his visual characteristics. No racial language was used in this episode and yet the message was as clear as if he was overtly called a 'Paki thief', the explicit and implicit colliding in this episode. Kumara spoke out on this occasion because an accusation was verbalised in his presence, with the language explicit and clear to all involved, a rupture of the everyday. This episode is important in the analysis of Kumara's experiences as verbalisation of the warning crystallises other similar episodes, such as moving handbags away from his physical presence.

6.2.1 'Go home, you don't belong here'

This section focuses on the experiences of a number of research participants and how these experiences are linked even though they occurred in various contexts and time periods. Patricia describes her experiences in public space in the following three interview excerpts, which demonstrate how racism and everyday racism change over time. This first excerpt focuses on moments during Patricia's childhood in Ireland in the 1960's:

When I was a child it was more being stared at, it would have been like you would have had a lot of adults from all walks of life, not just a particular group but all walks of life, they would kind of stare at you. Some would look at you with a hostility, others with curiosity but they looked at you and their look was reminding me all the

time that I was different, the fact that I was getting attention because of the colour of my skin kept reminding me that I was not part of society. (Patricia)

Linked to Kumara's more recent experience, in the previous section, Patricia experiences being 'looked at', of the 'gaze'. This also links to the experience of other recent migrants, detailed in Chapter 3, where Coakley and Mac Einri (2007) described how migrants felt the weight of the 'gaze' in public. Patricia's experience above also spans the timeframes analysed in Chapter 3; she was a black child, living in Ireland, when Trocaire was formed by the Catholic Church. On the basis of Patricia's recollections, it seems that her physical presence was interpreted through the lens of 'black baby' discourse, with the image in Figure 6.1 typical of how people living in Ireland were coached in their understanding of Africa at that time. More specifically, the portrayal of Biafra as a land of starving children served as a sort of short hand for 'Africa', thus also signifying Africans in general.



Figure 6.1 'Starving children', Biafra, 1968, by David Cairns.

It was as though Patricia had stepped out of a world of images such as the one above and into the lives of people who seemed at a loss when it came to interacting with a human subject as opposed to an object of charity. Patricia was born and living in Ireland, however her biographical details were overshadowed by her physical presence which invoked the script of 'black baby', as discussed in Chapter 3. As a child, Patricia dressed and spoke in the same manner as other Irish children – her clothing would have 'blended' however it was specifically

her physical characteristics, perceived through the lens of scripted practices that marked her as a 'black baby'.

The specific places Patricia encountered discomfort were public spaces:

I didn't necessarily know that there was such a thing as racism but I felt it and when I walked into shops or into mass I felt it and I felt that sense of unease, this discomfort of attention but not attention of curiosity or of pleasure it was attention of discomfort that I felt and I knew that a lot of the attention that I was receiving was not very nice. (Patricia)

At school, with people who knew Patricia, she described how she had a sense of belonging. Once in public space she was subject to what she describes as unwarranted 'attention'. The act of attending to or acknowledging the presence of a person can be both positive and negative. Drawing on Giddens' practical consciousness, it could be argued that Patricia's presence invoked a scripted response that was strong enough to override the fact that she was no different from other Irish children. *Habitus*, as historically constituted and embodied knowledge which is used in everyday life, also has explanatory usefulness, describing how Patricia did not 'fit' within the prevailing conception of Irishness. Patricia attending mass confirmed her status as a Catholic and while her style of dress and accent should have denoted her belonging, her skin tone and dark curly hair did not comply with the socially shared understanding of Irishness. Ultimately, many Irish people perceived that Patricia was, in spite of her accent, dress code and Catholicism, an African 'black baby' who no longer lived in Africa:

...there were other adults that would stop me in the street and just put money into my hand, seriously, it was like, you know, but I always knew there was something strange about it, you know. (Patricia)

The direct 'donation' of money to Patricia on the street demonstrates the effectiveness of the 'black babies' script as it was applied to the black child people encountered in public space in Ireland, a child whose circumstances they knew nothing about but presumed. The images of starving children and babies were successful as a means of collecting money for humanitarian aid, the unintended consequence was that in this case the act of giving money became an act of everyday racism – generosity based on paternalistic superiority, as discussed in Chapter 2. Patricia was a local embodiment of a distant 'problem' that was, and arguably continues to be, presented to society in a crudely simplistic manner. In the simplest language, complex political and social problems of many African and Asian countries are presented as: black skin = poor and starving, must donate money.²⁶

Experiences of everyday racism also change over time, as do practices of everyday racism, the continuum of racisms is historically constituted and mutable with temporality of everyday racism noted in the changing differential treatment Patricia described:

It's changed in that it's become more vocal, the insults have become much more visible, there is a sense of entitlement of white Irish and I'm just saying white Irish because it could be white foreign for all I know but white Irish I'm saying, feel entitled to say 'you should go back where you belong' like that, I'm receiving much more of that now and it's because of more African people coming into the country. (Patricia)

As discussed in Chapter 1, racism is a historically constituted and socially-situated process of discursive formation with Patricia describing how recently her experiences of racism are more explicit, altered from hostile stares and spontaneous charitable donations on the street to being told to 'go back to where you belong', on the basis that Patricia, a black Irish woman cannot be at 'home' in Ireland. The focus of humanitarian campaigns on 'black babies' –

²⁶ This is reconstituted in the present through influential projects such as Band Aid in 2014, for a critique of the release of the song see Adewumni, 2014.

specifically children (see photograph of Trocaire boxes in Chapter 2) leads to a very different interpretation of women who, if included at all, are presented as mothers. Patricia is no longer interpreted as the 'black baby' but as the undeserving 'black woman'. Patricia's experience, noted in these moments reads like a chronology of everyday racism in Ireland, which maps onto her biography. Patricia's experiences can also be analysed as socio-historical moments in Irish society, moments when specific scripts occur. Patricia, as a black woman in Ireland presently, is aligned with and interpreted using the script of 'illegal immigrant' or 'bogus asylum-seeker' – an African woman trying to 'scam' the Irish welfare system. Arguably, there is a relationship between these two scripts, the 'bogus asylum-seeker', which fits with Haynes, Devereux and Breen's (2008) print media analysis of the constant questioning of the authenticity of asylum-seekers, is the transformation of the 'black baby' into an adult while still retaining underlying characteristics of 'poor', 'uneducated' and 'uncivilised'. The asylum-seeker has both agency and resources to organise travel to Ireland and claim asylum, transforming the 'black baby' who is deemed poor and in need of money into an adult who already has money and resources and therefore becomes normatively 'bogus' and threatening. Applications for asylum are a product of the complex political, economic and social issues in many countries, including some African countries and does not fit the simple script of 'black babies'.

Tariq is a Nigerian man who has lived in Ireland with his family for the past five years. Tariq works in the community sector and spoke of his own and his family's experiences of exclusion in Ireland. Tariq recounted how his wife was interrogated by a member of the public after a minor traffic incident:

Then when they went there and they saw, well it's just two plate numbers that have made contact without any physical damage my wife then said the man, the elderly man now bent down to look underneath his car and as he was doing that his wife told

him, 'look, there's no damage, let's go', his wife said that but then the man insisted, 'why did you reverse into me?' and the woman said, 'I'm sorry, I didn't know I have actually made contact with your car and the moment I noticed that, that was why I stopped' and then the next thing that the man said was that 'do you even have papers, are you legal in this country? It's because you illegal people shouldn't even be here in the first place' (Tariq)

Even though this is a rupture of the everyday there is also a routine to this episode, the meeting of people previously unknown to each other in the circumstances of a minor traffic collision, the routine of inspecting vehicles, swapping insurance details, of necessary interaction. Added to this routine is the accusation that the two women, who are identified as black, are illegal immigrants. The ease with which this script was invoked by the man involved points to an automatic response – 'you illegal people shouldn't be here in the first place' designating the women as 'matter out of place' (Douglas, 2002) drawing on both the discourses of the 2004 Citizenship Referendum and the paternalistic superiority of the sentiment behind Christian aid organisations discussed in Chapter 2. No racial language was used, the insult was to challenge the women's legal status in Ireland, their right to live in Ireland. This episode fits with the 'go home, you do not belong' script in the meaning of the message as it was conveyed to the women. Nationalist ideology is also discernible, as an Irish citizen he felt justified in his right to question the residency of the women, 'Ireland for Irish people'. The accusation of being an illegal immigrant had no relation to the minor traffic accident and yet it was what Tariq and his wife spoke about after the incident, what Tariq remembered in an interview some time later.

Perceived difference in public space can also be linked to cultural markers such as accent, where accent is linked to a particular ethnicity which does not require physical difference. Laura is Irish and lived in England for a number of years, resulting in her distinct English

accent. She moved to Ireland and lives here with her two children. Laura described how she is perceived as English based on her accent and how this perception results in experiences of subtle exclusion. In the following excerpt, Laura describes how she had difficulty obtaining passport forms from a local post office.

I remember I went to the local post office and we were going away and I went up to the counter, and so this is a small rural post office and I asked for three passport forms and like I was standing there with my two children who at the time were I think ah three and four and we all looked at him and he said, 'I only have Irish passports here' and I laughed and I looked at him and I said 'but that's I want' ... but I just asked him and just said, I find by just repeating yourself is normally the only way, like you, could I have... you know so he gave me the forms and kind of looked at me, he wasn't happy giving me the forms but I had the forms and I got my passports and that was the end of it. (Laura)

Many foreign-born Irish citizens have been naturalised as Irish citizens, Laura's accent could not 'prove' her entitlement to an Irish passport. The cognitive dissonance the postmaster experienced could be explained by the postmaster assuming only Irish people with an Irish accent were entitled to an Irish passport. The postmasters' stare communicated unequivocally in a non-verbal manner that he was unhappy and reluctant to give Laura the forms. This is a very subtle level of othering, linked to the 'stares of hostility' encountered by Patricia, and Kumara being 'looked at'. Laura knew that the validity of her request was being questioned and even though she succeeded in sourcing the passport forms she needed, she left the premises with an uncomfortable experience of exclusion.

Moving from the subtle inference of 'un-Irishness', three research participants experienced being told explicitly to 'go home' in public space, in addition to the implied 'you do not

belong, go home' in the episodes and moments above. Kumara described an incident which occurred outside a public house in Galway:

...the one day in the night, I was walking...ah...ah...again like 9.30 in front of the pub in, in, in Galway and two ladies came out ...from the pub... and shout me and, and ah 'black bastard, go back to your own country'... like that, two ladies aged between like ah for-forty to forty-five. (Kumara)

Embodying Benjamins' *flaneur*, Kumara was walking along a street when two women racially abuse him (Benjamin, 1999). The overt part of this episode is racial verbal abuse, the women using their 'knapsack of privilege' (McIntosh in Garner, 2010) to abuse a black man who is walking by. 'Go back to your own country' is a more explicit version of the 'I only have Irish forms' Laura encountered and Patricia's experience of being told to 'go back to where you belong'. Again, ironically, Kumara is an Irish citizen, however the two women interpret his physical being as incompatible with Ireland being his 'own country'. This repetition of 'go home' reinforces the perceived incompatibility of a 'black' ethnicity and Irishness. In this case, the basis of exclusion is clear to Kumara and anyone else who witnessed the exchange, with the parting demand to leave Ireland.

Patrick is an Asian man who has lived in Galway for four years, he is living in Ireland on a temporary basis as part of a business program. Patrick recounted very few experiences of racism of the overt or subtle variety, which may be explained by the curtailed social life he has lead with much of his time focused on his business. Patrick described how he has however been insulted in public space, late at night:

...he insulted me, 'you go you home country', 'you are, you ah...what is called, 'making dirty' or something like ah he insulted but I didn't respond to him (Patrick).

The context of this episode is different to Kumara, as Patrick behaved in a manner which is on the periphery of social acceptability, he was observed urinating in public which elicited a response from a passer-by. In Ireland, it is legally prohibited to urinate in public, but Patrick witnessed other people in Ireland also acting in this manner, and considered this to be acceptable behaviour. During a journey along a motorway in Ireland in fair weather conditions it is not uncommon to see people urinating along the side of the road, in a somewhat discreet manner. The rebuke to Patrick about urinating in public would not be uncommon in Ireland however telling him to 'go home' was unusual. The passer-by perceived Patrick as 'not from here' and reacted to Patrick's socially deviant yet relatively commonplace act by inferring Patrick did not have the privilege of Irish whiteness which allowed other members of the public to behave in this manner.

The final example in this section is more diffuse and involves comments Tariq has witnessed:

...'you people shouldn't be here, you should go home', 'what the hell are you doing in this country?', 'why are you here?', 'you are the cause of the recession, you caused everything'. (Tariq)

The emphasis on 'you people' immediately differentiates Tariq as 'one of them' and not 'one of us'. 'Why are you here?' questions the right to reside, similar to Tariq's wife's experience, and draws on the 'illegal immigrant' script. According to nationalist ideology only Irish people should live in Ireland, especially during recessionary times when the focus should be on Irish people, meaning Irish, white and settled people. The necessity for migrant labour which resulted from economic success in the Celtic Tiger era is juxtaposed with the migrant who is now expected to return to their country of origin, to the point that migrants and especially black African migrants who are interpreted as 'illegal migrants' are somehow to 'blame' for the current economic recession. This scapegoating of migrants has been documented in

newspaper reports, where there was an expectation of a rise in racism during the economic recession as a result of negative attitudes towards migrants in particular (Smyth, 2009).

This 'go home' script can be described as comprising threads of nationalism, that is that Ireland cannot, in normative terms, be home to people who do not 'look' Irish, and feeds from both the 'black babies' script of starving children who 'belong' in Africa while the 'illegal immigrant' script also adds to the sense of superiority of people who feel justified in questioning or harassing people they meet on the street. Representation of Travellers as 'primitive' can also be linked to this 'go home' script also, as described by Katie and discussed in Chapter 5, revealing slippage of scripts to the Other within the nation. The difficulty for research participants has been that no matter how diligently they comply with residency and citizenship rules, they may be legally resident in Ireland and can be Irish citizens of Ireland and still have their right to live in Ireland questioned purely on the basis of momentary perception in public space. The following chapter examines the fields of employment and education, contexts where comparable 'rules of the game' apply.

Chapter 7: Everyday Racism in the Fields of Employment and Education

Monday morning is the beginning of the working and school week for many people in Irish society. School-age children and adults prepare for school and work using habitual routines, for example wearing a uniform, preparing a lunch, gathering tools and materials including books, pens, paperwork and homework.



Figure 7.1 'Time for work/school' (Photograph by author, 2016).

Usually after a commute and arrival at school or work further routine practices are identifiable; sitting or standing at a desk or workstation, organising books and pens, filling in timesheets, informal conversation with school or work colleagues. Break times involve habits too, such as eating lunch in a particular place, meeting friends or colleagues for lunch or working through lunch and eating at a desk. Each school and workplace also has its own particularities, informal 'rules of the game', for example having coffee with colleagues might be a norm in one workplace and the exception in another while some students eat lunch on school grounds whereas others must leave the school premises during lunch break. The type of local habits are of less importance to the present discussion than how the operationalisation of them includes practices of inclusion and exclusion.

Education and workplace discrimination has been explored through institutional racism, with a focus on systemic practices which habituate racism, for example racism in the taxi industry in Ireland (Jaichand, 2010) and MacPherson's report of enquiry into British Police management of the Stephen Lawrence murder investigation (MacPherson, 1999). In Ireland, the exclusion of Travellers in education and employment is evidenced by low rates of educational attainment (69% of Travellers have primary education only) and high rates of unemployment (84.3% in 2012) (CSO, 2012b) while ethnic minorities also face barriers to gaining employment in Ireland (McGinnity et al., 2009). These reports are the accumulation of numerous individual episodes of exclusion, evidence which is necessary to challenge institutional racism and the resulting impact on people and society. This chapter analyses examples of individual episodes, following what Mason (2011) describes as a different facet of the experience of discrimination in education and the workplace. Among the habitual routine everyday life of education and employment in Ireland are everyday racist scripts and practices which punctuate the flow of everyday interaction.

Drawing on the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter 1, intersecting factors also influence experiences in employment and education, for example gender, class and life stage are all important potential intersectional factors. Rattansi refers to intersectionality in education, describing how class and ethnicity can intersect:

Class and gender, for example, are already racialized and ethnicized. The formation, lived experiences, and treatment by teachers and other agents of white middle-class or working class girls over their whole childhood and school life are known to be different to those of black and Asian girls of different class origins. The 'class' cannot be taken out of the ethnicity and the gender and assessed separately except in a superficial manner. (Rattansi, p. 291, 2005)

Applying the same idea to employment in Ireland, it can also be argued that employers and management may also treat white middle-class or working class employees in a different

manner to their black and Asian employees of various class backgrounds. Kumara described, in the previous section, how he was identified as black, called a 'nigger', even though his ethnicity is Asian. In his first workplace in Ireland he worked in a predominantly male manufacturing environment and was the only black and non-Irish person working there for a number of years. While this was Kumara's first experience of employment in Ireland, he had been employed in his previous home country and had learned the norms and habitual routines of that particular work environment. Katie lived in small town where 'everybody knew everybody', and as a member the local Traveller community she was expected to behave in a particular manner. Her teachers would have taught other Traveller children previously, it can be argued that before Katie ever entered the education system her path was fixed by the lower expectations of her settled and predominantly middle-class teachers. When Katie eventually became the only Traveller student in her class, when all her Traveller friends left school once legally entitled to, she became a highly visible Other within the classroom. Kumara and Katie were both singled out in their respective fields, Kumara for not being Irish and Katie for not being quite Irish enough, embodying the lack which configures the constitutive outside. Whiteness and privilege are refracted through ethnicity, class and gender and Kumara and Katie as male and female, Asian and Traveller Others were not entitled to the same privilege as their school and work colleagues (see O'Donoghue, 2013 for exploration of class and gender in education in Ireland). Katie's teachers disciplined her for minor infringements of school rules whereas settled students were given 'the benefit of the doubt' and not disciplined for the same minor infringements. Kumara was explicitly made aware of his difference at work through verbal abuse and exclusion from informal routine practices which other work colleagues automatically enjoyed.

'Rules of the game' in employment and education encompass formal and informal rules and norms, for example break times in both employment and education have informal and formal structures. These breaks are formally governed by legislation and employee/school

handbook rules however how people interact socially within these rules is not pre-defined²⁷. Similarly, codes of behaviour are often formalised, what uniform should be worn at school and the consequences of not wearing the required clothing, while workplaces have procedures for dealing with conflict between work colleagues, a process detailing how complaints are dealt with. These types of rules and codes operated in the school and workplace Katie and Kumara describe, however these did not protect either of them from discrimination and it could be argued that Kumara's complaint was dismissed as 'banter' and inconsequential while in Katie's case those very rules which are created to 'even the playing field' were used to punish her, to remind her of her 'place'.

7.1 Field of employment

7.1.1 Overt racism, monkey noises

Kumara worked in a manufacturing company as an operative with other work colleagues and a supervisor. Kumara also commented about how he found the unfriendliness of Irish co-workers surprising, the 'culture shock' of moving to a new cultural work environment.

Kumara experienced overt racial verbal abuse on a number of occasions:

...I can hear in the end of the..ah.. hall and someone, ah, like ah... ah... you know the, like monkey, ah, making sound... (Kumara)

The monkey noises Kumara experienced draw on animalistic imagery of the 'primitive' and 'savage' other, with historical roots in biological racism outlined in Chapter 1. The context of the episodes is comparable to education, students sniggering at another student walking in

²⁷ The fields of work and education have culturally and legally constructed norms and rules of behaviour. The more formal rules, for example The Organisation of Working Time Act, 1997 and The Equal Status Acts 2000-2011, are in place to protect employees, employers and students. The Equal Status Acts 'prohibit discrimination in the provision of goods and services, the disposal of property and access to education, on any of the nine grounds', which includes race, colour, nationality, ethnic or national origins and membership of the Traveller community. The fact that people can seek redress for exclusion and discrimination on the basis of these grounds does not negate that discrimination can and does continue which, for a number of reasons, may not be challenged.

the hallway. The physical space of a hallway is amenable to this type of practice, a narrow space maintaining a physical distance between social protagonists, facilitating concealment, and echoing the racializing noise towards the intended target, Kumara in this case. This type of behaviour is often explained as 'a joke' but as Kumara was not within the social circle of his work colleagues, it is difficult to describe this as a joke between friends. Kumara dealt with these episodes using the formal complaint procedures available by making a verbal complaint to his supervisor, however the monkey noises continued. Formal reporting procedures failed to address the racializing practices, and it can be argued that the supervisors' inability to deal with the complaint effectively, for whatever reasons, implicitly sanctioned the racist verbal abuse Kumara experienced.

7.1.2 Vicarious accounts and reported speech

Moving along the continuum of everyday racism, another participant described how a co-worker used racializing language about a customer. Thomas describes himself as Irish and works in the service industry, which continues to employ many migrants from various ethnic backgrounds. Thomas described racist discourse in his presence rather than his own direct experience; as a white, settled, Irish man it was unlikely he would experience racism personally. The episodes of racism he witnessed position Thomas between the transmission and reception of everyday racism. Vicarious experience is used by Essed (1991) in addition to direct experiences of racism, on the basis that accounts which are retold by third parties have validity. Essed's participants were ethnic minority women and while Thomas does not have the personal experience of racism to draw on in the same manner as Essed's cohort, he nevertheless provides a view of racist discourse which demonstrates how the repertoire operates within Irish society, similar to the work of Eliasoph who explored racist discourse in predominantly white voluntary organisations (Eliasoph, 1999). Reported speech is not without criticism, (Stokoe and Edwards, 2007) however taking account of the emotional and

psychological costs of racism (see for example Essed, 1991) and the aim of this research, which is to investigate the operation of everyday racism in Irish society, these episodes form an important part of the analysis.

Thomas describes below comments made to him about a customer by a fellow worker.

...the black guy came into the bar last week like and he was like 'oh, there's a monkey there at the end of the bar' but I think he was just saying it to get a rise out of me, I don't think like 'cause he, he just like kind of looked at me and it was like, 'ok' I didn't just like rise to it but then like should I have said something but that's maybe what he wanted just to get a rise out of me. (Thomas)

Animalistic imagery is again invoked to racialize, this time in a more indirect and subtle manner than experienced by Kumara. Thomas's attempt to explain why his workmate spoke in such a derogatory manner about the black customer is representative of the discursive unacceptability of overtly racializing language. At the time Thomas did not rebuke or challenge the comment yet in recounting the episode during the interview it required explanation and justification, what Holstein and Gubrium describe as the meaning-making which occurs during interviews (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995). Thomas describes the comment as 'a joke', similar to the manner Kumara's supervisor dismisses the monkey noises he experienced. This episode is one step removed from Kumara's experience denoting a certain social distance, similar to the physical distance, however both episodes draw on the same repertoire of animalistic, 'primitive' and 'savage' Others. This social distance plots this episode further along the continuum of racism(s) from the more personal overtly racist episodes described by Kumara. Kumara, as a person who was personally impacted by the episode he encountered took action, while Thomas was not personally effected and chose to ignore the comment at the time, not to counter the racializing tone on the basis that it was a 'bad joke'. Thomas did not endorse the comment, Thomas and the customer (apparently unaware of the comment that was made about him) were not in any way directly

disadvantaged by the comment and on this basis there is a normative argument that no harm or injury was caused, therefore this episode would not meet the criteria for racist abuse. Yet this episode demonstrates the promulgation of racializing discourse, in this case a script framed by the idea of 'primitive' and 'savage' Africans who were envisioned in historical (now discredited) biological theories of race. These historically based racializing discourses are reinforced, whether through the racializing 'banter' yet abusive discourse of co-workers and ineffective application of employment rights based policies by supervisors or more importantly through silence. In this case Thomas's inaction helps to reproduce everyday racism.

7.1.3 Everyday exclusion of migrants

This section focuses on more subtle discourses, where overtly racializing language is not present and yet it is clear that particular minority groups are alluded to, the 'foreigner' which was described as an 'alien' in the 1960's is transformed into migrant labour during the Celtic Tiger economic boom and later the unwanted 'foreigner' who is no longer welcome.

Thomas described how during an informal social conversation at work a different work colleague was negative about Polish work colleagues:

...she would be like 'oh, those people are so lazy' and I'm like not going to like walk into that situation it's just like I just keep moving, it's just like oh almost ignore the comment so maybe that's bad on my part ... she works with a lot of Polish people so I assume that's who she meant ah, but then again I don't know maybe that's just me inferring it. (Thomas)

Thomas questions his interpretation a number of times in the narrative above, he doesn't want to believe that his colleague was denigrating Polish co-workers, yet this fits with anti-

Polish discourse which has gained traction in Irish society²⁸. 'Those people are so lazy' as a construct is not racializing – and yet it is broadly similar to some of the descriptions of Irish migrant workers in Britain and the United States (see chapter 1). Denoting 'those people' rather than naming the group involves tacit knowledge between and about co-workers, on the basis of knowledge described by Berger and Luckmann as 'I know that you know' who I am talking about (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). The use of 'those' also reinforces the 'us' and 'them' divide, or what was presented earlier as the constitutive outside.

Thomas also recounted how a Polish manager in his workplace was subject to harassment from some customers who specifically referred to her nationality:

...if especially when Irish people have drink a little bit but again I think it's like some it's just like if people are asses, they are going to be asses with anybody and they'll just find a different way, it's like, 'oh, you're Polish', I'm gonna you know like latch onto that because they'd say something like 'oh where are you from, you're not from

²⁸ Looking at the specific discourses about Polish migrants, the largest migrant group in Ireland according to the last census, two case studies are analysed. Firstly, a 2012 media firestorm about a Polish woman living in Ireland named Magda (pseudonym) based on an accusation of 'welfare tourism' (Cunningham, 2012). A national newspaper article allegedly provided 'proof', from a poorly translated Polish newspaper article, that Magda was intentionally living on social welfare in Donegal rather than returning to Poland or trying to gain employment in Ireland (this article was later discredited). The article also resulted in local politicians offering to pay 'Magda's' fare to return to Poland, stating that she was no longer welcome to live in Donegal (Cunningham, 2012). Such was the negative media coverage of this story that the Polish ambassador to Ireland intervened due to the 'danger of an anti-immigrant atmosphere' (Cunningham, 2012).

Also in 2012, a district court judge made a comment during a court case: 'A Polish charity? There is. It's called the social welfare' (Carberry, 2012). Judge Mary Devins was dealing with a case involving the selection of a Polish charity to enable an Irish defendant pay one thousand euro in lieu of a public order conviction for verbally abusing an Irish security guard, calling him a 'fat Polish f***er' (Carberry, 2012). The Judge who originally heard the case a month earlier described this language as 'quasi-racist', and ordered that the defendant appear a month later to be sentenced. It was during the later sentencing that Judge Devins described the Irish social welfare system as a 'Polish charity'. Judge Devins defended her comment as triggered by an earlier case involving Polish men who were unemployed and social welfare recipients, she argued that her comments were in relation to this earlier case. Judge Devins did not withdraw her remarks but apologised if her comment caused offence, implying that her comments were not offensive but could be construed in such a manner, a discursive framing which moves the intention to 'mistaken interpretation', precisely what Thomas described earlier in relation to his 'mis-interpreting' his work colleagues racializing language. These two cases demonstrate how Polish 'welfare tourism' is a credible construct which includes 'laziness' and this can be linked to the negative discourse witnessed by Thomas.

here are you, you're not Irish?', she'd be saying, 'no, I'm from Poland', so I suppose that's racism. (Thomas)

Commenting on a person's nationality is not racializing in itself, it is the highlighting of the lack of acceptability of their nationality in the context of a host nation, 'you are not Irish'. 'You are not from here', implies a lack of belongingness, not entitled to the same privilege as an Irish person in the same role. The question 'where are you from?' on its own merit is unremarkable in Irish society, Tariq noted how he found the question hurtful at first, until he understood the question as part of informal conversation rather than a questioning of identity. In this context the questioning of origin is not neutral but prefaced by 'you're not from here', is an effort to 'place' and therefore position the person by their place of origin. These episodes can be easily dismissed as mere descriptive language by colleagues and customers while they also have to be positioned within broader anti-immigrant discourses.

7.1.4 Practices of exclusion – social isolation

Another layer of everyday racism can be identified in practices which do not require verbalisation and yet effectively exclude by action or omission. This type of practice was described earlier by Patricia, when people put money in her hand when she walked in public. Kumara described how he sat alone in the company canteen over a number of years, the same workplace where he was subjected to monkey noises.

...ah the lunch break time...I think more than twenty five, thirty tables there and my table is only me... because no one coming because three chairs empty around the tables and nobody came and, ah, some other all the tables full only my tables, only me. (Kumara)

The usual arrangement in Kumara's workplace is that people sit together for lunch and yet he is the only person in the whole canteen who sits alone. This leads Kumara to the conclusion that his workmates chose not to sit beside him, he was isolated by being left alone every

single day. The exclusion faced by Kumara, being isolated at break times, at a table by himself, in conjunction with the verbal abuse were clear messages to Kumara that he was outside the 'in-group', a source of amusement perhaps, the target of prejudice, but otherwise unwelcome. The exclusion at break-times is more subtle than verbal abuse and similar to the isolation Kumara encountered on public transport, as noted in Chapter 6, again people chose not to sit beside Kumara, not to share social space with him.

The similarity of these episodes of exclusion in the workplace and public transport demonstrates commonality across fields and the cumulative effects of the same type of exclusion occurring repeatedly. Kumara did not note any issues in relation to completion of work tasks, in the proscribed workplace sphere where co-workers are also employees who must complete certain tasks as part of their contract of employment Kumara was tolerated. In the more socially regulated areas such as the canteen and hallway, it is not compulsory that co-workers communicate or socialise with one another. Kumara's experience of everyday racism were in the spaces of work, canteen and hallway, where social interaction is discretionary and in these areas he experienced verbal abuse and physical social isolation. Kumara's exclusion, as he sat eating in silence during his break, every day for a number of years also reinforced the 'we-ness' of the white Irish workforce who all sat at tables together. Kumara described in the interview how eventually when new employees from outside Ireland joined the workplace, he no longer had to sit alone.

7.2 Field of Education

Education, as noted above, has similar attributes to the workplace in both formal and legal constraints and informal practices. A number of in-depth studies of racism and racialization in Irish education have been conducted by Devine, Kenny and MacNeela (2008), Kitching (2011) and Bryan (2009) while Gillborn (1995) and Connolly (1998) are notable contributions to analysis of racism in education in the United Kingdom. Bryan (2009) analysed discourses of

multiculturalism at a policy and school level in the Republic of Ireland and argues that acceptance of ethnic minority children in schools is contingent and incomplete:

...it is a discourse which merely bestows a conditional passive national belonging upon racialized minorities, while simultaneously entrenching power relations between the acceptor and those whom they accept. (Bryan, p. 312, 2009)

Devine, Kenny and MacNeela (2008) investigated school children's experiences of racism among their peers focusing on children's constructions and experiences of racism and found that racist name-calling was a feature of children's lives, especially for Traveller children. As with episodes from the field of employment, here the focus will be on practices and scripts discernible in the banal routines of education where students interact with other students and teachers.

It is important to note that experiences of education are limited to research participants who lived in Ireland as children, some participants had no experience of education in Ireland.

Episodes recounted in interviews also encompass all education levels in Ireland: national school, secondary school and university level. This grouping of diverse institutions with various structures and educational emphases is on the basis of formal education as a specific field of analysis, there is a diversity of experience within educational institutions with the experiences of research participants grounded in the everyday of those experiences.

Teachers, at all levels of formal education, use scripts and practices in their interaction with ethnic minority students and while these scripts and practices may be institutionally reinforced or remain unchallenged, their impact is filtered through interpersonal social interaction.

7.2.1 Everyday racist discourse

Ethnic minority children can be subjected to racializing discourse without the use of openly racial language. Patricia remembered an incident when she was about twelve years old and a missionary priest visited her school:

...we had a missionary priest come to our school in Galway and he started to talk about how in awe black people were of white people and I was the only black child in the classroom and I remember sitting at the back of the class and I could feel, I was about twelve, and I could feel the embarrassment of it, you know I just wanted to hide and I remember the teacher jumped up off the table and said, 'and isn't that interesting and when summer comes we all want to go brown' and he was basically trying to minimise the damage but it was done, you know, like the priest obviously had this inner belief that he was superior you know and that he would come to a classroom and share it with young children, you know, that black people wanted to be white. (Patricia)

The everyday for Patricia was of being different, of being the only black child in a school of white children in 1960's Ireland, just as later Kumara was the only black Asian man in his workplace. This episode brings the paternalistic superiority of Christian aid organisations, noted in Chapter 2, into stark relief in Patricia's classroom in Ireland. Looking back on this incident, Patricia remembered the feeling of difference and embarrassment however her white Irish school friends were also being told that people (like Patricia) were inferior and wanted to be white. The discourse described draws on the 'primitive' script, of African people as childlike, in addition to the Christian idea of needy 'black babies' who were to be rescued from 'heathen' ways and customs by white people. The episode was memorable to Patricia, decades later, because it impacted on her directly while other students sitting in the school that day would not likely remember that incident in the same manner as Patricia. Rather than disturbing the *habitus* of the other school children and teachers, it was an

episode which merely reinforced ideas they had heard previously and would hear and see again in the future, for example every year when they looked at their Trocaire box. The teacher who intervened, who attempted to rehabilitate the harsh words, to lessen the impact on Patricia perhaps, understood that the discourse was hurtful to Patricia and yet it was a deflection rather than a challenge to what was being said. The same missionary priest most likely retold that story in many schools as he travelled around Ireland, adding to the racializing repertoire of knowledge of children who would later become the adults Kumara, Katie, Tariq and indeed Patricia would encounter in everyday life.

7.2.2 Practices of exclusion

Katie's experience of education has been one of exclusion on an ongoing and subtle basis. Katie recounted a number of particular incidences where she felt she was being excluded both within education and from particular educational spaces due to her Traveller ethnicity.

...there was many racist incidents and I suppose one that stuck in my mind and one that pushed me towards furthering my education was the fact that, ahm, in leaving cert we had, ahm, one of our teachers that were going around with, ahm, college application forms and, ahm, she just simply passed my desk and made a comment that I wouldn't be going to college so I didn't need one in the first place so, ahm, that kind of really got to me because I was interested in education and I was interested in gettin my work done and I was interested in going to college but I really didn't know much about the system and how to go about getting into it or the information for it.

(Katie)

Katie was very emotional describing this particular incident, a couple of words spoken by a teacher dashed the hopes and dreams of a young Traveller girl, which had a significant impact on Katie's life. Katie faced a number of difficulties staying-on in education, she had a limited educational social circle and a dearth of peers to share her experiences with. As she lived

near the schools she attended, during primary and secondary education there was no ambiguity about Katie's ethnicity, when she walked into school for the first time with her family and friends she would have been identified as a Traveller girl. As the teacher surveyed students in the classroom that day, other students could also have had forms withheld, 'weak' students or those from a working class background. Katie was treated as teachers surmised all Traveller children should be treated, with Katie expected to live down to the lower standards expected of Traveller students. The teacher's decision to with-hold a form from Katie was likely based on the fact that Travellers in that particular school did not usually complete second level education, most finished before the final year and Leaving Certificate was a requirement at the time for entry to third-level education. The expectation was that Katie, as a Traveller student, would not finish her second level education and the fact that she completed second level education singled her out, she was outside the norm. The idea that a Traveller student would want to apply to attend university was outside the normative knowledge and practical consciousness of her teacher. The teacher could not 'see' beyond Katie's ethnicity, could not see the student who wanted to further her education, who had the capability which was later demonstrated in attending and completing university education.

The everyday element of this experience is the context of the physically situated and rhythmic movement of this particular very short episode, the link to practice and place (Pink, 2012) as discussed in Chapter 2. Students and teachers in educational environments have repetitive and rhythmic practices, with students sitting at school desks, wearing uniforms, addressing teachers in a specified manner while the teacher has a routine of sitting or standing in a particular way and distributing paperwork to the class. The teacher, on this occasion, distributed application forms to students as they were sitting at their desks, therefore the teacher retained the power to decide who should and who should not get a form (this was prior to online application systems, teachers officially distributed these forms

during school time). The pieces of paper, university application forms, represented the aspirations of many students and their families, it was the opportunity to go to university, to pursue a course of study and potential career in the future. The form that was denied to Katie that day had an inherent potential transformative value that went far beyond the physical piece of paper. The comment to Katie that she would not need the form as she was not going to college was personally very hurtful to Katie. She felt judged, all her efforts belittled, no matter how hard she worked, how interested she was in attending college, her teacher decided that day that Katie did not need the form. The message was also clear to the other students in the classroom that Katie was not a suitable university candidate, while those who did receive forms, whether or not they were ultimately successful, were secure in the knowledge that they were suitable potential university candidates and were encouraged to live up to their aspirations. The opportunity to attend university passed Katie by on that occasion as the teacher passed her desk, excluding her from an opportunity to further her education.

Katie went on to describe how her career guidance teacher was also unhelpful in assisting Katie with her desire to attend third level education.

My career guidance teacher wasn't much good either, she didn't put me in no direction for education or anything like that so I basically got no help from secondary school at that level I suppose... (Katie)

The exclusion by the teacher distributing university application forms was reinforced by the Career Guidance Teacher whose specific role it was to assist Katie in making choices about future career or educational plans. Katie's experience is similar to other ethnic minority children who are excluded from further education based on the perception of their abilities and potential careers (See Sinha, p. 119, 2002). Katie was not afforded the opportunity to progress her education, arguably failed by the education system in Ireland, however the experience of this was in the everyday of school life and without any racial language. Katie

was stereotyped and racialized as not being good enough for further education, drawing on historical scripts of 'lazy' and 'primitive' Travellers, unsuitable candidates for university education. Katie's personal skills and attributes were not recognised and this exclusion was reinforced by other incidents, some repeated on a regular basis in the everyday, banal routines of education.

One example that Katie recounted related an episode where her personal skills were dismissed and she was required to fulfil a restrictive role, one designated for Traveller children, during a school event.

...one incident when I was in sixth class, ahm,... I suppose, ahm, what happened there was it was St Patrick's Day and we were doing a parade with the school and, ahm, I was really good at gymnastics and I wanted to do gymnastics with the, with some of the class and, ahm, the teacher just kept telling me no I would have to hold the banner and stay in front and hold the banner, like, and I just refused to do it like so my Mom came up to the school and said like, 'look she's not gonna go into the parade if she doesn't do the gymnastics, like, why hold the banner?,' you know and it was kind of like putting, puttin people that, that I suppose like Travellers, cause it was another Traveller that she, that the teacher put holding the banner with me, like, you know. (Katie)

The teacher, similar to the previous example in secondary school, had a routinized manner of dealing with Traveller children in her class, Traveller children had specific roles which they fulfilled which ensured their inclusion, while ignoring the personal attributes and abilities of the specific student. The role in this case was to hold the banner at the front of the school group in the parade and Katie and another Traveller child were assigned this role, a manual labour type role, one that potential university students would not be expected to perform. It can be argued that Traveller students are assigned narrowly defined roles which require the lowest level of skill which reinforces to the students and those attending the parade that this

is a 'suitable' Traveller role. Gymnastics is also a skill which is associated with a high level of skill, control and commitment through practice, which are contrary to how Traveller children and their parents are construed as unreliable, lacking control and commitment. Katie's mother's intervention also points to Traveller parent's potential lack of cultural capital, the type of privilege settled parents enjoy when negotiating with teachers on behalf of their children. Katie and her mother's insistence of her suitability for a different role to the one assigned reflects Pinks' 'multiple potentials' (2012), opportunities for change exist, a different outcome is possible, unfortunately not on this occasion.

The annual St Patrick's Day Parade is also a particularly nationalist event in Ireland, a celebration of Irish culture and heritage which Travellers share with the settled population. Katie, as a Traveller student, was expected to accept the 'banner-holder' role, meeting Fanning's conceptualisation of 'weak multiculturalism', of a thin and surface level of inclusion, where Traveller students should not expect equal treatment but should be content with being tolerated and allowed to participate (Fanning, 2002). Conditions of toleration include control, with Traveller children expected to behave outside settled norms of 'good' behaviour, control of expected 'bad' behaviour results in assigned, narrow roles which limits full participation and ultimately personal growth and development. This type of control leads to close monitoring of Traveller children within education, ensuring they follow all incumbent rules and policing of Traveller students can lead to differential treatment which in Katie's case continued into the field of higher education, as noted in the next episode which occurred in the first year of Katie's undergraduate studies at university:

...it was in first year and, ahm, my brother was after dying and, ah, it was... we had an essay to write and, ahm, for a due date and she, ahm, was within the class, like, you know, and she said out loud within the class, 'Katie have you got your essay written' and I said 'no, because...' and before I could even finish what I was saying she, ahm,

she just started roaring and said, 'get out, if you're not going to be doing the work, just get out' (harsh tone of voice), you know...(Katie)

This episode continues the theme of exclusion from education, in this episode Katie is harshly punished for what is considered a relatively common occurrence in educational settings, the non-completion of course work. The teacher's comment described earlier, of Katie not going to university can be traced to Travellers being historically described as uneducated and 'unemployable' as referenced in Chapter 2, Historical Moments. The tutor involved in this episode seems to over-react, however no direct anti-Traveller language is used. What is clear is that Katie was shouted at and removed from educational space by her tutor, for a relatively minor infringement, for which students would not usually expect to be removed from the education space.

I picked it up because I was a Traveller and I suppose it might not have been but it has been so... I suppose beaten into us since we were young that every, every negative incident that we get we take it that it's because we are Travellers. (Katie)

Katie interpreted that the harsh treatment was due to anti-Traveller prejudice and acknowledges here that she does not know whether or not the actions on this occasion were based on intentional or unintentional bias against her. The end result for Katie was the same as before, yet another episode of verbal abuse and exclusion in a publicly humiliating manner. There is a cumulative impact of repeated exclusion, the ongoing impact of two previous teachers pronouncing to Katie 'you're not going to university' which leads to Katie including this episode as one of everyday Traveller exclusion.

When Katie did disclose her ethnicity to a fellow university student she encountered patronising discourse:

I should be so proud of myself because Travellers don't do this and, you know, it was like making me feel so little that I should be privileged to be here, you know, that Travellers are usually not allowed into university as such. (Katie)

This episode demonstrates how discourses circulate in society, Katie's fellow secondary school students heard the teacher note that Katie would not be going to college, it made sense and became part of *habitus* to view Traveller students as unsuitable for education. Similarly, other university students witnessed the over-reaction of Katie's tutor to her non-completion of work. These three episodes are linked, discourses of exclusion continuously recirculate, a fellow student repeats the discourse of Travellers not suitable for university education, which Katie had already encountered at least twice previously. Katie's university colleague re-affirmed to Katie that she should be grateful for the educational opportunity rather than being entitled to equal treatment, while her settled colleague was secure from her position of privilege that she, conversely, did not need to express the same gratitude.

7.2.3 Rules, regulations and monitoring indiscipline

Katie also recounted many subtle episodes of exclusion in education, the following from secondary school:

Katie: like you can tell like straight away like the reactions from a teacher and how they, how they view you, I suppose, as a Traveller, you know...ahm, like I was always a quiet girl and I was shy and kind of reserved but, ahm, within school, you know, even like simple things like, like there was an incident that, ahm, I was sitting in the classroom and I had, I had no biro and, ahm, and we had to write something from the blackboard so I turned around in my desk to ask, ahm, a girl for, can I borrow her biro and, ahm, I suppose I was thrown out of the classroom for speaking... and, ahm, over to detention for something like that...it was just the fact like there was many of those incidents like within the school, you know, ahm, if ahm, if I didn't have my tie on for the day I would be sent home, you know, so

Anita: and were other people sent home if they didn't have their tie on?

Katie: ahm no, no , it was just Travellers I suppose that were sent home...so it just like it came to the stage I suppose, if I didn't have my skirt or my tie I didn't go to school so I was just missing out ...because of something like that.

These repeated episodes of everyday exclusion reinforced the message to Katie that she did not 'deserve' or belong in the educational environment. If challenged, Katie was not adhering to school rules, she had no recourse to counter the strict enforcement of school rules, the inequitable and unjustified harsh punishment of minor infringements which were not enforced equally among all students. The chronology of exclusion starts with the earlier example of being assigned the low skilled 'banner-holder' role in national school, followed by continuous, repeated punishment for minor infringements such as asking for a pen, leading to absence from secondary school, exclusion from applying to further education to the episode of being shouted at and being removed from class in university to the final patronising comments of her fellow student – the message to Katie, from those in positions of power and ultimately from her colleague, that she was not 'suitable' for education. Over a life-time in education Katie received messages that she did not belong in education and it undoubtedly required personal strength and courage to persevere in an education system where everyday she faced exclusionary practices and scripts, making it difficult for her to remain in education.

The final example, reported by Sarah who worked with a Traveller home-work club assisting school-age children complete homework tasks, highlights the impact of harsh treatment of Traveller children:

...through the Traveller children again you know one little boy was very nervous about going into school unless he had everything done and he didn't have one of the sheets with him that he needed to work from and he was really nervous about going into school because his teacher would be so annoyed and I hear from people working

out there that it is a problem in that teachers do pick on these children especially if they haven't got their homework done you know. (Sarah)

The low level of Traveller educational attainment in Ireland is attributed to many factors, this episode underlines the experiences of Katie and demonstrates that the culture of hostility which Katie experienced continues unabated with the current generation of Traveller children. Katie had the recourse of making a complaint about her university tutor who treated her harshly when work was incomplete, the young child described here by Sarah does not have the same options, his parents would likely receive a hostile and patronising response if they complained, just as Katie's mother was not entertained when she complained to Katie's teacher. The occasional non-completion of homework would be considered reasonable, students can forget a piece of work, mislay the relevant book or be ill and unable to complete work. Sarah highlights that Traveller children do not have the privilege afforded to other children, instead of understanding the Traveller student expects to be punished, regardless of the circumstances. This links to the historical portrayal of Travellers as uncontrolled and unreliable, see Chapter 2 – teachers use this stereotype to 'teach children a lesson' – there is no allowance, no extenuating circumstances for Traveller children – they must obey the rules, without exception. In the 1963 Report of the Commission on Itinerancy there is specific reference to Traveller children being 'unruly' and 'out of control' due to lack of parental control which was deemed endemic in Traveller culture. The teaching profession continue to enforce strict rules of behaviour and conduct with this episode demonstrating how this can be achieved and the fear it invokes in young school children.

7.3 Conclusion

Kumara's overall experience of everyday racism contains numerous episodes from various fields which points to commonality in the spatial and temporal nature of everyday racism, for

Kumara there was no escaping exclusion whether he was walking on the street, sitting on a bus or eating alone in the canteen. Those who did not sit beside Kumara, who made monkey noises in his presence reinforced regularly to Kumara and other social actors that Kumara was on the periphery of their social circles, configured him as the constitutive outside, he defined the unacceptable presence in their midst. The comments made in Thomas's presence could be interpreted as 'throw-away' social conversation among co-workers, the exact type of conversation Kumara was excluded from at break-time. This also signifies how sitting alone deprived Kumara of the type of social interaction which others had an automatic entitlement to, reaffirming his outsider status.

Katie and Kumara both describe how their education and workplace environments were hostile, how it was very difficult for both of them to remain in their place of work and education. They also share the experience of maintaining their own integrity in both fields, what they endured was unacceptable and yet they stayed at work and in education. This chapter also demonstrates how discourses circulate in society – how monkey noises Kumara heard can be linked to the monkey word used to describe a black customer and how both of these episodes were given further validity by the inaction of Kumara's supervisor and Thomas's silence. Historical discourses of 'unruly' and 'primitive' Traveller children are embedded in practices Traveller students encounter at all levels of education. The paternalistic messages of Christian Aid organisations also can be linked to the money given to Patricia on the street and the discourse she, her school friends and teacher witnessed during the 1960's, these notions of superiority of white people and inferiority of black people continue in the messages of those same organisations today. Co-workers who talk among themselves, making monkey noises, or calling customers a monkey, criticising migrant co-workers for being 'lazy' do so in banal everyday conversations and yet these seemingly harmless discourses are part of a repertoire of racializing language which is available for use in Irish society.

Chapter 8: Everyday racism in the Field of Leisure and Consumption

8.1 Introduction



Figure 8.1 Galway city centre, Galwaytourism.ie website with by-line 'Immerse yourself in the culture, sample a stout at a traditional Irish music session,' September 2016.

The above picture in Figure 8.1 depicts Galway city, comprised of winding cobbled streets surrounded by shops, restaurants, pubs and nightclubs. Galway is a popular tourist destination, a place where people from all over Ireland and the wider world come to visit:

Wander Galway City's cobble-stoned streets and feel yourself stepping back in time to Medieval Ireland. Known the world over for its friendly people, charming streets, shopping and nightlife. (Discover Ireland website, April 2014)

The figure of the tourist is similar to Benjamin's *flaneur*, wanderers who traverse city streets, observing and enjoying the physical and meta-physical city, dialectically detached whilst simultaneously being part of the city (Benjamin, 1999). The tourist who visits Galway city is welcomed by an economic rationale of contributing to the local economy while staying in accommodation and consuming local goods and services. Diverse tourists who walk around in groups, with different accents and unusual attire are not only tolerated but actively encouraged to visit the city. Bauman offers us a critical perspective on this scenario by contrasting the figure of the 'tourist' with that of the 'vagabond'. Bauman argues that, 'vagabonds are travellers refused the right to turn into tourists' (Bauman, p. 93, 1998). Bauman's vagabonds are those who travel, occupying a lower position in what he terms the 'new hierarchy' of globalized societies (Bauman, p. 4, 1998). Migrant workers and asylum-

seekers in Ireland are examples of Bauman's 'vagabonds' and by the economic rationale which welcomes tourists, are envisaged as draining the local economy; migrants due to either sending their remittances to home countries, claiming social welfare or taking 'Irish' jobs while asylum-seekers 'drain' economic resources through state provision of accommodation, meals, education and allowances. Using the same economic lens Travellers are perceived as consuming economic resources, with high levels of unemployment and a high dependency on social welfare, the normative economic argument is that Travellers do not contribute financially to Irish society. Bauman also argues that social exclusion of 'vagabonds' can be attributed to fear and insecurity borne of the post-modern global world, where 'the line which divides them (vagabonds and tourists) is tenuous and not always clearly drawn' (Bauman, p. 96, 1998). In summary, tourists contribute to the economic success of Galway, reside temporarily in Galway for short periods, inhabiting specific spaces and leading to their experience of Galway, noted above, as a welcoming city. Other Others who reside in Galway, whether they contribute financially or not, exceed this superficial, economically rationalized welcome reserved for tourists and with-held from 'vagabonds'.

The field of leisure and consumption in Ireland is underpinned by both the capitalist system of profit-making and neo-liberal ideology of equality of access to all potential consumers. Shops, retail outlets, pubs and nightclubs can be analysed as commercial entities which rely on consumers for financial success and economic survival. Legal rights of access to such places are enshrined in the Equal Status Acts (2000-2015)²⁹ however the economic viability of these leisure and consumption spaces is circumscribed by practices of distinction (Bourdieu, 1984). Particular people are construed as potential customers, with Traveller exclusion from leisure and consumption well-documented. Two cases reveal the ease with which Traveller exclusion is justified, the first case being more overt with the second based on routine and

²⁹ Complaints under the Equal Status Acts (2000-2015) are investigated by Workplace Relations, Department of Jobs, Enterprise and Innovation.

habit. During 2015 all commercial outlets including shops, pubs and restaurants in Athlone, a large town in the centre of Ireland, closed for a number of hours during a Traveller funeral, resulting in large scale exclusion of Travellers who attended the funeral (Flaherty, 2015). The closure of leisure and consumption facilities was justified on the basis of potential violent retaliation at the funeral of a murder victim. The earlier example of a pub in Cavan, less than an hour's drive from Athlone, routinely closing every time Travellers are 'in town' and providing ash-trays for settled customers to enable them illegally smoke inside the premises during 'lock-ins' of settled people, or 'lock-outs' of Travellers, demonstrates how Traveller exclusion is seamlessly incorporated into everyday routines of leisure and consumption. The evidence presented here demonstrates that exclusion from leisure and consumption was experienced in certain specific places, but not in others, pointing to exclusionary practices being localised to certain pubs, nightclubs and shops. The episodes were predominantly from the perspective of leisure and consumption users with some evidence presented from the viewpoint of a former employee in a shop. As noted in Chapter 3, there is an everydayness to roles such as security staff, bar and shop staff and customer. Security staff are responsible for protecting their employer and customers from potential security threats while bar and shop staff are employed to serve customers. Customers have a more social role in terms of their interaction with other customers and staff, for example going to the bar and ordering a drink. Customers also adhere to acceptable forms of dress, suitable for the particular place, similar to more formal school codes of dress, as gatekeepers such as security staff can refuse entry if these codes are not adhered to. Leisure and consumption also exhibit locally, culturally defined norms and mores with Irish pubs having a global reputation for lively conversation and a jovial atmosphere. Galway's global reputation for welcoming tourists hides the uneven welcome afforded to other Others who are not tourists but Bauman's 'vagabonds' and envisioned as not meeting the criteria needed to be a potential, valued customer, leading to practices of discrimination and exclusion.

8.2 Practices of exclusion

Walking along the pedestrianised streets of Galway, one routinely encounters street entertainers and people wearing sandwich boards. At night-time, the scene changes, and now includes groups of marketing staff who provide promotional material, from flyers to discounted entry to local entertainment venues, including nightclubs. Kumara described how before he has the opportunity to enter a nightclub or pub in Galway, he and others in his social circle are purposefully ignored on the street by promotional staff:

...not only me and ah other, all, because ah you know we have Asian community and Indian community and everyone we are talking about that and when we were, you know we allowed to go nightclub or anything like that but when I, you know in the street, you know, people giving like entertainment stamp... and cards and things, you know the entrance to free, entrance to nightclub things, but... never offer and when they, when we are coming, they are looking the other way and ah giving to the, when the white person coming and they are giving to the white person, yeah, yeah and not only me the complaining, other people also complaining about that, yeah. (Kumara)

Racial language is absent from these episodes and yet there is a clear pattern of exclusion experienced by people who have also encountered racist verbal abuse and everyday racist verbal episodes in other contexts. Marketing staff make momentary decisions based on their perception of Kumara and other Asian men and women. A group of people are thereby excluded, based on their perceived shared attributes, similar to how Katie is treated when socializing with other Travellers and Kumara in the canteen at work and on public transport. This exclusionary practice is incredibly subtle with non-verbal body language communicating to Kumara and his friends that they are not welcome in pubs and nightclubs. This type of marketing exercise aims to increase customer numbers in a venue which, as noted by Kumara and others, excludes certain people and so the practice functions as a filtering mechanism of (de)selection. These repeated episodes are similar to the physical movement of handbags in

Chapter 6 but in this case the action is one of with-holding something of potential value from Kumara. This non-verbal practice avoids any possible potential confrontation from the perspective of marketing staff, and though not linked explicitly to the overt racism discussed in Chapter 5, it is arguable that marketing staff draw on this tacit knowledge when they withhold vouchers from someone who has been called a 'Paki', 'black bastard' and interpreted as a potential thief. Kumara did not explain why he was not given these free nightclub passes – it could be because he was 'read' as a potential thief, or a black man who could not possibly have the disposable income if assumed to be an asylum-seeker. It is also possible, similar to Katie's experience of being denied the university application form material, that other people made the decision for Kumara based on their assumptions about him. This episode demonstrates the range of everyday racism, from overt verbalisation to this more subtle type of practice, which combine in constituting and policing the boundary between 'us' and Other.

Moving to a more subtle episode which highlights how at various points in time, certain nationality or ethnic groups can be differentially treated. As noted earlier, Laura is Irish but spent many years in London and speaks with a strong London accent, had the experience of her nationality being a problem in her social life in the 1990's, in Ireland.

I wouldn't even go to the bar to drink, to order a drink just because of my English accent...I ordered whatever it was I ordered and ahm the man behind the counter ignored me, looked at me, talked over my head and spoke to the girl, one of the girls I was with behind me and said 'she's English' and my friend said 'yes she is but she's...' and she related every single person I was related to, 'she's so and so's grandniece and so and so's niece and so and so's daughter' and whatever and he went 'oh, right', he grunted and he gave me my chips but the thing about it was it was all in English so that I would hear whereas everybody back in Carraroe speaks Irish as their first

language and he made his point in English so that I understood, you know, it was intimidating, you know.(Laura)

Englishness was a liability in that particular location during that time. The only way of ameliorating Laura's unacceptable Englishness was the social capital she accumulated due to familial relationships in the locality. On her own merit, Laura, as a perceived English woman, was not acceptable but with the illumination of familial ties to the locality she was vouched for, a type of character reference to render her presence tolerable. There is a gradual pattern to this episode, from the initial highlighting of her nationality 'she's English' to her friend's defence of her belongingness, despite her perceived Englishness. There is also the delay, hidden by the conversation, where Laura was being evaluated before she was served. This is a subtle example of what Bourdieu describes as 'transmissible power', exercisable in particular contexts, 'how much advantage the holder of a transmissible power can derive from the art of delaying transmission and keeping others in the dark as to his ultimate intentions', (Bourdieu, p. 107, 1990). The delay here is barely noticeable, however it is part of the exercise of power over Laura through both delay and questioning. Laura's difference was also highlighted in the manner she was spoken about in a language she would understand, treated differently to everyone else who communicated primarily through Irish. Laura became aware of her perceived Englishness and changed her behaviour, was reluctant to ask for a drink in the local nightclub because of previous hostility she encountered when her English accent was noted.

Similar to Kumara's experience of being continuously ignored by marketing staff, Laura recounted the following incident from 1996:

I remember going up to ahm I ordered a Guinness off this, off the girl and she put the Guinness to set and she looked at me and every time someone came up and ordered a Guinness she would give them my Guinness and reset mine and she did it something like five times and I had to just keep standing there waiting there for my

Guinness... and like, there can't be no other reason, like she was white, I'm white, you know, like the only obvious, you know either she really just took an instant dislike to me but the thing was I was standing there thinking it was because I've got an English accent and ahm that, that really hurt me at the time. Funny, funny more than a lot of other ones and it was just so, it was just so slight I suppose. (Laura)

Guinness (also called stout as noted in the introduction), which is associated with Ireland and Irishness, is poured and left to 'settle' for a couple of minutes before a final 'head' is poured to finish the drink before serving to a customer. Laura expected to wait a few minutes for her pint of Guinness, but she did not expect to wait indefinitely, as the bar person continuously gave each pint to subsequent customers. As noted in Thomas's experience, sometimes staff express racializing discourse, in this case the lack of discussion leaves the episode open to interpretation. While it is open to debate whether Laura's Englishness was problematic, Laura interpreted the subtle behaviour towards her as relating to her accent and assumed Englishness, as occurred previously. Similar to Kumara's experience of being ignored by marketing staff and Katie's experience of being ignored in a coffee shop, Laura feels that her perceived Englishness diminishes her in the eyes of others. The first occasion 'her pint' was given to someone else could have been an error, yet the fact of Laura standing in front of the bar person should demonstrate her visibility, Laura, like Kumara, became momentarily invisible. This is also another example of 'transmissible power' which is exercised in the form of delaying service to Laura, this time without discourse (Bourdieu, p. 107, 1990). As noted earlier, racialization is the process of inferring racial stereotypes on a group of people based on markers which can in some cases be cultural rather than physical (Garner, 2013). In this case Laura's accent was the cultural marker which draws on nationalist rhetoric of anti-English sentiment as noted in Chapter 2.

Coming back to Kumara's experience of socialising in Galway, what begins on the street when he is ignored by those soliciting custom progresses to a more concrete mode of exclusion, when a gatekeeper prohibits entry:

...some the pubs security also... and they are racist you know the and ah one time I, I was wearing very nice clothes and I wear like runners, very new runners, that one... ah he said, 'no, you can't go in'...yeah, and because lot, lots of people in the pub I went to meet one of my friends and he said ..ah..ah...'you can't wear runners', I said 'look inside, maybe more than fifty people with, with runners'...because, 'why only me' I ask and 'no, no, no', then I went to the garda station in the night, like ten o'clock in the night...and then I, I complain to community gardai, the, the lady and she, she came straight away, she came to the pub...and she ask, she ah ask ah from the ah bouncer, 'why you, ah, not allow to go that guy into the pub?'... and he says, 'runners', and then the, the gardai, that lady also told them, 'you looks inside lots of people wearing runners, why only him', like that, and then they offer to me, you know the, the... then I think she went inside and talk with them like manager or somebody then I...ahm...they...ah...offer to to me come in and have a pint, like that but I didn't go after that. (Kumara)

Kumara may not have adhered to formal dress code rules on this occasion but neither did many other customers on the same night, yet discretionary power was used to allow those other customers entry, including Kumara's friend he was planning to meet, while Kumara was not afforded the same discretion. This episode is similar to Katie's experience in education when she did not wear the correct school uniform, demonstrating how school dress code rules applied differentially to Katie and her peers.

It is not possible to state definitively why Kumara was refused entry, he surmises the episode was based on racism however this cannot be confirmed unequivocally. Questions remain in three aspects of the episode, firstly, the fact that the conversation between the Garda and

venue management was 'off the record' (we do not know what was said). Secondly, there was a lack of explanation to Kumara by either bar management or the Garda, and thus he received neither explanation nor apology for the initial refusal. Finally, Kumara could have pursued the matter under equal status legislation but what happened was that mediation by the community Garda resolved the issue to the satisfaction of venue management and the Garda, but not Kumara. It is understandable that Kumaras' night out had effectively been ruined, the episode had disrupted the flow of his night out, and delayed him excessively, a visit to a Garda station and having to fight to gain entry to the venue took its toll. Something other than dress code was the 'problem' that led to Kumara being initially refused entry. Based on other episodes he has experienced Kumara labels this as a racist episode. The episodes which occurred when Kumara did enter a pub reviewed later in this chapter also offer other possible explanations.

For Travellers, the experience of being refused entry to leisure and consumption space is all too familiar, and has become part of their practical consciousness (Giddens, 1984). The following episode contrasts with the previous one in Chapter 5, where verbal abuse accompanied refusal of access, here a readily available justification for not granting entry is couched in more indirect language.

...we went out for a night in, in Carlow it was and, ahm, we went up there only for the weekend and we didn't know the town, you know, and we went to a place and we were told at the door 'ye're crowd were here last week and wrecked the place, ye're not coming in'... like who was 'our crowd', like...you know, it wasn't us, we're not from the town, we weren't ever here before, you know, so it's just that kind of thing like it's... it's difficult when you're, like even to say something simple like 'let's go away for the weekend', well where are you gonna go? What reaction are you gonna get? It's a lot easier, I suppose to stay in the area that you know because you know where you can't go and you know where you can go, you know...(Katie)

Racialization without race is achieved based on the tacit knowledge of both parties, security staff and Katie knew that 'Ye're crowd' meant Travellers, there was no need to racially abuse Katie and her friends as refusing entry was based on a common-sense notion that all Travellers are violent. This language is also a more informal separation of 'them' as in 'Ye're crowd' and 'us' as those allowed entry. This racializing of Travellers as 'all being the same', holds all Travellers to account for the violent behaviour of some Travellers. Katie describes the impact of being excluded, how her reluctance to visit new places, and the constant threat of being refused entry leads to Travellers staying in areas they are familiar with, with venues chosen based on previous experience, and thus the social space she inhabits contracts as she selects venues where she and others have had previous positive experiences. This highlights how a nomadic Traveller lifestyle is constricted by routine discrimination, with access to social amenities in certain areas limiting available social life and space.

The experience of exclusion is not limited to interactions between customers and staff.

Racially coded language can also support perceived racial assumptions about mutual identification which is not necessarily reciprocated. Nyree is Canadian and lived in Ireland for over a year, and here she recounts an episode that occurred with fellow workmates:

I only realised later when we went up to get some drinks and I went up to get something from the bar and one of the other Irish girls went up to get something from the bar and the two gentlemen who had been giving us these looks they made comments to both of us, the comment they made to me was something like 'oh do you guys all know each other' and I was like 'oh we all work together' and then the other girl went up later because I guess maybe she has an Irish accent they felt more comfortable talking to her but then they actually made a comment that she came back afterwards and told us and said 'what are all of you spending time with that black fellow' and so they were making these extremely derogatory comments which then made all of their glares seem like seem to make sense.' (Nyree)

Race is invoked during everyday conversation among people who have limited personal knowledge about each other, similar to Thomas's experience with his work colleague in the previous chapter. The position of different people in this episode points to variable social closeness and distance, Nyree, who is mistaken as American, her white Irish friend, their black workmate and the two men sitting at the bar. Verbal remarks are exchanged between the Irish people with 'glares', or the more aggressive 'gaze' reserved for the entire group. The initial banal enquiry is directed towards the perceived American woman while the more direct question points to the otherness of the black man socializing with a group of white women. Ethno-national culturally based mutual understanding is invoked by directing this question to the Irish woman, while intersecting gender roles are reinforced as the two men question a black man's appropriateness as a social companion for white women. The reference to skin-colour, to blackness, reinforces the invisible whiteness of everyone else involved. Back and Sinha (2012) discuss hierarchies of belonging, or how some groups are more acceptable in some circumstances than others. In this scenario, the question put to the 'Irish' white woman is much more than the words that are said. It is a speech act that performs a division between those who are thought to belong and those who are excluded. Shared meaning underpins Irishness, such that only other Irish people would understand the racially coded question.

Completing the circle of exclusion in leisure, Kumara describes how he and his friends are followed in a public house (here given the pseudonym High Street Pub).

...the other one, the High Street Pub, High Street Pub security yeah, High Street security ah because I went a few time and then and always security following us.

(Kumara)

So far there has been evidence of a 'look' by Laura, a 'glare' by Nyree and 'stare' by Patricia. The next level of the gaze is that of suspicion, where people are followed and monitored. Once Kumara has gained entry to a pub he and his friends can encounter further difficulties,

similar to his experience in shopping described in Chapter 3. Though entry to this venue is permitted, the message of obvious surveillance serves as a warning 'I am watching you', and so the gaze changes to one of constant monitoring. This is a physical example of Berger and Luckmann's idea of 'I know that you know', that is, by watching Kumara security staff convey a clear message (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). Kumara only noted this type of reception in one pub, and so it is possible that this particular venue has security staff who either personally or collectively have a suspicion of Asian black men. It is positive to note that racial profiling is not ubiquitous in Galway and yet is a feature of certain leisure and consumption spaces. This correlates with the experiences of Katie and other Travellers. Ethnic minorities in Galway know, based on experience, what reception they will receive and avoid places where previous experiences have been negative.

8.3 Surveillance and liminal (in)visibility

This section is a more in-depth analysis of shopping in the field of consumption, which was addressed briefly in Chapter 2, relating to Kumara's experience of a shopping centre in Galway. The role of security guard and customer was outlined in relation to the everydayness of roles, habits and routines that constitutes shopping. The first part builds on the example of Kumara being followed by security in a pub and examines the practice of racial profiling, how research participants experienced being monitored, some in a subtle manner and others being overtly followed to the point of harassment. This is followed by episodes where racializing language is absent and yet the tone of voice and body language are interpreted as racializing by Katie, Patricia and Tariq.

8.3.1 Surveillance

The first episode, described by Kumara and noted previously in Chapter 3, refers to his experience in a specific shopping centre in Galway.

I see when I'm going in and also I...I was, I saw ah for other people went, other black people or other people Indians or anybody went in and they are giving message 'watch, watch them'... I stop and I not go in and because if I, I want to get anything and I not comfortable to go there. (Kumara)

Kumara, as noted previously, is trained in security techniques and noticed that in addition to being under close scrutiny himself, other groups of people were also under surveillance, other perceived ethnic minority groups were regarded as 'suspect' communities (Nickels et al., 2012). A pattern emerges as particular perceived ethnic identities encounter specific configurations of everyday racism contingent to their position in the hierarchy of belonging (Back and Sinha, 2012). The effect of the surveillance is that Kumara has a negative 'sense of place', as described by Pink (2012). There is the possibility that Kumara may not be under surveillance in the future but the negative 'sense of place' has already become a reality for Kumara and his exclusion is further compounded because he noted many others also being watched.

Similar to the normalcy of Traveller exclusion from pubs and nightclubs, Travellers are also under suspicion unremittingly in shops. Katie and other members of the Traveller community find shopping can be a stressful experience because of harassment:

...my aunt was shopping in 'High Street Supermarket' one day and there was just this security guard following her around like with her trolley, you know, continuously, like and she said, 'look, what are you following me around for?' and then he started, started saying, 'come on out, out', and just to ask a simple question, 'why are you following me?' and she was barred... (Katie)

This episode has two aspects, firstly a Traveller woman being overtly followed and secondly, her ejection from the shop. Racial profiling of Travellers is so widespread and normalised that subtlety is apparently unnecessary, in this case the security guard was confident in blatantly following a Traveller customer who was perceived as a potential threat. The security guard, as a gatekeeper, is in a position of power and can use his position to exercise that power over certain people, such as Travellers. This episode can be compared to Kumara and his friends being overtly followed around the pub by security staff in the previous section. The script of Travellers stealing is embedded, drawing on historical notions of Travellers as thieves, as described in Chapter 2. As Katie's Aunt moved through the shopping aisles it was clear to her and other shoppers that she was being followed, the presence of other people compounding an already humiliating experience. The reasonable question 'why are you following me?' challenged the gatekeepers' overt surveillance and his authority to exercise power over her in this manner. Similar to Katie being removed from education space in the previous chapter, here her aunt was removed because as a Traveller woman, she is not granted the same speaker's rights available to non-Travellers. In short, when she responded to routinized anti-Traveller racism she was subjected to more coercive power of being removed from the store.

The justification of racial profiling of 'suspect' communities (Nickels et al., 2012) from the perspective of shop assistants was described by Yasmin in her role of shop assistant. Yasmin is an Irish woman living in Ireland and has worked with ethnic minorities, including Travellers:

I've worked in a till and that kind of thing and if someone came in from the Travelling community, you know what I mean, they would be like on red alert you know and I mean as I said you can't blame people for being like that because there has been, they've had the experience of people coming in and stealing but it's just unfortunate because the person that is coming in through the door you just don't know if they're the person who is going to steal or the person who is trying to make a difference, do

you know that kind of way and that's what you're dealing with on a daily basis.

(Yasmin)

Yasmin also described how she was aware of anti-Traveller discrimination, through other previous work experience. Here Yasmin spoke about her experience while she worked in a shop, where Travellers were monitored and treated with suspicion, as experienced by Katie's Aunt. Yasmin verbalises conflicting perspectives about Travellers, she understands that not all Travellers steal from shops however she also can understand why shop staff are suspicious because of previous experience. This dual perspective is described by Billig et al. as an ideological dilemma, where opposing ideologies, in this case right to equal treatment versus the right to protect private property, with the dilemma in this instance unresolved (Billig et al., 1988). This also points to the importance of myths and stereotypes, which is examined in more detail in the next chapter. Travellers have described how the behaviour of some Travellers is used as a justification for exclusion, how Katie was refused entry to a nightclub because other Travellers had previously, 'caused trouble'.

Katie also has had the experience of being under suspicion in shops, with the following incident demonstrating how she was accused of stealing a grocery item by a shop assistant:

...we were in the shop and my mother got a few bits and pieces in her basket and we went up to the checkout and the, the checkout lady she, ahm, she put my sandwich through first because I was with my Mom and I suppose she just wanted to hand it to me, my Mom, and so my Mom handed it to me when it went through the checkout and I picked up the sandwich and walked out, and, leaving my Mom in the shop and, ahm, and the checkout lady ran out after me saying I didn't pay for my sandwich and like accusing me that I was after thieving a sandwich and I suppose the embarrassment in the town, everybody knows you and they believe then that you have done this and, ahm, yeah so she looked back on the receipt and of course the sandwich was on the receipt and, ahm, we were just given an apology. (Katie)

The accusation was proven unfounded but the humiliation persisted even after the apology, Katie refers to the impact of this happening in a small town where 'everyone knows everyone'. The experience of being constantly under surveillance is heightened with a direct accusation, and the circle of harassment is complete, Katie is monitored because of suspicion of stealing and when she walks out of a shop with merchandise in her hand, and there is a possibility that it was not paid for, the shop assistant makes a direct accusation of theft. The shop assistant was, as described earlier by Yasmin, 'on red alert', due to the presence of a Traveller family in the premises and therefore the automatic reaction of the shop assistant to Katie's behaviour is within expected parameters from the perspective of shop staff. Katie's everyday of being part of a 'suspect' community (Nickels et al., 2012), is reinforced, her social position reaffirmed to her and those around her that day. Katie and her mother would also have been excessively delayed, Katie was on a lunch break and left the shop initially because she was in a hurry. The emotional and temporal cost to Katie and her mother while waiting for the sales assistant to return and scan their shopping list, a rupture and delay during Katie's lunchbreak are comparable to that which resulted in Kumara's decision to return home rather than socialise in the pub where he fought to gain entry. This episode also reinforces the privilege which other customers enjoy while shopping, the 'benefit of the doubt' which applies, thus a non-Traveller in the same position, walking out of a shop with a sandwich in their hand, does not trigger the same 'red alert' described by Yasmin. Tariq also felt the weight of suspicion as he used his debit card for the first time in a shop and could not remember the PIN.

...then I saw the queue and did I imagine this or was it that people were beginning to feel frustrated with my holding the queue or were they just feeling 'has he taken someone else's card' and then having all this start going on in my mind I tried it again the second time it failed and I looked at the cashier and I said that I'm sorry and , 'no, take your time, take your time, take as long as you want' and even that reply with the

unspoken message behind that really felt insulting and I felt terribly angry and I think it was that and at that stage that I decided to ignore both her and everyone and actually take my time... (Tariq)

This experience is framed by the routines of payment and queuing in shops and the social rules pertaining to these practices. Tariq questions whether the episode is about people frustrated about being delayed in a queue, or whether he was under suspicion. Tariq himself does not 'know' definitively, and yet his uneasiness is important because it tells us something about the extent to which 'gaze' has become part of his *habitus*. Stories Tariq has heard about 'Nigerian fraudsters', of the types of myths and stereotypes which can be found in newspaper articles have been documented by Guerin:

Nigerian criminals involved in credit card frauds and fraudulent investment schemes in 1998 also received sensationalist treatment in Irish tabloids that suggested the large-scale involvement of Nigerians resident in Ireland. (Guerin, p. 94, 2002)

Whether or not the people in the queue actually stared because of suspicion or frustration, Tariq felt the internalised weight of the stereotype, in the form of the 'Nigerian fraudster'. Once he remembered the PIN and finished the transaction, the tension dissipated, he 'passed the test', on this occasion. This compares to the stereotypical representations of Travellers, reinforced by media coverage of theft by Travellers which leads to all Travellers being identified as thieves. The following chapter analyses the types of myths and stereotypes which other research participants have encountered about 'Nigerians' in Ireland, discourses which reaffirm rather than challenge Tariq's evaluation of this episode.

8.3.2 Liminal (in)visibility

Katie has been overtly excluded from leisure space, the following episode is a more subtle example of practices of exclusion in this field:

...myself and my two sisters were in the City one day shopping and we went in for a cup of coffee and we were just standing at the counter waiting for like twenty minutes before anybody served us and they just plain blank ignored us, like we weren't even there and when we said, 'excuse me, excuse me', you know, they were like 'take your time (sharp voice)', after twenty minutes like, to get a cup of coffee.

(Katie)

The episode is couched in a routine everyday occurrence in Irish society, going for a cup of coffee. 'Going for a coffee' is structured by 'rules of the game' of coffee shops – queueing, ordering, sitting at a table are habitually configured routines. Katie and her sisters had the reasonable expectation of being served in a timely manner by staff in the coffee shop, what happened was perceived by Katie as exclusion based on Traveller ethnicity. This episode also links to Laura's experience of delayed service and Kumara and others being ignored by marketing staff, service with-held from various social actors across time (happening to Laura nearly 20 years previous), with Katie and Kumara recounting more recent episodes.

Katie and her family are careful where they go in public space, they avoid places they might not be welcome, based on past experience. Kumara and Tariq also described how they would share within their communities places they perceived as welcoming and those that were exclusionary. On this occasion Katie describes how she and her sisters were ignored, treated as if 'we weren't even there'. This alludes to Travellers position both as highly visible in the sense of cultural identity (see earlier section about Katie's (in)visible Traveller identity) while the settled community can treat Travellers, at times, as though this difference renders them invisible. At the heart of this is a power relation noted above, tacit unless challenged, at which point the gatekeeper can revoke or withhold the freedom to participate in practices of leisure and consumption. This power is exercised in the form a delay, leading to frustration and an emotional cost to Katie and her family, the freedom of the racialized consumer is thus conditional. It is arguable that Katie would be familiar with both exclusion and acceptance in

these circumstances, as sitting alone for a cup of coffee, not identified as a Traveller, she would receive different treatment. There can also be reasonable explanations about delays in service in a coffee shop such as a busy time of day, staff shortages or mechanical breakdown of equipment. On this occasion none of these factors applied, the Traveller women were ignored by staff with no explanation or apology. Barriers to leisure and consumption space for Travellers is not limited to access, the negative treatment they receive when they inhabit such space reinforces the message that they are not welcome.

Patricia also recounted an experience where she felt racism was an issue however the hostility was communicated less by what was said than how it was said:

P: ...it was a dog was around a particular area and I was concerned about the dog, it might have been abandoned so I went around, there were people just in the car-park and I was just saying 'do you own this dog, do you know who owns this dog?' and I was really anxious and there was this woman and she said 'It's none of your business' (note: used a harsh tone of voice) and I knew it was because of racism and I knew and I said 'I'm only concerned about the dog, do you know where the dog lives because it seems to be'... I went into the shop, did my shopping, had seen the dog going in, it was still there going out and I thought 'ok' and said, 'this is my concern' and 'do you know?' and she says 'yes I know where the person lives, you know, just it's none of your business', and there was a younger woman with her, this woman I'd say was about sixty years old, the woman with her I assumed was her daughter and she says 'look, she's just asking, she's just asking, she's just concerned'. She was very hostile and I was again, now I was again I have to decide whether I'm going to challenge or not because it's up to, so I have to walk away and think 'is this worth it for me'?

A: And it was interesting in that way that because whoever was with her could sense that too and was challenging her as well

P: I'd say she was embarrassed, I'd say she realised, oh my God, you know, it's too much tone, it's too much aggression just for somebody whose actually concerned about somebody, something and she says, 'she's just asking, that's all'...' (Patricia, page 10)

(Note: P: Patricia - participant, A: Anita – researcher)

Patricia's genuine concern for the welfare of an animal was met with hostility, the specific comment 'yes I know where the person lives, you know, just it's none of your business' clearly states to Patricia that the woman perceives Patricia to be interfering or meddling in the affairs of her own 'in' group. The response seems to concede that Patricia has a legitimate concern for a stray animal but no right to interfere, because she is not counted among those whom the woman equates with the moral community. This is an example of how the constitutive outside is configured in social interaction, an opportunity for shared social interaction is rejected by the woman concerned as she verbally, through tone of voice and 'its none of your business' rejects Patricia's actions, and her place as an equal social actor in the social space they share. In addition, the harsh tone of voice was interpreted by Patricia as being based on what the older woman knew about Patricia, a black woman, albeit with an Irish accent. This situation can be analysed in a similar manner to Kumara's experience on public transport – no reference is made to racial, cultural or ethnic markers however the knowledge people use to make sense of a situation is based on other experiences and Patricia has been stared at, racially abused and told to 'go home'.

The final two episodes are also of a similar nature, where Tariq and Patricia encounter what can be described as everyday episodes which can happen to any social actor, however they recount these episodes within their understanding of everyday racism, of very subtle events. Tariq recalls waiting in a queue in a supermarket:

one day in the supermarket again, I mean, I was on a queue to pay, then an elderly woman walked up to me, looked at me and went and then made eye-contact with

the cashier and they exchanged words, 'oh, hi', 'hi first name' and then she went in straight, paid and just left and then the cashier just totally ignored me, I mean, as if I wasn't there...but it was actually the look on the face of the cashier herself that rubbed that in, that look, 'you don't matter here' and you just, there is nothing you can do about it. (Tariq)

This episode is similar to Katie's experience in a coffee shop, in terms of being ignored and excessively delayed. The act of the person skipping the queue itself is what leads to the cashier's 'look' and Tariq interprets the gaze as dismissive on this occasion, 'as if I wasn't there'. This fleeting episode is remembered by Tariq in the context of being told to 'go home', of his wife's residency being questioned by a strange man on the street. The intent of the cashier is practically impossible to ascertain, in the context of an episode that any social actor in Ireland is liable to experience. Based on Tariq's experiences, this type of gaze to him was both dismissing him as a person of equal status and the exercise of power over him that he could not challenge. Staff in shops, cafes and pubs have discretionary power to serve customers and all three research participants had the experience of being excessively delayed, ignored or overlooked. These looks of hostility, rancour and unimportance have in common the ability to communicate ideas with or without the addition of words.

Patricia also felt questioned about her ability to pay for more expensive goods:

I wanted to buy turkey, it was actually free-range, it was beautiful turkey and I had bought it all the time, I was buying it all the time but this particular shop assistant was serving me and I said 'could I have' and she says 'you know it's very expensive now' and I says, 'yeah, I agree', you know, and there was five or six white people queuing and I felt very embarrassed because I knew it had to do with the colour of my skin, she made an assumption that I probably couldn't afford it... but the assumption was that I was poorer than her and in fact I probably wasn't, you know. I

was going to challenge her but then I just thought, just let it go. It wasn't the first time, you know. (Patricia, page 9)

Patricia's assumption is that the comment, noting that the product was expensive, was directly linked to perception of her as a 'poor black woman', with important questions raised here about how and why Patricia interpreted this comment as racialized. This episode is also framed by everyday habitual shopping routines, with Patricia having purchased this item several times previously, she had a particular routine of ordering, queuing and interacting with sales assistants in this shop. The rhythmic flow of this particular episode, based on previous ones over time, was interrupted by comments of one particular sales assistant. From being given money by strangers on the street as a child, Patricia learned that people perceived her as poor, an idea which was continuously reinforced throughout her life, including through the visual representations of Trocaire and other aid campaigns, as noted in Chapter 2. During the interview, Patricia also discussed a high profile incident in Switzerland in 2013, when a shop assistant refused to show Oprah Winfrey a handbag for sale in an expensive handbag shop, allegedly because the shop assistant presumed Oprah could not afford the item (Brand, 2013). This cumulative knowledge, over time and through both experience and media, is used by Patricia to interpret the episode, and although the intentions of the shop assistant cannot be ascertained, the impact of the episode is to re-affirm to Patricia, in a public manner due to the presence of the queue, of her position as part of the constitutive outside. Retail staff have the power to decide who should be offered more or less expensive items, just as Kumara and others had entertainment discounts withheld. The intersecting privilege of class, gender and whiteness in field of consumption and leisure means that many social actors would consider a comment or an episode as seemingly benign as this unremarkable, safe in the knowledge that their position in society is secure.

The evidence presented in this section highlights a hierarchy of belonging in Irish society, one reinforced by everyday interactions (Back and Sinha, 2012). The concept of suspect communities (Nickels et al., 2012), refers to Irish and Muslim communities in the United Kingdom as potential 'terrorists', here the suspect communities are perceived as a threat to private property, that they may steal or 'cause trouble', with Travellers, black Asians and Nigerians positioned as everyday suspect communities. As noted in previous research and in the episodes recounted above, Travellers are a highly visible minority who are interpreted as a 'suspect' community, excluded from inhabiting certain leisure and consumption spaces, with contingent acceptance within these spaces as gatekeepers can arbitrarily remove Travellers from such spaces or excessively delay service without explanation. Black and Asian migrants are also excluded from some leisure and consumption spaces and also experience a 'gaze' of suspicion. Perceived white (and non-Traveller) ethnicity confers privilege and access to space, while cultural markers such as accent can, at points in time, confer a contingent sense of acceptability.

This chapter also provides further evidence of the subtle nature of everyday racism, of non-verbal communication and the role this plays in social interaction. The 'gaze' can vary from the act of attending to the presence of people who are perceived as visually different to the 'gaze' which can also interpret and 'read' a Traveller woman or black man, resulting in practices of ignoring, questioning or removing certain social actors from social spaces. Many of these experiences are explainable by social actors, the woman outside the shop may have just been having a 'bad day', the shop assistant at the delicatessen counter could have interpreted the product as excessively expensive due to their own personal financial circumstances, however the repetitive nature of these practices, as noted by Patricia 'it wasn't the first time', leads to cumulative effects of exclusionary experiences. Practices of choosing a seat on a bus, ignoring a person and keeping a 'suspicious' person under surveillance can be unintentionally imbued with historically embedded racializing discourses.

8.4 Impact of racism

Many research participants spoke of the impact of racism on their lives, for example Kumara was shocked at the level of exclusion he faced initially when he came to live in Ireland.

Patricia described how growing up in Ireland without role models, feeling and being treated as different made life difficult for her and how this treatment has changed over time. Patricia, coping with racism from a young age, has developed strategies which allow her to challenge racism when she feels it is 'safe' to do so. Tariq verbalised how it was particularly challenging as a parent in Ireland, trying to protect his children from racism, questioning how to teach about something which is largely unacknowledged in Irish society. Katie has been impacted by racism all her life and very eloquently describes the impact racism has had on her life as follows:

I suppose there wouldn't be a day, like the only day I avoid, that I wouldn't see it would be if it's a Sunday and I'm at home and didn't go outside the door, you know, so it's, it's...as I said, it's something that has become normalised, you get so used of it, you become to just like try to take no notice of it and try to continue living but it is, it is very difficult, you know like even simple things like. (Katie)

Katie's comments describe how continuous, repetitive experiences of racism occur in her daily life with her only protection from racism to stay in her home, with her family and others in her social circle. Once Katie physically steps out of her home, into social space, based on her lived reality, she risks experiencing racism. Katie also verbalises the banality of racism, how racism makes 'even simple things' difficult, underscoring the unacknowledged privilege enjoyed by many in Ireland, who leave their homes daily without the fear of racism. Katie comments that 'you get so used of it', racism is an ongoing issue and becomes part of lived and remembered experience, part of *habitus*. The theory of internalized racial oppression (Pyke, 2010) and evidence in the data suggests that people who experience racism internalise a certain amount of the discrimination they experience, to somewhat enable them protect

themselves in the future. Katie tries to ignore racism, among her coping strategies is to 'try to take no notice of it'. This excerpt demonstrates the overall devastating impact racism has and how it permeates social life and space.

8.5 Conclusion

The previous chapters in this section analysed the experiences of a number of research participants who recounted episodes of racism spanning the continuum of overt racial verbal abuse to the more everyday, banal racism which they encounter in various places in social space, from public space on the street to education, workplace, leisure and consumption. The experiences of everyday racism are different in the context of who they meet and how they are perceived – Tariq, Kumara and Katie are under suspicion in many public spaces whereas Patricia experienced pity as a 'black baby' growing up in a predominantly white Ireland of the 1960's. Everyday routines are ruptured by overt racism, walking along the street, walking a dog along the beach and trying to gain entry to a nightclub are disrupted by overt racism in the form of verbal abuse. Sitting in a restaurant, a canteen, at a desk or walking around a shop, queueing in a shop, queueing to gain entry to a public house or nightclub, all routine episodes of everyday life for social actors. The experience of everyday racism is seamless as social actors perceive ethnic minorities as potential thieves, lazy, poor, threatening and violent in various contexts.

These experiences are not isolated incidents – the cumulative nature of these experiences demonstrates how some episodes are repeated on such a regular basis that they are no longer identified as being separate incidents but embedded in everyday memory, part of *habitus*. The final chapter in this section examines everyday racist discourse, focusing on myth and stereotype about the Other and how these operate in Irish society.

Chapter 9: Everyday Racist Discourse

9.1 Introduction

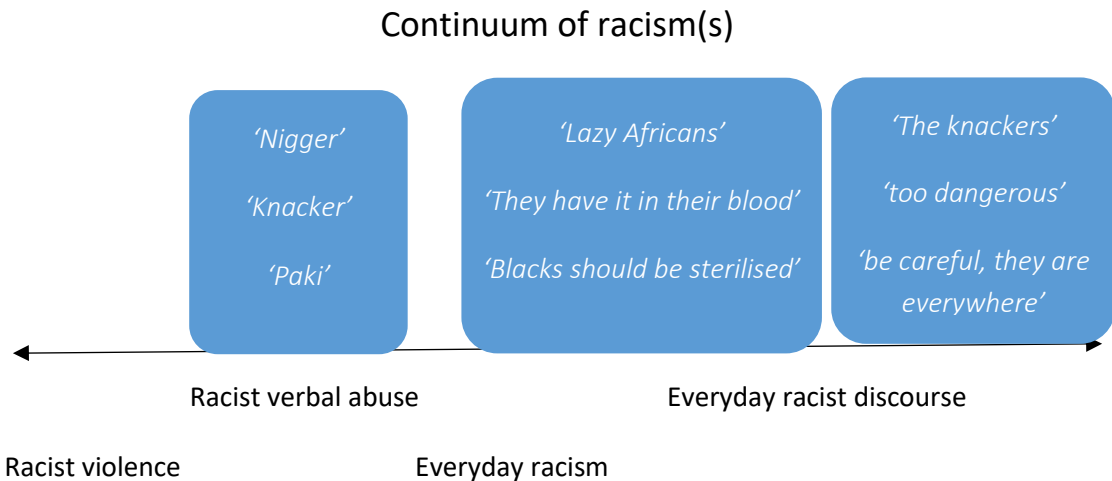


Figure 9.1 Continuum of racism(s) populated with data from research participants.

The previous chapters in this section examined racism experienced by research participants, ranging from racist verbal abuse to practices and scripts of everyday racism. Research participants also revealed times when everyday racist discourse was present during informal conversations, for example when eating out or going to the hairdresser, yet in the absence of those being racialized. Everyday racist discourse is described here as racializing discourse without the embodied presence of the Other, with the examples noted above in Figure 9.1 collected in interview data. Everyday racist discourse and everyday racism both occur as part of social interaction, highlighting how this more banal and less confrontational racism is part of the rhythm and flow of everyday life. This is one of the ways racialized distinctions are sustained and renewed in an ongoing process that constitutes boundaries³⁰ drawn by ideologies, such as nationalism in the Irish context. Moving along the continuum of racism(s), everyday racist discourse is defined as informal conversations which racialize *in absentia*.

³⁰ Boundaries here draw on Anthias (2012) 'Although class, ethnicity, 'race' and gender categories (as well as others such as sexuality or ability/disability) are not equivalent, they have commonalities and differences; they have different historical and ontological bases, but they all involve boundary-making and hierarchy-making processes.'

These conversations took place during informal discussions in both public and private space, for example waiting at a bus stop, in a hairdressers and watching television at home with a group of friends. These informal conversations between social actors are based on the reservoir of racism (Hall, 2009 and Lentin and McVeigh, p. 38, 2002), racial knowledge which is shared and reinforced during everyday conversations. Berger and Luckmann describe how language and ideas are available in social interaction in an unconscious manner:

I live in the common sense world of everyday life equipped with specific bodies of knowledge. What is more, I know that others share at least part of this knowledge, and they know that I know this. My interaction with others in everyday life is, therefore, constantly affected by our common participation in the available social stocks of knowledge. (Berger and Luckmann, p. 41, 1967)

These stocks of knowledge are also the foundation of Bourdieu's *habitus* discussed previously in Chapter 2. Stocks of knowledge in Irish society include knowledge about people described as Travellers, Nigerians and Africans. Historical knowledge, which Bourdieu argues, can become embedded in *habitus*, knowledge which has been acquired through socialisation processes (Bourdieu, 1990). *Habitus* is also shared by social actors and endures through time, though not exactly in the same manner from generation to generation (Gorski, 2013). This shared, enduring feature of stocks of knowledge means that informal conversations flow as people communicate and converse in a way that 'makes sense' to those present. In this way, everyday racist discourse is part of social interaction, where knowledge about Travellers, Nigerians and Africans is shared on an informal basis and the communication and repetition of specific scripts reaffirms the 'otherness' of those discussed and the 'we-ness' of the those involved in the discussion.

Everyday racist discourse also has features in common with 'race talk', as explored in the United States and gossip, as examined by Elias and Scotson (2008). 'Race talk' is defined by

Myers and Williamson as 'any talk that demeans on the basis of race or ethnicity' (Myers and Williamson, p. 4, 2001), expanding Morrison's (1993) more narrow definition of 'race talk' involving discourse about African Americans only. Two elements of the 'race talk' framework, as described by Myers and Williamson, which apply here are that 'everyday race talk', (a) takes place in the private sphere and (b) perpetuates racist ideology and structures (Myers and Williamson, p. 4-5, 2001). The private sphere is usually associated with the private space of the home, however it is possible to have semi-private conversations in public space, for example two strangers standing together at a bus stop chatting about various innocuous topics. In this example both parties have minimal knowledge about each other, however there is a shared social knowledge upon which this conversation is based and while others may overhear the conversation, the discussion is a relatively private exchange between two social actors. Taking another example, a conversation between a hairdresser and customer is also informal and private although situated in what can be described as semi-public space. Another example, a group of friends watching television together in a private home, is more typical of the private sphere. These examples demonstrate how informal conversation occurs among people with various levels of contingent knowledge in places which are more or less public/private yet can be described as informal and dialogically configured. These conversations are based on shared stocks of knowledge which, in the act of sharing, reinforces the validity of such knowledge. The ideological basis of racism is widely acknowledged (Miles and Brown, 2003), and this chapter adds to the focus on the everyday discursive aspect of racism³¹.

Gossip, as described by Elias and Scotson (2008), also reinforces social relations of inclusion and exclusion:

³¹ Discursive analysis of racism includes the work of van Dijk (1991 & 1993), Every and Augoustinos (2007), Billig (2001) and Potter and Wetherell (1987) for example.

Gossip, in other words, is not an independent phenomenon. What is gossip-worthy depends on communal norms and beliefs and communal relationships. (Elias and Scotson, p. 132, 2008)

Gossip is a feature of social relations and outsider groups who are gossiped about using blame-gossip (Elias and Scotson, 2008) are defined by and within this discourse. Gossip can be described as one of the means of expressing scripts and stocks of knowledge which in turn contributes to everyday racist discourse becoming embedded in practical consciousness. While gossip is based on caricature, innuendo, myth and symbolism, these are presented in discourse as social facts. Everyday racist discourse reinforces existing social relations, the assumed normality of Irishness as white and settled and the racialization of outsiders, who can be Travellers, Africans, 'Paki's', blacks or Nigerians. Wendy, a research participant from Poland described how she felt very welcome and included while living in Ireland, she had no direct experience of racism and yet she encountered racializing discourse about other groups in Ireland. After a short period of time living in Ireland, during an informal conversation, Wendy was advised to avoid contact with Nigerians and Travellers, both of whom were discursively constructed as 'dangerous' and 'unsuitable'.

Everyday racist discourse has a number of attributes, firstly the discourse is usually verbalised on the basis of shared commonality, on insider status, conforming to the structure of gossip described by Elias and Scotson (2008). Wendy was accepted and treated as an insider and conforms to what I describe as Irish norms of female gender in her manner of speech, tone of voice and dress while she is also a competent English language speaker, all of which intersect and mutually shape the perception of Wendy as 'one of us' (Walby et al., 2012). Wendy's acceptance is an example of operationalized whiteness and the attendant privilege which is conferred onto certain people in certain contexts. That is not to say that all Polish migrants living in Ireland have the same experience, however it is important to recognise that

processes of inclusion/exclusion are intersectional, uneven and variable. Wendy's experience also underlines that many migrants in Ireland have very positive experiences, even though the focus on this research has necessarily been on negative experiences, which is only part of the migrant experience³².

A second feature of everyday racist discourse is the variation within and scope of racializing language, unlike the historical dichotomy of black/white in the United States, for example. The discourse analysed here includes references to black people, Africans and Nigerians while discourse about Travellers used the terms Travellers and 'knackers'. This points to the interchangeability of categorisation terminology and how negative ideas can be attached to a descriptor which can appear ostensibly neutral on the basis that the word itself is socially acceptable. Nigerian is a national descriptor, however this category in Ireland has become imbued with negative attributes. Travellers, which although not implicitly negative, also often draws on negative, historically constituted stocks of knowledge and scripts.

Research participants were able to describe everyday racist discourse during interviews, they remembered episodes because they did not share the opinions expressed and while some challenged the discourses others did not. The ability to notice this type of discourse is important, because these discourses are socially embedded, and for many are practical consciousness knowledge, with episodes unlikely to be recounted during a research interview. Discourse which was about their own particular ethnic group was notable, however for some research participants the discourse was about other groups, they were uncomfortable with discourse which was not part of their *habitus*. This dissonance demonstrates how for some people these stocks of knowledge and scripts become questionable, for example both Sarah and Yasmin became more aware of everyday racist

³² This was corroborated by an interview with Galway Refugee Support Group, who highlighted that while racism was experienced, there were also many positive experiences.

discourse about Travellers when they worked with Travellers. Wendy was 'new' to Ireland and could 'hear' these racializing discourses that for many people are just part of their everyday conversations, and thus unmemorable. The Other is discursively created, becomes present, envisioned in unmemorable discourse which describes Others as inferior, dirty, dangerous and violent.

Data presented in previous chapters demonstrated how Travellers are openly constructed as Other in society, assigned negative characteristics. Kumara recounted evidence of discourse involving 'Paki' in his presence while in the everyday racist discourse of the research participants interviewed the term was not mentioned. Possible explanations include the relative newness of this discourse in Irish society, a low level of saturation in social discourse or lack of historical basis of the script. Other recent research in Ireland also does not document the presence of 'Paki', it is more common to identify discourse about groups such as Nigerians and Travellers (Fanning et al. 2011).

Everyday racist discourse demonstrates how scripts, even though seemingly benign when analysed on a standalone basis, when viewed as part of the overall continuum are part of racialization processes. This chapter starts with exploring myths, which frame stocks of knowledge and scripts. This is followed by a focus on the various scripts, identifiable in discourse recalled by a number of research participants. The final sections focus on how stocks of knowledge move from practical to discursive consciousness and thereby leading to the possibility of countering everyday racist discourse.

9.1 Stocks of knowledge, myths and media

Stories circulate about the Other during informal conversation, some through gossip about specific people and situations whilst other stories are about an un-named Other whose behaviour is used to demonstrate this otherness and to reinforce the we-ness of those telling

and listening to the story. Bernie described how she remembered a story about refugees, when discussing everyday racism, a story which she had heard years previously:

...like I suppose when Ireland got its first influx of migrants and refugees and they would have said, 'oh we saw people leaving buggies (baby carriage) at the bus-stop and sure they're able to do that because they'll get a new buggy' and even though I didn't have a lot of knowledge of the rights and entitlements I couldn't challenge them properly at the time I thought 'no, that doesn't sound right'. (Bernie)

A member of Bernie's extended family told her this story, a story which was identified as circulating widely in Ireland during 2005 by Moriarty (2005). Moriarty's dialectical discourse analysis of this same myth links the story-telling process to the process of identity formation (Hall, 1996b) and state and global level structures.³³ The story was presented to Bernie as factual (we saw), an important validation of the 'facts' which renders the story a reliable shared resource for knowledge about Others. Myth's such as this one, even when not wholly convincing to the listener, as was the case with Bernie, still form part of the shared resource of common-sense knowledge. This specific myth underpinned ideas which circulated during the Citizenship Referendum campaign in 2004, as discussed in Chapter 2 and by Moriarty (Moriarty, 2005). Migrant women were accused of causing a maternity services crisis, with black women identified as arriving in Ireland in the late stages of pregnancy to circumvent the Irish asylum application process. This myth was an extension of this discourse, where the abandoned buggy represented migrant women abusing state resources and the generosity of Irish citizens, as imagined in aid organisation campaigns.

The everydayness of this story is easy to identify with, being a common-place event on public transport: a woman entering a bus with a buggy. Given the physical struggle entailed in

³³ See Byrne and Ni Chonaill for recent investigation of urban legend and myth of place in their recent work about place in a Dublin suburb (Byrne and Ni Chonaill, 2014) with a focus on discourse of a more general nature, as described here, rather than the more formulaic and structured urban legend.

removing a child from a buggy and then folding the buggy before putting the child and equipment on the bus, it seems plausible the buggy could be 'remembered', or at least 'pictured', as an isolated object at a bus stop. The narrative in the myth is that subversive behaviour of the 'migrant woman' results in the buggy being discarded, thereby conforming to the 'parasite' description mentioned by Tariq. This story describes migrant women as feckless and childlike, in need of paternal guidance, squandering personal property, obtained through state services, and conforming to the 'bogus asylum-seeker' script. The discourse of migrants, African in particular 'not looking after personal property' recur in the discourse analysed in section 9.3 below. Bernie retold this myth as part of her experience and understanding of racism. The story did not make sense to her, however the ubiquity of the original story, as a type of public property that can be drawn upon and articulated, reproduces and reinforces 'we-ness' by constructing the other as deviant, as a pariah.

Myths can also circulate in other forms of media. De Certeau describes the influence of the media in everyday life, how during every waking moment social actors are bombarded with media information from radio, newspapers and television (De Certeau, 1984). It can be argued that this sensorial bombardment is compounded in the present era of social media and 24 hour news coverage of events. The following examples, recounted by Patricia and Tariq, are episodes in media notable to them as subjects of the discourse. These media discourses also add to stocks of knowledge in Irish society, which can then be applied in racializing practices and scripts to real people who are perceived as belonging to the category.

The first media discourse presented is a generalised one which applies to all migrants:

...when you wake up in the morning and you listen to discussion on the radio or local radio or national radio and especially the local radios and you listen to radio discussions in the morning which invited people or presenters are talking about

issues and you start hearing about and one thing is that whenever an immigrant run fowl of the law or breaks the law he or she will be defined up to where he comes from, how long has been in this country, what and how he came into the country no matter how long it is. To, I think to actually make it known to people that this is one of 'them' again, breaking laws but you don't see celebration of immigrants or Africans who are doing good, who are doing well, in the media, they are never talked about.

(Tariq)

The term African, at a basic level denotes a person who was born in the continent of Africa, while it can also be a racially loaded descriptor in the Irish context, drawing on historical discourses of 'black babies' through the lens of aid organisations and more recent Citizenship Referendum as discussed in Chapter 2. The 'bogus asylum-seeker' script which was prevalent during the Citizenship Campaign, described in Chapter 2, also demonstrates how information presented in the media can influence perception and arguably in that case, the outcome of a referendum. The 'woman leaving a buggy' myth is further reinforced, as similar to the deviant behaviour reported in news media. Media discourse can reinforce discourses already present in Irish society, with little opportunity to challenge these types of scripts, particularly when they are enacted and embodied in the micro-spaces of interpersonal exchanges as discussed above at bus-stops, in living-rooms and at the hair-dressers, for example. Tariq notices the prevalence of negative media coverage, other social actors do not 'see' or 'hear' the one-sided nature of the narrative, how negative stories continuously reinforce the otherness of migrants.

Tariq also described a more direct invocation of 'bogus asylum-seekers' which he found personally insulting, and experienced as a personal attack on him and others.

...in the media a local radio, very, very, close to us at the Lisbrook House with a presenter that does an early morning programme around nine o'clock ... and then

suddenly the topic changed to the closure of this hostel very close to us and then I heard him talking about 'these people are complaining that the way they are treated in the direct provision is not a very good thing and if you go to their hostel now you will see so many cars are parked there, if these people are not allowed to work and they, as they claim that they don't work, how are they able to afford all the cars that are there which they shouldn't have in the first instance which I think the guards should be called in to investigate anyway', and then I mean it went on and on and on, it was about 'these people who are living on the government, who takes everything, they get everything from the government,' and then I realised that this is, if at that level, if this goes on, as it did that day for close to an hour without an active challenge from anyone in the public, that was, I really felt ashamed and I felt not for myself but even for the society itself... that day I really felt, I felt personally insulted. He has never been to the place to hold an interview with one person, he has never requested for a visit to see the living condition of 'these people', he was criticising because he wouldn't even be allowed because right at the gate there, 'this is a private property here, you are not allowed', sign-in at reception... So I felt if, if at that level where a well-respected presenter on a local radio station can make such an assumption of, an assumption that is so subjective, so subjective, without being challenged, I mean it felt bad. (Tariq)

Lisbrook House provided direct provision accommodation for asylum-seekers in the Galway area for a number of years, until the facility closed in 2011. The message draws on the 'bogus asylum-seeker' script by attributing the existence of cars in the car-park of a direct provision hostel as 'proof' of the illegitimate claims of the residents.³⁴ The object, a car in this case, is comparable to the buggy myth described earlier. Both are tangible consumer items which

³⁴ Moriarty (2005) also referred to other myths which circulated in Ireland, including reference to a myth about asylum-seekers receiving 'subsidised cars'.

signify the negative attributes of the 'parasitic' and 'bogus asylum-seeker'. The historical discourses of African people in aid campaigns would never have included such items as a buggy or car, they are therefore incompatible with historically constituted and remembered discourses of 'black babies'. Tariq frames this narrative as an ineffectual media presenter who assumes 'facts' based on incompetent investigative skills however it can be argued that the 'bogus asylum seeker' script fits the expectations of the radio presenter and radio listeners (who are implied to have agreed with his assumptions), that asylum-seekers are dishonest and take advantage of state resources, similar to the myth about migrant women described earlier. Tariq feels branded as one of these 'bogus asylum seekers' and the opportunity for him or indeed other residents to refute this claim are limited, in part due to fear of removal from asylum centres of any 'troublesome' applicants or potential adverse impact on claim for asylum.³⁵ There is a sense of despair in Tariq's narrative, he feels insulted and the absence of a dissenting voice on the radio programme compounded this feeling. This episode points to everyday racist media discourse having a negative impact on subjects described while also re-affirming the script of 'bogus asylum-seeker'. This type of everyday racist narrative, drawing on 'evidence' of 'bogus asylum-seekers', highlights the constantly discursive reaffirmation in media and inter-personal discourse.

Patricia also remembered films she watched as a child and how the representation of black people in Shirley Temple films racialized black characters.

From a very early age and then you had images of Hollywood coming through, you know, fucking, excuse my language, Shirley Temple, any black person in that was either overweight or could sing but they were always nicey, nicey, they were always

³⁵ During training with GRSG it was noted that asylum seekers are very reluctant to behave in any manner which could negatively impact on their claim for asylum – this includes reporting racism, according to interview with Triona Mac Giolla Choille from GRSG.

seen as stupid, you know, so you had, and I loved Shirley Temple, I used to watch her all the time. (Patricia)

Patricia expresses mixed feelings about Shirley Temple films, torn between the racializing characteristics of black people in the film while she loved the main character, Shirley Temple. This tension highlights the subjectified media user, a child who recognises herself in the physical characteristics of the onscreen character and rejecting the subjectification, the character as a caricature. Patricia and other television users at that time processed these images and stereotypical figures, for Patricia it became part of the cumulative memory of discourses and experiences, of being stared at, given money on the street and later being verbally abused. These programmes fitted with contemporary ideas of race, acceptability of racialization and with transmission of these programmes in Ireland in the 1960's and later, adding to stocks of knowledge of all television viewers about black people. Patricia's anger is understandable, what is simply a television program to some is for her yet another episode in a long process of racialization.

Patricia also spoke about a more recent radio program, where the discourse was more openly and overtly racial, drawing on historical eugenic ideas about black women's fecundity:

...when a radio station said such stuff as in 'blacks should be sterilised and they are just scamming the welfare' and all of this and nobody challenging or nobody condemning, nobody in authority was absolutely devastating for many. (Patricia)

The obvious racialized nature of this discourse draws on historic eugenic programmes discussed in Chapter 1, how for the 'health of the nation' certain women should be forcibly sterilised. This comment broadcast on radio in 2013 would fit neatly into the eugenics ideology of Madison Grant's *The Passing of the Great Race* published in 1922. The 'scamming the welfare' comment links directly back to the 'buggy' myth, and how during the Citizenship Referendum migrant women, including black women, were accused of abusing state

resources and 'child-bearing against the state' (Luibhéid, 2004). This also highlights how discourses from different time periods merge in the present, the temporal nature of stocks of knowledge. Historical discourses which are often dismissed as invalid in the current epoch, for example in the form of eugenics, can be invoked, together with more recent discourses based on myth and stereotype.

The episodes above cut across time and forms of media, covering racialized film characters during the 1960's and 1970's through to the myth of the bogus asylum seeker woman to more recent radio coverage of migrants in general and asylum seekers and black women in particular. Patricia and Tariq spoke about the personal impact on themselves while these media discourses again reinforce scripts of 'lazy' and 'stupid' black people and 'bogus asylum-seekers'. Media discourse has been analysed in-depth by Billig (1995) and van Dijk (1991 & 1993), and helps to explain the operation of discourse and how this links to racism, in all its forms.

9.3 Everyday racist discourse

9.3.1 Binary representation

Evidence in previous chapters demonstrated how various ethnicities including migrants, Travellers and black people were described as lazy. This section shows how these everyday racist practices are linked to everyday racist discourse, drawing on the same scripts. Maria, an Irish woman who worked with migrants and asylum-seekers, described a conversation about athletes during the 2012 Olympics:

...during the Olympics like one of my housemates would have had a lot of his housemates over to watch the games during some of the days and I would have heard a lot of do you know comments about 'oh lazy Africans all of a sudden doing very well in the races' and things like that and again that's a situation where you

don't quite know how to react cause part of it was they are almost trying to get a reaction just for saying it cause they know it's wrong ahm and you know is that part of the craic? (Maria)

This episode conforms to the 'race talk' framework of private social conversation during a shared informal social occasion. The representation of African athletes as both lazy and successful in athletics here points to binary representation described by Hall (1997). This binary combines the pejoratively 'good' and 'bad' elements of essentialised African-ness, and arguably blackness, successful in the field of athletics due to superior physical prowess, an innate muscularity which reaffirms primitiveness while also being 'lazy'. There is also a conflict between the imagery of successful elite athletes and starving children, as depicted by aid agencies. Maria describes the exchange as a possible 'joke', and yet whether a joke or a serious comment, the binary discourse of 'lazy'/successful is repeated, re-affirmed and later remembered by Maria.

9.3.2 Moral Excess

Patricia also described how black people are discursively created as 'all the same':

...'they are too loud', 'see the way they are treating their children', all of this gets dumped on black people as 'everybody is like this'.(Patricia)

Cultural differences exist, extending to speaking conventions and parenting styles, which vary over time and place. Newly arrived migrants, over time, learn the norms of the new culture or perhaps retain the norms of their country of origin or create new hybrid norms. These cultural differences become racialized when attributed to entire groups as fixed and immutable. Patricia described how she acquired cultural capital growing-up in Ireland, during primary socialisation she internalised social norms which means she conforms, for example to

Irish norms of speech, however her potential behaviour is measured against these same cultural norms, she is expected to be 'too loud'. Loudness is also part of the primitive script, an inability to regulate oneself which confirms the outsider status of black people. Travellers are also charged with speaking too loudly, as evidence of their primitiveness and incivility (Mac Gabhann and Glenister, p. 9, 2011).

Two research participants also reported hearing general negative discourse about Nigerians³⁶, Sarah witnessed the following:

Well, I have heard negative views about Nigerian people as well...it would be in relation to that they are always looking for a bargain or for not meeting their obligations or being untidy or never opening their curtains and you know those kind of ahma... but you just pick up that Nigerians are people that are not looked on favourably by people. (Sarah).

This type of private conversation is blame-gossip as described by Elias and Scotson (2008), where the purpose of this gossip re-affirms who belongs to the in-group and who is excluded. These descriptors point to negative difference, to a lack of civility, to a group of people who are considered cheap, dirty, unreliable and secretive, all of which have also been used to describe Travellers as 'knackers'. These generalised negative attributes also re-affirm the belongingness of the speaker, of their adhering to perceived prevailing standards of behaviour.

Wendy was warned in a more direct manner about interacting with Nigerians:

...he also talked in a negative way about Nigerians that they are trying to like to abuse system and that they have it in their blood and that whatever they do I should be

³⁶ Research into institutional racism in Ireland also notes that Nigerian people are treated with suspicion, 'The Community Welfare Officer who refused said to a worker in the NGO 'all these Nigerians, you know what they are at'' (Crosscare, Doras Luimní and NASC, 2012).

careful... he even warned me you know he said I shouldn't because I mentioned to him about the refugee program and he was against, he said he wouldn't recommend it to me because most probably I will meet Nigerian people...(Wendy)

Wendy, as a newly arrived and insider migrant, was warned that in addition to Travellers, Nigerians were another 'suspect' community (Nickels et al., 2012). Nigerians are described as racially disposed to deviance ('in their blood') and dangerous ('I should be careful'). The purpose of the discourse seems to be to protect Wendy, by highlighting negative qualities which the advisor attributes to Nigerians, he is attempting to protect Wendy, the newcomer to Ireland.

The negative discourse about Nigerians, from Nigerian fraudsters in media discourse as discussed in chapter 8, to these two episodes, described from two different sources, highlights racialization of nationality, invoking innate attributes of fraudulence, violence, miserliness and untidiness. Wendy witnessed explicitly racializing language, with reference to 'they have it in their blood', drawing on historical racial ideas of races with biologically distinct physiognomy. Sarah describes more banal negative attributes, a cumulative inability to regulate behaviour while in the previous chapter Tariq pointed to the shadow of doubt cast on all Nigerians, as probably implicated in fraudulent activity.

9.3.3 Parasites and predators

As noted in Chapter 4, this research project coincided with economic recession in Ireland. Walter Benjamin wrote an evocative commentary about the 1920's European economic recession he witnessed in Germany in his monograph *One Way Street and other writings* (Benjamin, 1997). Benjamin describes recessionary behaviour, how people behave in a particular socially acceptable manner and the human cost of poverty. Benjamin laments those who are unable to break free from a type of groupthink to think individually about their

own situation and describes vividly the repeated nature of conversations, the topics of discussion and what he described as the predictable nature of discussions, so performed as to be theatrical in nature (Benjamin, p. 453 1997). The manner of discussing migrant workers, or 'foreigners' as excess baggage and disposable, drawing on a narrowing ethno-nationalist conception of who are deserving, can also be included in these scripts. While these scripts are not solely linked to economic recession, they can become more acceptable and defensible conversations in times of economic recession.

Benjamin also demonstrates an understanding of how the lack of material goods carries a social and psychological cost (Benjamin, p. 452, 1997). He describes the shame poverty can induce, how not having basic material goods for a family evokes difficult emotions in addition to the practical reality of not having the necessary means (Benjamin p. 452, 1997). The type of economic poverty Benjamin describes was and continues to be evident in Ireland and throughout the world today as it was in Germany at that time and while economists discuss global economic complexity and how the recent financial crisis is incomparable to previous financial crises, the human cost of poverty remains throughout the ages. A person today who does not have the means to provide for their family, who finds it difficult to clothe and feed them still feels that same emotional pain that Benjamin so clearly describes. More important to this study is how ethno-nationalism also divides society into those who deserve assistance and those who do not, those who belong and those who are disposable.

The experiences of research participants reflected anti-migrant sentiment in Ireland during recession. Kumara verbalises how scripts can be generalised, anti-'foreigner':

...then they got a little bit angry because they saying all the foreigners taking over the job like that. (Kumara)

'Foreigner' is used in everyday language to describe non-Irish, and yet those who have Irish citizenship are often assumed to be 'foreigners', for example Patricia as a black Irish woman

and Kumara, who is an Irish citizen. This discourse is included to demonstrate how scripts can be generalised – all migrants can be Other – the impact of economic recession leads to a ‘blaming’ of migrants for taking jobs from ‘us’ (Irish people). Irish nationalism is available to justify Irish jobs for Irish people, just as historically it was Irish land for Irish people.

Tariq describes how economic justification of exclusion can also be directed to specific groups, such as asylum-seekers:

...one of the first things I actually felt was that right from the beginning as an asylum-seeker you are made to feel like you are a parasite whose objective is just to, to take money, resources and to sit on the social welfare services in this country. Because everything is all about ‘the economy cannot afford to continue to take care of ‘these people’, ‘they should be sent back to where they come from’. (Tariq)

This generalised script invokes the ‘bogus asylum-seeker’ and ‘go home’³⁷. The economic cost of accommodating asylum-seekers and processing of applications is deemed too expensive, particularly during a recession with high unemployment among Irish people and return to Irish migration abroad. With the majority of asylum-seekers framed as ‘bogus-asylum seekers’, it makes sense from a narrow ethno-national perspective that non-Irish, or foreigners as described by Kumara, should return to their country of origin, ‘go home’. Both of these episodes, described by Kumara and Tariq are not contextualised, it is not clear who exactly is making these comments but that these are discourses they are familiar with. These discourses are remembered and retold, reinforcing how Kumara and Tariq feel they are perceived and evaluated in society.

³⁷ Evidence from research about institutional racism also notes the ‘go home’ script: ‘Radhi was told on numerous occasions to ‘go home’ by the local Community Welfare Officer, ‘home’ meaning her country of origin from which she was granted refugee status by the Irish state’ (Crosscare, Doras Luimni, Nasc, 2012).

9.3.4 *The menace within*

Chapter 2 details the historical nature of discourses of violent Travellers who were blamed during the 1960's for 'many more crimes than they commit' (Commission on Itinerancy, p. 94, 1963). This perceived threat is linked to the construction of Travellers as violent and responsible for burglaries. Thomas verbalised this in a comment he made in relation to how Travellers are viewed:

...if you hear there is a spate of robberies or something like that you might say oh 'there's Travellers'. (Thomas, page 5)

This comment on a standalone basis seems relatively benign and yet associating burglaries with Travellers reinforces the script of Travellers as innately criminal. This type of comment links to the episodes recounted by Katie, where she was accused of stealing a sandwich in a local shop and her aunt was followed by a security guard while grocery shopping. The association is part of *habitus* for Thomas, part of learned experience, that because some burglaries have been attributed to some Travellers, Travellers are the first group that comes to mind, they are immediate suspects. The nomadic culture of Travellers reinforces their lack of ties or responsibility, hence they 'fill out' the space of suspicion. If the identity of the thief is unknown, there are immediately available suspects, it must have been the Travellers.

Sarah spoke about a specific episode when a friend also blamed all Travellers for burglaries, explicitly expressing the same sentiment as Thomas above:

...somebody had asked me would I do some work with the afterschool club in Carrowbrowne, a halting site ahm and I said yes, I'd love to do that so when I was about to go out there I mentioned it to somebody, a friend, that I was going out there and her reaction was 'oh you can't go out there' and I said, 'why not' she said, 'that's way too dangerous' and I said, 'I don't think so, I don't,' and she said...and I said 'why' and she said, 'well do you not realise that most of the break-ins are done

by Travellers and you wouldn't know what would happen to you out there' and I found that shocking, that she would think that most break-ins, burglaries are the work of Travellers, it's totally not true, ahm but obviously people, some people believe that, and she felt that I wouldn't be safe out there, I don't know what she thought was going to happen. (Sarah).

Discourse about Travellers as innately criminal stretch back in time and can be linked to these everyday conversations, where Sarah's friend is confident in her knowledge and stating to her friend that all burglaries are carried out by Travellers. The episode is framed as advice from one friend to another, based on an assumed shared knowledge with the construction of Travellers as criminal not to purposefully denigrate Travellers but to protect Sarah which inadvertently racializes Travellers as dangerous and criminal. This episode is a more explicit expression of the same sentiment expressed by Thomas and similar to Wendy's experience of being warned not to work with Nigerians however in this case place is also constructed as dangerous, halting sites as immanently dangerous to settled persons.

Wendy was also warned about Travellers and specific places she should avoid, and again we see how a script is formulated as advice, this time sought by Wendy who was unfamiliar with customs and practices, with Travellers constructed as criminal and dangerous, potentially threatening to Wendy:

I was in a restaurant with a guy and I went to the bathroom and I asked him if it's safe to leave my handbag just a general question for a newcomer... and he said that Travellers and he was very negative and I remember it I didn't like it, it was very negative, you know 'you have to be careful with Travellers, they are everywhere, he talked like this and he also told me that I shouldn't walk alone in the woods like this called Merlin Park that I shouldn't go there alone because Travellers are there and it's dangerous and I absolutely shouldn't be there on my own. He was very negative and I

remember that I met also other people who were just, who just spoke in a very superior way about Travellers. (Wendy)

Wendy uses the word negative a number of times, she does not remember the actual content but the tone of language used. A woman's handbag is the focal object, personal property, which allows the discussion to become about Travellers and can be linked to Kumara's experience in Chapter 5, where he witnessed women moving their bags away from him and heard a man warning his friend to be careful of her handbag. Wendy does not mention that Travellers were actually present, they are discursively constructed as being 'everywhere' – implying constant vigilance and then placed in Merlin Woods as the most dangerous place, according to Wendy's friend. Wendy's description of people 'talking in a very superior way' denotes the manner privilege and whiteness can be expressed in a more overt manner, at times. 'Talking in a superior way' also meets Elias and Scotson's notion of gossip (2008), how a group can be talked about in a way which conveys implicit inferiority while re-affirming the superiority of the speaker's group. There is a symbolism in this type of omnipresence, Travellers as a symbol of threat, danger and the unknowable. Places inhabited by Travellers, halting sites and Merlin Woods, are deemed dangerous, especially to perceived settled white women and their property.

Katie also recalled how people react to her employment in a Traveller Support Group, and how without realising that Katie herself is a Traveller, they respond in a negative manner:

...like simple things like, like people will ask me, ahm, 'where d'you work?' and when I say Limerick Traveller Support Group and they don't realise I'm a Traveller and they're like 'oh, my god, and, and what happens there like', and, 'd'you, oh, I wouldn't go out around those sites, oh my god', and it's like, what the, you know like... (Katie)

Sarah, Wendy and Katie's experiences of discourse reinforces how halting sites can be assigned a negative 'sense of place' as described by Pink (2012). Halting sites are envisioned as dangerous places, where settled people should be afraid to visit due to the perception of all Travellers as violent and criminal. Research by Gmelch (1991) and Helleiner (2001), both of whom spent months living on halting sites, revealed how Travellers spend most of their time involved in the mundane tasks of living – eating, sleeping, talking and carrying out day-to-day chores, often in very difficult living conditions. It is a reasonable assumption that most settled people have never personally visited a halting site but pass by, imagining the threatening interior of a place they have never experienced.

9.3.5 Racializing discursive consciousness knowledge

'Knacker', as discussed earlier, is used in Irish society to denigrate Travellers drawing on tropes of primitive, criminal and morally inferior, it is regarded as a racist insult by Travellers and yet can be found in everyday language of the settled community (see chapter 5).

Sarah's recent work with Travellers resulted in her attending to use of derogatory language about Travellers in her everyday life:

Yeah and I suppose I'm more clued into that now that I'm going out to the afterschool work club ahm people are misnaming Travellers all the time, you know, you regularly hear the word 'knacker' which I think is a dreadful word ah 'tinker', 'itinerant' but very often 'knacker' ahm and I would have picked up on that before and I wouldn't have liked it but now it really irritates me. (Sarah)

Sarah describes the type of language she hears used to describe Travellers, the language varies from older historically situated language of 'tinker' and itinerant' as noted in the 1963 Report of the Commission on Itinerancy to the more recent racially insulting 'knacker'.

Everyday in Ireland this type of language is used to denigrate Travellers and, as discussed in the previous chapter, to put settled people down or to elevate ones' standing in the context of a dispute in informal conversations. Sarah's reflection that she would not have noticed the type of language previously corresponds with the movement of knowledge from practical consciousness to discursive consciousness, or how her awareness was due to a new level of familiarity with those who were being racialized (Giddens, 1984).

Sarah also remembered a specific episode where a woman specifically used the word 'knacker' to describe Travellers:

I was getting my hair cut and the hairdresser was talking about, now I don't know what's happened or what the true story is but she said that horses found in Carrowbrowne, I don't know how she came up with it because I wasn't talking about what I was doing or anything like that ahm and she was referring to them as 'the knackers, the knackers', and I didn't correct her, I should have said, I should have said you should say Traveller, the proper word is Travellers because they don't even like people saying settled Traveller, they are Travellers whether they live in a house, or in a mobile home makes no difference you know and I let that pass and I was kind of annoyed with myself that I didn't say, that's not the proper word, you shouldn't say that... (Sarah)

In this situation, the reference to 'knackers' is seamless in everyday conversation topics, a media story, chosen by the hairdresser and not Sarah, results in racializing language, again on the basis of assumed shared acceptability, shared *habitus*. This episode also happens in the realm of everyday life practices and rituals of the hairdressing profession, similar to those examined by De Certeau et al. (1998). The hairdresser uses language which is deemed socially acceptable to her customers and presumes Sarah shares her opinions and choice of language. Sarah's annoyance at herself for allowing the comments to go unchallenged

reinforces the power of structuring practices (Haugaard, 2003). While certain contexts welcome challenging meaning-making discussions, for example debates or legal argument, much everyday social interaction is based on mutually affirming discourse, making it immanently easier to follow the flow of everyday language than to interrupt with ideas considered novel or controversial. It can be difficult to challenge language and ideas so ubiquitous and taken-for-granted due to the discomfiture of de-structuring practices (Haugaard, 2003). Sarah's discomfort with the language goes unnoticed and unacknowledged and the status quo is maintained, with the following customers also likely regaled with stories about 'knackers' and thus the circle of reinforcement continues unabated.

The following episode described by Katie reinforces how more benign language can be used, which draws on the same ideas without the need to use overt racializing language:

...like I was talking to a person as well like and it was just like for five minutes, you know when you're standing at a bus-stop or something like that, a stranger, a complete stranger and they ask you where you work like and I said Limerick Traveller Support Group and, ahm, like, they were like, ahm, and 'what do you do there?', and I was like explaining that we advocate on behalf of Travellers and we give them advice on, ahm, issues like accommodation and health and so on and, ahm, they were like, 'oh, that crowd doesn't need much advice, do they'. (Katie)

The lack of overtly racial language renders this episode more subtle on the continuum, the reference to Travellers is 'that crowd', invoking outsider status (Elias and Scotson, 2008). The rights of Travellers are categorically dismissed, Travellers are constructed as either not needing or undeserving of support. The use of 'that crowd' is more ambiguous and yet conveys that the user refuses to use either the language chosen by Travellers themselves or the more racializing 'knacker'. The context of the conversation, with a person who has

already acknowledged they work with Travellers, it would not be socially acceptable to use openly derogatory language, yet it is clear that Travellers are negatively constructed in the tone of language used, similar to the language experienced by Wendy above.

9.5 Everyday racist discourse: Confirm-structuration and de-structuration

Building on Giddens theory of structuration, Haugaard describes the operation of confirming-structuration and de-structuration practices (Haugaard, 2003).

In reaction to disempowerment, those who wish to raise a new issue have to try and expand the conditions of possibility of social order. They will have to build consensus on new meanings so that novel structuration practices will be confirm-structured.
(Haugaard, p. 95, 2003)

Confirm-structuration reinforces prevailing norms, and is based largely on practical consciousness (Giddens, 1984), whereas de-structuration practices disrupt norms, challenge the discourse, in the manner Patricia described how she challenged racist verbal abuse. The episodes outlined here by Maria, Thomas and Laura occurred during private conversations, with Maria and Thomas following prevailing structuration practices while Laura disrupts structuring practices with her de-structuration discourse, by not responding in the manner expected. These conversations reveal how racializing practices are discursively constructed during private interaction, meeting the criteria for 'racetalk' above.

9.5.1 Confirm-Structuration

Maria described comments of a friend who was reluctant to work with African people:

one of my friends, ah works in a bakery... but he tends to work with a lot of people from one immigrant background ahm, I think it's people a lot of people from the

Philippines happen to work there ahm but he's very reluctant to work with people of African backgrounds. (Maria)

Here two groups are configured in opposition to each other, migrants from the Philippines as acceptable and African migrants as unacceptable, in the workplace. This links to Kumara's experience in his workplace, his blackness was racialized by monkey noises while here the African group, whose blackness is implicit, are excluded from the workplace, and do not get the opportunity to enter. Evidence of exclusion of groups from employment has been identified, where people with non-Irish sounding names on application forms were less likely to be called for interview than people with Irish sounding names (McGinnity et al., 2009). It is possible that one group can be designated as 'good' workers, immigrants from the Philippines in this case, they again are racialized as they are also ascribed with group characteristics, as described in Chapter 1 in reference to St Louis, even if resulting in ostensibly positive outcomes. The reluctance to work with a group of people was not explained or justified. The comment did not need to be justified, but simply 'made sense' to the person speaking, and can thus be identified as an example of confirm-structuration practices.

The remainder of this section focuses on discourses about and experiences in the taxi industry in Galway. Jaichand et al. (2010) analysed racism in the taxi industry in Galway from a rights perspective, the following episodes demonstrate how black taxi drivers in Galway continue to be racialized.

Thomas recalled a conversation with a female friend about her refusal to take a taxi with a black driver:

...one of my friends was saying that whenever she's in town and she's getting a taxi back she won't get a taxi you know with a black driver and I was like saying oh 'that's kind of racist' and she was like saying, 'ok, yeah well maybe it's just I've had bad experiences with them, like just me on my own, you know just kind-of', again if you

don't feel comfortable I don't think you should put yourself in a situation where you feel uncomfortable so I can't judge her on not wanting to do that like she says and then one of my other friends perked up and said 'well you know I've had just as many bad experiences with Irish taxi drivers' and I was like 'yeah that's probably true'. (Thomas)

The differing attitudes of all three people reported here denotes how racializing practices and the underlying scripts can be negotiated during informal conversation. There is an attempt at de-structuration, to question personal 'bad experiences' of black taxi drivers with commensurate personal 'bad experiences' with Irish taxi drivers. The justification of the practices of exclusion, 'bad experiences' are not described in detail but used to state that the action is not racist but based on personal and hence valid evidence. Thomas accepts the discourse as valid, reaffirms the practice of avoiding black taxi drivers as a personal choice, similar to the rhetoric which underpins racial segregation in the United States. The 'bad experience' also reinforces the rumour and myth of dangerous black taxi drivers who pose a threat to white women which was also identified by Jaichand et al. (2010). A third person intervenes, and challenges the evidence and generalisation of a few bad experiences to a racially segregated occupational category, and thereby makes an attempt at de-structuration. It seems unlikely that the future practices of Thomas and his friend would change, it would also seem likely that Thomas's friend would continue to avoid black taxi drivers in future. The justification of 'I have had bad experiences with that group' has also been used in relation to Travellers, as noted by Katie who was told 'ye're crowd were here last week and wrecked the place'.

Maria recounted a particular episode when a white Irish taxi driver spoke in a negative and aggressive manner about black taxi drivers:

I was getting a taxi with a friend of mine into the city centre and ahm the taxi driver was, an Irish man a white Irish man but he when we were driving past he saw a car parked and he mentioned that it was the taxi of ahm another black taxi driver from Galway who we knew and he kind of was casting aspersions on black taxi drivers which I didn't particularly you know enjoy having to listen to this kind of em, not an outburst but his views on it and he was kind of suggesting that the car should be burnt out and things like this...he was trying to reaffirm how you know 'oh he was Irish' and he was saying the phrase 'fear dubh' ...he was almost in a position of power over me because he was driving me in I didn't know how much I could say so kind of I disagreed with him subtly but I couldn't say everything that I wanted to say to him. (Maria).

This discussion also confirms the findings of Jaichand et al. (2010), about an orchestrated campaign against black taxi drivers, framed as supporting local Irish business by some white Irish taxi drivers. The phrase 'fear dubh' articulates the Irishness of the speaker, his ability to speak the Irish language and the lack of need for racializing language. The fact that 'fear dubh' is the incorrect word in Irish further reinforces how the white taxi driver was attempting to prove his Irish nationalist credentials, even though this was not fully achieved as Maria knew he was using the incorrect phrase. The reference to burning the car of the black taxi driver also draws on historical political violence, the burning of property as a valid type of protest used against British settlers, Travellers, European land-owners and now newer black migrants. Maria's reluctance to challenge the opinions can be understood in terms of structuration practices, the taxi driver articulating what he considered reasonable and 'common-sense', just as Thomas's friend also believed she was in danger in the cars of all black taxi drivers. This episode can be contrasted to the approach taken by Laura below.

9.5.2 Countering everyday racist discourse, de-structuration.

I'd been out and I'd got a taxi home and you know the cab driver and it's 'where are you from' and ahm, so I said London and he said 'yeah' and he said 'all them blacks over there' but (laughs) and I said, I said, 'it's the only thing I miss' right and he nearly crashed the car, he nearly hit a lamp post cause it clearly wasn't what he expected me to say but I mean enough, enough, I just sometimes, I mean it feels good to turn it around or just like, I just, ahm and then he didn't say anything to me for the rest of the journey... (Laura)

Laura challenges the everyday racist discourse of a taxi driver about black people by turning the negative discourse into an opportunity to challenge the speaker, an example of de-structuration. The basis of this conversation, in the private space of a taxi vehicle, was of two people with a shared cultural knowledge, of Berger and Luckmann's (1967), 'I know that you know that I know'. The taxi driver's expectation that Laura would agree with him in the rhythm and flow of everyday conversation was ruptured by an unexpected reply. The script he was working from, based on the outsider status of black people was de structured by Laura referring to her missing black people. Laura's relative proximity (in comparison to black people in this case), allows her become part of the 'in' group but she is still excludable in other contexts on the basis of her accent and perceived Englishness.

The three examples of discourse presented here about the taxi industry are a small sample and yet demonstrate how everyday discourse can be related to institutional forms of racism. The opinions of black taxi drivers themselves were not collected as part of this project and would be an interesting future area of research, to investigate further the relationship between everyday discourse and institutional forms of racism. Talking about black taxi drivers from the perspective of consumers, through to the negative discourse of some white

Irish taxi drivers, demonstrates the discursive and contextual nature of everyday racist discourse, and points to the relationship between different forms of racism.

9.6 Conclusion

This chapter described everyday racist discourse, which configures the Other in everyday social discourses in semi-private space, standing at a bus-stop, in a restaurant or in a hair-dressers. The type of knowledge which is shared also incorporates myths promulgated in everyday discourse and media, such as radio. Those who are subjectified by everyday racist discourse find themselves simultaneously racialized, and with little recourse to counter such media-based discourse. At times, practical consciousness knowledge can move to discursive consciousness, as was the case with Yasmin in Chapter 8 and Sarah, both of whom worked with Travellers, with Sarah becoming more aware of racializing language in her everyday life. The final sections describe how this shared practical consciousness knowledge can be challenged by de-structuration practices and yet in the episodes presented here, it was more likely that confirm-structuration occurred, demonstrating one of the ways racializing discourses endure in society.

Conclusion

Conceptualising everyday racism

A continuum of racism(s), as noted in Figure 9.1, illustrates the variety of racisms, from genocide to everyday racism and everyday racist discourse. Three conceptual frameworks have been used here to explore everyday racism; racialization, whiteness and intersectionality. Racialization, drawing on Miles and Brown (2003) and Garner's 2013 analysis, is defined as the dialectical process of ascribing immutable characteristics to people, on the basis of perceived difference rooted in historically formed notions of racial, cultural and social difference. Whiteness is a resource and contingent hierarchy (Garner, 2006), and in the Irish context whiteness does not extend to Travellers, who are ostensibly white yet do not share the same resources as settled people, resulting in a peripheral position in Irish society. Intersectionality, factors which mutually shape each other (Walby et al., 2012), have also been important to explore how gender, life stage and nationality shape the manifestation of everyday racism experienced. Sociological theories of the everyday, drawing on concepts of the social, social space, practices, scripts, flow and temporality explore how and where everyday racism is operationalized, and is exemplified in the fields analysed in Section 2. Drawing these conceptual frameworks together, everyday racism is configured as racializing practices and scripts which occur in social space, drawing on resources of whiteness and intersecting with other social factors, which vary across time and lifespan in the habitual routines of everyday life.

Racialization and historical moments

The review of historical moments in Ireland (Chapter 2), explored how 'them' and 'us' are constituted in Ireland, drawing on Laclau and Mouffe's concept of the constitutive outside (2001) and Hall's conception of identity (Hall, p.5, 1996b). While discourses and practices

change over time, traces endure as in the example of nationalist and racializing discourses underpinning the 'land of Ireland for the people of Ireland', similar to the ethno-national basis of more recent 'Irish jobs for Irish people', which links to exclusionary discourses of 'go home'. The racializing language of the 1963 RCI report about Travellers endures today in discourses and practices, reinforcing the ongoing exclusion of Travellers. As Katie described in chapter 8, from the moment she steps outside her door she risks experiencing racism. The scripts of 'primitive' and 'thieving' Traveller Others is transposable onto other groups, for example Wendy was warned to be careful of Travellers and Nigerians. Aid organisations such as Trocaire have historically reinforced hierarchies of belonging and paternalistic notions of the Other rather than challenge them, underpinning the experience of Patricia being given money on the street as a child and linked to the more recent 'go home' discourse, as Others from the developing world belong 'there' and not 'here'. The discourses of poor 'black babies' became inverted when migrant mothers were configured in the Irish Citizenship Referendum as undeserving parasites abusing Irish laws, as experienced by Patricia and Tariq's wife, underlining the intersectional nature of gender and race.

Telling a different story

A composite of fictional stories follow, based on the data presented in Section 2, organised using the same fields as chapters 6 to 9 and framed by confirm-structuring and de-structuring practices (Haugaard, 2013). Sefiha and Reichman, 2016, created a composite, 'day-in-the-life' sketch of a typical participant in their research, a fictional account based on actual research data. This type of synthesis allows a coherent narrative, yet a fictional one, where data from of a number of participants can be gathered into one fictional story derived from real stories. I use this composite in a somewhat different manner here, taking some stories from the data and postulating hypothetical composites based on examples of everyday racism experienced

by research participants. These composites comprise confirm-structuring and de-structuring practices, meeting Pink's requirement of everyday practices having 'multiple potentials' (Pink, 2012).

On the bus: Part 1

Kanu waits in a queue to board a bus to Dublin, he is travelling to visit a friend from his home country. Kanu has brought a plastic bag with water to drink and headphones to listen to music on his phone, to pass the time on the bus journey. As he boards the bus, he chooses a seat at the front, sitting by the window, as another passenger might need the seat beside him. As more passengers embark, people ask those seated to move their bags, as the bus is full and all seats are needed.

The bus driver checks the ticket of the last passenger, a woman who is travelling alone, wheeling her suitcase behind her. She looks down the bus, only the seat beside Kanu is vacant. She walks down the bus, trying to find another vacant seat, and notices a woman and child sitting together, she asks: 'would you mind if the little girl could sit on your knees so I can sit there? I know it's asking a lot but there is a black guy at the front and I really don't feel comfortable sitting beside him for the next two hours?'. The little girl is reluctantly moved out of her seat and onto the lap of her companion, as they settle in for the journey while the seat at the front beside Kanu remains vacant.

On the bus: Part 2

The bus driver checks the ticket of the last passenger, a woman who is travelling alone, wheeling her suitcase behind her. She looks down the bus, only the seat beside Kanu is vacant. She walks down the bus, trying to find another vacant seat, and notices a woman and child sitting together, she asks: 'would you mind if the little girl could sit on your knees so I can sit there? I know it's asking a lot but there is a black guy at the front and I really don't feel comfortable sitting beside him for the next two hours?'. The woman replies 'shame on

you', collects her bags and bringing the young child by the hand walks to the front of the bus where they both sit beside Kanu.

Coffee-shop

Helen works in a coffee shop in the city centre, and is clearing a table when a group of Traveller women arrive and sit at the table beside her. The women are talking animatedly about an outfit one of them has just bought for a family wedding, the dress is taken out of a bag and placed on the table. Helen's colleague, a waitress behind the counter 'throws her eyes up to heaven' as Helen approaches her and says to Helen in hushed tones 'would you look at the state of those 'knackers', I wouldn't be seen dead in an outfit like that'. Helen mutters 'yeah', she doesn't like her colleagues tone but better to ignore her, as she moves to clear another table.

At school

The staff room of the secondary school is busy, teachers eating their lunch and organising paperwork. A small group are chatting about a Traveller girl named Mary, who had been sent to detention earlier that morning for not wearing her school skirt. Mary had a note from her mother stating Mary's uniform skirt was drying in their caravan. There is consensus among the teachers that adherence to uniform rules has been slipping in the school. 'She broke the rules, I had no choice but to send her to detention, if any student could bring in a note and be excused from wearing their uniform no one would wear it', states the teacher who gave Mary detention. Mary's maths teacher is unhappy as Mary missed an important double-class that morning because of detention, 'Mary is now behind in her Maths course because of detention this morning. You were picking on Mary unfairly today because two other students were wearing tracksuits today in my class and they did not get detention'.

These hypothetical composites are grounded in everyday lived social life, with each of the four stories representing everyday lived experiences, the rhythm of habits and routines of

travelling on a bus, working in a café and teaching in a school. These stories exemplify the ease with which these types of practices and scripts are reproduced in everyday life, while also demonstrating that everyday racist practices and scripts are permeable and challengeable, although the position of each social actor can make this more or less difficult in each particular circumstance. The example in Chapter 8 of a Traveller woman who challenged a security guard and was removed from the shop demonstrates the type of negative outcome which can result from de-structuring practices. Yet, the episode occurred in social space where other social actors, customers and other staff in the shop, could have intervened, the authority of the security guard could have been challenged using 'concerted power' (Arendt, 1970 and Haugaard, 2015).

What is the contribution of this thesis?

Everyday racism occurs in the routine rhythm and flow of everyday life and momentarily interrupts the lives of those impacted, shaping their lives through the cumulative impact of recurring episodes. The focus here has been on those impacted predominantly as many who take part in these practices and discourses are unaware of their behaviour and the impact it has. There is a socialising aspect to racism which Bourdieu's *habitus* (1990) and Giddens practical consciousness (1984) elucidate, capturing the historically constituted and scripted discourses and practices which can be challenged through de-structuration practices but more often than not are reproduced and thereby reinforced through confirm-structuration practices (Haugaard, 2003) in social interaction, as described in the above composites.

Language in its widest sense is the vehicle of practical meaning, calculation and consciousness, because of the ways by which certain meanings and references have been historically secured. But its cogency depends on the 'logics' which connect one proposition with another in a chain of connected meanings; where the social

connotations and historical meaning are condensed and reverberate off one another.

(Hall, p. 40 1996a)

The people involved in everyday racism described in section 2, the people on the street, on public transport, work colleagues, teachers and security staff may not remember any of the episodes described and may not ever consider that they, in their own small way, contribute to the maintenance and continuance of racism in society, and yet these practices and discourses are how racism is operationalized.

This project conceptualises everyday racism from the perspective of scripts and practices rather than focusing on specific inter-ethnic group conflict. This does not discount ethnicity as important in particular conflict situations, but rather changes the focus from specific groups in society to all social actors who inhabit shared spaces. Ethnicity here is explored in the form of cultural markers, customs and practices which form *habitus* and intersect with, for example, nationality, gender and sexual orientation (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992). The perceived fixed, immutability of characteristics assigned to social actors, drawn on ethnic, and cultural difference is where the concept of racialization as used by Garner (2013), highlights the discourses and practices underpinning experiences recounted by research participants in this project.

The continuum of everyday racism(s) represents a variety and intensity of experiences, while within this spectrum there are also heterogeneous experiences of social actors in Ireland, as described in Section 2. Migrants, including members of the same ethnic group or nationality, and Irish-born citizens, such as Travellers and black-Irish, experience social life differently.

What is common across the experiences of research participants interviewed during this project is their experience of racism(s), of overt and everyday racism. Contributing to the continuity of these experiences is everyday racist discourse in Irish society which underpins and promulgates racism. These discourses are not as coherent as an ideology, as argued by

Miles and Brown (2003) but are identifiable as ideas, actions, experience, memories and meanings which are part of the everyday. Scripts of 'dirty, thieving knackers'; 'poor black babies'; 'Nigerian fraudsters'; 'primitive nigger', 'Paki thief' and 'bogus asylum-seekers' are all more than enunciated descriptors, they are powerful discourses of otherness, readily available in everyday discourse and continuously circulating in Ireland. Some of these scripts cause dissonance – how can a 'black baby' worthy of charity become a 'bogus asylum-seeker'? 'Paki thief' is a newer script which although difficult to trace historically, draws on similar ideas of 'primitive nigger' as demonstrated in the interchangeability of the language examined in Chapter 5. The focus on banal episodes of racism in everyday life has been criticised (for example see Harries, 2015) and may attract criticism from fields of research into ethnicity and quantitative researchers due to the focus on social interaction rather than specific ethnic groups. Anti-racism campaigners, who due to the dearth of resources to address explicit racism in Ireland, have necessarily focused on explicit and legally verifiable forms of racism and may disagree with the focus here on banal forms of racism. The nature of this enquiry has been neither the prosecution of 'perpetrators' nor a political anti-racist narrative. It is simply a questioning of the everyday understanding of the Other in Irish society – of an understanding that the Traveller woman, Nigerian man, Asian man or whomever one interprets as not being Irish, or Irish enough, is so much more than one's perception of them. The intellectual journey of completing this thesis, together with interviewing research participants and volunteering with migrants has taught me that vigilance about presumption, the constant questioning of contingent knowledge is necessary to challenge pre-conceived ideas, including my own.

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Appendix 1: Interview Forms



Centre Number: 001

Study Number: 001

Participant Identification Number:

Consent Form

Title of Project: Everyday Racism in West of Ireland

Name of Researcher: Anita Naughton

Please initial the box

1. I confirm that I have read the information sheet dated..... for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

2. I am satisfied that I understand the information provided and have had enough time to consider the information.

3. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

4. I agree to take part in the above study.

Name of Participant:

Date:

Signature:

Researcher: Anita Naughton

Date:

Signature:

3 x copies: 1 with participant; 1 with researcher; 1 to be kept with research notes



Version Number: 003

Date: 21st January 2013

Participant Information Sheet

Title of Study: Everyday racism in the West of Ireland

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. This Participant Information Sheet will tell you about the purpose, risks and benefits of this research study. If you agree to take part, we will ask you to sign a Consent Form. If there is anything that you are not clear about, we will be happy to explain it to you. Please take as much time as you need to read it. You should only consent to participate in this research study when you feel that you understand what is being asked of you, and you have had enough time to think about your decision.

Background to the study:

This study is looking at everyday racism in Ireland. Studies have been carried out in the US, UK and Sweden but this type of research has not been carried out in Ireland. We are interested in the everyday nature of racism as experienced whilst going about daily life. You have been asked to participate because you may have experienced or witnessed everyday racism.

This project will take two years to complete. I will be interviewing other people who have shared similar experiences, and look forward to sharing my results with you. It is very important that this work be carried out; at present we know little about peoples' experiences of everyday racism in the Irish context.

About the researcher:

I am a Phd candidate working with an experienced supervisor, Kevin Ryan. I have spent the past two years reviewing the literature in Ireland and other countries about racism. In participating in a mentoring program run by Galway Refugee Support Group I have learned to appreciate some of the difficulties facing migrants in Ireland.

Taking part – what it involves:

The majority of research about racism focuses on the number of racist incidences; this study is about your experience of everyday racism and gaining an understanding of how this impacts you, those around you and wider society. This research will lead to a greater understanding of how everyday racism operates in Ireland.

I would be delighted if you would agree to take part in this important research. This would involve us meeting at a convenient place, for an interview lasting 45 minutes approximately. We can meet on the University campus or we can meet at another venue that suits you. The interview will be recorded on an MP3 recorder and transcribed (written) to ensure accuracy. I would be grateful to follow this up with a further interview, if you were happy to do this.

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. A decision to withdraw at any time, or a decision not to take part, will not affect your rights in any way. The results of this research will be published as a research paper, you will not be identified in any such publication and I will provide you with a copy of the study's results.

There are no risks in taking part in this study. If problems arise during the study, I will be able to supply details of people that can help. All information that is collected about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential and will not be shared with anyone else. It will be stored in a way that protects your identity. The recordings will be transcribed for analysis. We will store this material securely for 5 years after which it will be destroyed.

It is unlikely that distress will arise, but if you become distressed during the study, the following people and organisations may be of some help:

- Samaritans (provides emotional support) 1850 60 90 90
- Aware (mental health support) 1850 24 1850

If you wish to report a racist incident, the following organisations can provide assistance:

- Garda Racial & Intercultural Office 01 6663150/3817
- Crime Victims Helpline 1850 211 407
- The Equality Tribunal 1890 34 44 24 or +353 1 4774100
- ENAR, European Network Against Racism, <http://enarireland.org/racist-incident-reporting-form/>
- Immigrant Council of Ireland's (ICI) Information and Support Service 01 6740200

Please contact me if you have any queries about this: Anita Naughton, School of Sociology and Political Science, NUI Galway, Ireland. Phone 35386 8000000, email eoinaofeclarke@yahoo.co.uk or a.naughton6@nuigalway.ie You may also contact my supervisor with any queries: Kevin Ryan, School of Sociology and Political Science, NUI Galway, Ireland Phone 35391 493111 kevin.ryan@nuigalway.ie

If you have any concerns about this study and wish to contact someone independent and in confidence, you may contact 'the Chairperson of the NUI Galway Research Ethics Committee, c/o Office of the Vice President for Research, NUI Galway, ethics@nuigalway.ie.

Thank you for taking the time to read this sheet,

Anita Naughton

Interview Schedule

Version 0003: 21 January 2013

1. Sign consent form and give participant a copy.
2. Discuss any questions participant has after reading the Participant Information Sheet.
3. Confirm that the interview will be recorded and that recording can be stopped at any time.
4. Questions will be based on the following guide and may include extra questions if the interviewer feels is necessary depending on the interview topics and direction.

Guide for questions:

Personal background;

- Tell me about yourself?
- What motivated you to take part in the Language Classes?

Experiences of discrimination;

- Can you remember any places or situations where you felt different from other people?
- Different in a good or bad way?
- For example in the way people looked at you, spoke to you, reacted to you?
- Was there anything in particular that people said or did that made you feel different?
- Are there any particular places that you felt different (for example shops, going to the doctor, buses, taxis, work)?
- Did this sense of difference cause you to change your behaviour in any way? (where you shopped, how you dressed, how you introduced yourself to people)
- Can you think of any examples that made you feel frustrated, annoyed or angry?
- Can you think of any examples where someone tried to be helpful but in being helpful made you feel different in a bad way?
- Can you think of any examples where someone was deliberately hurtful, called you names or insulted you?
- Do you think that in Ireland the colour of a person's skin matters in how that person is treated by another person?

Additional Information:

- Are there any other experiences that you can share where you felt you were discriminated against?
- Are there any other experiences that you can share where you felt other people were being discriminated against?
- Is there anything else you would like to add?

Close:

- Thank you for taking the time to participate, it is greatly appreciated.
- How will I contact you in future about this research?
- Would you agree to a further interview?
- Do you know anyone who might be interested in taking part?

Post Interview Analysis

(p. 325 Bryman, 2004)

How did the interview go? (was the interviewee talkative, co-operative, nervous, presented etc)

Where the interview took place

Any other feelings about the interview?

Appendix 2: List of Research Participants

Name	Male/Female	Ethnic self-description
Maria	Female	Irish
Nyree	Female	Canadian
Wendy	Female	Polish
Yasmin	Female	Irish
Laura	Female	Irish
Bernie	Female	Irish
Sarah	Female	Dutch
Olive	Female	Spanish
Thomas	Male	Irish
Tariq	Male	Nigerian
Katie	Female	Irish Traveller
Patricia	Female	Black Irish
Kumara	Male	Asian
Peter	Male	Asian

Note: Names are pseudonyms