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## IRISH SOCIETY, HISTORY & CULTURE 100 years after 1916

European University Institute – Scuola Normale Superiore – Università di Firenze

### BOOK OF ABSTRACTS



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### **Fumbling in the greasy till: Elite strategy in post-Crash Ireland**

One hundred years after the 1916 rebellion, the Irish elite have nervously embraced its legacy. The rebellion, they claim, gave birth to Irish democracy and, through that, laid a foundation stone for Ireland's economic progress. The current 26 county state did not arise from the ideals embodied in this insurrection but rather from a counter-revolution that developed alongside the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1922. Although they split during a civil war and came to represent different fractions within the dominant social class, the Irish elite eventually united around a strategy of building an independent Southern Irish capitalism. Over the decades, the strategy shifted from protectionism to free trade and today it rests on forging an alliance with global multi-nationals as junior partners and facilitators.

This paper examines two specific elements of this strategy in post crash Ireland. The first lies in the expansion and modernisation of Ireland's role as an Atlantic tax haven . Ironically, the much heralded OECD clampdown on tax havens has created new opportunities. Traditionally, the tax dodging activities of global corporations was accompanied by some real manufacturing activity in Ireland and this lent an aura of respectability to these ventures. Despite the decline in manufacturing, the Irish elite aim to maintain this respectable image while providing adequate scope for tax avoidance. Mechanisms for doing so include, use of 'knowledge box' reliefs, acceptance of the practice of 'inversion' and tax advantages for Special Purpose Vehicles in the financial sector.

Second, the Irish elite have maintained their traditional love of property speculation – even after the crash of 2008. Their principle mechanism has been to forge new alliance with vulture funds and Real Estate Investment Trusts to revive the Irish property market. In an astounding development, many of the Irish developers whose borrowings triggered the crash have returned as junior allies of global investment funds. The writer suggests that the elite are engaged in a high risk strategy. Their efforts are leading to less social cohesion and do not provide an avenue for stable long term economic growth.

Kieran Allen is a senior lecturer in the School of Sociology in UCD. He has written extensively on Ireland's political economy and its rebel tradition. His book, *The Celtic Tiger: The Myth of Social Partnership* (2000) challenged the neo-liberal philosophy that underpinned Ireland's economic boom. After its collapse, he wrote two books on the subject, *Ireland's Economic Crash* (2009) and *Austerity Ireland: The Failure of Irish Capitalism* (2013), the latter with Brian O'Boyle. Rather than simply analyse the failings of Irish society, he has sought to examine the country's revolutionary tradition with a view to devising strategies for change. His first book *The Politics of James Connolly* (1990) examined the Marxist outlook of one of the key leaders of the 1916 rebellion while his most recent book *1916: Ireland's Revolutionary Tradition* (2016) challenged the notion that the country was a naturally conservative society. Alongside an active engagement in debates about Irish society, he has intervened in classical debates on social theory with books on *Marx and the Alternative to Capitalism* (2011) and *Max Weber: A Critical Introduction* (2004). He is currently working on a book about the French sociologist, Emile Durkheim.

## Stuart Aveyard

### **The memory of 1916 and British parliamentary debates on the Northern Ireland conflict**

Perceptions of the past could at times play a very important role in British understandings of the Northern Ireland conflict, in turn affecting the policies that were adopted and how the British responded in general to the Troubles. Frequently the past was invoked in parliamentary debates in the hope of strengthening arguments for a particular approach to Northern Ireland. The memory of 1916 was an especially powerful one to draw from. This paper will look at how British politicians understood 1916, what lessons they claimed to have learned from it and what consequences this had for Northern Irish society. One area where it was most often cited was in death penalty debates, where the execution of the 1916 rebels was used in arguments against capital punishment. Such debates occurred often in the 1970s, from the abolition of the death penalty for Northern Ireland in 1973 through repeated arguments about whether it should be reintroduced for those convicted of paramilitary violence. These latter debates occurred usually after particularly violent moments such as the Birmingham bombings of 1974. References to 1916 prompted some Conservative MPs to cite the Irish Civil War as an example of the success that could be gained from carrying out executions, leading to further debate on the British handling of colonial insurgencies. Parliamentary debates saw extensive discussion of the politics of Pearse, Connolly et al, the legacy of their rising and the consequent impact on contemporary society. Rival memories of 1916 and the events that followed it played an important part in perceptions of the Northern Ireland conflict and influenced British political responses to it.

Stuart Aveyard is an Irish Research Council Post-doctoral Fellow at the Centre for War Studies, University College Dublin. He was previously a research fellow and Lecturer in Modern British History at Queen's University Belfast. His first monograph, forthcoming with Manchester UP this year, is entitled *No Solution: the Labour government and the Northern Ireland conflict 1974-79*. He is currently researching the uses of other conflicts in Northern Ireland's Troubles.

Kevin Bean

### **Debating the Rising: The politics of commemoration since 1991**

This paper will consider aspects of the public and political debate surrounding the commemoration of the Easter Rising in the twenty six counties since 1991. The Rising, in its various representations, has long proved problematic in Irish public life, providing a battleground for clashes about the historical legitimacy of contemporary political projects and the degree to which 'the ideals of 1916' have been achieved. During the Troubles, these questions were posed particularly acutely for the Irish state as well as for constitutional nationalists and militant republicans on both sides of the border.

The paper will suggest that the peace process and the constitutional revision of the Irish state's national project in 1998 have not lessened the impact of these questions of legitimacy and historical achievement. Indeed, if anything, the debate has been amplified since then by the political fall-out from the collapse of the Celtic Tiger and wider changes in Irish society. Consequently the current politics of commemoration are not simply the re-fighting of old wars, but are instead attempts to resolve the very contemporary problems of political authority, ideological legitimacy and citizen alienation. In conclusion, the paper will show how all sections of the political class from Fine Gael through to Sinn Féin try to (re)-create new narratives of legitimacy and meaning through (re)-presentations and myths of the past, designed to restore authority and re-engage with a sceptical and increasingly hostile electorate.

Kevin Bean teaches Irish politics at the Institute of Irish Studies, University of Liverpool. His research interests include theories of nationalism and national identity, state counter-insurgency policy and practice, and the contemporary politics of Northern Ireland. He has written on the Peace Process and the political evolution of the Provisional Republican movement in newspapers, magazines and journals. His publications include *The New Politics of Sinn Féin* (2007); 'Endings and Beginnings? Republicanism since 1994', in *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* (37, 9, 2014); 'Leaving the soundbites at home? Tony Blair, New Labour and Northern Ireland, 1993-2007', in L. Marley (ed.) *The British Labour Party and Twentieth – Century Ireland*, (2015); and 'New Roads to the Rising: the Irish politics of commemoration since 1994', in R. Grayson and F. McGarry (eds), *Reading 1916: The Easter Rising, the Somme and the Politics of Memory in Ireland* (2016).

Andrea Binelli

### **Memory of the Rising and Futurology in the Same-Sex Marriage Referendum Debate**

During a State ceremonial event of this year's Easter weekend and following a wreath-laying tribute to James Connolly's statue on Beresford Place, President Michael D. Higgins claimed that many of the ideals of those who fought in the Easter Rising have not yet been achieved by the Republic of Ireland. In his speech, the President made it clear what ideals he was referring to: wealth redistribution, eradication of inequalities and progressive positions on women's rights as the basis for the country's social, economic and cultural transformation. The idea that the task taken on by the 1916 Rising is yet to be accomplished is actually widespread in Ireland and such conviction is often turned into a premise and a rhetorical strategy in argumentative texts addressing very different topics. This is especially the case when features of a typically nationalist discourse are being exploited and often re-semiotised in order to tackle a range of social issues. The aim of my paper is to investigate how the futurology inherent in today's collective memory of 1916 was revisited 99 years later by Yes-side as well as No-side supporters in the mainstream journalistic debates prior to the same-sex marriage referendum. In particular, I have employed the critical tools of Corpus-Based Discourse Analysis and have focused on a corpus of articles published on the websites of the main national newspapers (The Irish Times and The Irish Independent) in Spring 2015. Accordingly, I have analysed the range of metaphors and rhetorical strategies through which the potential outcomes of the referendum were reflected by both sides into ideal accomplishments of the nationalist agenda.

Andrea Binelli teaches *Lingua e traduzione inglese* at the University of Trento, Department of Lettere e Filosofia. He has translated several Irish authors into Italian including Donal Ryan, Elske Rahill, Patrick McCabe, Andrew Fox and John Kelly. He has also published essays and volumes on the history of language in Ireland, Irish sociolinguistics and the representation of the economic crisis by the Irish mainstream media.

## Carmen-Veronica Borbely

### Out of the Crypt: The Spectres of Easter 1916 in Sebastian Barry's Novels

As sepulchral narratives, gaining substance from beyond the brink of death, Sebastian Barry's "auto/biografictions" (Saunders, 2010) amount to life-writing gestures that broach the unspeakability of individual and collective guilt and the ambivalent loyalties demonstrated by participants in traumatic historical events like the Great War or the Easter Rising. Striving to chart authentic articulations of their inner selves along fictional lines that simulate the conventions of the autobiographical contract, protagonists like Willie Dunne in *A Long Long Way* (2005), Roseanne McNulty in *The Secret Scripture* (2008) or Jack McNulty in *The Temporary Gentleman* (2014) engage, in the very act of performing their stories, in transgressing prohibitive taboos surrounding the spectres of history. In particular, *A Long Long Way* addresses what Decland Kiberd has described as a crisis of (self)representation and incommunicability that ensued the foundational sacrifice of the nation carried out in the battlefields of Dublin at the time of Easter 1916. This paper starts from a Derridean understanding of Irish modernity's hauntological rapports with history and, adopting the cryptophoric instruments of "spectral criticism" (Punter 2002), examines Barry's biografictional discourses constructed around the spectres of history as the ontological sites where the narrators' work of mourning fosters a reconciliation with loss, effacement and disfiguration. Ultimately, it is through the visor opened by/to the melancholic characters in Sebastian Barry's narratives that the immense past suffering encrypted in the Easter Rising is re-presented, being released into/releasing the present.

Carmen-Veronica Borbely is an Associate Professor with the English Department, Faculty of Letters, Babes-Bolyai University in Cluj, Romania, where she teaches Eighteenth-Century English Literature at BA level and Irish Gothic Fiction to students in the Irish Studies MA programme. She was a Chevening scholar at the University of Oxford (2003-2004) and has had research stages at the Keough-Naughton Institute of Irish Studies (University of Notre Dame) and University College (Dublin). Her publications include *Mapping the (Post)Gothic: Essays on Irish Contemporary Fiction and Film* (2014).



Lorenzo Bosi and Niall O'Dochartaigh

**Armed activism as the enactment of a collective identity. The case of the Provisional IRA between 1969 and 1972**

Among scholars of political violence, policy makers, and indeed the general public it is quite common to see individuals who join armed activism as if they are in search of a collective identity and for a place to belong, so to cope with the significant frustration of life and to fill deep intrapsychic voids. This paper suggests that micro-mobilization in armed activism is strongly motivated by the enactment of an identity they already have prior to their mobilization. Thenceforth, in consequence of major changes in the political context, which might threaten the collective identity that individuals hold, what individuals are in search for is not their identity, but the best vehicle that allows them to protect and enact their identity, in the new macro-level context. Empirically, in this paper through a number of qualitative sources, which both authors have collected throughout their careers, we investigate the micro-mobilization into the Provisional IRA (henceforth, PIRA), between 1969 and 1972.

Lorenzo Bosi is Assistant Professor at the Scuola Normale Superiore (SNS) and Research Fellow within COSMOS. His main research interests are in political sociology and historical sociology where his studies primarily focus on qualitative research of social movements and political violence. He is mainly interested in how and when contentious political actors shift forms actions across time and space and their impacts. He is co-author of a monograph *The Dynamics of Radicalization. A Relational and Comparative Perspective* (OUP, 2015), co-editor of four volumes *The Troubles: Northern Ireland and Theories of Social Movements* (AUP, Forthcoming), *The Consequences of Social Movements: Policies, People and Institutions* (CUP, 2016), *Political Violence in Context. Time, Space and Milieu* (ECPR PRESS, 2015), *Dynamics of Political Violence* (Ashgate, 2014); and co-editor of four special issues.

Niall Ó Dochartaigh is Senior Lecturer in the School of Political Science and Sociology at the National University of Ireland, Galway. He has published on conflict, negotiation, territory, and new technologies in a range of journals. Recent publications include the co-edited *Political Violence in Context: Space, Time, Milieu* (ECPR Press, 2015), and *Northern Ireland since 1920* in the "Princeton History of Modern Ireland" (Princeton UP, 2016). He is a founding convener of the ECPR Standing Group on Political Violence and of the Specialist Group on Peace and Conflict of the Political Studies Association of Ireland. Further information at [niallodoc.wordpress.com](http://niallodoc.wordpress.com).

## **1916 in 2016: An Unfinished Revolution?**

At the time of writing, Ireland is in the throes of commemorating the Easter Rising of 1916. Commentators in the media have, in this decade of centenaries, attempted to both define the role of the commemoration of the 1916 Rising from the perspective of 'professional history' and to interpret the Rising itself from the perspective of outcomes and revolutionary scale. More debates among the historical establishment and commissioned articles in the Irish media are to be expected over the next year given the particularly prominent role historians are generally afforded in the Irish public sphere. However, it is apparent that much emphasis has been placed on the important public role of political history as an academic discipline in interpreting the Rising/period of Revolution with less emphasis on explaining the historical antecedents of a range of some other pressing and more current social and political questions embedded in the period in question.

One particular issue which deserves attention both in relation to the history of the Rising itself and in terms of its historical legacy – women's role and rights in Irish society - has been scarcely mentioned in the mainstream arena of public debate thus far. Indeed, women themselves as scholars and commentators have been apportioned a very marginal role in high profile public fora, panels, and op-ed pieces in the national newspapers, for instance – this is despite the fact that a significant corpus of dedicated writing by women on 1916 (both general history and history with a focus on women) exists. Moments of commemoration therefore also afford the historical profession and the general public an opportunity to remind us of what has the potential be forgotten or elided as well as remembered and necessitates an explanation as to why this might be the case, at the current conjuncture, not least in relation to women's lives past and present. Is the debate about the commemoration of 1916 in 2016 another largely masculinist phenomenon and performance? Or is there a mutual and meaningful place/space for women and women's history and interdisciplinary scholarship in it thereby enriching the debate more inclusively understood?

In particular, based on new original research, this paper will argue there are many questions to be asked about historical abuses and equality in 2016 some of which are being currently played out in the Courts (concerning, for instance, abortion and symphysiotomies) - a century after diverse groups of women both in Dublin and outside it assisted in an uprising of 1916 that had a complex vision of equality and gender at its ideological core. We clearly need more careful historical research that can excavate the history of groups previously excluded from the official historical narrative of the last century. But commemoration can also provide important opportunities for reflection beyond this task – not least about the rights and wrongs of 'our'/'Irish' history in relation to women's lives. We also need a debate about historical accountability and the lessons of the past including in relation to the State and society's record on women's human rights in the arena of health, obstetrics and motherhood, and not least in relation to symphysiotomies conducted in Irish hospitals as well as other more recent instances of maternal health and death. What would the women of 1916 make of 'gendered citizenship' today? What resonance does the reference to women's 'life' in the 1937 Constitution take on in a recent context where a woman's life and death vis a vis motherhood and pregnancy was literally the subject of a High Court case conducted in the days before and after Christmas day 2014 and which in November 2013 led to an investigation into the maternal death of Savita Halappanavar at a Galway hospital that could not provide a termination to save her life and attracted global media attention? Or a context in which Ireland's history has been held up as a negative role model by the UN? Will 1918 and 100 years of suffrage for women be afforded the same

commemorative attention as 1916 and when will a sustained public debate about the nature of this commemoration and women's rights and conditions then and now (including as mothers or potential mothers) be given central focus?

Difficult questions demand difficult histories and the decade of commemorations (in the plural) could present an exciting opportunity for a new debate about a fundamental re-imagination of what Irish history is and could be. Who will be the first to 'pick a fight' about the rights and wrongs of our chequered history as women in Ireland in 2018 remains to be seen. Let's hope the Government and public historical debate gives due regard to that particular centenary in the Decade of Commemorations agenda and prioritisation to the ongoing troubled history of women in Ireland in the process.

Linda Connolly is full Professor of Sociology and the Director of the Maynooth University Social Science Institute. Her books include *The 'Irish' Family* (Routledge, 2015); *The Irish Women's Movement: From Revolution to Devolution* (Lilliput, 2003 and Macmillan/Palgrave, 2003 and 2015 e-edition); *Documenting Irish Feminisms* (Woodfield, 2005) (with Tina O'Toole); and *Social Movements and Ireland* (Manchester UP, 2007) (co-editor). Her forthcoming new book is entitled *Theorising Irish Studies*. Linda Connolly is a member of several national and international research committees and is Chair of the Irish Social Sciences Platform (ISSP). She was Director of the 2015 Merriman Summer School.

**Public intellectualism and the Irish public: 100 years after the Rising**

Public intellectuals are charged with bringing their insights and analysis into conversation with broader publics, by translating their ideas into forms that find an audience beyond the academy or by engaging organically in dialogical exchanges for mutual benefit with the myriad organisations that make up civil society (Burawoy, 2005). The Proclamation of 1916 constitutes a powerfully significant document in the lexicon of Irish history crafted by public intellectuals who also doubled as revolutionary leaders. In the year of commemoration the Proclamation has been revisited many times because its words and sentiments continue to have resonance among the general public 100 years on.

Public intellectuals historically sprang from the public- from the universities and the education system, from the tradition of literature and the arts, from the organisations and associations that animate the civil society sphere and from journalism. The public intellectual's capacity to speak to and on behalf of 'publics' was his or her *raison d'être*. But in a world ruled by the imperatives of economization, market fundamentalism and privatization, a belief in and respect for 'publicness' itself- of institutions, of the citizenry and of intellectuals - is waning.

When Habermas waxed lyrically about the public sphere he had in mind an eighteenth century coffee house- a place where people of different views would encounter each other, engage in discursive exchanges, observe the principles of civility and mutual respect, and ultimately contribute to the fomenting of public opinion. It is arguable that in the twenty-first century such discursive places are disappearing, supplanted by solipsistic spaces where meaningful dialogical encounters are rare and persuasive exchange is trumped by declamatory performance. This newer environment is a much colder climate for the traditional public intellectual and for the advocacy of the kind of ideals espoused in the 1916 proclamation.

Public broadcasting and public universities are themselves being reconfigured in ways that are less conducive to supporting the mission of the public intellectual. The diffusion of instrumental rationality throughout our public institutions evokes 'the disenchanting world' which the sociologist Max Weber warned of over a century ago, a world in which the calculative frame of mind ultimately ousts passion, creativity and freedom of thought. In this paper I examine the weakening of the public sphere in the Irish context, looking in particular at public broadcasting, public universities and the political system. The consequences of this for public intellectuals and for our notion of the public good are identified. I conclude by pointing to some of the ways in which the current processes of commemoration have helped to create a space- albeit temporary- for re-animating and re-engaging the Irish public.

Mary P. Corcoran is Professor of Sociology at Maynooth University where she is also a member of the University's Governing Authority. She is a graduate of the University of Dublin, Trinity College and Columbia University, New York. Her research and teaching interests lie primarily in the fields of urban sociology, public culture and the sociology of migration, and she has researched and published widely on these topics. Corcoran was a Taoiseach's nominee to the National Economic and Social Forum (NESF) for five years. She has previously served on the Senate of the National University of Ireland, on the Social Science Committee of the Royal Irish Academy (RIA) and on the Expert Advisory Committee of the Childhood Development Initiative, where she is now a Board member. She also serves on the Local Community Development Committee of South Dublin County Council. She is a member of the recently formed all-Ireland Cultural Policy Research Network. Her RIA Dublin Talk "Publi-City" is available at <https://www.ria.ie/events/dublin-talks.aspx>

Seán Crosson:

**“A warlike race is ever fond of games”: Sport and the Remembering of 1916**

It is impossible to fully appreciate the forces that led to the Easter Rising of 1916, the Rising itself and moreover how we remember and commemorate the Rising, without a consideration of sport. Indeed, the Rising began against the backdrop of one of the highlights of the Irish sporting calendar. On Monday 24 April 1916, many of Dublin’s leading citizens were attending the Irish Grand National, when Irish republicans occupied major buildings across the city and Patrick Pearse read the Proclamation of the Republic on the steps of the GPO. The early advances of Republicans in taking strategic points in Dublin city were helped considerably, furthermore, by the absence from the city of many British military officers present at the horse race, held at Fairyhouse racecourse in county Meath, some 25 kilometres from the capital. This year’s Irish Grand National at Fairyhouse marked this occasion (in an event unlikely to have being received well in 1916) when Members of Fingal Old IRA Commemorative Society re-enacted the 1916 Grand National. This was but one of a range of commemorative events held this year in association with major sporting organisations and events, including events organised by national associations for rugby (IRFU), soccer (FAI) and Gaelic games (GAA). This paper will examine these events and the manner through they remember the Rising and configure contemporary Irish identity, including in particular the Laochra event hosted by the GAA on the centenary of the first day of the Easter Rising, 24 April 2016.

Seán Crosson is the Programme Director of the MA in Film Studies: Theory and Practice at the Huston School of Film & Digital Media, NUI Galway. His current research project examines the representation of sport in film and popular culture, the subject of a range of publications including his monograph *Sport and Film* (Routledge, 2013) and coedited collection *Sport, Representation and Evolving Identities in Europe* (Peter Lang, 2010). He is currently completing a monograph examining the depiction of Gaelic games on film. He is President of the European Federation of Associations and Centres of Irish Studies (EFACIS).

## Donagh Davis

### **Why did Northern Ireland survive?**

In current discourse surrounding the centenary of the 1916 Rising, it is largely taken for granted that Irish partition had become inevitable well before the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, and even before the Rising. This segues into a sense that the Northern Ireland system that emerged after 1920 was just as inevitable. But this set of assumptions elides certain important realities. Not only had the British government seriously considered using force to impose Irish home rule on Ulster as late as 1913; in fact both the Government of Ireland Act of 1920 and the Treaty of 1921 envisaged eventual Irish reunification, albeit within the Empire. And while Northern Ireland's internal version of home rule was supposed to work on the basis of proportional representation - specifically to thwart the emergence of the kind of one-party system that did become a reality there - the British government had firmly decided against incorporating Northern Ireland within Great Britain proper. Indeed, as late as World War II, Churchill considered facilitating Irish reunification in return for the participation of the 26-county state in the war effort. These facts give a rather different view of the emergence of the Northern Ireland system than the one that is frequently aired - one in which the sovereignty of Northern Ireland was negotiable rather than fixed. Other studies have asked how the prospect of independence for most of the island of Ireland went from inconceivable to conceivable (Lustick 1991) in early twentieth century British politics. This paper asks a question that has been posed surprisingly less often: how, for the British state, did a change in Northern Ireland's sovereignty go from conceivable to inconceivable, even as Northern Ireland went from being a valuable economic and strategic outpost to being a huge drain on resources?

Donagh Davis is Adjunct Assistant Professor in Sociology at Trinity College Dublin, working on political and historical sociology, with a focus on contentious politics, political violence, and revolutions. Donagh received his PhD in 2015 from the European University Institute in Florence, Italy, for a dissertation entitled: *Infiltrating History: Structure and Agency in the Irish Independence Struggle, 1916-1921*. His latest publication is "What's so transformative about transformative events? Violence and temporality in Ireland's 1916 Rising" in *Political Violence in Context: Time, Space and Milieu*, edited by L. Bosi, N. Ó Dochartaigh and D. Pisiou (ECPR Press, 2015). He also wrote the entry on "Revolution" in the *Sage Encyclopedia of Modern Political Thought*, edited by G. Claeys (Sage, 2013).

Gianluca De Fazio

### **Unpacking Violent Contention: The Troubles in Northern Ireland, 1968-1972**

This paper systematically describes the different types of political violence occurred in Northern Ireland between 1968 and 1972, examining how they interacted and fueled each other. To measure the level of political violence in Northern Ireland, traditional quantitative approaches used variables such as the number of conflict-related deaths, paramilitary attacks or riots; the goal of this paper, instead is to disaggregate acts of violent contention by actor, type and target. Relying on Quantitative Narrative Analysis (QNA) and the chronology of events compiled by Deutsch and Magowan, all the violent actions perpetrated by the actors participating to the conflict have been recorded, coded and analyzed. Three main types of violence in Northern Ireland are identified: 1) protest-related violence – violent interactions between protesters, counterprotesters and police before, during and after mass demonstrations; 2) sectarian violence – includes riots and clashes between members of the two main ethno-national communities; 3) armed conflict – violent actions by paramilitary groups and security forces. These types of violence define different phases of the early Troubles, each one characterized by distinct dynamics and consequences on the political system and the larger conflict. While originating from different social and political dynamics, these types of violence affected each other, as they altered, and were altered by, shifting opportunities and threats. Ultimately, the analytical disaggregation of political violence yields a rich and fine-grained picture of the underlying social relations of power, coercion and contention that informed the early years of the Troubles.

Gianluca De Fazio is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Justice Studies at James Madison University. He received his PhD in Sociology from Emory University in 2013 and currently teaches courses on Social Movements, Terrorism, and Race, Class and Justice. His research interests include the use of political violence by social movements and the Troubles in Northern Ireland. His publications appeared in journals like *Mobilization*, *Sociological Methodology*, *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* and others.

**"Invention gives that slaughter shape" – Irish Literature and World War One**

Can literature change the world? Yeats invites the poet to remain disdainfully silent:

*I think it better in times like these*

*A poet's mouth be silent, for in truth*

*We have no gift to set a statesman right;*

yet every writer – even the elitist Yeats – knows that his/her words can give shape to another world, that of imagination, a world that finally makes sense of life and death and denounces the great madness that war is, because literature is ART-ful, full of the art and the heart of man. The playwright Frank McGuinness thus put it in his play about World War One:

*Invention gives that slaughter shape.*

The Ireland of today with its tensions and partitions is also the result of the thousands of Irish soldiers fallen in that war, wearing British uniforms. We might say that this is the story of how it feels to wear the wrong uniform, being Ireland England's first colony. It is a strange story of amnesia and memory. In 1914 Irish recruitment in the British army was sourced by conflicting feelings of belonging and loyalty which inspired each person and more generically the two groups competing for the island, the Unionist and the Nationalist.

I will focus on two poets: W. B. Yeats and the much lesser known but not less significant Francis Ledwidge.

To tackle the theme of the clash between past and present and of the importance of literature in the re-enactment of the past I will also briefly refer to two plays (O'Casey's *The Silver Tassie* (1928) and McGuinness's *Observe the Sons of Ulster Marching towards the Somme* (1985)) and Jennifer Johnston's novels *The Captains and the Kings* (1972) and *How Many Miles to Babylon* (1974).

Carla de Petris is Senior Professor of English at the University of Roma Tre. During her academic career she has introduced many Irish writers to the Italian reading public with articles, essays, interviews and translations. She has edited two collections of essays *The Cracked Lookingglass* (Bulzoni, 1999) and *Continente Irlanda* (Carocci, 2001). She is editor and translator of Joyce's *Exiles* (1992). Her major contribution to the study of Irish contemporary theatre is Brian Friel, *'Traduzioni' e altri drammi* (1996). Her essay "Heaney and Dante" is included in *Critical Essays on Seamus Heaney* (ed. by R. Garratt, 1995). Her study on Lady Gregory and Italy was published in the *Irish University Review* (Spring/Summer 2004). She has worked on cinema (*Il Cinema in Irlanda*, 1990) and on art history ("Saint Patrick's Purgatory – a fresco in Todi, Italy" in *Studi irlandesi* (2, 2012)). At present, she is involved in Cultural Studies with particular focus on Gender ('*Jane Eyre* ovvero il vizio della passione', 2010). Dorcéy's selected poems and a short story were translated and published in *Studi irlandesi* (5, 2015). She has published the first Italian edition of Maria Edgeworth's novel *Harrington* (2012, 2015) with a long introduction on British anti-semitism.



Rosa Gilbert

### **The rent and rates strikes in the North 1971-1974**

I propose to present my research on the rent and rates strike in 1971 in protest against the introduction of internment without trial, which has received minimal attention in histories of the Northern Irish conflict. The civil rights movement mobilised after the introduction of internment but this initially spontaneous eruption of civil disobedience by ratepayers, eventually organised more formally by citizens' committees and NICRA, provides an insight into the motivation of the British state in repressing non-violent struggle and also a fascinating case study in the longer history of social housing and rent strike.

The rent strike was not just a protest against internment, but harked back to the origins of the civil rights movement in Derry where discrimination over housing provision was a fundamental feature. The take up on the strike was huge – 26,000 tenants participated, around 19% of those in social housing. In areas like Strabane the participation rate was as high as 87%.

The British response with the Payments for Debts Act provides an example of the exceptional, neo-colonial position of Northern Ireland within the UK – the fact that rent strike could be weaponised for the republican movement was due to the undeniable disadvantaged position of Catholics in the North, and the technical nature of this act meant that the community as a whole could be punished by reducing benefits through the social security system.

The exploration of this topic runs into a number of historiographical debates – that of the civil rights campaign and its relation to a post-materialist 'New Left' against the working-class struggles vis-à-vis British welfare state provision. It also speaks to debates over the strong demarcation between violent and non-violent resistance. More fundamentally it exemplifies the relation of the Northern Irish state to the rest of the UK and therefore the British government and its position as an internal colony of the UK.

Rosa Gilbert is a PhD researcher at the European University Institute working on British state security in Northern Ireland in the 1970s. She has been involved with human rights projects aimed at gaining access to records relating to human rights violations by the British government, including the Dublin and Monaghan bombings on behalf of 'Justice for the Forgotten', allegations of collusion on behalf of the 'Pat Finucane Centre' and the Stalker/Sampson inquiry on behalf of the senior coroner of Northern Ireland.

Katherine Hennessey

**"From Ireland Coming, Bringing Rebellion Broached Upon His Sword": The Easter Rising, Shakespeare, and Ireland, 1916-2016**

*How many citizens of Dublin have any real knowledge of the works of Shakespeare? Could any better occasion for reading them be afforded than [this] enforced domesticity...?"*

—Editorial, *Irish Times*, 27 April 1916

On April 25th, 1916, one day into the Easter Rising, British authorities imposed martial law throughout Ireland. On the 27th, an editorial in the *Irish Times* urged citizens to put their time under curfew to intellectual advantage by brushing up their Shakespeare.

Declan Kiberd has recently noted the unintended irony of the *Irish Times's* suggestion. Had citizens stayed home and read Shakespeare, Kiberd argues, "what they would have read about is Caliban's insurgency against Prospero, or Hamlet trying to put an end to a merely bureaucratic elite. They would have read, in fact, the story of their own Revival."

Indeed, at least one Irish rebel carried a copy of Shakespeare's work with him into the fray: Irish Volunteer Seosamh de Brún notes in his diary entry for the 29th of April that the nerve-racking skirmishes and sniper fire eventually gave way to a calm that allowed him to read a segment of Julius Caesar, "following," as he wryly notes, "the advice of *Irish Times*."

Yet Kiberd's notion of Shakespeare as a playwright whose work repeatedly explores conflicts between a religious visionary and a bureaucratic authority figure—Hamlet against Claudius, Richard II against Henry Bolingbroke, etc.—empathizing with the former and critiquing the latter, seems to have had scant purchase in Ireland in the decades following the rebellion. When Ernest Blythe, Managing Director of the Abbey from 1941 to 1967, was asked why the Theatre had produced so little Shakespeare during his long tenure, he reportedly sniffed, "We don't do foreign playwrights."

In recent years, however, Shakespeare has made a triumphant return to the Irish stage. The Abbey's current Artistic Director, Fiach MacConghail, has reversed Blythe's policy, staging a work of Shakespeare every season, and talented Irish directors like Lynne Parker, Garry Hynes, and Conall Morrison have embraced the challenge of reclaiming Shakespeare as a rebel's playwright. And Irish director Caroline Byrne's new production of *The Taming of the Shrew* for Shakespeare's Globe Theatre, premiering in May 2016, replaces the framing tale of Christopher Sly with a pageant of historical figures from the 1916 rebellion.

This paper will explore the literary and political points of convergence between Shakespeare and Ireland in the century since the Easter Rising, with a particular focus on strategies of historical commemoration, April 2016 being both the centenary of the Rising and the 400th anniversary of the death of Shakespeare.

Katherine Hennessey is a Research Fellow with the Global Shakespeare programme at the University of Warwick and Queen Mary University of London. She organised and co-convoked, with Clair Wills and Fintan O'Toole, the Ireland and Shakespeare symposium at Princeton University in March 2016, and is chair of the 'Arab Shakespeares' panel at this year's World Shakespeare Congress. A recipient of Fulbright and Beinecke fellowships, she has held university appointments in English at Bethlehem University on the Palestinian West Bank, and in Italian at Sana'a University. From 2009 to mid-2014 she lived in Sana'a, Yemen, researching the history of the performing arts in the Arabian Peninsula. Hennessey is co-editor, with Margaret Litvin, of the Winter 2016 special issue of *Critical Survey*. She is also the author of *Shakespeare on the Arabian Peninsula*, forthcoming this year from Palgrave. For more, see [warwick.ac.uk/khennessey](http://warwick.ac.uk/khennessey).

Thomas Hennessey

### **1916 and All That: The Rising, the Somme and the Partition of Ireland**

This paper looks at the nature of Nationalist concepts of Irishness that were compatible with membership of British Empire as espoused by the Home Rule party led by John Redmond. It argues that Redmond was a Nationalist-Imperialist who believed a united Ireland was to found in a loyalty to the British Crown that would integrate Unionists into a common sense of Irishness. Redmond saw the Great War as the ultimate test of this loyalty and the opportunity to create a new Irish nation based upon the blood sacrifice of Nationalists and Unionists in a common cause. The Easter rebels, on the other hand, sought a Republic not only to sever the link with Britain but also to destroy Redmondism. In the latter they succeeded; but at the cost of also destroying the only Nationalist movement that ever converted a significant section of Unionism to all-Ireland self-government (in the Irish Convention of 1918). The legacy of the Rising – and the Battle of the Somme which saw an Ulster Unionist equivalent of the Rising's 'blood sacrifice' – was to polarise Nationalist and Unionist concepts of Irishness that only reached an accommodation with the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement in 1998.

Thomas Hennessey is Professor of Modern British and Irish History at Canterbury Christ Church University. His publications include: *The First Northern Ireland Peace Process. Power-Sharing, Sunningdale and the IRA Ceasefires 1972-76* (2015); *Hunger Strike. Mrs Thatcher's Battle with the IRA 1980-81* (2013); *The Evolution of the Troubles 1970-72* (2007); *Northern Ireland: the Origins of the Troubles* (2005); *The Northern Ireland Peace Process. Ending the Troubles?* (2000); *Dividing Ireland: World War One and Partition* (1998) and *A History of Northern Ireland* (1997).

## Stephen Hopkins

### **The Irish Republican 'Family' and the Contested Past: Memoir-writing and the Legacies of 1916 and 1981**

This paper will analyse the politics of contested memory in relation to the post-Good Friday Agreement trajectory of the Irish Republican 'family' (including the Provisional incarnation of Sinn Féin and the IRA, as well as the Republican socialist movement and so-called 'dissident' groups). This will involve an examination of attitudes to critical aspects of the movement's past, particularly the Easter Rising of 1916 and the hunger strikes of 1980-81. The paper analyses this topic through a reading of memoir literature by a range of emblematic individuals in leadership positions within the mainstream movement (including SF President, Gerry Adams). It will be argued that this leadership group has effectively sought to construct an 'official memory' (Jelin, 2003) or a 'master narrative' for the movement. The paper will also examine the efforts to challenge this 'official memory' from within the milieu of so-called dissident republicanism. A growing number of prominent ex-Provisionals (such as Anthony McIntyre, Brendan Hughes, Richard O'Rawe and Tommy McKearney) have challenged the leadership's account of the past, particularly with regard to crucial events such as the 1980-81 hunger strikes. It is also the case that some relatively obscure former foot-soldiers (such as Gerry Bradley and Eamonn Collins) have also engaged in memoir-writing that is profoundly critical of the leadership's version of the past. The paper will utilise a range of sources, including newspapers, party journals and websites, speeches, but primarily the life-writing of key individuals. It will be argued that these memoirs are important resources for researchers interested in the contemporary debates around conflicting memories of the Troubles. Analysis of such life-writing, and its reception within the broader Catholic nationalist/republican community, is a key element of a more nuanced understanding of the 'memory struggles' which characterise the contemporary Republican 'family' in Ireland.

Stephen Hopkins is Lecturer in Politics in the Department of Politics and International Relations at the University of Leicester. His book, *The Politics of Memoir and the Northern Ireland Conflict*, was published in 2013 by Liverpool UP. He has recently published "'Our Whole History has been Ruined!' The 1981 Hunger Strike and the Politics of Republican Commemoration and Memory", in *Irish Political Studies* (31, 1 2016); and "The Chronicles of Long Kesh: Irish Republican Memoirs and the Contested Memory of the Hunger Strikes", in *Memory Studies* (7, 4, 2014).

## Patricia Hughes

### **Family Research: William Butler Yeats and Honor Bright**

The murder of Honor Bright in Ireland on 9th June 1925 reveals how Kevin O'Higgins, the Minister of Justice of the Irish Free State, ordered her death at the behest of George Yeats, wife of Senator William Butler Yeats.

Lily O'Neill, aka Honor Bright, lover of Yeats for seven years, had borne him a son, and Yeats wanted to marry her, but his wife objected and secretly appealed to her close friend O'Higgins.

O'Higgins' good friend, Leopold Dillon, a newly recruited Garda Superintendent of three police districts, was the assassin. Chief Superintendent David Neligan of the G-Squad was assigned to malign her as a prostitute and acquit her assassin at a fraudulent trial. False evidence, perjury and suppression of witnesses led to public unrest, but newspapers printed only what was authorised by the Ministry of Justice.

All persons involved destroyed evidence; only circumstantial evidence remains alongside Yeats's poetry, edited by his wife. However witness depositions show how evidence was manipulated and falsified, and Garda photographs, not shown to the public, reveal a different character of victim to that portrayed by the court. Moreover the juxtaposed lives of Yeats, his wife, O'Higgins, Dillon, Neligan, Lily O'Neill and Kevin confirm my conclusions.

Evidence is from a variety of sources including contemporary newspapers; poetry of Yeats; the National Archives of Ireland; witness depositions; genealogical sources; Garda photographs of the victim; the bullet that killed the victim; photographs of Yeats and his son Kevin O'Neill; the Abbey Theatre in Dublin.

Patricia Hughes is Director of Hues Books Ltd.

**Unfamiliar Surroundings: the Left and Republicanism in Neoliberal Northern Ireland**

One of the remarkable features of the post-Agreement landscape has been the fragmentation and ineffectiveness of traditional republican politics. Until now, at least, Sinn Féin has been relatively successful in holding onto its traditional support and marginalising attempts by anti-Agreement republicans to project themselves as heirs to the republican tradition. The only substantial challenge to their dominance has come from the socialist Left. Surveying the broad context in which the Agreement was forged, and paying special attention to political economy, this paper will assess the state of politics in the north and seek to explain the difficulty which anti-Agreement republicans have experienced in gaining traction for their politics in the 'new' Northern Ireland. Neoliberalism has been central to the new establishment politics in the north. Ultimately, this paper will argue, no new, anti-sectarian alternative will take hold that does not take full account of the important changes in Northern Ireland's relationship to global capitalism.

Brian Kelly is an award-winning historian based at Queen's University Belfast and the author of 'Neoliberal Belfast. Disaster Ahead?' (2012) and 'Northern Ireland: The Left, Sectarian Resurgence and the National Question Today' (2013) both published in the *Irish Marxist Review*.

Giada Laganà

**The 1984 Haagerup Report on the Situation in Northern Ireland: London and Dublin vis-à-vis Northern Ireland**

This paper considers the insights of the 1984 Haagerup Report - commissioned by the Political Affairs Committee of the European Parliament in February 1983 - with regard to the nature of the European Community (EC) involvement in the Northern Ireland situation. In doing so, it explores the belief at the heart of the Report, which considers the Northern Ireland conflict to be the direct consequence of the historical antagonism between British and Irish nationalist identities. Through a detailed analysis, the history of Northern Ireland is investigated from the “rise of the Irish nation” to the most recent definition of Northern Ireland as a “constitutional oddity in the United Kingdom”. In the light of the subsequent peace process, this article puts the accent on the conceptualisation of the conflict as between two national identities defined in relation to the Irish border and it emphasises the role of Europe in supporting an Irish-British understanding: the same emphasis that came to form the foundation of the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement. Findings will show how the Haagerup Report had already articulated in 1983 the place of Europe as a framework for British-Irish cooperation on the one hand, and forging relations between the political parties in Northern Ireland on the other, providing inspiration for the people of Northern Ireland to oppose and reject violence as a political instrument and eventually to accept a formula of tolerance, thus resolving their conflict.

Giada Laganà is a PhD candidate at the School of Political Science and Sociology, National University of Ireland, Galway.

Conor McCarthy

**Cultures of Revolution/Cultures of Counter-Revolution - Contours of Left Cultural Activism and Intellectual Practice in Ireland Since 1916**

It is accepted by many scholars of history, politics, sociology and cultural history that the 1916 Rising and the Irish Literary Revival amounted together to a revolutionary moment in Irish society, which was then rolled back by a later independence movement and emergent Free State which were characterised by conservative religiosity, cultural censoriousness, and a centre-right ruralist politics. Yet certain crucial junctures in twentieth century Irish history - 1916, the 1930s, the 1960s and the height of the 'Troubles' in the 1980s - have witnessed the tentative emergence of forms or movements of left-wing cultural and intellectual activism. Taking the work of James Connolly as an initial cue, and drawing on the work of Antonio Gramsci among other political thinkers, this paper will offer an interpretative survey and analytical balance-sheet on these movements, from Connolly's union and cultural work, through the Republican Congress, and up to the Field Day Theatre Company. Gramsci's work will be integrated with that of Habermas and Negt and Kluge on the 'public sphere' and 'counter-public sphere' (as the zone where intellectuals make their representations and where they constitute their publics). I will conclude with some speculations on the future possibilities for radical left-wing cultural activism in Ireland in the present moment of austerity and uncertainty.

Conor McCarthy is Lecturer in English in the English Department at Maynooth University, in Co. Kildare near Dublin. He is the author of *Modernisation, Crisis and Culture in Ireland 1969-1992* (Four Courts Press, 2000) and *The Cambridge Introduction to Edward Said* (Cambridge UP, 2010), and the editor of *The Revolutionary and Anti-Imperialist Writings of James Connolly 1893-1916* (Edinburgh UP, 2016). His research interests are intellectual history, literary pedagogy and critical theory.



Patrick McDonagh

### **Homosexuals are revolting: The Irish gay & lesbian movement, 1974-1993**

In 2015 the Republic of Ireland became the first country in the world to legalise same-sex marriage by popular vote. Described as a social revolution it cemented for many the new, more tolerant and welcoming Ireland, which had gradually emerged since the early 1990s.

However, to understand how Ireland, a country once renowned for its adherence to Catholic social teaching and, which, until 1993 criminalised sexual activity between males, has now become a beacon for LGBT citizens throughout the world, we must explore the activities of the Irish Gay and Lesbian Movement between 1974 and 1994, which I maintain paved the way for such a dramatic transformation.

While David Norris, a trinity college lecturer and Irish senator, is often credited with single handily leading this resistance, this paper will shed light on the other activities of activists, who, while supporting Norris' legal campaign, also sought to create a more public space for Irish homosexuals, by the provision of recreational activities and taking to the streets to publicly challenge their treatment as second class citizens. For many homosexuals who grew up in Ireland before the 1970s homosexuality was taboo and rarely, if ever spoken about. In the late 1970s and 1980s gay activists resisted their subordination and confronted the negativity they were accustomed to. Furthermore, in this paper I aim to move away from simply viewing David Norris' victory in the European Court of Human Rights in 1988 as the sole event which helped this transformation.

Using archival material from the Irish Queer Archive, newspaper articles, documentaries and oral interviews, this paper will explore other crucial events, such as the first National Gay Conference in Cork in 1981, public demonstrations such as the 1983 Fairview march demonstration, the appearances of homosexuals on television shows between 1974 and 1993 and 1985 International Gay Youth Congress held in Dublin.

I argue that these activities contributed greatly to challenging and renegotiating Irish sexual mores, thereby paving the way for the subsequent changes that have taken place. By resisting their suppression and creating greater visibility and awareness of their oppression, Irish gay activists were able to win over support from many segments of Irish society, thereby facilitating the changes that occurred in 1993, and thereafter.

Patrick McDonagh is Researcher at the Department of History & Civilization at the European University Institute.

Pamela McKane

### **The Ulster Women's Unionist Council and the Gendered Constitution of Ulster (1910s and 1920s)**

This paper contributes to an understanding of Ulster unionism and the constitution of Ulster (now Northern Ireland) by exploring the case of the Ulster Women's Unionist Council (UWUC), an overlooked, but historically significant Ulster unionist institution, during the 1910s and 1920s—a time of great conflict. Within a year of its establishment the UWUC was the largest women's political organization in Ireland with an estimated membership of between 115,000 and 200,000. However, neither the male-dominated Ulster unionist institutions of the time nor the literature related to Ulster unionism, twentieth-century Irish politics, or twentieth-century Irish history have paid much attention to its existence and work.

I draw on Rogers Brubaker's concepts of "nation" as practical category, institutionalized form ("nationhood"), and contingent event ("nationness"), combining these concepts with the notion of "nation-work" (a term coined by the author), William Walters' concept of "domopolitics", and with a feminist understanding of the centrality of gender to nation <sup>(1)</sup>. Using this analytical framework I explore the role of members of the UWUC in the Ulster unionist movement during the 1910s and the 1920s. Historically Ulster has been constituted through the gendered discourses, norms, symbols, rituals, traditions, and practices of Ulster unionist institutions, and contingent events, such as the Ulster Crisis, World War 1, the Anglo-Irish War, and the partition of Ireland. Primary sources related to the UWUC are analyzed in this paper, revealing the extent of the work undertaken by members of the UWUC in terms of opposing Home Rule and constituting Ulster.

(1) Brubaker, Rogers. 1996. *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP: 7, 14-21; Walters, William. 2004. "Secure Borders, Safe Haven, Domopolitics", in *Citizenship Studies*, 8, 3, 2004, 237-60.

Pamela McKane has a doctorate in Political Science from York University (Toronto, Canada). Her doctoral dissertation examined the Ulster Women's Unionist Council and its role in the Ulster unionist movement during the 1910s and 1920s. Her research interests include: twentieth-century Irish politics and history; Ulster unionism; the 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland; and gender and nationalist movements.

Britta Olinder

**A "very different Ireland" in Sinéad Morrissey's poetic world**

If our point of departure is the Easter Rising in 1916, we have to consider the first few violent years after it, followed by the gradual development of Irish independence to a republic, still strongly marked, positively and negatively, by the Catholic Church, while in the North wave upon wave of unrest exploded in the thirty years of the Troubles. How is this parallel history reflected by a woman poet of today with the greater independence of her sex, combined with the experience of a much wider world by her travelling and teaching in far-off countries. In her five collections of poetry Sinéad Morrissey explores a world very different from the Ireland of 1916. Her experiences as a child of her parents' political activities, of the frightening effect of violence on people around her, of other countries and cultures, histories and philosophies, all the varied motifs of her poetry show the changed conditions, socially and politically, due to the historical split leading to diverging developments in the South compared to the North of the island. The title of her latest collection, *Parallax*, may be taken as a programme for her entire work, while at the same time actually expressing the theme of the conference. It means, in simplified terms, looking at things from a different position and thus seeing them in a different light.

Britta Olinder, Göteborg (Gothenburg) University, has written widely on Canadian, Australian, Indian, and Irish literature, including essays on such authors as Aritha van Herk, Marian Engel, Janice Kulyk Keefer, Sally Morgan, R.K. Narayan, Anita Desai, John Hewitt, James Joyce, Anne Devlin, and Deirdre Madden. She is the editor of *Literary Environments: Canada and the Old World* (2006) and co-editor of *Criss-Cross Tales: Short Stories from English-Speaking Cultures* (with Anne Michal Moskow, 2002), *Re-Mapping Exile: Realities and Metaphors in Irish Literature and History* (with Michael Böss and Irene Gilsenan Nordin, 2006), and *Place and Memory in the New Ireland* (with Werner Huber, 2009).

**Our “Gallant Allies in Europe”: Invocations of Europe in Irish Cultural Discourse since 1916**

The second paragraph of the 1916 Proclamation locates the Rising in an international context, declaring the confidence of the signatories that not only will Ireland's diaspora rally around the newly-declared Republic, but that it will also receive support from Ireland's “gallant allies in Europe”. While this has long been understood as a nod to the contacts Roger Casement and others had cultivated in Germany in the lead-up to the Rising, this paper takes as a starting point the way in which the actual, vaguer, phrasing appears to situate Europe as a potentially antagonistic alternative to Britain. If, in the years after 1916, Irish cultural invocations of Europe continued, to a degree, to see it holding out this potential, they also increasingly tended to present the notion of Europe as a counterpoint to the policies of the new state. In short, as this paper will argue, Europe has operated as a floating signifier in Irish cultural debates. As such, it has been assigned the role of a spectre of sorts—as that which is to come. Heller reminds us that, for Derrida, “the question of Europe belongs to the discourse of modernity” (Heller 2008, 93), and Europe has been regularly construed in Irish cultural (and political) discourses as a form of modernity Ireland has yet to achieve. Amongst other things, this has generated an unresolved tension between understandings of Ireland as a European and/or as a post-colonial country. Offering an overview of some of the more important artistic and discursive readings of Europe, this paper focuses on debates around the notion of Europe as a site of post-national potential—a vision of it as a form of cosmopolitan emancipation—and/or as a manoeuvre designed to marginalise the history of British influence on Irish life. In doing this, it will chart the uneven and ambivalent evolution of the concept in Irish cultural life, including a consideration of how, during the ‘Troubles’, Northern Irish writers helped to broaden and problematise the Irish conceptual map of Europe through their engagements with Central and Eastern European poetry and cultural histories.

Aidan O'Malley received his PhD from the EUI and teaches at the University of Rijeka. He is the author of *Field Day and the Translation of Irish Identities: Performing Contradictions* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011). Amongst his other publications is *Ireland, West to East: Irish Cultural Connections with Central and Eastern Europe* (Peter Lang, 2014), which he edited with Eve Patten.

**Cumann na gCailíní & Na Fianna Éireann: Pathways into Paramilitary Youth Organisations in the 1960s, 1970s & 2010s**

In August 2015, the Irish Republican youth organisation Na Fianna Éireann made headlines following a VICE documentary, viewed by 100.000 users on YouTube within the first week. In this documentary one sees children as young as ten marching in paramilitary uniforms through a forest in the Republic of Ireland. Na Fianna Éireann, originally formed in 1909, is currently perceiving an upsurge in membership throughout Ireland. To be sure, the organisation is widely considered as the youth organisation of the Irish Republican paramilitary organisation Continuity IRA, one of those armed groups opposed to the Northern Irish Peace Process. Both, Na Fianna Éireann, the Continuity IRA, as well as the Republican women's organisation Cumann na mBan are listed as "Foreign Terrorist Organisations" by the British government. In this paper, I will examine the personal reasons and dynamics that lead boys between eight years of age and 16 into this youth organisation. In other words, based on biographical interviews with members of this youth organisations, I will examine the backgrounds of these activists as well as why and how these boys radicalised and consequently joined Na Fianna Éireann. Additionally, I will compare these findings with interview data collected with former activists of the Irish Republican girls' organisation Cumann na gCailíní, the youth wing of Cumann na mBan, who joined their organisation in the 1960s; and boys who joined Na Fianna Éireann in the 1970s. The research is based on biographical interviews with current members of Na Fianna Éireann; former members of Na Fianna Éireann, active in the 1970s; and former members of Cumann na gCailíní, active in the 1960s. The interviews with former members of Cumann na gCailíní were conducted in 2009/10, the interviews with former members of Na Fianna Éireann were conducted in 2014/15; and the interviews with current members of Na Fianna Éireann were conducted in 2016. In conclusion, the paper will examine the biographies of members of paramilitary youth movements during the Northern Ireland conflict, as well as comparing this data with the biographies of members of paramilitary youth movements in contemporary post-conflict Ireland. Hence, this paper will provide insight into the radicalisation of youth in Western Europe during the 1960s/70s and today.

Dieter Reinisch is Researcher at the Department of History & Civilization, European University Institute, Florence, Italy, researching political imprisonment in Ireland since 1970; he is currently Visting Scholar at the Faculty of Arts, University of St. Andrews, Scotland. He previously lectured History and Linguistics at the University of Vienna, Austria. In 2017, he will lecture Gender Studies at the University of Salzburg, Austria. He is a member of the Editorial Board member of *Studi irlandesi. A Journal of Irish Studies* (Florence UP) and member of EFACIS, the Oral History Network Ireland, the Oral History Society Britain and Northern Ireland, and SCE. His research focus is on contemporary Irish and British History, Memory Studies, and Oral History.

**Power Struggles and Group Solidarity: Occupy in the Republic of Ireland**

This paper looks at issues related to Occupy in Ireland. I argue that the camps were important in the short term because they helped occupiers – and the more socially fragile participants notably – to make their voices heard and to deal with day-to-day personal issues. In short, the camps formed part of a process empowering participants. In the longer term, however, the camps became beset by a number of unintended – and interrelated – complications. These relate to the rise in increasingly prevalent power struggles and to the upsurge in doubts about the ways the camps were run. Both these issues undermined group solidarity and contributed, ultimately, to weaken the camps' viability.

Frédéric Royall is Senior Lecturer in the Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Limerick (Ireland). His research is in the area of European politics and society. This has involved individual and collaborative projects focusing on the political significance of the collective actions of marginalized/ disadvantaged social actors in Europe.

### **Caught between Apologia and Humiliation**

Peace-making and conflict transformation processes rarely follow a linear path even after significant re-governance arrangements, decommissioning, demilitarisation and demobilisation and especially when sites of tension are re-assembled through a proxy war of assertion of ideological, cultural and political legitimacy. The incapacity to move beyond competing discourses of violence is related to processes of stigmatisation, humiliation and apologia. These processes are usually tied to issues of victimhood in which, as noted by Miers;

‘the concept ‘victim’ is essentially contested, involving the social construction of particular persons and the harms that they sustain in a process (often replayed and repeated) of claim...’

Herein we position apologia and humiliation as contingent. It is commonly understood that agents of humiliation, through stigmatic shaming, are the accuser. However, within the public rhetoric of victimhood we find apologia not merely as defence but as an alternative form of blame-casting aimed at the ‘flawed’ premise of accusation. Accusation, irrespective of the source, is both power-laden and conditional upon competing rhetoric to such an extent that allegation and counter-allegation drive the reproduction of rhetoric as an ideological weapon. Blame casting directed at non-state forces aims to separate the accused from moral worth but in reaction to that counter-accusation aims to valorise regret and the requirement to pursue additional forms of guilt-seeking.

The desire of apologia is to view law-breaking as legitimate or contingent upon a reaction to the accusers as themselves law-breakers or deniers of it having been broken. Apologia proponents view the cause of their actions as conditional upon structural, material and symbolic violence such as employment and housing discrimination, histories of oppression, pro-state violence and state collusion. For those who seek to stigmatically shame non-state agents the fundamental flaw of apologias narrative casting is the invalidity of not supporting the rule of law. Thereby, the moral and other obligations that structure ‘self’ with regard to victimhood are problematic forms of discourse ethics (Habermas, 1990) that are tied to oppositional forms of subordination, manipulation and the reproduction of social and cultural antagonism. We find within the rhetoric of condemnation and counter-condemnation, linked to victimhood, forms of communicative unreasonableness that subverts the presentation of shared emotions of harm, fear and phobia that were symptomatic of conflict assertion and intensified by both state and non-state violence. We remain located in a situation that lacks the framing of communicative social reciprocity due to the assertion of ‘...the abstract core’ of belief and ideology (Habermas 1992 p.211). The type of mutually respectful discourse ethics envisioned by Habermas cannot appear if the arena of stigmatisation and humiliation casting undermines the ability to accept the ‘others’ experiences of being harmed. The failure to have reached a more significant accommodation between these antagonisms that relate to the past remains tied to a failure of peace-building in Northern Ireland to measure not only the consequences upon ‘self’ but the disavowal of consequences upon ‘other’. That failure to achieve recognition of the consent of the ‘other’ to build non-antagonistic relationships is not merely a discursive battle between contested legitimacies but is also a practice linked to processes of criminalisation and the denial of full citizenship for conflict-related prisoners.

We here present the boundaries and agency of apologia and humiliation by examining vetting and disbarring practices in Northern Ireland and the reaction to that among former conflict-related prisoners.

Peter Shirlow (FACSS) is the Director of Irish Studies at the University of Liverpool. His post is funded by an endowment from the Irish government that resources his post and the outreach and other activities of the Institute. He is Chair of the Northern Ireland Executive's Employers' Guidance on Recruiting People with Conflict Related Convictions Review Panel. That Panel's 2nd Report will be leading to legislative change that will reduce barriers for the labour market access for conflict related prisoners. His recent book *The End Of Ulster Loyalism* was a TLS listed Book of the Year. His co-authored book *Abandoning Historical Conflict* won the Brian Farrall Prize. He is presently working on a book to be entitled *Ireland: Beyond the Carnival of Reaction*.



## Dieter Schlenker

### **Ireland and the Historical Archives of the European Union**

The Historical Archives of the European Union (HAEU) was established in 1983 following the regulation by the Council of the European Communities and the decision by the Commission of the European Communities to open their historical archives to the public. A subsequent agreement in 1984 between the European Commission and the European University Institute (EUI) laid the groundwork for establishing the Archives in Florence, and the HAEU opened its doors to researchers and the public in 1986. Since then, a 2011 Framework Partnership Agreement between the EUI and the European Commission reinforced the Historical Archives' role in preserving and providing access to the archival holdings of the EU Institutions. In this presentation, Dieter Schlenker will introduce the HAEU in general; furthermore, he will put a focus on the holdings related to Irish history, society, and politics.

Dieter Schlenker is the Director of the Historical Archives of the European Union. He began his career in Rome working for Catholic charity "Caritas" and the Vatican Secret Archives. He went on to join UNESCO's headquarters in Paris, where he worked as a records management specialist for five years and was part of the International Council of Archives. Before joining the EUI is was head of UNESCO's Information and Knowledge Management Unit in Bangkok.

### **Constitutional moments and prospects of everyday emancipation: 1916-2016**

My argument in this paper is that the present is potentially a constitutional moment where power change and identity change converge, akin to that long constitutional moment in Ireland in 1912-1922 now being remembered in the 'decade of commemorations'. It gives the opportunity to escape some of the 'traps' set by decisions in the past. This involves a new principled stance that moves from an emphasis on respecting and protecting given identities, to providing an arena where identity innovation and renegotiation is facilitated and the traps of change removed.

My argument derives from a longer project on identity innovation and its weak emancipatory potential. It is based on very extensive interviews in both parts of the island of Ireland and on analysis of them. I will give some snapshots of this in the paper, to show the patchwork of change, swaying and reaffirmation in both jurisdictions and to try – relying also on case studies of key symbolic events, the loyalist flags protest and the same-sex marriage referendum – to draw out a dynamic picture of the contradictory trends North and South. This forms the first substantive part of the paper

These exist in a context of pending exogenous impact and shock – Brexit, reconfiguration of the United Kingdom and possible Scottish independence, reconfiguration of an internally divided EU in the context of dangerous conflict around its borders. All of this threatens the North-South structures that underpinned settlement in the North. That too gives a parallel to 1916. Drawing out the significance of the parallels is the task of the second part of the paper.

One hundred years ago the principle of national self-determination together with the unionist response that they too should be self-determining drove an internal power struggle, resolved badly by the British. The key problem was not – in my view – the principle of self-determination. That is today acknowledged in the principle that constitutional change (to a united Ireland) will be instituted if and only if there is majority will in each of the Irish jurisdictions. Nor is the problem nationality or religion. It rather lies in the assumption of identity-politics that given identities have by the very fact of their givenness a right to protection. In identity terms, the status quo is never an option, the fact of change cannot be avoided even while its form has to be self-directed. In situations of identity conflict change is imperative. A crucial principle is to allow maximal autonomy to situated individuals in that process of change. This gives us a criterion for use by governments, parties and people in the necessary renegotiation and reconfiguration of North-South institutions and networks that will accompany Brexit. To remove the traps to identity change towards greater permeability, to remove institutional blockages and provide opportunities for identity innovation so as to arrive at a situation where the changing identities of each and all can fruitfully coexist, is a goal that can bypass zero-sum claims. It permits iterative change that will increase openness and make – ultimately – self determination a product of dialogue. Articulating and arguing for this criterion is the task of the third part of the paper.

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**Non-state securitization and informal governance legitimacy: The evolution of republican justificatory ethics**

In proposing a non-state-centric interpretation of the dynamics of securitization, this work seeks to explore the strategic nature of securitization in a setting where the legitimacy of the securitizing actors is at play. Set in a context in Northern Ireland where remnants of 'rebel governance' or 'informal governance' institutions still operate, the work seeks to answer the question as to how the quest for legitimacy plays itself out in the broad communication that is represented by securitizing acts. In showing that a securitizing agent can be a non-state entity, and continuing Balzacq's exploration of audience-driven securitization, the presented work attempts to expand the application of the securitization framework with a specific contribution in post-conflict settings with multiple challengers vying for legitimacy. Finally, as the focus of the exploration is on republican-centric institutions, the work presents an overview of how the application of securitization interacts with a broader republican justificatory ethics, both by providing framing narratives, as well as expanding the already standing justificatory ethical framework.

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## Robert W. White

### **Out of the Ashes**

In August 1969, the RUC attacked rioters in Derry and the conflict spread to other areas of Northern Ireland. In West Belfast, loyalist vigilantes attacked nationalist areas. “Out of the ashes of ‘69” developed the Provisional IRA and ‘Provisional’ Sinn Féin. To understand where the Provisionals are today, we have to understand where they were in August 1969. Drawing on intensive interviews with founding members of the Provisional IRA and Sinn Féin, and from recruits to the Provisionals from the 1970s to the 1990s, this paper will provide a sociological summary of Provisional Irish Republicans. Interviews with recruits to contemporary “dissident” Irish Republican organizations will help place the course taken by the Provisional in context.

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Timothy J. White

### **1916: Triggering and Responding to Political Change in Ireland**

The Easter Rising of 1916 has to be understood in the context of larger and broader cultural movements that began decades earlier. By the 1880s, Ireland was experiencing a cultural revival that laid the foundation for later political conceptions of independence and the early twentieth century desire for an Irish republic. These movements included a literary revival, the attempt to reinvigorate the use of the Irish language with the Gaelic league, and the attempt to foster the Irish sporting tradition with the founding of the Gaelic Athletic Association. These sources of nationalism underwent significant change as 1916 triggered the development of support for a campaign of political violence that not only supported Ireland's incipient institutions of government but simultaneously raised the cost to the British to maintain their control of Ireland. While not enjoying broad support during Easter week 1916, the Irish rebels became created martyrs to the cause of Irish nationalism by the overreaction by the British that rapidly moved public support in favour of the cause of violence to overthrow British rule. While later developments such as the Anglo-Irish treaty were important, these were triggered by a chain of events that was started with the Easter Rising of 1916. Employing a model of path dependence, I propose to illustrate how 1916 led to increased public support of the use of violent tactics that led to the rapid ascendance of Sinn Féin, support for Michael Collins' use of terror during the War for Independence, and the subsequent negotiations leading to the Anglo-Irish Treaty.

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