

**The Nation as Embodied Practice: Women, Migration and the Social Production of
Nationhood in Ireland**

by

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the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
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Abstract**The Nation as Embodied Practice: Women, Migration and the Social Production of
Nationhood in Ireland****by****Deirdre Conlon****Advisor: Professor Cindi Katz**

Over the past two centuries Ireland's renown has been as an emigrant nation, but since 1996, and associated with rapid economic growth, Ireland has emerged as an immigrant-receiving nation. Migration in any geographic setting raises issues regarding space and place, identity and belonging. In Ireland, the gendered character of migration further nuances these issues as, for most of the 20th century, migration by women consistently outnumbered migration by men. Thus, in Irish society understandings of place, identity, and national belonging are intertwined, through history and in the present, in complex and fascinating ways with women's migration. Focusing on the specific context of Ireland and taking migration among women as its locus, this research explores three facets of the intersections between women, migration and the social production of nationhood. Ireland's history of emigration is juxtaposed and critically examined alongside contemporary representations and practices of immigration. The links between women, as migrants, and nationhood are explored by examining the experiences of migrant women in Ireland today. These concerns dovetail a theoretical interest in exploring the relations between everyday social and spatial practices and the social production of the scale of the nation and belonging therein. Therefore, this study weaves

together a number of theoretical strands including social theories of space and scale, literature on globalization and migration, and feminist analyses of embodiment. These influences are combined with a mixed-method qualitative approach that includes a review of Ireland's popular presses at key points during the 20th century and in recent years, and a series of semi-structured interviews with immigrant women. By threading the social production of the nation through the representations of em/im-migrant women in Ireland and also through experiences of everyday life recounted by refugee and asylum seeker migrant women in interviews, this research aims to further our knowledge of the relations between women's migration and understandings of nationhood in contemporary Irish society.

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Chapter 1—Fugal Beginnings: Women, Migration, Nation and the Social Production of Space

Prelude

In the past decade Irish society has witnessed momentous changes; economic growth rates soared well above European and U.S. national averages, unemployment rates plummeted to historic lows, and Ireland emerged from almost two centuries as a nation of emigrants and has been transformed into an immigrant-receiving country. This new migration in the context of Ireland presents a unique opportunity for research into the relations between women, migration, and the nation for several reasons. First, with such a persistent history of emigration the recent shift to immigrant-receiving nation demands attention. Secondly, Ireland's migration history is unusual in that the number of women who left the country throughout the 20th century consistently outnumbered emigration among men. More recently, long-standing policies and practices associated with citizenship in Ireland as well as understandings of nationhood and Irish identity have begun to unravel largely in association with the immigration practices of women in particular.

In view of these issues I propose that in Ireland, ideas about social identity and space, more specifically identity, nationhood, and who belongs, are consistently and inextricably bound up with women and migration. I assert that coinciding with recent changes in the political-economic, social and cultural geography of Ireland, the intersections between women, migration and nationhood are thrown into relief. Therefore, with particular attention to recent shifts within Irish society, and focusing on media attention as well as interviews that recount the experiences of migrant—refugee and

asylum seeker—women, this dissertation aims to explicate the role that women’s migration plays in understandings and productions of the nation-state and nationhood in Ireland today.

Derek Gregory notes that geography “is not confined to any one discipline, or even to the specialized vocabularies of the academy; it travels instead through social practices at large and is implicated in myriad topographies of power and knowledge” (1994, p. 11). I believe that Gregory’s words are equally fitting for environmental psychology. In this introductory chapter, I adopt his approach by braiding together literature from feminist theory, social, cultural and political geography, cultural studies of everyday life and theoretical perspectives on the social production of space. These perspectives inform the study and the dissertation as a whole.

Overall though, the guiding theoretical framework for the present study is the work of the French social theorist Henri Lefebvre. Specifically, I draw on several interrelated elements of Lefebvre’s substantial oeuvre, namely, his critical reading of history, the critique of everyday life, the theorization on the social production of space, and discussion of the state mode of production particularly as it pertains to citizenship. As we will see, I believe these elements of Lefebvre’s work are closely aligned with the concerns of geographers, feminists, and social and cultural studies scholars as well. Furthermore, I want to suggest that by knitting Lefebvre’s ideas with recent scholarship in these areas the significance of a transdisciplinary approach within environmental psychology will be made clear. It is not only that Lefebvre’s work provides a theoretical core for the present study; in addition to this, I propose that his work also resonates with the social context of contemporary Ireland as well. As a point of entry to his ideas, their

influence for the present study, and to further introduce the study itself, I want to highlight how Lefebvre's work resounds with the changes taking place in Irish society today.

Although Lefebvre's work spanned almost the entire 20th century several elements of his work were initiated or produced as reflections on the swift and sweeping changes that took place in post-World War II French society. These changes included the industrialization of the French economy, the modernization of everyday life, and the shift towards an increasingly urbanized and suburbanized population. In responding to these changes Lefebvre's contributions to social theory were wide ranging, so much so that Hubbard, Kitchin, and Valentine (2004) observe that it is now difficult to consider issues such as modernity, alienation, everyday life, and social productions of space without referencing Lefebvre's work.

I argue that we can draw some parallels between modernity's transformation of French society and the rapid pace and changes in social and cultural life in Ireland recently. For example, O'Connell (2001) observes that in Ireland, coinciding with soaring economic growth, the number of people engaged in agricultural work declined while those employed in industry, and in service industries particularly, increased significantly. Similarly, rural Ireland was pronounced a thing of the past when census data revealed that the majority of the population now lives in urban or suburban areas (Central Statistics Office (CSO), 1997; see also McDonald, 2000). And more recently, the Vintners' Federation of Ireland declared that rural pubs "the last bastion of rural Ireland" are closing down at a rate of one per day (cited in Cullen, 2007). Meanwhile, with economic growth, the frenzy to purchase and to own exploded with all indices of

individual and household consumption patterns, ranging from beauty care products to car purchases and real estate, increasing by double digits between 1990 and 1997 (O’Connell, 2001, p. 141). These are all trademark signs of modernization and so, like Lefebvre’s France, Ireland has transitioned to post/industrial, suburban, consumer-rich nation at a rabid pace and almost comprehensively in a matter of a few decades.

The factors that account for this rapid transformation of economy and society in Ireland are manifold. They include ideological shifts at the level of state politics and in association with Ireland’s standing as a member of the European Union (EU). Economic restructuring programs and fiscal policy shifts have accompanied these changes in ideology and obligation and reflect the growing aura of neoliberalism. Other contributing political factors include the advent of an era of stability and peace in Northern Ireland for the first time in 30 years. Coupled with political and economic factors, cultural shifts also play a role. Perhaps most notable in this regard is that the Catholic Church’s ascetic grip on social, cultural, and political life in the Republic of Ireland has, in large measure, been cast off in recent decades. With this, the flair and appeal of modernity and post/modernity, with attendant practices such as commodification, consumption, technological innovation, and relentless reinvention, have been adopted—with abandon—in many arenas of social life.

It is not the aim of this dissertation to assess the “root” causes of these changes. In fact, Kirby, Gibbons, and Cronin (2002) posit that with an abundance of analyses focusing on the economic and political correlates of recent transformations within Irish society there is now a need for research attending to the social and cultural revisions and reinventions taking place therein. In the present study, I focus attention on the social and

cultural dynamics, specifically associated with women's migration, that are the handmaidens of Ireland's new economic identity. I examine the effect of changing economic realities and political ideologies in understanding the role and place of migrants in configurations of Ireland and Irish identity, and I examine the profound impact of such changes for everyday life and in the social and cultural spaces of post/modern Ireland.

Associated with the parallels outlined above, I draw on Lefebvre's ideas and observations related to social space and everyday life in the modern world in order to account for the changes in the fabric of Irish society. Furthermore, in addition to the traction that I believe Lefebvre's work has within the geographic context of Ireland today, I also want to suggest that the experiences of the women I interviewed provide a lens whence to elucidate Lefebvre's bytimes meandering arguments. Overall then, by weaving together recent research in areas such as migration studies, feminist political and social geography, and cultural studies, interrelating these with Lefebvre's ideas, and grounding the analysis within the social and cultural context of present-day Ireland, this dissertation aims to contribute a nuanced analysis of the relations between women, migration, and the social production of the modern Irish nation-state.

Chapter Overview

This introductory chapter is divided into three sections in order to situate the literature relevant to my project. To further contextualize Lefebvre's ideas in relation to the present project I take a cue from Stuart Elden's valuable discussion of Lefebvre's oeuvre—*Understanding Henri Lefebvre* (2004). In this book, Elden suggests that a thematic rather than a sequential approach is practical in discussing Lefebvre's ideas

because he (Lefebvre) revisited various issues, such as alienation and resistance in everyday life, at numerous points and in relation to a variety of spaces over his long career; as a result his ideas are interspersed and interlaced around several themes.

Also, a recurrent theme in Lefebvre's work was a critique of linear narratives; instead he posited the significance of rhythms, the repetitive, and moments both in material life and in the production of knowledge. I take these concepts as more than mere rhetoric and so, in beginning to build this dissertation narrative, and in order to better situate Lefebvre's ideas within the context of my project, I employ these constructs concretely. Stated differently, in reviewing the literature I adopt a thematic approach and take some of the cadences of recent scholarship in human geography and women's studies as moments of opportunity to introduce and link to several of the themes from Lefebvre's work that I draw on in this study.

Section I—*Theorizing the Nation as Social Space*—begins with a brief overview of approaches to space and place among environmental psychologists and geographers. This opens up the opportunity to introduce Lefebvre's theorization of social space and critique of everyday life as well as a discussion of the approaches—a “regressive-progressive” understanding of historical time and space coupled with a critical-dialectical perspective—that methodologically inform the analysis of social space. From here I consider scholarship that elucidates the intersections between identity—gendered, sexed, raced, and classed—and social space. This discussion gives way to Section II—*The Politics of Scale*—where I consider the specific scale of the nation-state as a social space that is materialized through embodied social and cultural practices. In taking up this issue I review recent debates in political geography on scale and link this discussion with some

of the concerns of feminist geographers. This in turn offers a “moment” to elaborate on the relations between Lefebvre’s analysis and feminist concerns with situated and embodied knowledge.

In the social sciences, recent scholarship on nation-states is intimately tied up with questions related to globalization, political-economic restructuring at various scales, and with migration as a routine facet of modernity, therefore, in Section III—*Women’s Migration, Borders and Belonging*—I focus attention on women’s migration in the context of global economic restructuring and I home in on the specific context of Ireland in order to outline some of the questions addressed in this study associated with Ireland’s long history of emigration, the recent transition to inward migration, and the gendered patterns of migration in Irish society.

Following from this, I consider how globalization and migration generate “insecurities” for nation-states and at national and supra-national borders. From here, I introduce the issue of citizenship as one that is intimately tied up with the geography of nations and with transnational migration. I outline a number of critiques of models of citizenship and discuss the contributions of political and feminist geography to reconfiguring spaces of citizenship and belonging in the contemporary era. In turn, this literature overlaps with Lefebvre’s ideas related to the role of the state in modern, global capitalist society, his proposals for rethinking citizenship, and the political ideas that gird his project as a whole. Therefore, I end the literature review with a return to Lefebvre to consider how these perspectives inflect the present study and their significance for rethinking citizenship, belonging, and nationhood in Irish society today.

Section I. Theorizing the Nation as Social Space

The Social and the Spatial

At the core of Environmental Psychology is an endeavor to develop understandings of the relations between people and their surroundings. Consequently, questions of place and space are central to research in this discipline. Concepts such as person-environment fit (Lewin, 1935; 1943), personal space (Sommer, 1969), place identity and place attachment (Proshansky, Fabian and Kaminoff, 1983; Low and Altman, 1992) advanced understanding of our surroundings as key facets in psychological development, wellbeing, and identity. For instance, according to Proshansky et al., the psychological development of self-identity is bound up with place; therefore to understand self-identity we must examine not only social interactions but also the formative influence of our relationship to places and spaces. Proshansky's analysis also emphasizes the ongoing development and fluidity of self-identity. This concern is significant within the context of this study of the relations between movement, in the form of migration, space, and identity. In addition to this, the displacement of a static model of identity might be viewed as speaking to a feminist epistemological position of knowledge as partial and identity formation as in flux—also important considerations in this dissertation. From my perspective one shortcoming of these renderings of person/environment relations, is, for the most part, place is understood as relatively static, physical terrain, or a Cartesian plane wherein social practices take place.

Within geography, traditional delineations of space and place adopt a similar conception. As McDowell (1999) observes, there is a “commonsense geographical notion

of a place as a set of coordinates on a map [and as a fixed] defined and bounded piece of territory” (p. 4). While this abstract notion of place still holds for some branches of the discipline, for the most part, geographers have advanced a social and cultural understanding where space and place are viewed as constituted through social practices and therefore, are engendered through struggles over meaning, social relations, as well as inclusions, and exclusions. For example, drawing on Marxist theory, Smith (1984) details how space is parceled up and privatized in capitalist society and associated with this, certain social groups, such as the homeless, are denied access and even “rights to space” (see also, Agnew and Duncan, 1989; Dear and Wolch, 1990; Gregory, 1994). Others have examined how built environments and landscapes are layered over time, with successive generations, and through social struggles (see for example Hayden, 1995; Nash, 1997). As a result, changes in the cultural meaning of space are traceable and identifiable when space is understood as a social landscape

Lefebvre and the Social Production of Space

Much of this work is indebted to the spatial turn in social theory and to Lefebvre’s theory on the social production of space specifically; consequently, this perspective is now folded into and elaborated on in several subfields of geography including the work of scholars such as Smith (1984; 1992a); Gottdiener (1985); Soja (1989; 1996); Harvey (1989); Massey (1994); Gregory (1994); and Brenner (2000). According to Lefebvre (1991a), “space is a (social) product” (p. 26, italics in original). It is produced, reproduced, and transformed through the practices of individual and collective subjects. As such, social space is not merely a backdrop for social life but instead is filled with,

and productive of, ideology and politics (Soja, 1989). In this formulation, binary divisions between individuals and their environment are rejected; instead, identity and place, the social and spatial are seen as mutually constituting one another.

This perspective on social space offers both a theoretical and a methodological guide in this dissertation. To appreciate this, an overview of Lefebvre's framework for the analysis of social space is necessary. Lefebvre theorizes three facets in the production of space—representations of space (conceived space), spatial practice (perceived space), and representational space (lived space). Representations of space are the images and ideas that are derived from institutional knowledge. Spatial practices are materialized through day-to-day activities, and the third facet—representational space—denotes a space of dynamic tension where dominant understandings and uses of space are contested. They are the avenue for resistance, transformation, and the production of new meanings and manifestations of social space. In this research, I take the view that the nation can be understood as a social space that is produced, reproduced, and reconfigured over time. I propose that at present in the nation-space of Ireland there is a critical-dialectical, lived tension between the representations of the nation as well as nationhood and practices of everyday life, and that the shift from 'em' to 'im' migrant nation is pivotal in this tension. Consequently, I propose that attending to the voices, experiences, and perspectives of women migrant in Ireland, and who were interviewed as part of this study, presents us with a lens through which to understand the social production of the Irish nation-space.

Lefebvre theorizes that the facets or dimensions of social space are interconnected, so, we perceive, conceive, and live social space simultaneously. However, he also argues that there has been a shift in the arrangement of these dimensions so that representations

now precede and dominate the way we think about and occupy social space. Thus, even though they are only part of the “story” of the production of the nation-space, representations and abstracted imaginings prescribe and regulate the use of social space.

To understand social space we need to examine how representations shape social relations and productions of space. In a review of Lefebvre’s thesis, Stewart (1995) notes that representations of space become a “serviceable (operational) tool for the analysis of spaces” (p. 611). Methodologically then, the project of developing an understanding of the social production of nationhood and the Irish nation requires a detailed examination of the representations that dominate that space. In this study (see Chapters 3 and 4) I examine the dominant print media representations of migration generally, and of emigrant and immigrant women especially, that have pervaded three key points in Ireland’s modern history and social production. Through this process, I assess some of the changes in the roles and spaces assigned to women in Irish society and I examine the relations between representations of migrant women and shifts in the social and ideological production of the Irish nation as well as conceptions of nationhood and citizenship therein.

Everyday Life, Critical-Dialectics, and Social Space

It is not enough, however, to focus solely on representations of space, to do so would merely replicate the “logic of visualization,” and “decorporealization of space” (Stewart, 1995) that Lefebvre criticized in much of his work. Because Lefebvre’s theorization of space identifies three facets of social space an analysis that’s guided by

this framework must also attend to spatial practices and lived spaces, in other words, accounts of everyday life must also be incorporated in the analysis of social space.

I take up a detailed discussion of Lefebvre's perspective and critique of everyday life in Chapters 5 and 6; for now, I want to signal the importance of this facet of his work in relation to an understanding of the nation-state as a socially produced space. Lebas (2003) observes that Lefebvre's concern with the everyday "absorbs, generates and gathers virtually the entirety of his philosophical concerns" (p. 69). In Lefebvre's work a textbook definition offering a precise meaning of 'everyday life' is probably impossible to find and possibly inconceivable; however, in recent years, the explosion of scholarly interest in what Katz accurately describes as "the fleshy, messy, indeterminate stuff of everyday life" (2004, p. x) proffers some clarity by identifying areas of attention and approaches to the study of everyday life.

In general use, "the everyday" refers to a wide range of practices undertaken routinely by ordinary people. Academic attention includes ethnographic studies of routine activities that symbolize the cultural practices of various groups (see for example, Willis 1977; Ries 2002); studies of the impact of commodification, consumption, and technology in everyday life (Willis, 1991; Ross, 1995; Silverstone, 1996; Galloway, 2004); analyses of daily life's mundane and alienating facets (Moran, 2005; Highmore, 2004); and examinations of the micro-politics of everyday life, in other words, the barely visible ways that people resist stratification and exclusions and sporadically produce workable solutions to everyday roadblocks in the modern world (see for example, de Certeau, 1984; Fiske, 1989).

I want to suggest that this grand amalgam of everyday life studies falls out in two strands, one focuses on the alienating and negative aspects of everyday life while the other, with a more a positive outlook, focuses on the unusual, extraordinary, and redemptive possibilities that inhere in day-to-day routines. Though running the risk of oversimplifying things considerably, in the present study I adopt this binary delineation in order to examine the routine social and spatial practices of migrant women in Ireland. Having said this, part of the argument I want to make is that Lefebvre's critical approach to everyday life in the modern world invites a more nuanced rendering of day-to-day practices than this binary division suggests. By drawing on Lefebvre's critique of everyday life, a more complex analysis of the relationship between the social practices, representations, myths, and conceptions that combine to produce social space can emerge.

To appreciate the significance of this approach in the analysis of the social space of the nation it's necessary to elucidate Lefebvre's "regressive-progressive" approach to history and his notion of a critical-dialectical analysis (*dialectique de triplicité*) of everyday life. I explore these constructs in more detail in Chapters 3 and 5 respectively, but I touch on them briefly here in order to illustrate how they inform the methods and analysis in this study. First, Lefebvre was critical of the idea that history and historical time are chronological and progress-driven. Instead, he argued that because spaces and events are materially produced through social acts their history, and history in general, leaves traces in the present. As a result, the idea that history is in the past, "dead and buried, disconnected from the present" (Moran, 2004, p. 66) is inaccurate; instead, according to Lefebvre, the past and the present are intimately interconnected and it is in everyday life that they converge.

Associated with the above critique, Lefebvre also argued that, in general, dialectical-materialism tended towards a linear teleological view where it is assumed that synthesis entails the resolution of two opposing terms. Taking a critical-dialectical approach, Lefebvre suggested, means instead of taking the synthesis or third term as a culmination, the dialectic is better viewed as “a three-way process, where the synthesis is able to react upon the first two terms [yielding] a much more fluid, rhythmic understanding” and process (Elden, 2001, p. 812).

These perspectives have significant implications in the context of questions of everyday life and social space and for this study specifically. First, even though I adopt the delineation of positive and negative facets, my analysis of the everyday lives of migrant women must consider these two facets simultaneously and must also consider their contradictory effects. Secondly, because Lefebvre’s critical-dialectical approach to everyday life intersects with his critical approach to history, the complex and contradictory facets of the everyday must also be understood as tied up with the past. Consequently, in my analysis, I consider some of the ways that representations of women who emigrated from Ireland in the past recur in the present and impact representations as well as the everyday lives of the migrant women I interviewed and who are living in Ireland today.

Therefore, by grounding my analysis of the Irish nation in spatial practices and everyday life and by attending to the critical-dialectical encounter between positive and negative facets of these practices as well as their interplay with the myths, meanings, and recurrent representations that circulate around everyday life I hope that what emerges is

an empirically grounded analysis and complex understanding of the social production of space.

Gender, Identity and Social Space

If conceptions of space within social science are now inevitably social, the corollary applies with understandings of identity. On this issue, Smyth suggests that among cultural geographers today, identity is taken as “definitionally contextual [and] necessarily spatial” (2001, p.14). Smyth argues that these perspectives emerged with post-structural and postmodern thinking. I would suggest that here we can and should also acknowledge the aforementioned early work in environmental psychology where identity is understood as partial, malleable, and “emplaced.” Combining these developments in thinking about space and place, there is now a considerable literature that takes identity as contextually fluid and simultaneously understands social space as contingent and partial. Developments within gender studies and the work of feminist geographers in particular are noteworthy here.

Within environmental psychology and feminist geography, critical attention to the literature on place and space remarks on failures to consider how space and place are gendered. Critiques of this kind spurred gendered analyses of space and a broad literature addressing this topic now exists. For instance, Evans (1997) examines the gendered distinctions between public and private space, while Spain (1992) suggests that gender stratification and male privilege are reinforced by such spatial stratifications. Working at the scale of the city, Saegert (1985) and Wilson (1997) argue that cities are constructed according to binary divisions. They call for a feminist perspective in urban planning so

that the particular needs of women might be addressed and the more liberating aspects of city life can be taken into consideration.

Bondi (1998) offers a critique of some of the early work on gender and the urban environment and develops a postmodern feminist analysis of sex, sexuality, and gender as they manifest at the neighborhood level. Grosz (1998) continues this line of theorizing but at the scale of the city. By rejecting linear or isomorphic correspondences between gendered bodies and cities, she picks up the “contextual spatial” approach to identity mentioned previously (see Smyth, 2001) and proposes that the relations between bodies and cities are complex, transient, and variable.

At the national scale, Nash (1994) offers a rendering of the nation as an abstracted place where gender is encoded in representations of the landscape and where women are often incorporated symbolically as representations of nation and national honor. In a discussion of the nation and citizenship, Marston (1990), points out that in the earliest formulations of citizenship in the U.S., participation in the nation was predicated on gendered distinctions between public and private spheres that effectively excluded women as citizens. Sharp (1996) examines the varied and ambiguous ways that gender and national identity coexist. For instance, in addition to being understood as national symbols, women are often understood as biological and cultural reproducers of the nation (Yuval-Davis and Anthias, 1989), yet, in the politics of nationalism and national identity “women’s questions” and feminist concerns are frequently subsumed or postponed in the interests of “broader” struggles. Overall then, we can think about this literature as shifting from an additive model, where the category of gender and women’s experiences were included in analyses of place, to a more critical engagement that reflects developments in

social theory where understandings of identity and space are understood as socially and spatially intertwined.

Common Ground: Lefebvre, Social Space and Spatial Identities

In order to further contextualize my project, I want to mention some of the work on gendered identity and space that draws on or contributes to Lefebvre's understanding of space as the product of social relations. Before this however, I want to note that there is some debate about whether or not Lefebvre presented a sufficiently intricate analysis of gendered identity and social space. For instance, Blum and Nast (1996) suggest that he falls back on romantic and essentialist notions of gender, while Brown notes that Lefebvre operationalized sexuality "in heterosexual parameters exclusively" (2000, p. 58). At this point it is worth situating Lefebvre somewhat linearly in historical perspective to remember that many of his key ideas predate contemporary concerns with identity politics, queer theory, or the postmodern.

Having said this, it is also worth noting that several areas of Lefebvre's work incorporated gender as a unit of analysis. For instance, Lefebvre's notion of production includes activities traditionally and typically assigned as women's roles, so that "production subsumes not only socioeconomic production but also the reproduction of the biological and social relations of production" (Stewart, 1995, p. 610). As such Lefebvre's analysis cannot be viewed as overly masculinist in its orientation. Similarly, folded into his critique of modernity is the perspective that "everyday life has always weighed heavily on the shoulders of women" (Kaplan and Ross, 1987, p. 3). And even though Elden (2004) notes that it is important to contextualize this observation in early

1960's French society, I think the gendered stratification of spaces and roles within society still resonates today.

For feminist geographers the unequal relations between gender, identity, and space are still worthy of attention and several scholars have interlaced Lefebvre's theorization with advances in feminist perspectives in recent years resulting in more explicitly feminist renderings of the production and reproduction of social space. For example, Massey (1994) describes place as moments in the nets of social relations that "have over time been constructed, laid down, interacted with one another, decayed and renewed" (1994, p. 120). This echoes Lefebvre's view of space as a social process. In addition to this, Massey traces the ways that race, ethnicity, and gender play out in the social relations that comprise places. By focusing attention on the "ever-shifting social geometry of power and signification" (1994, p. 3) in the production of place, Massey extends the reach of Lefebvre's theorization of space.

Massey also considers how these fluctuations of identity and space play out in the context of globalization and mobility. Drawing on Harvey and Marx, Massey posits that the social component of "time-space compression" has been overlooked. In conjunction with the increasing mobility of labor and economies, social relations are squeezed in time and space also but in socially differentiated ways for men and women, and for different racial and ethnic groups. Thus, time-space compression must be analyzed as a socially differentiated experience. McDowell's (1996) concept of "global localism" echoes Massey's interest in the material consequences of globalization and transnational migration. Taking the view that space and identity are now marked by time-space compression, a decentering of the subject and of space, and discontinuous realities,

McDowell offers a way to think about “the differential effects of global localism” (1996, p. 31).

Katz (2001a; 2004) takes this argument in a slightly different direction and proposes instead that in addition to time-space compression, globalization on the ground often necessitates the extension of activities of social production and reproduction over more expanded geographic areas. This results in the transformation of social and cultural relations and alterations in individuals’ understandings of themselves and their place in society. Katz suggests that by taking account of the everyday effects of globalization the annihilation of space by time looks more like “time-space expansion” (2001a, p. 1224).

From my perspective, Lefebvre’s ideas are refracted in the positions advanced by each of these scholars and by feminist geography generally. Among contemporary feminist geographers, space is understood as the product of social relations, many advocate the importance of materially grounded analyses of the effects of apparently abstract structural forces such as modernity, globalization, and more recently neoliberalism. And related to this, scholarship in feminist geography frequently focuses attention on situated contexts in everyday life (see McDowell and Sharp, 1997; Pratt, 2000; Peake and Valentine, 2003; Dias and Blecha, 2007). In this dissertation my aim is to interlace Lefebvre’s ideas explicitly with the work of contemporary feminist geography by investigating the everyday and socially differentiated impact of migration understood as a facet of modernity and globalization. Therefore, drawing on feminist inflected analyses of the production and reproduction of social space, in this study I ask how are women’s places, roles, and identities affected by their standing as migrants? How do migrant women negotiate these “emplacements”? And, how does everyday life

as a migrant woman in an era of globalization intersect with the social space and production of the modern Irish nation?

Section II. The Politics of Scale

By drawing attention to the connections between globalization and everyday life recent feminist scholarship also alerts us to another concept—geographic scale—that is significant in thinking about the social production of space. In reviewing this body of work, I outline how scholarship developed within the traditional territory of geo-politics. Then, I examine some of the critical work on scale noting how this paved the way for projects that weave together feminist theory and political geography. Finally, I highlight how these shifts dovetail with a theory of social space and inform questions taken up in this study, specifically, how the bodies of migrant women intersect with the production of the scale and social space of the Irish nation-state.

In developing a theoretical account of the politics of scale, Smith (1992a) identifies the production of scale as a primary means for organizing geographic difference. As a consequence we tend to think of the local, urban, regional, and national as distinct geographically bounded spheres. The urban, national, and global spheres, in other words, those socially constructed geographic scales typically associated with capitalist production, have received most attention in the political geography literature.

Much of the work in this area is indebted to Taylor's (1982) "materialist framework for political geography" where he delineates three scales—the world economy, the nation-state, and the urban—these provide a framework for examining the material impact of changes at one scale relative to others. Subsequent work focuses attention on

such issues as the role political parties play in dividing and defining scaled governmental constituencies (Agnew, 1997), economic restructuring of urban centers in association with globalization (Brenner, 1997), and the ongoing conflicts between scales such as the supra-national European Union (EU) and member nation-states around the development of immigration policy (Leitner, 1997). Therefore, the political geography literature on scale has developed from a focus on geo-economics to a broader consideration of the various political, social, and cultural structures and actors that influence the construction of scale.

Another important elaboration in this area is outlined in Swyngedouw's (1997) criticism of studies of scale that ultimately reinforce polarized articulations of scale such as local and global. Like Smith (1992a and b) and Delaney and Leitner (1997), Swyngedouw argues that scale is "the result of the dynamics of socio-spatial relations" (1997, p.144); therefore, a process-oriented approach to the study of scale is needed. Consequently, research in this area must investigate how scale is produced, perpetuated, and transformed through socio-spatial relations.

This social process perspective on scale has clear parallels with Lefebvre's theorization on social space. In addition to my earlier suggestion that representations of space dominate our understanding of the nation, I would add that the scale of the nation should also be understood as a representation of space. Stated differently, in my view, the social and spatial practices that constitute and transform the scale of the nation are obscured beneath an apparently legible surface—the spatially and territorially bounded scale of the nation-state. I propose that by weaving together the views that space and scale are social processes, we have the possibility for developing a more dynamic

perspective on the social production of the nation. Therefore, tied in with the goal of understanding the nation as a social production of space, in this study I am also interested in examining how social and cultural as well as political and economic relations combine to define and produce the scale and space of the Irish nation-state.

Gendering Geo-Politics—Social Reproduction and the Politics of Scale

One of the shortcomings of the scholarship on scale is a tendency to focus on spheres of economic production giving short shrift or dismissing the influence of social reproduction in understanding the politics of scale. This issue has received a lot of attention in political geography in recent years. Smith (1992b), later Marston (2000), and Marston and Smith (2001) critiqued this seemingly biased focus on production noting that consumption and the arenas of biological and social reproduction—the domestic scale of the home or the body—are socially constructed and politically significant for a theory of scale as well. Smith prompts us to attend to the scale of the body as it “marks the boundary between self and other in a social as much as [a] physical sense” (1992b, p. 67). He poses questions such as which bodies have access to particular spaces and who controls the body as central to the analysis of the body as a geo-political scale. Marston (2000) analyzes the 19th century domestic home as a scale that intersects in complex and multi-faceted ways with the construction of gender roles and identity, with consumption, and with definitions of private and public spheres. She argues that sites of social reproduction shape and transform other spaces and consequently have to be understood as geo-politically significant just like the urban or the national scale.

Recent scholarship in this area reflects the trajectory of feminist theory generally and takes feminist geography's concern with identity and space as socially constructed and in flux more explicitly to the terrain of political geography. In general, this research takes the importance of the body and the home as politically produced scales as given and, interlacing perspectives in feminist and political geography, explores the links between the body, the nation-state, and geographic scales further beyond.

For instance, Mountz (2004) draws on standpoint theory in an ethnographic study of the Canadian immigration authority. She employs the feminist concept of 'embodiment' as a strategy for analyzing the immigration authority's role in the nation-state. She proposes that "embodying the nation-state means moving beyond analyses of policy and structure, to the more fluid, daily, personal interactions that surround and disrupt formal instruments of governance" (2004, p. 326). In her analysis, Mountz identifies various embodied and emplaced subjects—such as migrants, refugees, and immigration officers—that construct the scale of the nation-state. In this process, she highlights some of the gaps between public policy and discourse that are revealed in lived experiences and material productions of the nation-state.

Mountz's study as well as research by Walton-Roberts (2004) on immigrant women's advocacy groups, and Desbiens' (2004) examination of how gender, race, and class intersect across everyday activities in nation-building projects, illustrate that for at least some political geographers, the body and everyday practices are areas of increasing importance and scholarly attention. As previously mentioned, much of this work follows shifts in feminism generally and resonates with the concept of embodiment specifically. As an epistemological stance, embodiment recognizes and values situated knowledge and

partial perspectives in contrast with the objective and disembodied traditions of positivism (Haraway, 1991). In addition, embodiment also refers to a feminist analytical strategy that emphasizes how everyday lives and interactions intersect with and affect institutional structures (Hyndman, 2007, 2004; O'Tuathail, 1996). In this sense the view from, as much as on, the body is one that cuts across geographic scale, hence, analyses that begin with embodied experiences become valuable tools for understanding other social spaces.

From my perspective then, recent research in feminist geopolitics resounds with Lefebvre's calls for attention to everyday life and the social struggles that inhere in the social production of space and I draw on this scholarship at several points throughout the present study. With a focus on the accounts recounted to me in interview with migrant women, and for whom the malleability of the body is felt and experienced in material and in culturally inscribed ways, I ask how are the bodies and experiences of migrant women marked? With what practices and spaces are migrant women identified? How are the identities of migrant women materialized and what are the embodied experiences of migrant women in Ireland today? So, picking up on some of the overlaps between feminist thinking on embodiment, the literature on scale, and Lefebvre's perspectives on the social production of space, I am interested in tracing the shifting identifications that have been affixed in and to the embodied experiences of migrant women and in telescoping these shifts to the scale of the nation in order to trace the relations between the body, migration and the social production of the Irish nation.

The Nation as Embodied, Scaled, Social Practice: Intersections between Feminist Theory, Scale and the Social Production of Space

To recap so far, in the current study I draw a number of key ideas from Lefebvre's substantial oeuvre; these perspectives are girded by literature on space, scale, and feminist theory, and form a broad theoretical framework for the analysis of the nation and nationhood. Lefebvre (1991) theorizes that space is a social process. Similarly, Smith (1992a and b) and Swyngedouw (1997) suggest that scale is the product of social relations. Following from this, I propose that the nation can be understood as a scaled social production of space. Smith (1992a, 1992b, 2000), Marston (2000), Mountz (2004) and Walton-Roberts (2004) highlight the importance of social reproduction in the construction of scale. Coupled with this Haraway (1991), McDowell (1999), Hyndman (2004) and other feminist thinkers on the body emphasize the significance of situated, partial, and lived experiences for our understanding of institutional structures. And parallels can be drawn between a focus on the body as well as lived experiences, and Lefebvre's attention to everyday life in the modern world. Weaving these perspectives together, I propose that producing the social space of the nation is inextricably linked to other scales of production and social reproduction, to political-economic and cultural processes and to social subjects and their lived, day-to-day experiences. Therefore, one of the overarching aims of this dissertation is to examine the nation as embodied social and spatial practice.

Section III. Women's Migration, Borders, and Belonging

Theorizing Migration in an era of Globalization

Kane observes that the movement of people as migrants and refugees has been going on for centuries and “their travels tell the story of a changing world” (2000, p. 149). Castles (2003) notes that migration research has traditionally been the purview of economists and geographers and theories of migration have been parsimoniously distilled under the rubric of push and pull factors. More recently however, the effort to account for trends in patterns of migration and to explain the factors that motivate and hinder the process has become a multi-disciplinary endeavor that includes historical, political-economic, legal, psychological, sociological, and cultural studies approaches (see for example Deaux, 2006; Castles, 2003; Castles and Davidson, 2000; Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer, 2000; Massey, 1999; Alba and Nee, 1997). Now, in addition to economic opportunities, or lack thereof, the causes and correlates of global migration flows have been expanded to include issues such as military occupations, state-sanctioned population transfer, prejudice, persecution, disease and overcrowding.

Instead of providing an exhaustive account of these developments, I want to highlight a number of issues raised in this scholarship that have significance in the context of the present study. Zolberg (1989) not only emphasizes economic factors but also the role that national borders play as barriers to migration. Related to this, Massey (1999) suggests that nation-states’ “interests, roles, and behaviors [...] constitute a missing link in theories of international migration” (1999, p. 51). Massey also calls attention to a variety of social factors—such as family-based as well as institutional social networks—as well as cultural connections—including links between previously

colonizing nations and their former colonies—that ought to be included in attempts to develop synthetic theoretical accounts of migration on an international scale. Working within the framework of psychology, Deaux (2006) considers the intersecting roles that policies, social representations, and social-psychological models of assimilation, acculturation, and adaptation play in shaping the experience of migration and migrant identity. Meanwhile, focusing on migration within the context of contemporary European society, O'Neill and Spybey (2003) and Castles (2003) note that there is a need for greater research attention to the politics and social consequences of displacement, exile, and settlement among refugees, with a view towards developing theoretical accounts of forced migration.

In the present study I take Zolberg's as well as Massey's calls to consider the intersections between nation-states, borders, and migration. In addition, I am concerned with social and cultural processes that combine with migration and the nation-state. Furthermore, at the same time that it is important to acknowledge that recent migration to Ireland is constituted by many different groups (see Chapter 2), in reporting this study I focus primarily on women whose experiences place them in the category of forced migration; therefore I attend to Castles and colleagues calls for research with these specific groups. Finally, each of these scholars calls attention to the need for interdisciplinary approaches to theory and research on migration, as such, recent developments in the area of migration studies dovetail my interest and commitment to a multi-faceted or transdisciplinary approach in examining the intersections between migration and the social production of the nation.

Another issue that is folded into recent chatter in migration studies is the relationship between globalization and migration. Bauman suggests that within the context of globalization, “mobility has become the most powerful and most coveted stratifying factor. The new global economic and political elites are able to cross borders at will, while the poor [and otherwise marginalized] are meant to stay at home” (1998, p. 74). As we will see in the present study, these stratifications are even more complex when we consider not only who gets to cross borders or the economic resources they have available, but also, how those who are mobile and migrant are represented, incorporated, and also excluded within destination nation-states.

Before I move to discuss these issues within the specific context of the Irish nation, I want to touch on a number of focal points in the literature on globalization and migration. First, I consider the feminization of labor as it intersects with globalization’s demand for a mobile supply of labor, thence, with migration among women. Following this, I touch on debates dealing with the impact of migration flows for the sovereignty and influence of nation-states within society. And on a related note, I review some of the literature that considers the intersections between migration and citizenship in contemporary society. Building on these perspectives, I discuss recent developments in feminist and political geography that explore the emergence of alternate conceptions and spaces of citizenship in the wake of global migration. Finally, I consider some of the ways that Lefebvre’s work can be interwoven with research on alternate spaces of belonging and thereby informs the theoretical framework that guides the present study.

Women, Work, and Migration

Until fairly recently social science research has dealt with migration as a process undifferentiated by gender with researchers advancing a view of migration flows as constituted primarily by men (see for example Bohning, 1984). However, in recent years, and partially owing to the work of feminist geographers, more light has been cast on women's migration and in particular on the relationships between women's work and practices of migration.

These developments have been spurred by attention to the ways that women's work has been incorporated into the paid labor force in the service of global capitalist production processes. Seminal studies of this process and its effects include Mies' (1982) examination of how craft work among women in India was folded into the logic of capitalist production while cultural practices and traditional divisions of gender—where women and their work is invisible and men take responsibility for managerial and entrepreneurial tasks—remain intact. Mohanty (1997) places Mies' analysis more solidly in the context of global migration. She argues that the capitalist system of production operates in diverse locations, ranging from export processing zones to immigrant work sites in developed nations, and works to reproduce ideologies of gender, race, and class among women workers. (See also, Nagar, Lawson, McDowell and Hanson, 2002; Katz, 2001a; Cravey, 1998; Pratt, 1998.)

Associated with the feminization of the labor supply on a global scale and coinciding with the assumption that, as a commodity, labor is infinitely mobile, women's labor migration has also become a routine occurrence. Kofman, Phizacklea, Raghuram and Sales (2000) suggest that this isn't exactly a new development; they note that even in

the early stages of labor migration women comprised approximately 25% of migrants to Europe. And as noted in this chapter's *Prelude*, in places like Ireland, women comprised a larger percentage of emigrants for significant periods throughout much of the twentieth century (see also Walter, 2001; Wall, 1991; Kelly and Nic Giolla Choille, 1990). But it is certainly the case that scholarly attention to women's migration has grown by leaps and bounds in recent years and there are now several comprehensive reviews of research in these areas (see for example, Silvey, 2004; Willis and Yeoh, 2000; Kofman, et al. 2000; Silvey and Lawson, 1999).

Silvey (2004) identifies four key areas of attention in feminist studies of migration; these are: critical theorizations of space and place; issues of subjectivity and identity; mobility as a political process; and the politics of scale. From my perspective these categories of migration research mirror the perspectives on social space and spatial identities discussed earlier in *Section I* of this chapter. For instance, under the heading "mobility as a political process," Silvey discusses research on Filipina workers including Tyner, (1997; 2004), immigrant women from India (Walton-Roberts, 2004), and work on the experiences, rights, and exclusions of gay and lesbian migrants (Binnie, 1997). Each of these scholars highlights the politics that surround the social construction of migrant identity as well as the malleability of assigned identity categories. As such, while grounded in the context of migration, these studies reflect general trends in feminist geography wherein identity is understood as contextually fluid and partial. Likewise, research on women's migration and the politics of scale resounds with my earlier discussion of this issue (see *Section II*).

I want to highlight two other facets of the research on women's migration that come into play within the particular context of migrant women in Ireland and my own research findings in this study. First, among the trends that researchers identify with regard to migrant women is that they are worse off now than 25 years ago. Increasing numbers of women who migrate experience "occupationally skidding" from professional positions to employment as domestic, garment industry, and sex workers, or if more fortunate, tied up with small, family-run businesses. Several studies attest to this trend and this typology of migrant women's labor. These include Parrenas' (2001) account of the conditions imposed upon Thai women working in Europe, Dyck and McLaren's (2004) recounting of settlement stories among refugee women in Canada, and Knocke's (2000) examination of the ways that immigrant women are constituted as neoliberal subjects; they function as a support structure that replaces public provision of social welfare supports while at the same time they facilitate the social and occupational advancement of non-immigrant women (see also Waters, 2002; Lawson, 2000; Zhou, 2000).

At the same time, there are large numbers of professional women migrants; for instance, Filipina women hold more and more nursing and health services jobs within the EU. But, according to Kofman et al. (2000), the presence of migrant women in professional employment is largely invisible. The erasure of migrant women from public view, their designation as dependents in models of migration, and their relegation to the domestic sphere in caregiver roles work to reproduce stereotyped notions about (migrant) women's place and to produce migrant women according to essentialist and naturalizing declarations about women. This view is echoed in research with women in and from

various places and engaged in different kinds of labor (see for example Hobson, 2000; Pratt, 1998; and Kofman, 1998).

Em/Im-migrant Women and the Irish Nation

For research with migrant women in Ireland the above perspectives raise interesting questions. Numerous studies suggest that throughout the 20th century among the motives for women's emigration from Ireland were the extreme limitations of women's roles associated with the dominance of Catholic-inspired nationalist ideology in Irish society (see for example Conlon 2004a; Ryan 2002; Lentin 1998; Valiulis 1995). Women were relegated to the domestic sphere as mothers and caregivers or emigrated often to take up employment as commodified labor in someone else's domestic sphere (see Walter 2001, MacLaughlin 1997). Against the backdrop of this social history Gray (2004a) highlights a conflicted and contradictory sense of freedom and restraint in her research with Irish women emigrants in England. And in turn, these contradictions and conflicts haunt the response to immigration in Ireland today (see Gray, 2004b; Lentin, 2002a; MacÉinrí, 2001). Therefore, in Chapter 4 of this study, and drawing on Lefebvre's theorization of social space, I ask what are the effects of historical representations of emigrant women for migrant women in Ireland today.

At the same time, it should be noted that women are less likely to be faced with such restricted roles in contemporary Ireland. As in most European nations, women in Ireland have entered the paid labor force in significant numbers (see O'Connor 2001; and O'Connell 2001) while immigrants, predominantly women, take up the tasks associated with the social reproduction of the domestic sphere (see Conroy, 2003). Ironically then,

as many Irish women have been thrown into the public domain of Celtic Tiger Ireland as independent professionals, immigrant women take up the historically nationalist ideological position of Irish women as caregiver and social/cultural reproducers of the nation-state.

To add further complexity to these issues in the context of the Irish nation-state, in the case of migrant women who are refugees and asylum seekers, it is not simply that they are invisible as workers, that their professional experience doesn't count in Ireland, or that their encounters with modern Irish society are haunted by a deeply gendered, nationalizing past. In addition to this, through a combination of state policy, social representation, as well as institutional inertia, they are locked out of the productive labor force entirely, frequently for extended periods of time. As we will see in Chapter 5, within this context, where women are unable to constitute themselves as part of the global supply of labor, many become volunteers where they take on roles and tasks previously assigned to the state. In this process, I argue, migrant women are doubly entangled with global capitalist production processes and in materializing the neoliberal state.

In this study I am interested in the conundrum of role reversals that migrant women confront in Ireland today. What is the impact of the historical representations of women, and of emigrant women in particular, for migrant women in Ireland today? How do migrant women make sense of and negotiate their own identities as well as spaces of belonging amidst the shifts taking place in Irish society? Addressing these questions this research will expand the scholarship that links the gendering of production and reproduction with women's migration. And by threading the experiences of migrant

women through “the historical present” (see Conlon 2004b), this research will offer insight into the social production of the Irish nation-state at a crucial juncture in that nation’s production.

Migration, Borders, and Belonging

The other facet of recent research on migration and globalization I want to mention addresses questions concerning the future of sovereign states, boundaries and borders of nation-states, and the construction of spaces of belonging among migrants. It is a well-established truth that with capitalism working on a global scale the process of production now takes place across international circuits. And because labor is part of the production process, it is also necessary for people to circulate across boundaries and borders. As a result, “migration has become an ordinary activity: It occurs every day and in almost every part of the world” (Kane 2000, p. 150). But, whereas international financial and information circuits, elimination of trade barriers, and the free flow of goods raises concerns for only some, the gaggle generated by the transnational movement of people across borders yields a cacophony of concerns.

Some posit that the combined processes of globalization and international migration undermine the sovereignty of states and render national boundaries obsolete (see for example McCrone and Kiely, 2000; Castells, 1996; Ohmae, 1995). Walby (2003) reviews these arguments and concludes that the nation-state is little more than a cultural project, a myth, or “imagined community” (Anderson, 1983) that cannot be mapped neatly onto “discrete, bounded units” (Walby, 2003, p. 531). Sassen (1988, 1996) suggests that the issue is more complex. Focusing primarily on the effects of

transnational migration in the U.S., she asserts, whereas “economic globalization denationalizes national economies, immigration is renationalizing politics” (1996, p. 59). Furthermore, Sassen notes that increasingly as (certain) states are held accountable to international human rights codes and institutions such as the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), nation-states must participate in an ongoing struggle to exert power and influence. The end result is not the demise of the nation-state but instead a “redefinition of the bases of the legitimacy of states [...and of] the notion of nationality” (1996, p. 94). Echoing this perspective with a focus on the European context, Leitner (1997) details how the effort to establish a supra-national policy and legislation on migration within the EU created power struggles and assertions of national sovereignty among member-states.

Others note that even though nation-states are comprised in political, economic, and cultural domains that swash and spill across territorial boundaries, nation-states and their borders are buttressed and tightened in the wake of global migration flows. For instance, Cunningham (2004) critically examines migration across the US-Mexico border. She notes that despite the rhetoric of mobility, flow, fluidity, and global interconnectedness, border crossings occur “within established structures of power” (2004, p. 335). Furthermore, where borders have effectively become militarized zones, as is the case in the US Cunningham suggests, migrants, mostly those from poorer nations, encounter a growing number of obstacles to movement within a “gated globe” (p. 329), (see also, Peck, 2004; Luibhéid, 2002; Lutz, 1997). Similarly, Neumayer (2006) examines how states use passports and visa requirements to facilitate the transnational movement of some while deterring that of others. In the end, Neumayer argues, it is the

notion of the borderless world, and not the nation-state as Walby (2003) suggests, that seems to be more myth and folklore than reality.

In this study I argue that the contradictions of Ireland's encounter with modernity and globalization are laid bare when we consider the ideas and discourses that permeate Celtic Tiger Ireland alongside the representations and experiences of migrant women who live in contemporary Irish society, and in examining these contradictions I draw on Lefebvre's theorization of the social production of space (see Section I). On one hand representations of Ireland bestow a place where *céad míle fáilte* (trans. a hundred thousand welcomes) and the promise of a globalized economy await. On the other hand, many migrants—women who are refugee and asylum seekers in particular—are confronted with the reproduction of historic, nationalist, and deeply gendered representations of the Irish nation-state and encounters with exclusion in their everyday lives. Thus, drawing on Lefebvre's ideas and methodology I explore the complex and contradictory intersections between globalization and migration within the contemporary Irish nation-state.

Global Migration and Reconfigurations of Citizenship

Coinciding with anxieties over the future of the nation-state, the issue of citizenship and migration has become a central concern among scholars in recent years, with a range of perspectives expressed. Some propose that transnational migration not only undermines the borders of nation-states but also the territorially grounded political identification, rights and obligations we associate with citizenship (Flint, 2002; Castles and Davidson, 2000). Others focus on the new possibilities and alternative forms of

political and civic affiliation that emerge in the wake of international migration (Pratt and Yoeh, 2003; Levitt, 2000).

While normative arguments in this literature go to great lengths distinguishing citizenship from nations and nationhood (see for example Dahbour, 2003; Viroli, 1995), I believe that migration practices alert us to the interconnectedness that has long been assumed between the geography of the nation-state and understandings of citizenship. However, recent scholarship suggests that this link is in crisis, and there is a growing literature that links global migration trends to the reshuffling of rights and responsibilities and to the reconfiguration of long-standing conceptions of citizenship as well as understandings of where citizenship practices are enacted.

For example, Castles and Davidson (2000) note that in many regions citizenship is now a two-tiered system with one set of rights applying for people who can claim to be “of” a particular nation and another set of rules for people from outside but living within the nation. In light of this, Castles and Davidson suggest that citizenship should be reconfigured with rights and obligations centered on residency within a state, region, or transnational political community. (See also Heyman, 1995; Bhavnani, 1993.)

Some feminists find the very notion of citizenship problematic. Kofman (1995) reviews the major feminist critiques of citizenship. As a concept and a practice citizenship is problematic because it is grounded in a patriarchal view of society. In association with this, as a social and political practice citizenship is littered with issues of unequal access for women, (see also Schwarzenbach, 2004; Lister, 2000). Yuval-Davis (1997; 2004) also reviews and ultimately rejects theories of citizenship that reify distinctions between public/private or active/passive citizens (e.g. Turner, 1990; Peled,

1992). But, she arrives at an understanding of citizenship as a “multi-tiered concept” that includes “the state, civil society and the domains of family, kinship and other social relationships” (1997, p. 13). In this sense, work that is grounded in feminist ideas, such as questioning binary divisions or that values situated and embodied knowledge, resounds with developments in political geography and discussed earlier (see Section II), that query the scale of the nation-state as the primary site for the construction of political identities and that call for considering how the activities of social reproduction influence social and political life at other scales (Marston, 1990; 2000; Mountz, 2004; Walton-Roberts, 2004).

Within political geography, rethinking citizenship is tied to the emergence of critical geopolitics, a forum for critical perspectives on relations of power, domination, and oppression, and with the ultimate goal of restructuring societies where we live. Work in this area is indebted to the influence of feminist perspectives (for example, Hyndman, 2004; Kofman, 1996; Sharp, 1996; Marston, 1995. See also Smith, 2005 for a critique of critical geopolitics). In a special issue of *Political Geography* devoted to rethinking citizenship, Painter and Philo propose a shift away from “the decidedly political form of citizenship [...] to a more diffuse social-cultural form of citizenship wrapped up in questions about who is accepted as a worthy, valuable and responsible member of an everyday community of living and working” (1995, p. 115). Taking this a step further Flint (2002) rejects the primacy of the state and national identity in the face of globalization and transnational migration. Following Thrift (2000), Flint calls for the study of “how everyday practices construct identity and forms of governance” (2002, p. 392) while also being “linked recursively to structural changes” (2002, p. 394).

Social Space, Citizenship and Belonging

Among the projects that empirically ground these social and cultural conceptions of citizenship are examinations of transnational communities as a form of political practice that replaces citizenship within a given nation-state for some migrant groups (Silvey, 2004; Pratt and Yeoh, 2003; Mahler and Pessar, 2001; Mandaville, 1999; Laguerre, 1999). In addition, there are several accounts of how participation in anti-racist and feminist politics as well as place-based protests have become vectors for citizenship among those who are excluded from political participation at the national scale (see for example Katz, 2004; Merrill, 2004; Nelson, 2004; Dwyer, 2000; Elmhirst, 2000; Lawson, 1999). By emphasizing social and cultural practices as well as everyday activities these renderings of citizenship incorporate social reproduction as well as productive activities. Therefore, the recent literature on alternative spaces of citizenship offers some redress to feminist critiques of citizenship.

In addition to this, I want to suggest that recent scholarship that rethinks spaces of citizenship brings us almost full circle to Lefebvre's work. By shifting attention from the scale of the nation-state to the domain of day-to-day living, the recent literature on citizenship echoes Lefebvre's concern with the latter. Similarly, there is a correspondence between Lefebvre's interest in blurring dichotomous divisions between structural and individual levels, spheres of production and reproduction, or public versus private space, and work in political geography that queries these distinctions with regard to citizenship too. Furthermore, recent attention to protest movements and practices of resistances as sites where citizenship practice emerges in contemporary societies resounds with Lefebvre's discussion of resistance in everyday life (see Section I).

I take up a more detailed discussion of these facets of Lefebvre's work in Chapters 6 and 7; for now, I want to identify three themes that overlap with recent scholarship that re-conceptualizes citizenship. First, in his critique of everyday life in the modern world, Lefebvre observed that "old forms of contract between the state and the people [are] no longer workable" (Elden, 2004, p. 230). Building on this, Lefebvre suggested that we rethink ideas about identity and belonging; he argued "we all 'belong' to our family, to a village, or a town, a region, a trade or occupation, a country, a State, a continent, and to one or more cultures" (Lefebvre, 2003a, pp. 249-250). Consequently, the parallels between Lefebvre's reformulation of and feminist perspectives on citizenship are clear. Finally, emanating from Lefebvre's work on everyday life and theory of the social production of space is an understanding that in routine practices and spaces social forms of citizenship and the rethinking of rights are sometimes materialized. And, at these "moments," according to Lefebvre, it is possible to re-conceive the role of the state in the quotidian, to redo the relations between individuals and the nation-state.

As a result, I propose that research on social and cultural and alternate spaces of citizenship dovetails well with key components of Lefebvre's oeuvre and the political project that emanates from this work. By braiding together developments in feminist and political geography and grounding these perspectives in the experiences of migrant women living in contemporary Irish society, I hope to elucidate Lefebvre's overlapping concerns with everyday life, the social production of space, and reconfigurations of the role of the nation-state and belonging in the post/modern world. Therefore, in this study I ask what are the social-cultural and appropriated spaces of citizenship among migrant women in Ireland today? And in what ways are the Irish nation as well as nationhood

therein reconfigured with migrant women's embodiment of alternative socially produced spaces of belonging?

Recapitulation

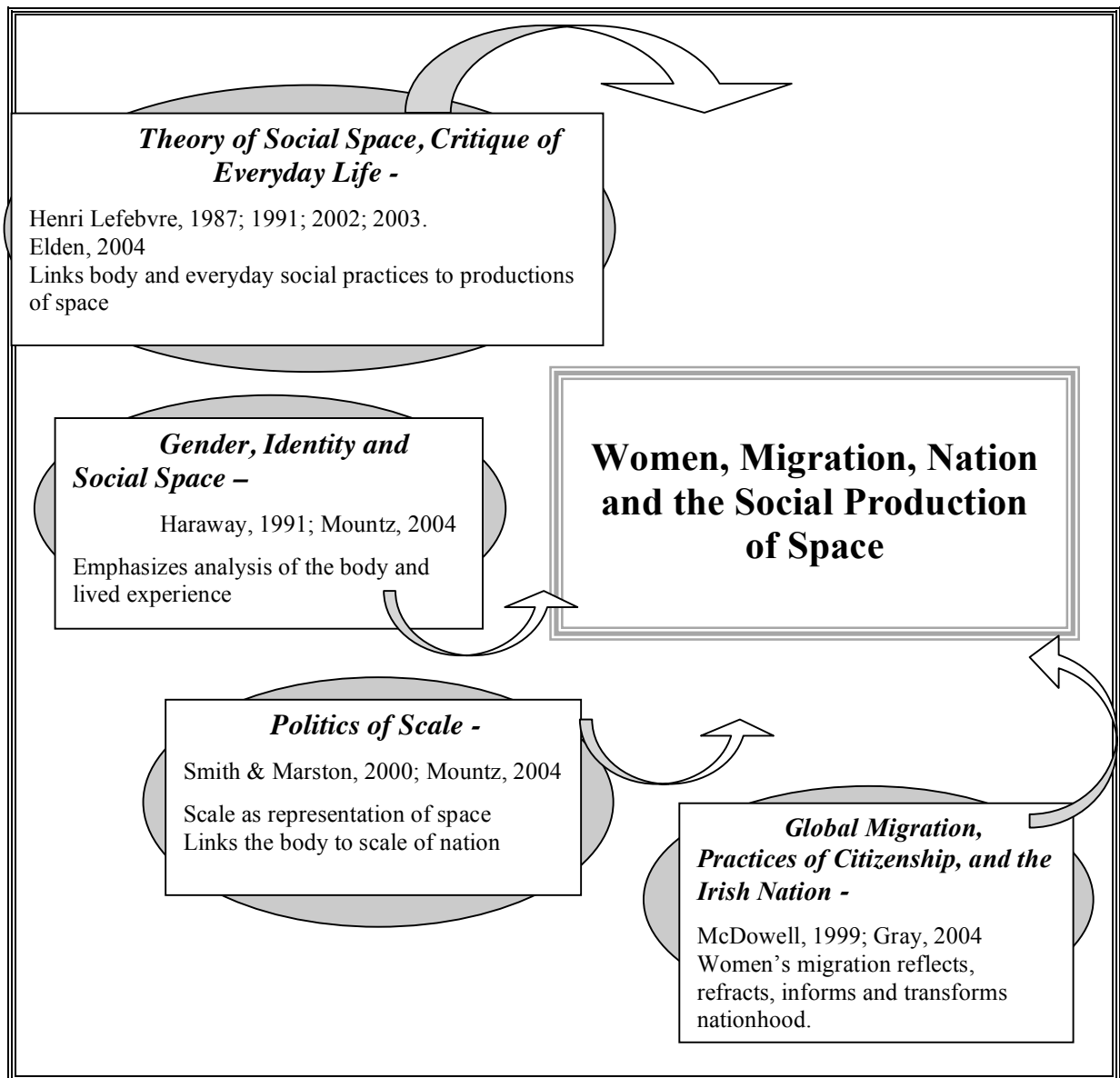
This dissertation examines the social production and transformation of the Irish nation and nationhood as a gendered and embodied practice. The overall objective of this study is to explicate and develop a nuanced analysis of the relations between women, migration, and nation in contemporary Ireland. More specifically, drawing on a review of selected print media coverage and interviews with women who are variously located on the spectrum of "migration" this research explores, compares, and contrasts the experiences, knowledge, and everyday practices of migrant women living in Ireland today.

In the past decade enormous economic, political, social, and cultural changes have taken place in Ireland. Over the past two centuries Ireland's renown has been as an emigrant nation, but in the past decade there has been a reversal in this pattern and Ireland has emerged as an immigrant-receiving nation, with net in-migration of 340,000 people, or 8% of Ireland's current population, since 1996 (Brown, Newlands, Morgenroth and McCafferty, 2007). Although the changes in Irish society have been documented, celebrated, and much maligned in the mass media, and academic circles, there has been little research examining the impact of the specific shift from 'em' to 'im' migrant nation on the meaning and materiality of Irish nationhood. Similarly, possible continuities and disjunctures between the experiences of emigrants and immigrants and their impact on the social production and understandings of the Irish nation have not sustained much

research attention to date. The literature on migration has until fairly recently focused almost exclusively on explanatory and descriptive models of migration among men. Ireland's history and present are notable and offer the opportunity for a corrective focus in this regard because historically the emigration by women has outnumbered emigration by men, and in recent times, immigrant women have received a great deal of public attention. Therefore, the peculiarity of this situation demands attention, but in addition, calls attention to a valuable opportunity to expand our understanding of gender issues associated with migration.

This research examines recent changes in Irish society and their impact on the representations and lived experiences of migrant women in Ireland today. By focusing on changing social, cultural, and material conditions as lived, understood, and reflected in the experiences of migrant women in Ireland, this dissertation aims to explicate under-researched links between social theories of space and scale, literature on migration, and feminist scholarship on embodiment (see Figure 1, following page). Weaving together several strands of Henri Lefebvre's work, the gendering of geo-politics, and guided by feminist and political geography analyses of contemporary spaces of citizenship, this dissertation will explore the experiences of migrant women living in Irish society today in order to further our knowledge of the relations between women, migration and nationhood.

Figure 1—Conceptual Framework



Outline of the Dissertation Chapters

Chapter 2 discusses the research design and methods used in this study as well as detailing some of the challenges encountered and revisions that ensued in completing the project. Chapter 3 examines the ideological production of the independent and later modern Irish nation-state at two specific junctures during the 20th century when the population hemorrhage due to emigration from Ireland was particularly significant. This chapter focuses on a thematic media analysis of the newspaper stories gathered as part of my project.

The first period, between 1922 and 1937, focuses on the ways that women who emigrated from Ireland were portrayed in popular press coverage and argues that these representations played a crucial role in promoting the ideology of the newly independent and deeply conservative Irish state. The second period, from January to December 1988, highlights a new conception of Ireland as a modernizing and diasporic nation. Even though the changes in state ideology that facilitated this shift had been brewing since the 1960's, I argue that a focus on print media attention to migration during 1988 is significant because this time-period represents the most recent wave of mass emigration from the country. As a result, the contradictions between representations and reality are thrown into relief amidst emigration as an ongoing practice at this time.

I examine the ways that print media portrayals of emigrants and emigration reflected these contradictions and at times worked in the service of, while at other times as a disservice to, producing the modern Irish nation-state. This chapter is grounded in a critical approach to history that advances a view that the past is always a trace in the

present and thereby exposes the compelling myth that modernization always follows a linear and progressive trajectory.

Chapter 4 continues to elucidate the ways the past is produced in the present with a jump to a third juncture, 1996-2004, when the miracle of the modern Irish nation-state was materialized in economic terms. Coincident with this a migration tipping point when Ireland transitioned from a nation of emigrants to the immigrant-receiving nation that it is today. Focusing again on a review of media sources, this chapter presents a thematic analysis of print media representations of Ireland's new immigrants with a focus, associated with the magnitude of media coverage, on the ways refugees and asylum seekers were portrayed. This chapter also picks up scholarship on the politics of scale and explores how the scale of the immigrant body and the scale and social production of the new Irish nation-state collided in the frenzy surrounding a constitutional referendum on birthright citizenship that took place in Ireland in 2004.

Chapters 5 and 6 shift to an examination of interviews completed with migrants, specifically with women who were refugees or seeking asylum in Ireland; consequently, these chapters move from representations and media portrayals to a consideration of the ways that modernity in today's Ireland is embodied and refracted in the everyday experiences of asylum seekers and refugee women. As such, these chapters takes up Lefebvre's calls to attend not only to representations of space but also to the spatial practices and lived spaces that produce social space. In addition, picking up on Lefebvre's critique of everyday life in the modern world, themes discussed in Chapter 5 deal with some of the mundane and alienating experiences, specifically waiting and work, that constitute day-to-day life for migrant women who are caught up in the asylum

system in Ireland. Therefore, this chapter exposes something of the underbelly of Ireland's economic and social transformation in the past decade.

Chapter 6 takes up the possibilities for transformation that exist in the everyday. However, in keeping with a critical-dialectical approach and the perspective that everyday life is more than a constellation of polarized positive and negatives experiences, Chapter 6 borrows Cindi Katz's (2004) delineation of practices of resistance in order to detail the unintended and contradictory consequences of individual and group level acts of resistance associated with the everyday lives of women in this study. This chapter is also underscored with recent scholarship proposing a nuanced understanding of neoliberal techniques as they play out in particular geographic and social contexts. This discussion is interlaced with consideration of how Lefebvre's perspectives on the role of the state in post/modern society and his proposals for reformulating understandings of citizenship in the post/modern era parallel and inform present concerns regarding neoliberal agendas.

The concluding chapter examines what these representations, practices, exclusions, and modes of resistance mean for immigrant communities and their sense of belonging in 21st century Irish society. Focusing on the explications offered by the participants in this study, I consider the new geographies and spaces of social citizenship that have emerged where immigrants have been excluded from traditional avenues for participation and belonging. The perspectives of women interviewed for this study are examined alongside scholarship from political geography and women's studies where long-established notions of citizenship are queried. Related to these issues, Chapter 7 also identifies some of the ways that the shift from emigration to immigration alters the social

and spatial fabric of religious communities and other social spaces within the Irish society. Finally, this chapter once again returns to Lefebvre's theory of social space in order to highlight how the representations, practices, and lived spaces that combine to produce social space might lead to an appreciation for the "spirit" of revolution that can immigration bestow within the social spaces of the Irish nation-state.

Chapter 2—But the Question Remains—How is this Analysis To Proceed?

An Overview of Methods

Introduction

Having laid out the theoretical framework for the present study, one issue remains, how is this analysis to proceed? As noted in Chapter 1, Lefebvre offers some hints and suggestions for the analysis of the social production of space, so, in this chapter I continue to use Lefebvre's work as a guiding framework for the research design and methods employed in the current project. In order to ground the data collection strategy and approach to analysis used here I make a brief return to the "regressive-progressive" approach outlined in Chapter 1. Not only is this approach central to Lefebvre's theoretical perspectives, but also, it is key in putting these perspectives into research practice. I detail how a "regressive-progressive" approach informs the research design and methods used in this research. From here I present a "descriptive phase" (discussed in more detail below) outlining how I became interested in the present study. Following this, I present the research questions addressed, describe the participants, and outline the phases of the project. Then, I provide an overview of the data collection and data analysis process. Finally, I detail some of the unexpected challenges and changes that were necessary over the course of fieldwork and data analysis for this project.

The "Regressive-Progressive" Approach and Research Design

Merryfield (2006) describes how Lefebvre conducted research noting that by drawing on his own experiences, Lefebvre deployed "a sort of participant observation [... which, when] coupled with long sessions in the archives of Campon's Town Hall led him to discover a

passion for historical excavation” (p. 4). From a methodological perspective this captures the “regressive-progressive” approach that Lefebvre advocated for an analysis of society and social space. This approach, like Lefebvre’s theoretical perspectives, is grounded in the materiality of everyday life and committed to tracing the social, cultural, and political-economic relations that produce the conditions of everyday life in the present.

Simultaneously, the regressive-progressive approach adopts a critical notion of historical time whereby history is understood as leaving traces in the present and therefore is bound up with contemporary social spaces and not in the past tense as traditional understandings of history sometimes hold. Stated differently, adopting the regressive-progressive approach in research design necessitates viewing the social production of space as pierced with history. Consequently, one of the goals of analysis is to identify how the past and the present intersect, in everyday life and with social, cultural, and political forces that produce social space.

In outlining the regressive-progressive method, Lefebvre identified three phases: 1) descriptive, 2) analytic-regressive, and 3) historical-genetic (Elden, 2004, p. 38; Merryfield, 2006, p.4). Rather than trying to articulate precise definitions of these terms I want to emphasize how each phase relates to research design generally and how these phases inform the methods used in my research. The descriptive phase might initially be understood as a “problem identification” or “research statement” phase in research design. Procedurally, this phase draws on a range of methods including pilot data, observations, surveys, or interviews in order to pose and clarify questions or to describe and contextualize events or phenomena. In addition to playing a role in setting the scene for a research project, descriptive phases may occur at several points over the course of a project.

The analytic-regressive phase involves focusing on decisive junctures that precede and inform the event or phenomena under consideration. To use Merryfield's term, this is a period of "excavation" (2006, p. 4), where precise dates, processes, and relations of production are examined. This phase highlights the commitment to material relations and history that suffuses Lefebvre's work. As he notes, "it is never easy to get back from the object (product or work) to the activity that produced and/or created it. It is the only way, however, to illuminate the object's nature [...] and reconstitute the process of its genesis and the development of its meaning" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 113). Within the framework of a research design and methodology, this phase involves archival methods, document reviews, and genealogical "digs" through representations of space in an effort to trace the "historical present" (Conlon, 2004b, p. 466).

Finally, the historical-genetic phase entails a return to the event or phenomenon of interest and to explanation and understanding that is gained in light of tracing constitutive moments. In terms of research design, this phase is akin to "data analysis" and as such involves coding, identifying themes, connections, perhaps correlations, as well as incongruities between representations and experiences as well as past and present productions of the nation-state.

A regressive-progressive approach not only imbricates the analysis of contemporary social spaces with history in order to help us to make sense of the present; in addition, in Lefebvre's view, this approach offers an "analysis [that] opens us to the future, to the possible" (cited in Elden, 2004, p. 38). In this sense, a regressive-progressive design is also consonant with Lefebvre's critical-dialectical approach. As previously mentioned (see Chapter 1), in a critical-dialectical analysis questions of resolution, culmination, or

prescription are not the primary concern; instead, what is of interest is elucidating the fluid, contradictory, and contingent outcomes that inhere in day-to-day social and spatial practices. Similarly, a regressive-progressive approach emphasizes the “conditions of possibility for the present” (Elden, 2004, p. 38) without making predictions or prescriptive claims; consequently, these approaches go hand-in-hand with one another. From a research design perspective this means that conclusions and implications are always contingent and tentative. Having outlined the correspondence between Lefebvre’s language and approach and research design from a social science perspective generally, in the next section I turn to focus on the specific methods used of my project.

Materializing Research Design

In order to appreciate how a regressive-progressive approach translates in research praxis, I want to offer a narrative overview of how I initiated, became immersed, and conducted this study; in other words, I outline the overall progression of the dissertation. I discuss how the research design and phases of this project were articulated on paper and describe the research setting and study participants. In addition, I detail how the research process was materialized on the ground as well as revisions made in the course of the study.

Getting Started—A Descriptive Phase

Initially, it was my own observations, the remarks of friends and colleagues, and conversations with people who had recently visited Ireland that drew me to questions related to migration and the Irish nation, and then to the more specific question of the role that women’s migration plays in the social production of the Irish nation-state. A number of

people remarked that since their last visit, or in recent times, Ireland had changed markedly. There were anecdotes about the number of new cars on the roads, reports of leisure time spent consuming in far-flung places, and the unavoidable chatter of real estate deals. These observations suggested that wealth, or at least spending power, had grown considerably in Ireland in recent years. In addition to this, many acquaintances registered that the influx of immigrants—identified as such by race, ethnicity, language, and dress code—was on a scale not previously witnessed both in the capital city of Dublin and in areas further afield. One colleague recounted what an unexpected surprise it was to encounter African families in rural towns around Ireland; others remarked how it seemed that all the workers in fast food restaurants and service industry jobs were “foreign nationals” now. Some observed that traveling by city bus in Dublin resembled a jaunt through international territory associated with the diversity of foreigners now living in certain neighborhoods.



Figure 2: Moore Street, Dublin 2006

All photographs by Andrew Condon (used with permission)

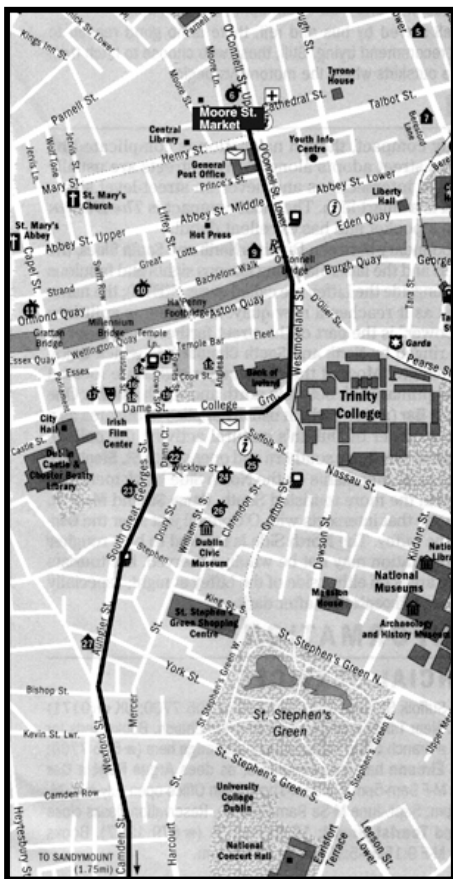


Figure 3: Dublin's commercial district

A stroll along any number of Dublin's commercial streets corroborates these observations. Take Moore Street, where today, locally renowned fruit and vegetable traders ply their wares alongside vendors selling fare for gastronomic feasts from Africa and Asia. (See figures 2, 3 and 4 for example).

Alternatively, walk along O'Connell Street, a main thoroughfare through the city, named after Daniel O'Connell an early nationalist leader who campaigned for the rights of Catholics in 19th century Ireland. In the early 20th century O'Connell Street, and the General Post Office (GPO) specifically, became strategic sites in the unsuccessful rebellion and fight for independence from England during the Easter 1916 Rising. Today,

the monument of O'Connell and the GPO building are flanked by a myriad of international call centers, bustling internet cafes, and universally recognized restaurant chains. Each one announces that as an independent nation-state Irish society has become a global affair. Other places tell similar tales, for instance, a meander across the river Liffey to South Great Georges Street reveals the burgeoning number of ethnic pastry shops, cafes, and grocery stores offering victuals for immigrants and others alike

In relating these observations and conversations my point is neither to pursue Ulyssean innuendos nor is it nostalgia for some mythical moment of national unity or homogeneity. Instead, I simply wish to convey that the places where social and cultural life unfolds in Ireland have undergone significant changes in recent years. As immigrants make their homes in Ireland, these changes have become all the more palpable. And these changes spurred my interest in migration and the Irish nation-state.



Figure 4: Moore Street, Dublin 2006

All photographs by Andrew Condon (used with permission)

Another factor that intrigued and inspired my interest in this project was that across a range of settings, from informal social exchanges, interviews with gatekeepers and key informants, as well as in the pages of government sponsored policy documents, it was suggested that parallels could be drawn between Ireland's history of emigration and contemporary inward migration to the Irish nation-state. One resounding opinion was that

as a diasporic nation the Irish are scattered around the world. Associated with this, it was argued that the welcome that migrants from Ireland received overseas should be extended to immigrants now “landing” on Ireland’s shores. Others noted that the plight of Irish “illegals,” particularly in the United States, coupled with the prejudice and difficulties encountered by Irish emigrants abroad, should give Irish people pause and empathy for new immigrants to Ireland. Related to this, MacÉinrí (2001) notes that there remains a dearth of research examining the impact of emigration in contemporary Ireland and more specifically with regard to the experiences of immigrants in Irish society today. In light of this initial descriptive phase comprised by observations, exchanges, as well as the calls for research I arrived at a list of research questions to guide this project. And with this, my dissertation was under way.

Research Questions

Drawing on the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter 1 and on the descriptive phase outlined above, this research adopts the view that the nation is a socially produced space that can be analyzed by combining a regressive-progressive and critical-dialectical approach. This project focuses on migrant women with the aim of exploring the representations of space, spatial practices, and lived spaces that socially produce and transform the contemporary Irish nation-state. In Ireland, the tensions between representations, practices, and lived spaces are heightened with the shift from ‘em’ to ‘im’-migrant nation and are thrown into stark relief in the presence of migrant women. Therefore, in this study I take the experiences of migrant women (past and

present) as a lens for analyzing the contested social production of the contemporary Irish nation-state. I address five broad research questions:

1. How are women as emigrants and immigrants represented in relation to the Irish nation?
2. What is the impact of a history of emigration for migrant women in Ireland today?
3. How is the nation embodied and socially produced in the experiences of migrant women, specifically those who have been caught up with the asylum system, living in contemporary Irish society?
4. How does this subset of the population of recent immigrants to Ireland, i.e. migrant refugee, former refugee, and asylum seeker women position themselves and negotiate a sense of belonging within the Irish nation-state?
5. How are the nation, nationhood and citizenship transformed by the social and spatial practices of migrant women?¹

Research Design

Setting

The research was completed over an 11-month period (October 2004—August 2005) in the Republic of Ireland. Where feasible, secondary data were collected in the U.S. All the interviews, observations, and parts of the archival data collection (descriptive and analytic-regressive phases) were completed in three-week segments during scheduled trips and over a more extensive period from June-August 2005.

¹ For a detailed list of research questions, please see Appendix 1.

Media Review

Beginning October 2004, I accessed newspaper archives and related source materials through Trinity College Dublin's (TCD) copyright library. I also accessed the media archives at the National Library in Dublin. Because some of the information I was interested in reviewing such as census data and government reports, as well as recent newspaper media, is available online, remote data collection was possible as well. In addition, I was able to avail of secondary source data in the U.S. including a sociological analysis of "women's issues" in Irish daily newspapers from 1922-1937 completed by Louise Ryan (2002).

Interviews and Observations

Dublin is the largest urban center in Ireland and is associated with comparatively easy access to social services, transportation and an array of educational, employment, and cultural resources that migrants might draw upon. Coupled with this, MacÉinrí (2001); Komolafe (2002), Lentin (2002b), and White (2002), note the burgeoning of immigrant and refugee communities in urban areas where many migrants have settled. Associated with these factors I anticipated that many of the interview participants would be recruited from the

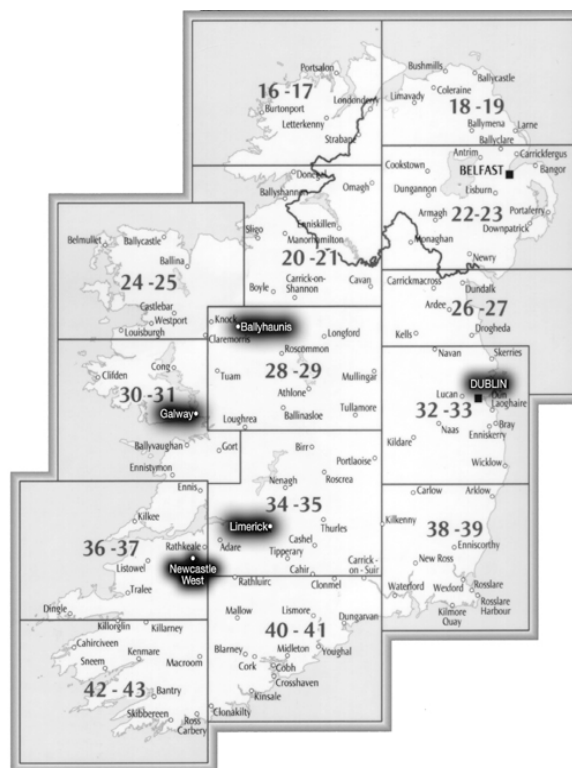


Figure 5: Interview sites

Dublin area. However, in 2000, the Irish government began implementing a housing dispersal policy for those entering Ireland as asylum seekers. Recognizing these factors, I also planned to complete interviews in a number of smaller cities and towns around the country.

Based on these factors and associated with the pattern of distribution of announcements about the study, as well as scheduling constraints, interviews were conducted in Dublin, Galway, Mayo, and Limerick (see Figure 5). In Dublin, immigrant support and advice organizations—specifically Spirasi and AKIDWA—helped to organize interviews and facilitated access to meeting rooms at their offices. In addition, the Centre for Gender and Women’s Studies at Trinity College Dublin (TCD) facilitated access to meeting spaces within TCD. These locations provided easily accessible, centrally located, and more significantly, familiar meeting place for participants. On four occasions Dublin-based participants invited me to interview them in their own homes or at schools in the participants local neighborhood. For interviews in Galway, I met participants at a hotel café and conducted interviews there. Interviews completed in Mayo took place at an accommodation center for asylum seekers. And meetings in Limerick took place at Doras Luimní—a development organization for refugees and asylum seekers—and in the town of Newcastle West, approximately 26 miles (42 kilometers) west of Limerick, at the West Limerick Resources employment support and training centre (sponsored by FÁS Training and Employment Authority).

Observational data were primarily gathered in Dublin, with unsystematically recorded fieldnotes gathered during travel to cities and towns outside Dublin while conducting interviews. Observations were comprised of a field diary maintained

throughout the research process as well as a photo project. For the latter project, a number of participants were given disposable cameras and blank postcards in order to photograph and write about places that typify Ireland and Irish nationhood, migrant spaces, and places of belonging for them. 12 participants were invited to take part in this facet of the research process.

Interview Participants

Participants were recruited through contact with immigrant and emigrant advice centers and service organizations as well as accommodation centers (six in Dublin, six in cities/towns around the country), ads in a multi-cultural newspaper (*Metroeireann*) and an online community bulletin board (www.activelink.ie). As a result, the participants in this research were recruited through a combination of self-selection and snowball sampling.²

Initially, and in accordance with the information available on the make-up of migrant groups in Ireland, I categorized and sought to interview “migrant women” in four ostensibly distinct categories:

- 1) Immigrants with government work permits (12% of the immigrant population);³
- 2) Participants who have refugee status (10%);
- 3) Participants who are seeking asylum in Ireland (ranges from 17% to 10% for 2002-2005);
- 4) Returning former emigrants (ranges from 54% to 34% for 2002-2005).

² See Appendix 2 and 2a for a copy of the flyer and advertisement used for participant recruitment.

³ Percentages are based on data from Immigrant Council of Ireland, June 2005; CSO, 2005; Conroy, 2003; MacÉinrí, 2001; Woods and Humphries, 2001.

In total, 50 people contacted me with an interest in participating in the study. Of these, ten were excluded because they explicitly did not match the criteria for participation, for example, they were men or second-generation immigrants, or because schedules—theirs and mine—weren't conducive to meeting. At the outset of this study, I anticipated conducting 20 interviews, but with considerable interest in the research I eventually completed a total of 40 interviews.

Within this sample, migrant women who fell into the broad categories of “refugee” and “asylum seeker” comprised over half the interview participants (n=25). As I discuss in more detail later in this chapter, participants often questioned and sometimes rejected these categories. This served to highlight how tenuous these groupings were and also reflected the precariousness of both legal status and claims to belonging encountered by those whose experiences in Ireland were shaped by their experiences with the Office of the Refugee Applications Commissioner (ORAC). Among these women, some had submitted applications to ORAC for asylum in Ireland, others had been granted refugee status or temporary “leave to remain,”⁴ or they gained residency rights through the family reunification program. Others hoped to be granted permission to stay in Ireland as parents of children who were Irish citizens; still others who were living in Ireland for more than five years had become naturalized Irish citizens and chose a designation as “immigrant” or “other” when asked which category they identify with.

In the analysis of interviews with this group of migrant women who were variously positioned on the spectrum of immigration in Ireland, the desire to tell their

⁴ “Leave to remain” status may be granted to individuals whose application for refugee status has been definitively rejected. A determination is based on factors such as age, duration of residence in Ireland, character and conduct, as well as humanitarian considerations. Between 2000 and 2005, only 617 individuals were given “leave to remain” in Ireland (Irish Refugee Council, 2006).

stories and eagerness to respond to some of the stereotypes that circulate in relation to Ireland's new immigrants seemed urgent and compelling. Coupled with this, in this project I was concerned with the social and cultural dimensions of Ireland's new economic identity and the experiences delineated by this subset of study participants indicated that they offered crucial critical perspectives and insights on the modern Irish nation-state. Consequently, after discussion and consultation with my dissertation committee, the analysis of interview data focused on the 25 interviews with migrant women who seeking asylum or who were otherwise caught up—at the time of this study or in the recent past—with the Office of the Refugee Applications Commissioner in Ireland.

Country of Origin (as % of total number of applications)⁵	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Nigeria	34	35	39	37	30
Romania	13	14	9	6	9
Moldova	5	5	n/a	n/a	n/a
Somalia	n/a ⁶	n/a	2	4	9
Sudan	n/a	n/a	n/a	3	5
Other	39	37	39	43	40
Age range 26-35 years	39	41	41	41	37
Female	47	50	50	47	35
Male	53	49	49	52	64

Table 1: Country of Origin and Demographic Profile of Individuals Seeking Asylum in Ireland 2001-2005. Data compiled from ORAC (<http://www.orac.ie>).

⁵ Percentages are rounded.

⁶ Percentage breakdown of asylum seekers from these nations for certain years were not provided.

The participants interviewed for this study reflect some of the general trends related to those seeking asylum in Ireland in recent years. For instance, the majority of women (17 out of the total of 25) interviewed for this research came to Ireland from Nigeria. Between 2001 and 2005, Nigerians comprised the single largest group of individuals seeking asylum in Ireland; individuals from Romania and Somalia followed and comprised between 2% and 9% of the total numbers of applications for asylum in Ireland (see Table 1). The data available from ORAC do not list nationalities where there are fewer than ten applications registered from any given nation in a year, consequently, for 40% of asylum seekers, nationality was listed as “other” for the period 2001 to 2005.

In my sample, in addition to women from Nigeria, there were one or two participants from seven different nations; therefore, the diversity of this sample reflects overall trends. Similarly, the age distribution corresponds with the general demographic profile of asylum applicants for this period. From 2001 to 2005, between 37% and 41% of applications for asylum were from people between 26 and 35 years of age. In this study, participants’ ages ranged from 19 to 43 years and the average age of participants was 32 years. The average for length of residence in Ireland in my research was 2.4 years; data from the Irish Refugee Council (2006) indicates that by 2005, 21% of the people whose applications for refugee status were still pending had been living in Ireland for over two years (see Figure 6 (following page) for country of origin for interview participants, and see Appendix 3 for a demographic profile of interview participants).

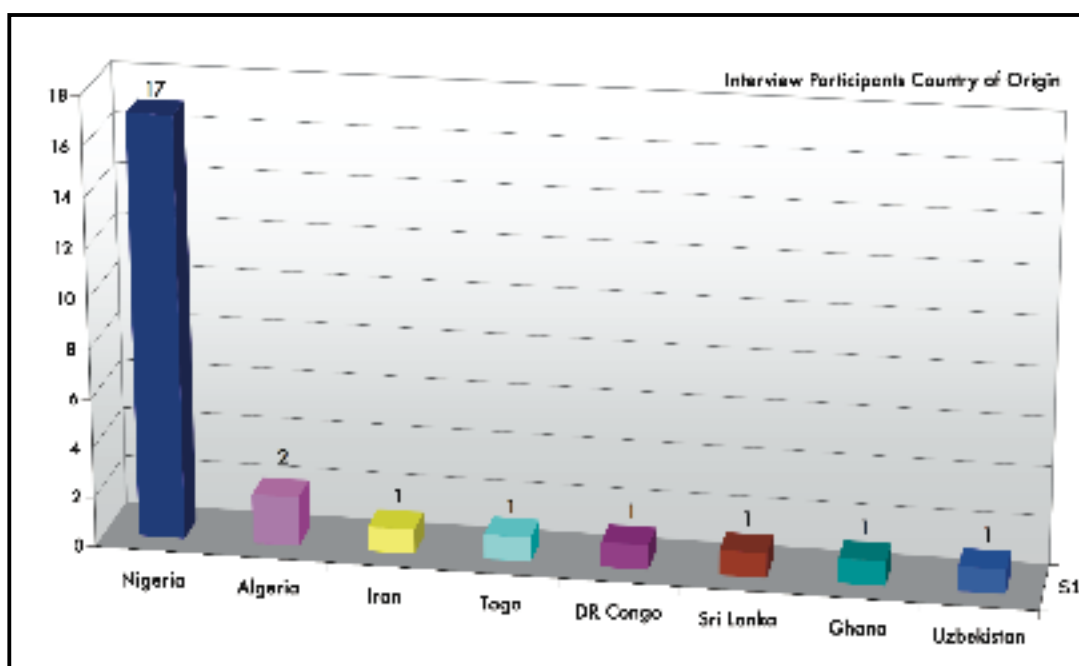


Figure 6: Interview Participants Country of Origin

A notable exception in my sample was the absence of participants from Romania. This might be accounted for by the pattern of distribution of announcements about the research and the marginalization of the Romanian population within Irish society as a whole.⁷ In addition to this, because many migrants from Nigeria are already familiar and fluent in the English language before they arrive in Ireland they do not encounter the language barriers that other migrant groups, including those from Romania, might experience. As a result, in this study, the predominance of participants from Nigeria highlights some of the fine grains of difference that exist as well as the problems associated with efforts to categorize “asylum seekers” and migrants generally.

Another exception in terms of participation in this study is the absence of work permit holders and more specifically Filipina women who make up a significant

⁷ I asked one Roma individual I met to distribute flyers and invite participants among his acquaintances, but none of them expressed an interest in participating in the study.

proportion of migrant labor in domestic and healthcare services (see Immigrant Council, 2005; Conroy, 2003). This shortfall would be an issue if each of the groups initially conceived to be part of the study were included in the final analysis. While the experiences of the variously positioned migrant women who participated in this research have informed my thinking throughout this project—and I hope to work with their stories in subsequent research—for analysis purposes I focus attention on the experiences of women who have been refugees or asylum seekers, therefore, the absence of work permit holders is not an immediate concern.

It should also be clear from the conceptual framework guiding this study that a positivist approach or attempt at representative sampling would be an inappropriate research design for the present study. Instead, following the theoretical perspectives that guide this study—i.e. social production of space, critique of everyday life, feminist and geopolitical analyses of scale, nationhood, and citizenship—and drawing on the wealth of scholarship that identifies the importance of rigorous qualitative research (see for example, Creswell, 1998; Baxter and Eyles, 1997; Fine and Weis, 1996) as well as the significance of situated, embodied, and reflexive approaches in research design and methodology (see for example, Dias and Blecha, 2007; Jenkins, Jones and Dixon, 2003; Gray, 2004a; Moss, 2002; Katz, 1996a, 1994; Bhavnani, 1993a; Harding, 1993; Abu-Lughod, 1991) my aim is to present an emplaced and nuanced analysis of the relations between migrant women and the contemporary social production of the Irish nation-state.⁸

⁸ For a profile of participants included in the analysis presented here and for a profile of all the participants interviewed, see Appendices 3 and 3a.

Methodology

Consonant with the theoretical framework discussed in Chapter 1 and the regressive-progressive approach to research outlined in this chapter, this dissertation adopts a multi-method, qualitative methodology in order to explicate the relations between women, migration, and the social production of the Irish nation-state. There are three phases in the data collection process; these correspond roughly with the regressive-progressive approach and also with Lefebvre's theoretical perspective on social space.

Phase 1—involves an *archival review of print media* representations of migrants and migration in Ireland. This phase corresponds to Lefebvre's analytic-regressive phase and focuses on the *representations of space*—in other words, images, ideas, and discourses—related to em/im-migrant women and the Irish nation at three junctures in recent and historical space/time.

Phase 2—involves *interviews and conversations with migrant women* who were seeking asylum or whose experiences as migrants in Ireland were shaped by their encounters with the Department of Justice Equality and Law Reform in Ireland. In Lefebvre's methodological delineation this can be understood as a *descriptive phase*, which focuses on the social and *spatial practices, lived spaces* and everyday lives of migrant women in contemporary Irish society.

Phase 3—entails *observations* comprised by a field diary as well as photographs and written narratives gathered by migrant women. This phase offers an additional *descriptive lens* on contemporary Irish society. In addition, because the field diary highlights social and spatial practices observed through the course of the study and participants are asked to visually represent their knowledge and encounters in Ireland this phase aims to inform

an understanding of the ways that *representations and practices* operate to produce, configure and transform everyday life and social space in the Irish nation-state.

By employing multiple sources of information and multiply situated perspectives an in-depth, critical, regressive-progressive account of the diversity of social actors and social practices that constitute the nation-state becomes possible.

Archival Review of Print Media

In order to examine the ways that migrant women—as emigrants and immigrants—are incorporated into, constituted, and deployed in relation to the Irish nation-state, I completed a review and analysis of popular media, primarily from newspaper sources, at three key junctures in Ireland’s history and recent past. The first juncture, between 1922 and 1937, coincided with the period when a Free State was established (1922) and the Irish Constitution (Bunreacht na hÉireann) was adopted via public vote, in 1937. As we will see in Chapter 3, this was a significant period for women’s rights in Ireland but later gave way to increasingly conservative policies and representations related to women in Irish society. Associated with this, emigration among women became quite prevalent, and there was a great deal of print media attention to the “girl emigrant problem” (Ryan, 2002, p. 111) in newspapers between 1936 and 1937. Consequently, I focus on newspaper coverage during 1936 and 1937 specifically and draw on secondary data compiled by Ryan (2002) in her study of national and provincial press coverage of gender and identity issues. I supplemented Ryan’s data by examining a handful of newspaper reports for this period, but this process was not thorough or systematic. Using the secondary data I completed a thematic search and content analysis

looking for headlines and stories that discussed “*women’s roles in Irish society,*” “*experiences of emigrant women abroad,*” and “*connections between women and Irish nationhood.*” (For an overview of print media sources reviewed and coding schemes used see Table 2.)

For the second juncture, I focused on the twelve-month period between January and December 1988. The late 1980’s marks the most recent wave of large-scale emigration from Ireland in recent history; “between 1988-89 alone, 70,600 persons, or approximately 2% of the population left” (MacÉinrí, 2001, p. 2). Furthermore, from my perspective this juncture marks a shift in the ideological production of the Irish nation-state. In contrast to the early post-independence period of 1922 to 1937 when rural farm-based homesteads and state-sponsored national industrial development programs were fashioned, in the 1980’s considerable effort was placed on promoting Ireland as a modern, international, if not global, and diasporic nation (see Gray, 2004a, 2003; MacLaughlin, 1997). I propose that representations of migrants were also refashioned to coincide with this ideological shift.

For this review, I completed a review of two nationally distributed newspapers for this period—The Irish Times and The Irish Independent. Because of time constraints I alternated between newspapers in reviewing coverage of emigration for this period. I recorded a total of 98 reports, after a preliminary review to identify general themes in representations of migration for this period, the reports were coded as follows:

“*opportunities for emigrants,*” “*emigrant experiences,*” “*economic and social impact of emigration at home,*” and “*emigrants and Irish nationhood.*”

The third juncture in this analytic-regressive phase involved a review of newspaper coverage related to migration in 1997. 1996 and 1997 were tipping points for net migration in Ireland when inward migration began to outweigh emigration in substantial terms and thus mark a rupture in the persistent production of Ireland and Irish society as an emigrant nation. This phase concluded with media coverage specifically focused on the residency and citizenship rights of “non-national” migrant women who are parents of children born in Ireland; the media furor on this issue reached fever pitch between 2002 and June 2004, hence in my review I focused on this period specifically.

Media Juncture	Media Sources	Themes/Codes Applied
1936-1937	Secondary Data Ryan (2002)	- Women's roles in Irish society - Emigrants experiences abroad - Connections between women and nationhood
1988	<i>Irish Times</i> January, March, May, June, August, October, December <i>Irish Independent</i> February, April, July, September, November	- Opportunities for emigrants - Emigrant experiences abroad - Impact of emigration at home - Emigrants and nationhood
1997	<i>Irish Times</i> April, May, August, November <i>Irish Independent</i> May, June, July, September, December	- Numbers crisis - Foreboding discourse - Immigrants as resource threat - Cultural loss - Government response - Legislative developments - Corrective representation
2002-2004	<i>Irish Times</i> January 2002–June 2004 <i>Irish Independent</i> January 2002–June 2004 Secondary Sources (McGee, 2003; Onyejelem, 2005)	- Citizenship referendum - Immigrant women - Non-national - Asylum seeker - Refugee (in addition to codes applied for 1997 media analysis.)

Table 2: Overview of Print Media Analysis

Several sources observe that it wasn't until April 1997 that newspaper coverage of inward migration to Ireland began to take off (see Pollak, 1999; Cullen, 2000; McGee, 2003). My review of "print" media went digital at this point and I reviewed online archives for the Irish Independent and Irish Times, beginning with April 1997 and alternating between online editions for each month reviewed as detailed in Table 2 above. In addition, I drew on a number of secondary sources of information including Pollak (1997) and Nozinic (2002) who provide critical discussions of the media's role in representations of 'new' immigrants in Irish society. Search terms used in this review were: "*immigration*," "*migrants*," "*non-nationals*," "*asylum-seeker*," and "*refugee*."

For the period between 2002 and 2004 I narrowed the search to media coverage related to migrant women and the "*citizenship referendum*" that was being considered and was eventually put to the voting public in June 2004. Because I had easier access to the online media archives of the Irish Times, my review for this period focused almost extensively on this newspaper; media coverage from other newspapers was gathered from secondary sources including McGee (2003) and Onyejelem (2005). In my review, newspaper stories were downloaded, headlines, quotations, and a brief synopsis were recorded. The resulting data were coded within thematic categories that emerged from the data themselves. The categories were as follows: "*numbers crisis*," "*foreboding discourse*," "*resource threat*," "*cultural loss*," "*government response*," "*legislative development discourse*," and "*moderate/corrective representation*." In total, I collected and reviewed over 300 newspaper stories to complete the analytic-regressive phase of this study.

Interviews

I contacted people who responded to announcements about the study via telephone or e-mail and once we established that they were interested in participating in an interview we set up a time and place to meet. In general, I allowed one-and-a-half hours for each interview. Some of the women I met knew others and brought them along to the meeting, some were reluctant to participate in one-to-one meetings, and on two occasions a translator was needed; as a result four interviews were conducted as group discussions with two or three participants. On these occasions meetings went on for approximately two hours. As previously noted, the analysis presented in this dissertation focuses on 25 interviews, specifically conversations with migrant women who had experience with the asylum system in Ireland. Each interview participant was paid €15.00 (\$19.86) in appreciation for their time and participation in the research.⁹

At the outset of the interview, after reviewing consent procedures and introducing the research, I gave participants a brief background survey to complete. Cook and Crang (1995) note that the use of a brief survey facilitates introducing the study, can provide basic descriptive information, and can help to identify themes for discussion in the interview or for further research.¹⁰ During the first five interviews I found that participants devoted a lot of time to this survey resulting in conversational time being cut short. Another issue with this approach was that participants frequently requested clarification about terms used, time frames, and questions asked. As a result, rather than being an efficient strategy for collecting background information as I had planned, these

⁹ Exchange rate calculated 3/15/2007 at €1.00=\$1.32.

¹⁰ See Appendix 4 for background survey and guiding questions used for interviews.

surveys became the focal point of our discussion. In this respect, the particular social relations and circumstances of this research setting supplanted the survey's intended use. In this process, a contextually rich and productive approach to the research emerged where, in accordance with Cook and Crang's observations, participants highlighted themes worth pursuing further while answering questions on the background survey. As a result, I decided to ditch the formality of the background survey and instead I used the terms and questions therein as conversational prompts over the course of subsequent interviews.

In the end, interviews followed a roughly structured format and I was careful to address key themes with all participants over the course of a meeting. Participants were asked to reflect on the following themes:

- 1) ***Everyday Life / Spatial Practices***—Detailed discussion of everyday life, social and spatial practices before and after migration to Ireland
- 2) ***Representations of Space***—Knowledge about Ireland, Irish identity, Irish women's spaces and roles, and migration prior to arrival in Ireland
- 3) ***Impact of Representations on Social / Spatial Practices***—Perceptions, experiences, and associations related to Ireland, Irish identity, and belonging in Ireland
- 4) ***Spatial Practices / Lived Spaces***—Experiences of inclusion and exclusion as migrants.

In addition to these themes, on a number of occasions I used print media clippings, postcards, and images depicting migrant women from various perspectives to prompt discussion. Unless participants requested it, all the interviews were recorded using a digital recorder and later transcribed for review and coding or coded directly as audio

files. In total, interviews with six participants were not recorded; in these cases, I took detailed notes during the meeting.

Field Diary / Observations

Throughout the research I maintained a field diary in order to provide a record of how the research progressed, my expectations, understandings and misunderstandings as well as contextual information in relation to the research. Coupled with this, the field diary also allowed me to reflect on my position in relation to the research, setting and participants. As part of this process I recorded observations en route to interviews, in the neighborhoods where interviews took place, and in the Dublin area. I was interested in checking representations, discourses, and dialogues against direct observations; for instance, participants recounted a range of good (welcoming/helpful) and bad (name-calling/alienating) experiences they had at bus stops or traveling on buses; as a result I was careful to observe and record these sites, as well as recording subjective experiences of place that I thought were noteworthy. Consequently, field notes were not systematic, however, consistent with scholarship on ethnographic and feminist approaches to research, by gathering this information I was better able to understand and reconstruct events and spaces, and to triangulate across sources of information in an effort to build a rigorous and credible account in this study (see Cook and Crang, 1995; Taylor, Gilligan, and Sullivan, 1995; Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Fielding and Fielding, 1986)

Participants in the photo project were given a disposable camera, several postcards, and a stamped addressed envelope in order to return these data to me. Eight participants (six interview participants and two who were unable to participate in

interviews but wanted to participate in the research nonetheless) were asked to photograph places that represent Ireland/Irish nationhood to them and that they associate with migrants as well as places of belonging for them. For each photograph taken, they were also asked to write a short narrative indicating why they chose a particular place and what that location represents to them. Participants were asked to mail everything to me, using the return stamped addressed envelope once they had taken as many photos as they wished or by an agreed upon date.

Research in Reality: A Dialogue Between Methods and Phases ... and Some Revisions

Even though I outlined the phases of this study sequentially in the previous section, it's important to be clear that in practice, I shifted back and forth between phases in a recursive dialogic manner. This was shaped by limiting factors including the need and possibilities available to me for travel to Ireland. By contrast, access to many of the archival materials I examined, such as research reports, census information, and other government documents, did not require field expeditions in Ireland; instead, with access to library and online sources, I was able to complete a good deal of the archival research from "remote" locations here and there. In effect, this meant that descriptive, analytic-regressive, and historical-genetic phases frequently overlapped one another.

In addition, this recursive approach to gathering information was influenced by the information gathered in and of itself. In other words, my actual approach to data collection was enacted as a dialogue across phases and a conversation between methods. So, even though I set out with detailed lists of observation sites, documents to review,

grids and schedules for recruiting participants and completing interviews, and carefully prepared interview guides—and for the most part the data gathered adhered to these plans—on occasion, my experiences while collecting data pinpointed a need for deviation. For instance, in focusing on the social and cultural effects of the transition from emigrant to immigrant nation, initially I believed that it would be sufficient to take the late-1980's—the most recent period of mass emigration from Ireland—as a starting point for tracing shifts in the way emigrants and immigrants were portrayed and constituted in Ireland's popular print presses. However, when I examined the microfiche holdings at the National Library in Dublin, completed interviews with women, and with political events that occurred contemporaneously with these phases it became clear that a longer view and deeper dig through representations of emigration and emigrant women particularly was needed. As a result, the analytic-regressive phase of this study was extended to include an analysis of representations of emigrant women during the period between 1936 and 1937, in association with the information gathered and my initial attempts to understand the present (the historic-genetic phase).

In a similar vein, even though a statistical analysis was, and still is, farthest from my mind, as previously outlined, originally, I planned to interview 20 participants, with five people in four different categories completing a neat and balanced “sampling” grid. Part of the rationale for choosing this data collection strategy was to unbalance, in some small way, the dominant discourses about asylum seekers that seemed to plague media coverage as well as day-to-day social exchanges at that time. But, when women began to respond to the advertisements, flyers, and announcements used to recruit interview participants it soon became apparent that the grid was sieve-like and thus could never

contain the array of categories that participants presented to me. And despite my aim of disturbing the dominant focus on asylum seekers within popular culture, participants who were or had been placed under the jurisdiction of the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform—the State agency responsible for dealing with those seeking asylum as well as other immigration matters in Ireland—became the focus of my analysis.

There were several reasons for this revision. As previously discussed, women whose experiences as migrants in Ireland were tied up with the Department of Justice comprised the single

largest group of respondents. This factor, coupled with their desire as well as the relevance of their narratives to the research questions addressed in this study made this a compelling group wherein to focus attention. In addition to

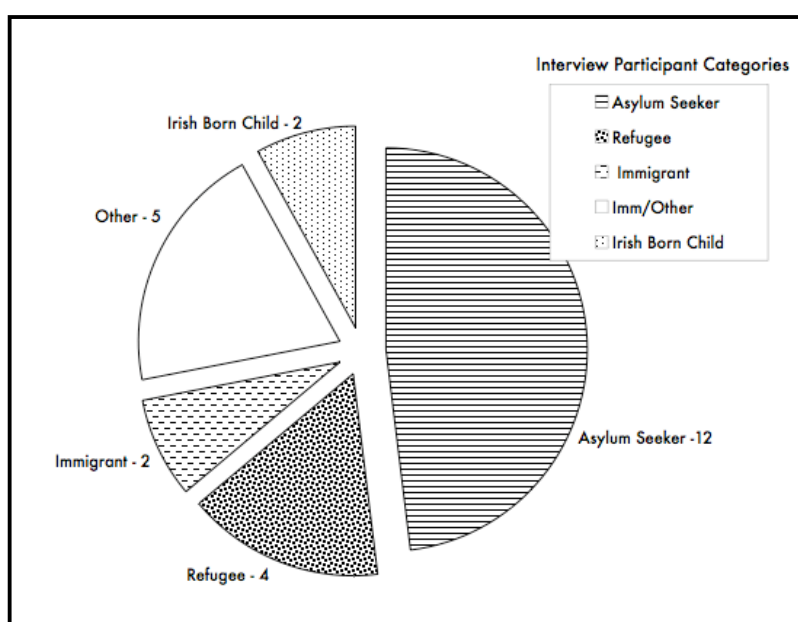


Figure 7: Categories used for Interview Participants

this, within the group frequently thrown together within the category “asylum seeker,” there are several designations including “refugee,” “humanitarian leave to remain,” parents of “Irish born children,” and “asylum seekers.” Figure 7 above, indicates the number of interviewees within these categories who participated in the present study. Among the women I met, these designations were frequently unclear, shifted often, and at

times these labels were rejected outright. Therefore, the range of ways that migrant women were constituted or constituted themselves shattered the semblance of cohesion that the term “asylum seeker” attempts to convey. And so in the process of completing this study, I realized that unsettling the discursive focus on asylum seekers did not necessitate drawing attention to distinct categories of migrant women, as I first imagined. Thus, in this analysis, I focus on disturbing dominant discourses and representations from within the fictive cohesiveness of those caught up within the asylum system. By drawing attention to the gaps between popular cultural lore and representations and the everyday lives of this loosely connected assembly of migrant women I hope to develop what Cindi Katz (2001a) has described as a “countertopographic” examination of migrant women’s experiences in contemporary Irish society.

One additional revision was made as the research practice went on. Of the eight cameras distributed for the photo project phase of the study only four were returned. As a result, I decided not to employ the images and narratives as a distinct method in the analysis of the data. Instead, I used the information presented by participants as a guide in checking my own field notes and observations and in constructing descriptive accounts of significant places for migrant women.

Overall then, in reality, a staggered approach was used at each phase of this study. Information was gathered, reflected upon, and incorporated at subsequent phases. The images and representations gathered from reviewing documents were used as a vehicle for discussion in interviews. The perspectives and experiences identified in interviews informed key sites for further observations and fieldwork. When appropriate, adjustments to data collection, themes considered significant, and the overall analysis were

implemented as a result of this ongoing dialogic approach. Therefore, in addition to Lefebvre's regressive-progressive approach the methods employed reflect a feminist epistemological position where critical engagement and reflexive praxis are ongoing throughout the research.

Analysis of the Data

The information gathered was analyzed on an ongoing basis and through an iterative process throughout the research. After compiling, transcribing or uploading files, the data were reviewed, organized into preliminary categories, and summarized. Working with the print media and 25 interviews the content analysis began by reviewing the materials in order to develop an understanding of patterns and regularities in the data. This was done in a mechanical and spatially expansive paper-and-marker manner as well as using a qualitative data analysis program (*HyperRESEARCH*TM version 2.6). Following from this I developed a number of themes that were guided by the theoretical framework used and by salient and recurrent themes from the information gathered. As such, the analysis shifted from open coding to the development of emic and etic codes (see LeCompte, 1999; Cook and Crang, 1995). These thematic codes were then applied within the data. In addition, in re-reviewing the information I also looked for negative instances and alternative conceptual explanations. As previously noted the themes addressed issues related to historic and contemporary representations of migrants and migrant women in particular, migrants and migrant women's perceived and embodied relationships to Irish nationhood and the Irish nation-state, everyday social and spatial

practices, and avenues for participation and belonging as well as exclusionary spaces and experiences.

In interpreting the information gathered and analyzed I was interested in triangulating across the data sources in order to trace connections, recurrences, intersections, and ruptures in the representations, practices, and lived spaces that produce the Irish nation-state. The results and discussion of this analysis are presented in the subsequent chapters of this dissertation. As a final note, throughout this process, in addition to being guided by Lefebvre's regressive-progressive analysis and critical-dialectical approach, perspectives in feminist geography and research, as well as political and social geography, I was guided by the understanding that the process of research and "analysis is not a matter of developing a definitive account, but of trying to find a means to understand the inter-relations of multiple versions of reality" (Cook and Crang, 1995, p. 93). With this, I hope to contribute a contingent, critical, thoroughly grounded, spatially and temporally layered understanding of some of the ways migrant women work to socially produce and transform the nation-state and nationhood in Ireland.

Chapter 3—The “Germ” of the Past

Situating Lefebvre’s “Regressive-Progressive” Analysis alongside Ireland’s Migration Histories

To situate my interest in the relations between the production of the Irish nation and the practice of emigration, especially among women, I want to lay out some of the key ideas guiding this chapter’s examination and analysis of the role of media discourses in the social production of nationhood. These ideas are drawn largely from Lefebvre’s approach to history.

In his work, Lefebvre was concerned with rethinking the assumptions underlying history, and in thinking about the relations between space and time and in this process rethinking both concepts (Elden, 2004, p.170). For Lefebvre, space and time must be thought together without reducing one to the other. Time and space must be analyzed together, because they are “the indispensable coordinates of everyday life” (*ibid*). For Lefebvre, a critical approach to history and historical time also necessitates a focus on the relations of production and material conditions that make life, thus, history, possible. Instead of apprehending historical time as “a succession of static periods, times of stagnation and relative balance, separated by creative bursts and revolutions—the ‘events’”(Elden, 2004, p.153), Lefebvre argues for a critical notion of historical time that’s grounded in everyday life. By shifting the focus away from abstracted histories, we confront an understanding of historical time as repetitive, rhythmic, situated, social and spatial activities. These “moments” are the units of analysis in a critical history. This critical approach rejects progressive or predictive renderings of historical events; instead

it is concerned with “moments,” the stuff of everyday life, and the traces they leave in their midst.

In this chapter I want to take this critical approach to history as a methodology for tracing shifts in the relations between migration, especially women’s migration, and the Irish nation; I do this by examining newspaper coverage of these issues at three particular junctures in the post-independence production of the Irish nation-state. Specifically, I examine print media coverage related to issues of women and migration for the periods 1936-1937, 1988, and at selected points coinciding with the shift to inward migration between 1997 and 2004. In this process I will argue that media representations are one important way to access historical productions of everyday life.

This critical attention to historical time, to everyday “moments” and traces is especially important in the context of the social production of the Irish nation-state because one of the most common responses to Ireland’s new status as an immigrant-receiving nation has been to evoke and call upon the nation’s history of emigration as a way to understand and respond to present-day immigration. Over the course of my fieldwork this occurred at every level from informal conversational exchanges to government policy documents on immigration (e.g. Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, 2005). In this process Ireland’s history of emigration is rekindled and re-presented in light of immigration. What does the history of emigration mean in the present? How, is the past re-worked in association with present-day immigration? Does it influence or alter the way people immigrating to Ireland are received or understood? Or, is the past merely recalled as an abstract representation of space? I examine these questions over the course of the next two chapters. In this chapter specifically I want to

critically trace historical time/space and the relations between representations of women, migration and nation prior to Ireland's recent instantiation as an immigrant-receiving nation.

Questioning History and the Present

The assumed correspondence between emigration and immigration in Ireland has gone largely unquestioned until now. Recently, a number of scholars working within a feminist framework have noted the need to think critically about the ease with which emigration and immigration are sandwiched together in contemporary discourses in Ireland. For example, as a key thinker on the intersections between race, ethnicity, and migration in contemporary Irish society, Ronit Lentin has argued that rather than being the vehicle for a favorable response to immigration; emigration exists as a repressed national memory in Irish society. Consequently, the presence of immigrants in Ireland today becomes a re-instantiation of trauma and as such is not and cannot be associated with "pro-immigration" policies and practices. For Lentin (2002a), the trauma and repressed memories of emigration must be accessed and critically assessed in order for a favorable or ethical politics on immigration to emerge in Irish society.

But, as Gray (2004b) notes, the idea of a national memory of emigration, repressed or otherwise, is problematic because it assumes a shared, unified relationship to emigration, in other words, it homogenizes the memory and the experience of emigration as well as that of immigration, and it banishes alternate histories and perspectives. In her work, Gray probes existing and taken for granted practices in relation to migration in an effort to open up new possibilities for understanding and action. She draws on feminist

work on memory, empathy, and identification (Butler, 1990, 1997; Silverman, 1996) in order to sketch an ethical response to immigration. This involves recognizing that shared histories of emigration and immigration do not mean equivalent or collapsible stories. Instead, an ethical response entails acknowledging proximity while maintaining difference. I will return to issues related to an ethical response to immigration in a later chapter; for now, I want to note the relationship between the feminist perspective that identifies experiences as heterogeneous yet conjoined and Lefebvre's critical attention to history as everyday life. By bringing these perspectives together I propose we can begin to appreciate the diverse, heterogeneous, and complex ways in which the space of the nation is socially produced within the context of repetitive, recurrent acts. Therefore, in this chapter I want to elucidate both "the events" as well as the "moments" that operate by tracing the representations of women and discourses on migration that mark and make the 20th century Irish nation-state.

A Sketch of the Approach

I take as a starting point the period of the formation of the Republic of Ireland as an independent nation-state, specifically, the establishment of the Free State in 1922 to the adoption of the Irish Constitution (Bunreacht na hÉireann) in 1937. In focusing on this particular period I don't mean to suggest that the nation/space that constitutes Ireland didn't exist before this time or that there was no relationship between Ireland and migration prior to the 20th century. A glance at any chronology of Irish history, a review of the Great Famine in 1845, or a trip to Glendalough or any of the early medieval monasteries in Ireland where round towers—commonplace in the built environment of

the tenth century—served as posts whence to watch for the arrival of Vikings and to keep valuable religious artifacts safe will attest to the long-standing history of Ireland’s relationship to “migrations.”

In selecting the post-independence period as the starting point for this critical history I realize that I am, to a degree, collaborating with the popular and sometimes problematic narratives of the Irish nation. I take this as an indication that my subjective knowledge has to be “placed on the same critical, causal plane” as the representations and practices that pervade the production of the nation and that I now seek to evaluate critically (Harding, 1993, p.69). The period between 1922 and 1937 was significant because a series of legislative changes, including women’s right to vote and equal civil rights, that had been implemented with the 1916 Proclamation of Independence and the 1922 Constitution of the Irish Free State were eroded in the intervening years and with the Constitution that was adopted in 1937 under the post-independence leadership of President Eamon De Valera. As such, I think this period is particularly significant for understanding the relationships between women, nation, and migration and so I begin my analysis with this moment in history. In the first section I draw on secondary data compiled by Ryan (2002) in her study of national and provincial press coverage of gender and identity issues during this period. I examine a handful of the ideas that circulated in 1936 and 1937 newspapers with regard to women’s place in Irish society, focusing explicitly on the swelling discourse on women’s emigration that appeared in the lead-up to the ratification of the Constitution in 1937.

From here, I turn attention to popular press coverage on emigration during the period 1988 and 1989. The late 1980’s mark the most recent wave of large-scale

emigration from Ireland in recent history when the exodus, estimated at 14,000 per year during the first half of the 1980's, rose to 50,000 per year during the 1987 to 1989 period (National Economic and Social Council, NESC, 1991; *Irish Times*, 6 December, 1988). So, even though there was a constant tide of emigration from Ireland throughout the 20th century, and the practice continues today, I suggest that the 1988-89 period is noteworthy because it highlights a shifting discourse on migration. Coupled with this, this period marks the beginning of the transition from em- to im-migration, thus embodies a rupture in the persistent production of Ireland and Irish society as an emigrant nation. In the next chapter I examine this shift and the relations between discourses on emigration and representations of immigrants in contemporary Irish society.

In examining shifting discourses and representations of women, migration and the production of the Irish nation at these two points, another aspect of Lefebvre's critical approach to history is highlighted. In accordance with Lefebvre's attention to everyday moments, he refutes the idea that apparently disparate historical events can be parsed out and studied. Instead, in adopting a "regressive-progressive" mode of analysis (Elden, 2004, p. 38), history is seen as inter-related, cyclical "moments" that "cannot be separated because each lies as a germ in the heart of the other" (Elden, 2004, p.153). Thus, history cannot be understood in isolation or abstraction from the present because in the present are the "germs" of the past. In other words, in this and the next chapter, I want to think critically through the significance of emigration in the present and immigration for the past in understanding the social production of the space of the Irish nation.

What's Black and White and Read All Over—Newspapers and the Social Production of Nationhood

But, how is this analysis to proceed? Lefebvre's work is not prescriptive in this regard, but as noted above, he does call on us to attend to the everyday and to the material conditions that make the social production of space possible. So, in the context of this attempt to critically trace the history of the Irish nation-state in the 20th century, it's necessary to examine the everyday, social, economic, political, and material conditions, the social practices as well as the representations that combine to make women, emigrants, and to produce the nation-state. It seems that a good place to begin this analysis is with print media, specifically newspapers, as they offer a record and an account, selective though it may be, of everyday social, political and economic conditions through space and time.

Numerous scholars discuss the role of print media and newspapers specifically in nation-building projects. In his study of the nation as imagined community, Anderson observes the relations between the rise of print capitalism, the construction of unified fields of language for the exchange of ideas and with this, the growing "fixity" and "power" of certain languages. Newspapers are exemplary here and as such became vehicles where communities could store, recall, transmit and replicate a whole range of information that went into the making of an imagined community (Anderson, 1983, p.44-5). Similarly, Conboy argues, "the text of the newspaper and the newspaper's cultural project as narrator, educator and entertainer of a society make it a particularly important site for scrutiny" (Conboy, 1996, cited in Ryan 2002, p. 6; see also Bhabha, 1994).

In a discussion of the role of print capitalism in the 19th century Irish nation, MacLaughlin observes that newspapers “equipped communities with the means to ‘frame’ themselves, to tell their own stories and to write their own histories” (MacLaughlin, 2001, p. 194). Newspaper circulation and the dissemination of narratives, which were important for nation-building, was facilitated by increasing literacy rates that coincided with increases in the percentage of children attending school.¹¹ While newspapers certainly frame or represent people and communities, it is, I think, debatable, whether or not people were actually given the opportunity to write their own stories. As MacLaughlin notes elsewhere in his analysis, by the 20th century the newspaper industry in Ireland was primarily a business and profit-making venture, thus was controlled and operated by members of society with substantial economic means and not by everyday folk with a story to tell. Thus, newspapers worked as part of the process of nation building as a platform whence the ideas, images, and conceptions of the nation-state were packaged by hegemonic groups in society and refracted onto the nation’s people. Therefore newspapers are important as representations of the space of the nation.

On top of this, representations also work to define and prescribe spatial practices; in other words, representations and spatial practices are mutually constituted. So, newspapers—as representations and as spatial practices—work to materialize the nation in the everyday. Anderson notes, “a newspaper reader in one region is reassured in his /her reading about events in another region that his/her imagined world is visibly rooted in everyday life” (1983, pp. 35-6). I think it is through this process—where conceived space precedes lived and perceived spaces (see Chapter 1), and where everyday life and

¹¹ For a detailed discussion of factors associated with the role of print media in nation-building and the circulation of newspapers specifically in late 19th century Ireland see MacLaughlin, 2001 (pp. 187-209).

nationhood bump up against each other—that newspapers give the illusion of being histories of “the people.” It is this process of production and its concealment that must be unraveled using a regressive-progressive approach. As Lefebvre notes “it is never easy to get back from the object (product or work) to the activity that produced and/or created it. It is the only way, however, to illuminate the object’s nature, [...] and reconstitute the process of its genesis and the development of its meaning” (1991, p.113). Rather than taking newspaper stories as fact, I take them as revealing narratives that are constructed and productive, and that offer critical insights into the social production of the nation. Therefore, in the analysis that follows I hope to show that although print media claims to merely depict everyday life, in actuality newspapers promote ideology, shape practice, and capture the everyday by re-presenting the nation its people.

Media Representations and Spatial Practices of Women and Nationhood in the Early Independence Years

A typical textbook chronology of early 20th century Irish history details ‘events’ such as the Proclamation of Independence in 1916, The Anglo-Irish War between 1919-1921, the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922, a Civil War from 1922-1923, election of the Fianna Fail government under Eamon De Valera in 1932, and the adoption of the Constitution of Ireland (Bunreacht na hÉireann) in 1937. In developing a critical analysis of this history I ask: how did women’s lives figure in relation to some of these events, where did emigration fit in this history, and what role did either play in the social production of the Irish nation-state? In addressing these questions I want to puncture the

“events” with “moments” in everyday life as detailed in the press coverage of “women’s issues” at the time.

During the early post-independence years women and men were initially granted equal economic and social rights but the provisions for women were swiftly revised with legislative changes including a prohibition on women entering certain areas of employment, the implementation of a statute where women working for the Civil Service were required to leave the workforce upon marriage, and a ban on the sale of contraceptives. These changes rendered women as (in)visible objects in civil society while relegating them to the domestic sphere to fulfill essential(ist) roles in the biological and cultural reproduction of the Irish nation-state. The newspaper stories that were disseminated around the nation picked up and promulgated these discourses, representations and practices.

Recurrent themes in the national presses included discussion and debate about women in industry and the presentation of competing domestic scenes. Newspapers typically pitted one group against another. Working women were posited as taking jobs from men. For example, one *Irish Press* editorial opined, “we are no enemies to the employment of women in vocations to which they are suited; but we deplore the tendency to substitute cheap female labour for that of heads of families” (*Irish Press*, July 29, 1932).¹² Women factory workers were contrasted with those employed as domestic servants; the former were “losing domestic skills such as cooking and baking and managing a home” (*Irish Independent*, January 2, 1936) and “homes were being disrupted and womanhood was being denaturalized and turned into something it was

¹² Newspaper headlines and excerpts from the 1922-1937 period are taken from Ryan (2002).

never intended to be” (*Irish Press*, November 9, 1936). Ryan’s analysis identifies only one story where employment in industry is presented as desirable but only for young girls and in opposition to those employed in domestic service. “In the factory the girl is finished work early. She can dress herself, have long evenings free, and go to the pictures. The factories give freedom of a kind girls crave for, but which a housewife will not permit” (*Irish Independent*, September 21, 1937).

Stewart notes “representations both express and condition social practice, [...] specifically the ways in which a predominantly male ‘economy of vision’ has shaped social constructions of women and delimited the spatially (and hence socially) ‘appropriate’ spheres in which women can move” (1995, p. 616). These newspaper stories helped to do away with the notion that women and men were on equal footing as economic contributors to Irish society and replaced this with a conception of women’s role, place and identity within Irish society as deeply gendered along essentialist lines. Thus, by the 1930’s only 5.6% of married women were engaged in economic activity outside the home (Daly, 1995). And so, as representations these stories helped to proffer spatial practices that constrained and contained women.

In situations where women did fulfill their ‘natural’ role as mother and homemaker in an urban setting, they were set apart from their rural counterparts. For instance, in 1936 both the *Irish Press* and *Irish Independent* ran a series of articles detailing bucolic, domestic scenes in Ireland. One article discussed new housing options in the Free State, noting “[t]housands of people each year are moving from cabins and hovels to fine new houses with their plots of land. In the new houses as in the old the kitchen remains the principal living room where the mother and children under school

age pass their day, after the father has gone to his work” (*Irish Press*, February 22, 1936). Another article noted “it doesn’t take much to keep the average countrywoman happy and contented. All she wants is enough to keep things going” (*Irish Press*, March 12, 1936). Other reports included photographs of a “happy mother of 11 children” (*Irish Independent*, January 2, 1936) and advice to “marry young” from one woman who was married at the age of 16, had eighteen children and twenty-three grandchildren, and “not a grey hair in her head” (*Irish Independent*, July 16, 1936). She was described as living “in a bright little cottage, whose only fault is that it becomes flooded in the winter [yet] the home looks cheerful and happy” (*Irish Independent*, July 16, 1936). These images were contrasted with domestic life in the “festering evil” and “deadly menace” of urban slums which one *Irish Press* editorial remarked were “a legacy of alien rule” (*Irish Press*, October 1, 1936).

In these representations, the entanglements between women, nation, and space, and the domestic space of the home specifically, are significant at multiple scales. For women, the domestic sphere rather than the public, economic sphere was materialized as their “nation.” But, it wasn’t the case that any home would do; instead, women who lived in urban settings while carrying out their biologically and culturally reproductive roles for the Irish nation were presented as distinct from women who fulfilled the same role within a rural setting. By opposing the everyday lives of women in this way, the rural domestic scene became an idyllic aspiration for women and their families as well as the ideological representation of the new nation-state. These representations begot a series of “concrete abstractions” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 69) where urban life signified evil and rural life had a connotation of all things morally and materially good, and associated with this women’s

lives within the rural home became the embodiment of Irish identity. Such representations were crucial to the ideological production of the new nation-state where distinctiveness from Britain was key and rejection of things modern and progressive was important in setting the nation apart from its colonial past. The placement of women in rural domestic spaces was central to this social production process.

In addition, these representations of the space of the nation hint at the diversity of material conditions—from rural farm to urban slum—and possibilities—from domestic maven to factory girl—that existed in Ireland at the time. Consequently, Gray's observations about the heterogeneity of women's experiences and encounters with the Irish nation-state are borne out. At the same time, while these stories claim to present a picture of everyday life in Ireland they neglect to tell the whole story. The materiality of political, economic, and social relations in rural Ireland were rarely detailed. A number of scholars discuss these factors; Lambert (2000) and Akenson (2000) describe conditions within the main social and economic unit in Irish society—the family farm. Here, the patriarchal stem system of inheritance meant that the sons, and the oldest son in particular, stood to make the most economic gain from farm life, while women were either seen as a junior partner or a financial burden. Scannell (1988) also points out that there was no state financial support for women whose lives didn't fit neatly within normative heterosexual structures; for instance, wives and mothers who were deserted received no state financial support for their families even though they too played a role in the biological and cultural reproduction of the nation-state. We see a hint of this reality in newspaper reports written by advocates of women's rights such as a report on married women in employment which asserted "in this country when a married woman takes up a

position outside her home, it is in 99 cases out of 100 through sheer economic necessity” (*Irish Independent*, January 4, 1936). Although there were some competing discourses and representations of women’s roles (see Ryan, 2002 on *Cumann na mBan*; Coulter, 1993) for the most part, the processes of production and the contradictions that inhere in these processes were eclipsed by representations of an idyllic, rural nation-state.

Emigrant Women and the Early 20th Century Nation-State

Coinciding with the economic and social conditions that prevailed and with the legislative changes that restricted women’s roles and freedoms in Irish society, emigration among women became a significant social problem. Travers notes, “between 1926 and 1936 an average of 9,420 women left the Free State every year compared with 7,255 men” (1995, p. 148). Concurrently, “by the mid to late 1930’s emigration was becoming a serious concern in the Irish press” (Ryan, 2002, p. 112).

Drawing on Ryan’s data it’s clear that there was a notably gendered dimension in newspaper discourses on emigration at this time. On a number of occasions newspapers reported on pronouncements made by members of the clergy regarding the plight and scale of the “girl emigrant problem” (*Irish Independent*, January 22, 1937). Once again newspaper stories conveyed a host of dichotomies where emigrant women and the lives they lived were contrasted with “home.” Those who emigrated to England in particular were shown to be pursuing the “garish distractions” of city life and the “glamorous unrealities” portrayed in films, even though “girls will have a better chance of happiness in the country homesteads of Ireland than anywhere else on earth” (*Irish Independent*, February 8, 1937). On occasion newspapers blamed the government’s nationalist

ideology for the plight of emigrant women; one regional newspaper noted “if the money spent in the efforts to teach these girls Irish and other subjects through Irish had been applied to teaching them elementary housewifery, their position would not be so hopeless” (*Cork Examiner*, November 6, 1936). Although these perspectives present a difference of opinion on the issue of the nationalizing agenda, and even though women who emigrated are set apart from those who stayed at home, these representations successfully replicate the idea that the rightful place for women, emigrant or not, is within the domestic space of the home. In addition, they serve to perpetuate the opposition between modernity and a more traditional, rural way of life that embodied Irish society. The distinction between traditional ways and modernity was enormously important in establishing the Irish nation-state’s independence from British rule. The significance of this distinction in the post-independence production of Ireland as well as its effects on migration is taken up in more detail in the next chapter.

In their descriptions of everyday life in England, newspapers often portrayed emigrants as fallen women. Some stories attempted to present a balanced perspective, noting that although most Irish girls do well in Britain earning decent wages as domestic servants, a rapidly growing minority could be found in “every shelter for the destitute, in every maternity hospital, in every home for unmarried mothers or worse still in the common lodging houses in certain parts of the great cities” (*Irish Independent*, December 7, 1936), while others were unambiguously negative, noting that those who emigrated and did not make contact with Catholic agencies in English cities ran “terrible risks to body and soul” (*Irish Independent*, February 8, 1937). Women who failed to contact religious organizations were represented as rejecting Catholicism. Because Catholic

identity and Irish identity were/are so tightly woven together, these women were effectively seen as rejecting their identity as Irish.

Another theme closely tied to Catholic teachings and the role of women in Irish society was the representation of emigrant women as a loss, not so much for their role as economically productive members of society but rather for their domestic role in relation to the rural farm(er), in the reproduction of the family, and by extension, the citizens of the Irish nation-state. One story with the headline “Will Not Marry Now” (*Irish Press*, December 16, 1936) noted one of the long-term consequences of the disproportionate number of women leaving the country was that farmers were unable to find wives. Picking up this theme, one editorial noted that “emigration is once again sapping the vitality of the Irish race” (*Irish Independent*, April 10, 1937), while members of the clergy expressed concerns about the imminence of a falling birth rate noting, “one may well ask where the Irish mothers of the future are to come from” (*Irish Independent*, November 20, 1936).

Thus, whereas Ryan (2002) suggests that emigrant women were absent bodies, the representations of emigrant women that circulated in the popular press were significant for the production of post-independence Ireland. The post-independence Irish nation-state was socially produced through a mingling of representations—nationalist ideology and Catholic morality—and spatial practices focusing on rural farming practices. The everyday lives of emigrant women who were attracted by money, glamour, and excitement, and the promises of modern life, particularly in English cities, were depicted as fraught with problems. Hence, in spite of their absence and through newspaper representations, emigrant women became the embodiment of the pitfalls of modernity. In

this process, Ireland was materialized as distinct from England, its former colonial ruler, and the nascent post-colonial nation-state was produced as an idyllic, morally sound, rural haven instead.

The “Germ” of the Past—Re-presenting the Relations between Emigration and Nation—Media Discourse in the 1980’s

Media discourses in the 1980’s reveal a number of ideological, political, and social shifts both in the way the Irish nation was conceived and in the manner in which representations of emigration conspired in the production of this “new” Ireland. MacLaughlin (1997) traces these shifts to the 1960’s and to social and economic conditions that were markedly different from 1920’s and 1930’s Ireland. These included the implementation of a national development plan that moved away from a romanticized reliance on agriculture and rural farms as the basis for economic growth. Protectionist and insular views of the Irish nation were replaced with economic policies that looked outwards, beyond the boundaries of the nation-state, to the international arena for investment and industrial development opportunities, and government leaders looked to individual entrepreneurs in the national and international business community to replace out-dated, nationalist conceptions of what the Irish nation should become. Among the reasons for this shift towards an investment in the “modern” Irish nation was a change in government leadership. The Fianna Fail government, under Sean Lemass, which succeeded DeValera’s long reign, recognized the failure of the rural-based development program and advanced a progressive ideology centered on the aforementioned national development plan. Coupled with this, Ireland’s entry into the European Economic

Community/EEC (now the European Union/EU) in 1973 necessitated legislative changes in order to bring Ireland into compliance with its responsibilities as a member of the EU. In effect, the ideological and material relations of production had changed utterly and, to paraphrase the poet W.B. Yeats' words, yet another "terrible beauty was born."¹³

In the next section I look at some of the ways emigration and emigrants were repackaged to coincide with these political, economic and social shifts while simultaneously facilitating the production of the "new" Irish nation-state. As noted above several of the seeds that were instrumental at this juncture were sown in the 1960's and for a brief period thereafter the idea and materialization of Ireland as a modern, developed nation-state swaggered along fairly smoothly. Because I am less concerned with the policies themselves (for a discussion of these policies see Jones, 2003; MacLaughlin, 1997) and more interested in the effects of these shifts and their impact on migration in particular, I want to focus attention on how emigration was incorporated into changing conceptions of the now "modern" Irish nation-state. I suggest that a focus on media coverage of emigration in the late 1980's is instructive because this period was marred by recession, and because emigration, which had slowed during the 1970's, was on the rise again. Throughout the 1970's 104,000 people emigrated, while in the 1980's approximately 208,000 left the country (Smith, 2005). As a result it was difficult to spin the yarn of progress and economic success on home turf. Consequently, the representation and production of Ireland as a thoroughly modern nation-state was kindled in discourses around emigration.

¹³ From William Butler Yeats "Easter, 1916."

In the discussion that follows I focus on media coverage of emigration issues in the *Irish Times* and *Irish Independent*; both newspapers are published daily and distributed countrywide. *The Times* is identified with a sometimes critical, progressive approach to reporting and its readership is most typically associated with the greater metropolitan Dublin area. *The Independent* takes a more moderate stance in reporting and generally has broad appeal in rural as well as urban areas. Consequently, in addition to offering a comprehensive account of representations of emigration around the nation these newspapers might highlight differing ideological frameworks as well.

For the analysis of the year's coverage of emigration for 1988, I recorded and counted all headlines and stories that pertained to emigration for alternate months in each newspaper. I recorded 98 reports relating a perspective on emigration to the public; from this we can estimate that on average there was one story on emigration every week in at least one of these newspapers. Given this regularity, it's fair to reckon that emigration was understood as a routine occurrence in Irish society. Indeed, by the late 1980's emigration was so commonplace as not to warrant front-page coverage; this was reflected in the print layout and positioning of the media coverage that I reviewed: only 11 stories on emigration gained front-page status. What's hinted at in this process is emigration as a banal, normal and historically recurrent facet of the everyday lives of people in Irish society.

At the same time, in contrast to the above, some media coverage re-presented emigration as distinct and new, thence as emblematic of a changing Irish nation. In my analysis I examine competing discourses on the relations between emigration and Irish nationhood. First, I explore some of the ways those who emigrated from Ireland were re-

packaged to coincide with ideological shifts that proclaimed Ireland a modern nation-state. Then I examine the echoes of discourses discussed in the first half of this chapter, where emigration was presented as a considerable loss and social problem for the nation. In this process I hope to show, concurrent with Lefebvre's analysis of space, that representations of the everyday are significant for developing a critical understanding of the social production of the nation.

The Impact of Changes in Irish Society on Women's Lives

Myriad changes took place in post-1960's Irish society and an abundance of research examines these changes, so I don't wish to retell this scholarship here (see for example Connolly, 2003; O'Connor, 2001; Kennedy, 2001; McCarthy, 2000; Peillon and Slater, 1998; Smyth, 1993; Lee, 1989). However, it is worth noting that several changes in the conditions and possibilities of everyday life had a significant impact for women in particular. These changes are relevant in discussing how women were incorporated into the social production of the late twentieth century Irish nation-state, and so a brief chronology may be helpful here.

In 1973 Ireland became a member of the European Union. In order to come into compliance with this supra-national governing body, a number of directives were implemented; these included an end to the marriage bar whereby, upon marriage, women in public service employment were required to resign from their posts (1973) and the implementation of equal pay legislation in 1974 (The Anti-Discrimination Pay Act, 1974). In 1977 employment equality legislation was passed and in 1981 the right for women to occupy roles as both worker and mother was acknowledged and protected with

the introduction of The Maternity Protection of Employment Act. In 1979 the ban on contraceptives was lifted, however, availability was limited to use for “bona fide” family planning purposes; it wasn’t until 1985 that the sale of contraceptives was legalized for anyone aged 18 years and above. And in the domain of marriage, a constitutional ban on divorce was lifted and divorce was legalized in 1995.

These changes allowed women the opportunity for greater control over their lives and their bodies. In addition, they destabilized the concocted reality of domesticity and reproduction as essential and almost exclusive roles for women in Irish society. With the legislative changes of the 1970’s and 1980’s women were still seen as fulfilling a role within the reproductive realm but they were also seen, and increasingly expected, to participate as part of the “productive” labor force. In fact, labor force participation rates among women increased by 170% between 1971 and 1997, at which point women accounted for 38% of the workforce (O’Connor, 2001). All in all, the shifts that occurred within society were indispensable, not only to the production of the modern Irish woman, but also to the production of the modern Irish nation-state and in the makings of the Celtic Tiger economy. As women were incorporated into the productive labor force their enshrinement within the home lost ground, and so too did the idealization of rural Ireland. In stark contrast with post-independence nationalist images of bucolic scenes where women fulfilled their rightful place in the domestic sphere of the rural farm, from the 1960’s onwards Irish society was represented as progressive, industrialized, and increasingly urbanized, and women’s participation in the productive labor force helped to materialize this view.

This image of the modern Irish nation-state worked well through the 1970's, but during the 1980's Ireland experienced a recession with economic growth falling, the rate of inflation climbing (20.5% in 1981), and by 1986 a record rate of 17%, or 226,000, of the workforce unemployed (O'Connell, 2001). Print media devoted considerable coverage to the bleak economic situation at home but in addition to positing correlations between conditions in Irish society and emigration, those who left the country for England, the U.S. and beyond were folded into discourses of opportunity, entrepreneurship, and development. This latter focus in print media attention helped to position Irish emigrants and Irish society as a whole as capable and accomplished in the game of progress and in the production of a modern, globalized, nation-state.

(Back) To the Presses

Overall, the themes that emerged in my review of later print media can be grouped along two dimensions that frame the relations between emigration and the social production of the Irish nation. The first dimension situates those who emigrated from Ireland within the context of a nation marked by opportunities for mobility, economic flows and fluid boundaries. As such emigrants embodied a thoroughly modern, global, Irish nation-state. The second dimension presents a contrasting view where emigration represented a significant, ongoing social problem, a loss for the nation and a source of sufferance for those forced to leave the country in the face of continued underdevelopment.

Interestingly, and in accordance with legislative efforts to treat women in Irish society as equals (discussed above), there was a shift away from explicit attention to

emigration among women in 1980's media coverage. But, as much as it disappeared in material print, the absence of an explicitly coded discourse on women's emigration cannot be interpreted as heralding more equitable media representations of women. Gray (2004a) observes that allowing for greater individuality and freedom of sexual expression resulted in two trends for women in the media. First, discourses of silence and constraint were replaced with discourses of choice, freedom and testimony; these proved to have equally normative and regulatory effects on women's lives. Second, those women who took up the new opportunity for self-expression and openly discussed their sexual practices were publicly admonished as sexual transgressors. Consequently, media coverage of women's issues in the 1980's was ambiguous. On one hand the continued influence of the Catholic Church in shaping gender roles and sexual practices was suggested, but on the other hand, these traditional values were also exposed and called into question. The uncertainty of these representations influenced social and spatial practices, and associated with this, women continued to emigrate in large numbers. Kelly and Nic Giolla Choille (1990), in their research with emigrants to England in the 1980's, note that while the vast majority of women (and men), left Ireland for employment-related reasons at this time, the persistence of an oppressive social climate in Ireland was a significant reason for emigration among women.

Competing Representations of Emigration and the Production of the Modernizing Irish Nation-State

Like media representations of women, the images and ideas that circulated with regard to emigrants and emigration were numerous and contradictory. As noted above,

competing discourses and representations of the relations between emigration and nation emerged in my review. One set of images and ideas worked to construct a nation comprised of emigrants wise to the opportunities that accompany being packaged as flexible labor and as the embodiment of the economic flows and fluid boundaries of the modern, global, Irish nation-state. Within this theme, newspaper stories describe emigration in statistical and investment terms; they also highlight the economic and social gains that emigration confers not only for emigrants but for the nation-state as well.

These stories are offset by a second set of representations where emigration in the 1980's is inflected with ideas and images from the past, thus past events as well as discourses around emigration that pervaded the early post-independence era seep into the present. Often presented as feature articles, these stories offer glimpses of the everyday conditions experienced by emigrants along with reports voicing the concerns of the Catholic Church on social conditions in communities affected by unemployment and emigration. In this section I want to highlight these themes with selected newspaper headlines and to examine how these representations reflect Lefebvre's critical view of history and perspective on everyday life.

A More Cosmopolitan View of the World

In contrast with the DeValera era view, which admonished emigrants for abandoning the nascent Irish nation-state, in the 1980's the Irish government looked favorably on emigration while politicians jockeyed foreign governments to secure emigration opportunities for the Irish. This was evidenced by considerable attention to

lobbying efforts among Irish politicians to their U.S. counterparts to garner greater shares of U.S. governed permanent residency visa programs (green cards) for Irish emigrants to America.

During 1988, the U.S. government voted on two visa bills that increased opportunities for emigration to the United States. The Kennedy-Simpson bill proposed an amendment to the United States Immigration and Nationality Act and an increase in the number of permanent residency visas allocated primarily to Western European “seed countries” that contributed to the original emigration to America. Later that year, the U.S. Senate voted on a proposal to extend the Donnelly Visa program; this program awarded green cards, using a lottery system, to migrants from a host of nations, however, it was anticipated that Ireland would be awarded a large percentage of the available visas as recognition of the significance of Irish emigration for the U.S. newspapers suggested that Irish politicians were busy cajoling U.S. senators into looking favorably on the Irish in passing these laws; one *Irish Times* report observed the “Last Minute Horse Trading for U.S. Visas” (*Irish Times*, October 19, 1988). Reports also tallied a crescendo of new visa opportunities that could be anticipated with headlines including—“Bill May Bring More US Visas for Irish” (*Irish Times*, January 19, 1988), “New US Bill to Give Irish 10,000 Visas a Year” (*Irish Independent*, February 5, 1988), “Bill to Provide 16,000 Visas” (*Irish Times*, October 1 1988), “Bill Provides 20,000 US Visas” (*Irish Times*, October 7, 1988), “U.S. Law Allows 50,000 New Visas” (*Irish Times*, October 22, 1988). In fact, with the passage of the Kennedy-Simpson bill the number of visas allocated to Irish citizens increased from 500 to 7,000 annually.

America wasn't the only land of opportunity for the Irish. In Australia where 'one in three claims to be of Irish descent' emigrants were offered "A Future for Their Children" (*Irish Independent*, January 29, 1988). And associated with a drop in Australian fertility rates, the government there was expected to increase the quota of work permits and residency visas to 150,000 a year. According to the *Irish Times* "the Irish are expected to fare well, skilled workers and those with a business background are encouraged to apply" (April 20, 1988). By the autumn of 1988, the *Irish Times* reported a "Big Rise in Total Number of Irish Moving to Australia" (October 24, 1988) with 2,659 Irish people emigrating in the first half of the year.

These newspaper stories contrasted with media reports from the 1930's, which, in general, portrayed emigration as problematic; we might recall headlines proclaiming, "emigration is once again sapping the vitality of the Irish race" (*Irish Independent*, April 10, 1937). The accounts of dizzying numbers of visa opportunities hint at a shift in the way emigration was incorporated into the Irish nation. Rather than being a problem, in the 1980's emigration was accepted as an inevitable, mundane fact of Irish life and opportunities to emigrate were sought after.

Coinciding with identifying opportunities for emigration, newspapers also conveyed the benefits of emigration for the Irish nation; as such emigrants were increasingly produced as part of the diasporic Irish nation (for an account of the development of discourses about the Irish diaspora see Gray 2003). Emigrants sent remittances home and spent money on return visits, thereby boosting the Irish economy. One report with the headline "Returning Emigrants—100 Million Dollar Boost" (*Irish Independent*, September 14, 1988) noted that increasing numbers of US based emigrants

were making inquiries about purchasing houses on the Irish property market. In addition to the economic gain garnered for the Irish nation, emigrants infused Irish society and culture with the apparent broadmindedness and sophistication bestowed by international travel. One report in the *Irish Independent* noted, “[a]s more and more Irish people travel to earn a living for at least part of their lifetime the comparisons between homeland and where they reside will increase. This new trend is good for Ireland in that it brings a more cosmopolitan view of the world. We certainly need to get away from that insular perception of things” (February 4, 1988). In this process, the representations of Ireland as inward looking, morally conservative and predominantly rural were challenged. And, with this, the idea of Irish nationhood promulgated during the first half of the twentieth century was also rejected. Instead, a cosmopolitan nation was suggested, and, it was in association with the spatial practices of emigrants that this modern homeland was materialized.

Media representations of emigration like these suggested that the practice of emigration played a crucial role in the social and cultural production of a more cosmopolitan, modern Irish nation. In addition to this, emigration facilitated the economic production of the modern state as it worked to siphon thousands of people out of unemployment statistics, dole queues, and other government assistance programs. Newspaper reports attested to this with observations including “it’s no surprise that unemployment is down as the young people of Ireland are leaving the country in droves and are consequently no longer counted in these statistics” (*Irish Times*, April 1, 1988). Therefore, in combination with factors including changes in social and economic policies, emigration helped in the materialization of the successful, progress-driven, Irish

nation-state. Stated differently, as a representation and as an inevitable, routine spatial, social and cultural practice, emigration was intimately woven with the social production of the modern Irish nation-state.

Irish Emigrants ... A Superior Breed of Greyhound Altogether

(Fr. John Gavin, Irish Times, June 16, 1988)

In shoring up the modern Irish nation-state it was also necessary to re-package emigrants and this shift was echoed in media representations too. A number of articles called attention to emigration among university graduates. Of students graduating from University College Dublin, one of the largest universities in the Dublin area, 43% of engineering graduates, 62% of architects, 30% of arts students, and 29% of scientists emigrated (*Irish Independent*, February 2, 1988). An end of year report in the *Irish Times* noted, “Graduate Emigration Rises by Almost 10%” (December 15, 1988). At the same time that these reports acknowledged emigration as a “brain drain” they also emphasized the significant investments in education that emigrants represented. One *Independent* report observed that, “the taxpayer cost for educating veterinary [*sic*] surgeons was 50,000 Irish punts, and half of the newly qualified vets emigrate overseas” (February 2, 1988). Similarly, the *Irish Times* noted the “Cost of Emigration by Graduates and Nurses put at 87 Million (Irish punts)” (January 21, 1988). These reports led one letter writer to suggest that the Irish government should receive compensation from foreign states for “Irish state investment in providing a highly educated pool of emigrants to other countries” (*Irish Times*, February 24, 1988).

MacLaughlin (1997) argues that the political discourse suggested in these stories presented a misleading profile of emigrants. He reviewed department of labor survey data from the 1980's, which indicated that young people between the ages of 15-24 years, with only secondary school level educational qualifications, accounted for approximately two-thirds of all emigrants at this time. Consequently, MacLaughlin notes, emigration among university graduates was "hardly significant enough to have contributed to its gentrification" (1997, p. 147). However, print media presented emigrants from Ireland as skilled and competent, hence as desirable human exports on the global labor market. In this light, the vision of Ireland during the first half of the twentieth century and advanced by the nation's first post-independence president—Eamon De Valera—seemed like fodder for the production of the modern Irish nation-state. With his national, farm-based, economic development scheme De Valera expressed the hope "no longer will our children, like our cattle, be brought up for export" (cited by Senator A. Murphy in *Irish Times*, August 15, 1988). By associating emigrants with animals traditionally bred for their value as marketable goods, a conception of emigrants as export commodities was invoked. I would suggest that the 1980's portrayals of Irish emigrants as educated and qualified enhanced their use and exchange values, thus strengthened their value as exports for the global labor market. Ironically then, emigrants in the 1980's were presented as even better commodities than previous generations.

Summing up the view that the new emigrants were different from their predecessors, Father John Gavin described them as "better educated and more self-confident than any of their predecessors ... a superior breed of greyhound altogether" (*Irish Times*, June 16, 1988). Like De Valera's words, an analogy between emigrants and

animals that are typically reared for profit-making purposes was also drawn here. But, likening emigrants to greyhounds invoked a more complex array of representations. First, unlike most cattle, greyhounds are competitive dogs; hence, lining emigrants up alongside them suggested that the new emigrants were ambitious go-getters. In this context the image of a greyhound might also have been intended to conjure up the legendary warrior Cu Chulainn. In Celtic mythology Cu Chulainn was a character whose bravery, heroic deeds, and loyalty to his people and his homeland were unparalleled. He was “the chosen hero of the people, invincible in battle, [...] his life was a series of wonderful exploits and labours” (Squire, 1994, p. 158).¹⁴ Thus, this representation had the potential to evoke a legendary past in the present; in this process the ‘new’ emigrants were rendered national heroes and heroines of the modern Irish nation-state. Such representations stood in stark contrast with the portrayals of earlier emigrants who, by leaving the country, were viewed as having abandoned the nation. It seems ironic that while the “new” representations of migration seemed to reject the immediate past, they call up a less proximate and mythic past in the service of re-presenting the relations between emigration and the modern Irish nation-state.

This is consonant with the critical notion of history discussed earlier. As it is traditionally conceived history is a linear, progressive process. In other words, people and spaces are understood to have emerged from and left behind the past, and to continuously develop in the present. However, according to Lefebvre the present is never really disconnected from the past nor is it ever entirely done with; instead the past spills over

¹⁴ At 7 years old Setanta (later Cu Chulainn) was a sports champion. When a fierce watchdog belonging to Culann—an Ulster chief—attacked him, Setanta flung his hurling ball into the dog’s mouth and killed it. When the chief became angry at the dog’s death, Setanta promised to find and train another hound for Culann and until it was trained “to guard the house as though he were a dog himself. This is why he was called Cu Chulainn, that is Culann’s Hound” (Squire, 1994: 161).

into the present and in this process is remade in the present. By highlighting this process Lefebvre argues that the progressive logic of modernity is challenged. The print media reviewed here illustrates that representations of the “new” Irish emigrants in the 1980’s relied upon, called up, and re-presented the past in complex and sometimes contradictory ways.

The Shame of Emigration

(Irish Independent, June 13, 1988)

However, it would be wrong to argue that emigration was portrayed in positive terms only. When we turn to coverage of the everyday lives of emigrants, a different picture or representation, and one that was more closely aligned with post-independence era views on emigration, emerges. For the most part the *Irish Times* took the lead in advancing the view that emigration was not the barrel of opportunity evoked in government rhetoric and in some other of the year’s media coverage.

The *Irish Times* regularly devoted coverage to social and human-interest stories on the realities of life abroad for the Irish. Among the stories was an “Inquiry on Irish Emigrant Problems” (*Irish Times*, February 8, 1988). This report detailed a study conducted with 20 London-based social service organizations that described the experiences of young Irish emigrants in Britain. The main difficulties included finding accommodation and an over-representation in mental hospitals compared to other immigrant groups in England. Another report on “[t]he plight of the Irish in London” noted that “destitution is as great as it ever was” among immigrants. One homeless service organization reported that 26% of the homeless hostel population in Central

London was Irish, with half of this group comprised of young, single women. The same report noted that “low wages, poor housing conditions, insecurity of tenure, and harassment, which focuses on being Irish” were among the most common experiences recounted. The report concluded with a call for the Irish government to prepare emigrants adequately for life in another country (*Irish Times*, July 13, 1988).

Other headlines noted: “Little has Changed on the Streets of London” (*Irish Times*, March 17, 1988), and “London’s Streets Not Paved with Gold” (*Irish Independent*, April 22, 1988). These stories observed that the high cost of living in cities resulted in many Irish emigrants being “Homeless in London” (*Irish Times*, July 15, 1988). And, coinciding with the neo-liberal orthodoxy in England at the time, the *Irish Times* reported “Britain to Tighten Emigrants Welfare Facilities” (April 8, 1988). This and several subsequent reports explained revisions to the English social welfare system as they affected Irish and other migrants living in England. Under the old system emigrants aged 16 years and older were entitled to receive supplementary welfare payments upon arrival in England. The revised program introduced a two-week waiting period and lowered the payments that individuals aged 16-25 years were eligible for.

Reports from America focused on the troubles faced by illegal immigrants who were estimated to number between 50,000 and 120,000. One story in the *Irish Times* observed that many Irish in the U.S. “suffer psychological trauma [associated with] their immigration status.” The report called for increased spending by the Irish government on information to potential emigrants as well as counseling services for emigrants (*Irish Times*, April 8, 1988). A series of articles on emigration to the U.S. relayed stories of women who went to the U.S. illegally to work as au pairs. Once there they found that pay

was low, passports were confiscated, and they weren't permitted to eat with other family members or to make phone calls home. The report's headline read "\$50.00 a Month and Treated like a Skivvy" (June 16, 1988). In the same series another article detailed how life in New York "seems to undermine women's health in particular and older emigrants generally seem more prone to hardship when their luck runs out" (June 17, 1988).

The sentiment that life for emigrants wasn't all it was cracked up to be is perhaps best exemplified in a speech given by then Archbishop of Dublin—Desmond Connell—and reported, with the headline "The Shame of Emigration," in the *Irish Independent*. The report noted:

We look at the few, the exceptional few hooray Paddies who've done well. [...] We tell ourselves that emigration today is different from the exodus of the '40's and '50's, that our young people are better educated, better equipped and sure can't they always get a cheap flight home. The reality is very different, there are jobs but they're at the rock bottom, accommodation prices are sky high, and there are no safety nets of social security (June 13, 1988).

The report ended with a plea to the Irish government to address the shame of emigration and to improve conditions at home so that emigration becomes a choice rather than a necessity.

These media reports contrast with the representations of emigration from the same year—1988—that I discussed earlier in this section. Instead of presenting "high profile successes and opportunities to be won by anyone bright and energetic enough" (*Irish Independent*, June 13, 1988) the latter representations focus attention on the darker side

of emigration. They call attention to aspects of everyday life among Irish emigrants. Therefore, I would argue, in these representations the contradictions of modernity are revealed in accordance with Lefebvre's view that the "everyday is modernity's embarrassing underside, that which it attempts to conceal through compensatory narratives of innovation and abundance" (Moran, 2004, p. 55). While many reports portrayed emigrants as modern Ireland's success story, these latter representations honed in on more prosaic elements of emigrant life—the stumbling blocks in finding accommodation, the downside of labor mobility, the hitches and snags associated with being classed an outsider in a foreign country—where people tried to grind out an existence.

In focusing on what emigration meant in practice for many of those who left Ireland during this period, these reports work to undermine both the representation and social production of Ireland as a competitive, go-getter nation. This is because everyday life belied the emigrant's embodiment as the new, successful face of the modern Irish nation-state. Instead, the experiences of Ireland's emigrants in the 1980's, just as in the 1930's, 1940's and 1950's, were etched out in what Lefebvre describes as a daily existence of "*metro-bulot-dodo* (trans. subway-work-sleep)" (Shields, 2004, p. 20, italics mine). In other words, in their everyday lives the "new" emigrants were not so different from their predecessors after all. Coupled with this, and as several of the reports discussed above suggest, while emigration was mourned it was also understood as a taken-for-granted facet of everyday life in Ireland. As such emigration contradicted the idea that Ireland was a thriving and progressive nation because, as discussed previously, it was in association with the high levels of unemployment, dearth of opportunities, and

repressive social environment that were experienced on a persistent basis that many people left the Irish nation.

The representations reviewed here also suggest that, in general, there were more negative portrayals of the experiences of Irish emigrants living in England than those of their counterparts in the U.S. and farther reaches. Several factors might account for this. Ireland's proximity to England alters both the production of the emigrant experience and the opportunities for recounting that experience. Travel to England was a mere hop, skip, and jump from Ireland, whereas emigration elsewhere involved a longer leap; associated with this, England was a more common destination for emigrants at this time. Approximately 70% of those who left Ireland in 1988 went to England whereas 14% went to the U.S (NESC, 1991). The greater number of Irish people in England, and that country's proximity to Ireland, may have allowed the familiarity of a looking glass whereas other emigrant destinations were less amenable geographically, thence had the potential to be represented and understood as exotic.

It's also possible that downbeat portrayals of life in England were a replay of the colonial relationship between the two nations. A related, more temporally proximate factor, and one that was borne out in my interviews with return-emigrant women who'd lived in England, was the activity of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in England in the 1980's. At that time the IRA's bombing campaign served to highlight their dissatisfaction with England's ongoing governance of Northern Ireland. In addition to perpetuating a relationship of animosity, the IRA's activities served as a reminder of Ireland's colonial past with England and of the failings of the early 20th century independence movement to secure a geographically and politically complete independent

Irish nation-state. As such the residues of the past were again invoked and made real in the everyday experiences of Irish emigrants living in England in the 1980's. This time, however, instead of establishing them as Ireland's overseas heroes and heroines, the "germs" of the past guaranteed that Irish emigrants in England were received with ambivalence and suspicion. In this context, emigrants and emigration reveal that renderings of the past seep into the present and result in realities that sometimes contradict the idea of Ireland as a "new" nation or as having left behind ideas associated with the early post-independence state.

Conclusion

Lefebvre suggested that newspapers, among other things, embody but also conceal the fundamental connections between modernity, social change, and the everyday. In this chapter I have tried to uncover some of these connections by focusing on newspaper representations of emigration from Ireland as they intersect with changes in understandings of the Irish nation-state at several junctures during the 20th century. In this process I have argued, in concert with Lefebvre's critical reading of history, modernity and space, that the relations between emigration and the production of the Irish nation-state, that are promulgated by news stories and representations, are complex and contradictory, "the one crown[s] and conceal[s] the other, revealing and veiling it" (Lefebvre, 1971, p. 24). Put more simply, the fact and practice of emigration from Ireland has been deeply interwoven with the social production and representation of the Irish nation-state throughout much of the 20th century. What happens to these relations when 'em' becomes 'im'-migration? What happens when the modern, globally competitive and

economically viable Irish nation-state is made more real? And how does this history, the “germs” of the past, “contaminate” the contemporary production of the Irish nation?

These questions are taken up in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4—Reading the Past in the Present

The Tiger and the Tipping Point

In 1996 Irish society witnessed a dramatic shift in its long-standing history and production as a nation of emigrants. That year marked a tipping point, one of the few moments in a 200-year period when the number of migrants entering Ireland outweighed the number of people leaving the country, with a net inflow of 8,000 people (Immigrant Council of Ireland, 2005). In 1997 net migration increased to 15,000 with 44,000 immigrants to Ireland (Cullen, 2000, p. 19). Net migration peaked at 62,000 in 2002, since then figures have steadied at between 40-50,000 annually (Immigrant Council of Ireland, 2005).

The accolades and *rí-rá* (trans. hubbub) that rang the end of 20th century Ireland and heralded Ireland's economic miracle—the now ubiquitous Celtic Tiger—firmly planted Ireland on the scene as a globalized nation-state. Economically, Ireland's growth rate was “twice the rate of the U.S and four times the rate of the rest of Europe” (Jones, 2003, p. 153). The unemployment rate plummeted to a historic low of 4% by 2001 (O'Connell, 2001, p. 30; MacÉinrí, 2001) and rural Ireland was pronounced a thing of the past with over 60% of the Republic's population living in urban areas (CSO, 1997). The globalized Irish nation-state was also evidenced in the migration statistics outlined above. It is to this more socially and culturally tangible facet of globalization as it played out on the ground in the Irish media and in relation to Ireland's long-standing history of emigration that I turn in this chapter. What happens to the relations between migration and the Irish nation with the shift from ‘em’ to ‘im’ migration? How do women's roles

crisscross these relations? How does the history of emigration impose upon the contemporary production of the Irish nation? In other words, how do we read the past in the present?

In this chapter, as with chapter 3, I continue my examination of the relations between women, migration and the Irish nation-state as presented in print media sources. My focus now turns to a third juncture: the contemporary social production of the Irish nation as an immigrant-receiving nation. Specifically, I draw attention to newspaper discourses and representations of migrants and refugee women at two key points in recent media attention to immigration in Ireland. Even though 1996 was the tipping point, print media coverage of immigration didn't pick up the issue until 1997. According to Pollak (1999) 1997 marked the point when the refugee story really took off in the Irish press, hence, I begin my analysis there. Then, I turn to a series of newspaper articles between 2002 and 2004, a period in contemporary Irish society when migrant women specifically became the focus of a great deal of press coverage at a moment when Ireland's institutional response to immigration was being solidified. I juxtapose media stories related to immigrant women alongside the representations of women discussed in Chapter 3. In addition, I call attention to the role the 1937 Constitution—another representation of the space of the Irish nation—has played in renderings of immigrant women in Ireland today. In this manner, I want to again engage Lefebvre's critique of linear and progressive notions of history. In Lefebvre's analysis the past cannot be understood as "dead and gone,"¹⁵ instead the past announces itself in complex and contradictory ways in the present. Thus, in this chapter I want to explore some of the

¹⁵ From W.B. Yeats "September 1913."

ways that the past and the present are intertwined and interwoven with women and migration in the process of the contemporary production of the Irish nation-state.

Scale and Space

Coupled with this critical approach to history, I want to introduce another facet of Lefebvre's work as it has been taken up in political geography and more recently within feminist geography as well, that is the production of geographic scale. As noted in Chapter 1, Lefebvre argues that social space has come to be dominated by representations of space, or images and ideas that regulate how we understand and use space. Through this process, the material, social and spatial production of the nation-state has been obscured. In chapter 3, I demonstrated how media representations associated with emigration configured and conspired in the production of the Irish nation throughout much of the 20th century. In political geography scholars including Smith (1992a, b), Swyngedouw (1997), Brenner (1997), Leitner (1997), and Marston (2000) propose that geographic scale is another representation that structures and dominates our understanding of space. Inherent in the production of scale is the organization of geographic and social difference (Smith, 1992a). For example, a community can be defined by class differences, regions may be cut along political or economic development lines, and the nation-state is generally understood as a distinct geographic scale with definite spatial and territorial boundaries that define who does or does not belong. As a representation of space then, the production of geographic scale impinges on the social space of the nation in very tangible ways.

With the shift from emigration to immigration in Ireland, the hardening of territorial boundaries, in other words the entrenchment of the nation-state as a distinct geographic scale, took on new significance. So, despite earlier efforts (in the late 1980's and early 1990's) to construct Ireland's emigrants as part of a diaspora and the Irish nation's boundaries as fluid and global in reach, delineations about who gets to claim Irish nationhood and what being Irish means became increasingly salient. In debates and discussion about these issues print media continued to play an important role. Among the ways that newspaper coverage facilitated a crystallization of the Irish nation-state as a geographic representation of space was by propagating images of Ireland's new migrants as different from the island's apparently homogeneous resident population. However, as we'll see in this chapter, in many ways the representations of Ireland's new migrants weren't so different from the images that followed Irish emigrants from its shores in the 1930's. In this chapter I am interested in teasing out print media's role in the contradictions that inhere in both the production of space and the production of the scale of the contemporary Irish nation-state.

A related discussion within the geography of scale debates is worth mentioning here also. Swyngedouw criticized studies of scale that ultimately reinforce polarized articulations of scale such as local and global. He argued that scale is "the result of the dynamics of socio-spatial relations" (1997, p. 144). Similarly, Smith (1992b) pointed out the need to examine the social and cultural battles that inhere in scale production too. Furthermore, Smith (1992b) and later Marston (2000) offered critiques of the seemingly biased focus within political geography on spheres of production noting that much work in this area has tended to focus on global, national, or urban scales. Brenner (1997), for

example, focused on economic restructuring of the city in association with globalization, while Leitner (1997) examined conflicts between scales such as the European Union (EU) and member states around the development of a unified supra-national immigration policy (see also Taylor, 1982; Agnew, 1997). While these concerns are certainly worthy of attention, Marston (2000) and Smith and Marston (2001) note that the arena of social reproduction—the domestic scale of the home or the body—is politically significant and demands attention within political geography as well. Following from this, several recent studies have drawn attention to how political and social struggle within the domestic sphere is intimately and intricately tied to the national scale (see for example, Mountz, 2004; Walton-Roberts, 2004).

In this chapter I want to begin to put the scholarship on space and scale together. I argue, along with Smith (1992a, b) and Swyngedouw (1997), that the social space of the nation is inextricably linked to other scales of production, to political-economic and cultural processes, and to social subjects. And I pick up on the research of Marston (2000), Mountz (2004), and Walton-Roberts (2004) by drawing attention to the oft-neglected sphere of the body in analyses of the politics of scale. Therefore, this chapter has two aims: first, to continue a critical analysis of the history and production of the Irish nation-state by reading the past in the present in relation to representations of migration. And second, focusing on recent media representations of immigrant women specifically, I want to think about the ways that the scale and social production of the contemporary Irish nation-state is shot through with the scale and social production of the body, and with the bodies of refugee and asylum seeker women in particular.

Data Downloads –Working with Digital Media

In Chapter 3 my analysis drew on newspaper reports from a combination of primary and secondary sources. Here, I again draw on a range of data sources. These include conference and working papers from academic departments within Ireland (Lentin and Luibhéid, 2003; Hanyes, Devereux, and Breen, 2004) and published essays that focus on media coverage of the “new” migration in Ireland (Pollak, 1999; Cullen, 2000; McGee, 2003). Primary data collection entailed an alternating review of the online editions of two nationally distributed newspapers: *The Irish Times* and *The Irish Independent*. My attempts to access print copies of the newspapers were stymied when I found that both newspapers keep only six weeks worth of print copies, with all back issues of the newspapers now maintained through digital archives available on-line through the newspapers websites and at the National Library newspaper reading room in Dublin. Interestingly then, data collection for this time-period coincided with the shift in newspaper production from print to electronic editions and with this, towards expanded distribution networks and perhaps also a broader ideological reach through the use of web-based technology.¹⁶

In terms of methodology, for 1997 media coverage I reviewed online archives of these newspapers in conjunction with a review of secondary data sources, specifically Pollak (1999), McGee (2003), Nozinic (2002). I combed newspaper headlines for stories that related to immigration issues. Search terms included ‘immigration’, ‘migrants’, ‘non-nationals’, ‘asylum seeker’, and ‘refugee’. For the pragmatic reasons of accessibility and a more user friendly search function for the more recent 2002-2004 period, I focused

¹⁶ These shifts also coincide with the production and materialization of the Irish diaspora.

almost exclusively on coverage in the *Irish Times* and narrowed the search to media coverage related to the citizenship referendum and women in these ‘migrant’ groupings in particular. Pertinent newspaper stories were downloaded, headlines, quotations, and a brief synopsis were recorded. The resulting data were coded within thematic categories that emerged from the data themselves. The categories were as follows: ‘numbers crisis,’ ‘foreboding discourse,’ ‘resource threat,’ ‘cultural loss,’ ‘government response,’ ‘legislative development discourse,’ and ‘moderate/corrective representation’. In total, I collected and reviewed over 200 newspaper stories.

It should be noted that this doesn’t reflect the scale of media attention devoted to immigration during this period of time. For example, the Centre for Migration Studies, at University College Cork, maintained a digest of media coverage from three newspaper sources (*The Irish Times*, *Irish Independent*, and *Irish Examiner*) related to migration issues from 2000 to 2001. During 2000, 922 stories were catalogued, while the number dropped below 600 for 2001. Thus, it’s fair to say that my review is but a sub-sample of the discourses on migration that prevailed in Irish society during this timeframe. In my review I hope to open up and challenge some of the problematic representations that MacÉinrí describes as “a new self-confident, postmodern Celtic Tiger identity [that is] somehow divorced from the past” (2004, p. 98). Hence, my interest in this chapter is not so much in offering a representative overview of contemporary print media discourses but in exploring a range of discourses as they recur in the relations between migrant women and the production of the nation-state.

At the same time it can be noted that the overall themes that emerged in my focused review were consistent with more comprehensive content analyses of media

attention to migration in both international and Irish contexts. For instance, Wyndham-Smith (2002) completed a content analysis of newspaper coverage posted to the Centre for Migration Studies website for the 2000-2001 period. In her review, as in mine, negatively toned newspaper articles outweighed coverage that was positive in tone.¹⁷ Most attention was given to the large number of asylum seekers entering the country and to concerns related to accommodation pressures associated with the influx of migrants. Looking at media coverage across multiple states, Hanyes, Devereux and Breen (2004) developed an analysis of English language newspaper headlines referring to asylum seekers and refugees, across a wide geographic range including Europe, Australia, North America, and Asia, between 2003 and 2004. They identified several themes—economic / national threat, criminality, social deviance, and illegal aliens—that characterized media coverage of migration issues. These themes were corroborated in my data, both in tone and frequency. Approximately 70% of the stories I reviewed expressed concerns related to the duplicitous nature and apparently bizarre practices of asylum-seekers in Ireland.

In homing in on media coverage of inward migration during 1997 I want to focus on recurrences and incongruities associated with representations of Ireland's new immigrants that interact to produce a contradictory modern Irish nation-state. In the discussion that follows I propose that print media coverage of contemporary immigration resonated more with portrayals and representations of Ireland's migrants during the first part of the 20th century and less with their more recent, late 1980's, counterparts.

Concurrently, the representation of immigration in contemporary Irish society was

¹⁷ Overall percentage of negatively toned headlines not available; themes/percentages were as follows: concern about numbers of asylum seekers (34%), racism (21%), development of legislation (18%) (McGee, 2003).

incongruous with Ireland's posturing and production as a thoroughly modern and globalized nation-state. In this way the past is injected into the present and renders disordered the production of the successful, modern Irish 'tiger' nation-state.

Floodgates Open [...] A New Army of Poor

(The Sunday World, May 25, 1997)

Pollak (1999), Cullen (2000), and McGee (2003) each observe that prior to 1997 there was barely a trickle of media attention to immigration and immigrants in Irish society. This could easily be accounted for by the fact that immigration to Ireland was effectively a non-event up to this point. As noted in the introduction to this chapter it wasn't until 1996 that immigration outweighed emigration. With reference to applications for asylum specifically, Ireland received 39 applications in 1992, this figure rose to 1,179 in 1996, 3,883 in 1997, and peaked at 11,634 in 2002. Refugees and asylum seeker applicants comprised less than 10% of immigration figures between 1995 and 2000, whereas former Irish emigrants returning to Ireland constituted 50% of immigrants during the same period (MacÉinrí, 2001).

Despite their comparatively small number relative to the number of returning Irish emigrants that made up Ireland's new immigrant population, asylum seekers received a disproportionate amount of media attention. In fact, in my review of print media for this period I found no proportional breakdown of the population of Ireland's new immigrants. Coupled with this, many of the reports I reviewed collapsed the terms asylum seeker and refugee, and often juxtaposed these with notions of illegality. This has a significant effect

on the way migrants identify. Many choose to distance themselves from the negative connotations associated with migration and the asylum process in particular. I take up this issue in more detail in Chapters 5 and 6 where I review discussions and interviews with migrant women.

The refugee story really took off in the spring of 1997, and May 1997 was a bumper month for derisive portrayals of refugees and asylum seekers, with 15 of the 16 stories I reviewed expressing grave concerns about refugees in Ireland. Newspaper stories reported on the ever-increasing numbers of immigrants, most of them apparently illegal or bogus, in other words, apparently without a legitimate claim for entering Ireland. *The Irish Independent* reported “at least two dozen Nigerians and Algerians [were] travelling [sic] from Britain, sometimes daily, to fraudulently claim thousands of pounds (in welfare benefits) each week” (May 5, 1997). This was followed up with an “estimate that 7,500 asylum seekers would arrive in Ireland by year’s end” (*Sunday Independent*, September 3, 1997), while the reliably more histrionic *Sunday World* exclaimed “floodgates open as a new army of poor swamp the country” (May 25, 1997). *The Irish Times* could be counted on for a more moderate slant, but in a similar vein noted that asylum seekers were “arriving in the state at a rate of 100 per week” with the greatest numbers from Zaire, Somalia, Algeria and Nigeria. Citing one *garda síochána* (trans. police) source, the same newspaper reported, “The word is out. Ireland is the place to come” (*Irish Times*, May 26, 1997).

Beggars, Thieves, and Blood Letting of Lambs

In addition to anxieties regarding the influx of refugees, a recurrent theme was the depiction of immigrants as deviant or caught up in socially or morally reprehensible practices, if not also engaged in criminal activities. Various authorities in Irish society voiced their concerns. The police were “increasingly worried at the growing involvement of refugees in street crime and prostitution” (*Irish Independent*, May 23, 1997), shopkeepers indicated that “theft by Romanians is snowballing” (*Irish Times*, May 26, 1997), and politicians observed that “Ireland’s system of protection for refugees is in danger of being overwhelmed by professional beggars” (*Irish Times*, May 27, 1997). It was reported that immigrants who were awaiting word on their applications for asylum rioted at health board offices with staff caught unawares by the sheer number of refugees queuing for welfare payments (*Irish Times*, May 14, 1997). Another dependably alarmist tabloid, *The Star* ran the headline, “Refugee Rapists on the Rampage”, suggesting that the main targets of “rapacious Romanians and Somalians [*sic*] were prostitutes and minors” (June 13, 1997). Meanwhile, *The Irish Times* informed readers, “Dublin [*is*] now main target for gangs trafficking in people” (May 26, 1997).

Several newspapers also indicated that the presence of refugees might do untold damage to long-standing cultural lore and practices in Ireland. *The Irish Times* noted, images that proclaimed Ireland as the island of a thousand welcomes and specifically “aimed at tourists attract refugees as well” (April 19, 1997). Other reports indicated, “there are fears that in some parts of Dublin traditional Irish hospitality will fade into the background as the number of refugees grows” (May 26, 1997). Alternatively, immigrants who engaged in unusual child rearing and bizarre cultural practices were portrayed as

introducing unwelcome influences and ideas to Irish society. For example, combining cultural difference and social deviance, one special report on the “refugee crisis” began with an encounter with “a new, determined style of beggar”—an 8 year-old Romanian girl who was deemed typical of refugees (*Irish Independent*, May 24, 1997). Towards the end of 1997, when a more measured approach was supposed to have evolved towards refugees (Pollak, 1999, p. 45), one politician suggested that “rogue” asylum seekers “were carrying on in a culture that is not akin to Irish culture, [with activities including] begging from neighbours and bleeding of lambs in the back garden” (*Irish Times and Irish Independent*, November 26, 1997).

Back to the Future—Recurrent Representations of Em/Im-Migrants

What conclusions might we draw from these portrayals of Ireland’s new immigrants? That immigrants are commonly depicted in such negative terms is nothing new, nor is it unique to immigrants in Irish society. Deaux (2006) details metaphors used to describe early 20th century immigrants to the United States, presumably with many Irish among them. Dehumanizing language, reference to natural disasters, and biological and mechanical metaphors were employed in abundance. In a study of more recent media depictions of immigrants to the U.S., Chavez (2001) classified representations of immigrants over a 30-year period between 1965 and 1999. He found that affirmative or positive portrayals of immigrants declined from the 1970’s onwards; in the 1980’s and 1990’s, 75% of messages used to describe U.S. immigrants were alarmist or negative representations.

Of particular interest to me is the recurrence of “foreboding” and “cultural loss” as themes in representations of both em/im-migration in relation to the Irish nation. As noted in chapter 3, the early 20th century Irish emigrants’ encounter with life abroad was presented as one marked by the menaces of modern life, with its garish distractions and capacity to render the formerly upstanding Irish Catholic émigré socially and morally destitute. Additionally, by foregoing their reproductive roles, Irish emigrant women embodied a social and cultural as well as a biologically reproductive loss for the nascent Irish nation-state. In the Ireland of 1997, it is immigrants—refugees and asylum seekers most notably—with their apparently sinister social practices who are responsible for the decline of the Irish nation-state. Thus, representations of women as migrants—past and present—evoke the waning of tradition associated with shifting reproductive roles and practices. Just like their predecessors, Ireland’s new migrants are tied up with the nation-state in that they are held accountable for the undoing of traditional morally upstanding conceptions and productions of Ireland and Irish society.

Coinciding with “foreboding” and “cultural loss,” newspaper readers were regularly reminded how foreign Ireland’s new immigrants were. Apart from the fact that refugees and asylum seekers came from exotic places in Africa, their lifestyles, marked by impropriety, were altogether different from Ireland’s seemingly homogeneous and presumed decent population. In this respect press coverage in 1997 illustrates Swyndegouw’s (1997) and Smith’s (1992a, b) calls to attend to the socio-spatial relations and cultural struggles that operate in the production of the scale of the nation-state. In the representations that followed early 20th century Irish emigrants to England and other far off places, boundaries and differences were embodied in the encounter with place itself.

In contemporary Ireland, as depicted in print media, the social and cultural practices of immigrants are set apart from Irish culture and social life. In this way, the distinctiveness of the social space of the Irish nation-state is maintained in opposition to the migrant. As such, the migrant—whether emigrant or immigrant—becomes the vehicle through which the Irish nation-state and a distinct Irish national identity is articulated. Consequently, as several scholars of political geography have noted, it is at the scale of the body and through social and cultural practices, that the territory and space of the nation-state is conceived and made real.

Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Resource Threat Rhetoric

Immigrants were also represented as a threat to limited resources in the Irish nation-state. Once again, this is a common portrayal of immigrants (see Massey, 1998). Not only were immigrants exploiting Ireland's supposedly generous system of welfare payments as "dole fraud day trip 'refugees'" (*Irish Independent*, May 5, 1997), they also put pressure on an already tight housing market. *The Independent* observed, prison "inmates lobby to stay in jail as refugees fill up hostels" (May 10, 1997), while *The Irish Times* noted that the Eastern Health Board—the state institution charged with providing basic health services in the Dublin region—was "spending up to £20,000 a day on emergency housing for asylum seekers, as refugees now account for upwards of 60% of those classified as homeless in Dublin" (August 19, 1997). Nor was it merely that asylum seekers put pressure on social services designed for Ireland's own unfortunate folk. Immigrants were also driving would-be homebuyers out of the market as well, as *The Irish Independent* informed readers, "refugee flood to spark homes crisis" (June 9, 1997).

The costs associated with processing asylum applications was another strain on state coffers, as *Sunday World* headlines made clear “the immigrant flood is costing Ireland millions.” The article described how “the state is forking out up to £100 a night to provide some refugees with hotel beds” (May 25, 1997). Offering a less specific breakdown of costs but placing the burden in the pockets of rank and file workers, *The Irish Independent* observed “taxpayers to face bills of £20 million-plus for refugee flood” (May 31, 1997). And, even though some politicians claimed that these dizzying number displays amounted to scaremongering, others retorted, “the annual cost of every 100 asylum seekers is estimated to be £500,000” (*Irish Times*, May 27, 1997).

Such de-contextualized presentations of the economic costs of asylum seekers and refugees for the Irish nation-state and to Irish people added fuel to the fire of negative sentiment and practices towards immigrants in Ireland, whereas broader socio-political and economic factors were absent. For instance, estimates suggest there are approximately 8 to 10 million refugees and asylums seekers worldwide; less than half of these now seek asylum in European countries (UNHCR, 2006);¹⁸ however, these figures didn’t make it into newspaper reports until 2000 (see *The Irish Times*, May 22, 2000). During 1997 when newspaper reports indicated that the Irish nation was being swamped by refugees, the state’s complement of asylum applications (3,883 in total) ranked tenth out of the fifteen EU member states at that time (Pollak, 1999). And although the ratio of applications filed compared to the overall population of Ireland was quite high, this doesn't reflect the number of people whose applications for asylum were actually

¹⁸ The overall number of refugees and asylum seekers declined (by approximately 12%) in recent years but total number defined as ‘people of concern’ who fall under the mandate of the UNHCR increased by 6% to 20 million in 2006.

recognized. Citing a study by Faughan and Woods (2000) *The Irish Times* reported that in 1995 the Irish state recognized 57% of applications for refugee status; by 1998 only 13% of applications were granted refugee status (*The Irish Times*, October 31, 2000). Since then, the Department of Justice has rejected approximately 90% of refugee applications (at first review) on an annual basis (Woods and Humphries, 2001).

Furthermore, one of the reasons that the asylum process was costly was because it took so long. Until 2001 average processing time for asylum applications was between two and three years. This was because the state office responsible for processing refugee applications—the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform—had four staff working in its asylum division in 1996 (Harvey and Fraser, 2003). Even though additional staff has been hired in recent years, with 640 staff now involved in asylum and immigration work, the processing time for applications remains longer than the UNHCR recommended timeframe of six months (Woods and Humphries, 2001; Harvey and Fraser, 2003).

In 1997, while waiting for their applications to be processed, asylum seekers were eligible for welfare benefits and a rent allowance. Since 2000, however, a system of “direct provision” has been introduced. Broader discussion of the direct provision system will be taken up in Chapter 5; basically, for individuals awaiting word on their application for asylum this system provides housing and meals in hostel-like accommodation centers dotted around the country, and a weekly allowance of €19.10, approximately \$25.00,¹⁹ for all other expenses. Although it may be accurate to say that the economic costs were substantial, media depictions of the situation held asylum

¹⁹ Exchange rate calculated March 15, 2007 at €1.00=\$1.32.

seekers responsible whereas, in practice, a host of social, economic, and political factors were at play.

Lefebvre argues it's not enough to look at representations; it is also necessary to consider their history along with their relationships "with each other, with practice, and with ideology" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 42). In the case of refugees and asylum seekers, print media representations and rhetoric helped bolster the idea that Ireland's new immigrants were a drain on resources. However, as discussed above, when these ideas are placed in relation to political, economic decisions and within a broader social context, a more complex rendering of Ireland's new migration emerges.

Ireland's New Migration and the Underside of Modernity

It is clear that media depictions misrepresented but simultaneously produced a version of reality that shaped attitudes and practices towards refugees and asylum seekers. In fact by the end of 1997, opinion polls indicated strong public opposition to Ireland's apparent "open door policy on refugees, with the public in general holding that only 11% of asylum seekers genuinely faced danger or persecution in their native lands" (*Irish Independent*, December 8, 1997). Coinciding with this however, I want to suggest that media representations also interrupted and unsettled the Irish nation's instantiation as a formidable example of modernity's progress and as a successful economic miracle. Cultural Studies scholars including Moran (2005) and Ross (1995) point out that as we are inculcated with modern life through the bureaucracies of work, consumption, material culture, and status consciousness, people are distracted from its banal recurrence and from their mundane role in modernity's production and reproduction. Media

representations are among the ways we are distracted; as Lefebvre puts it, news stories as well as “turbulent affectations of art, fashion, and event, veil without eradicating the everyday blahs” (Lefebvre, 1987, p. 11).

On one hand, the images of asylum seekers and refugees that permeated 1997’s print media served to distance the public and divert attention from the minutiae of modern Ireland. But on the other hand, print media also served to highlight the unevenness of Ireland’s modern economic miracle. Moran observes that modernity is filled “with compensatory narratives of innovation and abundance” (2004, p. 55). In the modern Irish nation-state this was the case with accolades of success associated with the Celtic Tiger. Indeed, as we saw in Chapter 3, it was also the case in the way emigrants from Ireland—exuding a spirit of entrepreneurship and accomplishment—were portrayed during the 1980’s. However, the representations of the new migrants exposed the limits of Ireland’s economic prosperity and congenial welcomes. In being presented as competing, even rioting for access to welfare benefits, vying with both the homeless and the housed for accommodation, and begging for a living, refugees and asylum seekers laid bare the base elements of the modern Irish nation. Put differently, these representations of asylum seekers exposed the unevenness of capitalist development and revealed that among Irish nationals there were many in need as well.

Rather than being tied to recent renderings of the nation as a progressive and economically successful place, representations of Ireland’s new immigrants resonated more as a recurrence of the past marked by poverty where the inadequacies of the social and economic system spurred mass emigration. Thus, refugees and asylum seekers were incongruous with the idea of the modern success story of the Irish nation-state; they were,

in effect, modernity's embarrassing underside. Something had to be done to control the threat both to traditional conceptions of the Irish nation-state and to its production as a successful, modern space. This was accomplished with a return to the past and to tying up the bodies of migrant women specifically with the scale and social production of the Irish nation.

Switchback—It's 1937 All Over Again

To appreciate the recurrent relations between migrant women's bodies and the Irish nation-state we have to switch back to 1937 and to *Bunreacht na hÉireann* (trans. the Constitution of Ireland) adopted by the independent nation-state. As a social policy document the Constitution eroded many of the rights and freedoms that were previously available to women. When Ireland first gained independence from England in 1916 women were granted the right to vote and equal civil rights; equal employment opportunities for women and men were guaranteed under the Sex Disqualification Act (1919). However, throughout the 1920's and culminating with the 1937 Constitution, these provisions were chipped away. As mentioned in Chapter 3, a series of legislative changes, including the Civil Service Regulation Bill (1925) and Conditions of Employment Bill (1935), restricted women's access to certain types of employment and curtailed employment opportunities for married women. In addition, the Censorship of Publications Bill (1928) curtailed access to information about contraception, while the Criminal Law Amendment Bill (1934) banned the sale of contraceptives in Ireland altogether (for discussion see Clancy, 1990). By the time the 1937 Constitution rolled

around, women's place and position in Irish society were primarily fastened to the domestic space of the home and locked into their biological role as mothers.

Chapter 3 detailed the significance of these policies and constitutional provisions on representations of women and on the practice of emigration among Irish women throughout much of the 20th century. In returning to the Constitution here I want to draw attention to articles 41 and 2 respectively; these articles confer citizenship rights and affirm the importance of women and the family within the Irish nation-state. These articles, which bound women, nation-state, and emigration together in the past, have also intersected with the lives and the representation of immigrant women, particularly refugees and asylum seekers, arriving in Ireland in recent years. In the remainder of this chapter I thread together these constitutional articles and media representations of Ireland's new immigrant women in order to read the past in the present-day production of the Irish nation-state.

Ties that Bind—Em/Immigrant Women and the Irish Constitution

Article 41 of the Irish constitution defines the family as the *“natural, primary and fundamental unit group of Society [...] indispensable to the welfare of the Nation and the State”* (Article 41.2). Following the conservative, patriarchal logic that guided this document, women were deemed to play a central role in the production of the nation-state associated with being embedded within the family home and positioned as biological and social reproducers. Thus, Article 41.2 continues: *“In particular, the State recognises that by her life within the home, woman gives to the State a support without which the common good cannot be achieved.”* Furthermore, *“[t]he State shall, therefore,*

endeavour to ensure that mothers shall not be obliged by economic necessity to engage in labour to the neglect of their duties in the home.” This article located women within the family home as mothers in a noteworthy act of “slippage” (Butler, 1993) that instantiated a normative understanding of women’s identity. Thus, as we saw in Chapter 3, it was in accordance with the constitution of the newly independent Irish nation-state that throughout much of the 20th century women in Ireland were defined and in principle lauded for their biological bodies while rooted within the domestic space of the (rural) family home.

That the Irish Constitution was essentially a conservative instrument of the newly independent Irish State is well documented. It was also viewed largely as the work of the patriarchal, nationalist leader Eamon De Valera (see Hayes and Urquhart, 2001; Valiulis, 1995). Lentin (1998) describes the Constitution as a product of its time, where “Irishness was narrowly defined within ethnic, religious, and gender boundaries, and where women were conceived in the spirit of patriarchal Catholicism, primarily as mothers” (1998, p. 11). This is not unique to the Irish context; the feminist literature on citizenship posits that women are frequently incorporated into nation-building projects as biological, cultural, and ideological reproducers in patriarchal society (see for example, Loaeza, 2005; Kaplan, Alarcón, and Moallem, 1999; Sharp, 1996; and Yuval-Davis and Anthias, 1989). It should also be noted that the Constitution did not go unopposed. Several anti-constitution campaigns were launched by women’s associations including the Irish Women Workers Union (IWWU), the National University Women Graduates Association, and the Irish Countrywomen's Association (for discussion, see Coulter, 1993; Scannell, 1988). Opposition to the roles assigned to women fell largely on deaf

ears but does echo another observation made by feminist scholars on citizenship. Sharp (1996), for example, remarks that gender politics are frequently postponed in the establishment of an independent nation-state for fear that consideration of gender issues might derail the project of constructing the nation-state. Thus, in newly independent Ireland, despite opposition, a majority of the nascent nation-state's citizens voted to adopt Article 41 and the Constitution as a whole. With this, women were represented, produced, and essentially framed as mothers within the domestic scale of the family home.

Article 2 submits that anyone born anywhere in Ireland (i.e. North or South) can claim Irish citizenship as a constitutional right. This right was originally granted under the Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act of 1956. It was amended to the Constitution in 1998 in order to satisfy citizenship provisions laid out in the 1998 Good Friday Agreement. This document initiated a power sharing agreement in Northern Ireland between the Irish and English governments. One of the terms of the Good Friday Agreement was the right for those living in Northern Ireland to claim either Irish or British citizenship. Associated with this provision, the Irish Constitution was amended to protect birthright citizenship for individuals born anywhere in Ireland.²⁰ Consequently, in 1998, Article 2 of the Irish Constitution read: *"It is the entitlement and birthright of every person born in the island of Ireland, which includes its islands and seas, to be part of the Irish Nation. That is also the entitlement of all persons otherwise qualified in accordance with law to be citizens of Ireland."* Thus, Article 2 established citizenship of Ireland as a constitutionally protected birthright. It should be noted that although birthright

²⁰ See Finlay (2004) for discussion of the Good Friday Agreement and revisions to Article 2 of the Irish Constitution.

citizenship is also normative practice in the United States and Canada, citizenship is more often determined by descent and/or parental lineage.²¹ In the end, in Ireland, children born to immigrant parents were considered Irish citizens in accordance with the Constitution of Ireland.

In addition to this, a legislative decision by Ireland's Supreme Court established that Article 41 of the Constitution also had bearing on the rights of immigrant families living in Ireland. The *Fajujuno v. Minister for Justice* case (1990) (2 IR 151; see also O'Connell and Smyth, 2003) was concerned with the residency rights of a mother and father, who, though living in Ireland illegally, were the parents of three children who, because they were born in Ireland, were Irish citizens. As previously discussed, Article 41 recognizes the family unit as the basis of Irish society. According to the Supreme Court ruling, "children who are citizens have a constitutional right to the company, care and parentage of their parents within a family unit" (Finlay, in O'Connell and Smyth, 2003, p. 233), and because the family unit is of fundamental importance, to deport the parents from the Irish state "would be inconsistent with Article 41 of the Constitution guaranteeing the integrity of the family" (Walsh, in O'Connell and Smyth, 2003, p. 234).

Subsequent to this court decision immigrant parents, and particularly mothers, whose children were born in Ireland were granted residency rights in the nation-state in accordance with this ruling and the provisions for the family outlined in the Irish Constitution. The *Fajujuno* decision was of minor significance throughout much of the

²¹ Within the European Union at this time, Spain was the only other nation that granted citizenship to babies born in that country. However, this was not an automatic right, as those born to foreign parents have to be resident in the country for one year before citizenship of Spain is granted. In addition, it is worth noting that there are ongoing debates and proposals within the U.S. to eliminate birthright citizenship in certain circumstances, i.e. for those born to illegal immigrants in the U.S. (Adams, 1994).

1990's. However, as the number of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers arriving in Ireland increased, the ties that bind women to motherhood, family unit, and the reproduction of the nation-state became increasingly troublesome for the Irish state.

Unraveling Representations

Between 1996 and 2003 10,145 individuals were granted permission to reside in Ireland on the grounds that they were the parents of Irish citizen children (*Irish Times*, July 28, 2003). This provision came to an abrupt halt in January 2003, following another Supreme Court ruling, leaving an additional 11,000 people who had applied for residency in a state of limbo in the midst of what became known as the “Irish-born child” phenomenon. This period resonated with the shutting of borders to migrants and with the establishment of Fortress Europe across many EU states in association with increases in the number of asylum seekers and migrants generally to EU member states. From my perspective, this period also marked a point where the bodies of migrant women and the scale of the nation-state were once again imbricated, this time in the hopes of preventing women, non-EU women asylum seekers specifically, from engaging in reproductive roles within the Irish nation-state.

Amidst the newspaper stories on immigration that were now a routine fixture in print media, the return of the relationship between women and the reproduction of the nation was ignited with the headline: “State alert as pregnant asylum seekers aim for Ireland” (*Irish Examiner*, December 12, 2001). In contrast to media coverage in 1997, many of the newspaper stories on the Irish-born child issue took a moderate tone and several questioned or criticized government proposals for dealing with the issue. One

Irish Times report observed, in addition to the State's plans to contest the right of non-EU parents of Irish children to stay in the country, the government was also considering "a constitutional referendum to fill the current loophole in the law which grants Irish citizenship to people born on the island." The report noted that even though the increasing numbers of asylum seekers arriving in Ireland late in pregnancy stretched maternity hospital resources and posed health risks for the women themselves, the fact that many hospitals could not operate without migrant labor could "easily get lost in the heat of the debate" (*Irish Times*, February 21, 2002). On the same date the *Irish Examiner* showed less restraint with the headline: "non-nationals fuel pregnancy crisis" (February 21, 2002). This was soon followed with remarks from a local politician who observed that "refugees and asylum seekers are breeding like rabbits" (*Irish Times*, April 16, 2002).

In January 2003 the State's challenge to granting automatic residency rights to the parents of Irish-born children was awarded by the Supreme Court; thus, previously established residency provisions for non-EU immigrant mothers, fathers, and their children in Ireland were eliminated (see O'Connell and Smyth, 2003 for detailed discussion of the court decision). The Supreme Court ruling set the stage for the government to begin deporting significant numbers of migrants, many of whom, on the advice of state employees, had dropped their application for asylum in Ireland associated with the understanding that because they were parents of a child born in Ireland they, along with their child, had a right to reside within the nation-state.

These representations and the changes that followed in the wake of the Supreme Court ruling highlight the social and cultural battles that inhere in the production and

reproduction of the nation-state. In addition, they illustrate, as Smith (1992a) has suggested, that the scale of the nation and the scale of the body are imbricated as they are produced. In this case, migrants generally were categorized as asylum seekers and refugees and, in turn, reduced to their reproductive bodies. And when a number of these bodies staked their claim to reside in Ireland, the scale of the Irish nation was thrown into disarray. In response, the nation's territorial boundaries were refashioned and literally materialized at the scale of the migrant woman's body. In this sense, and in concert with Marston's (2000) observations, sites of reproduction—biological as well as social—shape and transform other spaces and scales and, consequently, must be understood as geopolitically significant for spheres of production as well.

This reconceptualization of the right to reside and effectively to belong in the reconfigured Irish nation-state continued when the government proposed a revision of the Constitution's birthright citizenship provision, to be decided with a referendum on June 11, 2004. (*Irish Times*, March 12, 2004). The proposed revision would do away with birthright citizenship altogether. Instead, following the *jus sanguinis* principle, which links citizenship to blood descent, a child could be conferred an Irish citizen only if at least one parent is an Irish citizen, or at least one parent with a legal right to reside in Ireland has done so consecutively for three out of the previous four years.

Referendum Rí-Rá

Press coverage leading up to the June 11, 2004 referendum highlighted how government officials, as well as popular culture, invoked the usual plethora of diabolic representations in order to bolster support for the proposed constitutional amendment.

Coupled with now familiar portrayals of floods of bogus and unscrupulous immigrants who exploit the Irish state's generosity, pregnant migrant women were also central to referendum rhetoric. In particular, the embodied practices of women asylum seekers were deployed in the effort to shore up support for reproducing the Irish nation-state. I want to suggest, therefore, that print media for this period not only echoed 1997 representations of Ireland's new immigrants, but also early 20th century representations of Irish women wherein the body and the scale and social production of the nation-state were intricately bound up together. In this sense then, the past is injected into the present, and, in accordance with Lefebvre's critique, progress-oriented notions of historical time and space come undone. In contrast to the past however, the mothers reproducing the Irish nation in the 21st century were of different racial and ethnic backgrounds from the representations of family, home and mothers envisioned in the Irish Constitution and this difference caused a great commotion. In an effort to regain coherence and control citizenship rights within the Irish nation-state were redefined.

Among the stories that circulated in print media was a suggestion that the country and the nation's maternity hospitals were being overrun by pregnant asylum seekers. The Commissioner of the Office of Refugee Applications stated: "between 45 and 50% of female asylum seekers are visibly pregnant at the time of application" (Quinlan, 2002). Both the *Taoiseach* (trans. Prime Minister) and *Tánaiste* (trans. Deputy Prime Minister) admitted that precise numbers were not available, but suggested: "there may be a few hundred or a few thousand of them" (*Irish Times*, April 21, 2004 and April 1, 2004). Meanwhile, the Minister for Justice—Michael McDowell—indicated that the directors of the largest maternity hospitals in the country had pleaded with him to address the

“massive inflows of non-nationals” to the maternity hospitals. Although the hospital directors denied this, claiming they were being used as “scapegoats by the government in its argument for a referendum” on citizenship rights, the Minister asserted that the directors “didn’t ask for additional resources, they were asking me to change the law” (*Irish Times*, March 13, 2004).

With suspicions aroused, several public officials demanded figures to support these claims. The resulting attempts to quantify the scale of the apparent pregnancy crisis muddled numbers and categories, and an accurate count and demystified breakdown of available data didn’t appear in the press until June 17, 2004 almost one week after the referendum vote had passed. Prior to the referendum, all *The Irish Times* could offer was that 24% of births in the largest maternity hospitals in Dublin’s were to “non-national” mothers (April 21, 2004). Aside from the term itself being problematic, the category of births to ‘non-nationals’ created problems because it included UK and EU mothers who have a right to reside and work in any EU member state. It also included people with work permits, also legally entitled to reside in Ireland, as well as those whose partners were Irish citizens. Consequently, the numbers were not accurate, nor were they sufficient to warrant the alarm that was induced.

As a result, attention homed in on the proportion of “non-national” women arriving to maternity hospitals at very late stages in their pregnancy or already in the throes of labor. In this discussion it was suggested that such women dashed directly from an international flight to, in most instances, Dublin maternity hospital doors in order to deliver their baby in Ireland and thereby secure his or her birthright citizenship. The director of the Rotunda Hospital (one of the three largest maternity hospitals in the

Dublin area) was “anxious over late arrivals and startled that 13% or 249 non-Irish women had turned up unbooked and in labour in 2002” (*Irish Times*, April 23, 2004). Another of the three largest maternity hospitals in Dublin reported, “Almost half of the unbooked mothers to Coombe are Irish.” This report revealed that in 2003, 109 Irish women made their first appointment for labor and child delivery at the Coombe hospital only 21 days prior to the anticipated due date, whereas 116 non-nationals turned up at the same maternity hospital at the same late stage in their pregnancy (*Irish Times*, April 23, 2004).

Without gargantuan numbers and in view of barely perceptible differences between the late maternity hospital arrivals of Irish and non-national mothers, newspaper reports went to work demonizing immigrant mothers. Non-national women who came to Ireland late in pregnancy were portrayed as irresponsible and engaged in actions that put their babies at risk as well as threatening hospital resources. One report indicated: “the rate of infectious disease among these groups has huge cost implications for the maternity hospitals [...] it was surprising that there has not been a major catastrophe within the maternity services as yet” (*Irish Times*, April 21, 2004). And one writer described what was “perhaps a Freudian slip” by the Minister for Justice who, in a radio interview, referred to “a very black scene in terms of the pressures on our maternity hospitals” (*Irish Times*, March 18, 2004).

Citizenship Tourism

Alternatively, immigrant mothers were represented as “citizenship tourists” who took advantage of the “inadvertent loophole in Irish citizenship laws” (*Irish Times*, April

20, 2004). By giving birth in Ireland, the *Tánaiste* explained, such women intended to “pass on to others Irish citizenship without even acquiring the most minimal connection of loyalty to the State” (*Irish Times*, April 21, 2004). According to another report, they simply “arrive late in pregnancy, give birth and collect the child’s Irish passport before leaving again” (*Irish Times*, April 24, 2004). In response to this a number of reports pondered what constitutes loyalty and citizenship—an issue I’ll return to in a later chapter—as well as the irony of the government’s newfound interest in fidelity to the nation. One politician queried what loyalty was evidenced in the actions of “people who have abused State companies” and stripped their assets. He continued: “the number of people who are now tax exiles certainly exceeds the number of non-national women who are giving birth in the State” (*Irish Times*, April 23, 2004). Others pointed to a long-standing policy whereby citizenship was extended to individuals whose ancestors were born in Ireland but who themselves had no connection with the Irish nation-state (*Irish Times*, March 18, 2004). This provision, referred to as “the Irish granny rule,” gave “Brian Kerr (manager of the Republic of Ireland football team) a wide pool of players for selection as members of Ireland’s international soccer squad” (*Irish Times*, March 26, 2004), but strangely sought to close ranks when it came to non-national mothers who, by giving birth in Ireland, were merely fulfilling their constitutionally enshrined role as women.

Finally, it was argued that “Ireland could not be the only EU state offering national—and therefore EU-wide—citizenship rights to babies whose parents came here solely for this purpose” (*Irish Times*, April 9, 2004). Thus, the concern was not about the character of non-national mothers, nor about the threat to resources or fidelity to the Irish

nation, rather the key issue was that people—pregnant, migrant women—were using the nation as a “backdoor to EU citizenship” (*Irish Times*, April 24, 2004). With this, the integrity of the Irish nation, its relationship and accountability to other EU member-states was exposed.

Re-presenting and Re-Producing the Nation-State

In an effort to understand the past in the present, as well as the contemporary social production of the Irish nation-state, I want to return briefly to the issues of scale, recurrence and incongruity, and to Lefebvre’s analysis of space. First, the issue of scale; in addition to drawing attention to the scale of the body, the rhetoric that unfolded in print media prior to the constitutional referendum highlights some of the issues typically addressed in discussions on the politics of scale. The newspaper stories above indicate that the Irish nation-state was under pressure to conform to policies and practices in England and other EU member states. By shifting to the *jus sanguinis* principle of citizenship, Ireland’s citizenship provisions were brought in line with those of every other EU state. As previously noted Swyngedouw has argued that scale is “the result of socio-spatial relations” (1997, p. 144). This shift and reconfiguration of citizenship within the Irish nation highlights how governance of the nation by the Irish state is constrained and shaped by its position and relationships within the supranational political scale of the European Union.

Turning now to the production of space, I propose that this particular juncture in the time and space of the Irish nation also offers a grounded example of Lefebvre’s theorization of social space. As discussed in Chapter 1, Lefebvre (1991) proposes that

space is constituted through three inter-related facets—representations or conceived spaces, spatial practices, and lived or representational spaces. In the production of space these facets are folded into each other with no one aspect more or less important than the others. Within this framework space is lived before it is conceived, and practice guides and envelops representations, and together the three facets produce space. However, as Lefebvre argues, in modernity this delicate balance has gone awry. Now, representations pervade knowledge and understanding, and also regulate the use of space. In Lefebvre's terms, space has been colonized by "concrete abstractions." Chapter 3 and this chapter illustrated how representations of women and the Irish nation intersect and have dominated the social production of the nation-state, regulated the roles women had in Irish society, and perhaps influenced practices of migration. I want to suggest that in recent years, the concrete abstractions, the representations that regulated the space of the Irish nation throughout much of the 20th century, were challenged by women, asylum seekers, refugees, and migrants in their efforts to belong to the nation and lay claim to Irish citizenship.

Recall that in the past, women in Ireland were effectively and essentially constituted as child bearers and "childrearers." Their identity and the newly independent Irish nation could not be materialized without this representation. When we fast-forward to contemporary Irish society, we find that some of the migrant women who arrived in Ireland between 1996 and 2004 claimed residency in Ireland, using their role as mothers and their Irish born children as constitutionally protected rights. The actions of these migrant women, pregnant and embodied, made the representations of space that inhere in the Irish Constitution real. In other words, instead of the order that now dominates the

social production of space, whereby representations precede practice, the spatial practices of migrant women preceded, enveloped, and usurped the representations that previously gave order and boundaries to the Irish nation-state. Thus, I propose that asylum seekers who asserted motherhood and family strategically, by claiming their “essential” right as mothers, invoked a critique of the essentialist ideas contained within the Irish Constitution and simultaneously, they produced a representational, lived space.

In another sense, the media coverage presented in this chapter illustrates how the past is reproduced in the present. By taking up the representations and roles assigned to women during the early years of Irish independence, migrant women materialized the idealized nation-state as it was presented in the Irish Constitution. In this sense the past may be understood as recurrent. However, as previously noted, the Constitution is generally viewed as reflecting conservative patriarchal, ethnic, gendered, and religious values (Lentin, 1998). The renewed significance of the Constitution and its reconfiguration in the present also reeks of nationalist ideology and highlights what Lentin (2002b) and MacÉinrí (2004) describe as the “racialised” Irish state. The contemporary recurrence of women’s reproductive practices, while congruent with the principles that guided the Constitution, did not produce the idealized nation-state. As a result the reproductive practices of immigrant women became objectionable and almost literally inconceivable. In the State’s effort to regain control of the situation there was yet another repetition, women’s bodies once again became the locus for the representation and reproduction of the scale and space of the Irish nation.

On June 11, 2004, 80% of the electorate voted in favor of the proposed amendment to the Irish Constitution. With this change citizenship is no longer a right

conferred by place of birth, as had been the case since the inception of the modern Irish nation-state. Now, citizenship is a right determined by line of descent and/or the legal right to belong. Amidst this radical departure from past conceptions of belonging in the Irish nation-state, questions remain regarding the social space of the nation now that, to borrow Yeats' words again, "all is changed, changed utterly."²² It is to these questions, as they play out in the everyday lives of migrant women in contemporary Irish society, that I turn to next.

²² From W.B. Yeats "Easter, 1916" stanza 1.

Chapter 5—Fracturing the Mosaic: From Representation to Everyday Practice

Introduction

In what ways do media portrayals and popular cultural representations impinge upon the lives of immigrants in Irish society today? How do migrant women position themselves, their place and role within the 21st century Irish nation-state? How have social spaces and practices changed in Irish society with the shift from emigration to immigration? And, what are the implications of both representations and practices related to contemporary migration for and in Irish modernity? In the next two chapters I turn attention to the perspectives, experiences, and lived spaces—in other words, to the everyday lives—of a handful of women who are differently located within contemporary practices of immigration in Ireland today, in order to consider how identity and embodiment as a migrant woman and representations and formations of the modern Irish nation intersect.

In this chapter I take up Lefebvre's and others' elucidations on everyday life. I consider the day-to-day lives of several groups of women who arrived in Ireland as migrants of one form or another between 1998 and 2004, and the significance of critical attention to their everyday lives in understanding the production of the modern Irish nation-state. As previously noted, this period coincides with the recent crescendo of inward migration to Ireland and marks its transition from emigrant sending to immigrant-receiving country. Coupled with this, as chapter 4 indicated, there was a burgeoning of media attention to immigrants in Irish society and the activities and motives of migrant women in particular were dissected in the national presses. In spite of these stories and

representations, the range, experiences, and practices through which immigrant women constitute themselves in Irish society remain, for the most part, abstracted or absent in dialogues on Ireland's new migration. Following Beverly Skeggs (1997), I believe there is a need to reflect on the distance and effects of "the abstract structures and concrete specifics of everyday life" (p.8) as they play out in the lives of immigrant women. And, in concert with Lefebvre's analysis of social space as well as recent critical theoretical attention to the everyday (Moran, 2005; Katz, 2004; Gardiner, 2004; Seigworth and Gardiner, 2004; Flint, 2002) I propose that we can telescope from the analysis of routine, day-to-day practices to the social production of the modern Irish nation-state. Thus, in analyzing my encounters and conversations with a number of Ireland's contemporary migrant women I am concerned with detailing some of the intricate, banal, and unexpected ways that day-to-day lives and social and spatial practices—in other words, representations, practices, and lived spaces—combine and intersect in the social production of the space of the nation and its embodied citizenry.

Lefebvre and the Critique of Everyday Life

Kristin Ross (1995) dates the emergence of theoretical interest in and reflections about everyday life to post World War II France, a period of rapid modernization that had profound effects on the organization of space at various scales, on class structure and opportunities within society, and on the order and bureaucratization of day-to-day activities (see also, Highmore, 2002; Attfield, 2000; Lüdtkke, 1995). Lefebvre's first volume on the *Critique of Everyday Life*, which was published in 1947, coincided with the changes in French society during this period. In this work everyday life is defined

somewhat obliquely as “what is left over after all distinct, superior, specialized, structured activities have been singled out by analysis” (1991, p. 97). In later work Lefebvre elaborates, noting that everyday life “is the point of contact and conflict between desire and need, the serious and the frivolous, nature and culture, the public and the private” (Lefebvre, 2003b, p. 100). In a later piece, he specifies, “everyday life is sustenance, clothing, furnishing, homes, lodging, neighbourhoods, environment” (1987, p. 9). While none of these conceptualizations presents a definitive direction for the analysis of day-to-day experience, scholars are clear that Lefebvre’s concern with the everyday was central to his work. Lebas (2003) observes that even though it is an experimental and unstable notion “the critique of everyday life is a life force in the whole of Lefebvre’s work. It absorbs, generates and gathers virtually the entirety of his philosophical concerns” (p. 69). Similarly, Elden (2004) notes: “the notion of everyday life is immanent to almost all of his work” (p. 110).

Because, as Lefebvre pointed out, “everyday life is profoundly related to *all* activities” (1991, p. 97), academic interest in this concept is wide-ranging and research concerns cover diverse terrain. Elden (2004) delineates between Lefebvre’s work on the alienating aspects of everyday life associated with modern life and capitalist production, and his work focusing on what is extraordinary, revolutionary, and potentially transformative about everyday activities. These strands have been taken up in a wide array of contexts and include Ross’s (1995) fascinating study of the “prehistory of [France’s] postmodernism” (p. 10), which explores the intricate relationships between decolonization, modernization, and social and racial differentiation in French society. Ross focuses on the ways these relationships were articulated and materialized in popular

culture, hence in the everyday life of French society. In more recent work Harootunian (2004) examines the relationship between national histories and everyday life. Galloway (2004) focuses on the influence of technology and digital media on everyday social relationships. Katz (2004) captures the parallel effects of economic restructuring on a global scale for the everyday lives of children in such ostensibly far-flung places as Sudan and New York City. These latter studies not only highlight interest in the alienating aspects of everyday life but also in the manifold ways that daily life is altered under conditions of modernity, postmodernity and globalization. Much of the recent work in this area also knits together the scholarship on everyday life and feminist, queer, and critical race perspectives on identity and subjective experience (see for example French, 2004; Conlon 2004b; Robbins and Gianni, 1997; Valentine, 1996; Blum and Nast, 1996), and thereby underscores the ongoing significance of the everyday across a diversity of academic areas and scholarly pursuits.

The other predominant approach to research on everyday life focuses on the taken-for-granted and clandestine elements of day-to-day experiences with the aim of shedding light on their potential for unsettling the normative logic that saturates everyday practices. This perspective is articulated when Lefebvre asks, “why should the study of the banal itself be banal? Are not the surreal, the extraordinary, the surprising, even the magical, also part of the real? Why wouldn’t the concept of everydayness reveal the extraordinary in the ordinary?” (Lefebvre, 1987, p. 9). Or, as Kaplan and Ross (1987) note, “in the everyday, exactly where it is most obvious, we must look for utopian and political aspirations to materialize” (p.3). Moran (2005) suggests that within social and cultural studies much of the work within this strand also picks up on Michel de Certeau’s

(1984) discussion of repetitive and creative *savoir-faire* or know-how we observe in the practice of everyday life. For example, in a development of de Certeau's delineation between "strategies" and "tactics" in the everyday, Fiske (1989) proposes that activities such as cutting across a manicured lawn instead of keeping to a designated path, or making personal phone calls from an office or place of business, are "forms of 'micro-politics' of everyday life that resist the 'macropolitics' of political and cultural institutions" (Moran, 2005, p.10).

Over the course of the next two chapters I examine these approaches as they intersect with the everyday lives of differently positioned migrant women living in Ireland today. In this chapter I explore how waiting and work elucidate the alienating aspects of everyday life for migrant women. In chapter 6, I address some of the ways the production of the modern Irish nation-state is resisted through day-to-day practices among migrant women.

Geography, Scale, and the Everyday

Consideration of the ways that routine practices reflect and usurp extant power relations or at very least present a challenge to normative discourses about particular groups has been taken up by geographers as well. Neil Smith's (1992a) analysis of scale beginning with Krzysztof Wodiczko's "Homeless Vehicle" art project is perhaps seminal in this regard. In this piece, Smith proposes that the practice, often observed in New York City, where homeless people use supermarket trolleys to cart around their belongings or to gather up bottles and cans that can be redeemed for cash at recycling centers is politically charged on several fronts. By making the "home" visible ordinarily private

matters are made public, in turn this challenges our ideas about home and exposes the lack of security about being housed. At the same time, “homeless vehicles [...] enable evicted people to ‘jump scales’—to organize the production and reproduction of daily life and to resist oppression and exploitation at a higher scale—over a wider geographical field” (Smith, 1992a, p.60). Smith observes that social difference is instantiated at a variety of geographic scales from the body to the nation; yet, the potential to jump scale and thereby disrupt social and spatial boundaries inheres in this process too. As discussed in Chapter 3, several scholars have borrowed from and elaborated on this work by calling attention to the domestic scale of the home and to routine practices of social reproduction as they intersect and interfere in the politics of scale (see for example, Marston, 2000; Taylor, 1999; Aitken, 2000; Katz, 2004, 2001a, 2001b).

Increasingly in recent years, political geographers have turned their attention to migration and globalization and to identifying the subversive and emancipatory possibilities inscribed in these as routine everyday practices today. Flint provides an overview of work in this area noting the emergence of a “critical geopolitics [...] that does not merely pay lip service to the institutions and practices of everyday life but promotes them as a focus of structural analysis” (2002, p. 392; see also, Dalby, 1994; Hyndman, 2004). Research in this area includes Lawson’s (1999) examination of spaces of belonging and exclusion among migrants, Robbins’ (2000) analysis of the nature and impact of the state in everyday life, and Merrill’s (2004) investigation of how social position is inscribed and challenged through the differentiated living spaces among migrant women in Italy. Others draw attention to the intersections between feminist theory and the geopolitics of resistance in everyday migration practices. For example,

Mountz (2004) draws on feminist standpoint theory in an ethnographic study of the Canadian immigration authority. In her analysis, Mountz identifies various embodied subjects—migrants, refugees, immigration officers, and so on—whose “fluid, daily, personal interactions surround and disrupt formal instruments of governance” (2004, p. 326; see also Kofman, 1996; Hyndman, 2004.)

An Inchoate and Heterodox Mix of Practices—Critical Appraisals of Everyday Life Studies

It would be remiss however, to suggest that scholarly interest in the everyday has been unproblematic. Gardiner notes “the everyday remains an inchoate and heterodox mix of fluid, multiple and symbolically-dense practices and ways of feeling and knowing” (2004, p. 230). The apparent ubiquity combined with the ambiguity of research definitions of the everyday leads some critics to conclude that interest in everyday life reflects the obsession and conceit of contemporary theorists who have fetishized ordinary life in academia (Felski, 2002, p. 95). Before turning to the ordinary lives of migrant women in my study I want to touch briefly on a few of the criticisms launched at Lefebvre’s work and studies of everyday life generally in order clarify my take on scholarship in this burgeoning area and in an effort to push towards a dialectical-critical approach in the investigation of everyday practices.

One of the most common critiques aimed at studies of everyday life posits that too much attention has been focused on the second approach, in other words, on positive, celebratory renderings of everyday practices, whereas studies don’t sufficiently take into account the negative or mundane facets that are part and parcel of the everyday (e.g.

Colebrook, 2002; Heller and Fehér, 1988). Moran (2005) concurs noting that this emphasis “in cultural studies has produced a limiting notion of the everyday that values the creative and recreational over the banal and boring” (p. 11). But, Moran goes on to recount recent work in cultural studies, including his own research on office space, urban transportation systems, and housing spaces, that provides greater balance in the analysis of the quotidian and ordinary in everyday life (see also Silverstone 1996; Gauntlett and Hill, 1999; Spigel, 2001).

A related response to this critique notes that to claim unbridled accentuation of the positive reduces the everyday to a simple dualism. As Gardiner argues in his careful reading and response to these critiques, Lefebvre explicitly worked against this dichotomous notion. He was concerned with an analysis of everyday life as complex and internally divided, as a “fractured mosaic of positive and negative forces” (Gardiner, 2004, p. 241). By focusing on the accounts of everyday life recounted by migrant women in Ireland, I too am interested in capturing some of the facets of this complex mosaic. Thus, over the next two chapters I consider not only the positive and negative but also the intricate and ambiguous spaces between these poles where routine day-to-day practices collide with the production of the nation-state. In so doing I hope to combine the analysis and interpretation of interview data with feminist thinking on embodiment (see Mountz, 2004; McDowell, 1999; Kofman, 1996) where consideration of the multiple positions and partial perspectives through which lives are constructed is a fundamental tenet of any investigation.

Lefebvre was not only concerned with an analysis that integrates the ambiguities associated with positive and negative facets of the quotidian. According to Elden (2004),

Lefebvre also sought to integrate opposing theoretical perspectives, namely phenomenology and structuralism, in examining the everyday. Because “phenomenology looks at too small a scale, removing too many of the important contextual issues and fails to see the wider picture, [and] structuralism reifies the structures instead of looking at their interrelation with the issues of agency, the level of life and individuality” (Elden, 2004, p. 113) Lefebvre sought to synthesize these approaches by taking the whole into account while also considering the small details of everyday life. Therefore, in both theory and mode of analysis Lefebvre’s work on the everyday pushes beyond the bifurcation of theoretical perspectives and instead argues for analyses that do not separate the ordinary routines of daily life from wider political and economic forces.

By focusing here on the everyday lives of migrant women my aim is to present an analysis of the ways in which routine practices are linked to wider spheres and to the production and reproduction of the contemporary Irish nation-state. In this process, I also draw from Katz’s framework for countertopographies (see Katz, 2001, 2004; Pratt and Yeoh, 2003). With this concept Katz articulates both a methodology and a political project that links detailed description of social and spatial practices in specific yet divergent locales with abstract social relations, processes, and structural forces. Through the course of the next two chapters I hope, not only to examine the relationships between day-to-day practices and structural forces but in addition, to trace “contour lines” (Katz, 2004, p. xiv) across apparently distinct groups of migrant women and the coupled processes of producing modernity and the contemporary Irish nation-state.

Towards Recapitulation

In this chapter specifically I focus on the first approach to the critique of everyday life. Following Moran (2005) who takes the study of everyday life as “commonplace activity [...] which might reveal unnoticed connections between everyday experience, cultural representation and issues of power, resources and public policy” (p. 9), I explore the banal, quotidian and tedious ways in which modernity and the Irish nation’s place therein, is produced and reproduced through the accounts of everyday life offered to me by migrant women in Ireland. Specifically, I consider narratives about waiting and work in order to examine how the Irish nation-state is inserted into the daily lives of migrant women and how the Irish nation is produced alongside a host of modernity’s entanglements in everyday life. In Chapters 6 and 7 I examine the second approach to everyday practices; with a focus on the exceptional social geographies and spatial practices of migrant women in contemporary Ireland, I address some of the ways that migrant women, in their everyday lives, rework, resist, reconfigure, and transform the Irish nation. By framing the everyday as “a fractured mosaic” and combining this conception with feminist thinking on embodiment, critical geopolitics, and a countertopographic analysis I hope to advance Lefebvre’s call for a synthetic approach to the critique of everyday life.

Sketches of (Modern) Migrant Life

Waiting for Destiny

Each morning, Sandra woke at 5:00 am.²³ After praying, washing, cleaning her rooms, and waking and preparing her four children, she would go to the main convent building to sign-in with accommodation center staff. This was a daily requirement of the Dublin-based Office of the Refugee Applications Commissioner (ORAC)—the state office responsible for processing and determining eligibility for refugee status in Ireland—that documents the asylum seekers’ existence, their whereabouts, and confirmed that they were indeed still waiting to hear their destiny in Ireland. Once the sign-in process was completed, Sandra and her children ate breakfast in the common dining room of the converted convent along with all the other asylum seekers who were housed in this accommodation center in the west of Ireland. Scheduled mealtimes were another stipulation of the “direct provision” system. With this system, while they wait for their applications to be processed, asylum seekers are provided with full-board accommodation, i.e. bed, breakfast, lunch, supper, and a personal weekly allowance of €19.10 and €9.60 per child (US \$25.12 and \$12.67 respectively).²⁴ After breakfast, Sandra and her four children walked approximately one-quarter mile to the local primary school in town. From there Sandra went to mass in the Catholic Church and returned to the bungalow by 10:00 a.m. Then, in her own words, *“I sit here doing nothing, except on the days when the library is open, I sit here until around 2:00pm when they (the children)*

²³ The names of interview participants have been changed to protect their privacy.

²⁴ Exchange rate calculated March 15, 2007 at €1.00=\$1.32. See RIA Information Pack, January, 2003 for details related to “entitlements” under the direct provision system.

start coming back and then I feed them a snack, then sit doing nothing” (interview, October 30, 2004).

I asked her, you don’t prepare meals right? To this, Sandra responded:

“I can't prepare a meal; to get milk I have to go up there, to get bread I have to go to the convent, in all weathers, not just me, everybody, because they don't allow us to take anything out of the hostel. Every meal I have to go up there. We go to the kitchen and eat dinner, come back here, I take their clothes to the laundry, basically that's my life” (interview, October 30, 2004).

Sandra’s seemingly unproductive day-to-day routine resounded with that of other migrant women who were caught up in the asylum process in Ireland at this time. By focusing primarily on Sandra’s story as an example, I examine how the banal practice of waiting informs a critical understanding of the production of modern Irish society and the work of the state in this process.

Sandra’s eldest daughter was murdered in retribution for her husband’s political activities in Nigeria. It was this event that triggered her decision to leave Nigeria for Ireland along with her remaining four children in October 2003. When I met her she’d already been waiting over a year for a decision regarding her application for refugee status. When she first arrived in Ireland, Sandra and her family stayed at a reception center in North Dublin. There, they were given medical examinations to ensure they were free from infectious diseases and they completed forms related to their application for asylum with assistance from Department of Justice staff. From there, asylum seekers are

transported to one of 64 accommodation centers dotted around the country.²⁵ The accommodation centers operate on a contract basis with the Reception and Integration Agency (RIA); this in turn is a branch of the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, the government body charged with handling immigration issues in Ireland. In 2000, in conjunction with the direct provision system, the government implemented a housing dispersal policy in an effort to curb some of the pressures on housing in urban areas associated with the “new” migration. Consequently, several small towns with long and close histories of emigration and rural de-population are now being re-populated by some of Ireland’s new immigrants.

So, one evening two weeks after her arrival, Sandra received a “dispersal letter” from the Reception and Integration Agency (RIA) informing her the next day she’d be going to the old convent in Ballyhaunis, County Mayo. The morning after Sandra received this letter a fleet of Bus Éireann coaches arrived at the reception center in Dublin and waited while men, women, and children packed their luggage and readied themselves to be dispersed to accommodation centers around the country. In Sandra’s words *“it’s a special day, when you drive down to your new destiny.”* Sandra immediately made inquiries, *“where is Ballyhaunis?”* Staff at the reception center located the town on a map, 40 miles (66 kilometers) north east of Galway, and 120 miles (200 kilometers) northwest of Dublin. They noted it wasn’t far from Knock, a Catholic shrine, pilgrimage destination, and site of the largest Catholic church in Ireland, where it is believed that in 1879 an apparition of the Virgin Mary was witnessed by fifteen people from the local area. As a very religious person herself, Sandra felt reassured that this was

²⁵ For a map locating the towns where participants were residing, see Chapter 2.

the place she was going; she thought, “*maybe my mother Mary is taking me, so I was very happy, very, very happy.*” On the journey to Ballyhaunis the bus driver got lost and had to stop the bus. He took out a very big map and consulted it for what seemed to Sandra like a very long time in order to find his way. Sandra recalled that she became apprehensive at this point but when she got to the accommodation center and saw other mothers, other children, and received a warm welcome, she knew everything would be ok.

As the name indicates, the old convent had once been a religious institution but it was converted to a hostel and managed by a UK-based company under contract with the RIA. The convent building was quite imposing, as it was perched on a hill and visible just beyond the town’s main street. Sandra and her four children lived with another family of two in a bungalow on the convent grounds. According to Sandra this arrangement was a big improvement over accommodation when she first came to Ballyhaunis. At first, she and her family shared one large, loud, and drafty dormitory room in the convent. While all the women with whom I spoke expressed their deep gratitude for the provision of a safe and restful place to stay, they also remarked on its incompatibility with the needs of families. A lack of privacy, the restrictions of an inflexible schedule for mealtimes, and a physical environment that was poorly suited and minimally adapted to meet the needs of children and pregnant women simply added to the frustrations of endless idle time. These problems are also borne out in a study examining the maternity care needs and living experiences among asylum seeking women in accommodation centers on the east coast of Ireland (see Kennedy and Murphy-Lawless, 2003).

Despite these concerns, the women I met felt they were steeped in good fortune at the old convent; after two months of petitioning a number of the mothers who had several

children were allowed to move into the bungalows, where, according to Sandra, *“you’re on your own, a little more privacy, you share bathroom facilities with fewer people, and the children can actually say, ‘I’m living in a home’”* (interview, October 30, 2004). The bungalow was small; Sandra had two sparingly furnished bedrooms for her family and a third room was home to another woman with one child. There was also a bathroom and a smaller room at the back of the house. In theory this latter room was a kitchenette, but, because of the “full board rule” associated with “direct provision” in accommodation centers, asylum seekers are not permitted to prepare their own food, so the kitchen(less) area of the bungalow came without a stove or refrigerator and accoutrements associated with food preparation—pots, pans, cutlery and utensils—were not provided. However, as I discuss in more detail in the next chapter, Sandra and several other women found ways to exercise a degree of independence and control over their day-to-day lives. One of the mundane yet extraordinary things these women had done was to pool their resources in order to purchase a small stove; consequently, they were able to cook for their families independently of the schedule at the hostel and rules of the RIA.

Sandra’s story of having little to do but sit and wait was repeated over and over in accounts of day-to-day routines among women who were part of the asylum process in Ireland at that time. Beji, another Nigerian woman living at the accommodation center in Ballyhaunis observed, *“the only thing I don’t really like about myself here, about my life now is not working, and being idle all the time. I just want to do something, even voluntary, just keeping busy, look at me I’m getting fatter, I wasn’t like this when I came”* (interview, October 30, 2004). Irene and Lisa observed that although free in this country, they experienced a frustrating form of freedom where they felt like caged birds with

nothing to do. Amanda recounted her everyday as centered around her home and family. On some occasions she went to the city center, but mostly “*because I don’t have the right to study, I don’t have the right to work, basically, I can’t do anything other than sit around*” (interview, October 14, 2004). Whether their accommodation was in an urban center or a rural town, two-thirds of the migrant women I met who were waiting for word on their status in Ireland detailed everyday life as a series of negations and regulations—not allowed to work, not allowed to go to school, nothing to do but wait. Angela put the situation in stark terms: “*Nobody wants to go to a place where they are made to sit down and do nothing, to be useless, to feel stupid, you understand*” (interview, October 14, 2004).

Organized Waiting—A General and Diversified Common Denominator

- Lefebvre, 1987, p. 10

It is clear from these accounts of being thwarted by the tedium of waiting that “the everyday is the space/time where constraints and boredom are produced” (Kaplan and Ross, 1987, p. 3). Lefebvre and others argue that to dismiss waiting as boring, irrelevant, or not worthy of attention is a mistake because it is an inescapable and fundamental component of everyday life in the modern world (see Lefebvre, 2003c, p. 97; Moran, 2005). In my project, the banality of waiting is significant for a critical understanding of the production of the modern Irish nation-state. For asylum seekers and refugees, (and for some certified citizens of Ireland too) waiting, whether for word on one’s claim for refugee status, for care in a hospital or health clinic, for a childcare slot, maybe even for Godot, is an economic imperative and a mechanism that produces,

reflects, and reinforces social, racial, and ethnic difference. In addition, these accounts of idle time also illustrate how representations and practices envelop one another in the social production of space.

As a tool of modern political-economic relations, waiting ensures that assets are deployed in a way that is cost-effective and that uses available resources efficiently. Moran (2005) uses the example of the necessity of waiting for buses and trains to illustrate how capitalism saturates mundane, ordinary, everyday social practices. He observes, “if railway platforms are half-empty and buses half-full, then those who provide the service are losing money somewhere” (p. 7). From my perspective, refugees and asylum seekers serve as a good example of a similar process and requirement of modernity at work in the everyday life of Irish society. Rather than being perceived as an asset, and as detailed in chapter 4, asylum seekers are represented as a drain on scarce resources. Associated with the rhetoric of floods and deluges, their number is viewed as potentially infinite. Consequently, asylum seekers are worth less, their time indefinitely expendable, and the costs that would be incurred to decrease waiting time deemed unjustified. And so, for those seeking asylum, the daily wait is a seminal experience that encapsulates the tensions involved in the production of the modern Irish nation-state.

In addition to this, as a repetitive everyday practice among those seeking asylum, waiting comes to be the embodiment of social, ethnic, and national difference that on one hand helps to set lawful citizens and residents of Ireland apart from immigrant, asylum seeker folk. As legal residents of the Irish nation get on with producing and reproducing the successes of Celtic Tiger Ireland, asylum seekers are made, and seen, to do little but sit idly by. On the other hand, and in keeping with Lefebvre’s view of the everyday as

ambiguous and internally divided, the relations between migrants, waiting and modernity are considerably more complex than a simple distinction between asylum seekers and Irish citizens.

To illustrate, consider another issue that gripped media attention over the course of my fieldwork in Ireland: waiting time in hospital emergency rooms and overcrowding in healthcare facilities. Beginning in the spring of 2004, several media sources reported on a series of protests at hospitals throughout the country in an effort to highlight the plight of patients and people in need of medical and health care in Ireland's understaffed and under-resourced healthcare system. Since that time a number of healthcare organizations have maintained databases that track the number of people waiting each day for transfer to a hospital bed or ward from gurneys parked in emergency departments and hospital corridors. Organizations that report daily trolley-watch totals, as they are termed, are frequently in dispute about their tallies; this is a reflection of differing political actors and institutional pressures exerted on various healthcare organizations.

Despite rival numbers, monthly averages for the number of people waiting for medical care in public hospitals throughout Ireland ranged between 167 and 291 from October 2004 to August 2006 (Irish Nurses Organization (INO). Retrieved September 10, 2006, from <http://www.ino.ie>). Related to this, Ireland's ratio of physicians per 100,000 population is one of the lowest within the European Union, ranked fourteenth out of fifteen EU countries in 1999, with 219 physicians for every 100,000 people compared to Italy's 554 per 100,000 population (UN Development Report, 2001). As a consequence of these shortages and pressures on the healthcare system, waiting time for an appointment with a host of medical specialists ranging from Ear Nose and Throat (ENT)

to vascular consultants averages three months, while a significant number of people wait more than 24 months for a scheduled appointment with a medical consultant (Department of Health, December, 2003).²⁶

In order to bring this issue of waiting into sharper focus as it relates to the migrant stories of waiting already discussed we might examine specific dates. October 27, 2004 coincided with the first phase of my fieldwork interviews with women asylum seekers. On this date there were 186 people waiting in accident and emergency departments for transfer to hospital wards for medical care (Irish Nurses Organisation (INO), Retrieved September 10, 2006, from <http://www.ino.ie>). On May 10, 2005, when the interview phase of my fieldwork with migrant women ended, there were 274 people on trolleys in hospital emergency rooms around Ireland. Notably, at this point nine of the women in my interview sample of 25 were qualified and experienced healthcare professionals.

While I don't wish to suggest that my findings can be taken as representative of all migrants or that immigrant labor alone might solve Ireland's healthcare crisis, I want to point out that significant numbers of asylum seekers are skilled in areas where need is high but the current supply of labor in Ireland does not meet demand and the healthcare industry offers just one example. Within my admittedly small sample, one-fifth of participants had qualifications as health care professionals ranging from medical doctors and nurses to healthcare aides, yet only one participant was eligible and actually working in the healthcare field. I will discuss the larger significance of work for migrants and the modern Irish nation in the next section; for now I want to note the contradiction wherein skilled asylum seekers must sit around doing nothing waiting for their applications to be

²⁶ At the time of writing public data were only available up to December, 2003.

processed while modern Ireland's citizens, residents, and migrants alike must wait and wait again to receive services within the nation's healthcare system. The end result, as Lefebvre's (1987) critique of the everyday suggests, is that, like passivity, waiting is both a general and diversified practice of everyday life in the modern world.

The effort to differentiate between the productive work of Irish residents and unproductive idleness of asylum seekers from overseas is further muted when juxtaposed alongside Ireland's history of emigration. As detailed in chapter 3, once upon a time and not so long ago, it was proposed that migrants, albeit Ireland's own overseas migrants, made a significant contribution to the materialization of the modern Irish nation while those at home were deemed unproductive, caught up in the throes of yesteryear's policies and economic recession.²⁷ Today however, the reverse appears to have gained ground; now legal citizens and residents living in Ireland get on with reproducing the economic success and wealth of Irish society while the apparently lazy asylum seekers, migrants from overseas (see Chapter 4's discussion of representations of migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers), whose everyday life comprises nothing but waiting, are the unproductive ones. As such, asylum seekers have come to embody the past and the subject positions associated with this era as it was on Ireland's home turf.

In her work on French society, Ross (1995) links the processes of decolonization, modernization, and social differentiation. She notes that immigrants who came from former French colonies were perceived to have characteristics seen in France before modernity descended "almost cargo-cult-like" (Ross, 1995, p. 4) on French society after World War II. In a similar way, the representations of migrant asylum seekers in Ireland

²⁷Gray (2002) discusses the problematic character and impact of these representations and ideas for those who stayed at home.

today suggest that they have dispositions that belong in pre-modern Ireland while those with legal rights to claim Irish identity are portrayed as distinctly different, ambitious, advanced and embracing of the modern nation-state. All this paves the way for social distance and ethnic differentiation and for the social production of the Irish, legal residents, and Ireland itself as a thoroughly modern nation.

From my perspective then, waiting exemplifies a commonly experienced practice and expectation of everyday life in modern Ireland; at the same time, social divisions and differentiation are materialized in this process. Associated with this, the simple binary division of everyday life into positive and negative forces falls apart. Instead, as a facet of the everyday, I propose that waiting intersects with migration and the modern Irish nation as a fractured mosaic. Within this mix the state is imposed—economic imperatives and production of difference intact—in the day-to-day lives of asylum seekers and materializes their very existence as a heavily regulated and repetitive cycle of sit and wait. In turn, the *necessity* of waiting for people who seek asylum in Ireland is abstracted as popular culture, through print and media sources, portrays laziness and idleness as the personal choice and the overarching representation of so-called “sponger refugees” (see chapter 4 for discussion of these representations). Lefebvre (1991) notes “that productive relations tend in the main to cover their tracks” and in this process misapprehension is ensured (p. 113), and this was certainly the case with the women I met. For them, the experience of waiting envelops their everyday lives and in turn becomes associated with and represented as “wasted time and even shameful indolence” (Moran, 2005, p. 7). Meanwhile, the political-economic and productive relations at work in the modern Irish nation-state are obscured in part by and through practices of waiting.

Before, After, and In-Between Work, Migration, and Nation

What is highlighted in the dichotomy between Ireland's ostensibly industrious populace and supposed slacker interlopers from outside is the significance of work as part of modern everyday life. Issues related to work inflected all of the conversations I shared with migrant women throughout my own fieldwork. For each of the women I met, the assumption and incorporation of so-called productive or paid work was a vital facet of everyday life. It was variously a reflection of personal identity and a source of social and cultural difference; work was potentially, and for some actually, a path to belonging in Irish society, and it was a site where change and stasis associated with the modern Irish nation were made real. Therefore, while acknowledging that from a feminist perspective a focus on paid work is problematic because it fails to take into account the many ways that unpaid, reproductive and often domestic labors matter, in the discussion below, I turn attention to a number of the perspectives about work that emerged from my conversations with women who were differently located along the trail as migrants within the Irish nation. First I examine reflections on work as part of the everyday lives of women seeking asylum in Ireland, then I consider the part that voluntary—unpaid but productive—work has come to play for a number of migrants and in the modern Irish state the Irish nation.

Faraway Dreams—Work, Identity and Alienation

“Oh my god, it was very difficult for me, you know, when you leave your country, your family, your job, for me medicine was my passion, it was part of my family, so it was very difficult to leave and claim a new life” (interview, October 18, 2004). Baran said I

could write a book about her life before she came to Ireland. She married while still a medical student in Algeria in 1988. When she completed her training, she made a decision not to specialize and work in the capital city, because there *“there are many, many hospitals and people don’t really need a doctor, but outside the capital people have a need.”* Instead, Baran went with her young family to a remote village in the mountains where she practiced medicine for five years. In her words, *“this life was very clear, pure and natural.”* No electricity meant things took time—making a fire, baking bread, preparing meals, caring for sick people—Baran had many interesting experiences and *“did lot of things to help out in the village.”* Because of conflict and fighting between different groups in the area, Baran and her family had to leave. They returned to the capital, Algiers. There, Baran had an important post in the emergency department of a large hospital. Baran’s husband was also a medical doctor; he also held an administrative post with a lot of responsibility. As a result, Baran was accustomed to a busy schedule—up at 4:00 a.m. to get water as they only had water two days a week, taking care of housework, dealing with bills, tending to family, and her *passion*, medicine. But, as before, trouble associated with conflict between different groups followed and the family came to Ireland in 2002. Baran’s application for refugee status was granted and in a few years she hoped to become an Irish citizen. She hoped to find a job in a hospital after completing medical board exams and improving her English some more.

Because Baran’s application for asylum in Ireland was successful, she was hopeful that she’d soon be working again in her chosen profession. For those whose applications were still pending, and for some who had permission to seek employment in

Ireland, their prior work and life seemed like “a far-away dream.” So said Sandra in Ballyhaunis, who before she migrated to Ireland also was a medical doctor, a registrar, *“working in one of the biggest and best equipped hospitals in West Africa. I was working in the general outpatient program, that meant a very, very tight schedule, but I loved it, [...] it was a beautiful life, I was well paid, I was living quite well”* (interview, October 30, 2004). And there was Riva, who noted, *“I was at the peak of my career, I was the chief accountant in a large manufacturing company, I had a happy family life and we had a very good apartment in the heart of the city, and ahhh, I was quite happy”* (interview, October 18, 2004).

Among those who spoke longingly about their professional life before seeking asylum in Ireland were Irene, an engineer, Beji, a school teacher, Lisa, a microbiologist, Annette, a nurse/midwife, Alina, a lawyer, and Tayo, a pharmacology researcher. Put differently, among those whose careers came to a halt when they arrived in Ireland because of the state’s policy of restricting access to employment among non-EU migrants, almost half (43%) had advanced professional qualifications or training, and all but two of the participants as a group had been employed as salaried professionals or waged workers before they migrated to Ireland. Consequently, the past professions and labor histories of the immigrants I spoke with ran contrary to their representation in Ireland as freeloaders and the effects of state policy in their day-to-day practices effaced these histories too.

The accounts of everyday life before they became asylum seekers and refugees make it clear that previously, work had provided for their financial needs and afforded many of the women I met with a comfortable lifestyle that was now remembered with a sigh. In this sense their accounts lend support to research findings among economists and

social scientists refuting the idea that migrants have limited resources and/or leave impoverished situations in search of the good life elsewhere. For instance, Massey, Goldring and Durand argued that because of the costs and risks associated with migration the first households to migrate, particularly in new chains of migration, “tend to be located in the middle or upper ranges of the (local) income hierarchy” (cited in Massey, 1998, p. 45). On a related note, in personality research on the characteristics that might distinguish migrants from those who choose not to migrate, Boneva and Frieze (2001) found that a variety of factors influenced the decision to migrate; among these were high scores on measures of work-orientation and achievement orientation. Although the circumstances that necessitated migration were frequently not chosen among the women I met, their everyday lives, both before and after becoming asylum seekers, exemplified both determination and a desire to contribute to the economic and social wellbeing of their families and communities; as such they seemed to embody many of the characteristics identified in psychological research on migration (see also Deaux, 2006; Taylor, 1969; Jennings, 1970).

In addition to this, and to the socio-economic changes these women experienced when they migrated to Ireland, their reflections about working life before and after migration also highlight how work and identity are sandwiched together in modernity. For several of the women I spoke with, exclusion from the labor force was a significant source of frustration and discontent. Annette, who had worked as a nurse/midwife, observed that she left Nigeria for freedom and basic human rights. When asked about her day-to-day routine living in Ireland, she noted that although she felt safer in Ireland she wasn't free. Because she was unable to work she thought her potential was wasted and

she felt abandoned. She remarked, “*maybe I’ve gone from one problem to an even bigger one*” (interview, October 28, 2004). Although Hossen felt deflated because she had gone from a career as a doctor to a stay-at-home mother, she also expressed hope; “*I know myself when I get a job I will be better, because my life before was job, study, job, and I lost these suddenly, and [now] just stay home cooking, washing, and doing things like this. I should be busy doing something helpful*” (interview, October 18, 2004). While Tayo, who had previously worked in pharmaceutical research, had a broader, bolder view. She noted, when she came to Ireland she “*discovered that Ireland is still a developing country and there’s nothing wrong with that because Rome wasn’t built in a day [...] so you see I want to develop with Ireland, I can be useful to Ireland*” (interview, October 22, 2004).

That some of the women I spoke with attached a lesser value to home-based work is no surprise; this view merely reflects the diminished value of the reproductive sphere in patriarchal society as a whole (for discussion, see McDowell, 1999). To me, what was especially interesting in these women’s perspectives was the centrality of paid work in identity formation and sense of belonging in Ireland. Productive work is not only seen as good for economic security but also for psychological wellbeing, and for the benefit of society and modern Ireland as a whole. Because these beliefs and representations about productive work are knit so tightly into the fabric of everyday life for many of those seeking asylum and who must endure a pause in their participation in the productive sphere this experience deals a significant blow to their sense of place, role, and identity in Irish society.

To account for this, I propose we again return to Lefebvre's critique of everyday life in the modern world. As noted earlier in the chapter, one approach takes the view that being caught up in the humdrum activities of modern life is a stultifying and alienating experience. On this issue Highmore (2004) notes, "the massive routinization of work practices that we associate with modernity has helped to characterize routine as an experience of deadening repetition" (p. 308) where people are alienated from themselves, the activities, and the end result in the production process. But, following Lefebvre's concern with articulating the complexity of everyday life, Highmore goes on to argue the case for considering the ambiguity and aesthetics of routines of daily life. He proposes that routine practices such as work can be understood as "simultaneously frustrating and comforting, alienating and homely" (p. 321). Similarly, McLeod (1997) suggests that the everyday, including work-life, "embodies at once the most dire experiences of oppression and the strongest potentialities for transformation" (p. 14).

While I don't wish to wax rhapsodic on the drudgery of productive work, I do want to suggest that exclusion from the productive sphere throws the ambiguous and necessary role of work in modernity into relief. When asylum seekers are excluded from participating as part of the labor force in Ireland, it seems to me that they are denied the oppressive, formative, and possibly also transformative aspects of productive work, thence, of an important component of contemporary everyday life. In a sense then, those seeking asylum are doubly alienated—they are alienated from productive or paid work in all its complex, alienating, and exhilarating glory, and in this process they are alienated from (modern) society itself. Further wrinkles are added to this cloak of alienation when exclusion from work coupled with waiting become mechanisms of social division and

ethnic differentiation. These processes set those seeking asylum apart, not only as a category of migrants, but also as distinct from those with the legal right to reside in Ireland, hence, as outsiders within modern Irish society.

The Volunteer Brigade

In an effort to counter these distinctions, and to reclaim identity as productive members of society as well as their place in modern Ireland, many women in my study sought opportunities to volunteer in a variety of organizations. As a brigade of unpaid workers engaged in productive work, this facet of the everyday lives of refugees and asylum seekers reflects the contradictions that are associated with modernity and the social production of the modern Irish nation-state. Many of the women I met viewed volunteering as a step towards belonging in Irish society and there can be little doubt that volunteering is beneficial both at the individual and at the social scale. I discuss the role that voluntary work plays as a form of social citizenship for migrants in Ireland today in the next chapter. Here, I want to highlight how the practice is tied up with some of the neo-liberal policies of the modern Irish nation-state.

Among the women I interviewed, one-third (33%) of the sample as a whole did some form of voluntary work. A subgroup comprised of those who were seeking asylum or who had been through the asylum process was more noteworthy in this regard. In this category nearly two-thirds (62%) engaged in voluntary work on at least a weekly basis. This can be compared with available, albeit earlier, data on Irish volunteering. Ruddle and Mulvihill (1999) report on a survey of a representative sample of the Irish population on personal contributions to charitable organizations and time devoted to voluntary work

for charities. In 1992, 39% of those surveyed said they did some voluntary work, in 1998 this percentage slipped to 33%.²⁸ The volunteers I met worked in hospitals, churches and institutions with religious affiliations, educational settings, non-profit social service organizations, and cafeterias. They worked as cooks, caretakers, cleaners, educators, advocates, counselors, and aides.

Tessa, a young single parent who lived in a studio apartment in North Dublin, described how she volunteered every day at the Pentecostal church she attended in the city.²⁹ She cleaned and prepared the space for church gatherings and services. Among the reasons she gave for being so devoted to her church were that it provided a place to go *“outside the four walls of her flat and it offered her daughter a safe, familiar environment in which to play”* (interview, October 7, 2004); this was something Tessa felt her local community did not provide.

Odun, who lived in the suburbs of North Dublin with her two children, and had previously been a nurse practitioner in Nigeria, now paid a babysitter in order to volunteer once or twice a week for four hours at a Dublin hospital specializing in pediatric medical care. At the hospital she worked with children in the play department; she accompanied children from their ward to the playgroup where they were encouraged to play or draw or participate in a range of therapeutic activities. Odun was responsible *“to make sure the children were in safe hands.”* In the playgroup she *“helped children to express their feelings, helped them to feel at home, and showed them they were loved and cared for”* (interview, October 23, 2004). Maria, who was recently awarded refugee

²⁸ Ireland's census of 2005 included a question about time devoted to voluntary activities; these data were not available at the time of writing.

²⁹ Until 2000 and only under certain circumstances, asylum seekers were eligible for rent subsidies, hence, were able to reside in private sector housing.

status, helped out on the opposite end of the lifespan as a volunteer care worker for adults in a nursing home in the Dublin area. Shama recounted a similar tale of volunteering. With her background as a nurse's aide in Sri Lanka, she took to a voluntary nurse's aide position, in a hospital in the southwestern city where she lived, with flair. Her only frustrations were that she *“was not able to earn money to send back home and, as a single mother in Ireland, it was difficult to find somewhere to provide childcare support”* while she volunteered (interview, May 6, 2005).

Before she was granted refugee status, subsequently became an Irish citizen, and began studying management law at university, Gail volunteered with an organization that provides assistance to new immigrants to Ireland. Along with paid staff and other volunteers she went to hostels and accommodation centers in the Dublin area and gave workshops on migrant rights and how to access educational, health, and social services for asylum seekers; she also provided translation services from time to time. Ana, another Nigerian woman who had recently been granted refugee status and was hoping to pursue a degree in nursing, spent much of her time doing volunteer work for three different immigrant support organizations in Dublin. She did administrative work for one group and was soon to begin public health related volunteer work for others. Like Gail, Ana would visit hostels and accommodation centers to provide information on accessing health care and other resources of particular importance to women. Meanwhile, Angela, Nkem, and many other women I met were engaged as volunteer “resource officers,” information providers, and members of social support teams in a host of non-profit organizations dotted around the country.

Each of these women observed that voluntary work played a crucial role for them. In addition to the benefit of relieving some of the ennui encountered on a day-to-day basis, many migrants and non-migrants alike hold that by volunteering, asylum seekers demonstrate their willingness to contribute to Irish society and begin to integrate and acculturate themselves to Irish social and cultural practices. Several of the women I met also said they hoped that letters of support they'd received from officials at their volunteer sites would be reviewed favorably in applications and appeals to the Department of Justice, while a few who had been granted refugee status, or who had transitioned to the bonafide "immigrant" or "resident" category, found that their experiences with voluntary work provided a springboard for a new career or professional pursuits in Ireland.

Productive Unpaid Work and the "Necessitarian Logic" of the Modern Nation-State

- Brenner, 2001, p. 802

The importance of voluntary work among the women I met can also be placed within the broader context of the social production of the modern Irish nation and the imperatives of the capitalist, neo-liberal state. I want to consider these relations alongside Katz's (2004) project of countertopography. Katz proposes that over and above the detailed or 'thick' descriptions of particular geographic locations and situated social and spatial practices associated with topography as a research method, countertopography can produce "thick descriptions of abstract social relations and processes, such as those associated with [...] the advance of capitalist relations of production, or at a different

level of abstraction, deskilling or the disinvestment in social reproduction” (2004, p. xiv). In my project, I propose that attention to the concrete specifics of voluntary work grounds the abstracted modern Irish state’s production in everyday life. Furthermore, voluntary work highlights what Brenner describes as the “necessitarian logic of the modern nation-state” (2001, p. 802), where neo-liberal state policies demand cost cutting and frugality in some sectors while investments and subsidies to capitalist growth are redoubled ostensibly associated with the demands of remaining competitive within the global capitalist system. In order to appreciate how voluntary work is tied up with this logic we must return for a moment to the economic growth and change that barreled through Irish society in the 1990’s, and consider these changes in Irish society more explicitly in reference to Lefebvre’s perspective on the modern state.

In chapter 4, I outlined several of the economic changes associated with the Celtic Tiger years. Growth rates rocketed to record highs and the government’s coffers, as well as the individual wealth of some, increased at a rate not seen before in Irish society. O’Connell (2001) discusses the effect Ireland’s new found status as a wealthy modern state had on government spending on public goods. He details declining government financial support and involvement with education, public transportation services, spending on the arts, as well as health and housing.

Among the examples O’Connell presents by referencing an array of survey data including the Irish Census, Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and Eurostat, are a comparison across nations of government financial contributions to support the arts where Ireland ranked eighth out of nine developed nations and only the U.S. lagged behind in ninth place. Following a similar trend, when

government subsidies for public transportation are compared, Dublin ranks as having the lowest level of support for its public transit system among European capital cities. When it comes to education, O’Connell notes, “in the frothiest years of the economic bubble, we [the Irish state] slid from at least an average position in the OECD to well below average on spending for primary and secondary education” (p. 114). And O’Connell reiterates a point discussed earlier, noting that it is widely acknowledged that Ireland’s public health system is unable to “deliver adequate care in a *reasonable* time frame and at affordable cost” (p. 123, italics in original). When compared with the past, with other nations, and when Ireland’s relative wealth today is placed alongside patterns of government spending on public goods and services, the trend follows a distinctly downward path.

The perceived rolling back of state involvement in the everyday lives of its people is part of the logic and production process of the neo-liberal modern state. A wealth of scholarship from Britain, the U.S., and elsewhere documents the privatization of public services, the declining government role in the provision and oversight of the social welfare and care of citizens, and the effects of these policies on individuals and communities (see for example Hall, 1988; Putnam, 2000; Elden, 2004; Moran, 2005; Leitner, Peck & Sheppard, 2007). As such, it might be said that the only distinctive thing about the Irish story in this regard is its late arrival to the rhetoric and reality of the “free economy, neo-classical liberalism, and political conservatism” (Elden, 2004, p. 225).

In keeping with Lefebvre’s critique of the state, I want to make a more nuanced point here. One of the arguments Lefebvre advances in his voluminous work on the state focuses on a new state form—the state mode of production (see Lefebvre, 2001; Brenner,

2001). This not only involves recognition of the devolution of state responsibilities but also “a progressive move towards acceptance of the state and its role in a capitalist system” (Elden, 2004, p. 226). In accordance with this view it is inaccurate, as some arguments on globalization have suggested, that the state’s role actually diminishes within the context of the global market. Instead, those who take up Lefebvre’s work in this area argue that decentralization, disinvestment, and the Thatcherite call to “roll back the frontiers of the state” (cited in Elden, 2004, p. 225) are in actuality “a ‘simulacrum’ of democratization, in which administrative problems and fiscal burdens are merely reshuffled without qualitatively modifying the balance of power” (Brenner, 2001, p. 790).

I believe the volunteer brigade that, in large measure, is constituted by asylum seekers, refugees, and new immigrants in Ireland today illuminate this shuffle. A number of the managerial and administrative burdens of the Irish state are shifted into the laps of asylum seekers and refugees who cook, clean, educate, and care on a voluntary basis. They, in turn, depend on the Irish state to provide for their basic needs including food and shelter. In this process, and without being paid, asylum seekers and refugees are swaddled in the routines, regulations, and bureaucracy of the modern state. Consequently, the balance of power in the everyday relations of production and reproduction remain “in the hands” of the state. At the same time however, the state has an unacknowledged debt to its volunteer army of unpaid immigrants, as their eager participation in the day-to-day management and reproduction of modern society helps offset the declines in public service provision by the State. This, in turn, enables the Irish State to continue to expand its role as a key player in the national and international market place.

Furthermore, the ripples associated with this sidestep and shuffle are encountered in a variety of spaces of everyday life in Irish society. As we saw earlier in this chapter, the prior work histories and professional expertise of many asylum seekers are discounted or devalued. In some of the spaces where refugees and asylum seekers take on voluntary work, the earning power of paid workers depreciates as previously valued skills are diminished and redistributed. And in the domestic sphere of social reproduction, the homework and mothering work that women caught up in the asylum system undertake on a daily basis is relegated to a secondary status and simultaneously commodified. Hence, mothers like Ola and Shama must pay or barter services with friends for babysitting while they go out to unpaid work. In these ways, immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees become imbricated in complex and necessary ways in a “utopia of unlimited exploitation” (Bourdieu, 1998, cited in Brenner 2001, p.802) while Irish society continues to record the economic successes of a thoroughly modern, market capitalist, nation-state.³⁰

Conclusion

I began this chapter with the question, how have social spaces and practices changed in Ireland with the shift from emigration to immigration? If the accounts discussed in this chapter were all we had, we might conclude that indeed little has changed. As with Irish women in the earlier part of the 20th century, many migrant women remain relegated to the domestic space of the home and the work they do remains

³⁰ For example, Ireland’s average economic growth rate between 1994 and 2000 was 10%; since then average economic growth rate has been 4-5% (CSO, 2005).

significantly undervalued yet critical to the social production of the modern nation-state. But, as I think it is clear by now, everyday life is more complex than such a singular frame suggests. McLeod observes of Lefebvre's critique of everyday life, "emphasis on the oppressions of daily existence is also countered by a transcendent belief that everyday life cannot be contained by bureaucratic regimentation, that it harbors the desire that generates transformation" (p. 15). And so I turn, in the next chapter, to the second approach to the study of everyday life and to issues of resistance among migrants in the modern Irish nation.

Chapter 6—(Un)Intended Consequences: Everyday Life and Practices of Resistance

What is the goal? It is the transformation of life in its smallest, most everyday detail

- Henri Lefebvre (1947)

We have now seen that Lefebvre's critique of everyday life in the modern world not only called attention to the ways that individuals are alienated within the so-called productive sphere, but in addition, by focusing on ordinary, everyday practices, Lefebvre's work highlights how all facets of modern living have gradually and insidiously been incorporated into a "bureaucratic society of controlled consumption" (Lefebvre cited in Elden, 2004, p. 116). Furthermore, associated with the pervasive gendering of productive and reproductive spheres, Lefebvre's focus on the everyday also casts critical light on the relations between women's lives and modernity. But given that the goal of Lefebvre's critique of everyday life in the modern world was "the transformation of life in its smallest most everyday detail" (Lefebvre, 1947, cited in McLeod, 1997), to leave the analysis of the everyday here would be an injustice to Lefebvre's project and, to my mind, it would also do a disservice to the women who participated in my research. Therefore, in this chapter, I consider the clandestine, transformative moments as well as spaces of resistance and possibility that comprise the everyday alongside its banal and mundane features. More specifically, I explore the narratives of the participants in my study and their relations to Lefebvre's work on

everyday life and the social production of space by taking up questions of resistance and the transformation of social space.

In the first part of the chapter I examine the significance of a critical-dialectical approach in considering practices of resistance. I draw on Katz's (2004) critique and delineation of resistance and couple this with the accounts of everyday life among women in my study in order to distinguish between extraordinary acts of resilience and more mundane instantiations of this practice. In this way I highlight Lefebvre's call for a focus on how routine facets of everyday life can be a source of transformation. From here I turn attention to some of the ways that ordinary efforts to recalibrate resources and social positioning expose the gains and losses, or contradictory effects, of everyday practices of resistance. Following this discussion, I detail some examples of the activism—at the individual and group level—exercised by women in this study. Through this process some of the negative representations of migrants generally are called into question. In the final section I examine the intersections between organized resistance, recent research on activism in the wake of neoliberalism, and Lefebvre's critique of everyday life. In all, this chapter considers some of the ways that day-to-day social and spatial practices among refugees and asylum seekers rework exclusions and restrictions, usurp (mis)representations, and lay the groundwork for changing the social and spatial fabric of contemporary Irish society.

Cautionary Tales: Personal and Political

Before taking up a discussion of some of the conceptual issues associated with resistance I must confess that I have some misgivings and remain edgy in sharing talk of

resistance in my research. In part this is because to address resistance in everyday life adequately and in accordance with Lefebvre's work raises a number of challenges, some of which I explore in greater detail in the section 'Rethinking Resistance' further on in this chapter. In addition to this, at the outset of my research I was forewarned that many interview participants would be reluctant to sharing details about their everyday lives particularly before becoming asylum seekers in Ireland. This is because everyday life is frequently grounded in complicated personal histories and for the women in my research—refugees and asylum seekers in particular—these histories are further complicated by the politics of migration. Consequently, some aspects of the everyday lives of the women I met raised ethical issues as well as concerns related to the authenticity and validity of their accounts; this makes recounting stories of everyday life and resistance therein a thorny matter.

First, the circumstances that impel people to leave their homes and become refugees are very often steeped in complex tragedy and distressing memories. Coupled with this, the re-telling of these events is also critical to determining the success of an asylum application; therefore, these accounts are fraught with tension on all sides. On top of the challenges involved in the retelling of complex and traumatic events, often within the sterile institutional setting of an immigration bureau, asylum applicants must also recount their individual histories in ways that make them compelling to officials who have the power to make decisions about the gravity and authenticity of claims for asylum. Related to these difficulties I was forewarned that many women would not want to talk about their lives before coming to Ireland or that they might be tempted to embellish their

stories as they sometimes felt it necessary to do so to secure their chances of gaining refugee status in Ireland.

In my study, instead of making any reference to smuggling, women referred to individuals who facilitated their journey to Ireland as “agents.” Aside from the legalities and suffering associated with human smuggling, the motives of those who enter the EU this way are often questioned. Such migrants are often classified as having economic motives rather than as individuals with a “genuine” case for asylum. Therefore, the potential costs of exposure and fears associated with recounting the circumstances that led to their arrival in Ireland were great. Associated with this and with the parallels that might easily be drawn between the asylum application procedure and a research interview I was eager to distance myself from any association with the Department of Justice in Ireland or influence over the application process. I had neither. Consequently, I explicitly indicated to those I met that I held no sway in status decisions and I tried to steer clear of questions that I thought might leave interview participants with erroneous impressions about the scope of my power in this situation.

Other people cautioned me that EU legislation had made those caught up within the asylum system quite reluctant to share accurate details related to their journey to and arrival in Ireland. More specifically, the Treaty of Amsterdam (May, 1999) and Dublin Regulation II (February, 2003) (for a detailed discussion of these documents see Costello, 2003) stipulate that individuals seeking asylum must make their claim at their first port of entry within the EU. If, in relating their journey to Ireland, a woman who was waiting for her application to be processed revealed that she had stopped or stayed in some other country before arriving in Ireland she ran the risk of being sent back to her first

destination in order to have her application processed there in accordance with EU regulations. Consequently, among the women I interviewed, what could be uttered publicly about these aspects of their lives was absolutely loaded; to use Judith Butler's term their stories were laden with "excitable speech" (Butler, 1997), even within the context of research that guaranteed anonymity to participants. As a result, I was reluctant to thrust the participants in my research, or myself, into this minefield.

Because I was aware that the political dynamics and sensitive character of their narratives made recalling details quite difficult for some participants, I tried to be attentive to the likely turbulence of their histories and present circumstances while, at the same time, I did not want to occlude the possibility to speak about such events. As a result, I did not place any demands on the women to recount the particulars of their stories to me, and participants were forthright about what they were willing and not willing to share. But, in addressing questions of everyday life before and after migration, accounts of going and getting to Ireland were inevitably told. To my ears these stories rang with resistance; however, in deference to the sensitive character of some of these stories my retellings here are, by necessity, somewhat vague.

But, in addition to the ethical issues and my personal unease with these stories, there is another more theoretically grounded reason why I have elected not to dwell too long on the experiences that immediately precipitated migration to Ireland as instances of resistance. Narratives that rely on the recounting of trauma and suffering can sometimes slide into constructions of refugees—as well as other marginalized groups—as helpless victims or alternatively as heroes in the face of omnipotent forces. Although I am not in a position to refute the veracity of such accounts nor am I opposed to their strategic use in

particular contexts, it seems to me that such representations can become quite problematic. Like the representations discussed in previous chapters such ideas can result in propagating perspectives where immigrants of all classifications are thrown together and collectively labeled as “spongers,” “victims,” or “heroines.” Because I am interested here in the ways that social and spatial practices exceed representations, I do not wish to slip into yet another set of one-sided representations that can potentially be used to regulate or reify the identities and positions that migrants occupy within Irish society.

Related to this, calls to attend to the gaps and interstices between representations and practices are recurrent throughout Lefebvre’s work. As such to simply replace ideas about migrant women as “spongers” or “citizenship tourists” with representations of “victims” or “heroines” is contrary to Lefebvre’s orientation and theorization on the social production of space. Furthermore, to focus exclusively on exceptional acts or events seems antithetical to the goals of Lefebvre’s critique of everyday life. As Kaplan and Ross note, “it is in the midst of the utterly ordinary, in the space where the dominant relations of production are tirelessly and relentlessly reproduced, that we must look for utopian and political aspirations to crystallize” (1987, p. 3). Therefore, in taking up questions of resistance, I am particularly interested in “revealing the extraordinary in the ordinary” (Lefebvre, 1987, p. 9). More explicitly, I am concerned with highlighting the complexities and contradictions, or, the intended and unintended consequences of everyday life and the practices of resistance therein. To further explain and account for this approach in my research it’s necessary to rethink resistance.

Rethinking Resistance

In general, as discussed in Chapter 5, studies of everyday life have been concerned with either the mundane, alienating aspects of daily life in the modern world, or they have focused attention on the ways that routine practices unsettle, resist, and potentially transform the normative logic that saturates modern everyday existence. This bifurcation is problematic and incongruous with Lefebvre's project because a critical dialectical approach to everyday life points to a complex and internally divided, "fractured mosaic of positive and negative forces" (Gardiner, 2004, p. 241).

Even so, academic interest focusing almost exclusively on practices of resistance runs rampant having gained momentum particularly with the influence of Foucault as well as with feminist, post-colonial, and post-structuralist perspectives on power, social relations, and difference. So, there is now a cornucopia of analyses of oppositional and counterhegemonic practices in the everyday. These studies include analyses of heroism in everyday life (Featherstone, 1992), accounts of the ways lipstick lesbians and skinhead males appropriate heteronormative spaces and identities (Bell, Binnie, Cream and Valentine, 1994), and examinations of the strategies and tactics employed by marginalized Filipina domestic workers as they negotiate access to public urban spaces in Singapore (Yeoh and Huang, 1998).

The significance of attention to individual and collective agency in the face of apparently all-encompassing social, political, and economic pressures shouldn't be underestimated and the contributions this focus has made in social theory generally is well documented (see for example Mitchell, 1997; Gibson-Graham, 1996; Smith, 1992b). However, as Katz (2004) points out, it now seems that "finding 'resistance' in each

discursive or other cultural practice that might be construed as autonomous has become an industry” (p. 242). Several scholars argue that the study of everyday life has fallen prey to the same practice and now resistance, novelty, festival, and revolution are seen as the everywhere and everything of the everyday (see Gardiner, 2004; Colebrook, 2002; Brown, 1996; Abu-Lughod, 1990). In this process an appreciation for the intricate complexities of everyday life are lost.

For instance, the uncritical rendering of every social act and spatial practice as disruptive or exceptional often fails to convey how such potentially disruptive moments can simultaneously sustain or advance unequal power relations or at least have contradictory effects. On this issue Katz’s (2004) examination of everyday life in Sudan is insightful. This work recounts how the onslaught of an agricultural development project in rural Sudan inevitably brought farming families firmly into the grip of capitalist development. Associated with this development scheme, land that was previously cultivated by and for local villagers was given over to the production of cash crops. This, in turn, eventually resulted in an expanded geography of day-to-day farming practices among locals in their effort to bolster income and sustain themselves as well as long-standing and for the most part fruitful practices of production and social reproduction. Associated with this time-space expansion, as Katz terms it, the community called practices into play that had long been done away with; these included the cultivation of sesame and riverbank gardens. In addition, women and children became involved in productive work in ways not previously witnessed within the region.

Katz argues that at the same time that this community’s innovations demonstrated resilience they also enabled people within the community to become more deeply

entrenched with modernity because such practices facilitated migration, usually by men, in order to work farther afield as part of global capitalism's mobile labor supply. Katz notes, "if their acts of resilience sustained them, they also supported the general trajectory of the developments that necessitated these acts in the first place" (2004, p. 246). This work eloquently demonstrates that calling something resistance doesn't necessarily make it so; nor are the effects of ostensibly recuperative practices experienced equally in various spaces or at different scales.

Recent work by feminist political geographers addresses issues associated with migration in a manner that resounds with the intricacy of Katz's analysis. For example, in an ethnographic study of Canadian immigration authorities, Mountz (2004) identifies various embodied subjects, including migrants, refugees, immigration officers, whose everyday practices construct the scale of the nation-state. Although not expressly concerned with resistance, this study reveals some of the inconsistencies between public policy, popular discourse, and the material production of the nation-state. Although not specifically concerned with the quotidian, Walton-Roberts (2004) examines the contradictions associated with activism and related practices of resistance among migrant women in Canada. I discuss this study in greater detail later in the chapter, but in brief, Walton-Roberts details the relationships between women's activism at the household scale and civic participation at the national scale; she concludes that despite its importance, the household scale is subsumed by politics at the national scale. (See also Desbiens, 2004 and Hyndman, 2004.)

To further extend work in this area I want to suggest that Katz's (2004) discussion and delineation of the shades as well as the shards of resistance can be more explicitly

brought to bear on migration. In her study, Katz teases apart the category “resistance” and delineates four practices that frequently overlap on the ground; these are revanchism, resilience, reworking, and resistance. In this chapter I draw on three of these four categories. I focus on resilience, reworking, and everyday practices of resistance in order to highlight the dialectical character of oppositional practices as they play out in the lives of the migrant women who participated in my study. I share Katz’s view that a more nuanced understanding of “resistance” is necessary because the “catch all” categorization of every oppositional practice as resistance encompasses too much and yet doesn’t quite capture the complex material manifestation of such practices sufficiently. In addition, I propose that by teasing apart what resistance means in materiality, Katz brings clarity to Lefebvre’s call for a critical-dialectical approach to everyday life. As such, by coupling Katz’s analysis of practices of resistance with the experiences of participants in my study, I believe an appreciation for the complexity of Lefebvre’s critique of everyday life in the modern world will emerge.

Stories of Going and Coming to Ireland: Monumental and Mundane Acts of Resilience

Of all the recitations that the women I met related about events that precipitated their coming to Ireland, I think Ana’s was the most poignant. By presenting elements of her story here I want to draw a distinction between resilience as it is usually defined in the psychological literature and acts of resilience that are bound up with everyday practices.

Before she came to Ireland Ana lived in the Rivers State region in southeastern Nigeria. This area holds the largest reserves of crude oil in Africa and therefore invites considerable competition between a host of multi-national corporations as well as regional and local actors who are interested in oil production and exploitation of the area. Coinciding with the uneven relations of power among these groups, wealth is concentrated within a small segment of the region's population while significant numbers of people live in extraordinary poverty with little or no access to basic resources such as running water or, ironically, fuel; as such, inequality is embodied in everyday life in the Rivers State region.

Ana's husband was a business owner in the region and Ana was involved in the day-to-day management and oversight of the couple's business. She and her husband were also involved in activism centered on publicizing and protesting the injustices that affected local indigenous people the most. Because of their activism Ana explained that their phones were tapped, mail was routinely intercepted, she was told that she and her family would be killed if they made any attempt to leave the country, and eventually, because they feared for his life, Ana's husband went into hiding. For a period of two years she had no idea where her husband was. In an effort to find out her husband's whereabouts the military authorities detained Ana for five months. While she was detained Ana was tortured and was forced to witness other women being tortured as well. Some time after her release Ana received word that her husband had left the country and was in Ireland. Subsequently, she made arrangements to leave Nigeria and traveled to Ireland in order to reunite with her husband.

These events necessitated acts of resilience probably not called into action routinely. On top of all this, Ana's initial encounters with people and institutions in Ireland seemed to mushroom the distressing circumstances that compelled her to migrate in the first place. When she arrived in Ireland with her children, Ana immediately took a taxi to the place where she believed she'd find her husband. In an act of trickery the taxi driver made off with her luggage and whatever money she had brought with her—roughly \$3,000. In addition, Ana was informed that that her husband was no longer at that address. The only advice the patron at the address she'd traveled to could give her was to go to the Department of Justice in Dublin to apply for asylum in Ireland. Being unfamiliar with any notion of 'seeking asylum' Ana noted, *"I was not hungry for anything from this country, I simply wanted to find my husband"* (interview, October 28, 2004), and so when she was asked to state the reason for claiming asylum in Ireland, rather than detailing the frightful conditions she had just left, Ana simply stated that she was looking for her husband.

After a plethora of miscommunications and blunders in understanding, Ana discovered that her husband was also caught up in the asylum system in Ireland. However, no one within the institutional apparatus of the Department of Justice could or would give Ana any information about his whereabouts. But Ana persevered and eventually succeeded in locating her husband. However, for various reasons he refused to recognize Ana and instead insisted that his wife was dead. As Ana relayed the distress associated with going and coming to Ireland, she noted that she had *"endured these things—detention, torture, leaving Nigeria—for my husband not for myself and now*

instead of liberty I find myself between the devil and the far off possibility of a blue sky in Ireland” (interview, October 28, 2004).

Ana’s story was emblematic of at least half of the histories that the women I interviewed recounted and to my ears their accounts were notable demonstrations of the ability to rally in the face of (extreme) adversity, or put more simply, these were stories of resilience. It should also be noted that similar accounts of injustice and misfortune can be found in both national and international reports (see for example, Carling, 2006; Kelleher and Kelleher, 2004), memoirs and biographies (see for example Eggers, 2006), and they were echoed in conversations I had with people who work as counselors and advocates for people seeking asylum as well as with other migrant groups in Ireland (for example, Creedon, personal communication, July 1, 2004; Barnes, personal communication, October 7, 2004; Farsaci, personal communication, October 13, 2004).

In addition to Ana’s history there were narratives from Beji, Annette and Shama. Each of these women had endured religious persecution because they married men from religious backgrounds differing from their own; as a consequence, they were ostracized and expelled from their homes and homelands (interviews, October 30, 2004 and May 6, 2005). There were also accounts of cultural and political persecution. Riva was an ethnic Russian who lived in a state intolerant to her ethnic group. Because her husband had spoken out in disagreement with state policies Riva was forced to leave her job as the chief accountant in a large manufacturing company and eventually she and her son had to leave the state for their safety (interview, October 18, 2004). Similarly, Alina and her family were forced to flee Algeria and her career as a lawyer because her husband, who

was politically active, had spoken out too publicly against the government there (interview, October 26, 2004).

Then there were accounts such as one woman—Nkem—who effectively had been enslaved in a labor camp in Ghana for eight years and another woman—Maria—whose father had been an indentured farm worker but was eventually given some land of his own. They lived comfortably for a time until conflict broke out between the “*freeborn*” and the “*former slaves*” in the community. They endured physical attacks and beatings and the land that Maria’s family held as their own was repossessed when her father died. The remaining family members were run out of the community and eventually separated and scattered while looking for places of refuge (interview, November 2, 2004).

In the psychological literature “resilience” is understood as “those means used to maintain adjustment by reducing otherwise noxious effects imposed by unfortunate life experiences” (Cohler, Stott and Musick, 1995). Taken as such, the capacity shown by these women to extricate themselves and their families from sometimes excruciatingly difficult situations—migration in and of itself—can be understood as extraordinary or monumental acts of resilience. As such, these acts of resilience are akin to those renderings of resistance that focus on exceptional and exotic occurrences (see for example and discussion, Heller, 1984; Shields, 1999; Felski, 2002; Moran, 2005). Furthermore, it should be noted that there is some correspondence between this understanding of resilience and Lefebvre’s critique of everyday life. Lefebvre suggested that extraordinary events served to highlight our alienation from the process and practice of production. In my view, the monumental acts of resilience exhibited by Ana and several other participants in my research were necessitated by extremely problematic

circumstances in their day-to-day lives and that expose profound alienation and social abandonment at multiple scales.

There is little doubt about the import of such monumental acts of resilience for the lives of migrant women, but in addition to these I want to suggest that resilience is grounded in day-to-day material social practices as well. To take up the quotidian forms of resistance as they are practiced in the routines of daily life and to consider the complex relationships between resilience and day-to-day living among the women I met, I find Katz's discussion of resilience clarifying. She notes that resilient acts "not only enable material and spiritual survival but also the recuperation of dignity in a range of small transactions" (Katz, 2004 p. 246). As such, acts of resilience can be seen not only as responses to extraordinary circumstances but also as part and parcel of everyday life.

Resilience and Routine Practices

Unlike in the narratives discussed above, when I met Tessa she indicated that she did not wish to speak about the particular circumstances that led to her leaving Nigeria. All she offered was that "*it was difficult and it's in the past, so I don't want to think about it anymore*" (interview, October 7, 2004). However, when I inquired about her initial impressions and her experiences when she first arrived in Ireland she relayed the following story. She had paid an agent to secure her passage from Nigeria to Europe. According to Carling (2006) this is a common practice for migrants traveling from Nigeria to Europe. As part of the deal the agent had arranged accommodation for Tessa in a town north of Dublin where she would be able to access maternity and hospital services as she was almost full-term in her pregnancy when she left Nigeria to travel to Ireland.

However, as soon as Tessa went into labor the caretaker at her new accommodation “*put [her] on the side of the road, called an ambulance and closed the door*” (interview, October 7, 2004). When an ambulance arrived, Tessa was taken to the nearest hospital where her daughter was born, and three days later she was transferred to one of the reception centers for asylum seekers in Dublin. Tessa noted that she was thankful for the other women at the hostel because they taught her how to take care of her baby, as she had no experience with newborns. From the hostel, Tessa and her daughter moved to an accommodation center in the suburbs of Dublin; after that they moved to a housing share in a semi-rural town approximately 30 miles (48 kilometers) from Dublin. But she was unhappy living there. Public transportation was limited and expensive and as a single parent Tessa felt very isolated. As a result, she moved back to Dublin as soon as she found a studio in the north-inner city neighborhood where she’d been living for the past two years when I met her.

She was told that the neighborhood where she lived “*was not a place for a woman let alone a little girl*” (interview October 7, 2004) but for her what was important about this place was her ability to control the mundane minutiae of her day-to-day existence such as when and what she and her daughter ate at meals and when the apartment’s heating system was turned off or on. In these quite ordinary ways Tessa’s sense of independence and hope that she would “*be able to offer her daughter the chance of a better life in Ireland than in Nigeria*” (interview, October 7, 2004) were imaginable.

Tessa’s use of local internet cafes as an informational resource was another way that she was able to maintain her independence. She observed that having access to the internet was one of the things that kept her going in the two-and a half years that she’d

been waiting for a decision regarding her application for residency in Ireland. It had allowed her to find resources for single-parents and migrants like herself, she was able to stay abreast of changes in immigration policies in Ireland, and she was able to research, and had recently started an educational course in computer technology at a vocational college approximately two miles walk from her neighborhood. When she wasn't at college or home with her daughter she stayed busy by volunteering for her church in Ireland. So, between the internet and her church Tessa found two major sources of strength and support in her day-to-day life; she noted, "*religion allowed [her] to keep on going*" (interview, October 7, 2004).

On one hand, there is little particularly striking about Tessa's narrative of arriving and adapting to life in Ireland. However, I want to suggest that Tessa's routine day-to-day life was steeped in what Gramsci described as "independent initiative" (cited in Katz, 2004, p. 242). Resourcefulness and endurance were indisputable daily necessities given the context and the alternatives available to her, and like many of the women I spoke with, Tessa was simply doing what she had to "to give herself and her daughter a better chance, after all, that was why she came to Ireland" (interview, October 7, 2004). Thus, by finding a place where she controlled the smallest details of daily life Tessa recovered a sense of independence. Routine access to the internet meant that instead of being excluded Tessa was connected to the community and society around her. And regular involvement with the church sustained her socially and spiritually. Consequently, for Tessa, as for each of the women I met, resilience was nothing unusual. Their accounts of routine activities and practices in Ireland were resplendent with autonomous initiative,

reclamations of dignity, and the inevitability of these efforts given the situations they'd left and now found themselves in.

Among those who were seeking asylum or who were now refugees specific articulations of resilience as part of everyday practices varied; several women, including Gail, Sandra, and Nkem, organized support networks and advocacy groups within accommodation centers; others, such as Tayo, Ana, and Fumi, made sure to attend local events and political forums within the communities where they lived. By voluntarily inserting themselves into the local community they were able to circumvent the isolation associated with being excluded from the productive workforce. In addition, these women indicated that they gained insight into the politics, policies, and their rights in Ireland as a result of their participation in these events. Others tapped into their role as parents and found that being actively involved with their children's schools provided a way for them to recoup individual identities that were often absent or tarnished in association with prevailing popular cultural representations of asylum seekers in Ireland. Still others found that by immersing themselves in educational courses they were able to regain a foothold on the career paths they'd left behind. In addition to Tessa's story, Riva detailed how she had independently tutored herself in accountancy so that upon completion of a national exam in this subject and upon receiving a permit for residence in Ireland she was able to apply for jobs that reflected her previous professional identity as a successful accountant.

Tessa's ordinary social practices exemplify acts of resilience more in accordance with Katz's delineation. In contrast with the monumental acts of resilience described earlier, these comparatively mundane activities enabled women to reclaim some of their dignity and personal identity through and in the course of routine, materially grounded

practices. When resilience is understood as grounded in the quotidian like this, a more nuanced understanding of Lefebvre's discussion of resistance and the transformative possibilities that exist in everyday life are highlighted. As previously discussed, several scholars have focused attention on extraordinary events as examples of "everyday utopianism" or "moments of vital productivity" in everyday life (Gardiner, 2004, p. 243). Such events expose the banal, repetitive, and mindless drudgery that characterizes much of daily life. But, in addition, this approach reifies the binary that differentiates and distances the mundane from the exceptional in the everyday (see Gardiner, 2004). Therefore, in keeping with a critical-dialectical approach to everyday life, resilience, and resistance too, must be understood as intimately interrelated with ordinary social practices. For Lefebvre the exceptional, as with the mundane, is "born of the everyday and within the everyday [...] from here it draws its nourishment and its sustenance" (Lefebvre, 2002, p. 351). I propose that the unexceptional, ordinary practices enacted by the women in my study exemplify the dialectical character of the everyday with its slippery and elusory qualities that make resilience as part and parcel of daily life possible.

Reworking and the Contradictions in Resistance

If everyday instances of resilience seem somewhat innocuous, the day-to-day practices that rework available resources can be taken as more audacious occurrences that nevertheless highlight the dialectical character of everyday practices and the contradictory effects of recuperative efforts. Reworking involves pragmatic responses in dealing with circumstances that are overtly understood as problematic and in need of change. In her analysis, Katz (2004) details how "projects of reworking" range from

attempts to “recalibrate power relations or [...] redirecting and in some cases reconstituting available resources” (p. 247). And associated with these practices, individuals may also “retool themselves as political subjects and social actors” (p. 247) as well. In addition to their corrective effects, reworking frequently has unintended consequences that work to further entrench people and communities in inequities and envelops them within the oft abstracted forces of modernity.

In my research a number of women related stories about how they’d redistributed the resources that were available to them. In Chapter 4 for example, I discussed some of the constraints experienced by a group of women who were residing in an accommodation center in the west of Ireland while waiting for their asylum applications to be processed. There, under the terms of the direct provision system, a relationship of control and surveillance operated. These women were required to confirm their presence and their existence every day by signing in with hostel officials and they noted that women who stayed out at night were moved to another hostel as a form of punishment. Within this makeshift domestic space, hostel staff completed all of the cooking and even a glass of milk for a child had to be requested. Thus, in addition to being excluded from the possibilities of productive work in the public sphere these women found themselves de-skilled as independent, autonomous mothers and caregivers within the domestic sphere as well.

To deal with this problem several of the women had pooled the weekly allowances they received from the Irish state and purchased a small stove and other kitchen equipment so that, surreptitiously, they were able to take back some control and autonomy related to quotidian tasks such as preparing their own food and caring for the

needs and desires of their children. By combining and redirecting their monetary resources this group of women was able to rework a facet of their day-to-day lives, “enabling more workable lives and [creating] more viable terrains of practice” (Pred and Watts, 1992, cited in Katz, 2004, p. 247).

It is important to note that reworking aspects of the direct provision system, rather than active opposition to it, was the aim of this strategy. For these women, and for many of the women I interviewed, elements of their everyday life as an asylum seeker were problematic without doubt. But, the same circumstances also gave them the stability and security that enabled them to rework resources in ways that permitted them to exercise a degree of clandestine independence in the context of their mundane, ordinary practices.

In a different context but in a similar way Maria, a woman who had recently been awarded refugee status, reflected on some of the ironies of her situation. As noted previously, Maria’s life in Nigeria was marked by a family history of indentured labor and extreme injustice that resulted in her and her family living in fear of abuse and eventually in their expulsion from the land they had previously known as their home. For some time Maria and her family had found shelter in a church but she knew they could not continue to live this way indefinitely. Maria made contact with an agent who, for a fee, agreed to take the family out of Nigeria and to safety. Maria had no savings to speak of so they came to a loan and repayment arrangement that in a certain respect reproduced Maria’s family history of being bound to someone with more power and resources than she had. Maria recognized the paradox of this situation but she felt she had little choice but to accept it nonetheless. She and her family were accompanied out of Nigeria and once they had arrived safely in Ireland their travel companion disappeared leaving Maria

to the Irish authorities, to the bureaucracies of the asylum system, and hopefully to a new beginning in Ireland.

Once in Ireland and during the two years while she waited for a decision on her case, Maria quietly and diligently redistributed the allowances she received as an asylum seeker in order to repay the debt she owed to the agent. She noted that if she hadn't been willing to accept the inequity and injustice of being indebted to the agent who had brought her and her children to Ireland, and if it hadn't taken so long to process her application for asylum, she might still be in a situation where *"everyday all you can think of is what will we eat tomorrow, where will I go, and will I be able to feed my children"* (interview, November 2, 2004). Among the contradictions in Maria's story was that as she reworked the limited resources available to her in Ireland, these efforts supported the expansion and exploitation of inequalities of power and resources that agents and smugglers prey upon in Nigeria. Furthermore, in addition to Maria's diligence in reworking the money she had available, her daughter took a part-time job, and as she was swaddled in the wage labor market the money she earned serviced the family's debt for freedom.

In these examples the significance of reworking as a gradation of resistance and in elucidating the critique of everyday life is highlighted. Katz notes, like resistance, reworking necessitates definite recognition of a situation as problematic as well as active impetus in altering those circumstances. But, unlike resistance, activities that rework unequal relations or situations are not aimed at opposing or dismantling hegemonic power; instead, as Katz notes, they attempt to "undermine its inequities on the very grounds on which they are cast" (2004, p. 247). The narratives from my research

demonstrate that practices that rework are etched in and inseparable from day-to-day life. As such, the notion of reworking explodes the idea that practices of resistance hinge on a dichotomy between the mundane and the exceptional. As Gardiner observes, in a critique of the everyday “the key is not to privilege either the mundane or the exceptional [...] but to grasp how they interrelate on the terrain of the totality that constitutes everyday life” (p. 243).

Coupled with this, projects that rework also highlight the gains and losses, in other words, the contradictions and (un)intended consequences of such practices in everyday life. For instance, for Maria, reworking involved substituting, at least temporarily, one set of oppressive circumstances for another; in addition, as Maria’s family worked towards their independence successive family members were incorporated into the fold of commodity labor. Similarly, for many of those seeking asylum that felt excluded, reworking involved reconstituting themselves as volunteers in order “to partake in the privileged spaces” of productive work (Katz, 2004, p. 249; see also discussion of ‘Volunteer Brigades’ in Chapter 5). At the same time that this made daily life more viable and vital for them, it frequently meant that women had to pay or barter for childcare and at least temporarily forego their own roles as caregivers while they volunteered. Such projects allow us “to grasp daily existence in all its complexity and ambiguity” (Gardiner, 2004, p. 239), a task that’s central to the critique of everyday life.

Finally, because practices that rework are not aimed at overthrowing extant relations of power entirely, I want to suggest that Katz’s concept of reworking elucidates Lefebvre’s critical-dialectical approach. McLeod observes that instead of taking the dialectic as a matter of the synthesis of two conflicting terms, Lefebvre was interested in

the “depiction of multiple tensions that will generate an unpredictable transformation” (1997, p. 16; see also Gardiner, 2004; Lefebvre, 2003d; Elden, 2001). In accordance with this view, a critical-dialectical approach to everyday life does not have transcendence, opposition, or destruction as a necessary outcome; instead, its aim is a “more fluid, rhythmic understanding” (Elden, 2001, p. 812) of practices that encapsulate both positive and negative forces. The narratives of reworking discussed here illustrate this process as it is materialized in day-to-day life.

Retooling Identity, Rejigging (Mis)Representations

According to Katz (2004), as people rework their everyday lives individual identity undergoes change as well; consequently, the reshaping of identity is interwoven with reworking practices. In addition, as people retool themselves as political subjects and social actors (p. 247) the groundwork for resistance—understood as “the invocation of a critical consciousness to confront and redress historically and geographically specific conditions of oppression and exploitation at various scales” (p. 251)—is laid. In this sense, as Katz observes, resilience, reworking, and resistance are best understood as interlaced and “mutually sustaining” practices (p. 242). In my research, within the categories of asylum seeker, refugee, and returning former emigrant specifically, more than half of the women I met were involved with projects to raise awareness of and redress issues of inequity. Through these practices migrant women also retooled themselves as social and political actors. In the final part of this chapter I want to present some of the ways that participants in my study reshaped themselves as agents of social and political change. In this process, migrant women also transform some of the

pervasive popular cultural ideas about refugees and asylum seekers. In addition, I discuss some of the ways that individual, everyday acts of sustenance and opposition are overlaid onto practices and projects of resistance at the group level. Finally, I outline some of the challenges posed by recent academic interest in the professionalization of “resistance” in relation to Lefebvre’s critique of everyday life.

Among the women in my study, some of the projects that retooled identity were clearly shaped by the particulars of individual experiences. For example, in an effort to expedite her application for residency and the right to work in Ireland—a process that took two years—Riva petitioned local politicians for assistance. She noted that although the administrative staff within the Department of Justice was “*very professional, they were absolutely unreliable [...and] I realized that I have to control everything and push them [...] so, it took commitment to get the result we got eventually. I put a lot of blood and sweat to get anything in this country*” (interview, October 18, 2004). In becoming her own advocate Riva also drew attention to the inadequacies of the state organization charged with handling immigration cases and to the stultifying and immobilizing bureaucracies surrounding the immigration process.

For women I met who were or had been caught up in the asylum system, two thirds identified delays and hitches they’d experienced in association with their application. Also, the fact that the average length of time that asylum seekers had been waiting for word on their application was 20 months further attests to the sluggishness of the immigration processing system in Ireland. Of these women, a handful felt it was in their best interests to keep mum on matters related to the inefficiencies of processing applications for asylum, but the majority took any available opportunity, including this

research, as a forum to highlight the need for changes in immigration policy and practices in Ireland.

Other examples of personal circumstances that were linked to the retooling of identity resembled those of Nkem. Before she came to Ireland as an asylum seeker her experiences included eight years in a forced labor camp. As a result, when she was granted leave to remain in Ireland, she became actively involved in raising public awareness of issues of child slavery and the confinement of women in labor camps in remote areas of Ghana in the hope that those in positions of power and influence might address these issues. Similar accounts are echoed in research on immigrant communities in a variety of geographic locations including Canada (Walton-Roberts, 2004), Mexico (Nelson, 2004), and the U.S. (Levitt, 2000; Kurien, 1999).

For some of the women I met it wasn't so much that political consciousness was a new facet of their identity but rather that the locus of their efforts shifted as a result of their experiences as migrants in Ireland. For example, in Nigeria Ana had been involved in activism around equality rights for women and associated with the injustices of petroleum production in Rivers State. In the context of Ireland, Ana's political identity was expressed as an advocate for the health and welfare of migrant women in accommodation centers.

Most likely because of the immediacy of the need, the role of advocate and organizer among migrants was a common vehicle for political participation and social action among the women with whom I conversed. For instance, Gail explained that she "*was not a politician*" but because she had been "*through the whole system*" she understood the nuances of the asylum process and the immigrant experience in Ireland.

As a result she was able to support other women who were going through the process and had been invited by the Refugee Applications Center in Dublin, as well as to other government and non-governmental organizations working with migrants in Ireland, to give talks at accommodation centers and conferences (interview, October 26, 2004). And in a different setting, by teaming up with several teachers in her children's school and with the vocational education coordinator for the local region, Sandra was able to organize a computer training and administrative skills course that the women residing in the accommodation center with her could partake.

In reflecting on these accounts one theme that is highlighted with great consistency is that the women in my study were unwilling to view themselves or be portrayed as victims, spongers, or even as heroines; instead, they shifted the focus away from problematic representations of asylum seekers and refugees and onto the need to address issues such as the inadequacies of policies and practices (around migration) and the responsibility to respond to injustices among those in positions of political power and influence. In these ways women reworked their individual circumstances and remade themselves as political actors and agents of social change.

These actions also help to elucidate the intersections between Lefebvre's concern with resistance in everyday life and his interest in the interplay between representations and practice. In Chapter 1, I outlined Lefebvre's theorization on the social production of space, wherein formal institutionalized knowledge (representations), imagined or conceived spaces (representational), and day-to-day activities (spatial practices), combine to produce what we can more simply refer to as social space. In Chapter 3, also in accordance with Lefebvre's theorization, I described how images and representations

have come to dominate the ways that we understand, define, and use social space. Related to this, representations also guide how we view social actors; they shape perspectives on the roles that individuals are permitted to occupy within society. Of the representations of Ireland's new immigrants, and asylum seekers in particular, perhaps the most enduring are ideas that they are uneducated, lazy and desire only to take advantage of the generosity of the Irish state and its people (for discussion see Chapter 4).

The narratives detailed here contradict such unflattering representations. In practice, the apparently mundane efforts to sustain independence, untiring efforts to work free of debt, and relentless campaigns to publicize prejudice and discrimination at a variety of geographic scales usurp the representations that haunt the women I met and migrants generally. Thus, as social and spatial practices, routine acts that reshape identity work to rejig (mis)representations of migrant women.

Organized Resistance, Neoliberalism, and Everyday Life

The endeavors to recast roles and rework available resources described above also lay the foundations for more formally credentialed and explicitly political initiatives. As a result there are now dozens of groups advancing positions on social injustice in immigrant communities throughout Ireland that originated with practices of resilience and reworking by individual women. To offer but one example, consider the group Akidwa. When I began my research this was one of several organizations I contacted in Dublin. Akidwa—a Swahili word meaning African sisterhood—was established in 2001 by a group of seven African women whose own experiences indicated a gap in support structures for migrant women in Ireland. As a result, they started Akidwa in order to

respond to the needs of other migrant African women living in Ireland. When I met with the group's director she was immediately able to suggest several women who might be interested in meeting with me; and, when I had accrued more participants than I fathomed possible, members of Akidwa were on hand to act as translators and to provide childcare as needed.

Whether the task at hand was a training workshop or conference to raise awareness about racial, ethnic, or gender-based discrimination, the assessment of migrant women's needs, the presentation of policy recommendations to governmental and non-governmental organizations, arranging cultural events or simply facilitating research, Akidwa was able to draw on the experiences, knowledge, and resources of African migrant women living in Ireland to produce a critical consciousness and to engage politically and socially across numerous scales. Thus, as Katz observes, "acts of resilience and instances of reworking often provide the groundwork for stronger responses [that] are interwoven and mutually sustaining" (2004, p. 242).

However, I want to suggest that as practices of resistance coalesce to form more structured groups the significance and scale of the quotidian is frequently erased from view. And, while I want to be clear that I wholeheartedly applaud the burgeoning of advocacy movements that has taken place over the past several years in association with immigration, I also want to suggest that the emergence of stronger, more formal oppositional practices is encouraging, but at the same time reveals how neoliberal ideology seeps into spaces of oppositional practice. Therefore, in concluding this discussion of resistance in everyday life I consider how the politics of scale and neoliberal governance can be linked to resistance in Lefebvre's critique of everyday life.

Even though stronger oppositional practices are constituted through everyday acts of resistance, these informal ordinary activities are obscured with the emergence of more formal oppositional groups. In my view, this trajectory from mundane acts of resilience to more organized critical, oppositional practices highlights the politics of scale at play between practices of resistance and the everyday. In accounting for this, we need to briefly revisit the debate within political geography on the politics of the production of scale. Previously, I outlined Marston's (2000) appraisal of the tendency to focus on spheres of production and geographic scales such as the community, city, region, or nation. To remedy this bias, Marston (2000) and others' call attention to the reproductive sphere, including the household and everyday practices, as a significant locus for political activity.

In an example of this, Walton-Roberts (2004) focuses on the scale of the household in scrutinizing the development and participation of women's advocacy groups in implementing the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, enacted in Canadian law in 2002. Walton-Roberts demonstrates how women's activism in this area began with the scale of the immigrant household in opposition to the practice of arranged marriages. The politics associated with this practice traverse transnational boundaries and render women powerless to patriarchal gendered social relations in the process. But, even though resistance and activism blur the boundaries between household, national, and transnational scales, it is only at the scale of the Canadian nation that women's activism is actually registered in the public sphere. Even though everyday acts of opposition and citizenship were fundamental to bigger bolder responses they are made invisible by the

process and influence of the nation-state over the scale of the household and in everyday life.

In my research, I observed a related process at work. Overall, when migrant women talked about their participation in formal groups they focused predominantly on skills and abilities they'd acquired that enabled them to speak out or demonstrate where inequalities and injustices occurred. In effect, talk of organized opposition bespoke the professionalization of resistance with the preparation of agendas, policy recommendations, and action plans supplanting banal and quotidian acts of resilience, reworking, or opposition. This is no surprise when we consider the bias that blinds acknowledgement of the politics produced within spaces of reproduction. So, even though quotidian acts of resistance help to build and sustain stronger responses, their enactment within the reproductive sphere means that they are easily subsumed or forgotten when critical oppositional practices gain momentum.

In addition to highlighting the politics of scale, this shift and oversight also points to the politics of neoliberalism. In recent work on this issue, geographers have begun to consider some of the ways that practices commonly associated with neoliberal policies are folded into oppositional movements. Several scholars observe that the neoliberal shift is not "merely" about shrinking states, privatization, and economic reforms; instead, the process encapsulates social and cultural dimensions that reach well beyond the structures of the state as well (for discussion see Peck and Tickell, 2002; Bondi and Laurie, 2005; Katz, 2005). In this vein, recent research suggests that the professionalization of activism represents the encroachment of neoliberal ideology and practice into venues that exist to oppose the agendas that define neoliberalism.

For example, Fyfe (2005) examines the relationship between voluntary agencies and the state in the U.K. Using case studies he demonstrates how discourses of “partnership” and “good governance,” and practices of “bureaucratic restructuring” have seeped into the nonprofit sector in accordance with neoliberal ideology. In a different geographic setting, Dolhinow (2005) examines the complex relationship between funding agencies and nonprofit groups working in communities on the U.S.-Mexico border. These grassroots groups are often set up to demand action by the state to improve the situation of marginalized, low-income communities. But, Dolhinow posits, increasing competition for funds means that activists are compelled to carry out donor agendas, constrains actions that might otherwise have been taken, and “neutralizes alternative ideologies and ways of being” (Jenkins, 2005, p. 613). Overall, recent research in this area “brings into focus the tensions and connections between activism and processes of professionalisation in relation to neoliberalism” (Bondi and Laurie, 2005, p. 394).

In relation to my own research findings, I want to suggest that the tone of migrant women’s conversations about their involvement with structured forms of resistance hints that the ever-increasing number of advocacy groups and coalitions for social justice in Ireland are lining up for similar trajectories. In other words, it seems likely that as mundane oppositional practices are glossed over and resistance among migrant women is organized and professionalized—as oppositional groups acquire the skills as facilitators, grant writers, researchers, and partners that are crucial to the success of these efforts—their actions work to “grease the wheels of ascendant neoliberalism” (Katz, 2005, p. 625). However, I do not wish to dampen the spirit or success of such organized efforts, likewise, I don’t want to suggest, “there are no alternatives.” Instead, I want to propose

that the outcomes associated with the amalgamation and professionalization of oppositional practices may serve as a reminder of the significance and timeliness of Lefebvre's critique of everyday life.

By now, we know well that Lefebvre's work is awash with calls to attend to the everyday as a complex, heterodox, mosaic of positive and negative forces. Related to this, there are calls to appreciate the banal and extraordinary as well as the alienating and utopian possibilities that inhere within everyday life. As I have discussed in this chapter, such an amorphous concept has been misused, overused and is a source of critique for some. I'll readily admit that in my own research the difficulty pinning down exactly what the "everyday" means has been exasperating at times. But, in the end, I want to suggest that the elliptical, slippery character of the everyday is also what gives the concept and practice potential. What I mean by this is in Lefebvre's critique was the recognition that in modernity, and now associated with neoliberalism, there is a tendency to "incorporate, co-opt, and deplete activism" and organized forms of resistance (Bondi and Laurie, 2005, p. 395). Thus, in the refusal to pin down or prescribe precise definitions and organized modes of resistance there is optimism, and perhaps a promise, that the everyday cannot be assimilated (within the folds of capitalism) in its entirety.

McLeod observes, Lefebvre's "critique of everyday life reveals a world of conflicts, tensions, cracks and fissures—a shifting ground that continually opens to new potentials" (1997, p. 29). Thus, it is ordinary, often overlooked and elusory quotidian practices, in other words, "everyday life [that] harbors the texture of social change" (Kaplan and Ross, 1987, p. 4). So, having critiqued everyday life for migrant women living in Irish society today, in the concluding chapter, I turn to the social changes and

social spaces of the 21st century Irish nation-state that are emergent in association with women's migration.

Chapter 7—Transforming Citizenship, Social Space, and Nationhood

Introduction

On the evening of January 29, 2001 Radio Telefís Éireann (RTÉ), one of Ireland's broadcast media networks, aired a film entitled *Black Day at Blackrock*. Set in a rural community in Ireland during the summer of 2000, the film tells a fictional and satirical tale about the reactions and effects of the news that a group of asylum seekers would soon descend on the small town of Blackrock associated with the conversion of one of the area's bed-and-breakfasts to an accommodation centre for asylum seekers.

The film presents snapshots of daily life that trace initial reactions among a cast of colorful local characters, to efforts to galvanize the community's opposition and resistance to the impending arrival of the foreign asylum seekers. When sanctioned and legitimate means of protest are exhausted the town's self-proclaimed political leader crafts an arson incident at the bed-and-breakfast and the town's local outsider—a happy-go-lucky homeless man—is sacrificed in the service of this apparently unfortunate event. With this, the immigrant invasion is evaded and the town returns to its mundane and sordid normality. Connolly, Ging and Malcolm (2002) note that *Black Day at Blackrock* references John Sturges' *Bad Day at Black Rock* (1955). In the latter film the arrival, via high-speed train, of an outsider (played by Spencer Tracy) to a desert town in California signals the onslaught of modernity and the rupture of the town's established codes of intolerance and complacency. In both films the outsiders are subjects of small-town prejudice and xenophobia in association with prevailing values related to territorially bounded affiliations and belonging.

I was fortunate to be able to secure a copy of *Black Day at Blackrock* from the film's director, Gerry Stembridge. In the course of our correspondence Stembridge related a piece of non-fiction, an encounter he had witnessed, to me. One day he was standing at a bus stop in Dublin. There were three other people—a woman and two young men—also waiting for a bus. The woman was on her cell phone and engaged in conversation. What was notable and somewhat unusual in everyday social interactions in Ireland today was that the conversation was taking place through the Irish language—Gaeilge. Interesting, thought Stembridge, but more interesting was the reaction of the two men at the scene. Observing that the language being spoken was unfamiliar, one of the men turned to his mate while looking directly at the Irish-speaking woman and said with all the flair that a Dublin accent allows: “*jaysus, go back to your fuckin’ country will ya*” (Stembridge, personal communication, November 2004).

Although the sentiments captured and recounted in *Black Day in Blackrock* were fictional and Stembridge's bus-stop tale a passing anecdote, I mention these stories here to offer a backdrop for some of the themes I explore in this concluding chapter. Broadly, I take up the following questions: where and what are the spaces of citizenship and belonging for immigrant refugee and asylum seeker women in contemporary Irish society? And how has the social space of the Irish nation been transformed in association with the practices of belonging among immigrants? In this process, I take up scholarship on alternative spaces of citizenship, Lefebvre's concept of “autogestion,” and the ongoing production of modern Irish identity and nationhood.

My research has shown that inward migration to Ireland elucidates some of the recent ruptures in Irish society at several interrelated levels. The long and entrenched

history of emigration has been interrupted with the arrival of refugees and asylum seekers, as well as immigrant labor, in recent years. In saying this I don't mean to suggest that emigration can be understood as either a singular event or that emigrants from Ireland can be constituted as a homogeneous group. Likewise, emigration is not wholly in the past tense; as Gray notes, it is a "continuing phenomenon in the present" (2004b, p. 418).

Throughout this study I have attempted to highlight competing representations of emigrants as well as changes in the role that emigration plays in the modern Irish nation-state. By juxtaposing these images and ideas alongside representations of contemporary immigrants and immigration practices we have seen the contradictions that inhere with social and economic restructuring and in the production of nation-state as a social space.

We have also seen that representations are not the only way that ruptures in the production of the Irish nation-state can be revealed. Chapter 5 detailed some of the institutional responses as well as routine social exchanges that refugees and asylum seekers in particular encounter in their everyday lives. These practices demonstrate that even though the suggestion that Ireland is a place of "*a thousand welcomes*" is trotted out again and again, there are moments when this idea seems little more than a mythical cultural imagining. In addition to this, immigrants themselves embody differences of race, ethnicity, language, culture, and practice. As such, the presence of immigrants challenges some of the illusions of homogeneity that have guided and continue to prevail in imaginings and constructions of the modern Irish nation-state. Stembridge's film exposes these myths and identifies exclusion as an all-too-easy, but equally, all-too-common response to the presence of asylum seekers and refugees. Related to this, in Chapters 5

and 6 of this study, I have identified some of the ways that such exclusions are experienced and confronted by refugee and asylum seeker women.

In this chapter, I want to continue drawing these representations and practices together within the framework of Lefebvre's theorization on the social production of space. As described in Chapter 1 and Chapter 3, Lefebvre identifies three facets in the production of space. By now, the role that representations as well as spatial practices play in this production process is clear; the third facet—representational spaces—is a more elusive and dynamic facet of the production process, where social spaces are transformed and new meanings and materializations of space are produced. One of the aims of this chapter is to consider some of the accounts of belonging among the women in my study alongside critical scholarship on citizenship, in order to identify instances of representational, lived, and transformative spaces that comprise contemporary Ireland and belonging therein.

A related issue is tied more closely to the anecdote that Gerry Stembridge recounted. If, as Stembridge's bus-stop tale hints at, the Irish language—understood here as a facet of Irish identity—has become foreign, it seems fitting to ponder what constitutes national identity, nationhood, and belonging in 21st century Ireland. While I don't wish to diverge from this study's primary focus on the role migrants play in the production of the nation-state, I wish to signal the intersections between changes in the meaning and materiality of Irish nationhood and transformations of social space in association with recent inward migration. Hence, by way of conclusion, I want to point out how key social spaces of identity and nation within Irish society are reinscribed, and to identify directions for future research related to this process.

New Geographies and Spaces of Citizenship

In Chapter 1 I presented an overview of scholarship examining the relationships between citizenship and migration. Opinions have varied as to whether globalization and associated migration trends herald the demise of nation-states along with territorially grounded affiliations therein, or whether these processes lead to the reconfiguration of rights and obligations, or practices that constitute citizenship, in the contemporary era. As previously noted (see Chapter 1) there now appears to be growing consensus that nation-states and notions of national citizenship are not shrinking into insignificance. Instead, increased population mobility is viewed as linked to a reshuffling of responsibilities and rights and to the reconfiguration of long-standing conceptions of what constitutes citizenship and where citizenship practices are enacted.

Scholarship that elucidates the rescaling of citizenship includes theoretically oriented discussions such as Massey (2004) and Low (2004). These scholars argue that citizenship should be thought of in relation to normative perspectives on responsibility and democracy. In another example, Yuval-Davis (2004; 1999; 1997) adopts a feminist perspective and rejects theories of citizenship that reify binary distinctions such as public/private or active/passive citizens. Instead, Yuval-Davis describes citizenship as a “multi-tiered concept” that includes “the state, civil society and the domains of family, kinship and other social relationships” (1997, p. 13).

Dovetailing this perspective, Painter and Philo have identified a shift away from “the decidedly political form of citizenship [...] to a more diffuse social-cultural form of citizenship” (1995, p.115). And Flint calls for the study of “how everyday practices construct identity and forms of governance [while also being] linked recursively to

structural changes” (2002, pp. 392-394). These ideas overlap with an understanding of citizenship as multi-tiered and enacted as a “multilevel” practice (Painter, 2002) and also with calls to blend feminist concepts, including situated and embodied knowledge, with developments in political geography that query the scale of the nation-state as the primary site for the construction of political identities (see for example Peck, 2004; Castles and Davidson, 2000; Lutz, 1997; Heyman, 1995; and Bhavnani, 1993b).

Empirical examples of these approaches to citizenship, belonging, and changing conceptions of the nation-state now abound. Deforges, Rhys, and Woods (2005) discuss a range of methodological approaches to studying these new geographies of citizenship. They observe that research incorporates both quantitative and qualitative approaches and focuses on different scales and spaces. Studies include analyses of the construction of global citizens in the context of environmentalism and sustainability issues (Jelin, 2000) and voting patterns among transnational communities (Johnston and Pattie, 2004). More qualitatively oriented projects include case studies of civic engagement at the local level (McNamara and Morse, 2004; Fyfe, 1995) and investigations of the civic practices of transnational communities where community responsibilities are enacted locally but across international boundaries (Pratt and Yeoh, 2003; Mandaville, 1999; Laguerre, 1999). Other accounts detail how participation in anti-racist and feminist politics as well as place-based protests have become vectors for citizenship among those excluded from political participation at the national scale (Merrill, 2004; Nelson, 2004; Luibhéid, 2002; Lawson, 1999).

In addition to these studies, I have previously discussed projects that resound with the focus on gender and migration in the present study. For example, in Chapter 6 I

discussed Mountz's (2004) ethnographic analysis of various, embodied social actors who implement immigration policy and thereby produce the nation-state as a fluid, everyday space. Also working in the context of Canada, Walton-Roberts (2004) details how household politics crisscross national and transnational borders with profound effects on the citizenship rights of immigrant women from India. These projects highlight a move to incorporate feminist insights, along with issues of gender, race, and ethnicity, within analyses of political geography. In these contexts "real groups [...] begin to figure in the landscapes and maps of the global economy and power relations" (Kofman, 1996, p. 218). With this, a critical feminist geopolitics has emerged where the complexities of citizenship as well as alternate domains of practices of belonging are identified (see also Hyndman, 2004; Sharp, 1996; Marston, 1995).

Overall, recent scholarship indicates that at the same time that nation-states remain a significant force in determining rights, obligations, and a sense of belonging, the primacy of citizenship at the scale of the nation-state is also challenged within the context of globalization and transnational migration. With this, the pendulum on geographies and spaces of citizenship swings back and forth. Historically, citizenship was conceived of as a commitment to a specific place. This view changed with the assertion of notions of national belonging but has recently swung back to an understanding of citizenship as diffuse, place-based, and local, yet simultaneously linked to global processes and once again as grounded in specific locales and spaces.

In taking up these developments in the literature on citizenship and belonging, I want to argue that dynamic notions of citizenship dovetail the theoretical perspectives that ground the present study (and that were first introduced in Chapter 1). In other words,

in this final chapter I want to return to Lefebvre's work on the social production of space. I suggest that the literature on alternate spaces of citizenship offers a useful platform whence to weave together Lefebvre's critique of everyday life as it intersects with the production of representational spaces or transformations of social space and with Lefebvre's suggestion that at these "moments" it is possible to rethink relations between individuals and the nation-state, in other words, to re-conceive citizenship. I propose that attention to the spaces of belonging among migrant, refugee, and asylum seeker women highlights the intersections between everyday life and the possibilities for redoing the relations between individuals and states.

Stated differently, in Lefebvre's work is an understanding that social forms of citizenship and the rethinking of rights are sometimes materialized in routine practices and spaces of everyday life. Thus, in quotidian practices it is possible to reconceive the role of the state, to redo the relations between individuals and the nation-state, and to produce alternative understandings (and doings) of citizenship and belonging in the post/modern world. By braiding together developments in feminist and political geography and grounding these perspectives in the experiences of migrant women living in contemporary Irish society, I hope to elucidate Lefebvre's overlapping concerns with everyday life, the social production of space, and reconfigurations of the role of the nation-state and belonging in the post/modern world.

Reformulating Rights and Obligations at the Institutional Level

In this study we have seen that long-standing conceptions of citizenship as well as who can claim this right have changed in Ireland in recent years (see Chapter 4). The

2004 referendum that did away with birthright citizenship is perhaps the most glaring instantiation of this. Some recently proposed changes follow a similar trajectory where immigrants to Ireland are increasingly distanced and differentiated from legal residents. The most recent of these includes discussion of government proposals for the introduction of a notification requirement for non-EU foreign nationals who wish to marry within the Irish State, as well as a requirement that immigrants who have a legal right to reside in Ireland carry a “green-card” type residency permit. These legislative shifts are proposed as part of a new Immigration Bill and they have been described by Michael McDowell—the former Minister for Justice and current *Tánaiste*—as part of the effort to keep up with the competitive environment, where “it is important that we ‘sell’ Ireland as a destination to the people we need” (cited in Ó Caollai, 2007).

Even though these shifts have yet to be enacted into law, the ongoing discussion of migration in the context of governance of the Irish nation highlights how the lives of migrants are intimately interwoven with the production of the modern Irish nation-state. In addition to this, the legislation that has been enacted recently in Ireland as well as the likelihood of future policy changes, such as those outlined above, associated with migrants, indicates that the nation-state continues to exercise considerable power and influence when it comes to questions of belonging. It should also be noted that these policy changes and proposals are not a uniquely Irish response to inward migration. Kofman (2005) notes that in recent years across Europe, states have adopted a “managerialist regime” (p. 453) in dealing with citizenship rights for migrants entering EU nation-states and Europe generally. As a consequence of this approach, “states have constructed a vast edifice of civic stratification” (p. 455).

Against the backdrop of increasingly convoluted institutional delineations about who gets to claim belonging within a given nation-state as well as the impact of such claims, or lack thereof, the political and social differentiation of desirable and undesirable immigrants is materialized. As Chapter 5 illustrated, these stratifications have tangible effects for immigrants generally and in the everyday lives of asylum seekers and refugees in particular. Associated with the reshaping of rights and obligations at institutional levels, together with the routine exclusions experienced by the women in my study, alternative forums for citizenship practice and spaces of belonging have burgeoned in recent years. It is my contention that in addition to reconfiguring understandings of citizenship, these practices also transform social spaces in Irish society. So, in taking up the accounts of belonging, examples of fitting in, and spaces of citizenship that were delineated by the participants in my study, I ask what are the social-cultural and appropriated spaces of citizenship among migrant women who are refugees and asylum seekers women in Ireland today? And in what ways are the Irish nation as well as nationhood therein reconfigured with the embodiment of alternative socially produced spaces of belonging?

Definitions of Citizenship and Belonging

It is important to be clear that with only a few exceptions, the women I met insisted that they appreciated what the Irish State and various people they had met along the way had done for them. They were extremely thankful at being able to regain—perhaps temporarily—a sense of safety and security after enduring profoundly unsettling experiences in the places from whence they came. This was expressed in sentiments such as Shama's when she noted: *"I'm happy, people are wonderful, I feel safe, independent*

and really, really good” (interview, May 6, 2005). The women I interviewed also expressed gratitude for having a bed and food, and for those who arrived in Ireland with children, they were happy that their children could go to school again. For instance, Beji noted: *“they gave me a place to sleep, they gave me food, I didn’t believe such things could happen [...]. Indeed it was a place of comfort, I was impressed, [...] for people to do things like that they must be god-fearing and I really like it, you know”* (interview, October 30, 2004). Despite the precariousness of their status, the women I met viewed Ireland—some with demonstrably more hope than others—as a place they could potentially call home.

Coinciding with their hopes for being considered as part of Irish society, the women in my study were also aware that materializing their aspirations was contingent upon being recognized, by institutional agencies of the nation-state, as legitimate members within Irish society. While such decisions were pending, they found alternative spaces that provided them with a sense of belonging in Ireland. For many women, participation in Irish society was not defined in terms of more traditional conceptions of citizenship or tied to political rights; instead, citizenship was seen as the ability to participate in larger communities or networks and notions of belonging were awash with ideas of safety, security, and autonomy. For instance, Tessa observed that *“fitting in means being financially independent and [having a] connection to a larger community, to what’s going on for immigrants and in the world”* (interview, October 7, 2004). In a similar manner, in response to a question about what being part of Ireland means for her, Tayo posited *“I think every reasonable person would love to be where he or she is welcome and have a free hand, that’d be my place to be”* (interview, October 22, 2004).

Social Spaces of Citizenship—A Range of Places and Practices

In their responses to questions such as: where is the place that gives you a sense of belonging, that makes you feel like part of a community, or that allows you to participate in Irish society, the women I met identified a range of ordinary places and activities including spending time with friends, going to church, and being involved with their children's schools. For others, inclusion was associated with exceptional events. For instance, Baran explained that at the swimming pool where her children swam every week, other mothers asked why she (Baran) never went into the pool. She explained that because of her religious beliefs she could only swim in a single-sex setting. After some discussion, these mothers asked the manager of the pool to add a 'ladies-only' session to the timetable. He agreed, and with this Baran was included in social and recreational activities along with others in this place. In her own words, she noted: "*I can't reward them enough for this. [...] It was a wonderful contact for me*" (interview, October 18, 2004).

Another participant noted that being involved with Ireland's hosting of the Special Olympics in 2003 was a once-off experience where she felt a strong connection with a larger community and a great sense of inclusion in Irish society. Yet another noted that even though she was an asylum seeker she, and others like her, were given an opportunity to vote in local elections in 2004; this offered a sense of belonging and participation in Irish society where it was suggested that immigrants' views were included in the political decision-making process.³¹

³¹ It is perhaps ironic that these elections coincided with the vote to amend Ireland's constitutional birthright citizenship provision, thereby sending a message of exclusion to many newcomers.

Still others seemed amused when I asked about a sense of belonging. For example, Angela laughed and responded *“a sense of belonging? I can’t even say, because we’re being restricted everywhere in the community. We don’t know anyone apart from our neighbors, so I can’t even say if I’m being accepted or not”* (interview, October 14, 2004). Annette expressed a similar sentiment observing that *“there’s little opportunity for the voices of immigrants, they don’t even want to see us”* (interview, October 28, 2004). And Fumi noted that although there are places, support groups, and individuals advocating for foreigners like her, *“even those who have the authority to speak, [...] they still don’t hear them, [...] they refuse to listen”* (interview, October 14, 2004). Associated with this sense of being excluded, silenced, or ignored, and echoing the views of a number of participants, Andrea observed because *“we are not here, we are not there, we don’t belong anywhere”* (interview, October 14, 2004).

The range of perspectives articulated by the women I interviewed lend support to Painter and Philo’s suggestion that today, in addition to being understood as a political process, citizenship is “wrapped up in questions about who is accepted as a worthy, valuable, and responsible member of an everyday community [...], hence the relationship between individuals and their immediate communities swims into focus” (1995, p. 115). The views expressed by women in this study indicate that encounters and networks within local communities define a sense of belonging and participation. Therefore, in addition to understanding citizenship as a contingent social practice, it must also be viewed as a place-based practice. As Marston notes, adopting a “social-cultural” perspective on belonging highlights how “space is a structuring feature of citizenship” (1995, p. 194).

In my view, the practices that immigrant women engage in demonstrate that, in redefining citizenship, the social and the spatial must be understood together. In this sense also, the social-cultural view of citizenship dovetails Lefebvre's perspective on social space. Among the women I met, the spaces where belonging was materialized were clearly socially configured. Equally, and simultaneously, these social practices produce and reconfigure space. With this, representations of citizenship as a formal political identification and the idea of the nation-state merely as a fixed scale and abstracted community are muddled. Instead, citizenship and nation-state are materialized as complex, lived, and real social and spatial practices.

Communities of Citizenship Practice

The places of belonging that were most commonly identified and deemed most significant for respondents in this study can be grouped into two broad categories: 1) community-based organizations and 2) places for religious practice. I take up three issues in relation to these spaces. Continuing from the observations and argument outlined above, I consider how citizenship as social, spatial practice is reconfigured in the embodied experiences of immigrant women in Ireland. Intersecting with this, I draw on Lefebvre's critique of the state in order to examine the possibilities of changing relationships between individuals and states in the modern world. Finally, I consider how transformations of the space of the Irish nation and in the materiality of nationhood coincide with the social production of these alternative geographies of citizenship.

In the previous section (p. 238) I highlighted how citizenship practices are enacted across a diversity of contexts and locales at the individual level. At the group

level also there is a range of spaces associated with providing immigrants with a place for participation. While these responses can be grouped under the generally category of “community-based organizations,” they can be further delineated as: 1) designated immigration-support groups, 2) sites for education and training, and 3) community-based advocacy and exchange forums. Below, I present several examples of these places as described by the participants in this study.

Spaces Designated as Immigration Support Spaces

Of the women who were seeking asylum or recently awarded refugee status, one third identified immigrant support organizations including *Spirasi*, *Doras Luimní*, *The Catherine McCauley Centre*, and *Integrating Ireland*³² as places that gave them a sense of belonging and connection within Irish society. Interview participants identified particular people they had become especially close to or recurring events within the organization that were venues for participation for them. For example, although she felt like an outsider in the larger context of Dublin and Ireland, Angela noted that for her “*Spirasi is a place you can call home. You can even stay here from morning to evening, just take coffee or hang around*” (interview, October 14, 2004). Speaking about the same organization, Gail observed: “*I love coming to Spirasi, I like coming here, if not for my project because I feel like I’m part of it, I still feel like it’s part of me [...] every time that I’m not in the library, at least once a week I’m here. [...] I don’t really know how to explain, but you never leave Spirasi, once you are there you are always there*” (interview, October 26, 2004). Hossen was a little more subdued in noting: “*I think multi-national*

³² I conducted interviews at two of these sites (Spirasi and Doras Luimni), see Chapter 2 for details.

places are OK, I find Spirasi and Integrating Ireland are OK, and I find many multi-cultural [people there]—from Africa, Russia—and [...] the relationship between them is OK” (interview, October 18, 2004). Maria described these places as being “*like a United Nations, [with] people from all over the world, Iraq, Iran, Poland, Romania, Russia, South Africa, Congo, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, all different people*” (interview, November 11, 2004).

Sites for Education and Training

Spaces where education and training programs took place were another venue identified by one-third of the participants as providing a forum for participation and inclusion. The courses offered at these locations focused predominantly on training in computer literacy skills, training in secretarial and administrative tasks, and English-language classes. In most cases, venues for these courses were immigrant-support organizations such as those discussed in the preceding paragraph.

A small number of the women I met were enrolled in classes that took place in local community and vocational educational colleges. For example, Sandra was one of a group of women residing at an accommodation center in the west of Ireland; she lobbied the local Vocational Education Officer in a successful effort to set up a community-based secretarial skills class in which asylum seekers could participate. Lisa was one of the women who attended the class and she described it as a place that “*feels like I have potential there*” (interview, October 20, 2004). Similarly, Tessa observed that being able to participate in a computer course in Dublin made an enormous difference in her

everyday life, “*now school is very important, it makes me hopeful*” (interview, October 7, 2004).

These sites were venues where a sense of worth and importance was produced anew for the women I met. As such, spaces for education and training, like the volunteer work discussed in Chapter 5, provided locales where the ennui of day-to-day life as an asylum seeker was unraveled a little, exclusions from the productive sphere could be understood as only temporary, and where asylum seekers could begin to imagine themselves and their futures in Ireland.

Community-Based Forums for Advocacy and Social Exchange

A smaller number of women ventured further afield and found a welcome and a place to participate in community-based forums including women's advocacy groups, neighborhood associations, and issue-based political and social forums. For example, Fumi identified her involvement with a community development organization called *Meitheal*³³ as a place where she felt accommodated and welcomed, and where foreigners and Irish people alike socialized together. Fumi described one event organized by this group, where “*we had an opportunity to invite 200 people, we prepared African food that everyone ate, so in that instance I participated as an African woman in Ireland*” (interview, October 14, 2004). Tayo, whose conversation was peppered with references indicating the significance of religion in her life, availed of every opportunity to participate in community-based events and forums. She went to places of worship—

³³ Meitheal (*trans.* a band of reapers, working party). The organization's goal is to support equality and social justice (website: www.meitheal.ie).

Catholic as well as Pentecostal churches—not only participating in religious services but as she describes it, *“mixing up with people everywhere [...and] the fact that I’m allowed in, I feel like I belong. I’ve been to many social forums and there they are welcoming. There might be restrictions but I feel like I belong to the Irish system, which by [god’s] grace I’m penetrating more”* (interview, October 22, 2004). In addition to these forums, and as detailed in Chapter 6, several women described how participation in organizations that advocate for immigrants rights and to raise awareness related to human and civil rights at both national and global scales, provided venues where citizenship practices were materialized.

Immigrant-Support Organizations as Lived Spaces of Citizenship

One of the first things that struck me in these accounts was how frequently the spaces where refugee and asylum seeker women encounter a sense of belonging are demarcated as designated specifically for immigrants. The identification of these particular places was influenced by factors such as opportunities as well as knowledge about institutions, places, and people; personal factors, including social, cultural, and past practices; and psycho-social factors such as self-evaluations of language proficiency, views related to how participants were perceived by others as well as self-confidence.

In my analysis of the importance of these sites of belonging, I want to engage with a critique that’s sometimes launched at these spaces. Some researchers suggest that although these spaces produce inclusion, they also reproduce zones of exclusion. Associated with this, they are more readily dismissed as sites where various immigrant groups are segregated from the larger community and, in the current context, from Irish

society as a whole. For example, in an ethnographic study of older Italian immigrants living in London, Fortier (2000) suggests that places like those identified by participants in my study demonstrate that immigrants are not only alienated from their homeland but also from the host society, and their spaces of belonging come to represent “a life or lives on the margins” (p. 106). In this sense, organizations that support various immigrant groups might be viewed as spaces of diasporic displacement.

I want to argue for a more nuanced examination of these sites. The accounts given by women in the present study suggest that in addition to providing a space where immigrants feel at ease and secure, designated immigrant-support organizations also offer a number of “correctives” to the experiences of exclusion and alienation that asylum seekers encounter on a day-to-day basis. The activities that take place within these spaces provide asylum seekers and refugees with knowledge, insight, and skills that enable them to contribute and compete as part of the workforce in Ireland. This is not the only impact of these places. In addition, as suggested in Lisa and Tessa’s views related to the educational programs they participated in, immigrant-support organizations also work to undo the effects of alienation and exclusion. Participation in these spaces enables immigrant women to contemplate and imagine themselves as part of the productive fabric of modern Irish society.

It is my contention that the activities that take place within immigrant-support organizations encompass “moments” where the production of social space is reordered. In Chapter 1, I outlined that in the theory of social space, perceived, conceived and lived spaces are folded into each other and no one aspect is more or less important than the others. However, as we have seen throughout this project, Lefebvre argues that

coinciding with modernity, this delicate balance has gone awry so that representations and conceptions pervade our knowledge and use of space. For the women I met, these representations manifest as exclusions from the productive sphere and from participation in Irish society. But in the spaces of immigrant-support organizations and within the context of education and training programs specifically, “space is lived before it is conceived or thought, and practices guide and envelop representations and together the three facets produce social space” (Stewart, 1995, p. 610). In other words, the practices and practical skills acquired within the context of immigrant-support organizations are folded into a re-imagining of immigrants roles and representations within Irish society. Thus, lived space and spatial practices combine to produce alternative geographies and possibilities for participation among immigrants in Irish society, and an alternative, lived social space is materialized.

A related facet of these spaces is that unlike support groups where membership or participation is based on national or ethnic identity, the spaces identified by the women in this study are decidedly multi-national and inclusive. And in these spaces, at least in the eyes of the women I interviewed, ethnic and cultural differences are leveled. These organizations provide forums where immigrants who hail from “*all over the place*” are able to meet, talk, seek and exchange knowledge, and participate in both vocational and recreational activities. The available statistics related to participation in training programs within these organizations support these views. For instance, at *Spirasi*, the immigrant-support organization cited most frequently by the women in this study, almost 1,000 individuals participate in computer and language classes and this student group is comprised of immigrants from over fifty different nations (*Spirasi* website, accessed

March 18, 2007, from www.spirasi.ie). Given their multi-ethnic character, these sites become spaces where a modern multicultural Irish nation-state is materialized.³⁴ Thus, in addition to immigrant-support organizations being spaces where the potential for productive participation is tangible, these are sites where refugees and asylum seekers encounter a segment of Irish society as inclusive.

Neoliberal Politics and Alternative Avenues for Citizenship Practice

The identification of community forums as key spaces for practices of civic engagement also highlights the role of community-based and nongovernmental organizations as vehicles for belonging and as advocates for the rights of immigrant groups in this era of global migration flows. As noted above, and previously discussed in Chapter 6, community-based forums are venues where immigrant women can recast themselves as political and social actors. Thus, in addition to providing a space for belonging and participation, for some women, community forums also present opportunities to retool identity at the individual scale. These findings are broadly supported in the literature. For example, Shipper (cited in Ball and Piper, 2002) notes that community-based advocacy organizations are spaces where women feel at ease seeking shelter and social justice. And Veronis (2007), Katz, (2004), Yuval-Davis (1999), and Ashworth (1995) are among the feminist scholars who note the influence of women's active participation in nongovernmental and community-based organizations at local, national, and transnational contexts.

³⁴ For a critical review of multiculturalism and multicultural politics see Yuval Davis (1999) and Gray (2004b).

The accounts offered by women I met also demonstrate that community-based organizations are connected with a reworking of state responsibilities for the rights of citizens and non-citizens residing within the nation-state. There can be little doubt that community groups provide a crucially important space where women who are refugees and asylum seekers are welcomed and where they find avenues for active participation in Irish society. In turn, the work taken on by these groups indicates that many of the responsibilities related to monitoring, advocating, and raising awareness related to certain rights, have shifted from state institutions to nongovernmental organizations like *Meitheal* and *Spirasi*. In this process, immigrants are interwoven with the state in new and complex ways. To account for this I turn again to Lefebvre's work.

One argument that follows from Lefebvre's critique of everyday life in the modern world is as states become increasingly tied up in capitalist production they also become more and more entangled with everyday life. In Chapter 5, I discussed the relationship between what Lefebvre terms the "state mode of production" and volunteering roles that asylum seekers take within Irish society. In addition, I have argued that as practices of resistance coalesce and formal advocacy groups become established, these groups are folded into both rhetoric and practices that reproduce the neoliberal state at local levels (see Chapter 6). In a related manner, when immigrants participate in community-based organizations and become more and more involved with advocacy and rights work, these spaces not only function as spaces where those who are excluded from political processes find opportunities to participate; in addition these social spaces become "intertwined with a defacto enhancement, extension, and fine-tuning of diverse mechanisms of state control" (Brenner 2001, p. 790).

Mountz (2004) details the convoluted effects of this process. She notes that as immigrants find that they are maintained at greater and greater distance from the State institutions that deal with immigration policy and enforcement, and as states become increasingly disembodied, there has been a rise in what Mountz terms the “advocacy industry” (p. 329). As advocates, immigrant-support organizations are frequently placed in adversarial positions in relation to states and federal governments. To take this further still, Deforges, Rhys, and Jones (2005) observe that the form that active citizenship takes influences how an individual or group is evaluated and has repercussions for relations with the State. In other words, when immigrant-support organizations voice opposition rather than acceptance of state policies on immigration, they can run the risk of losing funding or other government-sanctioned endorsements. In this way, and as previously noted in Chapter 5, the devolution of certain state responsibilities to immigrants and immigrant-support organizations gives an aura of diminished control while the distribution and balance of power remains with the State.

“Autogestion” and Social Spaces of Citizenship

Lest this analysis sounds too pessimistic, I want to conclude by returning to Lefebvre’s notion of representational space and related to this, to Lefebvre’s call for critical-dialectical analyses of the social spaces of everyday life. In accordance with these ideas, binary divisions are rejected; instead, positive and negative forces swirl around one another and possibilities for the transformation of social space always inhere in the process and relations of production.

These perspectives are closely aligned with another facet of Lefebvre's critique of the state, namely the concept of "autogestion." Autogestion is the term that Lefebvre designates for the possibility of redressing the insidiousness of the state mode of production, or what might more commonly be referred to as neoliberalism. Like many of Lefebvre's ideas, autogestion is an ill-defined concept. It refers to self-management or self-governance by workers and citizens (Elden, 2004, p. 226; Brenner, 2001, p. 788). Scholars have variously argued that autogestion is "an infinitely plastic idea" (Khilnani, 1993, p. 182), "an idea whose vagueness is its strength" (Sassoon, 1996, p. 538), and now little more than "a hollow slogan" (Brenner, 2001, p. 795). It appears that Lefebvre did waiver in defining the term and in the 1970's became somewhat skeptical about the potential for autogestion to revolutionize everyday existence. Hence he suggested, instead of being a permanent state or achievement, autogestion is best understood as "a process of continual struggle [...] an opening toward the possible" (Elden, 2004, p. 229) where individuals and social groups become more actively involved in political processes and begin to dissolve notions of active or passive subjects or citizens.

In the context of this research, I want to suggest that in the spaces where immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers identify and engage in political practices as advocates in pursuit of their rights, they embody a desire for autogestion. Elden observes that this desire "enables the taking control of the things that effect [...] life, the conquest of power [...] and therefore, a fundamental change in how power [and the state] operates" (Elden, 2004, p. 229). Stated differently, for the women in this study, these spaces of participation may realize "other geographies of citizenship" that are on the margins yet, as Painter and Philo propose, also have the potential to "trouble the center" (1995, p. 118).

Changing Religious Practices and the Changing Social Space of the Irish Nation

To take up the issue of how key social spaces of identity and nation are reinscribed and transformed in association with practices of belonging among Ireland's new immigrants, I focus on the significance of religion among the women who participated in this research. Almost half (48%) of the women I met identified their religious practice, predominantly Christian churches, as sites where they encountered a sense of belonging in Ireland. A majority of this group was from Nigeria and almost all participated in Catholic, Baptist, or Pentecostal churches. Exceptions included one woman who converted from Buddhism to Catholicism in Sri Lanka, and went on to join the Mormon Church in Ireland. Two other women practiced Muslim and identified with activities that took place at their mosques as sites of inclusion for them.

There is no denying that contact with religious organizations played a significant role for many of the women in this study, even before they became asylum seekers and refugees. When recounting the experiences that precipitated leaving their country of origin, several women indicated that they had turned to the church for assistance and refuge in the turmoil they had encountered. For a number of these women contact with clergy and other religious leaders had facilitated their passage to Ireland. Consequently, it seems reasonable that contact with the church continued once they were in Ireland and continued to serve an important role for these women. For example, Ena noted that at church *"you thank god for keeping you alive [...] and you pray to keep you in this month"* (interview, October 30, 2004). Likewise, for Tessa, her involvement with the

church was *“part of the spiritual quest to be secure, safe, stable financially, religion has allowed me to keep going”* (interview, October 7, 2004).

In addition to their gratitude and ongoing commitment to religious practices, contact with religious organizations in Ireland also served to break the repetitive drone of daily life experienced by the asylum seekers that I met. For instance, in detailing how she not only attended a bible reading group and religious services at least twice a week, Tessa noted that she volunteered there on a daily basis. So although contact with her church had become routine in and of itself, Tessa noted that this allowed her and her daughter to experience *“something outside the four walls of the studio apartment”* (interview, October 7, 2004).

For Ena, who lived in an accommodation center in the west of Ireland, daily contact with the congregation she belonged to wasn't possible because the church was located in Galway, approximately 39 miles (64 kilometers) away. Nonetheless, when she talked about places that made her feel at home she noted, *“I like to go to Galway, my church is there. The pastor sends a bus once a month. When I'm there I'm happy with myself, when there are people around that love you, you feel happy. There they care and I thank god for them”* (interview, October 30, 2004). For Ena, these daylong excursions were occasions when the repetitions of day-to-day life in the accommodation center were interrupted. When she was able to attend church in Galway, Ena had mobility and a degree of independence; she left the surroundings of the rural town where she was residing and was able to observe happenings in an urban setting. For her, this jaunt allowed her to interact with a space she was more familiar with; in Nigeria she'd grown

up in a city with a population of almost 1 million people. In addition, she had previously lived and worked in an Israeli city before she came to Ireland as an asylum seeker.

For several of the women who noted that being involved with religious organizations provided a space of belonging, these institutions not only presented opportunities to engage in habitual practices with people from familiar places, they also offered them important social networks. Stephanie—a Nigerian women who married an Irish man and was living in Dublin—noted that when she attended her church she felt like an insider where she could talk with people who were familiar with her country (interview 10/14/2004). And Nkem noted, “*when I’m at church, I feel happy, I hear encouraging words from the pastor and [from] my sisters*” (interview, May 6, 2005). For Hossen and Baran, both women who had been granted the legal right to reside and work in Ireland, contact with their mosques allowed them to develop social networks, to find out what was going within the Muslim community in Dublin, and to inquire about progress in re-establishing their professional careers in medicine.

Finale—The Spirit of Transformation

Such accounts of the sense of social belonging that religious institutions provide for migrant women is echoed in the literature on migration generally. For example, in Fortier’s (2000) study of older Italian migrants living in London, she observes that ethnic churches serve to “shelter ethnic groups from assimilation while also securing a smooth transition to the host society” (p. 111) (see also Desforges et al. 2005; Parolin 1979). The significance of religious organizations as spaces of belonging and participation for women I met is also echoed in reports and analyses of immigration and immigrant groups

in contemporary Ireland (see for example Mutwarasibo, 2002). More recently, a report from the Irish Bishops' Conference, notes that many immigrants who attend services in Catholic Churches around the nation "seek out the church as a social as well as a religious space" (Mac Cormaic, 2007). On this issue, Allan Hilliard of the Irish Bishops' Conference noted, "when people put on a Mass or gathering for people from a different country, they provide a space afterwards for people to gather. The Irish just want Mass—in and out. But people are coming not just for the religious event but also for the social and the interactive" (cited in Mac Cormaic, 2007).

This observation indicates that religious practices not only provide a space for belonging and transition to Irish society; in addition, as immigrants engage with religious institutions they alter these spaces and practices as well. In drawing this discussion to a close, I want to highlight some of the intersections between these alternative geographies of belonging in Ireland, revisions to religious practices, and transformations of the social space of the contemporary Irish nation.

In the present study, I have argued that the Catholic Church was a potent force in Irish society throughout much of the twentieth century (see Chapters 3 and 4). The influence of the church in Ireland is addressed in numerous other accounts as well. As Akenson notes, during the past two centuries, Ireland has been "one of the most religiously sensitized nations in the western world" (1991, p. 16), (see also, Bacik, 2004; Inglis, 1998; Nic Ghiolla Phádraig, 1995; Valiulis, 1995; Kirby, 1984). My research also echoes discussions of the waning influence of the church in Irish society over the past two decades (Ward, 2002; and Fahey, 2002). One of the obvious ways the changing significance of the church is demonstrated is through declining rates of participation in

religious practices. Numerous surveys detail this change; for example, O'Connell (2001) observes that between 1985 and 1999 weekly attendance at religious services in Ireland declined by 23%, from 84% to 64%. O'Connell notes these changes are relatively consistent across gender, class, and age.³⁵ When compared to the European average of 30%, participation in religious practices in Ireland remains fairly high; nonetheless, this drop and the attendant implications related to identity and nation in Ireland are striking.

Yet, the numbers of new immigrants to Ireland for whom religious practices play a significant part counterbalances these shifts. It is not only my research that hints at this transformation. Recently available census figures also indicate that the numbers involved in, as well as the diversity of, religious practices has increased markedly with recent inward migration to Ireland; so much so, that MacCormaic (2007) notes: "migration is having a major impact on religious trends across the State" (*Irish Times*, May 3, 2007).³⁶

In closing, I return once again to the theory of social space. In my view, it is not solely that trends in religious practices have changed or merely that religious institutions are re-invigorated with the participation of various immigrant groups. My conversations with women who are refugees and asylum seekers in Ireland indicate that places for religious practice are sites where alternative spaces of social citizenship are materialized. Rob Shields observes, "Lefebvre's theory of space comes from a way of thinking about social change that is [...] akin to a revolution of the spirit" (1999, p. 16). Given the historical significance of religious institutions in shaping women's roles in Irish society,

³⁵ Only among those aged 54 years and above showed a smaller decline in weekly participation in religious practices.

³⁶ MacCormaic notes, in addition to increases in numbers of Catholics and Protestants in the Republic of Ireland, the Muslim population has doubled in recent years and the number of "Black Majority" churches increased from 10,000 in 2003 to 30,000 in 2004 (*Irish Times*, May 3, 2007).

in defining Irish identity, and in the production of the nation-state, it seems likely that in Ireland, the past may once again recur in the present, and the social spaces of the 21st century Irish nation-state will be produced and transformed amidst the intangible, lived spaces where “spirit” resides.

Appendix 1—Comprehensive List of Research Questions

The Social Production of the Nation-Space

Adopting the view that the nation is a socially produced space that can be analyzed by employing combining a regressive-progressive and critical-dialectical approach, this project focuses on migrant women with the aim of exploring the representations of space, spatial practices, and lived spaces that socially produce the contemporary Irish nation-state. Therefore, in this study I take the experiences of migrant women as a lens on the contested social production of the contemporary Irish nation-state. The following research questions explore this aim:

1. What were the dominant representations of emigrant women in relation to the Irish nation?
2. How are the identities of migrant women constructed and materialized by these representations?
3. With the shift from emigrant to immigrant-receiving nation, how have the images and roles attributed and projected onto migrant women in Ireland changed?
4. How do migrant women make sense of, construct and negotiate their own identities amidst representations and discourses about them?
5. What are the lived experiences, social, and spatial practices of migrant women in contemporary Ireland?

6. How does their standing as migrants affect their role, identity, and place in Irish society?
7. In what ways do the embodied experiences of migrant women exceed the discourses and representations of them?

The Embodiment of Scale

As noted in Chapter 1, in taking the nation-state as a socially produced space, the scale of the body and of the nation are viewed as bound up together. Drawing on the geopolitical literature on scale as well as feminist interventions in this scholarship, this research takes the view that the nation is a scaled social, cultural, and political construction that intersects with the body and spheres of social reproduction. Therefore, in this study I ask:

8. How are the embodied experiences of migrant women tied to the scale of the nation?
9. How are migrant women's bodies deployed in the production of the nation as a geopolitical scale?
10. How do migrant women make sense of and position themselves as part of this process?

Migration and Nationhood

These aims dovetail an interest in what it means to belong to the Irish nation as a migrant woman today. Drawing on the perspective that understandings of nationhood and citizenship are currently in flux in the wake of international migration and globalization, this research examines understandings of Irish identity and nationhood as well as spaces of belonging among Ireland's migrant women. Guiding questions include:

11. What spaces / places / roles are associated with being part of the Irish nation?
12. What constitutes belonging in the experiences of migrant women in Ireland and how and where are exclusions enacted and experienced?

Appendix 2—Flyer used for Recruitment of Study Participants

Researcher Invites You

to take part in a project on WOMEN, MIGRATION AND IRELAND

**Announcing a project on the relations between women's migration,
Ireland and Irish identity.**

Dee Conlon - a doctoral student at the City University of New York - invites you to participate in a research project exploring the views, experiences and stories of migrant women in Ireland today.

WHAT ARE THE TOPICS OF THE RESEARCH?

- How do ideas about women and migration shape the experiences of migrant women in Ireland today?
- What places are associated with community and belonging for migrant women?
- How do the stories of various migrant women compare?

WHO CAN PARTICIPATE?

If you are a **woman** who has come to Ireland as an

- Immigrant
- Refugee
- Asylum seeker
- Returned Irish emigrant

..... then you can participate

WHAT'S REQUIRED?

Participants can take part in one or all phases of the project

- One **one-hour interview** / discussion to explore views and experiences as a migrant woman in Ireland
- One **one-hour group discussion** with other migrant women
- A **self-guided** photo project on place

WHAT ARE THE BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS?

An opportunity to share your views and to meet other migrant women

All participants are paid for their time

- 15 euro for individual interviews
- 10 euro for participating in a group discussion



For questions about the research, or to participate, please contact **Dee Conlon**
086 863 1020
dconlon@gc.cuny.edu
Meetings take place this month!
Call soon in order to take part
 Confidentiality Assured
 Compensation Provided

Appendix 2a—Advertisement used to Recruit Study Participants

Researcher Needs You

Researcher studying migrant views on Ireland & Irish identity
would like to hear your views.

Are you a **woman** who has recently come to Ireland as an

- Immigrant
- Asylum seeker
- Refugee
- Returned Irish emigrant

Are you interested in participating in a discussion on migrants
living in Ireland?

For questions about the research, or to participate,
please contact Dee Conlon:

086 863 1020

dconlon@gc.cuny.edu

Meetings take place this month!

Confidentiality Assured

Compensation Provided



Researcher Needs You

Researcher studying migrant views on Ireland & Irish identity
would like to hear your views.

Are you a **woman** who has recently come to Ireland as an

- Immigrant
- Asylum seeker
- Refugee
- Returned Irish emigrant

Are you interested in participating in a discussion on migrants
living in Ireland?

For questions about the research, or to participate,
please contact Dee Conlon:

086 863 1020

dconlon@gc.cuny.edu

Meetings take place this month!

Confidentiality Assured

Compensation Provided



Appendix 3—Profile of Interview Participants included in Analysis

Name	Migrant Category	Country of Origin	Age	Living in Ireland for (yrs)	Prior Work	Work Now
Amanda*	Seeking Asylum	DR Congo	19	1.4	Student	Waiting for status
Sandra*	Seeking Asylum	Nigeria	34	1.1	Medical Doctor	Waiting for status / Volunteer
Beji*	Seeking Asylum	Nigeria	25	0.7	Teacher	Waiting for status
Ena*	Seeking Asylum	Nigeria	27	0.5	Chambermaid	Waiting for status
Gail*	Immigrant	Nigeria	38	6	Secretary	Studying Management Law
Jennifer*	Immigrant	Nigeria	30	5	Hairdresser/Trader	Studying Pre-Nursing
Maria*	Refugee	Nigeria	40	2	Child Care Worker	Adult Care Worker
Stephanie*	Immigrant (other)**	Nigeria	30	5	Seamstress	Waitress
Tayo*	Immigrant (other)	Nigeria	34	3	Lab Technician	Waiting for status / Volunteer
Hossen*	Immigrant (other)	Iraq	35	4	Medical Doctor	Studying for Boards
Baran*	Refugee	Algeria	43	2	Medical Doctor	Studying for Boards / Volunteer
Riva*	Immigrant (other)	Uzbekistan	38	4.5	Accountant	Financial Assistant
Tessa*	Immigrant (other)	Nigeria	28	2.5	Financial Services / Banking	Waiting for status / Volunteer
Angela*	Seeking Asylum	Nigeria	29	2	Hairdresser	Waiting for status / Volunteer
Andrea*	Seeking Asylum	Nigeria	31	2	Hairdresser	Waiting for status / Volunteer
Fumi*	Seeking Asylum	Nigeria	30	2	Trader	Waiting for status / Volunteer
Odun*	Immigrant (other)	Nigeria	37	2	Nurse Practitioner	Waiting for status / Volunteer
Ana*	Refugee	Nigeria	29	3	Business Owner	Volunteer /Applying for College
Lisa*	Seeking Asylum	Togo	28	unknown	Microbiologist	Waiting for status
Irene*	Seeking Asylum	Nigeria	32	0.7	Mechanical Engineer	Waiting for status
Annette*	Seeking Asylum	Nigeria	37	2	Nurse/Midwife	Waiting for status
Gina*	Seeking Asylum	Nigeria	35	3	unknown	Waiting for status
Nkem*	Refugee	Ghana	30	2	In labor camp	Studying / Volunteer
Shama*	Immigrant (other)	Sri Lanka	35	3	Nurse's Aide	Waiting for status / Volunteer
Alina*	Refugee	Algeria	30	4	Lawyer	unknown

** “Immigrant (other)” includes women who are parents of children born in Ireland and those whose residency was granted under the terms of “family reunification” status.

Appendix 3a— Profile of all Migrant Women Interviewed in this Study

Name	Migrant Category	Country of Origin	Age	Living in Ireland for (yrs)	Prior Work	Work Now
Amanda*	Seeking Asylum	DR Congo	19	1.4	Student	Waiting for status
Sandra*	Seeking Asylum	Nigeria	34	1.1	Medical Doctor	Waiting for status / Volunteer
Beji*	Seeking Asylum	Nigeria	25	0.7	Teacher	Waiting for status
Ena*	Seeking Asylum	Nigeria	27	0.5	Chambermaid	Waiting for status
Gail*	Immigrant	Nigeria	38	6	Secretary	Studying Management Law
Jennifer*	Immigrant	Nigeria	30	5	Hairdresser/Trader	Studying Pre-Nursing
Maria*	Refugee	Nigeria	40	2	Child Care Worker	Adult Care Worker
Stephanie*	Immigrant (other)**	Nigeria	30	5	Seamstress	Waitress
Tayo*	Immigrant (other)	Nigeria	34	3	Lab Technician	Waiting for status / Volunteer
Hossen*	Immigrant (other)	Iraq	35	4	Medical Doctor	Studying for Boards
Baran*	Refugee	Algeria	43	2	Medical Doctor	Studying for Boards / Volunteer
Riva*	Immigrant (other)	Uzbekistan	38	4.5	Accountant	Financial Assistant
Lizette	Immigrant	United States	25	3	Journalist	Journalist
Kate	Return Emigrant	Ireland (London)	44	2.5	Training and Development	Non-Profit Administration
Angela	Return Emigrant	Ireland (Boston)	42	2.5	Arts Administrator	Events / Meeting Planner
Teresa	Return Emigrant	Ireland (SArabia)	51	3	Consultant / HR	Recruitment Consultant
Tessa*	Immigrant (other)	Nigeria	28	2.5	Financial Services / Banking	Waiting for status / Volunteer
Angela*	Seeking Asylum	Nigeria	29	2	Hairdresser	Waiting for status / Volunteer
Andrea*	Seeking Asylum	Nigeria	31	2	Hairdresser	Waiting for status / Volunteer
Fumi*	Seeking Asylum	Nigeria	30	2	Trader	Waiting for status / Volunteer
Odun*	Immigrant (other)	Nigeria	37	2	Nurse Practitioner	Waiting for status / Volunteer
Ana*	Refugee	Nigeria	29	3	Business Owner	Volunteer /Applying for College
Cathy	Work Permit	New Zealand	29	2.5	unknown	Community Arts Development
Lisa*	Seeking Asylum	Togo	28	unknown	Microbiologist	Waiting for status
Irene*	Seeking Asylum	Nigeria	32	0.7	Mechanical Engineer	Waiting for status
Clarisse	EU Immigrant	France	32	8	unknown	Community Development
Una	Return Emigrant	Ireland (London)	58	3	Social Worker	Social Worker
Nancy	Return Emigrant	United States	35	4.5	Publishing	Publishing
Pat	Return Emigrant	Ireland (New York)	40	8	Community Development	Development Officer
Sheila	Return Emigrant	Ireland (New York)	33	2.5	Editor	Publishing
Annette*	Seeking Asylum	Nigeria	37	2	Nurse/Midwife	Waiting for status
Gina*	Seeking Asylum	Nigeria	35	3	unknown	Waiting for status
Julie	EU Immigrant	England	34	3.5	Social Housing Worker	Research Officer
Nkem*	Refugee	Ghana	30	2	In labor camp	Studying / Volunteer
Shama*	Immigrant (other)	Sri Lanka	35	3	Nurse's Aide	Waiting for status / Volunteer
Karin	EU Immigrant	Poland	26	0.3	Shop Assistant	Waitress
Beth	EU Immigrant	Poland	28	0.7	Gas Station Attendant	Student (Hotel/Catering)
Lorraine	EU Immigrant	Lithuania	33	0.6	Bookkeeper	Fastfood Waitress
Ina	EU Immigrant	Lithuania	21	0.7	Hairdresser	Factory Worker
Alina*	Refugee	Algeria	30	4	Lawyer	unknown

Notes:

* These interviews are included in the present discussion and analysis (see Appendix 3).

Appendix 4—Example of (completed) Survey and Interview Guide

i/visw 10/28/04
mid-through asked
to stop recording.



Migrant Women's Stories

Introduction and Background Survey



Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research project.

I'm interested in your views about Ireland and what it's like to be a migrant woman in Ireland today. This meeting will take about one hour to complete. Before we start talking about your experiences, please spend a few minutes filling in this form. When you've finished let me know. This form shows you the kinds of questions I'll be asking you to think about over the next hour, and helps me to learn a little about you. All the information will be kept confidential for your protection.

i/hear at
Spirasi NCR
D.F.

♦ Your name? [redacted] ♦ Age? 29

♦ What language(s) do you speak? English, Ibo.

♦ Where were you born? [redacted] - Eastern Nigeria talked about
lack of resources
conc. of wealth
taken injustice.

♦ Where did you live before you moved to Ireland? same

♦ How long did you live there for? same

♦ How long have you lived in Ireland? almost 3 yrs.

♦ Out of the list below how would you describe yourself

☐ Immigrant

☒ Refugee may '04. can apply for passport

☐ Asylum seeker after 3 yrs. (poss. next

☐ Returned emigrant May) taken opps. as Irish national.

☐ Other (please specify) [redacted]

♦ Where do you live now? (town or area) Dublin

♦ How many people currently live with you in your home? self, husband & 3 children

♦ Do you:

☐ Live alone

☒ Live with family

☐ Live with friends

☐ Live-in work

☐ Temporary Accommodation/Center

☐ Other (please specify) [redacted]

♦ What's your current occupation? volunteer - admin. (Spirasi)

- Catherine McCauley Centre.

- Volunteers Ireland: HIV/AIDS.

will start doing public health related vol. work,
going to refugee centres & disc.
accessing health needs/resources/importance of
w/women.

See next page →

BEFORE YOU CAME TO IRELAND

- ♦ Before you moved to Ireland were you working? If yes, what did you do?
 Husband owned 5 petrol stations, oversight of these.

Activism around women's rights - against widow brides, against female circumcision, forced marriage, equality rights.
 was detained for 5 mos.

- ♦ In a typical day how and where would you spend most of your time? - was beginning third level, had to stop 'ble. of detention.

Where was v. active, always busy. Activities engaged in didn't know where her husband was

for 2 yrs. She was detained by military authorities. Tortured, would never cry. phones tapped, mail intercepted, was told, unable to leave country or family would be killed.

♦ Where did you feel most 'at home'? - Received card from husband w/ address in Ireland (ROI - didn't know where/what this meant) & address only they as a couple would know - so knew he was alive.

Wife did not want to go back to Nigeria. Left to another African country, then to Ireland.

- btw. devil & blue sky. - Arrived w/ two kids. Wasn't aware of asylum / idea of illegal, begal, bad documents.

- nasty exp. upon arrival - Talked about her first encounter w/ Irel. as v. frustrating

~ went to [redacted] to address a plea. Didn't have currency of this country, only US\$. Asked taxi driver to take her, he wouldn't accept US\$, told her to get money from person in house.

At house, man there told her her husband did live here but not any longer. told her best bet was to go to Justice Dept. & taxi should take her there. When went to taxi, outside he was gone w/ \$3,000. Had to get money from man in house. Went to Justice Dept.

taken to reception centre. There also had frustrating exp. ~ woman dealing w/ther wanted to know reason

for asylum claim - Nac didn't understand, said was here to find her husband & w/ther exp. she didn't feel able & didn't feel woman dealing w/ther would understand, so said just put 'looking for her husband'. Was sent to hostel.

Next day sec. worker at hostel gave her US address - contacted him, he said his wife was dead. To now he was rejected her. So, thought was getting to liberty, had gone through detention, torture for / whatever sake of her husband, now to be rejected by him. She could have chosen a different life but did things for him, didn't do these things for herself.

[Husband a graduate, educ. in Italy, knew about injustice in River State & campaigned pol. activism about this hence his detention. Sarawanan]

See next page → was not hungry for anything

Good/Bad Exp/Encounter in Ireland...

• applic. to nursing school rejected b/c. not does not have 'real' passp.
(warrants of NCC repres.). Places held for Irish natls. first, then EU city
then non-EU - why? Not fair. People w/ lower marks than her now in university.

IDEAS ABOUT IRELAND

List what comes to mind about the following:

	Things you'd heard before you came to Ireland	Things you associate with now that you've lived in Ireland for a while
Irish identity	Irish/Belfast - fighting - priests. Irish assoc. w/ UK. ROI? ^{everybody has} Guinness ^{own problem}	very a few, who are v. good. Most just give lip service. stick tog. / up for each other, it's in good, take care of each other. Given rights: children's benefits given to women ~~not~~ have no rights if divorced have to leave house, child go to man, may not even take clothes so women here are better off. Many women don't want to return to Nigeria, have better chances here. can be in business. Have pol. voice. (woman)
Women's Lives in Ireland	one Irish priest, sister from Belfast. They talked about trouble/fighting betw. groups Catholic/protestant. didn't understand why people can't just practice what they believe in.	woman in Nigeria. if divorced have to leave house, child go to man, may not even take clothes so women here are better off. Many women don't want to return to Nigeria, have better chances here. can be in business. Have pol. voice. (woman)
Migration / Migrants and the Irish nation	Thought Belfast, in part of UK. Didn't know about women in Ireland.	Better opps. for women - on women's rights here vs. in Nigeria. women don't want to go back = opps. given to women societies for women.
Belonging / 'Fitting in' in Ireland	Didn't know re: migr. / immigr. in Irel. only when she got here. Soc. worker exp. bc. of British occup. & oppression of Irish. moving land of housing for pay rent - not right potato crops failing.	Micauley Centre home - when husband not there.

will make care of kids - f. s.w. to assist. Daughter ~~bullied~~ by younger brother - she was told slangers to stand up for herself. They were fighting, daughter had. Didn't know / her father, just called. Didn't know / her father, just called. Didn't know / her father, just called.

worship of black Nigeria

children Irish

In a typical day how and where do you spend most of your time now?

Where	Activities engaged in
school w/kids	
volunteering	
church - Catholic	

in midst of ocean but v. thirsty.

See next page →

Spirasi
Catherine
Micauley center
ante-natal clinic
black & white

few more & don't know to say it - ignorant

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