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A Globalised Vulnerability: Re-Presenting the Labouring Body of Ireland's Newly Industrialised Landscape

Mark Curran
Technological University Dublin

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Abstract

Situated in the context of globalisation in the Republic of Ireland, this ethnographically informed practice-based thesis addresses the critical relationship between visual arts practice, curatorship, the historical representation of labour, industrialised space and contemporary global labour practices. Drawing on audio and visual ethnographic material generated in my fieldsite - the Hewlett-Packard Manufacturing and Research complex in Leixlip, Ireland, together with the resulting installation and publication titled The Breathing Factory, it further investigates the dissemination of such epistemologies, the term 'representation' being deployed as a reflexive gesture in acknowledgement of such critical re-contextualisations.

The thesis comprises four chapters together with an introduction and conclusion. Chapter one provides a critical overview of relevant and intersecting literature on theories of globalisation, global labour practices and labour, drawing particular attention to a conceptualisation of globalisation in terms of vulnerability, which ascribes a more unstable definition of labour and its conditions, emphatically shaped via the globalising effects of the migration of global capital. Acknowledging the central mediating role of the photograph as a critical tool of representation in this study, the primary focus of the second chapter is the role and function regarding the representation of contemporary and historical labour practices, with particular reference to documentary photography. Chapter three identifies the rationale for the research fieldsite, foregrounding the methodological framework 'multivocality/montage', adopted from visual ethnography as a representational strategy. It details the related methods employed, further serving to instrumentalise practice as a necessary reflexive undertaking extending to the postproduction of material collated on site. The fourth and final chapter addresses the relationship between the re-narration and re-versioning of the research material and the role of the methodological framework, as defined in chapter three, in underpinning the construction of the resulting multivocal and montaged installation. Within an historicised framing it draws upon a review of audio and visual research practices and formats of dissemination, further informed by a description of the curatorial relationship with primary funding supports for the production of The Breathing Factory. The chapter concludes with a description of the installation in the form of a narrativised walk-through,unpacking and detailing the rationale for its constitution. The intention is to critically reflect upon the dissemination and circulation of the research as a visual art installation, the role of curatorial practice and the cycles of discourse surrounding such practice-led research interventions.

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Introduction

For many years in the recent history of Ireland, we ceased even to believe that full employment was an achievable goal. We lost confidence that mass structural unemployment could be ended. It was accepted too widely as an unfortunate and sad fact of life. We are determined never to give in to such fatalism again.[1]

Global capital in its contemporary form is characterised by strategies of predatory mobility (across both time and space) that have vastly compromised the capacities of actors in single locations even to understand, much less anticipate or resist, these strategies. Though states…vary in how and whether they are mere instruments of global capital, they have certainly been eroded as sites of political, economic and cultural sovereignty (Appadurai 2001: 18).

At the beginning of 2007, the Republic of Ireland boasted a decade of full employment for the first time in its history. However, by January 2009 the country was hemorrhaging over 1,200 jobs a day[2] and in early 2011, the national unemployment rate was declared to be 14.7%[3]. Over four short years, in the context of a global economic meltdown and the collapse of a home-grown 'monstrous housing bubble'[4], the Republic has become 'one of the global recession's worst casualities'[5] with a published government report forecasting 200,000 people to leave the country by 2015[6]. This in the context of a country once described as an 'economic miracle…one of the most remarkable transformations of recent times' whose 'success remains unequalled'[7] and where as late as 2007 the print media observed, 'Ireland's economy will continue to grow robustly'[8]. Thus, at this stage, it remains somewhat incomprehensible and difficult to both portray and articulate the calamitous scale of these events. Through the course of such devastating economic, political and social circumstance, described as a 'human tragedy'[9], this research study has

been undertaken. Therefore, such conditions encompass this thesis where each day, media reports address new adoptive government economic policy in response to ever changing national and international events[10]. As a result of its globalised status and home grown economic failures, the Republic, now viciously exposed to the whims of international markets, rating agencies and the demands of cross-state relationships, continues to seek a path forward out of the deep chasm of recession in which it now finds itself. Thus, in the context of such a framing, I wish to outline the rationale of this research study.

Beyond government reports and written scholarship (O'Hearn 1998, 2001: O'Riain 2000, 2004, 2006: Kirby 2002, 2006) addressing Ireland's accelerated economic development over the past fifteen years, there is as yet little sustained practice-led engagment. This study is a timely response to this omission and, in both its methodological design and implementation, stakes out a new interdisciplinary terrain through the combined research use of media technologies, ethnographic methods and the means of its re-versioning. The study builds and expands upon my ethnographically informed practice-led MPhil project through the broadening of its theoretical framing, the critical analysis regarding both the visualisation of labour and working life extending to the process of production, realisation and subsequent re-representation. Other than propaganda images produced by public and governmental bodies, together with the private sector and those housed in the personal archive, little material of significance has been generated in the realm of audio and visual media. Historically, it can be argued, this notable absence is reflected and further perpetuated through the continued neglect of, and public indifference to, the

media representation of workers, labour practices and working conditions. Significantly, the image of the worker in an Irish context has in large part, been overlooked[11].

Figure 0.1; Irish Navvy, Manchester, England, 1890 (source: *The Men Who Built Britain*, 2001)

The traditional image of labour, in an Irish context, is epitomised by the 'Navvy' (Figure 0.1) – a term originating from the eighteenth century with the beginning of the construction of the commercial canal system in Britain, known as the 'Inland Navigation System'. Located within a culture of out-migration resulting from the inability of the island to economically sustain its inhabitants, thousands of Irishmen went to work on the scheme and these canal diggers became known as 'Navigators', later abbreviated to 'Navvies' (Cowley 2001: 13). Initially, this was a title borne with pride as it meant being 'a member of the new labouring élite, at the cutting edge of the Transport Revolution…and elevated from the rank of common labourer' (ibid.: 14). This would be carried on into the construction of the railway system, as part of the Industrial Revolution, where 200,000 'Navvies' were employed.

Figure 0.2; 'Irish Navvies', Midlands, England 1890s (source: *The Men Who Built Britain*, 2001)

However, by the latter part of the twentieth century, the name had become synonymous with the role and plight of unskilled Irish labour (ibid.: 18). The nature of the work itself remained laborious from tunnel building to roads, factories and new housing schemes, and only in the early 1960s was the term officially removed from British statistical data (Cowley 2001).

Figure 0.3; 'Spaghetti Junction' (Irish road crew with local priest), England 1972
(source: *The Men Who Built Britain*, 2001)

At the beginning of the 1990s, a period identified as the beginning of the Republic's economic transformation, the overshadowing image of the 'Navvy' and its derogatory connotations operated as a spectral backdrop to the rapidly evolving environment of the so-called 'Celtic Tiger Economy' (O'Hearn, 1998: 6)[12]. Aided by a massive migration of global capital into Ireland in the form of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and buoyed by infrastructural and development grants from the European Union, the Irish government succeeded in attracting international financial, biopharmaceutical and technology multinationals to establish global sites of operation in Ireland – an outsourcing base to Europe and the world.

The concrete presence of the U.S. technology multinational Hewlett-Packard (HP) in Ireland can be arguably viewed as the embodiment of the country's globalised transformation and its successful development policy. HP has operated in Ireland since 1976, yet the scale of this operation mushroomed in 1995 with a ground-breaking ceremony on its massive green-acre site near the village of Leixlip in the east of Ireland. The geographical location of HP's present manufacturing and development complex, or 'Technology Campus', and home of the 'Dublin Inkjet and Manufacturing Operation' (DIMO), represents a mutually constituted local-global field site for this practice-led study, instigating a much needed and critical response to the absence of audio and visual knowledge concerning Ireland's newly industrialised economy.

Figure 0.4; image from 'Share our success in Ireland' (HP brochure) 2005

Overlooking Killiney Bay south of Dublin in the east of Ireland, the image above (Figure

0.4) is a familiar one to an Irish viewer, noted for its supposed resemblance to the Bay of

Napoli. Usually the haunt of courting couples, a lone female figure sits on a still

summer's evening referencing the visual thematic of a solitary figure in the landscape,

gazing towards the sea and away from the viewer. The seated actor surveys a scene of

natural beauty but one now emblazoned with the title 'desktop environments'. She is

herself an unwitting accomplice, enclosed by a white line. She sits in the bottom right

hand corner for the benefit of a western culture accustomed to read from left to right.

Various possibilities are signified, ranging from the co-existence of nature and

technology to the potential for expansion on a national and international scale. However,

the 'she' as the subject is never forgotten. The image is one of 15 images illustrating a

brochure published by Hewlett-Packard titled 'Share Our Success in Ireland' (2005), and

one of only two images recognisably made in Ireland. While the image above arguably

serves as a persuasive representation of Ireland's aspirational position in the global economy, it also underlines and indirectly alludes to the invisibility of both global capital and the role of labour in this undertaking. Images repeatedly blind us to such functioning and this image operating within such a context indicates the possibility of the visual to challenge such a role.

This study sets out a key consideration, to critique historical and contemporary mediated representations produced by governmental and private bodies through the application of practice-based research methods. Significantly, how and in what ways do such representations and their visual epistemologies resonate with the still and digital video research outcomes of this study, configuring everyday production processes, workers and material labour conditions in a complex such as HP? Through the ethnographic collation of oral testimony and personal histories, how do workers in a transformed economic landscape perceive their involvement in processes of globalisation? Addressing the potential and role of visual art regarding the theme of globalisation, Saskia Sassen asserts:

> Artists and activists can – and are doing, some interesting work here. It is the type of work that might be political, but not necessarily in the narrow sense of the word. Rather, I am thinking of a kind of politics that has to do with "making present" of giving voice to people and social conditions usually rendered invisible. Often art can make present that which is not clear to the naked eye – and in ways that rational discourse cannot.

(2008: 24)

In such a context, critically regarding the re-narration of my research in the format of an installation, what is the role for such practice-led interventions? Can such curatorial

undertakings embody empirical knowledge concerning visual representation and the labouring body? In the process of 'making present', what if any, is compromised from the field-site to the site of dissemination and its reception?

There are a number of core considerations underlying the integrated representational and textual approach of this study. Its adoption of a sustained reflexive ethnographic methodology is in response to, and an outcome of, late modern critiques of representation and its construction during the past two decades (Clifford and Marcus 1986: Marcus and Fischer 1986). Representation, it could be said, is always in crisis (Ferguson 1996) while the deployment of 'reflexive' strategies has become a central component of practice-based scholarship in the arts and humanities. This primary consideration at once acknowledges the subjectivity of the researcher in the construction of knowledge. As Hammersley and Atkinson write:

> Reflexivity thus implies that the orientations of researchers will be shaped by their socio-historical locations, including values and interests that these locations confer upon them.…[It is] a rejection of the idea that social research can be carried out in some autonomous realm that is insulated from the wider society and from the particular biography of the researcher, in such a way that its findings are unaffected by social processes and personal characteristics.
>
> (1995: 16)

Reflexivity also acknowledges the fragmented nature of the everyday and the inability to fix and attach wider and absolute meaning to that which is observed and recorded. However, it is important to note the increased prevalence regarding the role of reflexivity in qualitiative research generally, resulting in variation of specific understandings. Sarah

Pink offers an understanding in the context of visual anthropology, which holds relevance:

> [Reflexivity] should be integrated fully into processes of fieldwork and visual or written representation in ways that do not simply explain the researcher's approach but reveal the very processes by which the positionality of researcher and informant were constituted and through which knowledge was produced during the fieldwork.
>
> (2006: 35)

Thus, the various methods employed in the study's creative practice, including the regular maintenance of a field-diary, together with the juxtaposition of multigeneric texts, has sought to further reflect upon the multilayered and non-linear dimension of everyday human experience, acutely experienced in the daily work practices at HP. A key response to the 'crisis of representation' has been the struggle to produce 'polyphonic texts' (Highmore 2002a: 169). The study has therefore drawn on a methodological framework originating from visual ethnography, 'Multivocality/Montage' (Pink 2002), which invokes the fragmented experiences of both researchers and ethnographic subjects. Yet as Darren Newbury cautions, qualitative research must 'be systematic, rigorous, critical and reflexive and finally, communicable' (2001: 4). Significantly, the study's reflective multi-perspectival framework is therefore further evidenced, indeed reconstituted, in its formative role regarding the critical 're-representation' of the accompanying installation.

The thesis is divided into four chapters. The first chapter establishes the historical and economic context in which this study has been undertaken, through relevant and intersecting literature on theories of globalisation, global labour practices and labour. Since a key research question of this doctoral thesis concerns visual representation of

such practices and their associated readings, the chapter directly references visual propaganda as employed, circulated and disseminated by public and private enterprise sectors. Dating back to the early decades of the twentieth century and the founding of the Irish Free State, images of Irish nationalist propaganda surrounding an inaugural industrial engineering project and evolving economic policy are semiotically described in conjunction with propogated contemporary representations of technology and innovation. The chapter's critical juxtaposition of such readings, together with disparate spatio-temporal labour practices, historical periods and the introduction of different theoretical paradigms, enacts a strategic textual device used throughout this chapter and those, which follow. Whilst outlining understandings of the macro global environment of neoliberalised structures of capital, the specifics of the 'local' are also addressed, providing cultural readings and the significance of such a term in the context of the globalised Republic. Incorporated in the review of contemporary theoretical discourse concerning the fluidity of global capital, particular analysis is afforded to certain thematics including localised agency in the environment of flexible nation-states, the migrant footprint of capital in globalised scapes and the resultant uneven development. This analysis provides the critical framing regarding a definition of globalisation, in terms of vulnerability and precarity, and by extension, ascribing a definition of labour, which acknowledges both its relationship and shaping through the same globalising effects of predatory migrations of global capital.

The primary focus of the second chapter concerns the contemporary and historical visualisation of labour and working life. Since a central research intervention has been

the application of the photograph, the chapter draws attention to its ideological functioning with special reference to the role of documentary photography. Within an historicised framework, addressing late-modern critiques of visual representation, the chapter engages with depictions of industrialisation from the late nineteenth century to the present, further embedded alongside the work of documentary photographers operating across cultural contexts in both Europe and the United States. Foregrounding visualised culture in relation to labour, the chapter functions as a reflexive underpinning regarding the methodological framework employed and the research methods adopted to be discussed in the subsequent chapter titled, 'Beyond The Pale: Research Methodology and Interventions in the Field'.

Beginning within the confines of the HP complex in Leixlip, chapter three outlines the justification regarding this location as a research fieldsite and the subsequent process in terms of gaining access. The rationale for the methodological approach incorporated, 'Multivocality/Montage' is addressed in detail, while the fieldwork practices are outlined through the textual presentation regarding the production of photographic portraits of both the architecture of the HP industrial complex and its labour force, the inclusion of digital video and the collation of worker's testimony. The chapter functions, in part, as a means for instrumentalisation as part of a critical reflexive practice, concluding with descriptions of 'the workroom: postproduction /production' outlining the formative ongoing review and editing process of the research material collated on site.

Chapter four addresses the role of curatorial practice and its relationship to the critical re-narration and the re-versioning of my research. Through an acknowledgment of a history of 're-representation' by reference to presentational practices and formats of dissemination, the chapter provides an overview of relevant material, informed by discourses on museology, with specific reference to anthropological presentation and more recently the highlighted and critical foregrounding of the role of curatorship. As references points for the installation of my fieldwork, the critical intervention of two visual artists engaged with the thematic of labour, are also presented by means of in-depth descriptions. Both practices result in the construction of installation-based work as the critical performative outcome.

Such a framing is intended to further evidence the critically reflexive follow through from the research methodological approach, 'Multivocality/Montage' and how this methodological approach has conceptually informed and shaped the final installation and re-representation of my research. Thereby, instantiating a definition of global labour practices which acknowledges the condition of vulnerabilty. Included and grounding this discussion is a description of the process of securing support and the relationship engaged and forged with the publicly funded gallery space, Belfast Exposed Photography, as primary supporter towards the production and accompanying publication of *The Breathing Factory*. In the context of the dissemination of my research, the chapter concludes with an in-depth walk-through description of the most recent installation in Chicago, Illinois. While foregrounding the theoretical considerations regarding its conceptualisation, it also acknowledges the architectural concerns of the exhibition space

and the experiential foundation in the construction of the installation. The overarching intention is to critically reflect upon the role of open-endedness in the ongoing formation of meaning implicit in practice-led research.

The conclusion begins with a chance encounter while boarding an airplane from Dublin to Berlin, the stark result of which both betrays the policing of global capital while opening up a discursive space to reflect and elaborate upon the critical themes and functioning of this practice-led research study and the role of curatorial practice. While acknowledging the central tenets of this research study concerning the inherent condition of vulnerabilty of labour in the Republic's newly industrialised landscape, the encounter further affords a means to reflect upon questions concerning the methods of its implementation and their intersection with the role of researcher and visual artist, while alluding to the ethical challenges accompanying the constitution and public dissemination of a 'multivocal/montaged' representation of globalised labour.

Notes

1 Remarks from a speech given by the then *An Tánaiste* (Deputy Irish Prime Minister) and Minister for Enterprise, Trade and Employment, Mary Harney on economic issues facing the European Union at a Convention on Europe held at the Institute of Insurance, Cork, Ireland (16 January 2003).

Available from: ‹http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/special/2003/harney/index.htm›

[Accessed 9 August 2010].

2 As reported in an article outlining the release of a report by the *Central Statistics Office* (CSO). Available from: ‹http://www.independent.ie/opinion/analysis/jobs-meltdown-much-worse-than-it-appears-1628178.html› [Accessed 5 February 2009].

3 As announced by the *Central Statistics Office* (CSO) in its quarterly report ending March 2011. The CSO is an independent 'specialist national statistical agency' which is responsible for 'the collection, compilation, extraction and dissemination for statistical purposes of information relating to economic, social and general activities and conditions in the State'. Available from: ‹http://www.cso.ie/aboutus/csomission.htm› [Accessed 9 April 2011].

4 Published in April 2009 in *The New York Times*, the weekly column of Nobel Prize winner and Professor of Economics and International Affairs, Paul Krugman was titled 'Erin Go Broke'. Krugman defines the pivotal role concerning the lack of regulation on the part of the Irish government regarding the country's banking sector which in turn lead to an unsustainable reliance on the part of the Irish economy an over inflated construction boom. Available from: ‹http://www.nytimes.com/2009/04/20/opinion/20krugman.html› [Accessed 9 March 2010].

This was further underscored by another Nobel Prize-winning American economist, Joseph Stiglitz. While visiting Ireland, Stiglitz argued against Irish government spending cutbacks and defined quite bluntly the role of the government in the handling of the economy:

> Your government allowed the economy to become totally distorted, with a real estate bubble and with a banking system that was under-regulated. I am very critical of what happened in the US, but there are other countries that also allowed things get out of hand, and Ireland and Iceland are among those, worse than the US.

Available from: ‹http://www.examiner.ie/business/spending-cutbacks-short-sighted-128838.html› [Accessed 25 August 2010].

5 See: ‹http://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/10/world/europe/10ireland.html› [Accessed 9 December 2009].

6 From a report published in July 2010 by the *Economic and Research Institute* (ERSI), an independent research body which 'produces research that contributes to understanding economic

and social change and that informs public policymaking and civil society in Ireland and throughout the European Union'. The report also further acknowledged how 65,000 people had already left the Republic since the start of the same year. Available from: ‹http://www.rte.ie/news/2010/0721/esrireport.pdf› [Accessed 21 July 2010].

7 From an article titled published in May 1997. See *The Economist* (1997) 'The Celtic Tiger: Europe's Shining Light', Vol. 343, No. 8017, pp. 21-24.

8 From an article published in May 2007 in the *Financial Times* titled, 'Celtic Tiger still purring despite stong euro'. Available from: ‹http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/fcb81e3e-fd7c-11db-8d62-000b5df10621.html› [Accessed 5 August 2010].

9 Addressing what she described as 'Generation Exodus', the author of this article underpinned the 'human tragedy' in Ireland of another 'lost generation'. Available from: ‹http://www.independent.ie/opinion/analysis/brain-drain-is-sucking-us-dry-2263397.html› [Accessed 18 July 2010].

10 A startling example was evidenced while this introduction was being finally drafted when it was reported on Monday, 30 August 2010 that 38,000 *Small and Medium Size Enterprises* (SMEs) were in a 'high risk of failure'. This represents, 36% of small and medium size business in the Republic. Available from: ‹http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/finance/2010/0830/1224277854703.html› [Accessed 30 August 2010].

The following day, Tuesday, 31 August 2010, it was reported that Anglo-Irish Banks had declared losses of 8.2 billion Euros for the first six months of 2010. This bank, now state-owned having required a government takeover due to overextension in the booming development market, has so far received 14.3 billion Euros in government support. The prognosis is that 25 billion will be required. For a country in deep financial crisis, this is challenging in the least. Available from: ‹http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/breaking/2010/0831/breaking2.html› [Accessed 31 August 2010].

11 Significantly, regarding representations of labour and working life are the textual representations embodied through the role of song and music. Important in an Irish folk music context, many titles refer to, and are inspired by the plight of labour. Evoking humour, melancholy and at times, defiance, many reflect upon the role of work, migration and the conditions of labour. Titles include 'Poor Paddy Works On The Railway', 'McAlpines Fusiliers', 'Hot Asphalt', 'Come My Little Son' and 'The Molly Maguires'.

12 In the early 1990s, the American investment bank, Morgan Stanley, first described the Irish economy as the 'Celtic Tiger' (O'Hearn, 1998: 6) – a title inspired by the country's economic performance in comparison to the 'Tiger' economies of South East Asia.

Chapter One

'Nova Hibernia'[1]: Pre-industrialised Pasts and Globalised Futures

> Globalisation is not just a single ideology but a constellation of ideologies that becomes a terrain of struggle (Burowoy 2000: 342).

> We are encouraged to believe that we live in a "post-industrial" age, when in fact the industrial function has just been globalised (Sekula 2001: 27).

> A relative newcomer to industrialisation, Ireland has been able to avoid the excesses of the original industrial revolution. The factories and the bustling towns and cities exist in harmony with the Ireland the tourists flock to see, a land of unsurpassed natural beauty (Gibbons 1996: 88).

Introduction

In March 2004, a small island on the western edge of the European Union was ranked as

'the most globalised economy in the world' (2004: 2); for the third year in a row, the U.S.

based A.T. Kearney/Foreign Policy Globalisation Index placed the Republic of Ireland at

the top of its list. The index monitors degrees of globalisation and global integration via

four key criteria including trade and financial flows of global capital, movement of

people across borders, international telecommunication traffic and internet usage and

participation in international treaties. This annual report incorporates 62 countries

accounting for 84% of the world's population and 96% of global gross domestic product.

The significance of Ireland's global position was amplified by the fact that the South of

Ireland never experienced the enormity of the Industrial Revolution and thus has been

propelled from a primarily agricultural-based economy to one defined as 'post-industrial' (O'Brien 1999).

As previously referenced, the early 1990s is now identified as the beginning of the Republic's economic transformation, a massive influx Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) resulting in the country's 'globalised' status and title of the so-called 'Celtic Tiger Economy'. In receipt of infrastructural and development grants from the European Union, the Irish government succeeded in attracting multinationals to establish global sites of operation on the island – an outsourcing base. In return, these multinational corporations (MNCs) received substantial grants, an educated English-speaking workforce and the lowest rate of Corporation Tax in Europe[2]. A generation of Irish men and women who had been forced to leave also began to return home. For the first time in its history, a new generation was offered an alternative to migration, where the possibility now existed to remain and work at home[3].

'The Celtic Tiger is dying,'[4] and as outlined in the introduction, the current global recession has brought about devastating consequences for Ireland's economy. Mindful of this transformation, the aim of this chapter is to provide a detailed overview and framing that led to the globalised industrial landscape of the Republic. However, prior to reflecting on this period alongside addressing theoretical discourses concerning this economic evolution, certain episodes and events from Irish industrial history need to be foregrounded. With reference to historical government economic policy, this chapter provides a critical review and readings of a small selection of propagandist imagery

produced and disseminated by the State regarding the visual representation of these enterprises, thereby, acknowledging the significance of an evolving visual culture in relation to the thematic representational concerns of this study. Significantly, the chapter concludes with an analysis of theoretical discourse towards framing a definition of labour in the context of this research study, one embodying the precarious and vulnerable role of labour as a result of globalised labour practices.

A Part-World Economy

> The time of the national is elusive; it needs excavating. It is constructed of a past filled with the nation's founding myths and a future set to inherit the state as the necessary consequence of the nation – that is, the national is a time that looks to the past and inherits a future. As such, work that interrogates the past and locates it in the present is compelling.

<div align="right">(Sassen 2000: 223)</div>

Figure 1.1; Ford Plant, Marino Quay, 1930s, Cork, Ireland (courtesy Libraries, Cork City Council)

In 1917, the Ford plant on Marino Quay opened in the southern Irish city of Cork (Figure 1.1) and tractors rolled off its assembly line. The son of Irish migrants, Henry Ford

sought to reconnect with his parents' home-place and the factory was built[5]. Later, this purpose-built space of 330,000 square feet would produce the famous Model T.

The modern assembly line signified the arrival of mechanisation and mass production – the material representation of what had become defined as 'Fordism/Taylorism'[6]. However, in buildings not far from the factory, men and women laboured manually making fishing nets and weaving other textile-based goods, the relevant industrialised machinery having never reached this shore. The rise of Fordist industrialisation resulted in mechanisation and large-scale mass production replacing the emphasis on craftsmanship and manual labour. The critical context for this plant on the southern coast of Ireland, and for the young Republic in general, reflected the interface of glaring differences in scale between pre-industrialised pasts and possible industrialised global futures[7].

The political context in which the Ford plant opened would profoundly change in the subsequent decade with the emergence of the young Irish Free State in 1922; a result of the War of Independence and subsequent bloody and divisive Civil War. However, this was a State described as possessing 'incipient levels of industrialisation' (Kirby 2002: 12) and therefore, in the autumn of 1925, East German excavators began digging amidst the fertile soil of the Shannon estuary in the West of Ireland. Signaling the beginning of the largest industrial engineering project ever undertaken in the history of the State (Figure 1.2), the scheme of electrification at Ardnacrusha involved 3,000 men and women,

occurring critically just three short years following the State's founding and the aforementioned Civil War.

Figure 1.2; Ardnacrusha, County Clare (aerial photograph, ESB Archive)

The dam-building project embodied a regime of economic nationalism and materially expressed the independent, self-sufficient character of the young nation in contrast to the outward-gazing and imperial inclinations of its former colonial ruler (Bielenberg 2002, O'Toole 1997). Postcards were produced, films commissioned, advertisements appeared in all the major national newspapers and magazines[8] and in 1928, a 'Guide Bureau' was opened giving tours of the site to promote this 'keystone of the state-building project' (Bielenberg 2002: 5). This concrete mass imposed upon the traditional landscape was a grand gesture: 'the dim candle of surviving medievalism in Ireland faded before the rising sun of scientific progress, where the State replaced the Estate as the locus of economic activity' (ibid: 134). Almost 200,000 people from all over the country, equating to almost

6% of the country's population, would visit the site during the course of its construction (Schoen 2002).

Shortly after the ground was broken on the project, the painter Sean Keating, travelled from Dublin to document the construction. He was subsequently commissioned by the Electricity Supply Board (ESB) as part of the programme to bring this flagship project into the public sphere. Keating, a nationalist, had a long association with the cause for, and the visual representation of, Irish independence. Keating's work reflected, in part, the ideals of Michael Collins who had negotiated the Treaty that created the Free State. Collins, inspired by Soviet Socialist Realism, believed that the nation should be envisaged through the heroic rural idyll, epitomised by the West and the Aran Islands – 'native artists in the new Ireland would be more than the mere producers of verse and painters of pictures. They will inspire us to live as Irish men and women should' (O'Toole 1997: 99). Keating had painted the Aran Islands and its islanders bestowing such virtues.

Figure 1.3; 'Luffelbagger' (source: ESB Art Portfolio Catalogue) Sean Keating

However, in contrast to the large amount of portraiture he undertook in previous projects, his images from Ardnacrusha are primarily landscapes depictions, at various stages of construction and therefore, the labourers remain relatively small within the scale of the larger project at hand. In his image, 'Luffelbagger' (Figure 1.3), a group of men are standing in the foreground receiving instructions. They stand deep within the newly dug channel in the shadow of this large implement of industrial technology, the excavator. The men wait, while above small plumes of steam escape from various locations within this machine, as if in anticipation of the future.

Figure 1.4; 'Building-site with Luffelbagger and Wagon Train' (source: ESB Art Portfolio Catalogue) Sean Keating

The locations for Keating's work were part of a deliberate process of bringing the scheme to the wider public, promoting it 'as the flagship of nation-building and economic modernisation' (Bielenberg 2002: 125). This was the newly transformed landscape, of the young nation: 'the activity of work is largely divorced from the awkward presence of workers and cities. We get landscapes – sky, earth, mountains – and we get machines. The actual workers are small, irrelevant details' (ibid.: 100). The images were also intended to convey a belief in technological progress towards the realisation of future aspirations. This extended to the further disclosure of cultural potentials, as outlined in an article on the project from the *New York Times* – 'it may be that Gaelic, backed by electrical power, will provide an explosive mixture strong enough to smash the old moulds and radically transform Irish mentality' (as quoted in Bielenberg 2002: 136).

The Ardnacrusha project had been awarded to Siemens-Schuckert Berlin (now Siemens), the German engineering company, who provided massive generators and hydro-electrical

technical expertise. Almost 700 technicians, engineers, and construction experts decamped from Germany and were installed in Clare. They would reside there for almost four years until the project's completion. The awarding of the contract to a German company in the 1920s was not without controversy, added to which a number of Irish labourers murdered a German foreman – an incident attributed to the prevailing disparity in the very conditions of labour (McCarthy 2002). Ireland lacked the industrial infrastructure to undertake such a task, which meant most, if not all, of what was required for the project, being imported. To appease German employees' concerns, accommodation was built and provided as a condition of work. The same acknowledgement, however, was not bestowed on Irish labourers. Many slept in ditches or paid rent to stay in farmer's barns on a wage that was minimal for the work undertaken, evidenced in a letter from 1926 signed by 'Man from Nowhere':

> We are working for our chuck, and slowly starving to death on it...what is the labour movement, the republican movement and the Church doing to expose and do away with this infamy? I would warn all three to be up and doing...as their silence is roundly condemned by the workers in the huts after their day of slavery.

(ibid.: 57)

This lack of visibility is further evidenced in a discussion of the visual representation of the Shannon Scheme by Sorcha O'Brien, whom highlights how Keating's paintings function to 'represent an attempt to introduce the idea of modernisation and electrical power to a largely rural population, and to naturalise the structure by its inclusion in the discourse of national mythology in Keating's paintings' (2009: 74). Of interest is the visual relationship between the point of view of a large number of the paintings and sketches by Keating and the photographs detailing the site. In the landscape image below,

commissioned by Siemens (Figure 1.5), the viewer is provided with a panorama of the main site, the ideological grand narrative. While the sunlight reflects off the front of the evolving dam structure, small puffs of smoke from labouring diggers in the midst of progress are also to be seen.

Figure 1.5; 'Power Station, 11 January 1928', Photographer unknown (courtesy Siemens Archive, Munich)

O'Brien discusses the photographs commissioned by Siemens-Schuckert and while foregrounding the ideological framing of 'nation-building' in the undertaking of these images, she makes an argument for the influence of visual art practices within Germany at the time being inherent in the photographs[9]. However, I would assert the images demonstrate the existing awareness on the part of photographers concerning the formal attributes possible through the application of the photograph, a theme I will return to in the following chapter. In the context of a commissioned work, the formal architectural attributes would instinctively be foremost in the mind of the commissioned photographer. However, significantly, O'Brien is critical of these images for 'we see no context and no sense of the human agency or intervention that created these forms' (2009: 78). O'Brien concludes that the currency of Keating's paintings, held greater representational value in

the visual cultural context in which they had been completed. Images resulting through the application of the modern technology of the camera held less prevalence in generating meaning in comparison to the strokes of a paintbrush or imprints of a pencil:

> The poor currency of the Shannon Scheme photographs can be attributed to their creation as overtly technological images within a culture concentrating on imagining itself in terms of nature and romantic tradition, rather than technology and modernity.
>
> (ibid.: 85)

The project at Ardnacrusha can be viewed retrospectively as providing the pivotal 'platform for the economic, industrial and social development of the country' (Crowe 2002: 4). While supplying electricity for a whole nation via a transnational undertaking, the project was not only of economic significance, but clearly instrumental as a cultural representation, instantiating an early awareness and nationalist use of propaganda towards the cause of nation-building. However, as an ideological expression, the representation of the project would appear to have erased the role of labour; witnessed in the human toll and the horrific fact that almost every day or every other day a worker was injured, maimed or killed in its construction (McCarthy 2004). Since described 'as a profound black mark in the State's labour history' (Schoen 2002: 72), only in 2004 with the 75th anniversary of the contract signing in Limerick and several publications to accompany the event, has the emergence of a more considered understanding of Ardnacrusha begun to be acknowledged.

In terms of economic development, this first decade of the young Free State had been deemed a failure, primarily due to the inability of the government 'to recognise the need

for the State to take an active role in the fostering of a more extensive process of socioeconomic development' (Kirby 2002: 15-16). This is in stark contrast to the Republic's global economic standing at the turn of this past century. It would seem a long journey from the dire ditches and aspirations of the teetering economic independence manifest in the Electrification Scheme at Shannon.

It is important to reiterate at this point that while the developed or western world, including the island of Ireland, is commonly defined as supposedly 'post-industrial' (O'Donnell 2001: 62), crucially, the south of Ireland, although having experienced industrialisation never experienced the immensity of the Industrial Revolution (O'Brien 1999) and has been described as a State 'virtually without industries' (Kirby 2002: 12). Therefore from 1932, following the initial strategic shortcomings of economic development, attempts were finally made to lay the foundations of an industrial economy through a more active State involvement and a policy of high tariff barriers and protectionism. This policy, 'Import Substitution Industrialisation' (ISI) directed industrialists to build factories throughout the state, particularly in the west (Kirby 2002). However, despite some success, due to the size of the country, its small market and a shrinking population on account of emigration, these efforts were ultimately limited in their achievements (O'Toole 2003, Kirby 2002).

It would not be until the 1950s, in the atmosphere of market liberalisation of post-World War Two Europe, that this protectionist policy of economic isolation and self-suffiency was challenged. The State looked to the 'formation of connections to the global economy

by attracting foreign high-technology investment [which] became the cornerstone of Ireland's industrial policy' (Shirlow 1997: 91), with a goal to 'promote real economic growth but in doing so...permit the importation of foreign capital' (O'Riain 2000a: 180). T.K. Whitaker's pivotal 1958 White Paper, 'The First Programme on Economic Expansion', is recognised as the moment of breaking with the economic policies of post-independence Ireland and the beginning of the process of Irish modernisation (Kirby et al. 2002), officially titled 'Industrialisation by Invitation' (Arora et al. 2001: 26). The legacy of economic nationalism, however, continued. This is reflected in the fact that as Ireland embraced a 'modernist discourse...the allegory of a collective past continued to be reproduced (by State bodies) in the face of a less than traditional future' (Shirlow 1997: 91)[10].

Figure 1.6; (cover) 'Ireland of the Welcomes', Bord Faílte (Irish Tourism Bord) 1964

The above cover image (Figure 1.6) from the then 'Bord Faílte' (now Faílte Ireland/Irish Tourism Board) publication, *Ireland of the Welcomes*, dates from 1964. This was the same year in which the final protectionist measures of Ireland's economic policy were removed and a 'no rate' of Corporation Tax introduced (O'Riain 2000b). Intended for an international audience of potential visitors and members of the diaspora, the image presents a young fashionable couple relaxing over a picnic on a warm summers day, while laid out upon the rug before them, are sandwiches, a flask, an array of modern Tupperware products and a camera. The setting is a green field with a traditonal stone-wall and thatched cottage behind. One reading of this image is how it evokes the looking forward and outwards to the possibility of a modern future whilst simultaneoulsy evidencing an acute awareness of the past, one situated in the landscape of the Irish idyll; the traditional co-existing with the forces of modernisation.

While the significance of Whitaker's White Paper and the opening up of the Irish economy should not be ignored, the subsequent two decades regarding modernisation would come to be seen as unsuccessful. As the aforementioned image alludes, the tension between an identity historically meshed between 'traditionalism' and the 'urban' (Gibbons 1996: 84) placed limits on state and cultural undertandings of Ireland's role in terms of global positioning. Indeed, regardless if such identities were constructions rooted in historicised or ficitive dimensions, the impact was similar, resulting in the impediment of the country's economic development (Gibbons 1996).

Less than 10 years later in 1973, Ireland joined the EU, or the then European Economic Community (EEC), as its 'poorest member' (Murray-Brown 2004: 7). At this point, Ireland's burgeoning relationship with the global computer industry took hold. Initial success in attracting international investment in this area is evidenced by the fact that throughout the late 1970s and into the 1980s, transnational electronics and computer hardware companies began locating factories in Ireland. However, these were primarily low-level in scale with few links being developed with the local economy. Ireland was a solely 'export-processing zone' within the European Market. There was little evidence of 'integration with the core activities of the parent company, the activities being routine and relations hierarchical in nature' (O'Riain 2000a: 180). As one commentator noted at the time: 'By and large, the foreign companies operate nothing more than assembly plants, attracted to Ireland by tax concessions...[There] is little evidence of any generation of local research and development and do little more than provide jobs (O'Hanlon 1976: 247).

In part, this may be attributed to inherent inefficiencies among sections of the indigenous private sector, and only following the publication of the government's 'Telesis Report' in 1982 were efforts finally put in place to critically address the international competitiveness of 'the whole industrial sector rather than merely its export component' (Kirby 2002: 20). It would appear that the Irish government with associated reforms of its international development body, the Industrial Development Authority (IDA), was finally recognising the needs and demands of becoming a significant and visible partner of the global economy.

The Global Materialised

> Cultural landscapes are the fabricated lens of a fragmentary, imaginary world in which the nation state is pulled apart, enfeebled and dissolved.
>
> (Burowoy 2000: 33)

Accompanying the economic developmental evolution of the Irish Republic was the rise of 'Neo-liberalism'. Having gained prominence in the 1970s, this political and economic strategy has overseen the advent of globalisation and possesses a profound relationship to the structural understandings that have facilitated the depth, reach and vastness of these same globalising forces. Within this discursive framework, Antonio Gramsci's notion of 'hegemony'[11] and its recognition of societal structural formations under the influence of special interests is significant. As he argues:

> It is true that the state is seen as the organ of one particular group, destined to create favourable conditions for the latter's maximum expansion. But the development and expansion of the particular group are conceived of, and presented, as being the motor force of a universal expansion, of a development of all the "national" energies. In other words, the dominant group is coordinated concretely with the general interests of the subordinate groups, and the life of the state is conceived of as a continuous process of formation and superseding of unstable equilibria (on the juridical plane), between the interests of the fundamental group and those of the subordinate groups – equilibria in which the interests of the dominant group prevail, but only up to a certain point, i.e. stopping short of narrowly corporate economic interest.
>
> (2005: 182)

Informed by Gramsci, David Harvey argues how neo-liberalism is viewed, 'as a potential antidote to threats to the capitalist social order and as a solution to capitalism's ills' (2006: 15). The 1970s, characterised by the oil crisis, high unemployment and inflation had resulted in a political move in the West involving greater relinquishment of state control of the economy into the hands of the private sector (Harvey 2006; Kirby 2002). As Harvey observes, 'the fundamental mission of the neo-liberal state is to create a "good

business climate" and therefore to optimise conditions for capital accumulation no matter what the consequences for employment or social well-being' (Harvey 2006: 25). Referencing Gramsci, he emphasises how prior to 'revolutionary action', meaning neo-liberalism, there is a prerequisite need for 'consent' (ibid.: 16)[12].

This critically has been, and continues to be, the context in which globalisation has manifested and been orchestrated via the pivotal role of the 'facilitative state', a theme to which I return to later in this section[13]. Critically aligned and enabling these politically driven economic developments, Manuel Castells outlines the historical difference between a 'world economy', which has existed since the sixteenth century, and what is now a 'global economy', essentially defined as an 'informational economy' (Castells 2000: 101). He writes:

> Towards the end of the second millennium of the Christian era several events of historical significance transformed the social landscape of human life. A technological revolution, centered around information technologies, began to reshape, at accelerated pace, the material basis of society. Economies throughout the world have become globally interdependent, introducing a new form of relationship between economy, state, and society, in a system of variable geometry.

> (ibid.: 1)

Hence, enabled by technological advancements, a profound shift occurred in industrial focus in the latter part of the twentieth century from one solely based upon productivity to one based upon 'relationships between technical change, capabilities, and national institutions' (ibid.: 94)[14]. For Castells, a global economy is one 'whose core components have the institutional, organisational and technological capacity to work as a unit in real time, or in chosen time, on a planetary scale' (2000: 102). However, in spite of the

intangible nature of such time-space compression, he observes a concrete co-existence where 'most production, employment, firms are, and will remain local and regional' (2000:101). Thus, a globalised evolution occurs in which the macro-global abstracted immaterial aspiration mimics a micro-local material presence. Saskia Sassen echoes this assertion in her description of the 'local', with particular relevance concerning this research study regarding the potential for material representations, which is addressed further in chapter three. As she writes: 'such a microenvironment is in many senses a localised entity, something that can be experienced as local, immediate, proximate, and hence captured in topographic representations. It is a sited materiality' (2001: 12).

The potentialities outlined in Sassen's assertion, however, should be approached with caution. In their treatise on globalisation, *Empire*[15], Hardt and Negri critically address this 'production of locality' defining it as the 'social machines that create and re-create the identities and differences that are understood as local' (2001: 45). However, they argue that in fact, 'the differences of locality are neither preexisting nor natural but rather the effects of a regime of production' (ibid.: 45). Therefore, globalisation, like 'localisation' should be understood:

> [As] a regime of the production of identity and difference, or really of homogenisation and heterogenisation….[it] is false, in any case, to claim that we can (re)establish local identities that are in some sense *outside* and protected against the global flows of capital.

> (original italics, ibid.: 46)

Hardt and Negri propose a framework to challenge these uneven and fragmenting processes of globalisation, thereby enabling solidarity, which I address later in this

chapter. Ultimately, as Sassen asserts, 'national economies accommodate a global economic system' (2000: 228).

Within this global context during the course of the 1990s, Ireland would materially experience the greatest economic transformation in its history, becoming a trans-global site of operation for finance, technology and biopharmaceuticals. With the advent of the globalised market, the advancement of information technology and a concerted economic development policy, realised in large part by the Industrial Development Authority (IDA) and focused upon attracting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), Ireland redefined itself. It was and is now variously described as a 'global site of operation', a 'host site', 'outsourcing location', 'offshore location' and/or 'nearshore location' – giving rise to the aforementioned 'Celtic Tiger' economy. As Harvey writes, 'The coercive laws of competition push capitalists to relocate production to more advantageous sites' (2006: 98). The policy focus was, and continues to be, one founded upon low rates of corporation tax on profits (the lowest in Europe),[16] the country's membership of and proximity to the European Union and the availability of a highly educated and English-speaking workforce (IDA, 2006). All of which is further evidenced in the mission statement of the IDA:

> We will win for Ireland, its people and its regions, the best in international innovation and investment so as to contribute to the continued transformation of Ireland to a world-leading society, which is rich in creativity, learning and personal and social well-being. We will work in partnerships with other organisations to enhance the best of Irish capabilities and talents and match them to the best of global investment.
>
> (IDA 2009: 1)

This policy would appear on surface little different from those of the previous two decades other than in scale of operation. However, as has been outlined the economic context had changed along with the workings of the global economy. As Castells notes:

> By extending its global reach, integrating markets, and maximising comparative advantages of location, capital, capitalists, and capitalist firms substantially increased their profitability particularly in the 1990s, restoring for the time being the preconditions for the investment on which a capitalist economy depends.

(2000: 96-97)

In addition, Ireland, with greater effectiveness had secured, received and invested substantial infrastructural funding from the European Union. Globalisation was occurring and continues to occur, at 'a greater and deeper scale than ever before' (O'Clery 2003: 9). The Republic's neo-liberal economic policy would appear to instantiate the assertions of Joseph Stiglitz, the former head of the World Bank that, 'among the central choices facing all societies is the role of government. Economic success requires getting the balance right between government and the market' (Stiglitz 2007: xiv). As Sassen states, 'global processes are often strategically located/constituted in national spaces, where they are implemented usually with the help of legal measures taken by state institutions' (2000: 218). Harvey is critical of this 'facilitative state' model, one 'rendered pliable and manipulable to capitalist ends' (2006: 95).

In an Irish context, Sean O'Riain foregrounds the more moderate 'Flexible Developmental State' model of enterprise where the State is actively involved, responsive and adaptable to the needs and demands of multinationals and the market economy (O'Riain 2000b: 157). He argues, however, that the State is more assertive in mediating

these 'global connections' encouraging local integration. Thus it represents a degree of autonomy and O'Riain later defines this state mediation as a 'state-society embedding of market relations' (O'Riain 2004: 49).

5

Figure 1.7; (cover) 'Achieve European Competitive Advantage in Electronics' (IDA) 1999

Ireland's aspiration to be part of the global technology economy is reflected in the above cover from an IDA publication (Figure 1.7). Dating from 1999, at a highpoint of economic growth, it is intended for potential transnational investors, employing images coded to indicate 'high-tech'. Two anonymous workers, uniformed in white suits, are busy with the job in hand. Both are silhouetted in the glow of the sun-like shape of a microchip wafer. The use of the primary colours red, green and blue, used repeatedly in the popular media, signify notions of technology and high-end development. This was, and continues to be, a typified visual representation presented to potential foreign investors of FDI. I now wish to briefly outline the prime areas for this foreign direct investment, namely finance, biopharmaceuticals and technology.

In 1989, the first phase of the International Financial Services Centre (IFSC) opened on the north quays in Dublin's inner city with the second phase completed in 2000 – a European location for over half the world's largest banks and insurance companies, and generating at its height, approximately 60% of the Republic's wealth (IDA 1999). This symbol of global aspiration and capital was the first banking district in the history of the State – 'driven by tax incentives, millions were spent to develop an international centre that would compare with The City in London or La Defense in Paris' (MacDonald 2001: 14). Justin Carville observes how the IFSC embodies 'the Irish States monument to its position in a global economy' (2002: 24)[17]. The initial focus in its establishment being 'jobs to market...[mostly] 'back-office' functions such as administration and processing; however, the goal now is to establish higher value 'front-office' jobs...to ensure these companies stay here' (Brennan 2004: 33). Prior to the onslaught of the current global economic crisis, this challenge of attracting and holding onto global capital investment would be reflected in the cover headline in 2004 of an Irish business publication, 'The IFSC – Finance Temple or Future Ghost Town?' (ibid.: 1). The challenge, therefore, has only been further deepened with the present predicament. Beginning in 2007, both the lack of regulation in the financial sector in the Republic was highlighted alongside the plight of the majority of workers in this sector, whom besides facing mass lay-offs, it was revealed that, 'contrary to popular perception…[many] domestic financial services and IFSC employees were never in the big leagues when it came to making money'[18].

The biopharmaceutical industry also received substantial investment, primarily, in manufacturing. At its height, Ireland was location for 31% of FDI in biopharmaceutical

technologies for all of Europe (IDA 2003). The dependency on competitiveness for such jobs remains. As with the financial sector, it would appear the need to focus on knowledge-based employment is also a requirement to ensure longevity. Ireland remains a centre for manufacturing as reflected in its status as a 'Newly Industrialised Country' (NIC) similar to those of East Asia and Latin America (Kirby 2005).

The other main area of investment has been technology, specifically, Information and Communications Technology (ICT). As previously described, Ireland has had a relationship with the global technology industry for three decades now, beginning in the 1970s. Digital Limited in County Galway was a prime example of this, and a forerunner to the present industrial landscape. A manufacturer of computer components, it opened in 1979 offering permanent employment until its closure in 1993 when the company pulled out of Ireland, citing rising costs and falling demand[19]. This region of Galway, exposed to the full competitive forces of the global market, initially feared for its future, however, the jobs would be replaced: fortunately, the closure had occurred the same year in which the 'Tiger' economy began to take hold. Ireland continues to be a prime manufacturing base regarding ICT for multinational companies (MNCs).

In 2005, the State was the largest exporter of software in the world and three-quarters of jobs in this area were in foreign-owned companies, with U.S. companies accounting for 65% of this employment (Central Statistics Office, CSO). In the face of increasing competition from other global locations for this investment, and as previously referenced, a policy towards increased specialisation evolved – to move up the value chain. This

centered upon the parallel strategy of continued manufacturing and an evolving role in research and development (R&D) in the creation of a 'knowledge-based economy'[20]. For example, in the area of microelectronics, an industry body supported by government and academic institutions has been established. This is titled MIDAS, with the stated goal of 'realising a vision of Ireland as the Silicon Valley of Europe'[21]. This prospect, although still regularly voiced in government publications and public engagements both nationally and internationally, remains to be fully realised. Mindful of the current economic crisis, in actuality, the challenges had already been acknowledged in the publication of a report commissioned by the Irish government Enterprise Strategy Group titled 'Ahead of the Curve: Ireland's Place in the Global Economy' (2004). Echoing comments previously cited by O'Hanlon (1976), the report declared:

> Ireland is a world class leader in operations and manufacturing, however, it significantly lags behind internationally in terms of an internationally-traded services sector…where expenditure is half of the European average...foreign-owned enterprises are accounting for most of Ireland's exports, and perhaps indicative of Ireland's present role...this sector produces goods that were designed elsewhere, to satisfy market requirements that were specified elsewhere, and are sold by other people to customers with whom the Irish operation has little contact and over whom it has little influence.
>
> (2004: 14)[22]

Invoking a tone, which underscores the country's dependency on outside global interests, it highlights the issue that this island off the west of Europe, however continues to aspire to be 'at the centre of Europe'[23], yet in terms of the global economy remains one defined as an 'offshore location'. A mature economy is defined as one that moves from manufacturing-based to a primarily service-based economy (Fitzgerald 2004b), yet Ireland is the only economy in Europe, until the economic crisis, in which employment in

the area of manufacturing continued to grow[24]. India and China are viewed as the State's peers and competitors on this global stage: 'the globalisation that brought foreign investment to Ireland, now puts us in competition with India and China' (McManus 2004: 7). This status and the struggle to achieve a knowledge-based economy, is further illustrated in the annual published reports of the IDA. As evidenced in the following two examples, the language employed marks the aspiration of a country continuing to be marketed as 'Ireland, Knowledge is Our Nature':

> Competition for investment requires us to take a global perspective rather than a local view of Ireland...to focus on high skill, knowledge and innovation...jobs that will be from the top end of the value chain, research and development.
>
> (2003:4)

> The key to winning high quality, value enhanced investments clearly lies in the transformations of our economic base so that it is firmly focused on Research, Development and Innovation, High Value Manufacturing and Global Business Services.
>
> (2009: 10)

The 2004 report also forecasted that, inevitably, 'the more basic manufacturing – the commodity products – will migrate to low cost locations in Central and Eastern Europe, Latin America and Asia' (ibid.: 4). By 2009, in light of the 'global downturn', the central defining role of cost and the ability to transform remain central to government policy:

> Measures currently being taken to decrease costs, particularly energy and labour cost, will further re-enhance Ireland's competitiveness as a location for FDI. It is vital to ensure that labour and energy costs continue to decrease in order for Ireland to maintain and improve its competitive position.…[By] remaining positive and confident in our ability to bring stakeholders together collaboratively we can predict that Ireland's FDI landscape will continue to grow, diversify and exert maximum impact on Ireland's recovery as the global economic upturn commences.
>
> (ibid.: 10)

However, there may be other obstacles in achieving the goal of a knowledge-based economy if one looks further afield. In an article concerning the 'high-technology' boom in the economy of one of Ireland's competitors, China, the director of the Hong Kong-based journal, 'China Economic Quarterly', wrote:

> Chinese industry is lying on a low-technology bed and dreaming high-tech dreams...for 61% of high-tech exports come from wholly foreign owned enterprises, which means there is no transfer of technology to a domestic partner.

(Kroeber 2004: 9)

This is further illustrated with the downturn of global demand for manufactured-based goods from China, which has critically undermined the overall performance of the economy (Bradsher 2008). Significantly, the Dean of the Yale School of Management also warned of 'sharing America's intellectual treasures with a foreign rival (China)' (Garten 2005: 12). These sources foreground how the control of knowledge and the capital flows are integral to the processes of globalisation. China aspires to evolve into a more research and development-based economy. The prospect of this, though, without access to certain technology and ownership of knowledge or Intellectual Property (IP) appears limited in the least – 'information technology has provided the means to produce global networks of communication on a scale, that new sources of power, influence and control are available...Who controls these networks? Knowledge is power' (Castells 2000: 66). Without the transfer of knowledge, growth up the value-chain would appear restricted.

Obviously, the magnitude of operations in China outweighs that of Ireland, however, as an economy, its vulnerability to the encompassing changes in the global market, a theme I return to later, remains ever present. In 2008, as China celebrated its 30th anniversary of the adaptation of the economic policy titled 'Reform and Opening', having witnessed the 'most astonishing economic transformation in human history', analysts simultaneously warned of 'huge social dislocation'. Due to the scale of factory closures, the immense increase in unemployment and the lack of political reform, they warned of the possibility of 'mass-scale social turmoil'[25]. Aside from the political ramifications, this analysis would appear to evidence, as with the Republic, the unrestrained and unforgiving consequences resulting from any constraint on global capital flows, while illuminating the critical functioning of whom and what controls them.

Ireland's vulnerability regarding the nature and basis of its economic evolution was not the only area receiving scrutiny. Prior to the crisis, significant attention was being given to industrial output figures with much discussion concerning the quotation of GDP (Gross Domestic Product) over GNP (Gross National Product) when defining economic growth, the disparity between both now somewhat famously described in one headline as 'Elvis Lives in Irish Trade Data' (O'Hearn 1998: 37) [26]. GDP includes profits exported by multinationals and, considering the corporate tax provisions in Ireland, this accounts for 20% of value added in the country each year (Fitzgerald 2004a). The GNP deducts this, and therefore was argued as providing a more accurate reflection of the country's economic situation. With the benefit of hindsight, was Ireland's economic growth sustainable on such a narrow base? Despite increases in service-based growth and

evidence of knowledge spillover to indigenous industries - surely a sign of a maturing economy – how vulnerable was Ireland with its prevailing dependency on FDI, to global market fluctuations? [27]

'The disposition of global capital is now a more mysterious, rapid, and difficult landscape to follow, than ever before' asserts Arjun Appadurai (1996: 35). Highlighting the predatory speed of these global flows, he continues, 'as currency markets, national stock exchanges, and commodity speculations move megamonies through national turnstiles at blinding speed with vast, absolute implications for small differences in percentage points and time units (ibid.: 35). In such a volatile environment of 'absolute implications', there is one certainty according to Stiglitz: 'the path of globalisation will, of course, be changed not only by the force of ideas and experiences…but also by global events' (2007: xviii). Stiglitz references the war on terror and the attacks of 9/11 in his discussion but alerts us also to the role of context. In a similar register, Appadurai elaborates:

> Is there some pre-given order to the relative determining force of these global flows?.…[My] own hypothesis, which can only be tentative at this point, is that the relationship of these various flows to one another as they constellate into particular events and social forms will be radically context-dependent.
>
> (1996: 47)

Appadurai's hypothesis views the 'local' as critical in understanding the functioning of the global. Echoing Hardt and Negri, for Appadurai this challenges any over-simplified cultural homogenising understandings concerning globalisation and affords a belief in the agency on the part of individuals 'to contest and even subvert' such forces (ibid.: 33). Drawing upon these arguments, Appadurai later advocates an 'imaginative' research

strategy to 'compare, describe and theorise "globalisation from below"' (2001: 19) perhaps affording the possibility of a 'subversive micronarrative' (1996: 10). In the context of this study, such a narrative may be reasoned to lie within the role and functioning of labour. For as Sassen states, 'today social actors are likely to live, and entities likely to operate, in overlapping domains of the national and the global. The distinct formations produced of these dynamics require empirical specification and theorisation on their own terms' (2000: 221). Therefore, an imperative exists to provide an understanding of such a role in the context of both the research undertaken as part of this practice-led study and critically how such a definition informs and shapes the curatorial authorship, part of my visual art practice, involved in the re-representation of this research.

Defining Globalised Labour

> At the economic level, capitalism adopts a new model of flexible accumulation which exploits and recreates difference. At the political level, the world of interacting nations states is transformed by relations that move above and below the nation (Burowoy 2000: 344).

Mindful of Appadurai's aforementioned proposal[28] and having outlined an historical overview of the culture of industrial and economic development within the present globalised context of the Republic, attention will now be drawn in this final section to theoretical considerations surrounding the associative transformation of labour practices. Resulting from globalisation and related technological developments in industrialised economies, the study seeks a definition of globalised labour which acknowledges its condition whilst simultaneously affording the agency of labour who represent and

embody the interface between the local and global within the conditional framing of these same globalised labour practices.

Despite a turn to knowledge-based economies, globalisation has intensified the material conditions of work. The German sociologist Ulrich Beck, defines the new world of work as one of risk in which, 'the capitalist and the worker alike are all exposed to risk...leading to an open, risk-filled modernity characterised by general insecurity and the spread of temporary and insecure employment, discontinuity and loose informality' (2000: 2), paralleling the general trend in Western economies from industrial-based to service-based employment. The term 'post-industrial' has been used to describe this trend, representing 'two interrelated transformations in the technical division of labour and the structure of the organisation' (Thompson and Warhurst 1998: 3). However, this could be defined as essentialist, as Gramsci, in a different register, discussed the potential 'through the concrete study of past history, through present activity to construct new history (1971: 427). Therefore, I would contend that Sekula's assertion that 'the industrial function has just been globalised' (2001: 27) holds important relevance too in this discussion of global labour practices that imbue transnational potentials for solidarity and agency that the implied disruption prescribed between the terms 'industrial' and 'post-industrial', could be deemed to limit.

Published in 1974, *Labour and Monopoly Capital*, by the Marxist writer Harvey Braverman resonates with such a position. He writes, 'New office technology and organisational methods were being introduced to control and standardise the office

worker just as industrial technology had been employed in relation to, typically, assembly line workers' (1974: 63). Writing at a time of burgeoning neo-liberalism, Braverman has been defined as absolutist but the deduction here is not one of revolution but an understanding and recognition that 'capitalist ideology becomes a material force in the machines and procedures of work' (ibid.: 53)[29]. Informed by Robert Reich and what he labeled the 'Global Web' (1991), O'Riain elaborates on how structurally, the local/global landscape has brought about the transformation of organisations, whereby a 'Global Web corporate structure replaces a more rigid, hierarchical organisational structure...[We] have a shifting web of connections forged into relatively fleeting alliances' (O'Riain 2000a: 181). As a part of his ethnographic study of Irish software developers, O'Riain further addresses the fragile nature of contemporary work practices where he observes 'only occasional solidarity and little loyalty...where control of time is a critical resource' (ibid.: 179). Does such a labour environment explain the continued promotion by the IDA of 'the most flexible and adaptable workforce (in Europe) when faced with new challenges?' (IDA Annual Report 2009: 8).

Gramsci's notion of hegemony holds further relevance in relation to the flexible developmental neo-liberal state (Polyani 1957, O'Riain 2000, Harvey 2006) and the embedding of social relations within the economic system towards 'universal expansion' (2005: 182). Within such a context and by extension, Hardt and Negri, addressing the changing conditions of work, asserting a material transformation in the productive nature of work from one defined as 'material labour' at the height of industrialisation to 'immaterial labour'[30] in the evolution to service-based economies, 'the central role

previously occupied by the labour power of mass factory workers in the production of surplus value is today increasingly filled by intellectual, immaterial and communicative labour power.' (2001: 29).

While the hegemony that existed within industrial labour has been altered by such processes, critically, the continued subjection 'to capitalist discipline and capitalist relations of production' (ibid.: 53) persists. This position is evidenced by Baldry (1998) researching the service-based white-collar economy of the office environment. Describing new work organisations or the 'team' in the environment of what they define as 'Team Taylorism' (1998: 167) – 'to bridge the alleged dichotomy between classical Taylorism and supposedly new forms of work organisation' (ibid.: 167). Baldry observed how work had become 'progressively more routinised, feminised and stripped of its early attendant aspirations to bourgeois status…basically a production line process' (ibid.: 165). Research by the sociologists, Thompson and Warhurst demonstrated that simply because 'workers are now more highly educated does not necessarily indicate a higher level of knowledge inherent in the jobs in which these people are employed...with the content of much contemporary work remaining highly routinised as well as insecure' (Thompson and Warhurst 1998: 4). In relation to these outcomes, Gramsci's description of techniques of coercion regarding the functioning of the 'passive revolution' hold significance:

> Adaptation to the new methods of production and work cannot take place simply through social compulsion…coercion has therefore to be ingeniously combined with persuasion and consent. This effect can be achieved, in forms proper to the society in question, by higher remuneration such as to permit a particular living standard which can maintain and restore the strength that has been worn down by the new form of toil.
>
> (ibid.: 310)[31]

In such a context, contemporary workplaces, while signifying 'production line processes' now 'stretch across national borders…characterised not by the disappearance of time and space as realities of work life, but by their increasing importance and intensification' (O'Riain 2000: 179). Critically, such positions, 'always remain precarious' (ibid.: 180). Therefore, the overarching context that both permeates and frames contemporary work relationships is that of risk and instability. Nonetheless, with reference to labour, it is important to note that this does not necessarily imply a closing down of the role of agency but could, in fact afford national and transnational potential as Beck, referencing Appadurai, asserts 'a central invention of modern times: community bonding through the sharing of risks' (2000: 163) where 'transnational movements…promote the spread of new cultural practices and encourage new forms of identity' (ibid.: 170). For Hardt and Negri, 'being within capital and sustaining capital is what defines the proletariat as a class' (2001: 53), and such positioning decisively creates an identity. Simultaneously, they challenge and develop Gramsci's notion of the 'passive revolution' through the potential proffered in the recognition of such an identity and thereby foreground a system of resistance – formatted in the role of what they define as the 'Multitude':

> The multitude is the real productive force of our social world, whereas Empire is a mere apparatus of capture that lives only off the vitality of the multitude – as Marx would say, a vampire regime of accumulated dead labour that survives only by sucking off the blood of the living.
>
> (ibid.: 60)

Neo-liberalism has asserted and intensified the role of the individual[32] and Hardt and Negri argue that within that singularity is the collective. An attempt to provide an understanding of identity within a globalised environment, through the simultaneous

acknowledgment and corruption of the neo-liberal significance of the individual, the term 'Multitude' alludes to a variation on collectivism, a new hegemony, but as Negri argues, based in the singular:

> The theory of the multitude requires that the subjects speak for themselves and that what is dealt with are unrepresentable singularities rather than individual proprietors…the multitude are an active social agent, a multiplicity that acts. Unlike the people, the multitude is not a unity, but opposed to the masses or plebs, we can see it as something organised. In fact, it is the active agent of self-organisation.[33]

Hardt and Negri propose a general account and the specifics of which, in large part remain to be realised. Nonetheless, mindful of Appadurai's proposal regarding 'globalisation from below', the voice of the multitude in the context of globalised labour would hold relevance for this research study and the validity of everyday experience to address global labour practices in the material confines of a globalised factory complex in the east of Ireland.

These significant insights lead to the central tenet of this research thesis, namely a definition of globalised labour in terms of vulnerability as it relates to the representation of labour and the implicit precarious functioning of global labour practices[34]. Therefore, 'one way of thinking about globalisation today is as unsettlement – of economies, policies, cultures and imaginations', argues Saskia Sassen, continuing, 'it destabilises existing formal arrangements and interpretations' (Sassen quoted in Waugh 2008: 24). As has been argued, the existing hegemony promoting globalisation encourages such a disconcerting context, the speed of which has been startling, since according to Stiglitz, 'economic globalisation has outpaced political globalisation' (2007: 21), whom, it is

important to note, seeks to instantiate a position for its continuing operation as an economic model. The pace of change may have out-run the abilities of national political institutions, thus suiting the flexibility demanded by the needs of global capital. A multi-layered, multi-dimensional theoretical image of globalisation thus becomes evident, one of interdependence, fixedness and fluidity, certainty matched with uncertainty, promise of permanence accompanying a ceaseless fragility which within such an environment contains the everyday experience of the labouring individual.

Therefore, in light of the profound instability associated with the predatory nature of such globalising forces towards framing a definition of labour, I wish to foreground here the critical understanding of globalisation as proffered by Peadar Kirby. Writing in an Irish context and drawing upon the concept of 'precarity', Kirby advocates the term, 'vulnerability', as he notes:

> A much more appropriate category to capture the distinctive ways in which the economic, social, political, cultural and environmental changes associated with the term "globalisation" are impacting on all of us…expressing more adequately its novel and multifaceted features.
>
> (2006: 3)

Kirby proceeds to expand upon this inclusive understanding of how globalisation has intensified interdependence and therefore critically, vulnerability – 'making people insecure in their jobs and livelihoods' (ibid.: 6). Within a localised Irish context, his observations resonate with O'Riain's concerning the precarity associated with the white-collar ICT workers. In addition, he subscribes to the 'transformative' nature of globalisation and the possibility for a future that affords agency. Echoing Hardt and Negri

and drawing upon Gramsci's notion of 'critical consciousness', Kirby argues that through

an awareness and understanding of vulnerability, transformative possibilities exist upon

the part of public structures offering solidarity among individual social actors – 'that we

are living and working not to sustain the present order but to transform it' (ibid.: 194).

Such networks of solidarity or 'transnational civil society networks' (ibid.: 203) as he

defines them, encompass all strata of society and are the basis for a new 'global social

contract' (ibid.: 220). This, he states, may take time but as 'old solidarities are being

eroded, new collective identities and solidarities are being forged' (ibid.: 221). Bringing

specifics to this discourse, he concludes 'today's globalisation, identified as neoliberal

corporate globalisation, is fuelling vulnerability…even in situations where it results in

increased incomes and material provision' (ibid.: 220). Informed through his background

in economics and global development, Kirby acknowledges the discourse on the concept

of vulnerability and its role in international relations and cites the definition as offered by

the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs:

> In essence, vulnerability can be seen as a state of high exposure to certain risks and
> uncertainties, in combination with a reduced ability to protect or defend oneself
> against those risks and uncertainties and cope with their negative consequences. It
> exists at all levels and dimensions of society and forms an integral part of the
> human condition, affecting both individuals and society as a whole.
>
> (UN 2003 quoted in Kirby 2006: 5)

To conclude, in the devastated landscape of the present global economic downturn and

Ireland's extreme exposure[35], such a critically informed understanding of vulnerability

has been alarmingly made evident and led to actualised and material conceptions of

globalisation and globalising forces as Kirby and others describe. However, such a

labouring future characterised by vulnerability, had already been powerfully conveyed in the concerns expressed by Mark Doran, a HP Clean Room Process Shift Supervisor[36], when we spoke in 2003:

> There's definitely concerns. I think they're here for tax reasons on one level and there's an element of localisation as well. They can produce a lot here and not have to store it in warehouses and transport it around the world and into a European market from India. So there are cost savings as well, but there is also the worry that inflation is making this job less and less attractive for people. I know Operators who will never own a house and they could work here till the day they die and they'll never be able to afford a house. So, I mean, is that a quality of life? HP are going to lose a lot of people to competitors if they don't start to financially reward people that are working here. But the catch 22 is…can they afford that or is it just cheaper for them to pack up and piss off to India. That's the bottom line, so we don't know that yet, you know.
>
> (Interview, 28 November 2003)

Notes

1 From James Joyce's *Ulysses*, as quoted by the then Taoiseach, Charles Haughey at the launch of the Custom Docks Redevelopment, the future location of the *International Financial and Services Centre* (IFSC) in June 1987:

> My subjects, a new era is about to dawn. I, Bloom, tell you verily
> it is even now at hand, let yea, on the word of Bloom, ye shall
> ere long enter into the Golden City which is to be the new Bloomusalem
> in the Nova Hibernia of the future.
>
> (Joyce quoted in Sheehan and Walsh 1987: 177)

2 These are the reasons repeatedly publicised in the annual reports of the Irish governmental economic development agency, the Industrial Development Authority (IDA Ireland). See (2005) Annual Report 2004, IDA, Dublin. HP also state this rationale evidenced through the course of ethnographic interviews with the Vice-president and General Manager of HP Ireland, Lionel Alexander. (see interview Friday, 21 January 2005 in Appendix III). And in relation to these grounds, also in 2005, discussion centered upon the sustainability and legality of state support for multinational corporations as 'Ireland remains at the top of the EU countries league in terms of the public money spent on subsidising sector-specific investments' (Gurdgiev 2005: 28). For example, in manufacturing and services this accounts for 51% of all investment made in the country and is viewed as both unsustainable and possibly illegal according to the EU (Gurdgiev 2005).

3 The profundity of this change is further reflected in the fact that the Irish government began to actively recruit migrant labour to meet the continuing needs of an increasing number of MNCs located in different parts of the country. From an article published online in June 2006. Available from

‹http://www.politeia.net/Newsletter/politeia_newsletter_42_june_2006/labour_migration_within_ the_european_union_an_irish_perspective› [Accessed 22 July 2010]

4 Quoted from a feature article titled 'End of the Road' (*Observer*, 10 May 2009). Addressing the impact of the global downturn, the author travelled around Ireland interviewing individuals from carpenters to politicians and within an historical framework, assessed the deepening impact. Available from ‹http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/may/10/ireland-financial-crisis-emigration› [Accessed 10 May 2009]

5 Ford's company policies displayed little time for organised labour. Witnessed in an Irish context when in 1920, the workers of the Cork Plant were locked out for attending a mass in support of an Irish prisoner on hunger strike in Britain. The brother of the then Mayor of Cork had been

imprisoned for arriving in Britain without a passport or other form of identification. The workers returned to the factory to find the gates chained and the local Plant manager threatening to install a whole new work force. Only after negotiation was this possible threat reversed, yet the workers would remain locked out for a week. Description informed by a short article as appeared in the New York Times dated 16 October 1920. Available from ‹http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/› [Accessed 25 May 2008]

6 In 1911, the American mechanical engineer, Frederick W. Taylor published his *Principles of Scientific Management*, a manifesto proclaiming a contemporary management system, *Taylorism*:

> It is only through enforced standardisation of methods, enforced adoption of the best implements and working conditions, and enforced cooperation that faster work can be assured. And the duty of enforcing the adoption of standards and enforcing this cooperation rests with management alone.
>
> (Taylor quoted in Montgomery 1989: 229)

Taylor, who had been working in the American steel industry, had witnessed what he believed to be the underperformance of steelworkers. Subsequently, armed with a stopwatch, he undertook *Time and Motion* studies, where he and his colleagues monitored and measured the efforts of workers as they completed their daily labour. The role of the visual in this undertaking is addressed in chapter two, however, the basis of this research would form the rationale for his management system aimed at maximising efficiencies within the industrial environment. Advocating systemic selection and training of workers, cooperation with the worker was also a necessary prerequisite to ensure the application of his techniques:

> Scientific Management has for its foundation the firm conviction that the true interests of the two are one and the same; that prosperity for the employer cannot exist a long term of years unless it is accompanied by prosperity for the employee and vice versa.
>
> (ibid.: 12)

Taylor, perhaps having been raised in a Quaker household, therefore appears to encourage a just and fair approach in this undertaking towards shared prosperity:

> The public will no longer tolerate the type of employer who has his eyes only on dividends alone, who refuses to do his share of the work and who merely cracks the whip over the heads of his workmen and attempts to drive them harder work for low pay. No more will it tolerate tyranny on the part of labour which demands one increase after another in pay and shorter hours while at the same time it becomes less instead of more efficient.
>
> (ibid.: 22)

However, in spite of this, his repeated use of the word 'enforced' could be more insightful concerning his attitude towards labour, as is his description of the average worker whom 'in the

majority of cases…deliberately plans to do as little as he safely can' (ibid.: 15). Taylor's system of management had many advocates including Henry Ford, who rapidly adopted Taylor's techniques in his factories.

7 In 1984, the Ford factory complex, the embodiment of modern industrialisation, labour practices and economic aspiration would finally close its gates. Somewhat ironically, this site and all it represented would become manifest in the Republic on a greater, wider and more profound scale in the decade following the closure of the plant.

8 Advertisements promoted both visits to the site and the benefits of using electricity. One example, referencing the ideal of the American worker addresses how such energy relieves workers and farmers from time-consuming and heavy manual labour but doing so in terms of the racialised other: 'The American workman is the most prosperous on earth, because he has, on an average, three horse-power, the equivalent of thirty human slaves, helping him to produce' (Bielenberg 2002: 159).

9 O'Brien references the influence of *Neue Sachlichkeit/New Objectivity*. While O'Brien is correct in her observations that the formal attributes were of critical significance to the movement in response to Expressionism, the purveyors of this method subscribed to the belief that through such a method, the surface of objects would reveal something of their construction. Some of the images produced at Ardnacrusha do contain formal considerations, however, I would argue they do not suggest such artistic functioning. The inherent formal attributes possible through the application of photography would be understood by a photographer and therefore, beyond the formalism of some of the images, to suggest the influence of the aforementioned movement seems perhaps inappropriate in this case. This theme will be further addressed in chapter two in relation to historical and contemporary photographic representations of industrialisation (see Roberts 1998 and Edwards 2006).

10 The timing of this change in the Republic's development policy is of interest for despite the post-World War II economic boom – 'there was a still greater concentration of investment within rich countries' domestic economies and what Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) there was went primarily to other rich countries' (Dunn 2009: 77-78). Slow to change, it would only do so significantly in the 1980s, underscored by neo-liberal global economic policies.

11 The young Italian Marxist, Antonio Gramsci critically addressed *Taylorism* and *Fordism*, which he initially described as *Americanism* and *Fordism*, and its relationship to his theory of *Hegemony* – a description of how the bourgeois class maintained capitalist control (2005). Hegemony and its maintenance through *passive revolution*, in particular, bear much relevance to the present economic context. 'Gramsci acknowledged', writes Steve Jones, 'the active role of

subordinate people in the operation of power' (2006: 41). In 1926, imprisoned for his political activities by the then fascist regime, he began to keep notebooks in which he outlined much of his critical thinking. Over six years, these fragmented journals addressed and expanded upon the notion of hegemony and how it was maintained through a combination of force and consent:

> It was relatively easy to rationalise production and labour by a skilful combination of force (destruction of working class trade unionism on a territorial basis) and persuasion (high wages, various social benefits, extremely subtle ideological and political propaganda) and thus succeed in making the whole life of the nation revolve around production….[The] phenomenon of the "masses"…is nothing but the form taken by this "rationalised" society in which the "structure" dominates the superstructures more immediately and in which the latter are also "rationalised" (simplified and reduced in number).
>
> (ibid.: 285-6)

To reiterate, hegemony for Gramsci, was 'anchored in the factory' (ibid.: 6) with economic, political and cultural dimensions 'to achieve the planned economy' (ibid.: 279). Therefore there exists a relationship between societal control and its industrialised imposition in the form of Fordism, 'though hegemony is ethical-political, it must also be economic…based on the decisive function exercised by the leading group in the decisive nucleus of economic activity' (ibid.: 161). Gramsci subscribed to the existence of a superstructure and an operational base structure of which Fordism represented the imposition of these industrial cultural norms and in effect, shaped the social norms of production and consumption – thus maintaining the existing dominant capitalist structures. In more explicit terms he wrote, 'Where a horse shits, a hundred sparrows feed' (ibid.: 283). Hegemony was brought about by means of what he described as the *passive revolution*:

> [Through] the legislative intervention of the State, and by means of the corporative organisation – relatively far-reaching modifications are being introduced into the country's economic structure in order to accentuate the "plan of production" element; in other words, that socialisation and co-operation in the sphere of production are being increased, without however touching (or at least not going beyond the regulation and the control of) individual and group appropriation of profits.
>
> (ibid.:119-20)

12 Harvey quotes Margaret Thatcher to underscore his argument, informed by Gramsci's notion of the *passive revolution* on the role of consent – 'Economics are the method but the object is to change the soul' (2006: 17).

13 Writing in 1957, Karl Polanyi is significant here, regarding the functioning of the present global market. He argues:

> Control of the economic system by the market is of overwhelming consequence to the whole organisation of society: it means no less than the running of society as an adjunct to

the market. Instead of economy being embedded in social relations, social relations are embedded in the economic system.

<div align="right">(Polanyi [1957] quoted in Kirby 2002: 159)</div>

14 Castells is forthright in his analysis regarding the means by which globalisation functions:

The mechanism to bring in the globalisation process to most countries in the world was simple: political pressure either through direct government action or through imposition by the International Monetary Fund/World Bank/World Trade Organisation.

<div align="right">(ibid.: 140)</div>

15 Written over a ten-year period, *Empire* by Hardt and Negri marks a pivotal evolution of Marxist discourse concerning the globalising effects of capital and the ideological hegemonic structures it represents. Premising how 'the establishment of a global society of control that smoothes over the striae of national boundaries goes hand in hand with the realisation of the world market and the real subsumption of global society under capital' (2001: 332), *Empire* acknowledges the critical role of Imperialism and its associated structures which had historically facilitated 'capital's survival and expansion' (ibid.: 333). However, 'the full realisation of the world market', they assert 'is necessarily the end of imperialism' (ibid.: 333). Through the relinquishment of national interests and the decline of the nation-state, the deterritorialisation of capital flows enables the new globalised 'empire'.

16 This economic development policy and the low rate of Corporation Tax, in particular was further underlined in the current global economic environment when the *Taoiseach* (Irish Prime Minister) Brian Cowen, speaking at a party political meeting in May 2010, stated, 'Ireland will continue to be a great place for foreign direct investment', continuing, 'and the corporation tax rate will remain at the heart of our strategy to attract ongoing foreign direct investment'. Quote taken from an article titled 'Cowen says Irish economy has reached turning point', written by Eanna Ó' Caollaí. Available from ‹http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/breaking/2010/0529/breaking14.html› [Accessed 29 May 2010]

17 What the IFSC materially represents as described by Carville (2002) resonates with the 'Golden City' as uttered by the then Taoiseach, Charles Haughey at the launch of the Custom Docks Redevelopment in June 1987. See n.1.

18 From article titled 'Behind The Façade' by Fiona Reddan and published in *The Irish Times*. Available from ‹http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/innovation/2010/0409/1224267682747.html› [Accessed 9 April 2010]

19 As described from interviews with former workers at the Digital factory in Galway from the radio documentary *Factory Lives* (RTE 1 Radio, 29 October 2003).

20 The focus and formal policy for the IDA, 'since the Irish Government put in place a national Strategy for Science, Technology and Innovation (SSTI) in the 1990s' has been to create employment around investment that is higher up the value chain and the establishment of a 'knowledge-based society'. Available from ‹http://www.idaireland.com/innovation/› [Accessed 30 March 2010]

21 'What Are the Opportunities in Ireland?' Available from <http://www.midasireland.com/index.html› [Accessed 17 March 2009].

22 This position was further underscored in an article titled 'Engine of Indigenous Industry Never Fired During Boom Years' published in July 2010 in response to the publication of the annual *World Investment Report* by the *United Nations Conference on Trade and Development* (UNCTAD). 'Despite all the advantages, the engine of indigenous industry never fired', the author acknowledges disparagingly and continues, 'if much what happened during the boom years makes ones' head shake in disbelief, what didn't happen makes it hang in despair'. It continues to outline the failure of 'small and medium size businesses' (SMEs) to capitalise on the then economic climate displaying an inability to 'specialise'. He concludes therefore, 'that the State will continue to have to depend on importing entrepreneurialism in the form of foreign direct investment (FDI)'.

Available from ‹http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/finance/2010/0723/1224275294606.html› [Accessed 23 July 2010]

23 As stated by the former Taoiseach, Bertie Ahern in an interview on *The Eamonn Dunphy Show*, TV3 (24 October 2003). This interview took place just before Ireland was to assume Presidency of the European Union from January to June 2004. In a related context, during his aforementioned speech to political party supporters in May 2010, the then Irish Taoiseach, Cowen reiterated the often-mentioned political and economic policy aspiration, with a global thematic:

> At the heart of our jobs strategy is the need to increase rates of innovation across the economy, not only in high-tech sectors, but in all sectors. Positioning Ireland as a Global Innovation Hub will generate new jobs and new enterprises, and also help sustain existing jobs as firms move into higher value-added activities.

Available from ‹http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/breaking/2010/0529/breaking14.html› [Accessed 29 May 2010]

24 George Lee, Senior Economic Reporter, RTE Television. Quoted from his report concerning the release of the Enterprise Strategy Group Report on *6:01 News*, RTE (8 July 2004).

25 Published in December 2008, these series of quotes form part of an analysis, as appeared in a special feature report undertaken by *The Economist*. Titled, 'China and India: A Tale of Two Vulnerable Economies', it detailed the political, cultural and economic challenges facing the two countries most shaped and defined by globalisation. See *The Economist* (2008), 13-19 December, Vol. 389, 8610.

26 This ongoing discussion concerning the quoting of GDP and/or GNP received much coverage in the weekly column of the *Irish Times* by the former Taoiseach, Dr Garret Fitzgerald, drawing upon both his own knowledge as a politician and his background as a trained economist. As the fear has become reality, Fitzgerald's acknowledgment of the 20% disparity between the quoting of GDP and GNP being a fairer picture, appears to have been borne out. In an article titled 'Irish Miracle – or Mirage?' in the *New York Times* in May 2010, the authors observed how many American multinationals set up corporate bases in the Republic and merely 'washed profits through Ireland to keep them out of the hands of the Internal Revenue Service (U.S. tax authority)'. Critically for Ireland, in doing so, brings little financial benefit and revealing a questionable economic policy:

> The remarkable success of this tax haven means that roughly 20 percent of Irish GDP is actually "profit transfers" that raise little tax for Ireland and are owned by foreign companies. Since most of these profits are subject to the tax code, they are accounted for in Ireland but lightly taxed; they should not be counted as part of Ireland's potential tax base. A more robust cross-country comparison would be to examine Ireland's financial condition ignoring these transfers. This is easy to do: a nation's GNP excludes the profits of foreign residents. For most nations, GNP and GDP are nearly identical, but in Ireland they are not.

Available from: ‹http://economix.blogs.nytimes.com/2010/05/20/irish-miracle-or-mirage/?scp=1&sq=Irish%20Miracle%20-%20Or%20mirage?&st=Search› [Accessed 25 May 2010]

27 A further example illustrating Ireland's continued dependency concerning FDI followed the failure to reach a global trade agreement by the World Trade Organisation (WTO) meetings in Geneva, Switzerland in 2008. Peter Sutherland, the Irish Chairman of the oil company British Petroleum (BP) stated, 'We (Ireland) are more dependent on trade flows than any other OECD country. Ireland and Belgium are the two most globalised economies in the EU', continuing that the breakdown in negotiations would have 'serious consequences for the Irish economy'. From an article by Jamie Smyth, published by *The Irish Times*, 30 July 2008. Available from ‹http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/finance/2008/0730/› [Accessed 30 July 2008]

28 In the context of this research study, the local is intended to embody both the national, the Republic of Ireland and the fieldsite, the manufacturing and technology plant of Hewlett-Packard Ireland.

29 In his discussion of labour practices in the 1970s, Braverman invokes *Taylorism*:

> The social relations of exploitative technological societies produce the science and technology which are applied to the work process and increasingly subdivide, de-skill, routinise, brutalise and reify it until there is no craft, no meaning; and the goal of one of the pioneers of "factory discipline" is brought even closer; to make machines of men and women as cannot err.
>
> (1974: 27)

30 'In the final decades of the twentieth century, industrial labour lost its hegemony', state Hardt and Negri, 'and in its stead emerged "immaterial labour", that is, labour that creates immaterial products such as knowledge, information, communication, a relationship, or an emotional response' (2004: 108). With reference to Maurizio Lazzarato's concept of 'Immaterial Labour' (1996), they identify two principle forms, one of which they classify as primarily 'intellectual or linguistic' and a second which they define as 'affective labour' being that which, 'produces or manipulates affects such as feeling at ease, well-being, satisfaction, excitement, or passion' (ibid.: 108). However and with significance, they add, 'the labour involved in all immaterial production…remains material – it involves our bodies and brains as all labour does. What is immaterial is *its product*' (original italics ibid.: 109). Critically regarding a future understanding of labour, they stress that although immaterial labour constitutes a 'minority of global labour', it has become '*hegemonic in qualitative terms*', meaning:

> [It] has imposed a tendency on other forms of labour and society itself…and is in the same position that industrial labour was 150 years ago, when it accounted for only a small fraction of global production and was concentrated in a small part of the world but nonetheless exerted hegemony over all other forms of production. Just as in the phrase all forms of labour and society itself had to industrialise, today labour and society have to informationalise, become intelligent, become communicative, become affective.
>
> (original italics ibid.: 109)

It is important to note that I do not mean to advocate the division regarding 'material' and 'immaterial' labour, rather to outline an historical understanding towards a definition of labour, which acknowledges its condition of vulnerability. In addition, regarding the overarching context of neo-liberal late capitalism, one could argue such descriptions merely serve the purpose of further dividing labour.

31 Baldry identifies the 'passive revolution' in contemporary terms of 'external benchmarking, production targets and intensification' with accompanying reward systems in place – bonuses,

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free time, extra breaks and verbal public acknowledgments of achievements in the workplace (Baldry 1998).

32 Significant regarding the concept of *Multitude* is David Harvey's description of the role of the individual. He writes: 'the neo-liberal state emphasises the importance of personal and individual freedom, liberty and responsibility, particularly in the market place', continuing, 'social success or failure is therefore interpreted in terms of personal entrepreneurial virtues or failings rather than attributable to any systemic properties' (2006: 27). In doing so, this validates the means for hegemonic structures to persist and maximising the conditions for 'capital accumulation'. The structural contradiction being, however, that 'the neo-liberal attachment to the individual is allowed to trump any social democratic concern for equality, democracy and social solidarities' (ibid.: 51).

33 Negri quoted in an article addressing the role of subjectivity in the application of the photograph in representing 'Multitude' and its role in contesting globalisation. Available from: <http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol4no1_2005/begg_art.htm> [Accessed 24 June 2009].

34 The concept of 'precarity' holds relevance here as a term that embodies and is employed to describe insecurity in relation to work and livelihood. Functionally, it has been defined as 'a collectively created conceptual tool, the practical purpose of which is to aid in naming, understanding and ultimately, transforming the conditions of labour under post-Fordism' (Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2008: 100). Thereby, a means to understand the many forms of 'flexible exploitation' (ibid.: 100). (See also Rancière 1991, Ross 2002, 2007, 2009, Castells 2000, Hardt & Negri 2000, 2004). In the context of this study, regarding a definition of labour, I have chosen to focus upon the term, 'vulnerability' as outlined by Kirby (2006) because of the more comprehensive understanding it may afford as a consequence of the wider literacy regarding its meaning.

35 Ireland's position in this regard was further underlined in a report published in 2003. Based upon a 25-year study of the Irish economy, it concluded that multinationals were beneficial to the economy as long as they committed to stay for a significant period of time. However, if the need should arise, the report stated that these same multinationals were 40% more likely to pull out of the Republic than indigenous firms (Görg and Strobl 2003).

36 Transcriptions of interview material with ethnographic subjects have retained where possible a fidelity to varied dialects and colloquial use of language.

Chapter Two

Industrialised Stillness:

The Role of Photography in Visualising Labour and Working Life

> The insertion of photography into the discursive field of management and the capitalist process of production, as a mechanism of objectification and as an instrument of subjection, is within the broader parameters of the desire of power of capital to know, realise, and control labour in its own image (Lalvani 1996: 139).

> Apart from the charitable or pathological phases of social work, what a field for photographic art lies untouched in the industrial world. There is urgent need for the intelligent interpretation of the world's workers, not only for the people of today, but for future ages (Hine 1980: 113).

Surveying the vast panoramic images of the German company, Bertolt Brecht remarked

to his close friend Walter Benjamin, 'The photograph of the Krupps' factory tells us

nothing about the conditions and relations within' (Benjamin [1931] 2006: 255)[1].

Figure 2.1; 'Krupp'sche Gußstahlfabrik/ innere Ansicht, 1865' (detail of three) 180˚ - Panorama, b/w photographs, Hugo van Werden (courtesy Historisches Archiv Krupp, Essen)

The images (Figure 2.1) are displayed in 11 fragmented rooftop perspectives.

Commissioned by Krupps for the World Fair on Paris in 1867, all is in focus with a large

depth of field, an expanded view of the factory complex stretching out towards the evaporating landscape beyond, barely rural. These iconic images by Hugo van Werden are imbued with the idealistic optimism of industrialisation, which places the viewer standing within and among the industrialised watchtowers surveying the kingdom below and all it promises. Brecht was correct in that they convey little of the 'conditions' of labour within. I would argue, however, that they signify not only much of the nature of industrial relations and industrialisation itself, but further reflect on contemporary global work conditions and the role of the photograph in the construction of the representation of these same conditions.

This chapter charts the role of the photograph, from its invention as a result of the Industrial Revolution and immediate application in the construction of the representation of working life. It provides a critical survey of this purpose, engaging with discourse around the dissemination and consumption of such material and how the critical context frames the contested meanings of such material. The chapter further addresses the singular role of documentary photography in relation to labour, referencing the practices of three photographers: Lewis Hine, Milton Rogovin and Julian Germain. This is towards assessing the potential of a critical research practice involving the use of the photograph in response to, and in spite of, the problematised history of visualising labour.

In his conversation with Benjamin regarding the images from the Krupps factory works, Brecht asserted, 'actual reality has slipped into the functional. The reification of human relations – the factory, say – means that they are no longer explicit. So something must in

fact be built up, something artificial, posed' (Benjamin [1931] 2006: 255). Brecht's call

for construction obviously sits within the era of post-Great War and in the context of the

manifestos declared by Dadaism, Surrealism, Futurism and Soviet Constructivism and

their acknowledgement of the construction of reality[2]. Such a call in the context of

photographic images and its implicit relationship to reality, however, holds even greater

resonance. Brecht implicates the photograph but in doing so, alerts us to the possibilities

and potential of this process itself born of industrialisation[3].

A Historical Overview

It is difficult to comprehend the enormity of the Industrial Revolution in terms of the vast

economic, political, social, cultural and physical dimensions, shifts and upheavals and the

degree to which everday lives were permanently transformed forever[4]. The advent of

mass industrial urbanisation is epitomised by Manchester in England[5], the first

industrialised city, as described by the writer, Alexis de Toqueville, in 1835:

> From this foul drain the greatest stream of human industry flows out to fertilize the
> whole world. From this filthy sewer pure gold flows. Here humanity attains its most
> complete development and its most brutish; here civilization works its miracles, and
> civilized man is turned back almost into a savage.
>
> ([1835] 2006: 72)

In 1839, four years following de Toqueville's powerful description of that city in the

heart of England, the first public appearance of the photograph was made (Edwards 2006)

and its defining relationship to reality and its ability to be reproduced was quickly and

promptly recognised. As evidenced by the act of Hugo Van Werden who, being

commissioned by Krupps, had positioned himself among the rooftops and pointed his

camera in certain directions to make the images of the factory works in Essen. In his

discussion addressing pointing and photography's power of ostension, John Roberts

writes:

> [To] point at things…showing someone something by drawing their attention to it
> [is] the ostensive medium par excellence. Its indexical relationship to the world of
> objects and events, is no more nor less a form of pointing; and pointing necessarily
> contributes to our knowledge of the world.
>
> (1997: 28)

While alerting us to the potential beyond the objective implications of the photograph,

Roberts addresses the indexical nature of the photograph, which was its overwhelming

early defining function.   It is of significance to acknowledge that much of the

photographic work in relation to picturing industrialisation at this time was

commissioned by industrialists themselves, and therefore any notions of a criticality are

limited, if not in fact absent, in these early photographic representations of the

transformation[6]. Thus, their defining role was as documents, not necessarily in a neutral

sense, a point addressed later in the chapter. However, in such a context one must also be

mindful and acknowledge the epistemological impact of the Enlightenment, the role of

perspective, the introduction of the 'Camera Obscura'[7] (Lalvani 1996, Edwards 2006) and

its defining significance in a society that now privileged knowledge via the ocular:

> Human knowing, which had become predicated on an epistemology secured by
> ocular vision, at the same time, as a result of perspectival principles, described and
> delineated the status of the observer and what constituted proper and categorical
> inferences about the world. But the paradigmatic model on which this visual
> analogue of knowing was based, was the optical and structural principles of the
> camera obscura.
>
> (Lalvani 1996: 9–13)

The invention of the photographic process in part fixed and grounded this epistemological perspective. I am not arguing here for technological determinism or the prowess of the photograph, but am foregrounding how these early images were deemed as possessing such deterministic credentials and therefore, in terms of their application and reception, must be read through such a critical framework. Vision provided knowledge, truth and evidence through the index – the trace of new knowledge – the photographs being subsequently replicated and disseminated. The industrialists of the 19th Century embraced this new technology and its perceived instrumentalising potential as a means of providing powerful and truthful representations, documents of themselves, their work and aspirations. Thus, photographers were commissioned, replacing in large part the painted representations of the previous two hundred years.

Figure 2.2; 'Krupps, Essen, Germany, 1870s', Photographer unknown

Images were repeatedly produced depicting the factory floor and the workers who inhabited these spaces. In this illustrative image above (Figure 2.2), one can sense the

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lack of light and how a long exposure would be have been required to make the photograph. This is evidenced by several of the workers appearing still and unmoving while others present, their heads having moved during the exposure, appear blurred while the objects which they simultaneously hold in their hands remain fixed, sharp and in focus. It is necessary here to address the institutional role of the factory and the relationship to the visual and visibility both in the context of critical late modern discourses concerning the role of the visual and in consideration of the research questions of this thesis. In turn, this will demonstrate how an awareness of photography's ideological potential and critical application would appear to have been evident from the very outset of its existence as a medium of representation. Of significance to such aspirations is Hal Foster's assertion in his discussion of 'vision and visuality'. He writes:

> Although vision suggests sight as a physical operation, and visuality sight as a social fact…vision is social and historical too and visuality involves the body and psyche. Yet neither are they identical: here, the difference between the terms signals a difference within the visual – between the mechanism of sight and its historical techniques, between the datum of vision and its discursive determinations – a difference, many differences, among how we see, how we are able, allowed, or made to see, and how we see this seeing or the unseen therein

<div align="right">(1988: ix)</div>
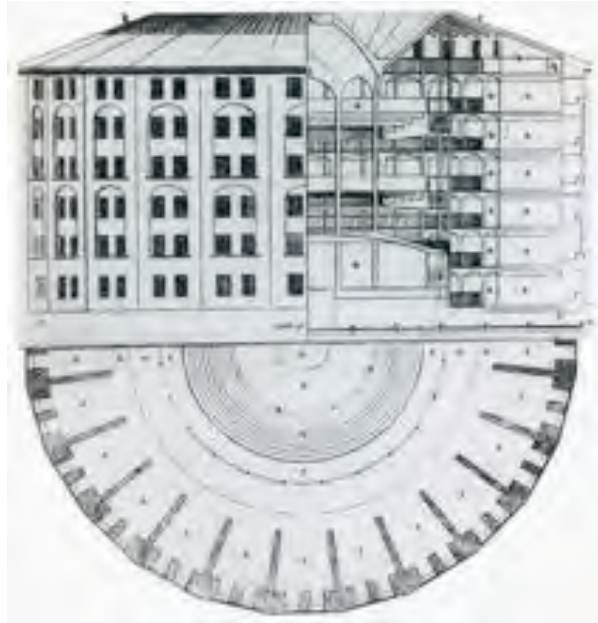
Figure 2.3; 'Multi-purpose Panopticon, 1791' (Design Jeremy Bentham) Samuel Bentham

Foster's assertions regarding control of what and how one sees, hold relevance for the functioning of the factory. 'The man who builds a factory', wrote Calvin Coolidge, 'builds a temple' (Darley 2003: 15). When Samuel Bentham first published his proposal for the 'Panopticon' or 'The Inspection House' (Figure 2.3) in 1791, as a model for the asylums and prisons, he also believed that the factory[8] was the other perfect space for his functional architecture, believing that 'those working on a piecework system needed no coercion, those working on fixed hours required overseeing' (Darley 2003: 53) whereby, 'morals reformed – health preserved – industry invigorated…all by a simple idea in Architecture!' (ibid.: 54). The architecture afforded complete visibility of the individual and would subsequently assume the metaphorical role of isolation, individualism, punishment – the material embodiment of alienation. The profound significance is its relationship to the visible, the image and the role of surveillance where the gaze through

the mediation of the optical suited such descriptions and remains, to the present day, the substantial basis for discourse concerning the visual[9].

Viewing the factory, therefore, as the extension of the panopticon proposal, the aforementioned functioning of surveillance and implementation of the optical gaze and its control suited this undertaking – the gaze of capital became the gaze of power and control over the worker and the body of the worker[10]. 'Discipline must reverse the lines of visibility', writes Suren Lalvani, 'power must become less visible and the body of labour must be raised to a new and different level of positive luminosity' (1996: 144).

Figure 2.4; 'from a time-motion study' 1910s, Photograph: Gjon Milli

In chapter one, the rise of mechanisation and the arrival of the assembly line were addressed, whereby such processes were characterised by the 'inexorable regularity with which the worker must follow the rhythm of the mechanical system' (Giedon quoted in Highmore 2002a: 6). Photography would play a critical role in the indexical and

supposed rational documentation of such 'Fordist' processes, witnessed in the images

produced as a result of the 'Time-motion' studies (Figure 2.4). Regarding the

implementation of his 'Principles of Scientific Management'[11], for example, Frederick

W. Taylor proposed the 'breakdown of each worker's procedure if working on a

particular task' (Lalvani 1996: 147) and viewed the time-motion studies not only

functioning as a means of task measurement but also as a means of surveillance. As

Suren Lalvani argues:

> What Taylor, in effect did was introduce Bentham's panopticon architecture into
> the factory space. It was the internal architecture of detailed control that would
> function to "transform individuals…to provide a hold on their conduct, to carry the
> effects of power right to them, to make it possible to know them, to alter them".
>
> (ibid.: 149)

Taylor collated massive observational documentation of workers, including

photographs[12]. However, these were primarily illustrations of tools and the associated

wear and tear as a result of the process of production. It would be a disciple of Taylor,

Frank Gilbreth drawing upon the work of Eadweard Muybridge and his investigations

into animal and human locomotion in the latter part of the 19th century, who would bring

the photograph to focus upon the body of the worker. Gibreth envisaged a 'motion

economy':

> The desire for the new empirical vigilance instituted by the camera's gaze to
> disclose that which is initially hidden, to play upon the solid opaque surfaces of the
> body, and reveal that which is not privy to the first disclosure of organic sight.
>
> (ibid.: 152)

The use of the photograph attempted to embody what was viewed as the normative and

efficient body (Lalvani 1996). It should be noted that moving image was also employed

but Gilbreth's primary method was premised on the photograph. Through the strapping of bulbs to workers limbs, movement was analysed, believed to reveal and make visible motion, which he termed a 'cyclograph' (Figure 2.5). Hence invisible gestures become visible and machine-like – 'photograph's functioning…provides for the illumination and construction of new forms of corporeal permeability' (ibid.: 160). As Steve Edwards notes, drawing on Benjamin, 'photography provides a powerful supplement to natural vision, enabling us to see things that remain imperceptible to the "naked eye"' (2006: 97) and such characteristics, are open to corruption.

Figure 2.5; 'Bolt and nut assembly' 1910s, Gilbreth Chronocyclograph Study, Photographer unknown

Here the photograph (Figure 2.5) literally fragments the faceless worker through its intrusive means of observation and the overt markings now on the surface of the photograph as a material disciplining referent. Moreover, a visibility achieved and constructed as Foster has asserted through the optics of the lens signifying both the imposition of power of capital, whilst simultaneously further illustrating the

instrumentalisation and commodification of the photograph**.** With relevance to this discussion, addressing the critical potentials of moving image and the everyday, Benjamin writes:

> Our taverns and our metropolitan streets, our offices and furnished rooms, our railroad stations and our factories appeared to have us locked up hopelessly. Then came film and burst this prison-world asunder by the dynamite of a tenth of a second, so that now, in the midst of its far-flung ruins and debris, we calmly and adventurously go traveling. With the close-up, space expands; with slow motion, movement is extended.
>
> <div align="right">(Benjamin 1999: 229)</div>

The potentials for images to make visible the 'prison-world', when one is mindful of Gilbreth's application of photographic images, may seem at best contradictory. Nonetheless, Benjamin'a assertion inadvertently foregrounds the defining role of context in the production and dissemination of all image-based representations. As Sekula notes, 'the meaning of any photographic message is context-determined' (1982: 85). This determining role, is further underlined by John A.Walker, alluding to the photograph's potential for ambiguity:

> With each shift of location the photograph is recontextualised and as the context changes so does the meaning….[The] frame of the photograph encloses a space, a world, which we can enter (in our imaginations)…context continues to influence our perception because, although our attention is primarily directed towards the image, we always retain a subsidiary awareness of its/our environment.
>
> <div align="right">(1997: 54-56)</div>

Therefore, context regarding the application of the photograph is pivotal to our understanding of photography depicting the role and representation of labour and working life. Such an understanding is developed in the discussion to follow on the subject of documentary photography and it's framing of this thematic.

Documentary Photography and the Representation of Labour and Working Life

'What is a documentary photograph?' asks Abigail Solomon-Godeau, continuing, 'with equal justice, one might respond by saying "just about everything" or alternatively, "just about nothing"' (1991: 169). However, as a 'rubric', as Solomon-Godeau decribes it, the term, 'documentary photography' can be purposeful in a critical discussion concerning the representation of labour and working life.

A photograph is. A photograph exists. This was first solely as a chemical-based process but now, primarily, a digital-based one. This affords both a material and immaterial presence and acknowledges how the role of gesture is becoming ever more important in such a context concerning the motivation for the generation of photographs. This is highlighted by Roberts in his discussion on the ostensive nature of the photograph, arguing for a 'theoretically self-conscious practice' (ibid.: 9) enabling 'the photographic document [to be] not so much an inert nomination of things in the world, but a source of inferential complexity' (ibid.: 29). For as Joanna Lowry argues:

> [T]he very act of photography, as a kind of performative gesture which points to an event in the world, as a form of designation that draws reality into the image field and is thus itself a form of indexicality and that accepting the limit point of photography's documentary capacity....[look to] the act of photography itself as a moment of authentication.
>
> (2002: 50)

Therefore, this section addresses the role of gesture and the motivation to produce photographs within the definition of a critical practice, by which I mean one possessing a critical intent. Much of the work to be discussed would not have been originally commissioned, but subsequently was by a public or private funding body. One factor I

assert which binds all that follows is the packing up, setting off and going out into the world to make these photographs of a critical nature or with critical intent – thereby, to reflect upon, to witness, to tell, to create a narrative. Therefore, and significantly, the origins defining the motivation to raise a camera, look through a viewfinder and make an exposure, is perhaps what differentiates the material which follows, with that presented thus far.

Throughout the course of this discussion is a concern with the dissemination and consumption of such images as being pivotal in the understanding of the role of context and how it defines meaning. As Sekula observes, 'the rhetorical strength of documentary is imagined to reside in the unequivocal character of the camera's evidence, in an essential realism' (1978: 121). We may not be able to specifically define documentary photography, but this defining perception permeates all understandings of it as a practice. The indexical nature of the photograph and its site of reception, in both a physical and psychological sense, can in fact, define, limit, alienate and prejudice the possibilities inherent in the practice. This discussion, therefore, provides the grounding for such a proposal and concludes by way of focusing on the practices of three specific photographers, Lewis Hine, Milton Rogovin and Julian Germain, and the critical potential expressed through their individual visual approaches to labouring histories.

It is important to acknowledge, as with other visual representations, the existence of a vast volume of material concerning such a discussion of documentary photography and that the limits of this thesis and its focus do not permit a comprehensive survey, which in

itself would be impossible. For that reason, I propose an overview of the role of 'documentary' and its origins, framing a discussion as it relates to, and is centered upon representations of the labouring body and industrialisation. This, therefore, is not intended as a linear historicised narrative, but rather an informed reading of primarily Western-based photographic practices, and their role, whereby those referenced function to illustrate, contest and indeed challenge discourses surrounding documentary photography in the context of representations of labour and industrialisation. In turn, this will serve as a critically reflexive preface to my own research undertaking developed in chapters three and four, echoing Atkinson's call for the construction of 'new ethnographies against a background of previous works' (1992: 5). It also must be noted that some of the work to be discussed was in existence before the term 'documentary' had ever been defined. The American photographer Walker Evans spoke of photographing 'documentary in style' (Edwards 2006: 28) in the early 1930s; the term 'style' conveying how it went beyond the sole function of a document. However, it is the filmmaker, John Grierson whom is credited with first using the term 'documentary' in 1926 (ibid.: 27) and while the term was still novel, Beaumont Newhall, curator at the Museum of Modern Art in New York attempted this definition in relation to photography – '"documentary" photographs are "factual" records made for "definite sociological purposes"' (Quoted in Trachtenberg 1989: 190).

What does define documentary photography's earliest reception, framed in the origins of its industrialised birth is its relationship to the 'real' and the perception of it being a genre of photographic practice that presents and represents the reality as, explicitly and

implicitly, an objective record: 'the theory of photographic realism emerges historically as both product and handmaiden of positivism. Vision itself unimplicated in the world it encounters, is subjected to a mechanical idealisation' (Sekula 1978: 121). Keeping in mind Sekula's observation and evidenced by representations of industry from the mid to latter part of the 19th century, much photography was first commissioned to document the achievements and advancements of technology through industrial processes. A point of entry for this discussion addressing the rise of a more critical engagement through the use of the photograph could perhaps be first witnessed in the early modernist work of the Danish-born, New York-based, Jacob Riis.

Amidst the slums of New York at the end of the 19th century, armed with a camera and an open pan of magnesium powder, the common source of artificial light at the time, Riis assumed the role of a social reformer, his purpose to reveal and to expose. He descended upon dimly lit streets unannounced, making images with or without the portrayed individual's permission. Blasting light, Riis burst into rooms filled with sleeping inhabitants (Figure 2.6), down darkened alleys, towards unknowing men and women as they sat, chatted and smoked a late evening cigarette. This form of observation of the working class or 'subjection' (2006: 35) as Edwards defines it, was viewed as reasonable and deemed acceptable for the greater good of those involved. His approach can now be classified as profoundly problematic and symbolic of the signifying gaze of power upon those without similar means[13].

Figure 2.6; 'Five Cents Lodging, Bayard Street', New York, 1889, Jacob Riis

Nonetheless, as Riis delivered lectures to church groups and philanthropic groups, his images were deemed 'sensational disclosures of hidden social facts' (Trachtenberg 1989: 170). This was a time of labour unrest and industrial disputes as the utopic promises of industrialisation were not forthcoming and urban working class communities struggled to survive (ibid.: 170). In 1890, he published the book, *How The Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements of New York.* His approach to photography, ethically misguided and alienating, does however allude to the potential of a critical use of the photograph in an ostensive sense. A peer of Riis, Lewis Hine, would recognise, embrace and exploit such potential to greater affect as a means for social reform and his practice will be discussed later in the chapter.

In post-World War One Germany, a young photographer born near Cologne in the Westerwald began to make a series of portraits addressing social types of people. Having survived the horrors of the Great War, and influenced by the idealistic promise of the

declaration of the Weimar Republic, August Sander wished to document all strata of then German society. His intention was 'to "make visible" and raise "historical consciousness", in turn being part of a shared commitment to what were perceived as the "truth-telling" powers of photography' (Roberts 1998: 3). My focus here is upon his visual approach and the rationale for its application and, within such a framework, those images related to representing labour (Figure 2.7).

Figure 2.7; 'Die Putzfrau/The Cleaning Lady' & 'Der Industrielle/The Industrialist' 1920s, August Sander

Sander employed the portrait with the individual always centred, and presenting themselves to the camera. He generated albums of images representing each class, and what sets his work apart in that regard is the focus not only on the marginalized but also the wealthy and powerful. Photography enjoyed a prominent role in this period under *Neue Sachlichkeit (New Objectivity)* (Roberts 1998) and was deemed no longer indebted to painting. As Roberts observes, 'photography's extended powers of realism were held

to have inscribed themselves in the very textures of things, hence the repeated call to photographers to direct their attentions to the intricacies and secrets of nature' (1998: 42).

Such determinism was viewed as rejecting the perceived excesses of the expressive subjectivities of visual art practice prior to the mass slaughter of the First World War. There would therefore be a representational art that was accessible and functional to all society, immersed in objectivity – one to be trusted – 'unclouded by sentiment or illusion, a representation suited to the technological age' (Moholy-Nagy 1922: 14), underlined by Sander himself: 'Nothing seems better suited than photography to give an absolute faithful historical picture of our time' (Sander quoted in Roberts 1998: 43). This typological approach was evident in the work of other compatriots of Sander, for example, Albert Renger-Patzsch. However, I would argue that although the visual approach of Sander remains influenced by the conceptual thinking of the time, his work should be viewed as being critically separate. His subject matter aside, the context in which the images are made are never denied and one senses an open-ness on the part of the subjects portrayed. Benjamin praised Sander's portraits as a 'shift in power', continuing:

> Immediately the human face appeared on the photographic plate with new and immeasurable significance. But it was no longer a portrait….[It] was assuredly a very impartial, indeed bold sort of observation, but delicate too.
>
> (2006: 251-252)

Further evidence of this may seen with the rise of National Socialism in the early 1930s, when the Nazi party banned Sander from continuing to work on his project as they did not appreciate his representation of the German people[14]. 'As we search these faces from

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those lost decades', writes John von Hartz, 'we are startled to see reflections of ourselves' (1997: 24).

It is important to acknowledge the influential role of print media in Germany during this period and the application of the photograph[15]. Following the revolution of 1919 and the subsequent era of the Weimar Republic, the country possessed one of the most powerful labour movements in the world. Photography was adopted as playing a pivotal role in representing these movements with the rise of 'workers' photography' as 'positivist and conciousness-raising…proclaiming a direct connection between photography and truth-telling' (Roberts 1998: 49). Publications including *Der Arbeiter Fotograf* ('The Worker's Photographer') and *Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung (AIZ)* ('The Worker's Pictorial Newspaper') enjoyed mass popularity.

Figure 2.8; (cover) 'Der Arbeiter Fotograf', 1928, Photographer unknown

Mindful of the role of context, the cover of the issue above (Figure 2.8) addresses the complexities and, indeed, challenges in the application of the photograph, where in another framework, in both form and format it is not far removed from the previously referenced image of the workers labouring within the confines of the Krupps factory works. Is the situating of the image within the critical and political framework of this particular publication sufficient? Are the representations generated on the part of the employers similar or different? 'Through the illustrated press', Kracauer argued, 'the public sees the world, the actual perception of which is blocked by the illustrated press' (Quoted in Eskildsen 1980: 1). Further underlining how the function of the photograph was at odds with *New Objectivity*, is illustrated in this passage by Roberts on how and what the photograph could reveal:

> For Benjamin what was progressive about productivism was that the naturalistic moment of the photograph was made subordinate not to the "truth" of the indexical but to the demands of critical intervention
>
> (ibid.: 42)

For example, the front cover image below, a photomontage by John Heartfield of an edition of *AIZ* (Figure 2.9) would represent the potential of the photograph for Benjamin in contrast to the journalistic images contained within.

Figure 2.9; 'Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung' (AIZ), 1931, Photographer unknown (Cover montage: John Heartfield)

Many of the photographers and artists working with photography would flee Germany with the rise of Fascism in 1933, many to the United States[16]. At this time in America, Walker Evans, Dorothea Lange and other photographers were being actively recruited by the US government through the Historical Section of the Farm Security Administration (F.S.A.). This organisation was established to implement the 'New Deal' – an economic attempt on the part of the government to offset the dreadful effects of the Great Depression (Trachtenberg 1989, Edwards 2006) and wherein the Historical Section was, in effect the publicity wing and generator of visual material in support of this national undertaking. This fact would subsequently affect Evans' departure as a 'concerned photographer', who believed the FSA was using his images solely as 'propaganda' (Trachtenberg 1998).

Here, I want to acknowledge the work of Evans' associate, Russell Lee, in this enterprise. From a vast body of work produced, Lee more evidently appeared to focus upon the plight of those who indeed were employed at this time, albeit precariously so.

Figure 2.10; 'Miners, Virginia', 1930s, Russell Lee

Men with helmet lamps huddle around a sign, while others turn away (Figure 2.10), individual canisters for holding food in hand. The sign, scrawled in chalk, *'('N' reversed)*, No – work To – Morrow'. Their expressions are blank, unexpressive. Another image shows a man standing alone in the blackened clothes of a miner. Hand on hip, a gaslight hanging from his belt, a pick in the other hand and a tobacco pipe in his mouth. He looks out of the frame towards the top right, as if looking to a future. For now, his dignity appears apparently intact. Lee's work sits within what would become defined as a modernist documentary tradition – presupposing objective, real encounters with the everyday mediated through the lens of a camera.

Shortly after Beaumont Newhall had first attempted a definition of this particular photographic practice, it became discernable how the role of context immediately became apparent in framing meaning. The structural relationship of the FSA propagating the ideology of the US Government through its exploitation of images would, as mentioned, result in Walker Evans resignation. I would argue, however, that from the advent of the process itself, such conditions had prevailed. The subsequent framing of the collected images and how they were disseminated and consumed were at odds, detached, removed from what might have been the original intention or gesture of the maker/author at the time of their making. As Walker observes: 'Obviously, meaning is crucially influenced by moment of production, but it is also subject to changes as the photograph enters into relationships with new circumstances and publics' (1997: 57). This indicated a shift, whereby the locating of images became the determinant of meaning. The contradictions and challenges of these spaces of contested meaning were to be further underlined. While

as Evans resigned his post at the FSA, other photographers boarded boats in Europe to escape Fascism, an ideology which would be an astute employer of still and moving images for its own cause – much having been learnt from the application of photography in the cause for labour and the use of the print media.

Following the mass destruction of the Second World War, in the booming miracle economies of the 1950s, a number of events provided pivotal moments regarding literacy and documentary photography. 'The Family of Man' exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1955, now viewed as 'representing the worst aspects of the post-war liberal humanist sentiment' (Roberts 1998: 122), was curated by Edward Steichen. Partly funded by Coca-Cola and consisting of over 500 photographs from sixty-eight countries, it was intended to present a 'world family', conveying a sense of a 'shared humanity' (ibid.). In the then era of the Cold War, it remained divisive, seen in part as an attempt to express a form of capitalist democracy on the part of the U.S. government. However, as Roberts asserts, it is now also possible to read it as an 'attack on American Cold War Policy' (ibid.: 5). Something on such a large scale, its problematic application of the photographic image and many images by then documentary photographers, and included images of labour. Besides these differences concerning its function, it perhaps laid the beginnings of what may be defined as late-modern critiques concerning the role of the photograph and its ideological framing.

Coincidently, in the same decade, a young Swiss photographer with his young family was travelling across America on a Guggenheim fellowship, making a series of images that

would become *The Americans* (1959). Robert Frank broke with the existing narrative structure associated with photography of the time. His images were intended to be a beginning, middle and an end all at once. Singular images seeking to convey the level of transformation and the associated conditioning and perhaps simultaneous alienation that America, as viewed through his photographs was then experiencing. While the aforementioned spectacle at the Museum of Modern Art was being problematised, Frank offered other possibilities that would subsequently influence generations to follow. Addressing Brecht's comments on the Krupps works, Sekula references Frank's image, 'Assembly Line, Detroit, 1955' (Figure 2.11) as a work that went solely beyond the descriptive:

> A nervous, jittery rendering of the underlit, cacophonous source of the gigantic automobiles that appear totemically throughout the book…Frank was certainly striving for "something". There is nothing innocent or naïve about his empiricism, or about the self-implicating psychological allegory of restless desire it serves.

<p align="right">(1997: 50)</p>

Figure 2.11; 'Assembly Line, Detroit, 1955', Robert Frank

Sekula powerfully verbalises the formidable visuality conveyed in the subjective presence of Frank, evoking his own humanity and the condition of labour within a darkened environment. Here, at the height of modernism and four years after the modernist offering in the museum in New York, Frank proffers something else, within the same modernist tradition – the mass-produced camera, the author, black and white film – yet perhaps asking questions of itself and further unveiling its critical potential.

Figure 2.12; 'Three Typologies of Lift 1973' (detail), Bernd and Hilla Becher

As if appearing to calm such subjective explosiveness, the couple Bernd and Hilla Becher began making photographs in the *Ruhrgebiet* area of Western Germany in the early 1960s – a location of great industrialisation dating from the mid-nineteenth century. Many sites had since been abandoned, and the landscape had become a topography defined by 'monuments of loneliness and melancholy' (Liebs 1998: 106). In the context of post-war Europe and perhaps careful of the aesthetic applications of photography on the part of National Socialism, they returned to the philosophy of *Neue Sachlichkeit/New Objectivity*

and sought to map this terrain through an empirical cartographic practice creating typologies where the strictest objectivity could be a powerful statement on social realities[17]. Structures ranging from artisan dwellings to an abandoned factory were photographed from all sides, using a large format camera, thereby exposing as much detail as possible through the large negative and employing a large depth of field. The technique of the camera sought to reflect this empirical objectivity. Bernd Becher, a trained painter, later taught at the Düsseldorf Kunstakademie (Art Academy), evolving a dogma that would become known as 'the Becher School of Photography' or 'The Düsseldorf School' and thereby, defining a generation of contemporary photographers.

Figure 2.13; 'Siemens, Karlsruhe, 1991', Andreas Gursky

One of the most prevalent of these, and a former student of theirs, is the German photographer, Andreas Gursky. In the image above (Figure 2.13), we are presented with a scene where all is in focus, and the colours blend almost into abstraction, recalling the splash technique of the American artist Jackson Pollock. The point of view is from above,

and workers labour among the instruments of technology, on such a vast scale that the human figures merge, almost disappearing into the work-space. With an objective sensibility, Gursky traverses the globe, making images that reflect upon the human condition as manifest in urban, rural, cultural and industrial spaces. However, he denies any intention of this being a subjective event in terms of his own subject position[18], which I would argue is inherent in the format and presentation of the above image. Gursky, however, has not completely subscribed to the strict objectivity of the Bechers, having always cropped and manipulated negatives when necessary and more recently, incorporated digital manipulation into his practice[19]. The work of the Bechers, Andreas Gursky and others points to the functionality of the photograph and more recently the heightened commodification in the art market of this process[20], while simultaneously remaining a document. My focus is the relevant visual strategies, their conceptual rationale and how industrialisation has been represented and the multiple approaches afforded regarding such representation in different national environs.

John Tagg argues how the truth-value of the photographic image was consolidated as a practical technique functioning within 'an institutional paradigm of research, surveillance and control' (1988: 7). Beginning in the late 1960s and early 1970s, photography's role in the construction of representation came under close and sustained scrutiny – the inscription of a critical position appeared no longer sufficient. However, several photographers working at that time, within a modernist documentary tradition addressing representations of labour seem to bring a greater mindfulness and self-awareness in their undertakings. The American documentary photographer, Lee Friedlander, in his book *At*

Work (2002) presents a number of visual strategies. This publication surveys images related to labour from the 1970s onwards. 'There is honour and pleasure in work', (2002: no pp.) states Friedlander. However; I would assert, this does not negate him questioning the photograph's role as evidenced in his viewpoint and use of framing to instantiate his critical position concerning the conditions of labour.

Figure 2.14; 'Factory Valleys Ohio/Pennsylvannia, 1979-1980', from *At Work*, Lee Friedlander

An older woman (Figure 2.14) is perched over a machine and occupied, in deep concentration while her feet are poised, ever so daintedly. Her dress and accompanying floral apron contrast with the oiled and greased iron-boring machine on which she is working. Sensing her and her experience, the posture too, an image is presented where, formally one is uncertain where she begins and the machine ends, or where the machine begins and she ends. The job continues.

Friedlander not only photographed the traditional industries of America but also the new service-based ones of the burgeoning global economy. While never romanticising the traditional image of the worker, a sense of cynicism and questioning is evident in the photographs made in these so called 'post-industrial' spheres: 'The working project was named "Changing Technology"', Friedlander states, 'I chose to photograph people working at computers, as these ubiquitous machines seemed to be the vehicle for that change' (ibid.: no pp.).

Figure 2.15; 'MIT, Boston and vicinity, 1985-1986' from *At Work*, Lee Friedlander

The strategy throughout this particular project presents the viewer with working people repeatedly staring into the faceless screens of computer monitors. Critically, the monitors remain unseen and outside the framing of the photographs (Figure 2.15). As Friedlander documents the 'largely unrecorded workers', writes Richard Benson, 'we cannot help but feel that the machinery is old, the workers doomed to be laid off' (2002: no pp.). Whilst

acknowledging the changing nature of work, though, Benson tempers any romantic notions of the iconic:

> None of this is bad, and those of us who pine for the old times must understand that we have stood still, like these photographs, and allowed innovation pass us by. The grimy factories of old really weren't that great, and the lives they supported lacked many of the pleasures we take for granted today.
>
> (ibid.: no pp.)

Friedlander's practice underscores a redefinition by William Stott in the early 1970s of documentary as, 'the presentation or representation of actual fact in a way that makes it credible and vivid to people at the time' (quoted in Moschovi 2007: 31), whereby the subjectivity of the maker is acknowledged and notions of an objective record are rejected.

Figure 2.16; from *The Seventh Man*, John Berger & Jean Mohr

Addressing migration of labour, the writer John Berger and the photographer Jean Mohr collaborated to produce *The Seventh Man* (1973). The publication focused upon the plight of the *Gästarbeiter/ Guest Worker* from Turkey who travel to France, Switzerland

and Germany on the promise of work. Incorporating an innovative and critical approach to the subject matter, Mohr presents photographs documenting the journey, priviledging the viewer to enter the most intimate of spaces that these workers inhabit (Figure 2.17). Meanwhile, Berger created a narrative, building upon his shared experiences with these men to forge a voice, his own, but now in the role of one of these workers, the other. In what I would define as a reflexive use of the documentary photograph, a narrative is presented that demonstrates a self-conscious use of the media employed – the extended text appearing alongside the images of the long journeys these men undergo. 'The aim', as Berger asserts, 'must be to construct a context for a photograph, to construct it with words, to construct it with other photographs, to construct it by its place in an ongoing text of photographs and images' (Berger quoted in Roberts 1998: 134).

Figure 2.17; from *The Seventh Man*, John Berger & Jean Mohr

Berger's comments display a critical awareness of the representations that exist and how a practice responds to such representations in the context of those who are represented.

As Roberts observes, 'Berger makes a distinction between a photography that reports on the world and a photography that is produced "for those involved in the events photographed"' (ibid.: 132).

During this period, the reinvention and reassertion of a documentary tradition would be witnessed[21]. In an awareness of its original motivations alongside its fraught and problematical history, one observes a practice that began to face the critiques of realism, seeking new ways to maintain its continuing relevancy heading towards the latter part of the 20th Century (see Sekula 1978, Roberts 1997). The grounding of this return, in part lies within the curatorial assertions of John Szarkowski. I make no claims here as to the determining role of Szarkowski in this process or that he had in any direct way input into projects undertaken by, for instance, Berger and Mohr. However, the questions he raised and the position he posited, in his role as curator at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, and the critical response to his position on the part of photographers, provide a focal point for this discussion.

His exhibition and accompanying book, *New Documents* (1967), 'jettisoned the social vision of documentary' (2006: 57), according to Edwards, 'and claimed that photographers wanted to simply explore the potential of their medium, or express themselves through it. If these were documents, they were documents turned inwards' (ibid.: 58). The argument is two-fold and Szarkowski's position can be read in the context of a continuing high modernist understanding of the application of the photograph, reasserting its commodification at a time when photography entered the art market.

However, the photograph's relationship to the real persists; as Elizabeth Edwards posits, 'photographs embody meaning through their signifying properties, and are deliberate, conscious efforts to represent, to say something about something' (2001: 17). Even Szarkowski believed 'that the commonplace is worth looking at' (quoted in Moschovi 2007: 32).

Szarkowski's acknowledgment of the subjectivity of the maker and the aesthetic potential of the image holds significance, though also leaving it open to critique in terms of the formal possibilities of the photograph, a subject re-visited in chapter three. In hindsight, he asserted the presence and visibility of the application of the photograph, influencing both its contemporary position and reading, while highlighting the central influence of the institutional framing of the museum. Arguably, as Solomon-Godeau asserts in her discussion of new documentary practice: 'This new form of documentary takes account of photography's textuality; its embeddedness within discursive or institutional systems that the photographer must try to comprehend in advance' (1991: 183).

In light of Solomon-Godeau's observation and with continued mindfulness of Brecht's comments on the Krupps works, the following section focuses upon the work of three photographers, Lewis Hine, Milton Rogovin and Julian Germain and the critical questions they posit through the methodological approaches adopted in their work on labour. It has been argued that the role of context and ideology has always been the pivotal factor regarding representation and the construction of meaning and, I would assert, is even heightened in terms of depicting labour, with a determining factor being

the crucial role of access. Thus the practices presented, as I argue, open up the potential to instantiate a means for photography, in Brecht's words, to critically address, 'the conditions and relations within'.

Lewis Hine

In 1904, the teacher and sociologist Lewis Wickes Hine went to Ellis Island to witness the largest ever migration to the United States. Hine began making a series of immigrant portraits, which he would continue until 1930, later described as 'incontrovertible documents of the human meaning of history's greatest migration. The mass aspect of Ellis Island was left to the statisticians and social cartographers. Hine took care of the human equation' (McClausland quoted in Rayner 1977: 42). Hine had met and befriended the wealthy businessman Arthur Kellogg, and through his patronage began documenting change for 'The Charities and Commons Magazine', later re-titled 'The Survey' (Rayner 1977). He used photography 'as a means to an end – to call attention to social injustice, to campaign for change and to celebrate the dignity of working people in the modern world' (Panzer 2002: 3). He would devote his life to the portrayal of, among others, the plight of child labour, working conditions, the role of women, tenement living, veterans from the Civil War, disabled workers and the role of visible minorities[22]. It is interesting to note how he circumvented issues concerning access to factories regarding child labour: 'he pretended he was after pictures of machines…while one hand in his pocket made notes on ages and estimated sizes' (Trachtenberg 1989: 201).
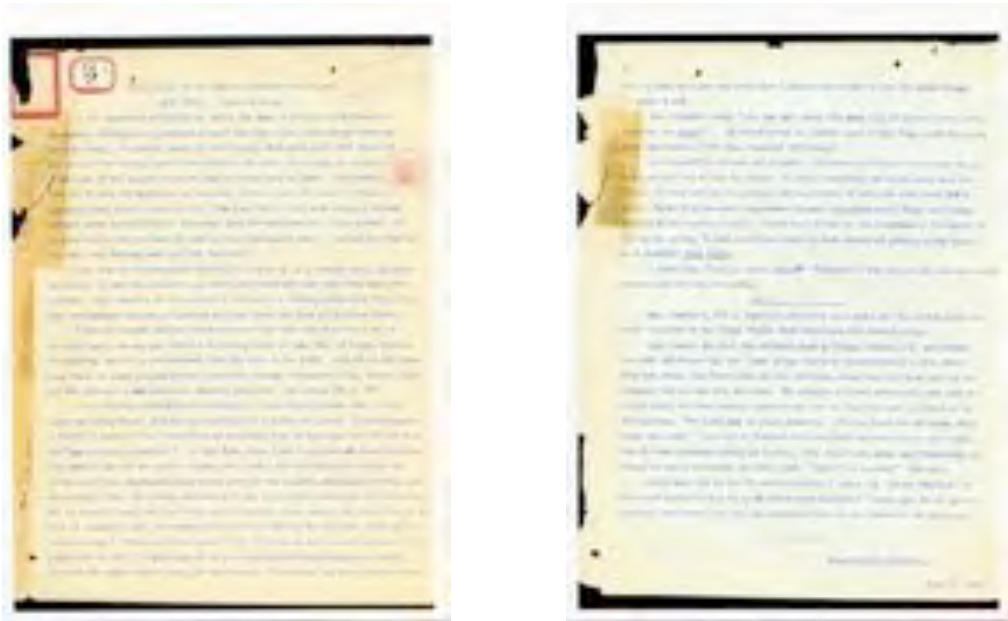
Figure 2.18; Field report, 1909, Lewis Hine (U.S. Library of Congress)

In this report (Figure 2.18), one of 30 such documents in the U.S. Library of Congress collection, submitted with accompanying photographs to the National Child Labour Relations Committee in 1909, Hine addresses the conditions of child labour in the Canning Industry in the American state of Maryland. Steeped in the observational and factual, anecdotal incidents are recounted as he encountered individuals working there, including the mother and widow, Mrs. Kawalski:

> Many things has been misrepresented to her after they got there, she found that all the children, whose fare had been paid by the company, had to work all the time. The younger children worked some and went to school some, but they worked regularly as soon as they were able to stand up to the benches. "We lived xxx in rough shanties. It's no place for children. They learn too much". They had to furnish their own food and their fares were taken out of their earnings little by little. They didn't get ahead any financially although it was a good year, at this place. "Call this slavery!" she said.
>
> (original delete marks, Hine 1909: 3)

I wish to draw particular attention to Hines' subject position as manifest both in his working process and the framing technique employed. This relates primarily to a large part of what I would describe as his 'early work' from 1905 and up to, and including, 1920. Hine generally positioned his subject at eye level and in the centre of the frame. Whether individual or in groups, they presented themselves to the camera and the viewer. He maintained 'careful notes' of his encounters at all times and the work was usually accompanied by extended titles and captions (ibid.: 20). Hine was aware of the potential for allegory; 'a picture is a symbol that brings one immediately into close touch with reality' (Hine [1909] 1989: 207).

Figure 2.19; "December 3rd, 1908, A little Spinner in the Mollahon Mills, Newberry, S.C. Witness Sara R. Hine." Lewis Hine

The 'Little Spinner' is standing (Figure 2.19). No more than 7 years of age, with hands by her side, there is a silence about her as she stares directly at the photographer, at the viewer. Hair barely combed, she is lost in size in the midst of the machinery surrounding

her, all bolted to a floor spattered with traces of cotton. Her shoeless feet and little white smock dress are adorned with traces of the same cotton that is weaved web-like around her and her feet. She stares and we must return that stare for there is nowhere else to look, our perspective created by the row of machines denying us any escape. Her presence, our guilt? Our children, their futures? As we look at this young girl, certain histories and possibilities are posited, but nothing is complete and one now wonders the outcome of her fate. Hine demonstrates his understanding of the effectiveness of perspective in this instance. We as viewers are literally and visually forced to confront the human face of this unjust labouring situation. Aware of this potential, Hine coined the terms 'social photography' and 'interpretive photography' to 'combine publicity and an appeal for public sympathy…to create a photograph often more effective than the reality would have been' (Panzer 2002: 15). Here, simple in its presentation, the image exudes a subtle and silent quality amidst a scene which no doubt possessed harsh mechanical volumes. Hine himself noted:

> She was tending her "sides" like a veteran, but after I took the photo, the overseer came up and said in an apologetic tone that was pathetic, "She just happened in". Then a moment later he repeated the information. The mills appear to be full of youngsters that "just happened in", or are "helping sister".
>
> (Freedman & Hine 1998: 26)

Figure 2.20; Photography album, 1908, Lewis Hine

Alongside his meticulous note-taking and written documentation, Hine maintained albums of his edited photographs (Figure 2.20) – numbered and assigned, specific to each location where the images had been made. What is significant also is the sophisticated dissemination of the vast amount of photographs Hine generated.

Figure 2.21a; The Survey, 1911 & Figure 2.21b; Poster, no date, Lewis Hine

Intended to affect public opinion and, thereby, government policy, there appears to be a considered and critical mindfulness concerning the distributive possibilities of this visual material, from dedicated images surrounding narratives like, 'A Madonna of the Tenements' in the issue of 'The Survey' from 1911 (Figure 2.21a) to posters distributed and put up in public spaces. One example of a poster from Alabama (Figure 2.21b) addressed the plight of underage labour while incorporating a sense of irony in the child now being the product, in turn focusing attention on the fact that through/from the use of such child labour, factory owners could face the severest of penalties. I wish to address what I would consider a key document from Hine's work dating from 1907, 'Night Scenes in The City of Brotherly Love' (Figure 2.22). Sponsored by Kodak, the pamphlet was published by the National Child Labour Committee.

Figure 2.22; 'Night Scenes in The City of Brotherly Love, 1907, Pamphlet, Lewis Hine
(National Child Labour Committee)

There are ten sides to the document, nine of which contain portraits of young boys at work though the night of 4 November, 1906. Beginning with the first portraits of two

boys at 'EIGHT P.M', the images continue along past 'MIDNIGHT' until 'FOUR A.M.',
each portrait containing information collated by Hine. Made in New York at the
beginning of the 20th Century, this significant document displays a sophisticated
understanding of design, presenting us with an item which would easily fold up into
something small and able to fit into a back pocket, a wallet or purse. In terms of
dissemination and reaching an audience it is mobile, flexible and easily transported.
Conceptually, 'Night Scenes in the City of Brotherly Love' is an evocative title for a
document possessing nine portraits, most probably edited from a larger series of images,
whereby these boys would, when refolded, return to face to face to one another, and rest
upon one another. Hine highlights, with the assistance of the designer, the plight of these
individuals, while simultaneously reminding the viewer that these young boys too belong
to a community. As Sekula has commented of Hine's work:

> Lewis Hine is so exceptional, and so difficult to assimilate to models of early
> photographic modernism despite the modernity of his subject matter and the
> rigorous descriptive clarity of his style: he pursued strong aesthetic ends without
> losing sight of an ethical mission, or, to put it another way, he pursued an ethical
> mission without losing sight of strong aesthetic ends.
>
> (1997: 50)

In 1939, one year before his premature and impoverished death, Elizabeth McClausland
wrote about the significance of Hine's role to photography:

> To understand fully the magnitude of Hine's achievement in documentary
> photography, one must understand not only the character of the man (his shyness
> and modesty which made it painfully difficult for him to force himself into
> factories, mills and slums where his photographic assignments took him) but also
> the fact that basically Hine did not know or care a great deal about technique. He
> learned photography backwards, as he frankly says. He took flashlights before he
> had ever taken a snapshot; he learned to make time exposures by going out and
> doing them. The modern scientific approach to the medium is completely alien to

the Hine psyche. As said before, he blazed away; and by virtue of the sureness of his institution, and the single-minded directness of his objectives, he produced photographs of amazing beauty and powerful social content. In other words, he made pictures by "seeing" them, not by thinking them or rationalizing them.

(1974 [1939]: 18)

Milton Rogovin

In 1909, five years after Hine had made his first journey to Ellis Island, another American photographer, Milton Rogovin, was born in New York City. The son of Jewish migrants, he would, like Hine, have another career before making photographs, experiencing a significant upheaval in his life when everything would change. Having graduated from Columbia University and subsequently practicing as an optometrist, Rogovin moved to Buffalo, upstate New York in the 1930s. This was at the height of the Great Depression, and coupled with living in an area defined as socially deprived, Rogovin became politically active. As he comments; 'this catastrophe had a profound effect on my thinking, on my relationship to other people. No longer could I be indifferent to the problems of people' (1974: 12).

He became an outspoken critic of government social policies and became involved in the establishment of a union of optometrists and optical workers. He subsequently volunteered with the local branch of the communist party, a decision which would result in a call in 1957 to appear before Senator Joseph McCarthy's travelling 'House Committee on Un-American Activites'[23]. In this era of Cold-War politics, such an appearance would cost him and his family their livelihood but would ultimately change

the course of his life. Rogovin had an existing interest in photography, which he recalls in a radio interview:

> When the McCarthy committee got after me, my practice kind of fell pretty low…my voice was essentially silenced, so I thought that by photographing people...I would be able to speak out about the problems of people, this time through my photography[24].

Influenced through his friendships with the photographers Minor White and Paul Strand, he would subsequently photograph in many countries around the world, from Mexico and Chile to present-day Zimbabwe, always drawn to critically addressing social and political-based issues. Concerned with all forms of disenfranchisement, but primarily the role of labour, he quotes directly the words of the German artist Kathe Kollwitz to describe this motivation:

> My real motive for choosing my subjects almost exclusively from the life of the workers was that only such subjects gave in a direct and unqualified way what I felt to be beautiful…Middle-class people held no appeal for me at all. Bourgeois life as a whole seemed to me pedantic…much later on, when I became acquainted with the difficulties and tragedies underlying proletarian life…I was gripped by the full force of the proletarian's fate.
>
> (Rogovin 1974: 12)

Rogovin's reasons may appear somewhat dated and naïve even politically incorrect in terms of contemporary discourse surrounding class, but the motivation to photograph those who he described as 'the forgotten ones' (ibid.: 12) underlines his profound sense of social and political responsibility to bring critical attention to both their situation and the circumstances.

From the 1970s until recently, Rogovin began to focus on his home borough of Buffalo and its inhabitants – a survey of miners and their families, steelworkers before and after plant closings, Native Americans on reservations in the state and a local Yemeni community, among others. The work lies within a humanist documentary tradition, evidenced in part by his application of black and white film, long associated with and evoking traditional photojournalism and reportage. However, what distinguishes Rogovin's visual approach is his consistant and primary use of the portrait[25]. Acknowledging the work of Hine (Rogovin 1974) as an inspiration, many of the subjects within his images present themselves to the camera, facing forward looking and straight into the camera. As Rogovin describes:

> I always asked permission before taking pictures. I wanted to get close and make people be the most important thing in the frame. I never directed them or told them how to stand, how to hold their hands, or what to wear. The only thing I asked them was to look at the camera. I liked it when I saw their eyes and that's when I knew I was ready to make their picture. Typically, I would make 2 or 3 exposures. When you look at these pictures, you know there was no monkey business, and that I was not sneaking around trying to steal pictures of people.
>
> (Hirsch 2004: 8)

Describing the process of gaining the trust of the individuals he photographed, Rogovin draws attention to an understanding concerning the role of visibility and, as a result, the necessity for trust and the significance of complicity:

> At first I was regarded with great suspicion, people thought the authorities sent me to spy on them.…[In] those days, people in such areas were not used to being photographed, or indeed being given any attention at all. I showed an interest, was polite, and tried to put people at ease…I would come back and give anyone I photographed a copy of their picture a few weeks later. Gradually I became known and trusted, and eventually people began to ask if I would take their picture. I remained in the area for the next three years.
>
> (Hirsch 2004: 7)

Figure 2.23; 'The Rodriguez's' (1985 & 2002), Milton Rogovin

Rogovin adds time to this process, in the form of long-term relationships, revisiting individuals and their families, which has become an integral and critical aspect of his practice. He produces portraits, therefore, that I would describe as 'over time' – transcending time and must be therefore viewed simultaneously as both a singular experience but also beyond that singular experience one usually associates with the photographic encounter. In the images above, for example (Figure 2.23), the Rodriguez's, a couple and their family who live not far from Rogovin, were first photographed in 1974, continuing to do so until 2002. Images such as these speak powerfully not only of the relationships and lives lived between the subjects portrayed but also of their intimate relationship with the photographer:

> In Rogovin's work the subject of each photograph, commands equal strength. Whether because of his respect and empathy for his sitters or the sincerity of his humanism and politics, this seemingly simple concept re-addresses the delicate balance of power between the observer and the observed.[26]

This innovative and critical use of the portrait was extended in 1993, when in collaboration with the anthropologist Michael Frisch, they published the book *Portraits in Steel*. The modern world that Hine had previously documented was becoming the so-termed 'post-industrial' landscape of the late twentieth century. Rogovin had begun in the 1970s to make a series of portraits of workers in the steel foundries in Buffalo. As the American steel industry collapsed amidst the increasingly globalised market of the 1980s and the once 'Steel Belt' was transformed into the now termed, 'Rust Belt', he returned along with Frisch to document this change. The result was a monograph, where portraits spanning almost 15 years appeared alongside the extended narrative of the testimonies gathered by Frisch. One continues to sense the relationship established with Rogovin in the apparent openness of the individuals taking part. Without such complicity, such a project could not have been undertaken.

Figure 2.24; 'Joseph Kemp, Hanna Furnace 1976' from <u>Portraits in Steel</u>, Milton Rogovin

Joseph stands (Figure 2.24) shovel in hand, bare-chested with a vertical scar. The obvious use of flash highlights it as an environment usually lit only by the fires of the furnace. Here in in the steel mill at Bethlehem, Rogovin provides the transparent means with which the physical nature of this particular form of labour is revealed. Joseph is complicit in this undertaking in his stance and thereby completes the two-dimensional part of this meaning process. Now, the final completion of meaning will be undertaken by, and involve the complicity of, the viewer. Originally from the southern United States, Joseph grew up on a farm, and was two years short of service at the mill when he lost a leg to medical complications. This resulted in him never receiving a company disability pension and shortly after his operation the mill closed. He remains stoic in his advice for future working generations:

> Well, the only thing I can tell them: get you some education, try to learn you a skill, because you will never see this industrial movement no more…that's the reason I say the future is, they won't be using their muscles, they'll be using their brain

(Rogovin and Frisch 1993: 312-313)

Figure 2.25; 'Joseph Kemp at home 1987' from <u>Portraits in Steel</u>, Milton Rogovin

A significant undertaking, *Portraits in Steel* provides an extended visual and oral

engagement with a changed industrial environment. The monograph is now a document

to those who gave. In his discussion of the role of images and text, Rogovin's

collaborator on the project, Frisch writes:

> [T]he book proceeds from a belief that all portraiture involves, at its heart, a presentation of self. It also does not deny that artifice, interpretation and even manipulation are necessarily involved in arranging the portrait session, rendering the images presented, and conveying them to others in some form or other.…[But] portraits do represent and express a collaboration of their own between subject and image maker, a collaboration in which the subject is anything but mute or powerless, a mere object of study…Stories given, rather than taken.
>
> (ibid.: 2-3)

Julian Germain

> There was a time when to be from Consett was to be almost a celebrity. Catapulted into the media spotlight – photographed and interviewed by every kind of journalist, analysed by economists and sociologists, the subject of television documentaries and academic studies. Now the vast steelworks site, grassed over and landscaped, awaits council inspiration. Of the proposed schemes, which have included a Category A prison, the most bizarre has been a tourist park for the elderly entitled "The Coming Of Age".
>
> (Germain 1989: 8)

The book *Steel Works: Consett, From Steel to Tortilla Chips* was published in 1989 to

accompany the exhibition of the same title. Funded and presented by the Side Gallery in

Newcastle, the project, by the English-born photographer Julian Germain, was a study of

Consett in the North of England – 'a town invented by four well-to-do gentlemen of

Tyneside because of accessible mineral resources'[27], becoming home to the largest

opencast mine and steelworks in Britain. With its closure in the 1980s and the subsequent

transformation of the site, the steelworks were completely dismantled involving the

largest demolition project ever witnessed in Europe.

Figure 2.26; from *Steelworks* (detail), Julian Germain

Germain employed diverse strategies of representation of the town and its community in order to re-present and re-assert, a sense and semblance of this once vibrant community. A page from Steelworks (Figure 2.26) is open to reveal a two-page, collage-like spread: a holiday photo-booth with a couple bedecked in sunglasses, the family and the family dog in the parent's backgarden, groups of workers standing and sitting for the photographer, a smoke break, a tea break, and small samples of texts, 'the factory lassies from Lancaster' including 'P. O'Leary'[28]. The images appear haphazardly in display and somehow 'speak' to, of and about each other. A sense of a living community is portrayed. However, all are black and white and the clothes look 'different'. It is not now.

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Figure 2.27; from *Steelworks*, Julian Germain

Germain presents individual testimony, anecdotes and interviews alongside his use of visual materials (Figure 2.27). We are invited to partake in familial memory by recourse to personal archives and family albums. Displayed alongside, are images by Don McCullin for *The Sunday Times* in the 1960s (Figure 2.28).

Figure 2.28; from *Steelworks*, photographs by Don McCullin

Germain incorporates the work of another photojournalist, Tommy Harris, a local whom in addition to holding a fulltime job at the steelworks, was responsible for photographing

the surrounding community for local newpapers in the 1950s and 60s. Harris's use of a square format camera would mean including details that would later be cropped. Yet, 'it is these chance elements in Tommy's uncropped photographs that make his work so revealing'[29].

Figure 2.29; from *Steelworks*, photograph by Tommy Harris

In the image above (Figure 2.29), a solitary hand in the upper left hand corner grasps the union workers banner echoing the central motif of solidarity.

Figure 2.30; from *Steelworks*, photograph by Tommy Harris

The two women cling to the bedspread (Figure 2.30), stretched as a backdrop for a picture in the local paper, a daughter or a niece standing gracefully in the backyard. A sense of pride is evoked as both of the older women watch on, accompanied by a sense of purpose in their role, as this younger woman gazes out, towards somewhere. The project also included Germains' own work in the region from the late 1980s. Through the 'x'-marked glass (Figure 2.31) a labouring man with a carpenter belt shades his eyes and peers outwards and in doing so consciously or unconsciously implicates himself – this glass, t/his reflection, now part of a past or a possible future? As the final paragraph of the press release to accompany the opening of the exhibition, asked:

> How do you define a community? The community of Consett has been defined and re-defined throughout its history…changing beyond recognition. The steelworks have been completely dismantled…what identity are people forming for themselves in the new Consett and how do they regard the past? [30]

Figure 2.31; from *Steelworks*, photograph by Julian Germain

This work, collated by Germain, surveyed a period from 1910 until 1989 and has since been described as a 'postmodern visual history practice'[31]. In a location where all physical traces of an industrial past had been removed, Germain constructed a social document of this local working community, through the reconstructive discourse emanating from the diverse representations presented, addressing an identity from the remnants and fragments of its visual and oral histories. More recently, George Baker's description of the potential of photographs in the projects of the American artist Sharon Lockhart seems relevant and appropriate to the aforementioned projects and practices:

> A genetic connection and return is contemplated, and the photographs emerge not so much as statements of appropriation and citation – proper to the debates carried on around photography at earlier moments of postmodernism – but as documents of historical remnants, continuities between past and present, the survival of what seems most precarious and impossible to contemplate in the current historical moment.
>
> (2008: 7)

Conclusion

The documentary practices of Hine, Rogovin and Germain appear to incorporate the problematic ideological functioning of photographic practice, as evidenced from the point of its inception. These practices allude, whether consciously or not, to a reflexiveness and a means to instantiate its critical application. Chapter two has established a protocol outlining the critical engagement of the photograph in relation to the representation of labour histories and working life and thus, within such a framing, chapter three will locate and define the fieldsite in which my research study was carried out. Further, it will address the key rationale for the methodological framework adapted and while formulated in a descriptive ethnographic sense, present in detail the research interventions undertaken.

Notes

1 Underlining the construction of this representation, it is of interest to note that the photographs of the Krupps factory works by Hugo Van Werden were most probably made on a Sunday. Due to the dense levels of smoke and smog created by the vast quantity of chimneys, which dominated the site, nothing would have been visible:

> Krupps Werksfotograf muss das Panorama vermutlich an einem Sonntag aufnehmen – an anderen Tagen liegt dichter Rauch über dem Gelände.

(Berhorst 2008: 102)

2 Abigail Solomon-Godeau acknowledges both the significance and the grounds for these remarks in her discussion on documentary photography:

> Notwithstanding the contemporary critique of photographic transparency and autonomy launched by Bertolt Brecht and Walter Benjamin (fueled, when not specifically modeled, on the theories of the Soviet avant-garde), the prevalent conception of an historicized documentary focused largely on subject matter. The perceptual and representational critique generated by art movements as various as cubism, dada, surrealism, constructivism and, of course, photomontage, cannot be said to have had much influence on the theory or the practice of documentary.

(1991: 176)

3 The earliest representations of a burgeoning industrial process hold historical significance and a direct relevance to the reading of the material presented in this chapter. In the latter part of the 15th Century, the intensive excavation for minerals began. Shortly, thereafter, in 1521, the painter, Hans Hesse was commissioned to create a large multi-paneled engraving (Figure 2.32) to adorn a church alter in Saxony, a region in the eastern part of present-day Germany. Mounted on wood, it presented a scene of multivariented activity – a process of industry. Perhaps mindful of his audience, crucifix in shape, multiple scenes depict the intensive process of mining, underground, invisible and hidden, digging, seeking the resources to be subsequently smelted and all activity centred upon and around a single human figure staring outwards towards the assembled congregation – hammering. To the viewer's left, under the roof of a building of architectural status, a pair of distinguished dressed men, engrave what appear to be coins. Echoing the guild and apprenticeship system of its time, the scene presents a new societal structure with codes signifiying the emergence of the role of capital and further entrenchment of the feudal classes.

Figure 2.32; 'Rückseite des Bergaltars der Annenkirche zu Annaberg-Buchholz, nach 1521',
Eitempera auf Holz, Hans Hesse, (Berlin Historisches Museum)

Hesses' artistic rendering is a significant example of a visual narrative representing the evolving process of industry. It evidences how the employment of the visual existed at the advent of the process of industrialisation itself. The purpose here is not to provide an in-depth understanding of what is a vast history regarding painterly representation of industry, however, it is important to acknowledge an awareness of the visual landscape that pre-dated the technological advancements leading to the invention of the photographic process, thereby, demonstrating the crucial relationship such representations influenced and informed of its subsequent role.

Figure 2.33; 'View to the Northeast, Murton, Newcastle Upon Tyne, 1841',
Thomas Miles Richardson

Drawing upon classical themes, the advent of Enlightenment and with the introduction of perspective, many of the early painted representations portray the idyllized setting – new factories repeatedly sited amidst the rural landscape, the imminent spectacle of industrialisation (Figure 2.33). Painting in Northern Europe in the 16th Century had been viewed as 'descriptive and realistic', however, by the 18th Century, 'the topographic view (supposedly a literal description of place) was cast against the sublime or picturesque landscape' (Edwards, 2006: 14). This would hold significance regarding representations produced through the means of the photograph.

Painting, inscribed through the gestures of the maker, would be defined by overt subjectivity and emotion while as a result of the industrialised context of it's invention, photography would function as the calculated, reproducible, objective account – a truth.

4 It is important here to acknowledge both the role of coal extraction and its defining relationship to the formation of what we would later understand as the Industrial Revolution. Employing a cross-disciplinary approach, Barbara Freese provides an innovative and human account concerning the impact of this mineral resource addressing its role in global industrialisation from 1306 to the present day. She writes:

> Coal made the iron that built the machines the workers operated as well as the factories they worked in, and then it provided the power that made the machines and factories run…in short, their world was constructed, animated, illuminated, coloured, scented, flavoured, and generally saturated by coal and the fruit of its combustion.
>
> (2006: 73)

Simply, without this prime mineral resource there would have been no steam and the rationale, therefore, for the invention of the steam engine. This core power source that fuelled the Industrial Revolution would have perhaps occurred in another form, or perhaps never at all. As Freese notes:

> Without coal, we would have languished longer in the poverty, tedium and oppression of the pre-industrial world, but we might have found a more gradual and humane path out of it than the one we took.
>
> (ibid.: 14)

5 Further underlining the labour conditions of the mining industry at the height of the Industrial Revolution in England is testimony gathered in 1842 by a British government parliamentary review. At a time when the application of the photographic process was still being established, the following description given by 8-year-old, Sarah Gooder, evokes a stark image:

> I'm a trapper in the Gawber pit. It does not tire me, but I have to trap without a light and I'm scared. I go at four and sometimes half past three in the morning, and come out at five and half past. I never go to sleep. Sometimes I sing when I've light, but not in the dark; I dare not sing then. I don't like being in the pit. I am very sleepy when I go sometimes in the morning. I go to Sunday-schools and read Reading made Easy. She knows her letters, and can read little words. They teach me to pray. She repeated the Lord's Prayer, not very perfectly, and ran on with the following addition: "God bless my father and mother, and sister and brother, uncles and aunts and cousins, and everybody else, and God bless me and make me a good servant. Amen." I have heard tell of Jesus. I don't know why he came on earth, I'm sure, and I don't know why he died, but he had stones for his head to rest on. I would like to be at school far better than in the pit.

This testimony originates from one of three reports by the Mines Commission of 1842. Headed up by a Lord Ashley, it was commissioned by the British government to investigate the conditions of labor in British mines. The resulting Mines Act prohibited the employment in mines of women and children under the age of thirteen.

(Available from <http://www.geocities.com/couple_colour/Worker/index2.html#ashley> [Accessed 2 November 2008]

6 The painted portrait below (Figure 2.34) by the Dutch artist, Herman Heyenbrock, depicts the arrival of a utopic and alien-like figure of the new worker in the industrialised landscape. Set in the *Ruhrgebiet* region in the west of Germany, the body of the worker, now hidden, is lit only by the fires emanating from the furnances. The goggled eyes, head and limbs are completely covered. The figure is no longer human in appearance, merely by shape. The identity has been subsumed by the technologically advances of the time and with it, the human form. This image of an ironworker must have seemed beyond imagining to the general public at the time of its making and maybe not even now for its sense of an otherworld. Heyenbrock painted images from industry into the start of the 20th Century, which I would advance, evidence a critical position.

Figure 2.34; 'Hüttenarbeiter beim Beschicken des Hochofens mit Erzen, 1898', Pastel, 80x40cm,
Herman Heyenbrock, (Netherlands Institute for Technology)

In the painting below (Figure 2.35), in the midst of the Dante-like fires and billowing clouds of filthy smoke rising above this darkened scene, slightly spotlit in the bottom right hand corner is a human figure, a worker. Located at the Hörde ironworks, an individual is foregrounded, however not alone, while above him another colleague labours. Both are barely upright, occupied, identity unknown, their backs remain to the viewer.

Figure 2.35; 'Die Hermanshütte in Hörde von Remberg', Herman Heyenbrock

Working in a similar period to Heyenbrock in another industrialised region, was the painter, L.S. Lowry. Born at the end of the 19th century, his work is often trivialised or overlooked, despite the critical position it presents concerning the plight of the labouring class in the industrialised North of England:

> Lowry painted the social world of Salford and Pendlebury systematically, illustrating how the factories produced people deprived of identity…again and again he paints the crowd's attempts at leisure as feeble reproductions of the discipline of the factory.
>
> (Jones 2000: 47)

Regarding the literature of the same period, forgegrounded by others is the fictional writing of Charles Dickens. Widely read and hugely popular in his day, Sergei Eisenstein described him as 'a city artist', in fact, 'the first to bring factories, machines, and railways into literature' (quoted in Gibbons 1996: 167-168). Dickens remained a critic of the status and conditions of labour until his death. His novel, *Hard Times*, set in the urban landscape of 'Coketown', coming from the word 'coal' itself, the protagonist Stephen is an honest, decent but ill-fated worker who loses his life in many ways on account of his attributes. Dickens finishes with a call:

> Dear reader! It rests with you and me, whether, in our two fields of action, similar things shall be or not. Let them be! We shall sit with lighter bosoms on the hearth, to see the ashes of our fires turn grey and cold.
>
> (1994: 268)

7 In the context of a discussion concerning the role of photography, the invention of the 'Camera Obscura' needs to be acknowledged and its subsequent role in the understandings of, and relationship to, realism and representation. Artificial perspective is deemed to have been discovered or better stated, understood, in 1425 by Filippo Brunelleschi in Florence (Lalvani 1996). Subsequently, it was embraced by painters for it 'underscored in their view the divine authority and moral harmony of a geometrically transcribed and ordered world' (Lalvani 1996:

7). Berger believes it represented the 'transformation of a painting into a commodity and its entry into the exchange relations of a burgeoning market system' (Berger 1987: 109). The invention of Camera Obscura further underscored this process and the prioritising of knowledge through the ocular. As WJT Mitchell asserts:

> Aided by the political and economic ascendence of Western Europe, artificial perspective conquered the world of representation under the banner of reason, science, and objectivity. No amount of counterdemonstration from artists that there are other ways of picturing what "we really see" has been able to shake the conviction that these pictures have a kind of identity with natural human vision and objective external space.
>
> (1986: 37)

8 Gillian Darley foregrounds the application of other models of social conditioning within the factory environment:

> A far more promising way to reorganise society was to take an existing factory or mill along with its workers and transform the conditions of their work and lives. A physically enclosed world offered intriguing possibilities for different versions of organisational reform, an ideal structural and political canvas for social experiment.
>
> (2003: 54)

This would lead to more enlightened industrialists in both Europe and North America undertaking innovative approaches to factory work, for example, the Quaker and Cadbury family at Bournville near Birmingham in England and the utopic ideals of Robert Owen's mills at New Lanark in Scotland. The idea of a factory settlement was undertaken as a model of enterprise and expanded in the hope of a better quality of life for the labouring classes, yet the demands of capital would ultimately corrupt such idealised activities.

9 For Michel Foucault, Bentham's proposal represented the ultimate 'constructed visibility' whereby the structure became the physical embodiment of one of the central forms of 'disciplinary technology' (1980: 152). Foucault's observation holds significance concerning this research study and the research methods being employed, representing one of the core ethical questions instantiating a critically reflexive approach.

10 In relation to the the visual and the body in the institutionalised space of the factory, I draw particular attention to Suren Lalvani in the context of his discussion concerning the role of photography and the formation of representations of the body in the 19th Century. He addresses Foucault's theory regarding power and knowledge and the relationship to the body:

> In the case of what Foucault terms as an "anatomo-politics of the human body", the focus "centered on the body as machine: its disciplining, the optimisation of its capabilities, the extortion of its forces, the parallel increase in its usefulness and its docility, its integration

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into systems of efficient and economic controls". According to Foucault, the disciplining of individual bodies and the regulation of populations that had always existed to some degree earlier, came together in a new and powerful manner in the nineteenth century.

(1996: 29)

11 For a detailed description of Taylor's, *Principles of Scientific Management*, see notes, n.6 in chapter one.

12 Frederick W. Taylor had incorporated photographs, functioning as illustrations in his book, *On the Art of Cutting Metals* (1906). Published by the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, based in New York, their relevance would be the subsequent influence on a 'disciple' of his, Frank Gilbreth and his use of photography concerning the study of the body of the worker (Lalvani 1996).

13 Addressing the tenements cultural constituents, Riis in his book, *How The Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements of New York* (1890) describes the Irish as such:

> The Irishman does not naturally take kindly to tenement life, though with characteristic versatility he adapts himself to its conditions at once. It does violence, nevertheless, to the best that is in him, and for that very reason of all who come within its sphere soonest corrupts him. The result is a sediment, the product of more than a generation in the city's slums, that, as distinguished from the larger body of his class, justly ranks at the foot of tenement dwellers, the so-called "low Irish".

14 The election in 1933 of National Socialism in Germany would cost Sander more than just his photographic practice:

> For all their hopes and promise, Sander's work and the Weimar Republic came to grief in the 1930s. Sander's son Erich, a socialist who actively resisted the Nazis, was imprisoned and died in a concentration camp in 1944. Sander's books joined other works of art that were driven from the marketplace by the Gestapo, their printing plates destroyed.

(von Hartz, 1997: 22)

15 The role of 'documentary' would be furthered explored by the Soviet Socialist Realists including the work of the photographer, Alexandr Rodchenko amongst many others. See Roberts (1998).

16 The exodus of photographers, picture editors and layout specialists would in turn impact use of photography in mass media in other countries. The first publication of *Life* appeared in 1936 in the United States while in Britain, *Picture Post* was established in 1938 (Edwards 2006). In Germany, *Arbeiterfotograf* ('The Workers Photographer') founded in 1927 continues to the present day as *Arbeiterfotografie* ('Workers Photography').

See: <http://www.arbeiterfotografie.com/index2.html> [Accessed 17 February 2006].

17 From the exhibition 'Objective Spaces: Photographers from Germany' (press release) shown at Waddington Galleries in Cork Street, London (30 April-24 May 2003). Located in a commercial gallery space, the work displayed presented a survey of practitioners from the Becher School including the Bechers themselves and former students, Candida Höfer, Thomas Ruff, Thomas Struth and Axel Hütte.

18 From an interview with Andreas Gursky in the documentary 'Gursky World', part of 'The Arts Show' series broadcast on Channel 4 television (November 7th, 2002).

19 See n.18. Gursky, in his Düsseldorf studio shows the presenter of the programme a box of his negatives on a project around Formula One motor racing he had been working on. Gursky then produces some prints of these negatives and proceeds to fold a pair in half describing how he will 'mirror them' to achieve the image he wants.

20 A photograph by Andreas Gursky holds the record for the most paid at auction by a collector for a work of a living contemporary photographer. His diptych images titled, '99cent' sold for just under 2 million Euro in Feburary, 2007 at the Sotheby's Auction House in London. See: <http://artforum.com/diary/id=12958> [Accessed 27 January 2010].

21 In a western context regarding photographic practice, it is important to acknowledge the group exhibition, 'New Topographics: Photographs of a Man-Altered Landscape' held at the International Museum of Photography, George Eastman House, Rochester, New York in 1975. Curated by William Jenkins, and in part a response to Szarkowski's undertaking mentioned below, the photographers included were deemed to present work with a 'stylistic anonymity', whose images were, 'reduced to an essentially topographic state, conveying substantial amounts of information but eschewing entirely the aspects of beauty, emotion and opinion'. Artists included Robert Adams, Lewis Baltz, Stephen Shore, Frank Gohlke, Nicholas Nixon and the Bechers amongst others. Signalling a new approach to landscape photography, the exhibition was viewed as a response to romantic imaging of the landscape, the intention was to present the landscape as it was, including the traces of human transformation. The exhibition is now deemed as formative, changing how photography is employed. In retrospect, however the claims of Jenkin's were baseless and indeed all those involved, by association, became a style grounded in their way of seeing. See: <http://www.eastmanhouse.org/inc/exhibitions> [Accessed 21 December 2008].

22 Beaumont Newhall would describe Hine's practice as the 'only valid photographic style' (Quoted in Panzer 2002: 15).

23 It is important to acknowledge that outside of his native United States, the work of Milton Rogovin is not widely known and seldom presented. Therefore access to printed material in relation to him and his work is difficult to locate. Available from <http://www.miltonrogovin.com> [Accessed 21 November 2008].

24 As described by Milton Rogovin from an interview, 'Milton Rogovin, Photographing "The Forgotten Ones"' (2003), National Public Radio (NPR), broadcast 14 June 2003. Available from <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=1298160> [Accessed 16 August 2007].

25 Significantly, Rogovin's application of the portrait, was described by his collaborator, the Anthropologist, Michael Frisch, as 'pictures given, rather than taken' (1993: 3).

26 Quote from press release that accompanied the exhibition, 'Milton Rogovin: Buffalo' (Danziger Projects Gallery, New York, USA, October 20 – November 24 2007). Available from <http://www.danzigerprojects.com> [Accessed 19 October 2008].

27 Quote from text that accompanied the exhibition, 'Steel Works: Julian Germain' (Side Gallery, Newcastle, England, 1989).

28 As identified by the author from the publication, which accompanied the project and exhibition, *Steel Works: Consett, from steel to tortilla chips* (Germain 1989).

29 Quote from text that accompanied the exhibition, 'Tommy Harris: Photographs of the County Durham steel town from 1949-1979' (Side Gallery, Newcastle, England, 2003).

30 See n. 29.

31 Germain's practice was described as such in the brochure accompanying a conference titled 'Work'. This was the inaugural event organised by the International Photography Research Network (IPRN), an initiative of the University of Sunderland, England (9-11 September 2005). Germain was present as a guest speaker.

'Beyond The Pale'[1]: Research Methodology and Interventions in the Field

[A] hedgerow between a nature reserve and one of Leixlip's cutting edge multinationals is the interface between the romance of the countryside and the most hi-tech industry in Europe. Surrounded by water, two rivers and the Royal canal, with open space and room to grow, Leixlip is poised at the forefront of Irish history, as it has been since the last Ice Age which ended at the top of the cliff behind the north side of Main Street and along the Rye River valley. The Ice Age. A Viking outpost. A Norman stronghold. An outpost of The Pale. Cyberspace. (Leixlip Town Council 26 June 2009).[2]

Reception Centre, Leixlip, County Kildare

'No photography or use of image capturing device without the express permission of security', states the sign to my left. I give my name to the receptionist at the main desk, along with the identity of the institution with which I am affiliated and that of the person whom I am there to meet. These are duly noted and the time recorded. I receive an 'escort required' badge, 'to be displayed at all times', and wait for my liaise from the Government and Public Affairs Department. The reception area is non-descript in nature apart from some plants and the location of three portraits, Mr. Hewlett and Mr. Packard, who founded HP in their Californian garage in 1939, and Carly Fiorina, former waitress and English teacher, now CEO of one of the largest IT hardware companies in the world[3]. This large, formal space ebbs and flows with movement, and in the minutes that follow I hear French, English, American and some accents from various parts of Asia in brief sound bites between greetings and goodbyes. These moments are accompanied by the

constant swish of the two large doors on either side of this area opening and closing as individuals move between buildings.

I am met by my 'liaise' (HP's term) who is to accompany me at all times and who is in possession of the 'camera pass'. This card is to be presented to anyone who questions our actions or presence on site. We proceed to our first card-swipe door. The use of the card enables security to log our position. The doors part and we proceed. As we walked along this corridor, the main artery of the complex, my liaise asked if I knew that it was almost three quarters of a kilometre long. 'Isn't that mad?' she said. Gaining access to this corridor had required a prolonged and extensive process of negotiation with HP lasting more than nine months in total.

As a result of my previous photographic project, entitled *Southern Cross*[4], I was acutely aware of questions surrounding the negotiation of access to formal institutions. I had spent an extended period of time trying to gain access to numerous construction sites in and around Dublin at a time when particular government and media interest focused upon work safety practices within the construction industry. I was therefore only too aware that gaining access to such a sensitive space as HP would require a determined effort but as Hammersley and Atkinson state, 'much can be learned from the problems involved with making contact with people as well as from how they respond to the researcher's approaches' (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995: 55). I was further attentive, drawing on past experience, to the potential of personal networks and their role in facilitating access to the gatekeepers of secure and closely guarded spaces. A friend had worked for HP in its sales

support office in Dublin for several years. This office was HP's first incarnation in Ireland prior to its set up in Leixlip. When I called her, she described with awe the first time she visited the plant, even mentioning 'the corridor'. I gave her an initial outline of the study and she said she would get back to me with some contact details. I received the telephone number of the head of security on site in Leixlip. I called him, mentioning my friend and her job position within HP, but he did not recognise her name, unsurprisingly, given the fact that HP employs over 4,000 people in Ireland. He suggested I should write a formal letter outlining my request and rationale. I did and waited. I received no response. After a month or so, I telephoned again and he said he would get back to me. Again I waited. Ultimately, it would be my personal network which enabled access; I never heard back from the Head of Security. However, some time later during the course of a conversation another possibility arose.

A close friend worked with 'The Digital Hub'[5], a project focused upon the establishment of an international centre for research and innovation in technology, in the Thomas Street area of Dublin. As part of this project, the 'Hub' has had a longstanding relationship with HP through its philanthropic scheme. HP provides support for the project including the provision of computer hardware and the 'kitting out' of educational facilities. Through this established relationship, there exists a degree of trust. The main contact, as it so happened, was Una Halligan, Director of Government and Public Affairs at HP, a former senior executive with the Irish Employers Federation (IBEC)[6], who oversees as part of her role at HP the Philanthropic Scheme and its implementation.

From the outset, HP's main issues regarding access focused on security and corporate branding; the globalised space of the manufacturing complex was deemed highly sensitive. I had a formal meeting with Una out in Leixlip in early 2003. This entailed a broad discussion about the study I wished to undertake and its rationale. Our meeting raised ethical considerations, questions about 'deception in negotiations' (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 72), and 'what those involved in negotiations are told' (ibid.). I stressed the need to create a 'document' of the industrial space of HP, although was careful not to foreground mention of a 'document' that would be necessarily critical in its outlook. I was all too aware of 'the balancing act of negotiating access' (ibid.: 74) together with the extent of voluntary information to divulge. HP and Una were aware of my credentials as a visual artist, since *Southern Cross*s had resulted in a publication with national and international exhibitions of the work. I believe this background and HP's ongoing entry into both the commercial and art photography market, influenced the company's decision to grant access, arguably in the hope that HP would derive positive publicity upon the conclusion of the research project. That said, a prolonged process of negotiation unfolded, lasting nine months (see Appendix II) in the form of telephone conversations, emails, written proposals, re-submission of proposals, meetings, until access was finally approved on site – a process described by one worker as analogous to 'getting into Fort Knox'.

Hewlett-Packard (Ireland Limited)

> Beyond the trees and to the left of the plant, facing the motorway, was a wide-open gravelled space, around nine acres a taxi driver told me later. As I crossed, I noticed the white marks at intervals, dashes here and there. I didn't know what the traces were from or for.

> (Fieldnote extract, 25 March 2004)

In the shadow of the Plant stands 'The Wonderful Barn'. Inspired in design by an Indian rice store, this tall, cone-shaped, kiln-like structure was constructed by the local Connolly family in the middle of the Eighteenth century and is in fact, a folly. At the time of its installation, the local community of Leixlip was suffering from famine and the building provided much needed employment. The Barn would later be used to store grain. Its role now is solely as a local landmark of archeological significance. From the Barn, one can view the architectural structure of white and grey that stretches across the low-lying, undulating landscape of County Kildare that is the Hewlett Packard Manufacturing and Development complex or 'Technology Campus'. When HP announced its intentions in 1995 to build on this site, it referenced its historic neighbour. It stated how this philanthropic gesture was to be recreated and repeated with a new employment-generating exercise undertaken in the tradition 'first initiated by the Wonderful Barn'[7]. The Wonderful Barn has stood on this location for over 260 years.

The HP complex was actually built upon the former site of 'Irish Meat Packers', an abattoir and meatpacking plant in which 'there was killing [of] cattle, sheep and pigs, boning and canned meats' (Leixlip Town Commissioners 2000: 33). At its height, it employed around 1,000 people and was one of the largest meatpacking operations in Europe, and the single largest employer in North Kildare. It employed 'workers from all over the country, which brought an influx of people to the area' (ibid.: 56). The factory was established in the mid-1940s and continued operating until 1987 when it closed 'with a weeks notice' (ibid.: 35). This would lead to a protracted and bitter labour dispute. The feelings of the time are reflected in the words of one former worker: 'The "payoff" was

peanuts and as well as a bad smell in the air, it left a bad taste in our mouths and hearts. This was a terrible loss to Leixlip and the other towns and villages that depended on the Plant for work' (Bannon 2000: 12). A local TD raised this issue in the Dáil (the Irish Parliament), stating how such a closure was 'leading to continuing large levels of emigration from the area' (Power 1987 'Dáil Eireann' transcripts). This occurred just 17 years ago.

Dublin and its surrounding region is the global location for an Information and Communications Technology (ICT) cluster – a consistent and common industrial patterning formation to all such global locations, based upon the original ICT cluster in Silicon Valley, California (Arora et al. 2001, O'Riain 2000b). The cluster formation signifies both the inspiration and aspiration of Ireland to step forward and take its place on the global economic stage. Leixlip itself lies 17 kilometres west of Dublin city and forms a significant part of this cluster, together with multinational companies Intel and SAP situated further up the road from HP. 'The globalisation of the Information Technology (IT) Industry is seen to result not in a virtual economy', O'Riain observes, 'but in a global industry organised around and through certain key places and regions' (O'Riain 2000a: 179).

Leixlip is such a place in such a region, witness to the migration of global capital and technological flows. Marc Augé argues that contemporary places are defined in terms of 'intersection, centre and monument' (Augé 1992: 64), and while considering the compression of time and space, Sassen, defines the local as a 'microenvironment with

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global span' (2001b: 14) whereby, 'studying the global, then, entails, a focus not only on that which is explicitly global in scale but also on locally scaled practices and conditions that are articulated with global dynamics (2007: 18). Thus, the grey and white monolithic modern structure which embodies 'Hewlett-Packard Ireland', now embedded in the green countryside of county Kildare in the east of the Republic, represents a local-global monument encapsulating the economic hopes of a grateful community.

Figure 3.1; Hewlett-Packard (Manufacturing Limited) Liffey Park Technology Campus, Barnhall, Leixlip, County Kildare, 2002 (source: HP)

As an organisation, HP has had a presence in Ireland since 1976 when an overseas sales office was established in Dublin. However, the scale of its operation fundamentally shifted in 1992 with the establishment of a manufacturing base as a 'start-up company' in Blanchardstown just outside Dublin. This moved to the present site in Leixlip in 1995 (Figure 3.1). The construction of the plant was the fastest build from a greenfield location ever witnessed in Ireland. The frantic nature of its establishment is reflected in the comments of Halligan, the aforementioned Director of Govenment and Public Affairs at HP:

[W]hen you come here as a start-up company you literally make up the job as you go along. No two days are the same and you just kind of go with the flow and something happens and suddenly you are going in this direction – that doesn't work and you then go in that direction...you would be starting off and trying to get it up and running...ship the product...for god's sake get the product out.

(Interview, 1 June 2004)

The present site of HP is defined by the following characteristics:[8]

- In 1999 HP expanded from a solely manufacturing function to a fully-integrated site and re-designated as 'The Liffey Park Technology Campus'.

- It is located 5 kilometres west of the town of Leixlip in the east of Ireland.

- The complex is 2 million square metres in size on a 200-acre site with almost 2,500 employees and a single corridor of almost one kilometre long running through the centre of it.

- It is one of HP's global manufacturing and research sites, others of which are based in Puerto Rico and Singapore. Each global location is built to the same specifics and design with the exception of Singapore due to space restrictions.

- It houses one of the largest 'clean rooms' in the world where research, product development and product manufacturing is undertaken. HP commits 7.1% of its Irish budget to Research and Development.

HP states its reasons for choosing Ireland as:

- Availability of a highly-skilled workforce.

- The direct cost of employment being one of the lowest in Europe.

- Provision of only 10% corporate tax on profits (presently 12.5%).

- The availability of non-repayable grants towards both fixed and people costs.

- Good industrial relations: 'Ireland is business and technology friendly'.

HP is considered exemplary of the type of ICT manufacturing industry invited to invest in Ireland as a result of the Irish government's development policy covering the past 20 years. This standing is further evidenced by the company's inclusion in the formation and development of government policy documents, for example, being nominated by the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment to provide ongoing input to the reports, 'Expert Group on the Future Skill Needs of Ireland' (beginning June 2000 and contributing each year to most recently as part of the 'All Island Skills Study', published in October 2008) and its further inclusion on the board of 'ICT Ireland' – a public and private partnership organisation engaged in the promotion of Ireland as a global ICT site of operation. HP is the largest ICT employer in Ireland. Having established an overview for the rationale and scale of the HP complex in Kildare, I now wish to address the rationale for the methodological framework adapted in my research engagment with this location.

The Construction of a Methodological Approach

> [T]he present is marked by deterritorialisation that requires an extensive reshaping of those contemporary critical discourses that remain tied to the persistence of specific cultural spaces...a new global cultural economy, a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order that cannot any longer be understood in terms of existing centre-periphery models.
>
> (Appadurai 1996: 32)

Appadurai posits a framework for the cultural study of globalisation, its intensification and the changing role of 'place'. His methodological imperative is to engage with the specificities of the everyday and the 'local' as a way of examining global forces in our

deterritorialised world (Appadurai 2000). Within such a globalised context, the formation of a methodological framework that gives emphasis to the local and the global, should be mindful of the questioning of Michael Burowoy, when he asks, 'how can the study of everyday life grasp lofty processes that transcend national boundaries? (2000: 1). HP as a 'local'-global infrastructure can be construed as an everyday site in the context where the 'everyday' has been theoretically posited as an, 'object of cultural analysis...a crucial interpretive category in its own right' (Highmore 2002b: 7). Expanding on the value of studying the 'everyday', Ben Highmore writes: 'Instead of picturing the world as a drama of significant (and exceptional) events and people, set against the backdrop of everyday life, the relation between foreground and background needs to be reversed' (2002a: 27).

However, the 'everyday' is at once complex and heterogeneous, and 'those who venture into this labyrinth must be honestly forewarned that not all answers will be supplied' (Highmore 2002b: 250). This is underscored by the comment of Allen Feldman that, 'a full ethnographic record is a myth, what one achieves is a fractured narrative'[9]. Similarly, 'ethnographies...are constructions involving selection and interpretation' (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 207) enabling the possibility for the creation of 'polyphonic (multi-voiced) texts' (Highmore 2002a: 169) in order to register the 'unregistered and [find] meaning in an impossible diversity' (ibid.: 174). The fluidity and flexibility of such methodological potential is addressed by Zsuzsa Gille and her definition of ethnography as one which encompasses 'an epistemological position' (2001: 321), more than 'a method', she notes:

> This concept of understanding requires an inquiry that is a lot more open-ended….[Ethnography] is the researcher's commitment to let herself be surprised, to be caught off-guard, and to be swept up by events that occur in the field as a result of which even the original directions of enquiry may significantly change….[This] commitment is rooted in an insistence on the significance of from-below and partial perspectives for an understanding of an issue as well as for the construction of theory.
>
> (ibid.: 321)

In a similar register within the field of visual ethnographic practice, Sarah Pink challenges viewing ethnography as 'a linear narrative that represents the ethnographic experience as one in which ethnographers go to the field and then go home to analyse and write it up' (2001: 117). Pink invokes what I would describe as George E. Marcus' significant proposal (1995) for an ethnographic text constructed according to the principle of 'montage' or 'multivocality' (ibid.) – in other words, the multilinear textualisation of both ethnographic research and everyday life. 'Montage', writes, Marcus, 'lends technique to the desire to break with existing academic rhetorical conventions and narrative modes through exposing their artificiality and arbitrariness (1995: 37). Such a 'self-conscious' emphasis underscores the methodological potential for the generation of polyvocal and multisensory texts invoked again in the work of anthropologist Paul Stoller and his notion of 'sensuous scholarship', in particular, the 'flexible' agency of the scholar/researcher 'in which the sensible and intelligible, denotive and evocative are linked', together with the researcher's 'ability to make intellectual leaps to bridge gaps forged by the illusion of disparateness (Stoller: 1997: xviii). Such a methodological approach could also accomodate the sensory in the representation of research materials, echoing Stephen Tyler's concept of 'evocation' in

which a text is read 'not with the eyes alone but with the ears in order to hear the voices in the pages' (1989: 136).

Pink (2001), however, further warns of the possible challenges of such a methodological proposal, foregrounding the role of media in both the construction of representation and its inherent perpetuation of ideological practices which in themselves have been problematised. Thus textual and visual practices designed to give subjects a voice may, in the end, 'only constitute a new textual construction in which the narrative of the ethnographer is just as dominant and those of the subjects subordinate' (2001.: 118). She, therefore, advocates a rigorous reflexive approach, acknowledging that the researcher's subjectivity is a central component to the conceptualisation and production of the research process (ibid)[10].

In the description of her research in the photographic archive, Roberta McGrath, invokes the role of montage as a 'compelling strategy' (2007: 36) and methodological approach, which she defines as 'a theory of relationships', going on to say, 'relationships, like histories and identities, are not there to be discovered, they have to be made' (ibid.: 37). In a globalised late-modern society the methodological and evocative representation of 'multivocality' critically reflects the fragile, fleeting and vulnerable nature of the contemporary global workplace as outlined in chapter one. Such a methodological approach instantiates the application of a cross-disciplinary practice–led model employing audio and visual media, informed by an understanding of ethnographic methods in the application of a reflexive critical practice. For as Allan Sekula argues: 'a

truly critical social documentary will frame the crime, the trial and the system of justice and its official myths' (1978: 122).

The Construction of the Fieldsite

> "The field" that is reported on the basis of fieldwork is not a pre-given natural entity. It is something we construct, both through the practical transactions and activities of data collection, and through the literary activities of writing fieldnotes, analytic memoranda and the like.
>
> (Atkinson 1992: 5)

I was required to be accompanied at all times. This was with my liaise from the Government and Public Affairs Department; however, it often included another member of HP staff from the particular location we were visiting. All visits to the site were pre-planned; schedules were drawn up and then sent for approval, usually by email. In the initial stages, a meeting was also required on location in Leixlip to review the proposed schedule. If not approved, these had to be redrawn and re-submitted. A schedule was usually drawn up one month to six weeks in advance. On two occasions, I was 'shut down'. Having arrived and in the course of completing undertakings that were planned and approved for that particular day, I was halted unexpectedly and without notice. The first of these was particularly significant, as I had believed the whole project might have been jeopardised. Both incidents were the result of a breakdown in communication regarding my presence onsite between the Department of Government and Public Affairs and the relevant parties in the particular location. This occurred for the first time in August 2003.

While being accompanied by my liaise in Production Building 2, we were approached by two building engineers. She was called aside in what turned out to be an extended discussion. I tried to make eye contact and smile, as it were, in reassurance. They did not make any attempt to make contact or discuss with me my intentions. She returned, apologetically, and said, 'That's it for the day'. The Department of Government and Public Affairs had not informed the engineers of my visit. They, therefore, needed to see all the images I had produced and then a decision could be made. This was early in the image-making process so I acquiesced, extremely frustrated and angry, concerned that this would put an end to the project. I had patiently undergone extensive negotiations to enter this space, a lengthy process requiring detailed negotiation, and now I feared that this could all be jeopardised by a breakdown in communication outside my control.

This resulted in a month-long absence onsite as the bureaucratic cogs slowly turned. I received a telephone call from Halligan during this period in which she said, 'I thought you'd have all you needed in a couple of weeks'. I had made my research requirements clear from the outset and she had agreed, on behalf of HP, so I understood this statement to mean she was experiencing pressure from superiors. However, subsequently and with great relief, in mid-September approval was finally given to return to the plant. On other occasions, if I arrived at the prearranged time and for some reason a person was not available to accompany me, the visit would not occur and I could only wait until the next visit and/or try to reschedule.

Regarding the interview process, the list of questions required pre-approval. In the beginning these interviews involved the interviewee and myself (see Appendix III for a list of the interview questions). After several interviews, my liaise was suddenly directed by the Department of Government and Public Affairs at HP to be present at all further interviews after they were made aware of the process around the initial interviews – my liaise had not sat in during the course of the previous interviews. The individuals interviewed included three Line Operators, two members of the warehouse staff, a Line Supervisor, a Clean Room Shift Supervisor, the Director of Government and Public Affairs and the Vice-president and General Manager of HP Ireland. The interview with the Director of Government and Public Affairs involved just the Director. It should be noted that not all those individuals working on the site are HP employees and my understanding at the time of my fieldwork research was that just 30% of the workforce were in this position while the majority of the labour force was contracted through external employment agencies.

The final requirement for gaining access was the vetting of all material collated, including both photographic and digital video and again, the presence of my liaise in all interviews. This process of vetting was usually undertaken by the Government and Public Affairs Department, or on several occasions by engineers working in a particular area, and occurred in a number of ways. For example, upon arrival onsite, I would leave the photographic material from the previous visit and retrieve it upon my next visit or in the case of the digital video material, I would screen the rushes to the Director of Government and Public Affairs and her aide. These specific details of the fieldwork

conditions typically reflect, I would argue, the policing regime of multinational corporations.

Research Interventions I: Note-Making

22 April 2004, Leixlip: The bus finally arrived. The stop was directly in front of the plant, tripod bag over one shoulder, camera bag and recording equipment over the other. They arrived about once an hour. Everyone knew the schedule due to their rare appearance. Most people drove. There were about 20 of us. I had listened to conversations in French, Italian, Spanish and English, spoken between individuals with different "mother tongues". It was twenty past four in the afternoon after a productive, if tiring, day. I spoke to the driver while he had a cigarette before his departure time. He was from Pakistan but had lived in Canada not far from where I had. "The winters were better in Ireland", he said. I struggled onto the bus, got a seat upstairs and began writing. That day I received clearance to photograph the exterior of the plant. Where to begin?
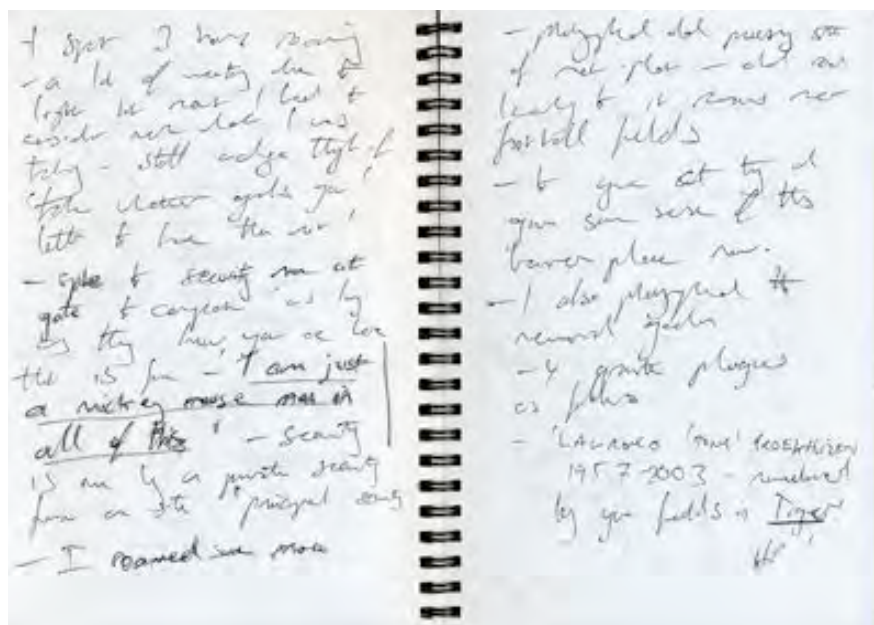
(extract from field-diary)

Figure 3.2; pages from field-diary, Thursday, 22 April 2004

Darren Newbury has provided a critical review of the application of the 'field-diary' in the context of qualitative research in the field of art and design practice. He advocates the

inclusion of the diary as a central component of the visual research process, arguing that, 'there are no rules as to how research diaries or field-notes should be compiled, the prime consideration is finding a format and style that fits the needs of the research project, and which is found to be workable and useful by the researcher' (2001: 4). However, central to their application here is their ability to function as a 'place where the central theoretical and methodological issue of how to write about the visual is struggled with and worked out' (ibid.: 8)[11].

Newbury offers a number of examples, one of which draws upon the writings of Schatzman and Strauss who argue that 'the researcher requires recording tactics that will provide him/her with an ongoing, developmental dialogue' (Quoted in Newbury 2001: 5) and that these notes can be 'the vehicle for ordered creativity' (ibid.: 3). The 'field-diaries' used in the study have followed this model registering a regular account of, for example, contact with HP staff, and collectively constitute in their artefactual status an ongoing reflection of the evolution of the research practice. This allowed for quick and ready access to vital information, further formalising the qualitative process. Schatzman and Strauss have formulated the following tripartite headings inherent in the note-making process:

'Observational notes' – 'statements bearing upon events experienced principally through watching and listening. They contain as little interpretation as possible and are seen as reliable as the observer can construct them' (1973: 100):

> *Tuesday, 25 November 2003 (66B back to Dublin) post-visit:*
> Met Mark, a Process Shift Supervisor from Nutgrove and proceeded to his office area. I noticed a large number of family photographs and pictures of different

children on the noticeboard of his desk. I enquired that surely they couldn't all be his children or did he have something to tell us (jokingly). He laughed and told me that he shares the desk with three other supervisors on a '4-shift, 4-week cycle' and so each supervisor has a family and hence 4 sets of family pictures.

'Theoretical notes' – 'represent self-conscious, controlled attempts to derive meaning from any one or several observational notes' (ibid.: 101):

> *Thursday, 19 February 2004 (bus back, 5.00 p.m.):*
> A long day, many impressions…Mark, interesting guy, another point of view, feeling of time going quickly, economic boom, spoke of high house prices, new technology, re-invention, high technology, new products, high technology, each time a new line, less operators required, technology putting technology workers out of work, flux, a lot of contractors, HP employees speak of 'family. HP can expand and contract…technology replaces the operators.

'Methodological notes' – 'statement(s) that reflect an operational act completed or planned: an instruction to oneself, a reminder, a critique of one's own tactics' (ibid.: 101):

> *Thursday, 7 August 2003 (on bus back to town):*
> Frustrated, pre-arranged, arrived to be told could not work today as Una H. wants Irene, who is out sick with camera pass to accompany myself and O. (Liaise) around Building 2 to point out what is possible and what no. This after I had agreed to vetting of image. Have to wait…O could have rang to save trip all way out but was apologetic. Must check now before every trip.

Advocating to bring the fieldwork diary into anthropological discourse, Michael Taussig argues that it possesses an ability to 'open up to radical transmutations of time and space and bodily knowing. Although it is ephemeral, unofficial and sometimes informal, the slipperiness of it, in its refusal to be defined, may also be its strength' (Taussig quoted in Moffat 2004: 13)[12]. The use of fieldnotes has been, and remains, a central method of ethnographic documentation. Hammersley and Atkinson allude to their 'sacred' status to

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the point where 'the privacy of fieldnotes means that the novice rarely has models to follow, and there is remarkably little explicit advice available' (1995: 176). Yet they emphatically acknowledge 'their power to evoke the times and places of the 'field', and call to mind the sights, sounds, and smells of 'elsewhere'' (ibid.).

> *Thursday, 22 April 2004 (on bus back)* Spent three hours roaming – a lot of waiting due to light but meant I had to consider more what I was making…spoke to a security man at the compound, "as long as they know you are here that is fine, I am just a Mickey Mouse man in all of this".

Research Interventions II: Interviewing the Workers

I had met Ger the week before in the warehouse area and made his portrait, and through the course of our conversation he also agreed to be interviewed. On my scheduled day for interviews Ger appeared as promised. Hammersley and Atkinson state how 'all accounts must be interpreted in terms of the context in which they are produced' (1995: 131). Ger, myself and the liaise sat in the Beckett Meeting Room in Building 1. All of the Meeting Rooms were named after Irish writers and included Joyce, Goldsmith and Behan among others. The room was a functional space in the form of a table accommodating six chairs and a single plant in one corner. Conversations were recorded on a mini-disc device, which I had positioned on the table. I was aware of the constructed nature surrounding the ritual of this procedure and how my presence and that of the liaise would impact upon Ger. Having said that, an atmosphere which I would describe as relaxed permeated the occasion:

> My name is Ger Walsh and I was born in Dublin. My main duties in Hewlett-Packard are within the Logistics Department. I work for "Process Control" and "Materials Admin". Mainly what that involves is the actual operation itself, controlling the processes so that the Warehouse is working to the correct "process

flow". It involves writing and auditing them, any issues coming up through into the departments, it would be me going in, to have a look at those and see if we can solve them. Also the other aspect of my job is "Health and Safety". From a "Health and Safety" point of view I am responsible for "Supply Chain", so not only logistic but all parts of "Supply Chain" which would be purchasing, planning, which is documentation, "Materials Engineering and Logistics". So it's for all of "Supply Chain". My main role there is a contact point within "Supply Chain" for "Health and Safety"; carrying out safety audits, risk assessments, making sure any safety concerns are closed out. We have contractors based, running the warehouse, so it is making sure that they are following the correct safety practices and that they are closing down any safety concerns raised. They're my main functions. There are obviously other bits and pieces that come along with it, so I'm involved in quite a few projects. So the project work seems to be quite heavy at Hewlett-Packard.

(Interview, 9 October 2003)

As with all interviews each person received in advance a copy of the questions I had forwarded to HP (See Appendix III for a list of vetted interview questions). This prior knowledge is evidenced in Ger's opening statement where he describes his job and duties without any prompting on my part. Feldman (2004), in his workshop discussion of ethnographic interviewing, speaks of the necessity 'to hear and to listen' and to be aware of 'both the said and unsaid'[13]. There was flexibility within the interview process that afforded the opportunity for more general conversation to 'flow'. Although one could never get away from the fact that the situation was always heavily monitored, I would argue, however, that this in itself was of value in understanding an organisational space such as HP in reckoning with the 'unsaid'. The interview method was the only means possible to generate personalised accounts of this local-global workplace. At times people were volunteered from particular areas while others resulted from our meeting on the floor. The material generated established fragmented personal accounts, labour histories of contemporary work practices within a large multinational organisation and elements of testimony and witness (See Appendix IV for interview transcripts). I wish to draw

attention here to particular subject positions as expressed in the following examples from interview extracts and their emergent thematics. The following extract of conversation with Ger provides insight into HP's employment practices:

> M: So how long have you been working at Hewlett-Packard?
> G: I have worked in Hewlett-Packard for 4 years in total. 3 years of that was as a contractor, so, as the lads would say, I've sort of "gone over to the Dark Side". So I've the experience of the contractor, but now I'm working for Hewlett-Packard and basically making sure the contractors are carrying out their work; sort of like a "Poacher turned Gamekeeper" type of position.
>
> (Interview, 9 October 2003)

Rui, a Line Engineer from Building 2 and originally from Portugal, provides an overview of the changing role of manufacturing over the past 20 years in Ireland:

> R: So going back 20 years ago, the industry in Ireland would be very labour intensive and I suppose in the last few years when we started to attract the IT companies, you know, computer industries, we have seen a shift more to machine operating.
> M: So what then is your present role here at HP?
> R: I came into HP as a Line Engineer, so, I have gone through a few different companies and I have noticed that companies that have labour intensive activities tend to disappear because of our high rate of wage compared to, you know, eastern countries – namely, India, China and Malaysia, you know, wherever.
>
> (Interview, 9 October 2003)

In a further extract, Susan, a worker from the Logistics Department in the warehouse, responds to my question concerning her motivations for working in HP:

> S: Well, I had heard a lot about, like, Intel who had been in Ireland for so many years before Hewlett-Packard and it was just, I just thought, it was a big industry, a permanent, stable job and it was good feedback I'd been hearing. I had known a couple of people at the time who had been working here and…I just thought to make the change from what I was doing, I thought, yeah, I'll come into a big place where I know it's, it isn't going anywhere in the near future.
>
> (Interview, 26 November 2003)

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Across all interviews the conversations invariably looked to the future, in particular, to the long-term sustainability of the present economic climate in Ireland. Mark, for example, a Clean Room Supervisor, was forthright in his discussion, acknowledging the challenges and also the uncertainty of continued outside investment:

> MC: Do you think we have control over our destiny?
> MD: As people?
> MC: Yeah, or as a country? Or even say economically? In terms of a lot of companies here that we work for, salaries are paid by foreign companies, that sort of way.
> MD: Alright, yeah, I think we need to be very cost effective to keep these people in the country. I mean we can keep throwing tax breaks at them but that's just, that will only go so far. It's a fool's economy or a false economy or fool's paradise or whatever you want to call it. I think we need to be more cost-effective and I don't think the way inflation etc. is at the moment that we really are. What we have got is a well-trained, well-educated workforce, so that's in our favour, but again time will tell whether that's enough. I don't see it attracting everybody, I think they'll always come in for the tax break and that's probably the main reason they're here for now. So I'm really not sure where this is going to be in 10-15 years time, you could have a lot of well-educated people walking down to the dole office, but like, I don't really know where it's going.
>
> (Interview, 28 November 2004)

This is further reflected in a final extract from a senior management perspective, from Halligan, my main liase with HP and as previously referenced, the Director of Government and Public Affairs. In the passage below addressing change in the Corporate Tax rate, she outlines the challenge as viewed by HP of EU legislation concerning the rate change and the global implications for Ireland. The relationship between the Government and Multinational Corporations is also illustrated:

> M: I was just reading in the *Financial Times* about an EU-wide Corporate Tax level.
> U: It's a big issue. Having said that, it's an issue for Ireland Inc. It's not an issue for HP because Ireland is saying we are going to hold this, over our dead bodies. Certainly this Government would hold it. I would have concerns that Labour would

go that route. This Inkjet Manufacturing site is one of three worldwide, the other two are in Puerto Rico and Singapore and they have no Corporation Tax. Therefore, you are starting with a handicap. You might think 10% going up to 12.5%, the lowest in Europe, but it is not the lowest in the world and they also have very smart people. Therefore, if we want to do business in that kind of world economy, Ireland is a small country. If you put handicaps then Corporation Tax would be a big one. But as I say, both Charlie McGreevy (then Minister of Finance) and Mary Harney (present Tanaiste) would all be in favour as well as the Taoiseach (Irish Prime Minister) in keeping that low rate of Corporate Tax. Of course, when we have all this kind of talk in Europe – our U.S., we are a U.S. company, they see that, so they see the wider picture and they kinda say, 'Well, is this a real threat?'

(Interview, 1 June 2004)

Research Interventions III: The Application of Audio and Visual Media

Figure 3.3; 'Gowning Room 5, Building 7, 11.02 a.m., Monday, 10 November 2003' (Leixlip, Ireland)

The discarded robes of previous shifts (Figure 3.3) remain suspended. Will those bodies return? Floating, waiting upon the willing and able. One size fits all. Boots dangle in virginal white, evoking a sterile, numbered, assigned and beautiful bleakness. Something ephemeral. 'Do you really find that interesting?' asked the Clean Room Supervisor,

'whatever grabs your fancy I suppose, to each their own, but would you not want to get the lads working? On the line?' The question of the supervisor acknowledged the obvious – to view and make images of the 'lads working'. From the very outset, Una, in her capacity as my main contact at HP, specifically queried the use of the portraiture. I will return to this point later in the discussion and its rationale. However, for now, the use of portraiture and the application of photography in this study is a response to questions of representation as outlined in the chapter two, depicting individuals occupied, employed and made busy with the tasks at hand and where, such images continue to be reproduced by public and private bodies.

Figure 3.4; image from IDA 'Annual Report 2005'

The image above (Figure 3.4), for example, from the Annual Report for 2005 by the Industrial Development Authority (IDA) presents a white-coated black male-laboratory technician busy at work, staring through a microscope. He is a part of the apparatus in an image coded high-tech, hands gloved in latex and vials readied. However, it is debatable

whether this image was actually produced in a factory or laboratory setting in Ireland. Arguably its origins lie in a web-based stock-image picture library. The presentation of a white background erases all specificity denying all reference to context. It could be argued that this image is also intended to allude to the changing multiracial composition of the Irish labour market as if conveying to foreign investors: Don't you know we are no longer just white?

I stepped back and viewed those hanging white robes (Figure 3.3). Some feet passed underneath the gowns from the other side. The camera was set to an 'aperture' of f4 and I 'bracketed' – 'overexposing' the film by '1 to 2 stops'. The 'depth of field' was shallow, giving a narrow field of focus[14]. The intent was to focus upon, and thereby draw out, particular elements, traces of human influence and to look to these elements as allegories, evoking the materiality of this globalised factory floor. Simultaneously, my decision and subject position were also made apparent. This was not an objective record of the working space. The technique employed is also a response to visual practices with an ascribed ethos of objectivity and the creation of typologies as previously discussed in chapter two. Here, I wish to acknowledge the role of allegory as a visual research strategy.

In his discussion of late-modernism, Craig Owens foregrounds the role of allegory and its central ability 'to rescue from historical oblivion that which threatens to disappear' ([1984] 1992: 1057), and how allegory 'is consistently drawn to the fragmentary…isolated objects and images which have been stripped of meaning and

returned to a purely material state' (ibid.: 1052). Echoing these thoughts and with respect to photography, Justin Carville writes:

> The allegory of the everyday, incorporating the use of everyday objects, banal and frequently arbitrary fragments [and in so doing] rescue those histories and narratives…where the image itself becomes a space to be re-negotiated, a territory where contested narratives can be articulated.
>
> (2001b: 7)

Carville's observations resonate with Elizabeth Edwards' position of how 'photographs embody meaning through their signifying properties, and are deliberate, conscious efforts to represent, to say something about something' (2001: 17). Referencing Barthes' notion of the 'punctum', defined as 'this element which rises from the scene, shoots out like an arrow, and pierces me…a detail' (Barthes 2000: 26), Edwards describes the allegorical qualities of the photograph as 'that inexplicable point of incisive clarity' (2001: 1). In the context of this discussion, McGrath importantly alerts us to the fact that 'montage employs the fragment as its theory', continuing, 'photographs, too, are fragments' (2007: 37).

On the day I found myself – my liaise never far away – among the hanging gowns in the Clean Room, photographing these empty vestiges of labour, a sense of history in the making was powerfully evoked; the gowns became an ephemeral representation of fleeting labour, an embodiment without the body of the here and now. The role of gesture and intentionality is equally important here, in terms of stopping in front of this particular scene, subsequent to having just completed making a series of portraits in the Clean Room. Therefore, passing this scene with my liaise, something resonated, perhaps

'caught off-guard', combined with the recognition of a potential within the scene that would convey, evoke in a critically significant sense something about the nature of work within this industrialised space. Time allowed for only one exposure. A 'theoretically self-conscious practice' (1997: 9) states John Roberts, enables 'the photographic document [to be] not so much an inert nomination of things in the world, but a source of inferential complexity' (ibid.: 29). Further, Mark Durden calls for an approach 'which is more empathetic, subjective, engaged. And this move to engagement…opens up a space for contestation, orients us to action' (2000: 37). It is important to reiterate that the functioning and meaning of allegory within such an approach, will always be inherently contested but this is not detrimental, but indeed vital for its 'critical valency' (Gibbons 1996: 20) and as David Green alerts us; 'the only possibility of reinventing the representation of history is using photography through allegory' (1994: 15).

As demonstrated by the discussion in chapter two, I approached the globalised space of HP equipped with the knowledge of comparative visual practices undertaken in other global industrialised landscapes. The absence of an industrial revolution in the south of Ireland has resulted in a limited legacy regarding its photographic representation[15]. In other industrialised nations, as seen, for example by the famous images of the Krupps factory works, this has not been the case and visual practitioners have responded to industrialised spaces since their foundation. Thus, the deployment of specific visual strategies as part of this research study, were intentional responses to visual dogmas and objectifying practices concerning industrial representation.

Figure 3.5; 'Lava 2, Building 2, 14.32 a.m., Thursday, 29 January 2004' (Leixlip, Ireland)

The stairway rises up and over the production line (Figure 3.5). The multi-coloured chains and floor-markings register restraint and restriction. The focus is upon the bolted steps and then falls off beyond. The stairs hold an architectural quality in their rise and fall. No overt human presence but present nonetheless. The production line must always persist and affords no disruption and so, human intervention must go up, over or around. Nothing to stop, interfere or delay the forward motions of production.

Word had spread of my presence in the plant; 'So you're the guy taking the pictures'. Rui motioned to the middle of the wide thoroughfare of the vast manufacturing space in Building 2. 'Is this okay here?' 'Perfect', I replied. I had approval on the day to make portraits of workers willing to take part in the study. However, on this particular pre-scheduled day, I was not allowed to photograph the actual space itself due to the highly sensitive nature of the new production line, 'Lava'. I had one request of Rui which was to

be as still as possible as there was not much light. 'No problem', he replied. I positioned the camera on the tripod. My liaise from the Government and Public Affairs Department stood to the side, quietly, with my camera bag over her shoulder. I was working exclusively with 'available light', the existing light in the space, avoiding the use of flash photography, the rationale being to represent the space as I found it. This required the individual worker to try and be motionless, to stop for a short while – most of the exposures were less than a second. The aperture on the lens remained set to f4, to give a shallow depth of field, I overexposed by two stops. Rui, Portugese by birth, married to an Irish woman and father of two adult daughters asked, 'Is it okay to smile? I normally smile, it is my way', he commented. 'Do whatever you feel comfortable with but don't feel like you have to smile'. Rui stood for a while, smiled and then went slightly straight-faced. He was wearing his identity card around his neck and to the front. This contained a portrait; yet another application of the portrait acknowledging a history I now wish to address.

The photographic portrait is in and of itself concerned with representation and possesses a critically disputed, divisive and problematic history. In the nineteenth century, following the invention of the photographic process, the portrait was employed as a means of surveillance, classification and record. At the same time, photography began its long association with anthropology (Edwards 2004). The portrait was employed for its 'potential as a recording device, to create data for analysis…the indexical trace' (ibid.: 34) and 'was equally instrumental in representing different bodies elsewhere, constructing a typology in anthropology and ethnography of racial and cultural 'others''

(McQuire 1998: 23). Tagg argues how the truth-value of the photographic image was consolidated as a practical technique functioning within 'an institutional paradigm of research, surveillance and control' (1988: 7). He is particularly critical of the portrait as a 'monologic mode of address that represents the subject incapable of speaking, acting or organising for themselves…a mute witness to history' (ibid.: 11). Tagg's argument is grounded in a late-modern critique of representation (Edwards 2004), one which challenges the alleged indexical nature of the image as addressed in the chapter two.

However, Edwards has argued that the portrait should necessarily be seen as 'a dialogue in which there are a number of subject positions' (1990: 63). This is further underlined, by Roberts in his discussion of documentary photography and how such a practice is 'always divided between 'the speakers' and those who are 'spoken', two kinds of utterances, divided by relations of power but maintained within the same construction' (1998: 162). Similarly, Carville argues that in acknowledging 'the presence of multiple subject positions, the photographic portrait can be seen as self or co-authored, containing the reported speech of the sitter who make their own histories even if not in the conditions which they may choose'[16]. Referencing Edwards, Carville continues:

> [S]eeing the photographic portrait in this way has a considerable impact on the documentary image. Reading the documentary image in this way would allow us to work through how both photographer and the subject speak within the same construction. The photograph is an object but...portraits are the outcome of shared experience between the photographer and subject, an experience in which both speak to the viewer…speaking through the mode of address, the presentation of self to be photographed.[17]

I had met Rui in the engineer's office, located behind large windows and within viewing distance of 'Lava' in Building 2. Rui floated between his desk space and the floor. He

was in constant motion between meetings, project requests and responding to general supervisory requests from Line Operators in his section. Rui had agreed to take part in the study and I was interested in his experiences of having lived and worked in Ireland for the past 20 years. He arrived at a time when Ireland continued to be a net exporter of people prior to the boom of the 'Celtic Tiger Economy'. His presence was another particular labour history. I had made some portraits with Rui at his work-station, however, I was also keen to photograph him where he spent most of his day, on the production floor.

Figure 3.6; 'Rui, Line Engineer, Tiger, Building 2, 11.43 a.m., Thursday, 29 January 2004' (Leixlip, Ireland)

The image above (Figure 3.6) presents Rui isolated, standing alone in the middle of one of the wide thoroughfares found among the production lines[18]. The depth of field is shallow. The background is visible, just, sensing the surroundings while conveying a greater sense of him. A wall to his left can be identified, blue containers and brown boxes behind him to his right and metal clings to a ceiling pock-marked with lights. Rui stands

in grey and black, hands by his side, in openness, presenting himself to the camera, not smiling, not sad, just straight-faced. His dark features and the clothes he wears are in contrast to the over-exposed daylight balanced lightness. In a different register, Banks argues:

> [V]isual research is actively, and perhaps inherently, a collaborative project between image maker and image subjects as: one is humanistic, that subjects are not just experimental subjects and, secondly, analytical...In order to do good social research, a researcher has to enter into that process self-consciously, not pretend that they can somehow transcend their humanity and stand outside, merely observing.
>
> (2001: 112)

Rui stands for a while in Building 2. 'Is this okay?' he asks. 'Great', I reply, 'do you mind if we make a few?' 'No, work away, as many as you like'.

My methodological intention had always been to consider the inclusion of digital video as a research method and intervention[19]. However, to what end remained unclear until the fieldwork onsite began. For as Hammersley and Atkinson note: 'features that previously seemed insignificant may come to take on new meaning' (1995: 180). Locations that had previously been photographed at the plant threw up new possibilities. Beyond its ability to be yet another level of evocation of, and intervention in the industrialised space, the application of the moving image provided a further means to both critically reflect upon my primary medium – still photography-- and the relationship between the two. The fieldnotes bearing witness to this methodological development as the research process unfolded:

16.25 p.m., Monday, 10 November 2003, on train to Connolly Station
Photographed rows of gowns hanging, boots hanging.
Possibility for video piece as people pass behind, would be worth following up.

9.52 a.m., Thursday, 27 November 2003, Bus 66B, outside Conyngham Road Bus Depot
Have been cleared for digital video work for next Monday in Building 8.
Need to instill a sense of 'in place' – to evoke.
Reference the photograph.
Meditate on still space imagery.
As a strategy should have tried before this stage? (time); may be idea in the new year.
Use of the extended 'shot' – let the camera just roll.
A meditation on time and space.
A particular strategy – to evoke/ evocation.

9.41 a.m., Monday, 1 December 2003, Bus across from Heuston Station
Beyond the confines of time/space – idea of time passing but in a subtle sense.
To dwell, but in a moving sense, in the spaces of these industrial areas/spaces.

In her discussion of the possibility of stillness within the moving image, Laura Mulvey also references Barthes' notion of the 'punctum' and the potential for allegory within the still image. Mulvey considers whether there exists within the moving image the possibility for the 'non-movement of narrative and [provide a point where] the flow of the story can give way to the presence of the document' (2003: 119) in order that the 'spectator is enabled to reflect upon and experience the kind of reverie that Barthes had associated with the photograph, the punctum' (ibid.: 117).

I made what I would define as 'on the spot' decisions regarding the production of such material. This resulted from both the ongoing review and reflection of my research data, but was also defined by issues of access and time constraints. Each section of digital video took the form of 24-minutes and was intended as a direct reference to the number of hours in the day and the ceaseless nature of this site of global production. Each section

was made in one complete long-take from a fixed position intended as further evidence of my presence, while simultaneously referencing still photography whereby that which lay within the frame was open to the same readings of allegory. Three core considerations informed my use of the long-take[20]. The first being the 'critical geography' where the camera defines the geography within the frame and what is foregrounded. Secondly, 'the persistence of the physical' whereby the physicality of the background is always present, a confrontation to some degree in the form of the 'obtuse presence', and finally, 'the dimensions of personhood', the recognition of a contextualised human identity. It is important to note that acknowledging the constructedness of the 'long-take' does not imply its non-mediation for it does, however, employ the edit as a narrative structuring device.

Here, I wish to briefly reference the work of two practitioners, a filmmaker who also engages with installation art and a video installation artist. Both have on occasions employed the 'long-take' as a constitutive part of their media practice. In her film and installation, *From the Other Side* (2002), the Belgian filmmaker Chantal Akerman, foregrounds undocumented immigration across the US–Mexican border. Akerman's film interweaves still images of the landscape, urban and rural, alongside interviews with individuals from both sides of the border.

Figure 3.7; still from 'From the Other Side', Chantal Akerman 2002

The young man (Figure 3.7) sits to our right framed by his walled backdrop. The screen

is divided by the doorframe. The 'other' space is a bedroom unmade, but a comfort

nonetheless, as the sunlight brightens the space. His demeanour is less comforting; a

young face peers out from oversized clothes, hands older than his years. He occupies the

present and behind, a possible past or indeed future? Akerman's deliberate framing

device references the still photograph, a freezing of time and space that is not the past.

The inherent movement in the media deployed and the act of viewing implicates the

present, the ever present. This notion of time echoes the argument made by Paul Harrison

and his critique of movement and its implicit relationship to modernity and the inherent

political potentials of stillness:

> The moment of stillness then, of declining and remaining aside, represents for me,
> the anarchical and all but silent condition of possibility for all political strategy as
> such. A condition of possibility which all political strategy carries within itself,
> more or less well, more or less consciously, as a memory of the finite and
> corporeal nature of existence. A memory which may always and eventually come

to protest against the strategy itself. Strategy itself as strategy; as command, as a calculated and calculating order. And so…such a remaining still is a demonstration.

(2009: 10)

In a related context, the video installation artwork of David Claerbout is of relevance. Green, reflecting upon Claerbout's practice notes how the still image remains inherently defined as the past while the moving image invokes the present, arguing that the work of Claerbout challenges this established if not conventional distinction between photography and film (2004). Echoing Mulvey, Green posits how the 'past-ness' or Barthes' 'there and then', and 'present-ness', the 'here and now', somehow meet and co-exist (2004: 37). This, Green suggests, occurs due to the 'filmic reflexivity' within Claerbout's practice (ibid.).

Figure 3.8; 'The Stack, 2002', (Installation) Digital Video, David Claerbout

Viewed from below among the gravel and rocks discarded to make way for the structure, a large image is projected (Figure 3.8) depicting the motorways of modernity. Haven't these been described as 'the new cathedrals'? The brightest part is in the left hand corner; the sun throws its shadows across this promised land of transport utopia, a new arcadia. I am suddenly aware of the projector's low muffled sound and then, a slight movement in those shadows and slowly, a streak of sunlight breaks through. The shadows move, strong

lines, epic, monumental. Beneath, however, lurks the unknown. Claerbout's installation brings to mind McGrath's assertion that 'photographs are not merely illustrations but places to think'[21], invoking Barthes' 'supplementary' role where 'at the level of signification the visual is surpressed and yet it necessarily returns as a presence that fills the field with force' (Lowry 2002: 51). Green, in his discussion, concludes that 'this is what the work of Claerbout's faces us with, in the possibility of a photograph that unfolds in time (but is not a film) and a film that is stilled in time (but is not a photograph)' (2004: 41). Similarly, my use of digital video continued in tandem with still photography. I returned, accompanied, to Building 8 in December 2003. We stopped at a number of locations where I had made photographs in this building the previous month.

Figure 3.9; 'Lava' (still), Building 8, 12.04 p.m., Monday, 1 December 2003 (Leixlip, Ireland) Digital Video (looped)

My liaise watched on, standing still. I touched the red button and the digital video camera began to record. The camera perched upon this tripod is directed towards the large blue

grey section of plastic. A vertical gash up its right side, a suture made of tape (Figure 3.9). Behind, men and women labour to install the new line; inaudible voices and movement in the direction of here and there amongst the high-pitched, sonar-sounding reminders of other production lines at work. They hiss and expel bloated exasperations, compressed air as they push ever on. A sway of plastic, a membrane-like structure, and then, very slowly, almost unaware and yet somewhat suddenly, it expands, ebbing forward only to retreat gently. Objects behind, formerly draped in blue are suddenly re-engulfed, surrounded, masked. Then, it starts all over again and the line to our left gasps. The critical significance of the digital video work undertaken onsite and subsequent pivotal function in the re-representation of the research material will be addressed in the description, functioning and rationale for its installation in chapter four.

The Work Room: Production/Postproduction

Figure 3.10; vetted image, September 2003

I stare at the yellow 'post-it' note covering the small image I have just removed from the brown envelope (Figure 3.10): 'I don't want Mark to use this picture, the rest are fine'. I lift the note to view the image beneath. It is a non-descript type image of the space in Manufacturing Building 2, 'Lava' – an alleyway between two automatons encased in glass-fronted containers. Simply a document, it is of no particular interest visually and I would not have chosen to use it. I proceed to remove the note and then stop myself. The significance of the image is transformed through the conscious intervention of a line engineer and a simple 'post-it' note, charging this 'document' with a newly acquired narrative.

From the outset, the policing and vetting of my movements had become a pivotal component in the evaluation of the research. I held in my hand an 'image' that made that surveillance explicit. I do not know for certain what it is about the image that prohibited its use; perhaps it alluded to a health and safety issue, my non-engineering background denying that knowledge. The significance here is how this image covered by a 'post-it' note was transformed through its re-presentation and subsequent artefactual status. This episode represents a single event during the postproduction phase of the still and moving image material, conducted subsequent to each visit to the plant. In the remainder of the chapter, the discussion foregrounds the time-consuming process of re-viewing the still photography generated in terms of its analytical strength and narrative potential. While one could argue there is widespread (common/colloquial/lay) literacy on the subject of postproduction considerations regarding film, similar discussion concerning still photography and the process of postproduction remains somewhat limited. Moreover, the

following serves as a demonstration of a further level of reflexive undertaking, providing a means to open up a discursive space in the awareness that this is a singular and subjective position concerning such a process.

This phase usually began with the processing of all exposed colour film in a professional laboratory and the creation of proof prints, 5" x 5" in size. Most visits to HP on those days cleared for photographing resulted in between 10 to 15 rolls of 120mm film being exposed in the format employed using the square-format Hasselblad, equating to 12 exposures per roll. Therefore, at any time, one could be reviewing 120 to 144 small proof prints. At this point, an initial 'rough edit' would occur involving a literal hand-trawling review of all images made, each single image, one by one. This 'rough edit' was informed and its analysis defined by the following criteria:

- The implicit text of the image in terms of what the image portrayed – the subject matter within the frame.

- Formalist considerations; the formal appearance of the image, the aesthetic.[22]

- The inferential; the potential for allegory.

- An instinctive response to what I was viewing. I would ascribe this to being involved in terms of what has and is informing my practice at a particular moment and time.[23]

Figure 3.11; unused from Building 4, HP, June 2003

The above image (Figure 3.11) dates back to the beginning of the study. It is one of the thoroughfares in Building 4 and was edited out of the process and remained unused for the following reasons. Firstly, its primary function was to evaluate the lighting conditions and its effect on film type at this early stage of the research process and as a document of the space. Secondly, the image presents the hall and polished floor and the viewer's point of view is slightly off centre. This perspective was a direct result of my liaise directing me to stand to the side of the walkway so as not to present a fire hazard. In the distance two small figures are walking and a chair hovers over the yellow and black line. I placed the tripod and made an exposure. Beyond the above requirements, little thought was given to formalist considerations and to particular details. It should be noted that an argument for an allegorical reading exists within the image regarding the placement of the chair over the line evidencing a human intervention and presence in the rigid demarcation of the production floor. However, this reading was not one which I chose to

include in the extended narrative of the still images produced. Therefore in the final edit of the photographic research material it was discarded – remaining a 'snapshot'[24].

Two months later, on the 12 August, 2003 I had requested and been given clearance to photograph the exterior of the complex. One image (Figure 3.12) from the work produced that day, following an initial edit of the images made, was of particular interest. The blue-grey façade is evident of large parts of the architectural structure in Leixlip. Strong lines fragment the perfect surface of the wall meeting the imperfections of the concrete and tarmacadam; almost a fluid sensibility in spite of their fixed credentials. This image was placed on my workroom wall.

Figure 3.12; unused from Building 2 (exterior) HP, August 2003

Other images were positioned on the wall as a further step in the process of ongoing analysis (Figure 3.13). These images remained in situ for an extended period of time and were usually placed, to begin with, under the heading of where they were made. For

example, all images made in Production Building 2 were put together, while all images from Building 7 clustered together, and so on. Over the course of the subsequent weeks and months, these would be moved, shifted, removed, replaced, returned, positioned closer together and moved further apart. This whole process, of course, happened in tandem as I repeatedly returned to the site out in Leixlip. Therefore, an ongoing awareness existed of what photographic material I had collated and what I would describe as 'gaps' in terms of images I felt were needed towards the ongoing construction of a critically informed narrative[25].

Figure 3.13; workroom, Dublin, January 2004

The process of moving/removing occurred in a number of ways. For example, while spending an extended period of time perusing the images or on the 'spur of the moment' – when I needed to locate something in my workroom and something would focus my attention. There was also the conscious awareness of the intertextual literacy of two or more images together, alongside the possibility of serendipity. However, 'one must

establish the right conditions for serendipity' (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 162). I came to define this process as 'living with', forming a crucial and reflexive multilayered element of the review process and the development of an evolving narrative structure. Sporadically, I would return to the initially discarded imagery and review the material yet again. This could be understood as deconstructive in nature. As Sekula notes, 'the construction passes into critical deconstruction' (1978: 122), a process vital in the representation of the 'other' and one 'having an unrelenting metacritical relation to the documentary genre' (ibid.: 124).

Figure 3.14; workroom, Dublin, June 2004

Alongside this process, I began to make analogue prints or handprints from selected proof prints. The colour-printing process is a time-consuming and increasingly rare exercise; however, it affords a level of reflection as one works on a particular image for an extended period of time – a slow and critically reflective process[26]. As an integral component of the research practice and testimony to my critical engagement with the

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material, the production of analogue prints was a fundamental part of the postproduction process. Referencing the work of Rapport (1997) on the merits of creative humanistic anthropological representation, and one, which throws light on this part of the process, Pink writes:

> Rapport has argued in favour of a recognition of the individual as "a seat of consciousness, as well-spring of creativity, as guarantor of meaning" as opposed to "the dissolved, decentered, deconstructed individual actor and author as he or she appears in Durkheimian, Structuralist and Post-Structuralist schools of social science". This suggests that while it is likely that individuals will reference known visual forms, styles, discourses and meanings through the content and form of their own visual images, this does not mean that they have internalised and are reproducing those formats…individuals draw from personal and cultural resources of visual experience and knowledge. They thus compose images that they intend to represent particular objects or meanings; moreover they do so in particular social and material contexts.
>
> (2001: 27)

I would further argue that the image in itself is also transformed in the process, from the small proof prints to these final prints. In a phenomenological sense, they attain another layer of meaning as Edwards notes, 'thinking about photographs is increasingly inflected with phenomenological concerns, a "being-in-the-world", saturated with intentionality, inter-subjectivity and existential immediacy' (2005: 40). In the context of Edwards' insights regarding the role of viewership in the third person, at this point in the process, I would seek out and invite informed peers and practitioners to offer both their critique and opinion upon the material generated. As the photographer, Simon Roberts writes in reference to the editing process:

> It was critically important that I had an external eye (and someone I trusted and respected) to help with editing. I was too emotionally attached to the photographs and in several cases wanted to select images that just weren't strong enough or didn't fit as a whole.
>
> (2008: 3)

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Having produced final prints, I now turned to the application of digital technology and these images were scanned. The inclusion of technology at this stage of the post-production process also afforded the later opportunity, through digital outputting, for the construction of a maquette or 'dummy book'. In the maquette, these scanned images were incorporated with an extensive and integrated range of textual and visual material – including field-diary pages, onsite schedules, propagandist images and selections of the workers' testimonies, thus constituting in itself a further poly-vocal re-representation of the research process and ethnographic reflection.
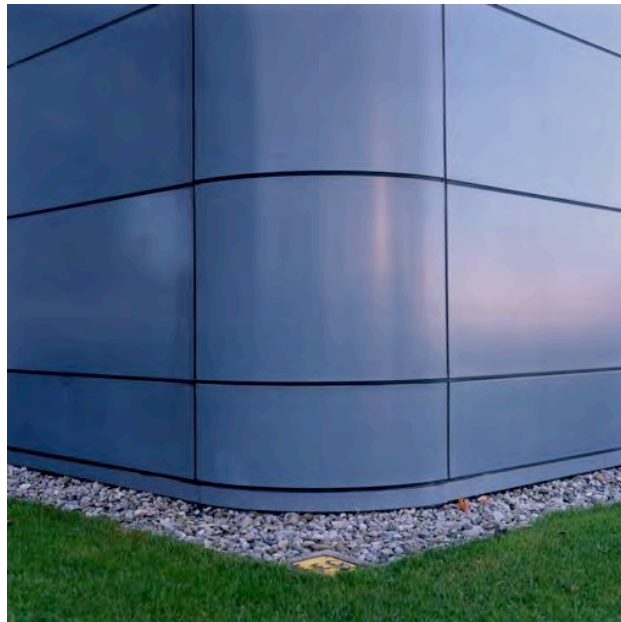
Figure 3.15; 'Lava 1, Building 2, 14.35 p.m., Tuesday, 26 August 2003' (Leixlip, Ireland)

On 26 August 2003, I returned again, with clearance approved, to photograph the exterior of the plant. I, along with my liaise, headed to the southern side of the complex and began to make images. Here, the gridded form of the factory façade confronts the viewer (Figure 3.15). Head-on, all is aligned. Its V-like structure contains, maintains and dictates

the landscape. And now this great blue-grey bow cuts a wave through green, towards the shoreline of the viewer's point of view.

Chapter three has identified the HP complex at Lexilip as embodying and evidencing the material presence of global capital in the Republic's newly globalised landscape and within the context of a critically reflexive visual art practice, outlined the resulting methodological framework of 'montage/multivocality' and its accompanying rationale as a representational strategy. The fourth and final chapter addresses this framework's formative and defining relationship in the re-contextualisation of the research collated on site as a montaged and polyvocal installation titled, *The Breathing Factory*. While addressing the process regarding project realisation, the chapter foregrounds the critical role of curatorial practice informed by discourses on museology, as a representational exercise. It references the exhibitionary interventions by visual art practitioners, which have served as reference points, and further reflects upon the format of the installation and its conceptual constitution.

Notes

1 The term 'Beyond the Pale' is used as an English Idiom. I refer here to Hugh Maxton from his 'Introduction' to the works of the Irish Poet, Austin Clarke. Clarke had written an anthology of poetry with a title of the same name. Leixlip would have been located at the frontier of The Pale:

> Beyond the Pale…meaning a place or topic which lies outside the securely known, implicates both a sense of adventure and risk involved and (for an Irish poet) a deeply ambivalent relation with what remains inside the Pale. The dangerous movements involved, from external dramatic survey and action to melancholia and silence…the Pale was a district (ill-defined, for it was constantly shifting in range) around Dublin in the Middle Ages the English Authorities could claim to control.
>
> (1991: 10)

2 See Leixlip Town Council website under the title, *Beginning*. Available from: <http://www.kildare.ie/leixlip/history/future.asp> [Accessed 26 June 2009].

3 Carly Fiorina was the CEO of Hewlett-Packard until February 2005 during which time HP published record profits. Fiorina had also been the instigator of an HP takeover of its main rivals Compaq in 2002-3. It would appear not all on the Board agreed with this decision then or now and she was subsequently ousted. Her successor, Mark Hurd, was announced in the broadsheet press (*The Irish Times*, 24 February 2005) and continued to retain this position until early August 2010. In much confusion and controversary, Hurd resigned under accusations of sexual misconduct and harrassment accompanied with charges of unsanctioned expenses. His severance package from Hewlett-Packard, as reported in the media, approximated close to $12.5 million US Dollars with the option to also purchase up to three quarters of a million shares in the company. Available from: < http://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/07/business/07hewlett.html?th&emc=th> [Accessed 6 August 2010].

4 *Southern Cross* (Gallery of Photography, Dublin, 2002) focused on spaces of development and finance in Dublin and its surrounding region. The intention was to visually survey these spaces as a means of critically mapping the profound economic changes occuring in Ireland. The work engaged with, among others, ideas concerning the representation of labour and the nature of the architectural transformations of this newly globalised landscape. The work was implicitly informed by a critical practice, as referenced in an accompanying publication of the same name, but explicitly photographic in its installation. It was commissioned by the Gallery of Photography, Dublin in 2000 as recipient of the first Development Bursary/Artist's Award and presented as a solo exhibition there in 2002. The publication included an essay by Justin Carville and a poem by the poet, Philip Casey. The intention for the publication was to create a discursive space for a critical dialogue between the textual and visual. The nature of exhibition publications,

are usually to laud the practitioner, the goal here, however was a critical response. It was subsequently exhibited internationally including in Cologne, Germany (2003), Lyon, France (2004), Paris, France (2005) and Damascus, Syria (2005).

5 Information concerning this project available from: <http://www.thedigitalhub.com/> [Accessed 16 December 2009].

6 Founded in 1993, the *Irish Business and Employers Confederation* (IBEC), the organisation describes itself as the 'voice of Irish business and employers'. A partisan lobby group that advocates on local, national and international level in support of the interests of Irish commercial enterprise. Available from: <http://www.ibec.ie/IBEC/IBEC.nsf/vPages/Home?OpenDocument> [Accessed 14 August 2009].

7 Quoted from advertisement titled 'The Wonderful Barn', a Hewlett-Packard Recruitment Advertisement and subsequent winner of *the Irish Independent/Sunday Independent* ERA Award in 'excellence in Recruitment Advertising 1995'.

8 All the statistics and rationale for choice of location as outlined are as taken from *HP - Share Our Success in Ireland* (2001), Public Affairs Department, Hewlett-Packard, Ireland.

9 Feldman delivered a week-long 'Ethnographic Clinic' workshop in the School of Media, Dublin Institute of Technology (18 March 2004).

10 Pinks' conceptualisation of 'reflexivity' and its relationship to ethnographic representation is informed by the influential publication *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Clifford and Marcus 1986).

11 The application of the diaries imbue a pivotal reflexive function:

> In the context of late-modern critiques concerning the role of photography both in the representation and perpetuation of ideological practices, 'reflexivity', I argue, performs a significant function in documentary photographic practice as a research method – rendering explicit that which is implicit.
>
> (Curran 2008: 141)

12 Taussig revisited the potential of the fieldwork diary at an international symposium at Tate Modern, London (September 2003) titled 'Notes on Fieldworks: Dialogues between Art and Anthropology'. His comments are documented by Zemirah Moffat in her review for the visual arts journal, a-n Magazine. See 'Fieldworks', *a-n Magazine* (Moffat January 2004).

13 Feldman, 'Ethnographic Clinic', School of Media, Dublin Institute of Technology (18 March 2004).

14 The following are technical definitions:

Aperture: circular opening within the lens, usually variable in diameter and controlled by a diaphragm calibrated in f – numbers.

Depth of Field: distance between the nearest and furthest parts of the subject, which can be imaged in acceptably sharp focus at one setting of the lens.

Bracket: In exposure, to make several versions of an image giving different levels of exposure.

Stop: Historical term still used in connection with lens aperture settings, and changes in exposure.

F – numbers: International sequence of numbers, expressing relative aperture, i.e. lens focal length divided by effective aperture diameter. Each change of f – number halves or doubles image brightness.

(Langford 2002: 323–332)

15 A notable contemporary exception in this regard is *The Heart of the City* (1988), a collaboration between the writer, Ronan Sheehan, and the photographer, Brendan Walsh, who draw on social, economic and political factors in their presentation of a community, having 'to live with the destruction of Dublin on account of atrocious planning' (1988: 78). This work focused upon the district of the north inner city area of Dublin, now a large part of the International and Financial Services Centre (IFSC), Ireland's first banking district. *The Heart of the City* presents an extended narrative in the form of the anecdotal, interviews with local residents, social and economic observations and written texts, all collated by Sheehan. With photographs produced by Walsh, which in large part are portraits.

Figure 3.16; *The Heart of the City* (cover)
Ronan Sheehan & Brendan Walsh, Brandon Press, 1988

The significance of *Heart of the City* resides in the fact that it was published at all. The incorporation of text and photographs was unusual at the time as was the nature of the project,

illustrated by the fact that the book is printed in a 'novel-size' format on normal print–paper. The usual outlet for images in an Irish context was limited to photojournalism, illustration and picture books for the tourist market. The book's publication is set against the backdrop of pre-Celtic Tiger Dublin when the ground was being prepared for foreign inward investment. In 1987, Taoiseach Charles Haughey had launched the Customs House Docks scheme with a view to developing a shopping and residential complex around an international conference centre. This would ultimately fail but did lead to the development of what is now known as the International Financial and Services Centre (IFSC).

16 See Carville (2002).

17 Ibid.

18 The conditions in which the portraits at HP were made required the slowing down of the process through the combination of using only available light, the presence of my liaise and the use of a tripod. This necessitated the patience and complicity of the individuals photographed. Benjamin references the slowness of the portrait-making process at the time of photography's invention and the 'length of time the subject had to remain still', continuing:

> The procedure itself caused the subject to focus his life in the moment rather than hurrying on past it; during the considerable period of exposure, the subject as it were grew into the picture, in the sharpest contrast with appearances in a snap-shot…everything about these early pictures was built to last, not only in the incomparable groups in which people came together…but the very creases in the people's clothes have an air of permanence.
>
> (1979: 245)

The intention here is not to advocate an all-encompassing deterministic descriptive notion of the portrait but rather how at a moment within the exchange between the 'utterances', there exists the potential for such a 'focus of life in the moment'. It is also important to note the means of conveying my intentions to the individual workers, regarding the role of the portrait within this research context. Regardless whether individuals had given a verbal agreement, the materiality of the image in the context of publication was critical to communicate. Therefore, in the beginning, I carried a copy of the *Southern Cross* catalogue in my camera bag, showing the portraits of workers from that project to the workers of HP, as the visual approach was similar and critically, it also conveyed the material object of the catalogue itself, something circulating in the public realm. Later, having photographed in the complex for a period, I would bring the catalogue and work prints of portraits made in HP, to also show individuals, and where in some cases, they were of colleagues. This is also evidenced by Rui's original comments of greeting when we first met.

19 A reference point early on in my consideration of using digital video was *Man With The Movie Camera* (1929) by the Soviet filmmaker Dziga Vertov, described by David Bordwell in his insightful commentary on Vertov's work as:

> [A] trip through Moscow from dawn to dark, the film is as much an essay on film as a tour of the city…It is a dissertation on the relation of film to reality…glimpses of everyday life bracketed by reminders of the apparatus of cinema at work.
>
> (1972: 4)

The viewer is presented with glimpses of everyday life in an urban setting, the rituals of rising every morning, navigating city traffic and a day at work are interspersed with images of the editing room and cinema. Vertov employs close-ups, long-shots and at times the camera is directed towards the viewer. We are reminded repeatedly of the apparatus of the media. The filmmaker enters the frame repeatedly at the height of the influence of Soviet Constructivism. *Man With The Movie Camera* is in part a meditation on the ability of film to transform reality and an 'autocritique' of the filmmaking process itself, exploring 'film as art, artifice and artifact' (ibid.: 5).

20 My following understanding of the 'long-take' was informed by a seminar titled 'Visual Ethnography' given by Áine O'Brien, School of Media, Dublin Institute of Technology (30 April 2002).

21 Roberta McGrath lecture titled 'From the Wreckage to the Inadmissible: Memory, Migration and the Photographic Archive' (2003) at the Irish Film Institute, Dublin (13 February 2003).

22 'Why can't beauty be a call to action?' posits David Levi Strauss (2003: 9) concerning the use of aesthetic strategies combined with political intent. Thus new forms of visual presentation possess the potential to subvert rather than distract. Historically, as outlined in chapter two, aesthetics has been problematised concerning its role in representation. I would argue that in the context of a broader reading of the image and as part of a critically reflexive practice, it has a political role to perform. It affords the viewer a way in, an initial reading in its appearance giving way to other readings. As Strauss writes:

> [A] new way to reinvest images with believability…to recover the image from obscurity into which it has been cast by the turpitude of political elites, the moral indifference of Western publics and the sensory onslaught of contemporary media.
>
> (2003: 17)

23 In a discussion addressing the editing process, the photographer Paul Graham asserts:

> I think about what I do, and try to make sense of it, for myself firstly and thus, hopefully, for others. That's my edit process. There seems to be this unspoken assumption that

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intuition is good and intellect is bad in photography, and that's simply false. Yes, photography is an unusual blend of the two, where you need to both be open and sensitive to the world around you, yet at the same time accept that we are sentient beings and eventually grasp what we can through our minds.

(Quoted in Risch 2009: 2)

24 The term 'snapshot' is referred to here as a way of referencing the motivation, reason and rationale underlying the making of an image described by Susan Sontag as the 'utilitarian way' (1977: 16). The image of the thoroughfare (Figure 2.17) was conceived as a 'utilitarian' document to demonstrate light conditions and their possible affect on film type. Images not in the category of the 'snapshot' are arguably embodied in the words of Barthes, those which 'suggest a meaning – a different meaning from the literal one…Photography is subversive not when it frightens, repels, or even stigmatises, but when it is *pensive*, when it thinks' (2000: 38).

25 In an extended discussion on her research practice, Roshinni Kempadoo addresses specifically the format and process of editing and its defining relationship to the 'final form' that holds critical and significant relevance here:

My methodological focus is one of constant research, rethinking and augmentation. This is intrinsic to all stages of production; reworking and learning from the material gathered leads the project instead of vice versa….[The] editing stage is utilized as a forum of mediation and construction, where unanticipated and meaningful juxtapositions can be formed and the structure of the piece tweaked to its final form.

(2007: 175)

26 Since the completion of this aspect of the research process, it is virtually impossible to make colour analogue prints in the Republic of Ireland. Besides no available chemistry other than what may be available ordering from abroad, only a couple of functioning colour analogue processing machines are presently residing in third-level institutions in the country. My understanding is that it is also increasingly difficult to locate colour analogue printing paper. No professional laboratory currently offers colour analogue printing in the Republic.

Chapter Four

The Breathing Factory[1] Installation:

Framing the Politics of 'Re-Representation' and the Global Labouring Body

> Reality changes and in order to represent it, modes of representation must also change (Brecht 2003: 501).
>
> [T]he potential of montage [relates to] the production of a representation in which fragments of the everyday life aren't welded together in the service of an overarching framework, but neither is the idea of a "totality" abandoned in favour of endless fragments. Rather a critical totality of fragments is possible that attempts to see the world as a network of uneven, conflicting, unassimilable but relating elements…putting into question the illusions of representation (Highmore 2002a: 95)[2].

'You betrayed our trust and we don't want to have anything more to do with this project', affirmed Una Halligan over the telephone, the Director of Government and Public Affairs at Hewlett-Packard Ireland. She continued, 'if we had known this sort of thing was going to happen, we would never have got involved in the first place'[3]. This was in the late morning of 19 April 2006, on the same day a feature length article addressing the publication and installation of 'The Breathing Factory' at the Belfast Exposed Photography Gallery had appeared in a national broadsheet newspaper. Halligan, as I understood, had earlier received a telephone call from an irate Lionel Alexander, Vice-President of Hewlett-Packard enquiring 'what was going on?' In Singapore, he had been informed before Halligan in Dublin of the article and how he had been quoted:

> At the end of the day, no multinational has any emotional attachment to Ireland, or Singapore or China or India. It's business, right, and if there's no business reason to be in a country we will not…we will leave…we will leave tomorrow.

The quote came from a recorded conversation between myself and Alexander made in early 2005, an outcome of a meeting, organised by Halligan, as part of my fieldwork onsite at HP and whom, was also present. Now, part of the installation in Belfast, she informed me of the embarrassment this had caused the multinational, necessitating an urgent call that same morning to both the Office of the Taoiseach (Irish Prime Minister) and the IDA to both explain Alexander's comments and to provide reassurance that HP had no immediate departure plans regarding its operations in the Republic of Ireland.

This significant moment resulting from a journalist's reading of the installation alludes to the critical outcomes regarding the dissemination of practice-led research. Although it meant the ending of a 3-year working relationship with Halligan as my main contact at HP, significant itself, I was also disappointed, having hoped to invite her to contribute to the roundtable discussion planned for the installation of the project in Dublin in the Autumn of that same year. The intention, at each presentation, was to create a space for discourse emanating from the installation addressing the critical understandings of representation that framed the research project from the outset[4].

Victor Burgin addressing what he defined as the end of 'art theory' in the context of 'post-modernism' foregrounded through the re-emergence of conceptualism the 'attention to the political…one based less upon the notion of the "representation of politics" and more of a systematic attention to the *politics of representation*.' (original italics [1973] 1992: 1099). The central questions of this study through the ethnographically grounded application of audio and visual media have been to critically foreground the politics of

representation in addressing the role and representation of labour and global labour practices situated in the predatory context of global capital. For that reason, this final chapter addresses the 'politics of re-representation' surrounding the performative dissemination and circulation of this research project. However, within the framework of such a discussion focusing on re-narrations, re-versionings or re-representations of research, it is important to define certain parameters due to the scale of this field of practice.

Therefore, informed by discourses of museology and curatorial practice, the intention of this chapter is to critically contextualise the re-representation of my research through an acknowledgment of a history of representation and exhibitionary practices, which in the context of an ethnographically informed research undertaking, references the historical role of anthropology and public display. The discussion acknowledges the role of installation and its conceptual functioning and relationship to the representational concerns of this project. Hence, the critical intervention and installation-based projects of two visual artists, Allan Sekula and Ann-Sofi Sidén, in relation to the thematic of the labouring body and which have functioned as reference points to the presentation of my own research, are foregrounded. The discussion then moves to an account of the professional relationships established with the central curators who sought the key funding towards the public production and publication of the research project. Critically, the chapter concludes by foregrounding the most recent installation of *The Breathing Factory* in Chicago, Illinois. In the form of a narrativised walk-through, it theoretically frames the rationale concerning the construction of the exhibition's constituent parts,

while acknowledging the architectural concerns of the museum space and the experiential underpinnings of its conceptual formation. Thus evidencing both the cycles of discourse surrounding such public interventions and the means to reflect upon the function of open-endedness concerning the contest of meaning regarding such research undertakings. The chapter as a whole instantiates the critically reflexive follow-through from the research methodological approach employed, namely, 'multivocality/montage' and how this methodological approach has extended conceptually, informing and shaping the construction of the final 're-representation' – the installation itself.

A Politics of Re-Representation

> The isolation of each object from its neighbours, the provision of suitable background and above all, a position in which it is to be readily and distinctively seen.

(Barry [1989] 1996: 307)

Figure 4.1; Anthropological Display, Auckland Museum, New Zealand c.1890

While the discussion in the chapter three established the methodological framework employed, issues concerning production and postproduction in addition to a theoretical engagement with modalities of still and moving image representation, the focus here is to underpin the conceptual groundwork for the accompanying installation as a social and performative document: 'The value of images is not limited to the worth they accrue as representations seen (or consumed) by individual viewers. Instead images also accrue value through the social processes of accumulation, possession, circulation and exchange' (Poole 1997: 11). This performative outcome functions further as a document within the overarching context of research as critical practice, where such a practices are 'hard to define', as Solomon-Godeau asserts:

> [C]ritical practices do not exist in a vacuum, but derive their forms and meanings in relation to their changing historical conditions, the problem of definition must always be articulated in terms of the present.
>
> (1999: 264)

As referenced in the chapter three, the discipline of anthropology and its historical formation has been the subject of significant critique surrounding its construction and representation of cultural and racial difference. The modern usage of the word 'exhibition', developed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, 'though not exclusively used for art, it did refer generally to showing publicly' (Ward 1996: 454). Barry's epigraph at the beginning of this section describes an intricate display of anthropological material (Figure 4.1) dating from the 1890s typically characterised by the 'Victorian fetishisation of the domestic object and the design of specific cabinets enclosed in glass' (Poole: 309). The widespread exhibition of such fetishised and 'exotic-ised' objects, as Edwards notes, was 'active in the making of meanings about cultures'

(2001: 39). From its earliest undertakings, institutional spaces such as the museum and the national archive became complicit sites in the representation of the 'other', forged in the context of colonial domination[5]. Such defining ideological functions would seem appropriate in this time of increased industrialisation and commercialisation, where such institutions were not immune to the experience of commercial endeavours. Extravaganzas such as the newly grounded World Fairs and the arrival of the Paris Salon, aimed to create 'a material support and a background for an object to be seen and sold' (Celant 1996: 373) whilst embracing 'new modes of visuality' (Ward 1996: 453) – all to an increasingly discerning audience/market whom possessed a literacy regarding such undertakings.

Photography would be instrumental, specifically in the service of anthropological representation, as both a document and documenting device through its ability to be reproduced and be reproducible. Therefore its inclusion in exhibitions and publications and as a source of exchange, 'flowing ceaselessly around their networks…photographs closed the space between the site of observation on the colonial periphery and the site of metropolitan interpretation' (Edwards 2001: 31). The historical role of the 'lanternslide'[6], for example, as a precursor to the cinema theatre is illustrative; images 'left the study and became active performers in the dissemination of anthropological meaning' (Edwards 2001: 44), and were employed throughout Europe and the United States as part of a wider culture of presentation to a growing audience. Individuals were seated in dark spaces, having stepped in from their 'lightened everyday' and entered the space of the 'exotic', an illuminating and entertaining display that now reached beyond a solely academic gaze.

It is imperative to note this does not approximate or revise a notion of spectacularisation associated with the 20th century. As Ward observes, 'many of the display practices could still seem extensions of other conventions in social life' (Ward 1996: 463). However, such performative practices of the time, underscore the fluidity of the still photograph. As critics have argued, photography operated as 'an abstract ideological practice, chameleon-like, adopting the ideological perspective of the institutions that employed it' (Brothers [1988] as quoted in Edwards 2001: 63). Perhaps reductive, I would argue such a statement alerts the determining role of context in photography's reception, an evolving understanding of the photographic process and, as previously addressed in chapter two, an adherence to technological determinism. However, such a position negates any role regarding subjective agency in the application of the photograph.

In the early part of the 20th century, the locus of anthropological investigation, in terms of its 'theoretical…character' (ibid.: 48), returned to the university and with it began a decline in viewing images as emanating from a centralising source. Anthropology experienced 'shifting evaluations concerning the nature of the production of evidence and the changing modes in the transmission of that information' (ibid.); the disciplinary foundations were being laid for a less complicit collusion with institutional practices. With the advent of post-colonial and late modern discourses in the late 1970s problematising questions of representation and ethnographic practices, a reflexively spirited anthropology emerged, one that has further suffused the field of art practice. For example, in her discussion concerning contemporary museology, Mieke Bal writes:

Part of this self-critical interest from humanists in museums is in turn due to an impulse coming from critical anthropology as a social discipline that, more obviously than others, emerged out of a political practice no longer acceptable – that of imperialism and colonialism – anthropology is today the most self-critical discipline.

(1996: 201)

Furthermore, in a visual art practice context, Ferguson, echoing the earlier observation of Burgin, engages with the rhetoric of exhibitions:

Ideas around issues of representation are at the centre of what characterises the relations between postmodern theory and art. In particular, the politics of "representivity", meaning who is represented, how and in what ways....[An] exhibition is a strategic system of representations, whose aim is the wholesale conversion of its audiences to sets of prescribed values to alter social relations.

(1996: 178)

At this point, it may be valuable to return to the subject of re-narration and in particular, the function of installation as a conceptually strategic and critical exhibitionary manifestation in response to late modern critique. Specifically, the public re-narration of a practice-led research study in the critical awareness of the ideological functioning and framing of the sites of dissemination. With relevance here, while addressing the role of the museum as a production site of meaning, Ferguson further observes:

Exhibitions can be considered to be like texts, if the linguistic model is invoked, but they are also intertexts, situated at moments of articulation within systems of signification of which they are but one, a material moment in which the extra-aesthetic forces impinge and can be revealed as competing systems of strategic representation.

(ibid.: 179)

Thus, I wish to establish a structural understanding into which practice-led research is potentially disseminated while acknowledging the critical and ethical questions such re-

narration may encounter beyond the perceived reflexive and informed framework of the academic institution. A common perception through the engagement with art institutions is thereby to support, uphold and re-affirm these sites of representation while simultaneously engaging with the art market, viewed as one and the same in turn, potentially undermining the critical readings of political and socially motivated undertakings. While, in part this may hold some validity, such readings may similarily be limited, as Bal suggests, a reflexive engagement associated with this late modern period has also asserted a significant impact upon curatorial practice and the functioning of the museum. Therefore, the work to be referenced within this discussion appears primarily in publicly funded spheres as opposed to the private gallery circuit. While such public gallery spaces are dependent on public funds and do seek to generate audiences, they do not possess the prioritising demands concerning commercial survival[7]. With all spheres, however, a division between spaces and practices remains difficult. As Lippard cautions, 'there are always a lot of art-worlds co-existing at the same time' (2008: 219).

As an exhibitionary approach and design, 'installation would better be conceived as a bridge from present to past' (Ward 1996: 463) and in a contemporary sense can be viewed as implicitly possessing an awareness of the partiality of modernism. Through its poststructural, fragmented and allegorical allusions, which are inherent in its presentation, strategically and critically, the installation format recognises the agency of the viewer. As Barry notes, 'the role of the spectator, is to create by means of design an active participation rather than a passive viewing' ([1986] 1996: 307). This is not intended to idealise, as Ferguson asserts how the, 'the actual presentation of the work, the

site in which it is found...is a unified strategy of representation and a clear signal of each form of representivity' (1996: 180) and further how within such a context, 'the management of meanings is explicitly the goal of any strategy of representation' (ibid.: 185). This is reinforced, when Jacques Rancière challenges, in the context of an image literate society, installation may remain simply another 'spectacle' and the orchestrator is merely, 'a window dresser' (2007: 25). Rancière continues:

> Installation art thus brings into play the metaphorical, unstable nature of images. The latter circulate between the world of art and the world of imagery. They are interrupted, fragmented, reconstituted by a poetics of the witticism that seeks to establish new differences of potentiality between these unstable elements'
>
> (ibid.: 26)

Remaining skeptical of the potential of installation as representation, Rancière, invoking linguistics proposes a model, 'intent solely on witnessing' (ibid.) constituting image and text, towards a form of what 'might be called *montage*' (original italics ibid.: 48). In a similar, if not cautionary register, Potts outlines the continued affectivity of installation:

> [L]ulling us into mesmerised fascination with the spectacle…at the same time stopping us short, inducing us to reflect on the enticements and disenchantments involved...it engulfs us at the same time that it can make us aware of the framings and closures that are also part of the substance of contemporary, consumerist spectacles.
>
> (2001: 22)

Mindful of such critical observations and in the context of this reflexive critical practice and the methodological framework adopted, I would argue, nonetheless that installation approximates the critical potential of montage, 'linking things which are seen as being separate but are in fact inextricably bound up together' (Kennard 1999: 257). For as Rancière also acknowledges, 'the spectator also acts...she observes, selects, compares

interprets…she composes her own poem with the elements of the poem before her' (2009: 13). In a related discussion of the representation of landscape, Solnit writes, 'installation itself insists on a more bodily, diffuse experience, on the possibility of ongoing creation and transformation, on unframed, unresolved contextuality. It may be that landscape has become environment, politically and phenomenologically' (1996: 232). This functioning of the experiential resonates with Pink's discussion of 'experience' underscoring a 'phenomenological anthropology', where informed by the work of Geertz and directly quoting Throop, she defines experience as '[the] entire definitional range of the indeterminate, the fluid, the incoherent, the internal, the disjunctive, the fragmentary, the coherent, the conjunctive and the unitary' (2006: 43).

The decision, therefore for the reconstitution of my research material into an installation format reflects critically on the 'totality' (Highmore 2002a) of everyday audio and visual fragments collated in the globalised industrial space of HP. As Pink notes, 'reality is, in fact, continuous and subjectively experienced, at best, ethnographers can only reconstruct fragments of a subjective experience of reality, representations of knowledge are never complete' (2001: 167). Therefore, the research fragments, constitutive of the installation, are presented in the form of a metacritical montaged narrative, a re-representation designed to demonstrate the study's emphasis on an epistemology of the evocative (Tyler 1989) and specifically, one advocating an understanding of the globalised industrial everyday in terms of vulnerability.

These observations and the degree with which this critical enquiry emanates from anthropological representation and late modern critiques of visual art practices and their institutional facades, has shaped my positioning as a practice-led researcher and its intersection with my role as a visual artist. I now wish to consider the disseminative approaches and exhibitionary work of two practitioners, Allan Sekula and Ann-Sofi Sidén, whose combined mixed media outputs addressing labour have served as reference points for the installation of *The Breathing Factory*. Both of whose visual art practices, in the context of this discussion and the theoretical concerns they evidence, I would argue, open up 'subjective spaces' (Edwards 2001: 194), enabling the agency of the viewer to enter into and witness, innovative, critically sensitive, experiential and multilayered frameworks of representation.

Liverpool, England

> One thing that struck me strongly in Liverpool and it was certainly present in some of the fiction I'd read was this sense of generational rupture and continuity within working class families. That the sea itself was a kind of thread of escape and becoming[8].

In May 2003 at the Generali Foundation in Vienna, Austria, an installation opened with an accompanying publication of the same name, *Performance Under Working Conditions*. This was the first major retrospective of the work of the American artist, educator and writer, Allan Sekula. It is a section of this exhibition titled, 'Freeway to China (Version 2, for Liverpool)' which is the focus for my discussion to follow – embodying the working methods, re-presentational strategies and central themes addressed in his practice.

'Our readings of past culture', writes Sekula, 'are subject to the covert demands of the historical present' (1978: 118). While addressing the re-invention of a documentary photographic practice which acknowledged its modernist underpinnings and role in ideological construction, Sekula is further critical of the role of art and photography in advanced capitalism and its commodification, becoming a 'specialised colony of the monopoly of capitalist media' (ibid.: 120). Nonetheless, having become familiar with critical documentary photographic practice, Sekula ascribed that there remained within the application of photography the potential through a reflexive awareness to usurp what he would define as the solely aesthetic distractions of modernist visual practices thereby re-inscribing the critical potentialities that remained. In a similar vein and with reference to the agency of the image archive which he defined as 'elements in a unified symbolic economy' (2003a: 450), Sekula questions the value of such sites due to their 'depoliticisation of photographic meaning' (ibid.: 444), where such meanings were 'up for grabs' (ibid.: 444). Significantly, these observations alert us to the implications of the continued application of the photograph and thereby, for the political potentialities within the meaning of photographs produced – potentials in specific critical contexts which produce meaning whilst simultaneously alerting us to the role of photographic representation and its functioning in the formation of ideological histories. These themes continue to define Sekula's practice in the critical application of the still and more recently moving image. This is illustrated in relation to the archive and the function of context in the reading of the photograph. As Sekula writes:

> [It] is clear that photographic meaning depends largely on context. Despite the powerful impression of reality…photographs, in themselves, are fragmentary and incomplete utterances. Meaning is always directed by layout; captions, text, and site and mode of presentation…thus, since photographic archives tend to suspend

meaning and use, within the archive meaning exists in a state that is both residual and potential. The suggestion of the past uses coexists with a plentitude of possibilities.

<div align="right">(2003a: 445)</div>

Blockade 1

In England begann der Angriff auf die gewerkschaftlich organisierten Dockarbeiter 1989 mit Thatchers Aushebelung des National Dock Scheme. Dem ausbeuterischen System der Gelegenheitsarbeit, das doch längst abgeschafft war, wurde damit wieder Tür und Tor geöffnet. In Australien entwickelten sich die Dinge dagegen ganz ohne parlamentarisches Zutun.

Die konservative australische Regierung unter John Howard beschloss 1997, die gesamte Belegschaft gewerkschaftlich organisierter Hafenarbeiter von Sydney bis Freemantle zu entlassen. Diese aggressive Geste steht in direkter Nachfolge zu Reagans Attacke auf die Fluglotsen 1981 und Thatchers Attacke auf die britischen Kohlenminenarbeiter 1985. In

Blockade 1

In Britain, the attack on unionized dock workers began with the Thatcherite dismantling of the National Dock Scheme in 1989, which reopened the door to the exploitative casual labor system of the past. In Australia, by contrast, events unfolded without this preliminary parliamentary groundwork.

The conservative Australian government of John Howard decided in 1997 to sack an entire force of unionized dock workers, from Sydney to Freemantle. This pugnacious gesture emulated Reagan's 1981 attack on air-traffic controllers and Thatcher's 1985 attack on British coal miners. Former special forces troops were secretly trained to operate cargo-handling equipment in Dubai on the

Figure 4.2; from *Freeway to China (Version 2, for Liverpool)*, Generali Foundation, Vienna, 2003

These defining characteristics, regarding the representation of the image archive and their construction in meaning, continue to define his representational strategies. We can now recognise such approaches as emblematic of late modern photographic practice, 'principally residing in its dismantling of reified, idealist conceptions enshrined in modernist aesthetics – issues devolving on presence, subjectivity, and aura' (Solomon-Godeau 1999: 249).

With a focus upon the high seas, his project, 'Freeway to China' documents the changes resulting from globalisation in world ports and dockland areas, specifically Los Angeles, Sydney and Liverpool. While acknowledging the predatory impact of global capital,

Sekula identifies the potential for solidarity between workers. As Begg observes, 'the sea is embedded with the memory of earlier pre-industrial and industrial phases of capitalism which haunt Sekula's critique of globalisation' (2005)[9]. Economy has been a central theme for Sekula and in particular, the subject of the maritime, which he describes as 'an obsessive interest' (1997: 59) since the 1980s:

> First, '"the economy"' is widely regarded as unrepresentable within the field of culture, its abstraction and complexity defy translation. Second, '"the economy"' is not a fashionable topic, nor has it been one….[The] economy is culture's imaginary bad object, even as culture in reality submits to market forces[10].
>
> (1997: 50)

Repeatedly, he has addressed the seminal role of labour, proffering representational strategies primarily through the incorporation of text and image. In late 1999, Sekula was invited to participate in the Liverpool Biennale resulting in 'Freeway to China (Version 2, for Liverpool)'. Building on existing work produced in collaboration with the longshore men and women of the port of Los Angeles, he was struck by the historic and contemporary role of unionised labour in Liverpool's docklands. Particularly, Sekula noted the immediacy of the 'neglected two-year struggle against a mass sacking', which he identified as embodying, 'many of the key issues of the battle against neoliberalism and globalisation.' (2003b: 278). Having been introduced to the Dockers and their families, Sekula befriended them and subsequently enlisted their assistance and complicity in the formulation of this piece of work. Besides the photographs produced, he wrote an extended piece of text which was published[11], and for the exhibition, images were presented alongside, anecdotal and descriptive passages:

> [To] insist that language is an integral element of the work itself, and not a supplement, is to hope for an end to the institutional automatism of the bureaucratic

hierarchy and division of labor that leads us from the "'visual'" artist to the "verbal" critic.

(1997: 58)

Figure 4.3; from *Freeway to China (Version 2, for Liverpool)*, Generali Foundation, Vienna, 2003

In the image above, Mason Davis (Figure 4.3), a welder in the port of Los Angeles, stares directly into the camera, somewhat passively yet somewhere else in his engagement, out towards the viewer and then beyond, somewhere. Sekula documents this moment and recalls how it was Mason's 'first job in a year' and then embellishes the encounter, recalling how when he returned to give him a copy of the photograph, Mason had moved on to New York in search of work. This image formed part of the installation at the Open Eye Gallery in Liverpool. Sekula invited local photographer, Dave Sinclair to share the exhibition space as a means for 'dialogue between, what he described as 'my more "global" take on maritime struggles and his intimate and "local" engagement with Liverpool history and the fight as it unfolded' (2003b: 278).

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Joan, Val und Anne, drei Dockerfrauen im Pub am Abend, an dem die
Dockauseinandersetzungen endeten.

Januar 1996. Foto von Dave Sinclair

Joan, Val, and Anne, three dockers' wives in the pub the afternoon
the docks dispute ended.

January 1996. Photograph by Dave Sinclair

Figure 4.4; from *Freeway to China (Version 2, for Liverpool)*, Generali Foundation, Vienna, 2003,
photograph by Dave Sinclair

Three women sit, engrossed, concerned (Figure 4.4), nails chewed – a black and white portrait. Below eye level, a glass is risen partially obscuring the right hand side near the viewer's point of view. In the intimate and familiar surroundings of the local pub, the cultural meeting point, a place of exchange in this time of crisis – the latest news is awaited, possibly a decision that will shape futures, perhaps their own. The women portrayed display no awareness of the photographer, the image emblematic of a 'documentary style', their lack of awareness evidencing trust at this most pivotal of times. A counterpoint to the image of Mason, in format and style, however, struggles linked through a dependency concerning dockworker futures and how photography, critically has a role, albeit with caution, to bear witness.

'But awareness of history', Sekula observes, 'as an *interpretation* of the past succumbs to a faith in history as a *representation*. The viewer is confronted, not by *historical-writing*, but by the appearance of *history itself*' (original italics 2003a: 447). The constructed nature of such historical knowledge and photography's role in its ideological grounding remains relevant throughout. Repeatedly, one is made aware not only of the subject matter of Sekula's project work but of the critical reading of the media employed. Referencing the previously mentioned observation of Brecht concerning the photographs of the Krupp Factory Works and how something must be 'constructed' (Sekula 1997), Sekula discusses its impact on the installation of his work:

> In an exhibition space, of course, this requires more than the turning of pages, but an act of walking. Both allow the viewer to come to initial terms with the image without the benefit of the caption's gesture of semantic anchorage. Thus also the overall picture sequence is afforded a certain visual autonomy. Overall my aim is to construct an open invitation for desultory movement between the photographically-produced text panels in black and white and the sequences of colour photographs: a kind of meandering voyage of reading and looking.
>
> (1997: 58)

Figure 4.5; installation (detail), *Freeway to China (Version 2, for Liverpool)*, Generali Foundation, Vienna, 2003

Amidst the installation, Mickey Tighe and Marty Size gaze through upright rusting metal bars (Figure 4.6), hands grasping, grasped – the images of them, the left part of a diptych. The image to the right is their view and now the viewers, looking out and beyond. Both have been replaced and so they, and the viewer look towards the site of their former employment, bars impeding, obscuring, an empty space and beyond and in the distance, the docklands of Liverpool. They note the workers presently employed, describing them as 'scabs' – non-unionised labour brought in to replace those who once worked there – Mickey asks, 'Marty, isn't that your machine?'

Figure 4.6; from *Freeway to China (Version 2, for Liverpool)*, Generali Foundation, Vienna, 2003

'Freeway to China (Version 2, for Liverpool)', states the accompanying press release, 'reminds us both of the distance and proximity of space in the globalised world…and the physical necessity of transport and therefore labour'[12]. However, as evidenced in the aforementioned exchange between the two dockworkers and their grammatical adoption

of the possessive article, the project further and critically challenges any all-encompassing assumptions concerning a uniformity of the impact of globalisation:

> The Liverpool dockers and their wives, their families insist that theirs has been a very "modern struggle", refuting the smug neoliberal dismissal of dock labor as an atavistic throwback to an earlier mercantile age. Postmodernists, who fantasize a world of purely electronic and instantaneous contacts, blind to the slow movement of heavy and necessary things, may indeed find this insistence on mere modernity quaint.…[But] against the pernicious idealist abstraction termed "globalism", dockers enact an international solidarity based on intricate physical, intellectual, and above all *social* relationships to the flow of material goods.

(Sekula 2003b: 297)

Dubí, Czech Republic

> I returned to the motel over and over again and I spent a lot of time just sitting around in a bar waiting together with the girls. This time is reflected in my diary notes, basically things I could not film. They are now represented as text or as snapshots…so I ended up with tons of material, but it wasn't until I had the exhibition…that I started to think about what was really important and how to display it all, to formulate the work for an exhibition context.

(Sidén 2004: 17)

Figure 4.7; video stills from *Warte Mal!*, Ann-Sofi Sidén

The Swedish visual artist Ann-Sofi Sidén spent almost two years revisiting the small town of Dubí, 'a dismal parade of bars, clubs and hotels receding into the forest' (Sidén

2002: 5) on the border of the Czech Republic with the former East Germany. Historically, Dubí had been a successful resort town but in the aftermath of the collapse of communism, now known as the 'Velvet Revolution', economic instability transformed the town into a centre for the sex industry. It continues to be a location for large-scale prostitution and the trafficking of women. Centering upon the women themselves, Sidén's project critically documents their plight through multiple subject positions, including the men who frequent and use them – presenting customers, the local mafia, pimps, police commissioners, the motel owners and a former waiter.

Figure 4.8; video stills and diary extracts, from *Warte Mal!*, Ann-Sofi Sidén

Warte Mal! Prostitution After the Velvet Revolution (Hayward Gallery 2002) was first presented in 1999 at the Wiener Secession Gallery in Vienna in the form of an extensive installation. The title was inspired by the desperate calls in German for clients, 'Warte Mal!' ('Hey Wait!'). The publication which accompanied the presentation in the

Hayward Gallery in London in 2002 includes extended transcripts of interviews with her collaborators on the project, extracts from Sidéns' diaries, images in the form of photographs, stills taken from the collated digital video material and installation images from the Musée d'art Moderne in Paris in 2001. The subject matter for the images include portraits, landscapes and photographs which convey a sense that they were made quickly without having much time for thought regarding their composition.

Figure 4.9; from *Warte Mal!*, Ann-Sofi Sidén

The context may have had a role to play in their appearance, however, this remains unclear and whether this was intentional or not; that is left for the viewer to decide, although Sidén does allude in her own words to documenting the 'anonymous girls lining the roads day and night' (2004: 46) and more intimately, those she had befriended. For example, in the image above (Figure 4.9), the point of view is located from inside. Nothing is in focus and looking out, two women appear to be in mid-conversation huddled together obstructing the view of the exterior, obstructing the viewer – elements

of the road are visible – these two women, arms linked, entwined, appearing to chat, our privileged perspective, the intimate within.

Figure 4.10; from *Warte Mal!*, Ann-Sofi Sidén

Of critical significance is the associated environment of violence in which these women labour and also the context in which Sidén undertook her project. This is evidenced, for example, in the image from the police station (Figure 4.10). Depicted are the photographs of the missing, lining a wall, images provided by desperate families seeking their loved ones' safe return. The sustained presence of such violence, an associated dependency and the feelings of entrapment are further powerfully expressed by Katja, one of the women befriended and interviewed by Sidén, in relation to the plight of a friend and her treatment at the hands of the men who 'owned her':

Marcela, for example, she came here one evening so badly beaten she couldn't move for three days. They had hit her head against the bathroom faucets. So I got her medicine and we talked and I told her, "Marcela, I'm not afraid, I'll give them

money or I'll give you the money and you can go home or you can stay here and work." But when they came for her she went home with them after saying she couldn't.

(2002: 92)

This stark passage underscores the functioning of making visible, the stories of these women and the specificity of this location. As the Director of the Hayward Gallery, observes, 'in order to expose, rather than conceal…at once a compelling work of art and a comprehensive social document' (Brades 2002: 6) [13].

Figure 4.11; Installation (detail), *Warte Mal!*, Musée d'art Moderne, Paris, 2001

This social dimension is critical to the installation; however, its open-endedness is also significant – 'dramaturgically the piece is still a maze' (2004: 47), states Sidén, continuing, 'it contains a lot of material, but it's good if you get the feeling you are missing something…just like life. When you have turned your head to the right, something is happening to the left. It makes you want more' (ibid.: 49). Informed by the

film installation work of Chantal Akerman, the theatrical undertakings of the performance artist Bruce Nauman and the innovative cinematic narrative devices of the German filmmaker, Werner Fassbinder[14], the installation included a set of rooms in the form of 'cubicles/booths', with floors lined in red carpet, each containing video monitors replaying the interviews and testimonies of those involved – 'exhibitions are ambivalent spaces whose ability to evoke passionate subjective responses is intimately connected to the way in which they transmit the potency of the experiential to the viewer or participant in excess of the artwork' (Deliss 2007: 87). Large-scale projections onto perspex portray various scenes, including those of a rural landscape, the acoustic backdrop of noise from the local bars, accompanied by wall projections of written extracts from Sidén's diary. With further reference to the installation, Sidén states:

> The exhibition architecture reflects the claustrophobic motels and bars where the girls work and the open spaces, the rural landscape, I encountered in between….[The] viewer moves the story forward from different perspectives. You can't really choose what to listen to in a particular moment; it's all edited for you….[It's] like moving around in an open and accessible archive.
>
> (ibid.: 48)

It is significant to note that the specificities of the exhibitionary settings for the later presentation of Sidén's installation – in European art spaces such as the Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne and the Moderna Museet, Stockholm – reflect upon the particular architectural narratives of each of the institutions. In his accompanying essay, Robert Fleck, describes how 'visitors find themselves face to face with a whole town. The architecture is physical, imaginary and virtual: screens with images of conversations, filmed portraits and private moments' (2002: 130).

Figure 4.12; Installation (detail), *Warte Mal!*, Musée d'art Moderne, Paris, 2001

The overarching effect of Sidén's innovative installation resonates with Tyler's notion of 'evocation', encorporating a 'spatial montage' (ibid.: 132), evoking a cumulative experiential effect amidst the collated fragments from this border town and the stories of those who dwell there. Attentive to the 'camera's partial vision', one reviewer wrote, 'is this the "truth" behind the façade? The installation totality argues against such a pat reading. [It] conveys a sense of immersion in a fantastically complicated micropolitics' (Whiters 2002: 89).

Within such a contemporary framework of exhibitionary practices and prior to detailing the installation of my research project, *The Breathing Factory*, I wish first to address the process of realisation. The following section outlines the transformation of the research into the materiality and experientiality of the installation, beginning with a description of the process to both, seek and secure support from potential institutional partners. It is

worth noting that this process was envisaged and intended from the very outset of the project, evidenced by the process of securing such supports occurring almost simultaneously with the evolution and collation of the research process[15].

Locating Support and the Process of Realisation

At the end of July 2004, I boarded a bus from Dublin to Belfast. During the previous weeks, I had made contact and secured a meeting with Karen Downey, then Exhibitions Director at Belfast Exposed Photography[16]. As a non-profit organisation, Belfast Exposed have developed a reputation, for supporting projects through from outset to actualisation including publication and exhibition. Downey, in her role as curator, once she has agreed to support a project proposal, is the key point of contact in collaboration with the artist/photographer in the formulation of proposals towards the securement of funding. This is primarily through the Arts Council of Northern Ireland (ACNI). My professional interest in Belfast Exposed was founded both upon discussion with my peers in relation to their experiences and the critical nature of both its community-based engagement/empowerment and exhibition and publication programming. As its mission statement asserts:

> Founded in 1983 as a community photography initiative, Belfast Exposed Photography now functions as a gallery for contemporary photography with emphasis on commissioning and publication of new work. The production of socially and politically engaged work and dialogue is the driving force behind all aspects of the Belfast Exposed project[17].

As an organisation and through its activities, Belfast Exposed displays a dynamic and critical engagement regarding photographic representation, implicitly demonstrating a

reflexiveness concerning the ideological role of the photograph as a subjective mediation. Thus, I believed such a professional institution would identify with the themes of my research and how as a project it was beginning to manifest in its expansion solely beyond the photographic document. I had not previously met Downey, but was aware that she had expressed interest in presenting my previous project, *Southern Cross* following its installation at the Gallery of Photography in Dublin in 2002.

At the time of our meeting, in terms of presentation, my research material consisted of small colour photocopied images of work prints from the HP complex, merely fixed with adhesive glue in the confines of a blank artist's sketchbook. The sum of its parts alluding to an edited narrative in terms of ordering – with images from the outside of the complex to images within and portraits of workers from several locations. We met in the then relatively new confines of the administration office above the gallery space, in what once were the clerical offices when the site functioned as a shirt factory established as Belfast experienced the Industrial Revolution.

The meeting took the format of an informal conversation addressing the background to the project, as the core outcome of my practice-led postgraduate research. I also outlined what was informing the methodological framework adopted, as I understood at this stage, and its relationship in the formation of the project. Downey was interested in the theoretical background and resulting representational strategies being employed while recognising the thematic link with *Southern Cross*. She was due to shortly leave for the 'Rhubarb Rhubarb' festival in Birmingham, England[18]. This event occurs each year in

August over three days, centered upon artist and photographer portfolio reviews whereby those attending present their work for review to invited national and international curators, gallerists, representatives from picture agencies, directors and other established artists. Downey had been invited as a reviewer and requested if she could bring this very rough maquette with her, stating the possibility of showing it to other reviewers on my behalf. I understood the request to represent an affirmation and evidencing, at this early phase, her interest in the project. Downey questioned whether I had made formal contact with other institutions concerning the project. At this stage I had not and it was her opinion that it might be beneficial to broaden out the scope of institutions involved thereby both generating an audience north and south of the border, in turn affording greater funding potentials. We parted agreeing that I keep her informed of developments and she would contact me later in the Autumn regarding any outcome from her trip to Birmingham.

With hindsight, I realise this affirmation was a significant moment in the process of securing institutional support for the dissemination of the project. In early 2005, I spoke with Tanya Kiang, Director and Trish Lambe, Projects Manager at the Gallery of Photography in Dublin. As the national space for photographic practice in the Republic and having commissioned and exhibited, *Southern Cross*, it had always been an intention to make contact with the Gallery regarding support for the research project. Due to the personal nature of my relationship with Kiang and Lambe, both were already aware of the project. This form of contact is significant and present in most professional contexts in terms of building long-term relationships with individuals and institutions.

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Significantly, such relationships can play a vital role in the realisation and dissemination of a research project being underscored through the ability of such individuals to understand and trust both your ideas and judgment in relation to same. In addition, individuals will make time in their schedules to informally meet and discuss a formal application for support. However, this by no means implies an automatic positive response and is merely a critical first step. At this time in relation to the study, the institutions I had dealt with would be defined as non-profit, public-funded spaces under the day-to-day guidance of a director, who in turn, was ultimately responsible to that institutions board. And it would be the board, which would have the final say regarding approval of institutional support for a project proposal.

There followed several informal meetings with Kiang, describing the research to date as had been described to Downey in Belfast, accompanied with the presentation of work in progress in the form of work prints and a rough edit of video works that had been produced at this stage. Subsequently, due to personal leave, my formal contact with the Gallery of Photography transferred to Lambe. Both she and Kiang had responded positively and were at this stage also aware of my contact with Belfast Exposed. However, the Gallery was not in a financial position to support a substantial publication, nonetheless it was requested I make a formal proposal for exhibition.

The proposal process involved the provision of a personal profile, a substantial overview of the project to date with description underscoring the critical justification for its inclusion in the Gallery's programming. I also provided a proposed installation using the

existing gallery layout plans. The intention being to enable those reviewing the application to envisage the potential of such an exhibition meanwhile, demonstrating one's own understanding or 'reading' of the re-representation of the material in the gallery space. The proposal was submitted in advance of the board meeting, which I understood occurred twice a year specifically to review exhibition requests. The board consists of private interested individuals, practitioners and academics with a theoretical interest in the visual[19]. The programming of the Gallery extends to a maximum of six exhibitions per year with perhaps half of these through the curation of invited international high profile artists or in the format of group exhibitions. At certain periods, a thematic is curated within the programme, for example, the presentation of a series of exhibitions of young contemporary photography from Ireland. Indeed even in the context of those invited international artists where the concerns of their work fits, responds to or acts as a counterpoint within the curation of these particular themes, can facilitate and provide the rationale their inclusion as part of that thematic.

In the intervening period, in and around the middle of 2005, while awaiting a response from the Gallery of Photography, I travelled once more to meet with Downey in Belfast. Lasting over an hour while intensively discussing the ongoing development and evolution of the project, I presented her with a maquette of the book. While remaining mindful at particular moments, which I identified as being strategic in the reading of the work regarding layout and material she would or may have been unfamiliar with, I would offer comments, however, I had resolved primarily to let the maquette 'speak for itself'. Having closely perused the dummy publication, we discussed its format and rationale and

what I envisaged now happening. I updated her on the contact with the Gallery of Photography in Dublin and my plans to make contact with other institutions regarding exhibitions and support. Downey, thoughtful and quietly demonstrative, was not forthcoming concerning the possibility of Belfast Exposed collaborating on the project and, at this point, I felt matters had perhaps run their course. Sitting across the table, the book now lying closed, I felt there was nothing to lose and simply asked, 'Karen, is this something you would be interested in?' What seemed surprising was the directness of her reply, simply stating, 'Oh yes, I want to get this published'. I was slightly stunned but when I followed with 'that's great…and can I ask, how do you see it?' Downey, who had edited and collaborated on numerous publications at this stage, replied, 'just as it is.'

What followed was an extended process of proposal writing on the part of Downey at Belfast Exposed with my role relating primarily to the provision of statements, clarifications and updates on both institutional supports and potential partners for touring the project. In the meantime, I was notified of the positive response by the board at the Gallery of Photography regarding the support and presentation of the project and shortly thereafter, through contacts made by the Director, Kiang at the Gallery in Dublin, of the decision by the board of the Butler Gallery in Kilkenny also agreeing to support and present the project.

Following almost a two-year process of dialogue with Downey concerning the project, substantial funding was finally secured from the Arts Council of Northern Ireland (ACNI), instantiated through the support of the Gallery of Photography and the Butler

Gallery, towards the production of a public installation and accompanying publication[20]. This was Autumn 2005, which coincided with the mounting the installation to accompany my viva in relation to, and as described in, my MPhil thesis submission (Figure 4.13). This first presentation of the project occurred in the Dublin Institute of Technology's campus building on Aungier Street in the southside of the city. Behind a cafeteria, in a disused and enclosed area in the complex, the project was installed: 'Architecture of any sort', as Buren states, 'is in fact the inevitable background, support and frame of any work' ([1975] 1999: 319).

(Figure 4.13) Viva Installation (details), Dublin Institute of Technology, December 2005

Further presentations[21] have afforded the refinement of certain production issues, as O'Neill observes, 'the site in which the work adapts itself and also modifies' (2007: 69) and where funding available allowed for more substantial presentations. However, critically and significantly, the core presentational elements and exhibitonary strategies employed in this first installation have remained as exemplified, instantiating the maintenance of what I would define as the integrity to the original epistemological position[22] (See Appendix V for documentation of installations). Mindful of this statement, there now follows a description of the most recent installation at the DePaul University Art Museum in Chicago, Illinois.

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In March 2009, I received an invitation to present the project from the museum's director on behalf of the board, following the recommendation from one of its members. The member in question, an Assistant Professor of History at DePaul University, had, on a trip to Ireland in 2006 visited the installation at the Gallery of Photography in Dublin. Following months of intensive planning, including the provision of a detailed description regarding the layout within the museum, and almost five days working, with the support of a team of technicians, university electricians, painters and carpenters, within the gallery spaces, the installation opened in January 2010. On the day of the opening, I gave an illustrated Artist's Talk outlining the background to the project and the process of research, while framing the project through representations of labour in an historicised sense, drawing upon a range of material evidenced in the previous chapters.

Re-Representation: Chicago, USA[23]

Entering the first main gallery space of the museum[24], having passed the title, 'The Breathing Factory: A Project', displayed in grey with accompanying contextual description on the left wall, the viewer is made aware of a low, hissing, breath-like sound – distant production lines, somewhere, emanating from speakers, overhead. The space possesses an atmosphere, a psychology, darkened and somewhat unfinished, off-white walls and slightly cold.

Figure 4.14; Installation (detail), *The Breathing Factory*, DePaul Art Museum, Chicago, 2010

The Breathing Factory possesses no windows, all natural light blocked, eyes drawn, initially to illuminated artefacts. The shadows matter, providing a narrative space in and between the image/objects amidst the soundscape. As Van Assche remarks, 'that which lies outside of the image, however, can be conceived as a more mental terrain and remains to be explored' (2003: 97), echoing the words of O'Doherty who, in his critique of the notion of the art space which he defined as the 'White Cube', advocated the need for meaning on the part of the viewer to be formulated through 'mental projection' ([1981] 1999: 333). The installation space should, therefore, ideally provoke a reaction, a response from within to a 'three-dimensional volume' (Van Assche 2003: 94), an opening out rather than the closing down of meaning. '[I]nstallation responds to a psychosocial demand', observes Van Assche, 'it gives the spectator an active role to play in a work in which he or she becomes one of the parameters…the work becomes itself a

theatre in which the spectator is "co-performer". (ibid.). Almost a hundred years previously, in a similar register, Hine had noted:

> For to perceive, a beholder must create his own experience…meanings are "imaginatively summoned" by the material artwork, challenging the recipient to the performance of a like act of evocation and organisation. Through perception the work completes itself, not in an overt act by the viewer…but in a performance, an undergoing in the imagination of the experience represented and embodied in the work of art.
>
> ([1909] 1989: 225)

Describing the strategic intentionality behind Hine's practice and with relevance here, Trachtenberg further describes how for him, 'the social act lay in communication…developing methods of presenting his pictures as mute monuments seeking a voice in the viewer's imagination, a voice in dialogue' (1989: 203), and how he embraced the 'process of communication', continuing:

> [I]nventing presentational forms through which social information might become the viewer's own concrete experience – not facts "out there" in a distant realm, or facts to excite pity, but visual facts as the occasion for awakening the viewer's awareness of and imaginative empathy with the pictured others, and thus the viewer's own social being.
>
> (ibid.)

In the first gallery space (Figure 4.14) a large number of photographs are sited – portraits of the workers and interior landscapes from the HP plant. The viewer has the possibility to navigate this space how she or he may choose. Perhaps looking back over the viewer's shoulder towards the far wall, a landscape and a series of portraits. One of whom is Ebelonga, clad in white (Figure 4.15).

Figure 4.15; 'Ebelonga, Clean Room Operator, 10.22 a.m., Thursday, 20 November 2003' (Leixlip, Ireland)

Siegfried Kracauer was critical of photography's iconic status and how 'it possesses a perplexing ability to resemble the world it depicts but also to render it strange' ([1926] 1997: 25). However, he conceded that, 'the photograph may act as a trigger, rather than prevent, a momentary encounter with mortality, an awareness of history that does not include us' (ibid: 26). In its estrangement photography may open up new imaginative possibilities, histories made visible in which viewers are always implicated.

The portrait of Ebelonga is presented, unfinished, like all the other portraits, on bare, exposed, heavy weight matt inkjet paper – material employed for a woman working at HP's Dublin Inkjet and Manufacturing Operation (DIMO) – almost a metre by metre in size, the images, designed to hang straight, at times, flutter, forwards and backwards, a movement determined by the sweep of the passing viewer. In this particular installation, with the lighting at hand[25], Ebelonga is spot-lit from above, her presence foregrounded,

hanging, no frame, simply, merely by bullclips, amidst the continuing breath-like sound. Moveable. Removeable. Replaceable.

Figure 4.16; 'Ebelonga', Installation (detail), *The Breathing Factory*, DePaul Art Museum, Chicago, 2010

Pink comments how, 'no image or photographic practice is essentially ethnographic "by nature", but the "ethnographicness"…is determined by discourse and content' (2001: 50). All images, it would appear, are defined by the contexts in which they are made and the imposition of competing theoretical discourses on their meaning. This arguably is precisely the very strength of images, their resistance to an absolute meaning. As Liz Wells argues:

> The photograph slips away from grasp, endlessly refusing the embrace of particular theoretical concerns and always pointing to the limits of systematic analysis in ways which remind us not only of the diversity and dispersedness of photographic practices but also the nebulousness of image-encounters.

(2002: 19)

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Figure 4.17; 'Matthew, Clean Room Operator, 09.15 a.m., Thursday, 27 November 2003' (Leixlip, Ireland)

Standing back from the portrait of Ebelonga, looking right along the next adjoining wall. While the source of breathing continues, to the first portrait, Matthew (Figure 4.17), freshly shaved, goggles in one gloved hand, the red wristband, a number tattooed upon the other glove, confident, his eyes meet the viewers.

Figure 4.18; 'Mick, Line Operator, Nitro, 15.37 p.m., Monday, 1 December 2003' (Leixlip, Ireland)
& 'Siobhan, Line Supervisor, Nitro, 11.17 a.m., Thursday, 7 August 2003' (Leixlip, Ireland)

On the opposite wall, Mick and Siobhan, side by side, co-workers from the same section of the plant (Figure 4.18). Presented like all the other portraits, a break with framing conventions. The breath-like hiss of the production lines continue to enclose this gallery space as they continue to do so in Leixlip, in the other factory space. Further along from these two work colleagues, a single white shelf, the location of a lone white laptop. This everyday technological object emits no sound.

Figure 4.19; 'Tiger' (still), Building 8, 10.08 p.m., Tuesday, 27 January 2004 (Leixlip, Ireland) Digital Video (looped)

The digital video titled 'Tiger' (Figure 4.19) is divided almost in thirds referencing the formalist code of vertical lines whether read left to right or top to bottom. The red button to the right of the mid-point becomes a focal point from which the eye can travel over the image. This is temporary as the two lines in the foreground move. The upper, with inkjet cartridges in place, travels from right to left while that below moves in the opposite direction. The image is weighted in terms of machinery to the right in the context of a

westernised culture where images are read from left to right. In the background, the automaton moves, removes and discards the inkjet cartridges to some other undisclosed locations. A scene of constant motion and sound, the viewer's attention is constantly divided. 'Tiger' points to that which lies outside the frame, the ceaseless flow of global capital in its varied intensity and multi-directionality. Looped, a vision of endless repetition. The viewer may be reminded of Chaplin's *Modern Times* (1936)[26]. 'How is this different, has nothing changed?' And thus the alienation and trauma, tinged with humour and melancholia, invoked through the character of 'The Worker', is re-visited. No 'Tramp' among the machinery, only the silent automatons of global capital.
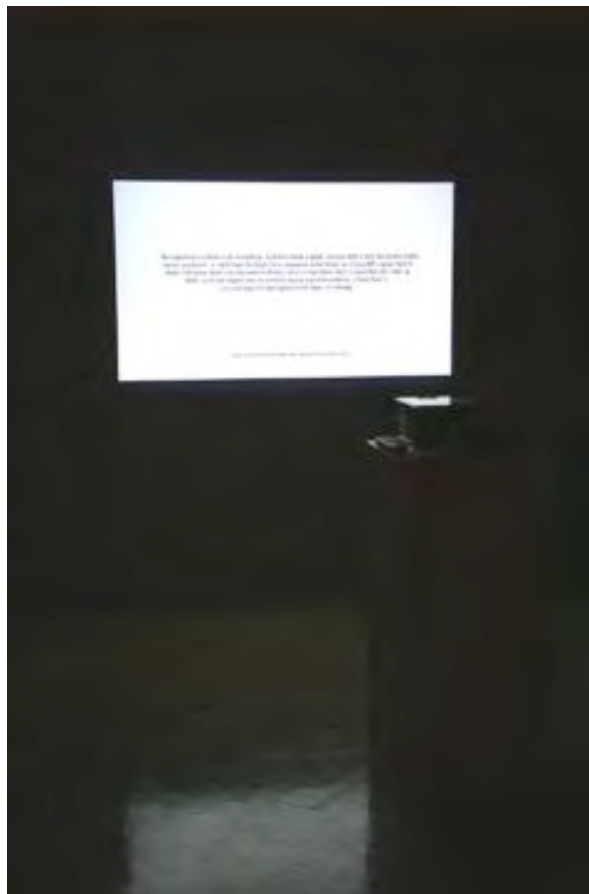
Figure 4.20; Installation (detail), *The Breathing Factory*, DePaul Art Museum, Chicago, 2010

Looking left, the viewer may sense the white light emanating from another small, enclosed space. Moving forward, a projection is revealed (Figure 4.20), a white screen in this darkened room with black 'Times New Roman' font. Fragments of texts appear, long enough for them to be read, only then to fade and disappear, reappearing, an extract from another voice, names below reveal status and title. From Line Operator, Supervisor to Vice-President, each appears, slow enough to fade, white, to reappear where the former had been. Projections, paced to echo the breath-like pacing of the accompanying soundtrack of the installation space.

Returning through the first main area and walking on and to the right, a passage leads to the backspaces. A number of portraits line this route, more co-workers from the factory complex, hanging by bullclips – the viewer may pause and dwell. Further on a wooden table is located, lit from above by a single bare bulb, factory-like and where a paper pile, exaggerated in height by number, sculpture-like, of worker's testimonies. The table is/was positioned intentionally to impede, to be negotiated before entering the back section of the installation. The exhibition publication (Figure 4.21), an object, an artefact, title on the front is now in hand. Within are layerings of text on architect's paper; when unfolded, they reveal segments of transcripts, 'localised' for the constitution of this specific installation[27] titled 'The Breathing Factory USA' – the extended testimonies from some of the contracted workers on the floor to a warehouse supervisor to the Vice-President – and which when fully unfolded, lead in and out of each other; 'labouring' perspectives (See Appendix VI for selection of 'localised' texts).
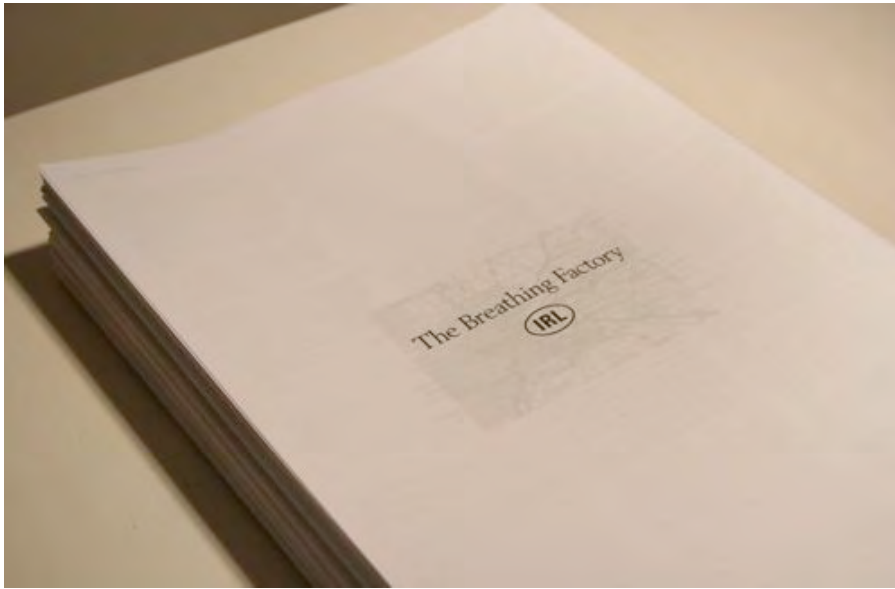
Figure 4.21; Installation (detail), *The Breathing Factory*, DePaul Art Museum, Chicago, 2010

With texts in hand and maybe in thought, the viewer may turn within this part of the installation space and walk towards the far wall and the image of the suspended gowns (Figure 4.22).

Figure 4.22; 'Gowning Room 5, Building 7, 11.02 a.m., Monday, 10 November 2003' (Leixlip, Ireland)

Looking back again, the table with the testimonies now negotiated, straight ahead and in various locations the viewer sees a number of tables (Figure 4.23). Upon each, what appears to be books. If they move closer, the books reveal themselves as fieldwork diaries, opened at particular pages. On the first of these:

Thursday, 22 April 2004 (on bus back to Dublin)
I spent three hours roaming…a lot of waiting due to light…meant I had to consider more what I was making…spoke to a security man…"as long as they know you are here that's fine, I am just a Mickey Mouse man in all of this".

Figure 4.23; Installation (detail), *The Breathing Factory*, DePaul Art Museum, Chicago, 2010

Illuminated again by a single bulb, suspended from the ceiling, a single light hanging, instantiating multiple subject positions. Behind, two pages, attached to the wall, clipped, allude to the previous history of the site and the factory that had formerly resided on this spot, before it closed. The other diaries allude to other encounters:

Thursday, 21 January 2005 (on bus back to Dublin)
I find myself standing in the "Beckett Meeting Room" out in Leixlip, with a videotape in my hand. Una, the Government and Public Affairs Director, has just viewed the digital video material I wish to use in the installation of the research project. "That's fine, shouldn't be a problem there", she said. I then hand her a copy of one of the schedules regarding access, which I would like to include in a possible publication. The schedule features and was determined by the names of the individual manufacturing lines – "let me think? No that should be okay, I was just concerned about the names, but they will all be gone by the time this comes out".

Monday, 8 September 2003 (at home, phone call from Una)
Meeting with I. And O. to be set up to discuss further access…Una had meeting with engineering supervisors in Building 2…"after were shut down last week…they didn't know we were coming…too much time, too much resources being spent…thought we'd have you in and out in a week" (Una)…she's under pressure…"will tell you where you can photograph and not".

On a nearby wall is a small image (Figure 4.24), box-framed in aluminium, untouchable, behind non-reflective museum glass. A photograph obscured by a simple post-it note, in blue ink, 'I don't want Mark to use this picture. The rest are fine, thanks, Ed'. The intervention of an engineer, a policed presence made present.

Figure 4.24; Installation (detail), *The Breathing Factory*, DePaul Art Museum, Chicago, 2010

Simultaneously, in the side gallery nearby sits another table with another white laptop (Figure 4.25). A projection presents a series of portraits of individuals seated at their desks. Workers from the 'Bank Area' at HP, responsible for enquiries from Europe, the Middle East and Africa, are turned from their normal primary point of view towards their desktop computers, so now their workstations become individual backdrops to them – the global office workspace betraying clues regarding the local and individual personality of these workers. Presented as a *Powerpoint* projection, the office norm, these individuals now appear and disappear to white, only to reappear, looped, over and over, each other.

Figure 4.25; Installation (detail), *The Breathing Factory*, DePaul Art Museum, Chicago, 2010

At this point the viewer may gaze at the installation in search of meaning and questions they may ask concerning the components presented: 'What is a Mickey Mouse Man?' 'Mickey Mouse Men?' 'Working in Leixlip, in Ireland?' 'White uniforms covering

bodies?' 'A vetted picture?' 'Numerous tables in an open space with hanging single lights?' 'Hanging gowns?' 'Breathing sounds?' In the context of academic research and with reference to visual ethnography, Pink considers the potential for what she describes as 'open-endedness' in the presentation of research material and the challenges it presents, arguing that linear, bound, written and 'finished' submissions of ethnographic research are limited due 'to their capacity to represent a reality that is in fact continuous and subjectively experienced' (2001: 167). Significantly, this uncertainty and lack of closure, as Edwards observes, may open 'a subjective space', where viewers become aware of the 'act of mediating vision and their own part in the co-construction of knowledge' (2001: 194). For Pink this means, 'Theoretically, neither knowledge itself nor representations of knowledge are ever complete' (2001: 167). It is, therefore, also pertinent to foreground that in spite of the emphasis on the multivocal potentials within the framework of my montaged installation, a continued critical awareness was and is still maintained on the part of the author. Acknowledging the 'aesthetic cut that separates outcomes from intentions', Rancière, addressing the role of the 'emancipated spectator', argues, 'installation and all forms of art can rework the frame of our perceptions and the dynamism of our affects. As such, they can open up new passages towards new forms of political subjectivation' (2009: 82). And further, regarding incompleteness, he addresses representation, specifically foregrounding the critical role of gesture:

> Representation is not the act of producing visible form, but the act of offering an equivalent – something that speech does just as much as photography. The image is not the duplicate of a thing. It is a complex set of relations between the visible and the invisible, the visible and speech, the said and the unsaid
>
> (ibid.: 93)

Therefore, in the context of such equivalence, the role of gesture and agency is extended, as Rancière asserts how the spectator is now emancipated and, more critically, empowered even in the midst, indeed in spite of, both the ideological mediating influence of the site/context of the work and the intentionality of the artist. Thus, the work installed, possessing an implicit history of origin, and the viewer whom brings their history, come in contact – to intermingle, reflect, deflect, seek and/or reject.[28]

Figure 4.26; Installation (detail), *The Breathing Factory*, DePaul Art Museum, Chicago, 2010

The breath-like hiss continues. The viewer may stand back, perhaps in the middle of the tables in this part of the installation space, looking right to light emanating from behind a wall. The last gallery space, moving forward, behind, a large enclosed area is revealed. Ahead, the viewer is greeted by the sway of plastic – the digital video, 'Lava' (Figure 4.26). The long-take now looped, continuously, gasping as the sound emanating from the

production lines, out of sight, struggle forward driven by the compressed air. The viewer is now alone in this part of the installation, confronted, the sutured membrane, a vulnerable and fragile potential.

The intention is to mimic in the now and here of this gallery space and in real time what has gone before. Therefore, the viewer, having been presented with still photographs portraying individual workers and industrialised spaces in the enveloping context of the sonar breathing landscape, now find themselves standing and facing the source of that sound – the scarred plastic, the veil and through the movement of the digital video, the present of the here and now is evoked (Mulvey 2003). Shadows rise, fall and fall upon – an awareness of their presence upon this projection space[29]. And now, they, by their presence, become the portrait in the present, the conceptual intention to instill awareness that they are also incriminated in this globalised history. Therefore, this is indeed their story and how, this industrialised site at Leixlip in the East of Ireland is only a part of that narrative – 'What is the sound of high tech?' asks O'Riain, whom proceeds to answer, 'the sound of our own breathing' (quoted in Curran 2006: no pp.). Therefore, the experiential of the installation[30] affords the active role of subjective imagination, perhaps, a political imagination. For as McGrath poses:

> Imagination, generally seen as something childish, is often underestimated. Political imagination is about the power to transform, to conjure up, to evoke, to provoke spaces in and through which we can begin to think not only about ourselves, our own subjectivities, but about the complex material and conceptual worlds we inhabit and share with others.
>
> (2007: 50)

There is no exit. The viewer must now return through the exhibition space, pamphlet in hand, pages turned in and on themselves. She or he may decide to glance through the written testimonies, to the previously cited conversation between myself and Lionel Alexander, Vice-President of HP Ireland:

> M: How does Ireland ensure the longevity of what has been a profound economic transformation?
>
> L: The first step they've made which I'm really pleased about is, don't tie investment to jobs. Do not always ask if I want to get a grant, "how many jobs is this going to create?" The paradigm shift from just job-creation to job-preservation has to happen. And for job-preservation you then get the support to create business models that best support the competencies of the organisation. At the end of the day, no multinational has any emotional attachment to Ireland, or Singapore or China or India. It's business, right, and if there's no business reason to be in a country we will not, we will leave…we will leave tomorrow.

Notes

1 The title, 'The Breathing Factory' is inspired by the economic management system espoused by Peter Hartz, the former CEO of Volkswagen. This system, seen as a flexible and adaptive model of response to the requirements and demands of the global market, is envisaged as spreading beyond the factory floor to encompass all structural aspects of society. As Hartz notes:

> It follows the pulse beat of the market and can change over to six or seven days of production overnight, uses market opportunities and risks optimally to create value. The break-even point in capacity usage remains low and market peaks can be taken as well. When the production process becomes flexible, then working hours and working conditions must also become flexible. Not only on the factory level.
>
> The new "breathing rhythm" must also make headway at the social level: the time rhythm in society, the labour market, the educational system and the remaining institutions of the welfare state. The target is a "breathing factory".

(1996: 73)

2 This notion of a 'critical totality of fragments' is an important reference point for this study and its final formulation. In the context of the everyday, how to then create a template to address the endless possible collation of research material. Within such a ceaseless context, Highmore references the Mass-Observation Project (MOP). Inaugurated by poets, filmmakers, writers, painters and anthropologists, the MOP began in the North of England in 1937 (Figure 4.27). It was a major survey of the national everyday and evolved, in part, out of simple curiosity coupled with a critique of anthropological practices with a view to bringing 'anthropology home and to understand the everyday life of my native culture' (Jeffrey 1978: 20) where 'everyday life became the privileged scene for ethnographic investigation – an anthropology of ourselves' (Highmore 2002a: 88).
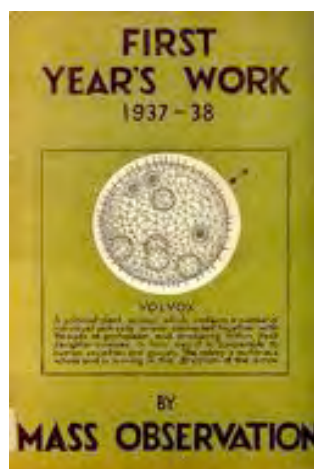
Figure 4.27; (cover) one of the first publications by 'Mass Observation' (source: Mass Observation Archive)

An ambitious and complex undertaking, 'at once irrational and objective' (Highmore 2002a: 88), MOP has since been problematised as liberal voyeurism in the observation of the working classes. However, at the time, the aspiration was to create 'a mechanism for non-elite voices to be heard that would give accounts of everyday life and everyday responses to social and political events…while also focusing on the ephemera of everyday life' (ibid.: 85). It proposed an approach in which fragments of everyday life were rendered meaningful. Drawing upon the methodological use of participant observation, interviews, still images and questionnaires among other methods, a massive archive of material was collated through the likes of the 'Worktown Project' centered on the town of Bolton and the collaborative inputs of the 'National Panel of Diarists'. Subsequently, the sheer vastness of material accumulated would become in and of itself problematic in terms of its public dissemination, compounded by the outbreak of the Second World War. The methodologies employed, have been described by Clifford, as 'Surrealist Ethnography':

> If Surrealism included a vague adherence to the work of psychoanalysis joined with an aesthetic practice based upon the principle of montage, and an anthropological approach (ethnography) focuses on the macro-analysis of the meanings and experience of a culture, then their combination would be characterized as a practice of understanding society as a 'totality of fragments': the montage of incidents seen as symptomatic of repressed forces.

(Clifford 1988: 142)

This innovative project situated 'between science and art' (Highmore 2002a: 86), draws attention, in an historicised sense, to both the potential of critically informed surveys and systems of representation and their public dissemination informed by montage. Influenced by the theoretical and methodological frameworks of Surrealist Collage and Soviet Constructivism, together with their response to mass media representations, MOP appropriated the editorial strategy of 'complex montage' where 'one charged fragment detonates another, which in turn produces a reaction' (ibid.: 93).

See: <http://www.massobs.org.uk/original_massobservation_project.htm> [Accessed 11 november 2008].

3 From fieldwork diary (April 16 2006). The article referenced appeared in *The Irish Times* on 16 April, 2006 and was written by the writer and journalist Susan McKay. It included an interview and a description of the project, titled 'The Body Threatens Technology':

See full article. Available from: <http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/features/2006/0419/1142365536558.html> [Accessed 20 February 2010].

4 This public roundtable event took place on 8 November 2006 at the Gallery of Photography in Dublin during the installation of *The Breathing Factory*.

See: <http://www.galleryofphotography.ie/exhibitions/breathingfactory.html> [Accessed 27 February 2010].

5 See Edwards (2001) for an expanded discussion on the relationship between anthropological representation, empire and colonialism.

6 In the mid-nineteenth century when a slide projector was called a 'magic lantern', a 'lantern slide' was the source of the projected image (Baldwin 1991). Originally an image painted on glass, it became photographic in the 1850s with the use of an albumen, or later cullodion coating on one side. To protect the fragile image, this coated side was then covered with a second, same-sized piece of glass. The lanternslide was also used for home entertainment.

7 In spite of the presence of a German publisher for *The Breathing Factory*, significant critical response and several exhibitions scheduled in various countries, I would argue that such demands resulted in the decision by the commercial gallery based in Cologne, Germany who had been representing my work, not to go ahead with the agreed installation of the work in 2007 in Cologne. They felt, at the time, that the work was more suited to a 'museum'. In the past they had presented and organised exhibitions and publications on my behalf and included my work at international art fairs including Paris Photo, Art Brussels and Art Cologne. However, as has since transpired and regardless of the continued visibility of the project, they believed the commercial viabilities concerning the project were too limited.

8 From interview with Sekula on the occasion of the 'Contemporary Documentary Exhibition' at the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, September 2002 to January 2003.

Hear extract and read transcript. Available from: <http://www.vam.ac.uk/collections/photography/past_exhns/stepping/sekula2/index.html> [Accessed 24 September 2008].

9 As quoted by Begg, artist and PhD student at the University of New South Wales, Australia from an article titled, 'Photography and the Multitude: Recasting Subjectivity in a Globalised World' (2005) and published in the E-journal for the Humanities, *Borderlands*. In this extended essay, Begg addresses the role of subjectivity in the application of the photograph in representing 'Multitude' and its role in contesting globalisation. Begg outlines the practices of Allan Sekula and Andreas Gursky and compares their individual approaches to these themes.

See full article. Available from: <http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol4no1_2005/begg_art.htm> [Accessed 24 June 2009].

10 Interestingly, the 'imaginary bad object' has become increasingly an object of interest culturally. This has resulted in a range of solo and group exhibitions internationally, employing varying strategy and media, addressing the role of economy. Examples include:

Postcapital: Archive 1989-2001 by Daniel Garcia Andujar at the Württembergischer Kunstverein Stuttgart, Germany, November 2008 to January 2009

See: <http://www.wkv-stuttgart.de/en/press/2008/images/postcapital/> [Accessed 20 November 2008].

Utopia Factory by Cao Fei, Shanghai Zendai MOMA, China 2006

See: <http://www.alternativearchive.com/en/news/20060329-1.htm> [Accessed 15 January 2009].

Work Now (Group), Z33, Hasselt, Belgium, June 2009 to September 2009

See: <http://www.z33.be/werknu/main/pages/> [Accessed 12 June 2009].

KennedyBrowne, Sarah Browne & Gareth Kennedy, Irish Pavilion, Venice Biennale, Italy 2009

See: <http://www.kennedybrowne.com/> [Accessed 12 June 2009].

11 See 'Freeway to China (Version 2 for Liverpool)', *Public Culture*, Volume 12, Number 2 Spring 2000.

12 See Begg (2005).

See full article. Available from: <http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol4no1_2005/begg_art.htm> [Accessed 24 June 2009].

13 The sentiments expressed here resonate with the words of the photographer, Melanie Friend. In a discussion of her project and publication on the repatriation of failed asylum seekers, *Border Country* (Belfast Exposed 2007), Friend posed the question, 'How to represent the invisible?' especially in extreme and possibly confined and limiting contexts. She countered that indeed it may be, 'impossible to document visually' and therefore what representational strategies are available and how does one maintain a critical and conceptual 'responsibility to your subject'.

From a seminar titled, 'Border Country: a presentation by Melanie Friend' given by Melanie Friend, Institute of Art, Design and Technology, Dun Laoghaire (26 March 2008).

14 Sidén makes specific reference to these practices as informing the installation in an interview with Robert Fleck (Siden 2005: 51). See *In Between The Best Of Worlds*, A.S Sidén (2004) Stockholm, Moderna Museet.

15 It is important to acknowledge that I was in receipt of financial support towards the MPhil. Viva installation in December 2005 from the Dublin Institute of Technology (DIT). This assisted with material costs and some production costs. However, my intention towards a larger installation and versioning of the research project and related publication always necessitated

seeking external sources of funding. In my role as visual artist, this process of seeking funding supports is a constant and implicit understanding, being a requirement and facet of my practice.

16 The organisation's office and gallery space is located near the centre of Belfast, Northern Ireland. It is non-profit and publicly funded, its primary funder being the Arts Council of Northern Ireland (ACNI). See: <http://www.belfastexposed.org> [Accessed 30 June 2009].

17 See n.16.

18 This annual international event, originally held on the site of a former custard factory in Birmingham, England, has since moved location to a university campus within the city.
See: <http://www.rhubarb-rhubarb.net/> [Accessed 12 March 2010].

19 The board possesses a responsibility to the institution and upholding its mission statement:

> Since its inception in 1978, the Gallery of Photography has become Ireland's premier venue for photography. It has staged exhibitions with many of the major names in contemporary photography. The Gallery moved to its new location, a purpose built space in Meeting House Square in 1995.

See: <http://www.galleryofphotography.ie/about.html> [Accessed 9 February 2010].

20 The monograph was published by the German photography publisher, Edition Braus, Heidelberg in 2006 with accompanying texts by Dr. Sean O'Riain (Head, Department of Sociology, University of Ireland, Maynooth) and Martin McCabe (then Chair, BA (Hons) Photography programme, Dublin Institute of Technology). The publication was launched at the opening of the installation of *The Breathing Factory* in Belfast Exposed in April 2006.
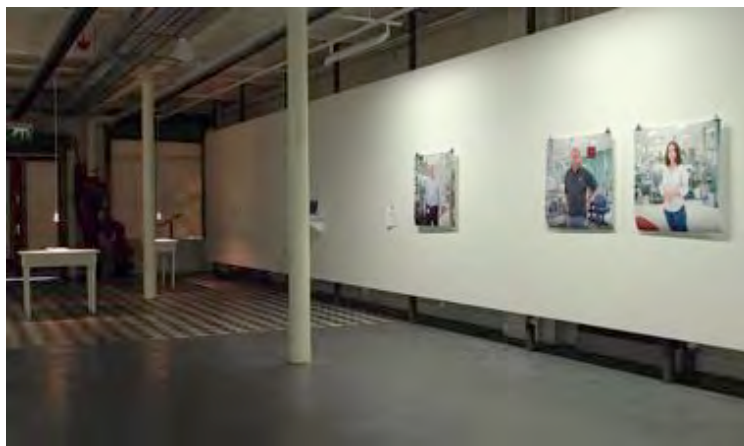
Figure 4.28; Installation (detail), *The Breathing Factory*, Belfast Exposed, Belfast, 2006

At each installation events addressing the themes presented have been organised and in Belfast, this was formulated as an open roundtable evening event. Held during the course of the installation in conjunction with local trade union representatives, this recorded event also

included contributions by Martin McCabe and then visiting Canadian artist, Karl Beveridge, whose own montaged practice with his partner, Carol Conde, has addressed representation of labour since the 1970s.

See: <http://www.belfastexposed.org/exhibitions/index.php?exhibition=2> [Accessed 30 June 2009].

21 To date, *The Breathing Factory* has been presented as a complete installation at the following galleries: Butler Gallery, Kilkenny Castle, Kilkenny (2006), Belfast Exposed Photography (2006), Gallery of Photography, Dublin (2006), Dazibao-Centre de la Photographies Actuelles, Montreal (2006), Galeria Nuova Icona, Venice (2006), Galerie Le Bleu du Ciel, Lyon (2008) and the DePaul Art Museum, Chicago (2010). Extracts of the project have appeared in numerous group exhibitions, most recently as part of the programming at the Lodz Fotofestiwal 2009, Poland and Xuhui Art Museum, Shanghai, China (2010). (See Appendix V for documentation of installations).

22 In relation to the original installation and subsequent versionings of the exhibition, the core elements regarding the means and format of the presentation of the photographs, text works, audio digital video works and the single framed image have remained identical. There are just a couple of observations regarding refinements of the installation that I wish to foreground.

At present, the digital video projection, 'Lava' is always the last element the viewer encounters, for the conceptual grounding as described regarding the installation in Chicago. The significance of its placement, however, was identified as a result of the exhibition at Belfast Exposed, where the potential to isolate this experience was presented though the use of the backspace of the gallery. While installing in Belfast, I noted that a speaker system existed in the ceiling, with speakers at regular intervals running through the middle of the space. Subsequently, when 'Lava' was projected for the first time with its accompanying audio, I got to hear and experience the sound transmitted throughout the complete exhibition space. I realised there and then, how effective it was as a soundtrack to the complete work, functioning allegorically beyond the origins of the digital video projection. Lastly, as with the original installation, the installation space always contains no natural light and therefore in those exhibition gallery spaces with windows, these are covered and insulated. The experiential quality and psychological component of isolation as a means for reflection, has been remarked upon, with the viewer entering a clearly defined separate space from their everyday.

23 The DePaul Art Museum is located on the campus of DePaul University, north of the city centre of Chicago, Illinois. Its mission statement asserts:

> The DePaul University Art Museum extends the institution's commitments to excellence, diversity and social concerns through innovative exhibitions, programs, and events that analyze the variety and depth of artistic expression. The Museum acquires, preserves and displays the University's diverse and growing collection of works of art. Its exhibitions, programs and collections engage the wide expertise represented in the University's community of knowledge, giving visible and accessible form to the intellectual and creative work of faculty and students through collaborative exploration of cultural production. For the DePaul community and for wider audiences the gallery serves as a laboratory for the exploration of innovative approaches to art and culture.

Regarding the illustrated Artist's Talk on the day of the opening. Having referenced his father's work in my presentation, Mark Rogovin, son of the photographer, Milton Rogovin, and resident of Chicago was present and had brought interested parties from local trade unions and another photographer. It should be noted that the intention was to also organise a roundtable event involving a cross-disciplinary panel during a further visit to Chicago in February 2010, where I was to present on thematic aspects of this research at the College Arts Association (CAA) 2010 Annual Conference. Unfortunately, the roundtable event failed to materialise due to the time constraints on the part of the Director and staff of the DePaul Art Museum, resulting from demands in relation to their relocation shortly to a new dedicated building.

The installation opened on 14 January continuing until 19 March 2010. See: <http://museums.depaul.edu/artwebsite/exhibits/breathing2010/> [Accessed 10 February 2010].

24 In a recent essay titled 'Is a Museum a Factory?' artist, filmmaker and writer, Hito Steyerl, addresses museology and the role of the museum as a space of representation in the context of the presentation of film. In the context of a discussion outlining the demise of the cinema as a politicised space, Steyerl innovatively addresses the modernist history of contemporary museum spaces through the observation that many are located on former sites of industrialisation. In part, she argues the museum has taken up this function in these new, 'museum-as-factories':

> A factory, so to speak, but a different one. It is still a space of production, still a space of exploitation and even of political screenings. It is a space of physical meeting and sometimes even common discussion.

Steyerl queries if this 'museum-as-factory' is the same? Employing the analogy of workers going to work, she addresses the role of cultural labour, the spectacle, spatial transformations in relation to the cinematic and the role of public space. Steyerl remains skeptical and is unsure there is an 'exit' for the workers from the 'museum-as-factory', as the function of the space remains as that of its historical predecessor. However, she does propose that perhaps an exit may exist – implicit in the work installed in these spaces. Although, in a direct reference to her own practice, Steyerl

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does wonder if that 'screen is currently missing'. See full article. Available from: <<u>http://e-</u><u>flux.com/journal/view/71</u>> [Accessed 7 March 2009].

25 The ideal lighting conditions for the presentation of the portraits is individual spot lighting to conceptually reinforce the foregrounding of the individual.

26 *Modern Times* was written, scored, produced and directed by Charlie Chaplin and released in 1936. Production on this silent film (although sound was available) began in 1932, on what would be the last outing for the character Chaplin had created, 'The Little Tramp' or as he was critically described in this production – 'The Worker'. In one particular scene, the President of the factory, where the Chaplin character works is shown a new aid to boost productivity. The sales pitch for a feeding machine, is delivered by a mechanical salesman and a vinyl record with the text card between scenes announcing the following:

> A practical device which automatically feeds your men while at work. Don't stop for lunch. Be ahead of your competitor. The feeding machine will eliminate the lunch hour, increase your production, and decrease your overhead.

27 The 'localised' texts on architects paper are conceptually intended to evoke another level of engagement with the subject matter of the research study – reflective personal histories from workers of varying age, gender and cultural background who provide a unique understanding of these profound developments, the material conditions of work today and the human experiences of these changes. The starting point concerning the strategic presentation of this material was the poem, 'implications of a sketch' by the Irish poet, Philip Casey, reprinted in the catalogue to accompany the exhibition, *Southern Cross* (Gallery of Photography, 2002):

His brush projects
a crude line
bristling
under
mutinous energy

A sketch of seconds
decides
the future
of thousands,
of street and skyline

Casey's poem continues:

And in a derelict block
rats and the homeless
up on their luck
sleep as a pencil
circles them on a map

Casey structures the poem inspired by a visit to the Neue Nationalgalerie in Berlin, designed by Mies van der Rohe, so that the final stanza in its form and shape mimics the space he witnessed. The application of the architect's paper, is a reference to the implications of this poem, however, now the voices of those who work in these defined spaces, symbolically re-inhabit and re-define the paper of the architect. In addition, as a further means of critically reflecting on the nature of global capital and global labour practices, the 'localisation' of the testimonies act as recognition of the individual perspectives offered, but also being mindful that the themes addressed within this witnessing may have resonance for workers in other cultural contexts. Therefore, to date, these have been translated into Italian, French, Polish and German, underscoring that the research whilst addressing the local site-specificity of Leixlip and Ireland seeks to also address the role and representation of labour beyond this cultural and economic context. This was further manifested in the installation for Chicago, where a version of *The Breathing Factory USA* was produced.

28 Underlying this role of openendedness and diversity of response, in the context of media, there were a significant number of reviews/written responses to the installation in Chicago. The articles demonstrated a range of cross-cultural, transnational and diverse backgrounds, extending from a museum curator, visual arts critic, professor of environmental science and a doctorate candidate researching the relationship between the application of the photograph and social movements (See Appendix VII for a selection of articles including the originals as appeared online, which are followed by transcribed versions and profiles of the authors).

29 The Chilean born, New York-based artist, Alfredo Jaar, addresses the function of installation in the context of a conversation on the 'aesthetics of witnessing'. As a practitioner possessing an inherent critical reflexiveness concerning the media he employs in work addressing social and political contexts, Jaar describes the role of installation as representation thus:

> I have created installations that encourage people to take time, to stop, to read. I can't force people to see, but I can provide conditions for them to slow down so that the work can engage them in a dialogue.…[I] describe my work also as a series of exercises in representation. How do we translate this lived experience? I've always thought that we cannot represent this reality. Instead, you create a new reality with the work.
>
> (Philips 2005: 11)

30 This function of the experiential within practice-led scholarship, is underscored by Grossman and O'Brien. They describe the evocative potentials of such research undertakings as a 'phenomenological engagement and documentation of social worlds and the lived and contradictory particularities of diverse sociopolitical relationships' (2008: 85).

Conclusion

In early 2010, as I made my way through the departure gates at Dublin Airport, heading towards the Aer Lingus plane to bring me back to Berlin, I noticed a group of men further in front. Joking together, I assumed another bunch of lads heading to the German capital for a weekend away. Then, I noticed that one of them was Mark Doran, the Clean Room Supervisor from HP. There were a number of people between Mark and myself and I started to debate whether I should interrupt the group and say hello. However, as the people in front veered left to take the forward steps onto the plane, Mark and his friends headed towards the backsteps, the same way I was going. 'Mark', I called. He turned around and in spite of almost four and a half years since we had last spoken[1], I sensed he recognised me. 'How's it going? It's Mark, do you remember me?' I enquired, 'Grand, thanks', he said, 'I do'. 'You helped with the project' I stated, 'Yeah, of course…sure, I hear seemingly I even appear on RTE now and again'[2]. 'Yeah they reviewed the exhibition when it was in Dublin', I said, 'and it's actually on in Chicago now', 'Yeah? It actually caused a bit of commotion out in Leixlip'. From his tone, I sensed something had personally occurred. 'Can I ask', I replied, 'did you get grief?'

As we walked, Mark went on to briefly describe how upon publication of the *The Irish Times* article in April 2006, he had been called into a meeting the following day, with his superiors to explain his contribution to the project. Besides those of Lionel Alexander, the vice-president of HP, Mark's comments describing the position of vulnerability in

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which workers at the plant find themselves, had also prominently featured: 'The catch 22 is…can they afford that or is it just cheaper for them to pack up and piss off to India. That's the bottom line'. During my time spent at the HP plant, we had established what I would describe as an amicable relationship. Dublin-born and bred, Mark was both honest and direct. However, understandably, even in this short exchange, I sensed a suspicion on his behalf. He continued telling me, 'I went into the meeting, told them everything and that was that'. I felt the immediate need to apologise, which I did, stating it had never been my intention to cause him any personal trouble or difficulty. 'It's grand', he said, 'it was all sorted, so not a problem'. However, I had to acknowledge and indeed sensed, how he must have felt perhaps put out, indeed 'pissed off' and even betrayed by what had happened. I mentioned how I had followed all their protocols regarding access, clearance and how their liase was present, monitoring when we spoke and also later, when we made the photographic portrait – 'they shouldn't have called you in, it was their issue, they had already agreed', I stated. At this stage, we were at Mark's seat row and so I apologised once more. He patted me on the shoulder and said, 'no hassle, see you on the other side'.

This encounter left me somewhat stunned. What had happened to Mark as a result of his contribution to the project was something I had never envisaged. His critical and indeed pivotal role and contribution, on display in both text and image in the museum gallery space in Chicago as we spoke, had compromised his own personal welfare. In this moment, practice-led research and its public dissemination and my ethical position as a researcher and visual artist addressing representations of labour and global labour practices appeared, at best, to be wanting.

With the benefit of hindsight, I now recognise the significance of this incident as being a

crucial if not inevitable component of what I would define as a continuation of the

research process – perhaps, in some ways never to be completed in terms of a continuing

critical practice. Having followed the formal protocol established by HP regarding access

in Leixlip and having stated my intentions to individual workers, who consented to the

possibility of public dissemination and publication, nonetheless, an ethical responsibility

remained. Addressing the issue of 'harm' in relation to ethical implications around the

publication of ethnographic research, Hammersley and Atkinson state:

> Of course, it is not always clear what is in whose interests, and some would argue
> that the value of scientific knowledge, or the public right to know, outweighs such
> considerations, but many ethnographers would insist on the importance of trying to
> ensure that the knowledge produced by research is used in the pursuit of good, and
> not bad causes.
>
> (1995: 273)

In addition, this unforeseen outcome to the public intervention of the installation also

underlines the challenges for practice-led research regarding the compromises between

the site of research and its re-constitution at the site of dissemination. As Hammersley

and Atkinson further assert:

> As in life generally, there may well be conflicting interpretations and clashes of
> interest: and there is no simple general solutions to such conflicts…while the
> individual ethnographer may have an ethical obligation to colleagues not to "spoil
> the field", it may not always be possible to meet this obligation; and sometimes the
> course of action required to meet it may be undesirable on other grounds.
>
> (ibid.: 275)

How do such observations intersect with other aspects regarding the collaborative

underpinnings of qualitative research? Pink answers by contending that, 'it also may

involve projects in which the informants are empowered through the production of images that will serve to represent them and further their own causes' (2006: 37). The dissemination of my research has obviously brought personal benefits in the form of critical acknowledgment, professional legitimacy and public identification. However, and mindful of Mark's experience, the response surrounding the installation and publication has been generally positive, evidencing an awareness of the critical context in which it was constructed and where the devastating resonance of the current global economic crisis only further underscores such understandings. Critically, regardless of the cultural context thus far in which the project has been installed, the 'embodied knowledge'[3] regarding the specifics of the local are always acknowledged, while the inherent themes of the global are immediately recognised.

My hope is that *The Breathing Factory*, the outcome of this practice-led research project has drawn attention, in some small-scale way to the audio and visual representational neglect in Ireland of workers immersed in the global capital flow of the Information and Communication Technology sector. While acknowledging the challenges, the research undertaken in this study posits the need for a cross-disciplinary and multifaceted methodological response to representations of multinational corporations such as HP. The reconfiguration of the research materials into an installation format is testimony to this epistemological position and to the evocative, fragile and ephemeral labour conditions underlying the extreme vulnerability associated with the contemporary local-global workplace in the newly industrialised Irish landscape. With this in mind, I re-visit and finish, with the words of Mark Doran:

I mean we can keep throwing tax breaks at them but that's just, that will only go so far. It's a fool's economy or a false economy or fool's paradise or whatever you want to call it…[What] we have got is a well-trained, well-educated workforce, so that's in our favour, but again time will tell whether that's enough. I don't see it attracting everybody, I think they'll always come in for the tax break and that's probably the main reason they're here for now. So I'm really not sure where this is going to be in 10-15 years time, you could have a lot of well-educated people walking down to the dole office, but like, I don't really know where it's going.

(Interview, 28 November 2004)

Notes

1 It is important to note that any contact with workers was always mediated through the Department of Government and Public Affairs Department at HP and this extended to after leaving the site. For example, regarding informing the workers whom I had collaborated with, of upcoming exhibitions and developments related to the project, these were always directed to Una Halligan. In turn, I cannot confirm or deny whether this information was forwarded. As referenced, this contact ceased following the publication of the article in *The Irish Times* in April 2006.

2 Mark references a promotion clip for the arts review programme, *The View*, broadcast on the Irish national television and radio broadcaster, *RTE* (Raidió Teilifís Éireann). Included in the clip were portraits of Mark and Ebelonga, originating from an episode which reviewed *The Breathing Factory* at the time of installation at the Gallery of Photography, Dublin. *The View* (RTE 1 Television, 14 November 2006).

3 This reference to Mieke Bal was incorporated in a keynote presentation titled 'Positioning Artistic Research' by Henk Borgdorff, Professor of Art Theory and Research at the Amsterdam School of the Arts, and Research Fellow at the Royal Academy of Art and the Royal Conservatoire in The Hague, Netherlands. At an international conference addressing postgraduate research in art and design, Borgdorff proffered Bal's notion of visual art as a 'theoretical object…possessing embodied knowledge'. I was also invited to present on the methodological framework employed in my research project. The event was organised by the Iceland Academy of the Arts and held in Reykjavik, 3–4 October 2008. Available from: <http://lhi.is/rannsoknir/vidburdir/artistic-research-conference/> [Accessed 12 August 2010].

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Appendices

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Appendix I: List of Exhibitions, Awards & Publications in relation to *The Breathing Factory*

One Person Exhibitions

2010 *The Breathing Factory*, Museum of Art, DePaul University, Chicago, USA

2008 *The Breathing Factory*, Galerie Bleu du Ciel-Burdeau, Lyon, France
       in the programme of *Septembre de la Photographie*

2006 *The Breathing Factory* – Gallery of Photography, Dublin, Ireland
       The Breathing Factory – Belfast Exposed Gallery, Belfast, N. Ireland
       The Breathing Factory – The Butler Gallery, The Castle, Kilkenny, Ireland
       The Breathing Factory – Dazibao, centre de photographies actuelles, Montreal, Canada

2005 *The Breathing Factory* – Galeria Nuova Icona, Venice, Italy

Group Exhibitions (including extracts from *The Breathing Factory*)

2010 *Postcards from the Celtic Tiger*, Xuhui Art Museum, Shanghai, China

2009 *6x6 Fragments of European Photography: Ireland*, Fotofestiwal, Lodz, Poland
       6x6 Fragments of European Photography: Ireland, Yours Gallery, Warsaw, Poland

2008 *30 Exhibition*, Gallery of Photography, Dublin, Ireland
       China International Photography Festival, Pavilion from Ireland, Pingyao, China
       CEDEFOP PhotoMuseum Award, PhotoBiennale 08, Museum of Photography,
       Thessaloniki, Greece

2007 *Short Stories: Photographs 1890-2006*, Macy Art Gallery, New York, USA
       Cead China, Shanghai, China

2006 *Seconds: the imperfect artwork*, Wexford Arts Centre, Ireland
       European Month of Photography, Embassy of Ireland, Berlin, Germany

Awards/Selections (in relation to *The Breathing Factory*)

2010 *Government of Ireland Bursary*, Culture Ireland

2009 *Government of Ireland Bursary*, Culture Ireland

2008 *Government of Ireland Bursary*, Culture Ireland
       Art.Fair 21 Award, KunstMesse Köln, Nomination, Cologne, Germany

2007 *The Breathing Factory*, *CEDEFOP PhotoMuseum Award*, Museum of Photography,
       Thessaloniki, Greece

2006 *Government of Ireland Bursary*, Culture Ireland
       The Breathing Factory (Edition Braus/Belfast Exposed 2006) shortlisted –
       Rencontres D'Arles Book Award, Rencontres Internationales de la Photographie 2006,
       Arles, France

2005 *Government of Ireland Bursary*, Culture Ireland

Publications/Journals/Catalogues

Le Bleu du Ciel, 1999-2009 (2009), Lyon: Edition Bleu du Ciel.

MARGINS: Photographing Labour on the Margins (2008), Liptovsky Mikulas: IPRN/Dom
  Fotografie.

Identité(s)/Identity(ies) (2008), Lyon & Milan: Septembre de la Photographie/Silvana.

China International Photography Festival (2008), Pingyao: PIP.

Next Level – Art/Photography/Ideas (2008, Issue 13), London: Creative Scape.

'The Breathing Factory: Locating the Global Labouring Body', Journal of Media Practice 9(2) (Intellect, London, England 2008).

CEDEFOP PhotoMuseum Award 07 (2008), Thessaloniki/Brussels: CEDEFOP/Museum of Photography.

Cead China (2007), Shanghai: 411 Gallery.

Short Stories: Photographs 1890-2006 (2007), New York: Macy Gallery/New York University.

2nd European Month of Photography Berlin (2006), Berlin: Kulturprojekte Berlin.

SHIFTS 2 (2006), Jyväskylä: International Photography Research Network (IPRN)/Centre for Creative Photography, University of Jyväskylä.

The Breathing Factory (2006), Heidelberg: Edition Braus/Belfast Exposed Photography

Appendix II: Selection of correspondence in relation to accessing Hewlett-Packard

A – Letter to Una Halligan, Director of Government and Public Affairs, HP, (March 2003).

Mark Curran
44 Longwood Avenue,
Dublin 8.

ph:(01)4736240/
087-2779681
email: markjc1999@
hotmail.com

March 19th, 2003

Dear Una,

I am writing regarding the proposal we discussed. The work I wish to undertake is the substantial part of my research for my Mphil./PhD. in Visual Media/Photography at the School of Media, Dublin Institute of Technology. This is the inaugural year of this post-graduate project. My supervisors are Anthony Haughey (Senior Lecturer, Dept of Photography, D.I.T.), Martin McCabe (Senior Lecturer, Dept. of Photography, D.I.T.) and Dr. Alan Grossman (Government of Ireland Post-Doctoral Scholar, School of Media, D.I.T.).

The work I am proposing involves the visual exploration and documentation of the landscape of New Technology. Ireland has been experiencing the greatest economic transformation in it's history in recent years. A significant contributor to this change has been the massive investment and development in new technologies. This has profoundly changed the economic and physical landscape of the country. By the presence of companies such as Hewlett-Packard, Ireland is now a member of the global technology economy.

The visual documentation of this process has, outside of official government bodies, been limited. I, therefore, propose the following:

— to make, with the individual's permission, portraits of the people working in these environments.

— to photograph the space in which people work. (note: concerning security, much of the space/landscape-type imagery I make is non-geo-specific and rather abstract by nature. The intention here is poetic and draw your attention to the accompanying catalogue of my work.)

— to photograph the exterior spaces of these locations. Again I would draw your attention to the note accompanying the previous point.

— As I am aware of security and branding concerns, I am also not averse to the vetting of images or being accompanied at all times while at these locations. In previous work on construction sites around the city, this was the practice. The copyright of images would, however, remain that of the image-maker. This is not outside normal practice.

— to interview and record people's experiences as participants in this huge transformation. (note: this would not be company specific in terms of specific work practices.)

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- To record the environment of work i.e. the sounds of the space.

- to make several visits to each location. This is very important in terms of establishing a familiarity with staff and hopefully, their trust. It also affords an understanding of work practices and the space in which these practices take place.

I have enclosed supporting material in the form of images. These date from the 1500's to the recent past. These illustrate what has been a long tradition of documentation and representation of the changing industrial landscapes. The mediums of representation include painting and photography. In an Irish context, the work of the painter Sean Keating and his 'Ardnacrusha series' is important here. Keating documented the construction of the one of the largest engineering projects in Europe at the time i.e. the building of the Ardnacrusha power plant, and the largest undertaken by the young Irish Free State in the 1930's. Keating was not commissioned to document this project.

I have also enclosed material regarding my own work. This includes the catalogue 'Southern Cross' from my exhibition at the Gallery of Photography which explored the changing Ireland through the spaces of development, the construction sites, and those of finance, the IFSC. There is also media that it received including industry trade publications.

If you require any further information or clarification, please do not hesitate to contact me. Thanking you.

Regards,.

Mark Curran

B – Follow-up proposal outline to Una Halligan, HP (April, 2003).

RE:PROPOSED ACCESS TO HEWLETT-PACKARD, LEIXLIP,CO. KILDARE
MARK CURRAN

The following is a detailed outline, as requested, regarding access to undertake the project discussed in my conversation with Ms. Una Halligan, Public Affairs Manager, at Hewlett-Packard in Leixlip on Friday, March 21st, 2003.

As stated in my previous letter, the work I wish to undertake is the substantial part of my research for my MphiL/PhD in Visual Media/Photography at the School of Media, Dublin Institute of Technology (D.I.T.). This is the inaugural year of this post-graduate programme in practice-based research and, if successful, will be the first post-graduate award in Visual Media/Photography in Ireland.

My project is a multi-media exploration and documentation of the landscape of New Technology. Ireland has been experiencing the greatest economic transformation in it's history in recent years. A significant contributor to this change has been the massive investment and development in new technologies. This has profoundly changed the economic and physical landscape of the country. By the presence of companies such as Hewlett-Packard, Ireland is now a member of the global technology economy.

The access requested would be as follows:

- Access would be requested for a period of 6 months not starting until June, 2003 in consideration of the recent/present global security situation;

- All access would, of course, be pre-planned and cleared with relevant parties.

- Access would be requested to begin with weekly visits of one day. I foresee this then subsequently reducing as work proceeds to perhaps bi-monthly visits.

The nature of the work I wish to undertake is as follows:

- to make, with individual's permission, portraits of the people working in Hewlett-Packard in the particular place/area they work in.

- to photograph the space in which people work. (note: concerning security, much of the space/landscape-type imagery I make is non geo-specific and rather abstract by nature. The intention here is the poetic and draw your attention to the catalogue titled SOUTHERN CROSS I produced.)

- to photograph the exterior space of the site. Again, I would draw your attention to the type of landscape imagery I make.

- to interview and record people's experiences as participants in this huge transformation in Ireland. (note: this would not be company specific in terms of specific company work practices.)

- to record the environment of work i.e. the sounds of the space and therefore create an archival soundscape of the workplace.

RE:PROPOSED ACCESS (cont'd)   Mark Curran

- the request for longer-term access being made as it is very important in terms of establishing a personal familiarity with staff and hopefully, their trust. It also affords an understanding of work practices and the space in which these practices take place.

- as I am aware of security and branding concerns, I am also not averse to the vetting of images produced or being accompanied at all times while on location. In previous work on the construction sites around the city, this was the practice. The copyright of the images would, however, remain that of the image-maker. This is not outside normal practice.

Regarding access to specific areas within Hewlett-Packard, I would request the following:

- I would request to begin in the cartridge manufacturing area on site with the possibility to make images of the space, portraits and sound archives. I would also like to interview individuals working in this area, with their permission, whether those on the floor and those supervising the operation.

- I would also request to make images of the exterior of the site. Perhaps this could occur simultaneously while working in the manufacturing area as this also becomes weather-dependent.

- I would then request access to the 'clean room'. I would undertake a similar approach as outlined above. I am aware this may take some organising due to the nature of the space but it would be a key area as demonstrates explicitly the changing work practices within Ireland.

At present, these are the key areas of access but would ask for the possibility to make further requests as with any area of research or work, occasions can arise that one is not presently aware of.

In conversation with Ms. Halligan, who I should say was extremely helpful and forthcoming, I would appreciate the possibility to be briefed in the high-end printing technology available through Hewlett-Packard. In photographic practice, much work is completed using such printing technology, specifically in 'proofing' work, making dummy books/maquettes and the exhibiting of work. The intention at the end of my research is to produce a publication regarding the work and exhibition. Perhaps there would be the possibility to show the work I have completed regarding Hewlett-Packard on site at a later stage.

Ms. Halligan mentioned the possibility of linking in with a work-placement student from the University of Limerick as my liase while undertaking this research and I would express an interest in this possibility.

I thank you in advance for your time and consideration regarding my request and proposal.

Mark Curran, April 25th, 2003

C – Initial outline for procedure when photographing at HP (July 2003).

PROCEDURE FOR PHOTOGRAPHER (MARK CURRAN) VISITS TO HP

NITRO: (Jim ▓▓▓▓)
- ✓ High Tech area i.e The New Magma line- there is a possibility that he would be permitted to photograph this area
- ✓ He will be able to provide 2/3 people (not yet decided) who will be willing to pose for portraits, and be interviewed .

TIGER (Building 4) (NITRO): (Brian ▓▓▓▓▓▓)
- ✓ He will be able to provide the people from both Nitro & Tiger
- ✓ He will be able to provide up to 6 people from both areas- who will be a mix of gender / age/ levels – some operatives, technicians, and engineers.
- ✓ They will also be able to provide someone to accompany him on his visits

Brian also commented on the possibility of Mark perhaps giving a talk to employees on how people in his profession view the quality of printing technology, available to them in the course of their work. HP gives courses on imaging and printing quality to their staff, (in conjunction with Martin ▓▓▓▓)

WAREHOUSE BUIDING 3: (Liam ▓▓▓▓▓▓)-
- ✓ They will be able to provide imaging controllers (for portraits) who can be positioned at their desks, or in the warehouse etc.

LAVA (Building 2): (Ed ▓▓▓▓):
No photographs are to be taken in this area, given the sensitivity of the production lines in question. However, portraits can be taken in this particular area if Mark so wishes.

- ✓ He will be able to provide us with names for portraits – These people will be, again, a mix of gender/ age / level.
- ✓ He will also allow employees a maximum of 1 hour in the interview i.e employees have this length of time put aside on the scheduled day of portraits.

D – Detailed proposal (note: this followed first shut-down on site) (September 2003).

Proposed Project Schedule for Hewlett-Packard, Leixlip, Co. Kildare
from
Mark Curran, Mphil /PhD, Research Project,
School of Media, Dublin Institute of Technology (D.I.T.)

Supervisors: Dr. Alan Grossman (Government of Ireland Post-Doctorate Scholar, School of Media,
D.I.T.), Anthony Haughey (M.A., Senior Lecturer, Dept. of Photography, School of Media, D.I.T.),
Martin McCabe (M.A., Senior Lecturer, Dept. of Photography, School of Media, D.I.T.)

The following is a proposed timetable regarding access to areas of the Hewlett-Packard Plant in
Leixlip. I propose to provide a schedule beginning the week of September 29th until the week
beginning November 10th, 2003 as I am away for a substantial part of September. I will then provide a
subsequent schedule until the end of January 2004(I may have accumulated enough research that this
length of time may not be necessary).

Week beginning September 8th, 2003
Week beginning September 15th, 2003
Week beginning September 22nd, 2003
(away over these three weeks)

The proposed schedule is as follows:

Week beginning September 29th, 2003:

Tuesday, September 30th.
- access to Production Building 2 and 4 and Warehouse Building 3 between the hours of 11.00 a.m.
  and 2.00 p.m. to photograph the space.
- After this session, I perceive to have enough photographic work of the space in this area
  completed.

note*.
I would now request to make portraits, with individuals agreement, in this area at date(s) that can again
be prearranged?

Thursday, October 2nd.
- access to Phase 3B Production Building 8 and Phase 3A Production Building 6(?)(?), between
  the hours of 11.00 a.m. and 2.00 p.m. to begin photographing the space.

Week beginning October 6th, 2003:

Tuesday, October 7th.
- access to Production Building 2 and 4 and Warehouse Building 3 between the hours of 11.00 a.m.
  and 2.00 p.m. to make Portraits.
- access to Production Building 2 and 4 and Warehouse Building 3 to make a sound archive of the
  area between 2.30 p.m. and 4.00 p.m. (i.e. to record the sound of the space).

Note*.
from experience, this process, once people agree, should only take a few minutes, usually () at the
maximum. I say this as with previous places where I have photographed, I am aware of not getting in
the way of people's work or task at hand. I would like to state my complete willingness to cooperate
with HP in achieving this goal and being responsive to your protocol in this environment. I would
say, however, that it is vitally important to this project and as a document that this possibility exists. I
again refer you to my previous undertakings in my original proposal.

Proposed Project Schedule for Hewlett-Packard, Leixlip, Co. Kildare (cont'd)

from:

Mark Curran, Mphil./PhD. Research Project,
School of Media, **Dublin Institute of Technology (D.I.T.)**

Week beginning October 13th, 2003:

Tuesday, October 14th:
- access to Phase 3A and Phase 3B Production, Building 8 to photograph the space between the hours of 11.00 a.m. and 2.00 p.m.
- access to Phase 3A and Phase 3B Production, Building 8 to make sound archives of the space between 2.30 p.m. and 4.00 p.m.

Thursday, October 16th:
- access to Phase 3A and 3B Production Building 8 to make portraits between the hours of 11.00 a.m. and 2.30 p.m.

Week beginning October 20th, 2003:

Tuesday, October 21st:
- access to Production Buildings 2 and 4 and Warehouse Building 3 to make portraits between the hours of 11.00 a.m. and 2.30 p.m.

Thursday, October 23rd:
- interview day? time and place to be confirmed?

Week beginning October 27th, 2003:

Tuesday, October 28th:
- access to Phase 3A and 3B Production Building 8 to make portraits between the hours of 11.00 a.m. and 2.00 p.m.
- access to Phase 3A and 3B Production Building 8 to make sound archives of the space between the hours of 2.30 p.m. and 4.00 p.m.

Week beginning November 3rd, 2003:

Thursday, November 6th:
- access to Production Building 2 and 4 and Warehouse 3 in the evening (time to be approved) to make portraits*

note*
the motivation for evening access is to again document the continuous nature of activity on site that reflect not only the local needs but also the requirements placed upon HP on a global scale.

Week beginning November 10th, 2003:

Tuesday, November 11th:
- interview day? tbc?

Thursday, November 13th:
- access to Phase 3A and 3B Production Building 8 in the evening (time to be approved) to make portraits?

note*
I would like to then begin photographic-based work in the office areas and the clean room on site which again is open to negotiation and pre-clearance.
This is a proposed schedule and is therefore open to negotiation and review as is needed.

Mark Curran, September 1st, 2003

E – Correspondence regarding changes to proposals (November–December 2003).

We have one session scheduled for next Thursday, the 13th November in Building 8. Here, he is going to take some photos/ portraits/ record sound.

Des ▓▓▓ will be our guide in this area.

On Monday 17 th, he is taking some photos of the exterior site again, from 10.15- 1pm.

On Thursday 27th he proposes to enter the 'Clean room' changing room area to photograph the space- I have just received permission from Seamus ▓▓▓ to go ahead with this.

Sebastian ▓▓▓ will be our guide in this area, and he will also be doing one of the interviews, along with Sharon ▓▓▓

Also, one Thursday early in December, Mark would like to take 2/3 portraits of senior mgt personnel.
He would also like to interview perhaps 2 of them.

He would like to take some portraits in an office space, (Building 1 being the obvious choice). He would like to take as many portraits as possible, and have a mix of gender/ cultural backround/ age.
I thought the Bank would be very suitable for such a requirement, since there is a very apparent cultural mix there.

Una, can you advise me on the Building 1 requirement and the senior mgt one??

Hi Mark,

Our schedule for the next few weeeks looks something like this:

Thursday 27th- 'Changing Room' of the Clean Room area from 10.15 - 4 o clock

Monday Dec 1st- Digital Videoing of the Building 8 from say, 10.15 -1 (time to be confirmed by you)

Thursday Dec 4 th- Photography of Bank in the morning (10.15- 12.30), and then the interview with Senior mgt from 1 until say, 2/2.30?

Una's schedule is tight at the moment, so 1 o clock on the 4th was the best she could do really. I was thinking perhaps if you wanted, to come in earlier in the morning of the 4th, say be in here for 9 o clock, and we could have more time in the bank??

Will you let me know if this sounds ok to you??

Regards,

▓▓▓
Government &Public Affairs Dept.
Tel: 0035316158591

Appendix III: List of vetted interview questions

Interview Questions Mark Curran

- What is your name?

- Where were you born?

- Could you outline the duties and responsibilities of your current job position in Hewlett Packard? How long have you worked here?

- What is your previous work experience and where else have you worked, in what other information and communications technology companies or organisations, for example.

- How, if at all, has the nature of your work changed in the previous decade or so? Can you provide any examples?

- In what ways do you think the ICT industry in Ireland has changed in the last decade? Can you illustrate with any examples?

- Would you consider yourself part of this change? How, for example, has this change affected your working conditions, motivation and your areas of expertise?

- Outside of work, are you able to identify tangible effects that this change has made on aspects of your everyday life?

- Do you think that changes in this industry have shaped or influenced the ways people in Ireland view this country and how outsiders think about contemporary Ireland?

- In your own area of work, what future changes or work practices would you like to see in place? What components of your work environment would you like to remain intact?

- How do you see the future of the ICT industry in Ireland?

Appendix IV: Selection of interview transcripts

A – Interview with Rui Albequerque, Production Supervisor
Hewlett Packard, 9 October 2003 (Brendan Behan Meeting Room, Building 1, 11.00 a.m.)
Present: Rui and Mark

Rui: Okay, my name is Rui Albequerque, eh, I was born in Lisbon, Portugal in 1959 and I came to Ireland in 1984, in January 1984, so I have been in Ireland now nearly 20 years now. It has been a great

experience, eh, throughout this 20 years, eh, when I came to Ireland first, the job situation was very precarious but eh, I was able to get, em, into the company Packard Electric at the time and…eh…

Mark: And what was the nature of that, Rui?

RA: So the nature of the job was we assembled the looms for the Opel cars, the electric harnesses and was very labour intensive, em, so going back 20 years ago, so the industry in Ireland would be very labour intensive and I suppose in the last few years when we started to attract the IT companies, and the, eh, you know, computer
industries, you know we have seen a shift more to machine operating…

MC: And what was your role at that time in, in Packard Electric?

RA: So, I started as an operator and I got then a promotion two years on, eh, as a supervisor and I have been a supervisor since…so

MC: And that is your present role here at HP?

RA: That is my present role in HP, so I came into HP as a production supervisor, so, I have gone through a few different companies and I have noticed that companies that have labour intensive activities, eh, tend to disappear because of, em, our high rate of wage compared to, you know, eastern countries – namely - India, China, Malaysia, you know wherever

MC: Would this also include Eastern Europe? Is that also a factor these days or is it further, farther afield?

RA: I think, em, from my experience it is further afield…one of the reasons that my first job closed was, em, you know we started a plant in India where people got 33 pounds a month which was very low, low wage, you know in Ireland we were on nearly 200 a week. So that was a big difference. So we see, I have noticed, Ireland has devoted a lot of effort into educating our young generation and that is how we are doing so well, I, this type of industry that we have here at the moment, you know, our level of knowledge and development technology

MC: And how long have you been here at HP?

RA: I am here 3 and a half years

MC: Okay, okay, and do you live locally, Rui?

RA: I live 30 miles away, it is a 40 minute drive away, handy enough…but it is worth it, HP, you know I see it as one of the leaders, eh, one of the companies that is the leader in, em, having an open policy, as regards each individual. So each individual is a contributor, eh, and that is one of the, I think, advantage to give the upper hand to HP, em, plus people feel that they are part of the company, they just don't feel they work…

MC: So they build an idea of a family, almost, eh, a community, (R: Yes), so it would almost be, (R: Yes), a community in itself? (R: Yes), And do you travel a lot with your work Rui?

RA: No

MC: In terms of, a lot would be on site here?

RA: Yes, myself personally, I haven't travelled yet but, eh, there is constant travelling 'em you know, in business, in other people, for example, we are setting up a new product so there has been a few people gone to the States for training and getting all the package to bring over then to Ireland

MC: And do a lot of people then come here? Em, on site, would a lot of people, I get the sense that there is a lot of people from all over the world coming to Leixlip, they sort of come to seminars, to get tours of the plant, because I know you are a, one of the global distribution sites

RA: So we get a lot of people, em, and also, eh, because we have very good results, em…in some of the areas that we need to work on, em, so people from other plants, you know, come in to see which way we operate, so you know they can transfer our operation…operation, eh, systems into theirs okay, so it's kind of, we just don't do it here, whatever good we do here, we'll spread (M:sure, okay) and vice a versa

MC: Because I know there are a number of sites, locations around the world, I think, and so would you get people from, from where would they come? The people that come that you are obviously sharing information with

RA: So…they have come from, could come from, em, Singapore, eh, Puerto Rico, the States, so that is mainly the three areas that we get visitors from

MC: Okay, em, and yeah, so you have touched upon it absolutely briefly, was, in terms of, well, what way do you think the ICT industry in Ireland has changed in the last decade?

RA: Well I think because, as I said earlier, because there was great investment on peoples education…I think it has attracted, em, a lot of these companies into the country, eh, and because we have…delivered upon the objectives…eh…you know, set by the big international companies, I think that keeps attracting, you know, more and more people and, we don't have, kind of a, a lack of knowledge and of manpower that, em…they can say well that it is probably not attractive because they are exhausting their limitations, you know we keep investing on the education and you know, even within HP, eh, we have a lot of courses, that we facilitate people that are interested on taking i.e. technician course or IMI courses for supervision, so we have constant, constant development as well within the company not just …national level

MC: But on a very local, on the floor, shall we say, level, and can you talk about, a little bit, the nature of work, earlier you mentioned about 'em, when we weren't recording, was the nature of the management structure, how you think that has changed? You mentioned a little bit about what you thought was very healthy

RA: So, em, going back from the time that I started, eh, there was very strong unionised companies, eh, and that kind of kept a distance between management and workers, I have noticed that within the new companies forming, the old ones closing and the new forming, that there is more of a eh, interaction between management and workers and every persons opinion is valued and taken into consideration for the equation, of course, you know some of the corporation decisions are made at the corporate level but anything…any level can influence, you know, their voice is heard and eh taken into, and we actually reward people that, you know, that come up with ideas no matter what their function within the company

MC: And can I ask, in terms of the type of reward, would you, would it be financial, would it be monetary, would it be, what sort of format would, say, type of rewards take?

RA: So we have a huge, em, amount of different types of, eh, rewards, so, em, we have every, if I am not mistaken, every three months, we have what we call *The Ace Award* so its…its em, its like a certificate of achievement, and we have coffee talks, our Managing Director here, Lionel Normally, presents these awards, you know, with a full audience, you know, these people are appreciated by, there is another

rewards, with vouchers or bonuses, and there is also the informal reward of a supervisor or manager and calling that person aside and thanking them, you know which will go a long way as well

MC: Okay so it is tied in with that communication you spoke of earlier

RA: Yes

MC: Yeah, would you consider yourself part of this change in how has this change, for example, affected your work conditions, which I know you have talked a little bit about…and motivation and your areas of expertise…but how would you consider yourself part of this change?

RA: So one of the things that, em, I have noticed…is that, eh, as time, eh, progressed I found myself, em, wanting to learn more about other subjects that…before, you know, I knew what I knew for what I needed to do…these type of companies that we have now in Ireland, you know, encourages you to develop, you know, because there is a constant development of ideas, improvements here, improvements there, quality, you know, costs, whatever…it actually encourages you to study or to develop and you know…that is one of the things…you know, so what I did for it…so I…I am part of that and I encourage other people to do, so I tend to kind of that work directly with me, to develop themselves, eh, I give them the tools…encourage them, facilitate them…you know, time off or whatever

MC: Great, can I ask do you think the changes in this industry have shaped or influenced the way people in Ireland view this country and also how outsiders think about contemporary Ireland? Also considering your 20 years experience involved in this, you would have (R: Yes) witnessed a lot

RA: So, when I came here first, eh, I was saying to you earlier before we start taping, I felt just…I integrated very easily…eh…now the percentage of foreign people in Ireland 20 years ago was not as high as now…eh…I think we have seen in the last 2 to 3 a big influx of foreign, foreign workers and, eh, I think there was a kind of a shock for the nation, you know…so people don't…you know, all of a sudden they have thousands upon thousands coming in so I think people got a bit, you know, afraid or whatever…em…but I have never noticed, you know…em…prejudice or nothing like that, you know, 2 years on being in Ireland, you know, I got a supervisor promotion and you know, I have been a supervisor ever since so me being foreign has never been an issue

MC: And how do you think it has shaped contemporary Ireland, these changes?

RA: Well I think it has…em…helped because, eh, people from different cultures have different views of the world, of life and…eh…even ways of doing things and you know yourself, if you don't diverse, you know, you'll never go much further so, for as little as a contribution of somebody might be, you know, it has an influence and…eh…I think its all good…but in Ireland, you know, here in HP, we encourage diversity so…we wouldn't have that…eh…you know, the mentality that foreigners are, you know, just seen as HP employee

MC: Do you think that ties in with the fact that HP is, you know, is based all around the world so, I suppose, it must reflect on the fact that it is based all around the world, do you think that's part of the reason that it encourages such diversity?

RA: So it could be one of the factors, em, but, eh, I think the basic policies of, of…eh…HP…as they call it…. *The Rules of the Garage*, you know is, is to take each individual as they are for their contribution with, for the company independently...what religion, sex, colour or background they have…okay

MC: Okay, yeah, you mentioned *The Rules of the Garage*, is it like a set of principles?

RA: Yes, now don't ask me to name them all off hand *(laughter)* …eh…but eh…

MC: Can you give me a general idea of, of what those principles? You have mentioned obviously one

RA: Okay, so I tell you one so…*share your tools*…so nothing should be locked, em, *work as a team*, you know, because, you know, these would be very big descriptions, you know, I can't, but these would be something like that, you know…so it is really to say we work as a team and have respect for each other…and that so

MC: In your own area of work, Rui, what future changes or work practices would you like to see in place? And what components of your work environment would you like to remain the same?

RA: Em…so that is a very complex question, so, first of all, I like to work with people, directly with people, so I wouldn't like to change that…so that would be something that I would always like to have…eh…direct contact with people…*(long pause)*…to change, it is…it is a bit…it is a bit more difficult to answer, what would I change…*(another long pause)*…em…its em…*(pause continues)*

MC: Yeah…emm

RA: I can't think of anything now

MC: I suppose even in the 20 years since you first started working here at Hew…Packard or in Packard Electric and then, say, to where you are now, I mean there's obviously been a huge, massive change…in those…practices…so, maybe it ties into sort of, you know, another question would be, sort of, how do you see the future of the ICT industry in Ireland?

RA: Well I think we have…

MC: Maybe that ties in a little bit with that

RA: Alright, so I think we have great potential, eh, to maintain and increase probably the amount of…companies that we have in Ireland, one of the things that would be great for Ireland to actually get would be development…em…development of new products generation, (M: research?), research, generation of new products…eh, so that would actually be…and actually that's one of the DIMO, DIMO which is Ireland here, one of our aspirations is to kind of

MC: DIMO, is that the name of?

RA: DIMO, yeah, its one of the aspirations here, its kind of, to research and development within Ireland as well

MC: Is DIMO an abbreviation? I haven't heard this word before; that is why I am wondering

RA: It's an abbreviation but don't ask me what it is…I can't *(laughter)*

MC: But is it literally D-M-O…DMO? (*DIMO* is abbreviation for *Dublin Inkjet Manufacturing Operation*)

RA: Yes, yes

MC: Okay, okay…and…but is, is one…because I know you have one of the largest cleanrooms in Europe is based here (R: Yeah, yeah) so obviously research and development is a huge …yeah?

RA: Sorry, it is…I can't think of the D…but it is *Ireland Manufacture Operations*

MC: But it is that, that that would be key to Ireland's future in terms of the ICT would be development and research, (R: Yeah, yeah), okay…okay…and the possibilities for that do you think, in your own opinion?

RA: Well, we already have a group working, eh, towards that, you know, so, I don't know how much of a stake we can take within HP of that or not…so…

MC: I have a final question for you, actually Rui, was just in terms of obviously coming from Portugal, eh, how does it feel or maybe you have covered that already but just in terms of how things are in Portugal can maybe compared to Ireland? I presume there is also movement to maybe to, obviously to, increase investment in a country like Portugal to build up the economy, I am sure tourism is obviously a huge component of (R: yes, yes) the economy there also but is there also movements in ICT in, in Portugal, for instance? Are you aware of that?

RA: Eh, I am not really aware that, they're really…not that they are not interested but I think because the labour is so cheap in Portugal, I think they still maintain a lot of the labour intensive companies…em…and then as you said the tourist industry is, is a big focus for Portugal…I don't know…em…you know, I don't really, I have contact with Portugal but I don't really kind of, be living there to have that, eh, close knowledge

MC: So you are not aware if there is any, sort of, ICT activity going on in Portugal?

RA: No, no, well not, well there probably is but I would say it's at a very smaller scale comparing to…Ireland…so they still be, kind of, more into the car assembly and you know, things like that

MC: So, a lot of manufacturing?

RA: Yes…yeah

MC: And lastly…why do you think Ireland has been so successful? I know you mentioned, about…

RA: About education?

MC: Education, but are there other reasons why Ireland has been leading to this amount of people moving here?

RA: Well, okay, I don't know if I am right in saying this, (M: in your opinion), but I think, in my opinion because, eh, Ireland has such close ties with the States, and most of the IT companies in Ireland are American…em…so I think thats, that plays a part…also they were going to have to be somewhere, so, to be in Europe, you know… Ireland, so Ireland would be, you know, a way for them, for any company to be within Europe because of all of these European…you know, the world trade agreements and all that, so, also I think as far as I know the Corporate Taxes, you know, they've, Ireland gave great concessions to international companies, eh so I think that's…

MC: It's a combination then? Also location in terms of it's, do you think the fact that it is an island is a negative aspect to it?

RA: Could be a deterrent because, you know, transport costs but I think if you have everything else right and…if you have the right frame of mind within management and the team for cost reduction so you know you are going to suffer on transport but if you can work your way that you can reduce on other costs, you know, by making improvements on production, you know, qualities…and all that…I think, you know…it pays to…if you can get your…satisfied customer…it pays, you know, the extra few cents or whatever

MC: Again…another final question was on a personal level, do you see yourself staying in Ireland? I know you have been here 20 years…do you see yourself remaining in Ireland?

RA: Oh…I probably die in Ireland *(laughter)* yeah, no, my daughters are Irish and, you know, I like Ireland, so, I would prefer the Portugese weather, you know, but you can't have everything, you know…but I like it here…Ireland has been good to me…I don't think I would have had the standard of living in Portugal that I have in Ireland…and…I find the people nice too, you know…I feel myself an Irishman…you know, I don't see myself as a foreign person, you know…so

MC: Because there is, and this is another, and feel free if you don't feel like answering it, that is okay…there is, now a huge, dare I say it, trade, of contract labour now coming to Ireland…I know, working in the North and working, and that relationship between Portugal and Ireland is, it's kind of what it always has been, this historical link but in terms of, more recently, labour-wise, that there is…do you have any opinion on that? Or what people think about that? Like there seems to be now in some of the manufacturing plants in Northern Ireland and in the South, not in ICT, but the use of, dare I say it, contract labour from Portugal and I know it is not the well or best paid, (R: Yes, yes), do you have a sense for that in Portugal? Do you?

RA: Well you see Portugal always had a very high percentage of emigration and, that basically because…the main developed areas are the main cities, you know, countrywide, you know, the development was very poor and there was no kind of…em…region…regionalisation of factories to go over to smaller…populated areas, so…that meant that Portugese people would emigrate and they always have…we actually have seen a lot more now coming to Ireland, mainly before would be Spain, France, England, Germany and States, now we see a lot more coming into Ireland…em…*(pause)*…I don't know…if its…because people now are in the EEC and they have, you know, the EU…and they have the facility of travelling so they can actually, okay Ireland is booming, so lets go to Ireland…you know

MC: As the Irish would have gone in the past…they would have gone to other countries

RA: So before, you know, before Portugal joined the EU, you know, actually before I came to Ireland…you needed to find a job and then you needed a green card and a work permit and all this so there was a lot of restraints…nowadays it is kind of easy for people to travel and, you know, it is human nature, you go where you can get the best but I think the 99% of the people would be emigrating just to get a few bob and return back to Portugal so that wouldn't be my case

MC: And when did the EU, when did Portugal join the EU? Just as a matter of interest, can you recall?

RA: I don't really know the exact date…but it would have been on the early Nineties

MC: Okay

RA: Okay

MC: Thank you very much Rui

RA: You are very welcome

B – Interview with Una Halligan, Director of the Government and Public Affairs,
Hewlett-Packard, 1 June 2004, (Cafeteria, 11.30 a.m.)
Present: Una and Mark

Mark Curran: Una, if you don't mind, starting at the beginning, your name and title?

Una Halligan: Starting at the beginning', (laughter), absolutely, my name is Una Halligan and I am the Government and Public Affairs Director for Hewlett-Packard here in Ireland

MC: And can I ask how long you have been working for HP?

UH: Basically, since HP came to Ireland with the Inkjet Manufacturing, just over 8 years ago, 8 and a half years ago now

MC: And before that?

UH: Prior to that I worked with IBEC, the Irish Business Employers Confederation, I was an Executive Negotiator with them, I came to HP, initially, to start off working on their PR and Community Relations and then that grew into PR, Community Relations and Government Affairs and now it's more, I do some PR but mostly Government Affairs, Philanthropy, Community Relations and PR for the manufacturing side

MC: Can I ask you, if you don't mind, to tell me a little more about the Government Affairs side?

UH: Yes, I will...yes so Government Affairs is very much, a lobbying, basically if we look at what the objective is, .if we look at why HP came to Ireland in the first place...we came...low Corporation Tax, highly skilled workforce and, em, stable economy, national pay agreements, making sure you don't have huge inflation, so my job is to really make sure, going forward that HP works in that same kind of a climate…so that I work with IBEC, with the American Chamber of Commerce, with ICT Ireland, groups like that and very directly, also with the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment, so basically if we have got issues around whether it's R and D *(Research and Development)* whether it's tax and investments and that kind of stuff, these are the areas that we would lobby on...lobby at Brussels level, I actually report into Brussels and lobby at the local level as well

MC: So also on an EU level as well?

UN: So EU as well...actually a lot of the stuff...in fact...doing business in Ireland is actually relatively...I won't say relatively easy...but...it's...it's a very good environment in which to do business in, it's a very open economy...there is a real sense of 'Government of Can Do', of wanting to make you successful...and obviously we have 4,200 employees here in Ireland at the moment...1,800 in the manufacturing side here (coughs)...and we are growing that investment, (MC: okay), we are growing it on the R and D side...up the value chain...and we are doing some, em, collaborations with Science Foundation Ireland and Universities...that's the area I get involved in...an basically it is to try and make sure that we protect the investment we have and that we grow it and the only way you can do that is making sure that the climate continues to be competitive and Industry/Business - Friendly...so that would take up the vast part of the job I do

MC: And is that difficult? At the moment, there is...I was just reading in the Financial Times around ideas, for instance...even ideas around an EU-wide Corporate Tax level, these sort of things...inspired from France and Germany

UH: It's a big issue...yeah it's an issue...well having said that...it's an issue for *Ireland Inc.* it's not an issue for HP because Ireland are saying we are going to hold this...over our dead bodies...em...certainly this Government would hold it, I would also think Fine Gael would hold it...I would have concerns that Labour, because Pat Rabitte has said publicly that he thinks we should go that route...I think it would be a big problem and I will tell you why...this Inkjet Manufacturing site we have here in Ireland is one of three worldwide...the other two are in Puerto Rico and Singapore...they have no Corporation Tax...therefore, you are already starting with a handicap...you might think 10% going up to 12 and a half%, the lowest in Europe but it is not the lowest in the World...and they also have very smart people...therefore, if we won't to do business in that kind of a...world economy...Ireland is a small country...you still have the logistics of getting the product from here into the European or Worldwide distribution from an island so therefore you've already got infrastructural costs...you've also...would also have...em...salary costs, wage costs would be higher here that Puerto Rico or Singapore...having said that we do business very well here and we are very successful here...the people and the calibre of people would be extremely high...and we would have no problem continuing to do business here...and as I said grow that business in various ways but obviously if you put handicaps and blockages to that...and that would be the biggest one...Corporation Tax would be a particularly...eh, eh...big one...but as I say...the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment and in fairness both Charlie McGreevy (present Minister of Finance) and Mary Harney (present Tanaiste)...would all be in favour...and the Taoiseach...in keeping that low rate of Corporate Tax...so...from that perspective it's pushing an open door, but, of course, when we have all this kind of talk in Europe...our U.S., we are a U.S. company...they see that...so they see the wider picture...and they kinda' say, well, is this a real threat? And I...obviously... we can only lobby...well, we can lobby everywhere...but our main lobbying is in Ireland...going over to Germany to lobby on a Corporation Tax in Ireland, you are

not going to get too far...therefore, from that perspective...some of the lobbying is very local, some of it then, we need to raise issues into the European level

MC: Then can I ask, in the context of all that, is the whole, you read Government reports...the whole move towards R and D and this idea of Specialisation to ensure longevity, so here we are in the context of a manufacturing plant...how does that sit? How does that fit?

UH: It fits very well, basically what happened here is basically...a typical example of a manufacturing site anyway, first of all the manufacturing...you'd know a bit about this as you've seen it...the manufacturing site here is very *high-tech*, so we have a huge number of engineers here, what we have done here is…we've sent the *low-end* manufacturing...so the first product -lines that came in here are now down with contract manufacturers in Galway and Waterford and what we did was...we took the *Low-End technology*...that became routine, became just, as I say, Low-End, we took it to contract manufacturers and the High-End IP end, International Property end...comes back in here, (MC: Okay), so we now, now we have got worldwide responsibility for the new product line that is coming out and we are also do a huge amount of product technology, eh, development here so we have now gone from the Low-End up to the High-End and we are going to the next level again and looking at this site as being that...because it is the only European site taking a lot of that R and D work and that technology development is coming on site

MC: On this site as well? (Una: On this site as well) So it co-exists?

UH: Yes it is actually happening

MC: So can I ask as well, in the context of an expansionist Europe...and new accession countries...I am sure you have come across this question

UH: Yeah...it is not an issue for us now, really it isn't...this install base here is huge...the amount of investment in this country here is huge, we're very happy with what where we are doing it at the moment, we also...importantly too and I wouldn't underestimate it...okay you're right, em people in the other, in the East European countries and I think probably more China rather than actually East European...I'd see more threats coming from there, there are certainly are threats but we would see as being, good for...where Ireland was 20 years ago...China maybe even further, now they are closing the gap but the first thing we do have here are the huge advantages...we are English-speaking, we work for an American Multinational Company which is predominantly English-speaking...therefore we would have a '24 hour, 7 day a week, 365' day....you'd often find some of our engineers would pick up the phone to somebody in Singapore about an issue rather than wake up somebody or an operator or technician rather than wake up somebody who is in bed at 4 o'clock when they can get them, so, it's a global company, English-speaking is important, also...we spend a lot of, a lot of, money on developing our people, they are bright people, they are smart people, they're young...technically very qualified workforce...so we actually don't see a threat, I am not saying in 10 years time it won't be threat but I think in 10 years time you'll probably see a very different HP in Ireland

MC: Okay, so it is a process of evolving

UH: Yes it's evolving and keeping ahead, keeping ahead...I think that's true...and that's going to be true of all...of all manufacturing sites and not even manufacturing sites...but of anybody...even service providers...because in a global world...em, with a global economy...you can do all of your support from the other side of the world, it doesn't make any difference

MC: And your R and D in India? And stuff like that?

UH: We do, we have labs in India, we do, em, and you know, they do very well but we're big, we have a lot of products, a lot of areas, inkjet is one small part of it but it happens to be lucky for Ireland the part that is in Ireland and to actually move that, that technology transfer would be huge and we have bedded down so many of the processes here now that we're, would feel ourselves to be very substantial leaders in the inkjet technology world for HP

MC: So part of that local/global landscape isn't it?

UH: Yes it is, it is, that's right

MC: Em, can I ask a more general question, how do you think the nature of your work has changed in the previous decade?'

UH: Mine has changed completely, in terms of, when I cam here there was nobody doing Government Affairs and partly too because the MD at the time was an American and he didn't understand a lot of the legislation side of stuff, I'd come from IBEC...I had both the EU background and the local legislation, so I started in fact in getting involved in social policy issues...the 'working time director' which was a typical example of something that was coming down the tubes at that time, nobody, cause the HR community didn't have that background...nobody had it so I started the social policy stuff for it and then that grew and then I got very involved...actually, I lead the relationship with the IDA *(Industrial Development Authority)*...so the IDA/Forfas and that area, then I was appointed by Mary Harney on a number of boards in relation to innovation, in relation to education/skills awareness and stuff like that, so it actually evolved very much from a PR where I kinda' took a watching brief to very little PR now, just literally for the site here, I have always done the Community Relations and the Philanthropy, and that is a big part of the job that I enjoy very much because it puts a lot of money into Philanthropy

MC: Is that then the local? The Philanthropy, can you talk a little about the Philanthropy?

UH: It's local and it's, it's local, Leixlip and Celbridge are very lucky, they've got Intel here before us and ourselves, there isn't a child, I'd say, in this community that doesn't have PC...therefore we do, we do, we've just recently sponsored two big projects in the local community, one is the Leixlip Parish Centre and the other one is up in Captain's Hill, a Parish Centre up there...that both Intel and I have given funding to, HP have given funding to but the biggest thing that we have done actually...or to me the most strategically biggest, maybe not in money terms, but certainly strategically the best thing that we have done is the Digital Community Centres in the Inner City in Dublin, so, about 4 years ago, got involved again through other areas that I was involved in, with *the Digital Hub* in around the Media Labs...but also HP are also huge partners of media, of MIT *(Massachusetts Institute of Technology)* in Boston and Media Lab here, Media Lab Europe is part of that, so we are also partners of that and we gave them a big grant, donation of equipment when they came here but around the time that they came here, 4 or 5, maybe 6 years ago now, would have started, 5 years ago anyway, I was involved literally with just looking at some schools in that area under the Dublin Inner City Schools Computerisation Project...called DISC with the Dublin Institute of Technology (DIT) and Dr. Tommy Cooke who looks at their Outreach Programmes, we get started by putting some equipment into some Inner City schools and one of the things I was looking at, was the whole...redevelopment of the Digital Hub and the whole idea that here we are going to have a really high-tech community, 9 acres that the Government was going to invest in and I said why don't we try and target this area so the people in this area, the indigenous population are the ones getting the jobs, the IT jobs, not sweeping the floors and making the sandwiches, these guys and girls will actually get real jobs, so we started doing a lot of work in the schools and through that we actually decided to do Digital Community Centres in their area...so we put the first 3 as a pilot into Fatima Mansions, St. Theresa's Gardens and Bridgeford Street flats, we actually got Dublin County Council to give us apartments cleaned out, we put the equipment in, we worked with the DIT to put the, the trainers in, train the trainers, Microsoft came on board, Eircom came on board...the Dublin Inner City Partnership came on board....anyway to cut a long story short, we now have 11 of them up and running, HP have done 11 of them, we have provided them with a full-time Project Manager to actually go out and get the people to come in and do it, we have I think 13 graduates to date who are working, so the idea of having jobs paid off and we're looking at how we can, probably rather than expand it right now, how we can..I think my, my...and I am actually going to San Francisco at the end of this month (June 2004) to talk to HP about this...because we have these projects around the world but this is a particular one, this one, just kind of grew really and it has been very, very successful so they have asked me to present on it next week but, em, so my, my actual thoughts on it are, rather than expand on it, we should dig down with it, we should try to get, get more value into it, we should attract more people within those areas...upskill within each of those areas so now that the people that have gone off and done the Microsoft Academy certification, they, that is accepted as a module in the DIT if

they want to go to college and the other one that I want to look at is the schools, how many kids can get into third level? So that's the kind of, if we use those 11 communities, that would be the way forward, that would be a huge part of the work that we have done in the last few years

MC: Okay, okay...it seems a real outcome

UH: Yes it is, it is

MC: Em...well this may seem self-evident but I will ask it anyway but do you see yourself as part of this change? I persume obviously you would

UH: Yes I would, I would consider myself a driver of the change really...because I'm fairly good at, at seeing things that need to be done and getting up and doing them, I don't like doing, once you get something and you do it and actually a lot of it comes about from projects that we started with and networking with people where you get an idea and one, another one we did was the Back To Work Scheme for the long-term unemployed...and we kind of took that in a number of various areas and brought that to a next level too, so, I think it's...yeah, I would, I would see myself as somebody driving

MC: And where do you see, I mean, Ireland...in this? I mean how do you think Ireland is percieved abroad, for instance, you go to America a lot?

UH: Oh...very dynamic, in fact, I had a colleague of mine from Nabia, who does Government Affairs in Israel and she came here to shadow me for two days because she is just literally new to the job and she, looking at the model we have here, and even when she arrived in Dublin Airport, she said…

…'I can't believe this city, this city is alive, it's so buzz, the atmosphere' and I had her staying just on the Stephen's Green and she, she, just couldn't believe it, now I suppose when you know, when you are coming from Israel, it's not quite the same...apples for oranges but I mean I think there is a very strong perception and not just perception, perception really is reality...that this is a dynamic country, a very good country to do business in, the average age of our employees is 27, very young, very dynamic, want to make things happen, want to, want to leave their mark, want to make a difference, so that makes a huge difference to have a...an employee base like that

MC: And so obviously, again may be self-evident but work practices have changed, the work environment, the material...sort of environment that people work in has changed

UH: Emm...yes and no, I'd say HP has always had a very, very laid back approach to managing people, very much empowering...and it has been managed by showing and talking, we're not big into legislation and nobody clocks in and stuff like that, so does work practices to a large extent haven't, I suppose what has changed and in my case I'd see it more than most is...em, because when you come here as a *start-up company*, you kind of, everybody is making the job, you literally...you literally...make up your, the job as you go along, no two days are the same and you just kind of go with the flow and something happens and suddenly you are going in this direction...that doesn't work and you go in that direction...that has...that pace has slipped down which is better, therefore you're probably doing, whereas you might be doing loads of things and some of them pay off now you are probably focusing on the things that really do work and I know that would be very true of the manufacturing site as well, whereas you would be starting off and trying to get it up and running...ship the product...for god's sake, get the product out, you know, it has to be, obviously quality right, everything had to be right but now we can up that another level so therefore your work practices would change because of that...but I think it is more *bedding down* rather than, I don't think the culture has changed, no I wouldn't say the culture has changed

MC: Well I was going to say, you will read literature that will use terms like *post-industrial landscape* and other ideas including that Ireland, well, the South of Ireland never experienced the Industrial Revolution (UH: yeah, no we didn't, no) so this is such a, we are now officially *the most globalised economy in the world*, it is...

UH: Yes but as well as that...when that happens, the people and because...their age group is...actually shows this to a large extent as well, it's synonymous with it...because they didn't come with baggage, they didn't come with *trade union* background...I'm not anti-union...but they didn't come with *this is the way it's always been done*...they came with *I've never done this before...but couldn't we do it this way*...you know and they are kind of looking for new ways of doing it and that's why I say by empowering...if you have too many rules and regulations and you have a lot of people, people will follow the rules and regulations because...quite frankly, I've always said...you work to your manager, your manager is your boss, if your manager manages you well, that's it, it doesn't matter what HP says, if your boss is actually going to be, do it my way, that is your experience of HP but if your manager is trained and we spend a lot of time training managers to make sure that they get the best out of people, by allowing them to be flexible, adaptable and, eh, resourceful, so I think that, that is the difference but I think it would probably, it probably is, and I think probably HP came to Ireland at a very good time, or even a few years before that because I'd say Intel would tell you the same thing…and they would have been here a few years earlier, came at a very good time when you had very young graduates who didn't have any bad habits and em, were able to actually bring their enthusiasm, their flexibility and really *devour* it, I kind of, you know, there was a *wow factor* for them too

MC: And can I ask, in the context as Intel is just up the road, you know was that by design? As you are struck immediately by these two large facilities?

UH: I suppose not really, well yes, by the design only in that HP wanted to be near Dublin, we had to be near land-ports and sea-ports because we ship out product, we ship in raw material...we fly in, we ship in all that good stuff, therefore we had to be near the ports, we also decided to be near Dublin as opposed to any other port like Limerick or, or Galway or whatever, logistically, we would have to be on the East coast…I suppose anyway for, because all of our product, most of our product goes to Amsterdam and that's our distribution centre for the products here, therefore the East coast would have made sense but it was also important being close to Dublin because about a third, slightly less than a third, about 28/30% of our employees are back in continuous education, therefore going back to university, going back to colleges, again if you are down in Ballydehob, that's not there, as well as that if you have a young population, and a lot of our other businesses and some of our people here too, apart from being young, they would be a multinational workforce…
…they wouldn't all be even EU, they want to live in a capital city, they want to go down Temple Bar, they want to be on Grafton Street, they don't want to be in Ballydehob so you know, nothing against Ballydehob *(laughter)* but quite frankly if you are trying to attract the top graduates, and as I say, a lot of them doing Masters, a lot of them back in college, a lot of them doing degree programmes...they want to be where the action is and that is Dublin

MC: And...okay...the future? Or what do you think?

UH: No, I have no problem discussing the future with you, I'd say you'll see a very different future for us, of course, I can only, it's all, obviously, manufacturing we are talking about and not HP in general as that's what your project is about

MC: But even with HP in Ireland, that sort of thing?

UH: Yeah, I'd see very definately...em...digging, digging

MC: As you must get an overview? As someone in your position

UH: Yes I do have a very good overview, I see very definately HP, getting more and more embedded, getting more and more involved as I say we are working with Science Foundation Ireland, we have a number of capability grants, R and D grants, from the IDA that we have, for the last couple, number of years, we're certainly showing HP, em, globally, that we are capable of doing it, ah, we are very lucky with our management and with Lionel here, our GM, who is very anxious to get more and more and more and more...fights for, and we can show that we can do it so I would be very optimistic that HP will be very successful here...in the long-term

MC: But in the context of, say, competition, in the context of...say...the fluctuation with the dollar, currencies, talking with people and savings they have to make and these can be wiped out with a single currency fluctuation?

UH: It goes up and down if you think about it...over the ten years, this is the first time that we have the, eh, in fact the Euro, it's the first time the Euro has been high, eh, so we really did very well, so we just look on that and you can't (MC: You look at the long-term) that goes up and down, that goes up and down

MC: Listen Una, thank you very much, that was very useful

C – Interview with Susan Cronin, Logisitics Co-ordinator, Warehouse
Hewlett-Packard, 23 October 2003 (Samuel Beckett Meeting Room, Building 1, 15.30 p.m.)
Present: Susan and Mark

Mark: Can I ask you what your name is?

Susan: It's Susan Cronin

MC: And where were you born?

SC: The Rotunda Hospital in Dublin

MC: Okay…and do you still live in Dublin?

SC: Yes, for now

MC: And can I ask you Susan, eh, what your duties, responsibilities, eh, in your job at HP are?

SC: My duties are to export

MC: (interrupts)…sorry, maybe your title actually first, I am just thinking
SC: It's Logistics Co-ordinator, Traffic Co-ordinator; I would be responsible for shipping all our palettes of *FGI*

MC: *FGI*?

SC: 'Finished Goods Inventory'

MC: Okay, okay…and when you say shipped, where are they shipped?

SC: We would, we ship them to four destinations…one in Singapore, one in the U.S. and two in Europe

MC: Okay…great…and what is your previous work experience, where else…eh…have you worked?

SC: I have worked here for 7 years and while here *(coughs)* I am in my third job, role, so I am changing each time, gradually going where I want to go, prior to Hewlett-Packard, I was teaching sailing, canoeing and rock-climbing and all that kind of stuff

MC: Okay, that is quite a change?

SC: Yes indeed

MC: How come?

SC: Well I did my course for two years in college, as…to get instructorship on all of these outdoor activities and I worked for four years and then I just thought…the weather is not great, the money wasn't too good either and it was very seasonal so I just thought, hey, I need to go and get myself *a real job*, em, so I started off…and when I came to Hewlett-Packard and I started off as an operator on the production floor

MC: And, so what were the motivations, you'd say, for coming to HP? What were the reasons?

SC: Well, I had heard a lot about, like, Intel who had been in Ireland for so many years before Hewlett-Packard...and, it was just…I just thought it was a big industry as…permanent…stable job…it was good feedback I'd been hearing. I had knew…I had known a couple people at the time who had been worked here and, I just thought to make the change from what I was doing…I thought, yeah, I'll come into a big place where I know it's…it isn't going anywhere in the near future

MC: Did you know anyone else working here? Prior to coming to work in HP?

SC: I knew one person, really and that was it…so, eh…I just applied and that and…here we are

MC: Okay…em, and what way do you think the ICT industry has changed in the last decade? Can you illustrate with any examples? If you can but how do you think it has changed?

SC: *(softly)* What's ICT?

MC: 'Information and Communications Technology'

SC: Okay, okay, right, well, I don't really know, I just know that in here, what we do is we're making inkjet cartridges and when I started here 7 years ago we were making a product, one type and now 7 years on, that product is no longer…it's obsolete, people don't want to buy it anymore, we no longer make it and we've gone on to making 15 other different products that are now in demand and gradually you can see that they're, falling down by the wayside and every single month or every six months we are bringing in a new product and…it's constantly, constantly changing…yeah

MC: So there has been a huge, it's a constant mode of change and development…and re-invention, as it were?

SC: Yeah, I think Hewlett-Packard…I think they have a huge team out there working on what are we going to do next, they don't even know what it is, but they know that the inkjet business is not going to be around forever…people are going to be wanting new, smaller, better things, quicker, brighter more colourful…
…you know and they know it is not going to be around forever and I think they put a lot of work and effort and time and money…into looking out into the future

MC: That is quite interesting so, and it ties in with this, how do you see this as having changed Ireland? Or how we view Ireland? The role of the IT industry, how do you think that has changed Ireland? In your opinion

SC: It's offering so many different jobs and…higher…more, like, I…kind of, wouldn't have a very professional job in here but I can see that they're looking for, they'd often have posted up on the board and they're willing to give somebody a hundred and…no…one thousand five hundred pounds if they know somebody who is like, eh…really technical person in…I don't know what the job titles are but they are pretty high qualified people in the various IT software industries…so there's people out there…companies battling to get these guys just out of college, you know…they want them to work here, they want them to work in Intel and they are willing to pay good money to get these people, so there's a huge amount of jobs being created

MC: And so how do you think that has changed Ireland? How do you, what ways do you think it has changed Ireland? The fact, these companies operate in Ireland, like HP?

SC: I think people…see Ireland as a place, as we've all noticed, every time you get on a bus or everytime you walk down the street that there is a huge number of different nationalities where as 10, 15, 20 years ago if you seen one coloured person, it was…oh…you know, it was…where as today, it's just different and Ireland is attracting people like the UK would have in the 80's, if people want to come and work here…you know

MC: Do you think it has been beneficial to Ireland? Do you think it's been a, how do you think it has changed, I suppose?

SC: Well I'm a bit biased at the moment because I'm buying a house and I'm not impressed with the prices *(laughs)* yes it's definitely beneficial but on the other hand it's, things are just going up and up and up and…yeah…

MC: And how do you think the role of work has changed in Ireland? How do you think work has changed in Ireland? The workplace has changed in Ireland, say in the last 15 years?

SC: When I was growing up, my mother or none of my mother's friends would have worked…it wasn't very common for women to go out and work whereas, I think, nowadays there's enough jobs out there and women are in the workplace, equally…as men…probably got better jobs than men, whereas 10 years ago that wouldn't have been the case, so…am I answering that question?

MC: Yes, absolutely…I was going to ask you about that, what you thought of the role of women, say even in this environment?

SC: I think Hewlett-Packard, you only have to look at the, main CEO *(then Carly Fiorino)* and that's a lady, you know, and she's been listed as one, up in the top ten of the US business people in, actually in the world, so, she's a lady, you know and, that's great for the company and I think underneath Carol, she's a woman also…so the top two people in this company are women and, I don't think there is any prejudice at all, if I, if you were going for an interview against a guy, they totally, it's on your ability and…I think definitely in HP

MC: In terms of…would you have any opinion on how the role of work has changed in Ireland? Even say in that time, even from your mum's time or growing up…how industry has changed in Ireland? I mean what do you think of these big changes that have happened in the last 8-9 years? In your opinion

SC: What do I think of the changes that have happened?

MC: This big change in the economy, the culture

SC: I don't know, I'm sorry

MC: That's fine, absolutely okay, you have touched on some of this already, which leads into this, how do you see the future of the IT industry in Ireland?
SC: Emm...I can see it constantly changing, but as a plant being stable 'cause there's always goin' be something else to come in and take over, take it's place...aah...for production lines out there, they, they seem to always need less and less people to operate them there...every different production line we bring in, it has more capabilities within itself, whereas the first one, we probably needed 12 and now we only need 6 people to run it...so technology is constantly changing and machines and computers are doing more work all of the time and all the different software packages are constantly changing and you've got more tools to use on a PC so...life, work is being made a hell of a lot easier...I think

MC: Okay, but that obviously means and ties in with, in terms of your own learning, is that an ongoing process?

SC: Oh, constantly...oh, absolutely, we work, we use this software package, it's called SAP, and that's what we control all our inventories and it's linked production to accounts to finance and all that good stuff...and

it's just so in-depth...I...I use a tiny section, other departments use another small section and the whole tool is just phenomenally big...and...eh, constantly trying to learn more about it the whole time, you know, and you still only know a tiny, little proportion of it...and there's always new packages, like, even the *Microsoft Windows*, for example, it's constantly upgraded...(M: so you're constantly trained in those upgrades...)...yeah, we have courses in here and you can go on and learn, what, you know, new stuff that's coming out and stuff like that...so they have courses and anyone can go along and just put your name down, which is great, you know, it means we can all keep ourselves up to date with any changes that are coming about, and packages that we would have used, maybe *pencil and paper* 5 years ago...it's all gone now and it's...*pencil and paper* and *passed-down*, *handovers*, they're all gone and everything is just, it's all logged on the PC...if it's not on the PC, then it didn't happen, you know

MC: Okay, okay, Susan, yeah maybe, in just regards to that change, if I was to ask it this way, how do you think working in Ireland has changed since your mum and dad's generation to your generation?

SC: You want me to say something and I'm just not getting it *(laughter)*

MC: No *(laughing)* I mean, do you think there are more jobs? Not having to go away, those sort of things

SC: There's...there's a lot more jobs, I think...jobs in factories were very...manual, you know...to be a factory worker was a very manual job and the IT, what was a computer? I know, I...the first, I heard of a computer was in secondary school, you know...people, offices and schools didn't have PC's...in primary school, wouldn't never had PC's where as nowadays, every child in the country nearly has a PC and all homes have one and...you know, children at the age of 4 when they go into school use PC's...which is something that didn't happen in my day, you know

MC: And the last thing, and you've touched on already, that changing role for women, how do you think it has changed in Ireland? The fact that you are in a global company, in many ways, this is one of it's global sites...so in terms of that, how do you think it has changed for women or has it?

SC: Yeah, yeah...well I think Hewlett-Packard as a company, encourages women...they, they like to have a certain percentage of women as engineers, as technicians...so just as an example, we have, my manager would have been an ex-engineer so she's going down to colleges throughout the country and she's...selling Hewlett-Packard as a place to work to all these students that are just going to graduate, you know, and they're sending out a woman to that so that in itself is saying something for the women in the workplace, you know

MC: Okay, thank you very much

D – Interview with Ger Walsh, Health and Safety Supervisor, Warehouse
Hewlett Packard, 9 October 2003 (Beckett Meeting Room, Building 1, 14.45 p.m.)
Present: Ger, Mark and Representative of the Government and Public Affairs Department

Ger: My name is Ger Walsh and I was born in Dublin…my main duties in Hewlett-Packard are within the Logistics Department, I work for *Process Control* and *Materials Admin* mainly what that involves is…the actual operation itself…controlling the processes so that the *Warehouse* is working to the correct *process flow*, it involves writing them, auditing them…em any issues coming up through into the departments…
…it would be me going in, to have a look at those and see if we can solve them…*also* the other aspect of my job is...*Health and Safety*…from a *Health and Safety* point of view I am responsible for *Supply Chain*, so not only logistic but all parts of *Supply Chain* which would be…purchasing, planning…Tees (*note:* Uncertain of spelling as I did not clarify)…which is documentation, *Materials Engineering* and Logistics…so it's for all of Supply Chain…my main role there is…as, eh, a contact point within Supply Chain for Health and Safety…again carrying out safety audits, risk assessments…making sure any safety concerns are *closed out…we* have *contractors based*, *running the warehouse*, so it is making sure that *they* are following the correct safety practices and that they are closing down any safety concerns raised…it's

carrying out safety audits with the H and S Department here…they're my main functions, there are obviously other bits and pieces that come along with it…so I'm involved in…quite a few projects, so, the project work seems to be quite heavy at Hewlett-Packard

Mark: And how long have you been working at Hewlett-Packard?

GW: I have worked in Hewlett-Packard for 4 years in total…3 years of that was as a *contractor*, so, as the lads would say, I've sort of *gone over to the Dark Side*…now I've, I've the experience of the contractors but now I'm working for Hewlett-Packard, basically making sure the contractors are carrying out their work so sort of like *Poacher turned Gamekeeper*…type of position

MC: So there's both full-time and contract work happening at the same time

GW: There are full-time HP employees…within the Warehouse, there's probably about 50 or so contract people and maybe…very small…maybe 12 to 15 HP employees overseeing that contract as such…em…*previous work*…eh…previous work experience…this is the first time I worked in an IT-based company, previous to that…my first job role was…office admin within a sales office…original job, office admin…straight from school…thought that was the *bees knees*…thought that was the best job…one of the original yuppies…eh, thought this was the job for life…circumstances changed…lead to redundancy and I took a stop-gap job within warehousing…it was…cold storage

MC: Can I ask with the job? Was that down to the economic change or?

GW: It was…it was…it was down to the particular company and it was down to the economic changes…I was working as Sales Support so we had Reps out on the road and I was supporting them internally…they had invested a lot of money in R and D…some worked out, some didn't so they had to cut back on finances so they felt the most expendable part was Sales Support…because Reps could cover their own work internally…so it was through the company and financial situation more than anything else

MC: So this was your first job?

GW: First job, straight out of school and straight into this job within a couple of months…first job ever

MC: And did you know anybody working here at HP or how did that come about?

GW: The connection to this was, my first job was, oh, I don't know, it's…what am I now? 34 now so, 17 years ago, so that was 4 years, at 21, I was made redundant out of there and started working in the warehouse industry, first time ever in the warehouse industry, stop-gap job within the cold-storage industry, hard environment…hard environment

MC: In the physical-manual way?

GW: Physically and pressure-wise, it's…cold-storage or any sort of storage is pure distribution, so you get it in and get it out as quick as you can…you can be put under a lot of pressure, we had occasions where we'd be loading…*handballing*…now I was a *checker* within the organisation…we'd have lads handballing

MC: 'Handballing'? Can you explain?

GW: Manually loading trailers rather than palletised…they were manually loaded, boxes of frozen beef, averaging 25 kilos a box, we would have occasion were we'd be loading frozen meat for a container and you'd have 32 containers go out in a day…so there was a lot of pressure on the job 'cause you've got timelines to catch…through that…that position again was unfortunately another redundancy situation and that was purely em…economical situation

MC: Was that in the Dublin area?

GW: It was in the Dublin area, yet they had other companies based in Waterford and they were a large UK transport company that ran this, through the down slump in the beef market with the beef tribunal which caused a lot of problems with the finances, they decided to close down the Dublin operation and just keep the Warren Road (Waterford) open, so it was…it was a purely environmental, economic situation there, but through my working there…made some contacts in the cold storage industry and I moved throughout a few other cold storage spaces through that…the connection to *here*…is, my previous job to working here was in a *meat-processing plant*, I got to know one of the lads in the warehouse who was working with me at the time who had some friends working with the contractors that were working in Hewlett-Packard, he went for a job here, he got the job, meat-processing plant is again a completely different environment, again a lot of pressure on you, really the emphasis is not on safety but get the product out, I've had a couple of occasions where there have been near misses from a safety point of view and I was getting a bit fed up of it so, the chap, who was working here and asked him if there were any jobs going? So he got me an application form and I'm here ever since

MC: Okay

GW: So that was almost 4 years ago…as I say 3 years of my time here was spent as a contractor and 1 year now more or less as a HP employee

MC: Okay, yeah how do you think the IT industry has changed Ireland? You have got a lot of experience in sort of, different areas so obviously you'd have a sense of the economic climate in Ireland

GW: It has, obviously, brought a huge amount of work, first of all, but I think it's also brought a lot of *American-style thinking*, in particular, in regards to business, em, and you only see that when you are actually working in the industry, em, *the Americanisms*, the terminology that they use for business and it's not…*they don't consider anything just a job, it's a career*…so they encourage you to go forward and develop yourself, so, it's the first place I've discovered that sort of thing, now, as I say, in other warehouses I worked in, you would have to push for yourself to go do these things whereas it's the opposite way around, they encourage *you* to develop yourself, so I think in that way it's given the Irish, an employer market a very, very well-trained and capable and that's why you still see a lot of companies still coming here and they say because they are the best trained people in the world, I think the biggest way it has improved it, is for the better, now, unfortunately, I think it is going through a slump at the moment so, obviously the big bubble had to burst at some time, but I think, most of the big companies won't suffer…too greatly

MC: And how do you see yourself in this change?

GW: I think the biggest thing it has done for me is that it has given me and opportunity to, develop myself because I have previous experiences of other set-ups, I've seen how *not* to do things, em. again just relating to what I am doing now with the Health and Safety, one of the main reasons why I got the Health and Safety position was because of my *drive* to make sure everything is safe...because from previous experience in other warehouses, as I say, where safety is *not* an issue, I have had instances where racking has collapsed around me and could have killed me and, you come in here and they say…*well if it's not safe then you don't do it*…and you sort of say to yourself, *that doesn't sound right*, although it is right, it doesn't sound right and through that I developed in, more safety conscious and I, pushed safety within the warehouse so I think I am part of the change with regards to…my previous experience

MC: So it's not something that has gone on around you

GW: I think, no, what has happened here, this, eh, this type of company, American company, HP company, have taken my experiences and allowed me to develop based on, they've listened to what experience I've had and taken that into account when any changes have come in so, I think what they do is…
…they encourage you to develop yourself…I think, they nurture you, if you know what I mean, they will actually listen to you whereas if you were in another company, other companies I've worked in and you say

I don't think that should happen they say *yeah, has to get on the truck I don't care…*whereas here they actually take it into account and that sort of thing

MC: Yeah, okay, do you think the changes have shaped or influenced the way people in Ireland view this country and how outsiders think about contemporary Ireland?

GW: I think the traditional Irish person, obviously, likes the beer, the bit of craic, that's never going to change, I think it's true, we work hard, we play hard and I think, eh any Irish person will put 100% into whatever job they doing but they'll also put 100% into enjoying themselves so I don't think, I don't think there's been, I think we've always been the…I suppose…em…the sort of words you'd really put on it, as regards Europe, anything like that…we've always been the little person…not referring to *Leprechauns* but we've always been the smaller nation…*ah, yeah they're alright, they're over there*...but I think, through, not only industry, through sport, through everything…the world has suddenly realised it's a small country but…jaysus they've some amount of people there that they can offer such an amount of, and I think it's proven by the amount of American companies…now I know…I mean, obviously, the likes of the IDA have a huge input into that, I mean taxation grants and all of that, grand but it's the people, ultimately, that will keep the employers here, so I don't know, I think, as I say, the, eh, the eh, the impression outside of Ireland will always be *great craic, but they're some workers as well*

MC: So you think in that sort of sense, the role of Ireland has changed both in Europe and on a global scale

GW: I think we're more prominent, I think people have to stood up and listened now and have realised that, eh, we do have something to say, em, we're not behind the door in saying it either and I think now it's got to a stage where, because of the success of the market, the employment market, I think, it's now made us more prominent in…in Europe in particular

MC: And in your own areas of work, Ger, what do you see as changes in the future, in your work practices? Is there anything that you see that might change in the way we work or?

GW: I don't know…that's a tough one to answer, I think, I think there will always be changes, of course and I think one of the biggest drivers, in this economy, is going to be *cost-driven*…there is going to be cost-driven but one of the other things aside that, is the likes of safety legislation which will prevent costs being a major factor but I think you're going to see a lot more changes to…*looking at how much it's actually going to cost to do this rather than just do it*…and I think really, and you can see that in a lot of places that, I mean some of the strategies that we have would be cost reduction for the year, and they go look at this and see what they can do, I think it is, a lot of things are going to be cost-driven, we are an expensive country to live in, there are, the services are expensive, so I think that is going to be one of the biggest changes and things will always change, things are always going of change…whether they change drastically or not? I don't know…I don't know

MC: And yeah, how do you see the future of the IT industry in Ireland?

GW: I think it has gone through a rough time over the past few years, I think there have been a lot of…very highly publicised changes particularly with big American companies, with IT companies, I think though, it's mainly hit service companies rather than manufacturing companies, we…I mean, obviously, manufacturers have been hit fairly bad as well but I think it's going to slow down, I think it's going to level off, there had to have been a burst of demand out there, saturate the market, it's going end up drying up and it will just level off…I think it's going to turn a corner but it won't get much bigger, I think it's just going to sort of stabilise now and more or less stay as it is now and I don't think there's going to be any huge drops anymore

MC: And how, what do you think would be the importance of research now at this stage in…in, say, Irish economic development?

GW: I think, in as regards the actual economy itself now, yer man…employment and all that sort of thing…I think, at this stage now, the government have had a good run the past 6 – 7 years because it has

been really up there and it's been great…employment and everything…and they let it ride…they didn't put anything into the thoughts of infrastructure, into thoughts of taxation…I think, they're going to struggle now and I think, unfortunately, what's going to happen is…this government is going to go out and whoever comes in is going to have a hard time to encourage people to come in here as regards companies, em…I think because it has gone so well and the bubble has now, more or less, burst…it has to be looked at…you can't just stick a production plant in the middle of nowhere…again it would come back to cost…and I think it is going to have to be looked at, particularly, as I say with infrastructure, communications infrastructure, everything around that and really, it's probably now you see a lot of development going on roads…you've got hours of traffic jams and it's probably…*that bit too late*…it's going to really put pressure on I think…on the ordinary taxpayer and the government to get new people in here

MC: And just as I suppose as a final question, how do you think working has changed in Ireland since, say, your Mum and your Dads generation to say now? What do you think has been the change?

GW: The biggest change, I would say from my own experience, would be your family life has become as important, if not more important, as work, em, my Dad worked *hard* and he was away probably 2 –3 days a week, it's, I think family life is, so the hours of work has changed and the emphasis is on, if you've got an issue at home…you sort that out first, it's more important than sitting in here so I think…I suppose social aspects of working have changed considerably in, compared to my fathers and mothers time, I would say that is probably the biggest change and it really is geared around quality of life and that would be the biggest change I would reckon I've seen

MC: Okay, alright, thanks a lot Ger, appreciate it

E – Interview with Lionel Alexander, Vice-President and General Manager of HP Ireland
Hewlett-Packard, Friday, 21 January 2005, (Meeting Room, Building 7, 15.00 p.m.)
Present: Lionel, Una Halligan (Director, Government and Public Affairs, HP Ireland) and Mark

Lionel: Got it? It's working now? *(had problems with the mini-disc recording device)*

Mark: Yeah we're working now I think, just test, that's grand, can I start by asking you your full name and title here?
LA: Okay, my name is Lionel Alexander; I'm the Vice-President and General Manager for HP Ireland Manufacturing

MC: Okay, and do you mind if I ask you how you came to this position, in terms of, previous work experience and how you've ended up in Leixlip (Una: In Ireland) County Kildare?

LA: Okay well it's a very…well I am actually 24 years with the company, first job, started off as an engineer but I think HP's, eh, opportunities being that it is such a big global company, I averaged a job in HP for four years and I moved…and I picked my career in paths based on the exposure I wanted and (coughs) I think I joined the inkjet part of the business back in '94

MC: Okay and was this in?

LA: Singapore, it was in Singapore

MC: So you started working for Hewlett-Packard in Singapore?

LA: I worked in Singapore…I started my job in Singapore then I spent, like, very short stints, like 6 months to a year in the U.S. then 6 months in Japan, a few places, in different job categories…and this was my first overseas posting which is long-term…so I joined the business in '94 and then soon after that they decided they wanted to start up another site and we were looking in Europe so I was partly involved in selecting the

first team of managers we were interviewing in Ireland and then started transferring some of the activities over here…and then in 2000, after my, eh, predecessor from the U.S. decided to go back to the U.S. they asked me If I'd be interested to come here…so it's been great

M: Okay and can I ask you, in terms of when you were looking in Europe…yeah, why Ireland?

LA: *(Laughs)* couple of reasons, (U: Some personal), some personal, my wife is Irish…so that's one reason

MC: So HP came here on account of, (U: *(Laughing)* absolutely)

LA: Yes…no *(coughs)* but the reason they came to Ireland was a couple of things…I think when we looked into Europe…we looked at quite a few countries…and em…Ireland was short-listed along with maybe, I think, two other countries…and when they went through…eh, you know, the various selection criteria's…very clear selection criteria which we went through to pick the site…em…definitely number one would have been…you know, the location is important…you know because we need the…the location, in terms of the infrastructure that you have…so number one I think Ireland came out for one thing the strong availability of talent…of people, I think, eh…it was starting to buzz with the growth of the *Celtic Tiger* and you started to have, not only have a strong rich available competency of talent but it also started to attract Irish people who left Ireland and were starting to come back…so huge talent…and for our kind of a business…technical competency is a key trial so…availability of highly educated technically competent folks is very, very important…second thing I think was also the, eh…the extremely attractive tax regime…most multinationals, I mean, wouldn't go anywhere unless it makes great financial reason so…the tax regime was, eh…the third thing, I think was, the relationships with the Government…it's very important, I think most multinationals , most companies, most businesses, you know, you can never predict where your business model goes…every year or every three years, four years so, so you need to be in an environment that is *flexible* enough that you can change your business model so can continue to be successful…in Ireland that is very feasible primarily because the government partnered very well with the multinationals

MC: So they're quite flexible?

LA: Very flexible, in support and understanding the challenges, some countries when you go, I think, they don't quite understand the challenges of…some of the big companies

MC: Could you, would you mind embellishing on some of that? When you say the challenges?

LA: I'll give you an example, I think *(coughs)* em, you could talk about, HP, fundamentally, started of as a 'test and measurement company', but today a huge part of our business is in the consumer world…and that's the most dynamic world to be because each and every one of us here in this room are consumers and you know your selection criteria, right…you want everything for free more or less, you don't want to pay for technology but yet…eh, you know…the customer perspective of, em, driving the business is very critical…so as customers start to go to *ease of use*…em, simplicity…you know, the business model changes…someone said this very well before and that is…if you go back to the early days right…eh, when man came to earth, for the first time, right…people could not understand anything, believe…believe a lot in *god*, god was the answer to everything right…in a way the way business has transformed today, the average consumer are looking for gods as they want things to be simple right…they don't understand, things are very complex…I mean, you look at a PDA connected to your, to your, you know…PC to your TV to your mobile…it's just too complicated, things have gotta' be simple…so when things gotta' be simple, the business gotta' be flexible…so today our business model looks great…next year…*it'll change*

MC: So in many ways, the technology that, sort of, lead to this globalisation force is also impacting *on* those globalising forces?

LA: Absolutely, it'll change, so the *customer profile demands* might change in a year and so we must change our business model…(M: 'okay')…now if you are in a country that is very rigid, eh, in that…it makes it very difficult to be flexible…and you lose your advantage, so that was very important

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MC: So how does that impact, how you operate?

LA: So, eh…you know, I mean this site is a good story to talk about, eh, when, when most companies came to Ireland at the time of the Celtic Tiger *boom*…it was because you needed a presence in Europe, very important…some of them were highly manu…highly manufacturing in terms of organisation like we were…but back four or five years ago, it was also very clear that it was a matter of time before the *Euro* would strengthen against the *Dollar*…it was not *if* but…*when*, right…now we are in that phase and you can start to see the *competitiveness* of being in Ireland is not as compelling as it used to be…
…(U excuses herself from the room at this point)…because those advantages that you got from tax and everything was being eroded by *high labour costs*…so we embarked onto a transformation four years ago (2001) at this site because from my perspective I knew, (M: This was going to come down the road), it was and if we stood still and did nothing then the axe falls, right…because, suddenly…oh jeez, China looks really good now…so we transformed over the four years…so now, what we were, what was purely manufacturing…today…we are heavily into *Research and Development* (R & D)

MC: So it's to specialise in that regard

LA: Yeah, to marketing…but we also into manufacturing…but you select your manufacturing companies, you go into a, like, a high…*a high-mix, low-volume…multiple skews*…serving Europe, a specific country…is a different model…so to do that kind of transformation, you need government support…you need partnerships…you need government grants, you need to invest in technology, you need to create *IP (Intellectual Property)* that was the partnership

MC: Can I ask, in terms of your own experience, say coming from Singapore because it is one of the global locations…em, like how long have HP been in Singapore? I imagine there were similar sort of, eh, experiences, I presume, in say in Singapore as what is happening here?

LA: Yes, yes…Singapore has been in business almost 25 to 30 years, or probably coming up to 35…so much longer than been in Ireland…and I've told a lot of people my story…I've been in HP 24 years and I have been through many divisions…some have disappeared…*some don't exist anymore*…and the primary reason is because people decide not to embrace change…fight change right…change is not bad…I mean…he one thing people have to understand too is that when there is disruption, there is also *opportunities*…most people look at a disruption and say 'jeez, this is bad', *actually* it's good…you go find the opportunities to your disruption that best suits your competencies and so yes, Singapore went through that, em…you know, I mean, *my first job* in HP…when I first took up the job…em…in '82 when I first started as an engineer…after like zillionth interviews which was …HP were very prudent about who they picked at that time…finally got the job you know…and within six months I lost my job…because the business I was…they hired me, decided they were going to move everything elsewhere…you know, for a young age, just starting…not a very pleasant experience…but it happened…so it kind of built in me at that time that…the worst thing you can do for your people is…if you choose to…just remain static

MC: So how did you respond to that one?

LA: Well, you see, when I lost the job, you know, I was *accessed* not actually lost…in other words, I was made, (M: redundant?), *available* to the rest of HP so, and I…because of my qualifications I got very quick…so I wasn't that bad off, (M: But an experience nonetheless), an experience…because it could have just as easily been, if no one had picked me, then they would have had to give me a package, so, it was an eye-opener that you, you know…what I, as an employee, I felt disappointed…I felt disappointed because how could things change so fast in an organisation which kind of speaks about the leadership, right, so my biggest frustration was not about, yes I knew I would be picked up, but I hoped I was picked up by an organisation with leadership…which is a little bit more far-sighted…right…without us having this cliff-face scenario, (M: Of course), so that was a little bit more…I think that was kind of…kind of engrained into me and then through my career…I seen a lot more of organisations which chose to use, do the wrong things…eh, start building competencies that are more driven by *ego* than me and…they don't exist…right…so that's probably

MC: So it's impacted how you…your relationship with the people you work with then?

LA: Absolutely…absolutely…it's a lot to do with the people here too and I think, you know…the one thing I've learned about the Irish apart from being married to one, you know very quickly…eh, you got to be a *straight-shooter*…you know, don't spend, (M: yeah), you know, I mean if you got bad news just look people in the eye and tell them that's bad but, you know, it's not the end…but do not try to, you know, cover it and flower it in a way that people start to see this as eh…integrity but they choose not to be honest…(U. re-enters the room)

MC: And can I, to be honest…we spoke, (L: sure), you know about it in that regard as well, there's been a lot of talk about the rate of Corporation Tax and the favourable conditions…how much does that impact…the role, and I know its not just Hewlett-Packard as you said, its all multinationals…
…we work in a global environment, I am aware of other locations from Singapore to Puerto Rico where there is *no* Corporation Tax and so we compete in those sort of environments…but how does that impact the operating here, in terms of…eh…if they suddenly turned around and there's a change of government here and they say 'well listen we want suddenly 20% or it's...

LA: Bad news…bad news…so, you know the…remember I alluded a little bit to manufacturing, right…eh, the way we have created our future has been…eh, you build your pillars of competencies on the foundations of manufacturing…right, so at the end of the day its like building a house, right…your foundations are manufacturing then you build the rest of the building that eventually becomes a phenomenal structure…but if you don't have that foundation…there's no reason…so a lot of people say, 'well you could always be an R & D centre' and I say, 'sure but it all depends on who puts the next grant on the table'…sure competency is there, right…and then he says 'well what about the learning curve? *(refers to value chain of technology competency)*, 'sure learning curve is there…but what if I tell my 20 Irish R&D engineers, 'guys I'll give you an expatriate package to go to Hungary?'…right…(M: yeah)…because at the end of the day what they give me in grants and what I pay you in expenditure, I'm still ahead…so I can, there are ways of closing the learning curve, right…so…while, if you're…invested into *high - capital activity* and manufacturing, it's not that easy, right…and then you try optimise that specifically with your other competencies…I've always kind of defined this into two areas of manufacturing, right…the one type of manufacturing I would call the *low - road strategy*…that, don't even try to hold onto it…that's going to go to India, that's going to go to China…that's going to go to Ukraine…don't even go there…sometimes I've…I've been to some meetings where I've heard people talk, 'oh how can we beat China? Not on *low – road*…you can never beat them…*high – road* which is where the consumer chooses to pay an *IP (note: Intellectual Property)*, for your IP, pay a premium, that's where you want to be

MC: Sorry Lionel, can you explain about *IP* to me?

LA: *Intellectual property*…so for example if I have a packet, so if I produce…one good example of a high-road company is, eh…*Nike*…right, I mean you could buy Reeboks for 25% less but you buy Nike because you want to pay for that little emblem and that premium…that's the IP…right, that little emblem…but you don't mind paying 20 bucks for that, right…so…we need to go after businesses in Ireland that actually support that model...and those kind of businesses don't disappear, because the consumer decides…its…also another good example is…what do you call it? These little popping up grocery stores…right, if you look at it…how could a *Spar*(small convenience chain) or a *Superquinn* (supermarket chain) as it is, right…compete with the likes of the huge *Tescos* (another supermarket chain but cheaper) and all that, right…well *Spar* is very simple model…because sometimes when you go to Spar…if you are in Ireland, it's more expensive…but you're not going to tackle the traffic…(U: yeah and the car-parking…yeah)to go to a Tesco…and your bill might be about 10% more but you say, 'I'll pay that 10%'…(U: to save the hassle)…and that's the model…(U: like when you go for petrol, convenient)…yeah…so that's the model, right…you're going to go after customers just like that…because of ease of use…convenience, simplicity…they'll pay for that, right…and does kind of businesses will stay…those *low – roaders*, basically, there's is no IP…bottom line is what you decide to pay as consumer…that has to leave Ireland

MC: So, what do you, what would you…eh…how do you see it so Ireland ensures the longevity of this…of this, what has been, this…profound transformation?

LA: The first…the first step they've made which I'm really pleased about…which I think has been a major milestone because of people like Una and Des, the Controller, and all who have been talking to the *IDA* (Industrial Development Authority, Irish government body to promote economic development)…*don't tie investment to jobs*…right, do not always ask if I want to get a grant, 'how many jobs is this going to create?', the paradigm shift from *just job-creation to job-preservation* has to happen, that's a first step…and for job-preservation then you get the support to create business models that best support the competencies of the organisation…at the end of the day, no multinational has any emotional attachment to Ireland…or Singapore, or China or India…there's no…(M: real world?)…*it's business, right…and if there's no business reason to be in a country we will not…we will leave tomorrow*…but, Ireland has a lot to offer…if we get the business model right with our competencies, with our infrastructure…and the ability of the partnerships…you have a compelling model…so that has to happen, starting with the first…eh, eh…you know, the job creation thinking…is, is good…the second part of it really is to be very clear about…you know, for the information and communications sector we are in…it is good that the government also realise, don't throw in the towel just because you already have these companies here…and don't jump into the *biotech – pharmaceutical* and think that is the next wave…most countries did that…Singapore did that and went into recession…(M: 'okay')…specifically that…you have to remember how…(M: 'they went chasing one wave and then the next thinking it was the answer?')…exactly…and economic cycles change…and you're caught in this change…the repercussions are unbelievable…Singapore went through that because…they said…well the IT sector is great…we're going to invest in *Fabs* (large industrial complexes)…building D-ramps…and Fabs will always be here because who is going to take a Fab away, right…so…get off the ICT and went off to Fabs and went after pharmaceuticals…what happened…when the Asian currency crisis hit in Thailand when the Baht crashed…everything went down, right…there were no more demands for PCs or so after the year 2000…right because that was an artificial thing so eventually PCs became a commodity…because people weren't willing to pay for all that, you know...give me the cheapest thing…clones came in and D-ramps at that time which the ? were building…which were called *gold* …became cheap commodities…and you didn't need to do that in Singapore…so Singapore Fabs were running at 10% capacity…pharmaceuticals didn't take off…and…they realised the folly of abandoning a stable…and nurturing a stable investment, right…and what they could build on…and that's what, that's what I think Ireland…the government here…with, with the ICT sector, are beginning to realise that…don't forget to nurture your current…eh…you know, support it, provide a means for investment and then create avenues for *cross-pollination*, right…because if you look at your pharmaceuticals sector…and you look at the ICT sector…you'd be amazed if you create those *grounds of pollination* what business opportunities can come out of that…because they are linked, right…and you can create a huge amount of opportunities…and last but not least…I think…eh, the ability for companies to work with tertiary institutions without any kind of, eh, control to IP is important…right…as multinationals, we…you know, we're not going to go and work and say, 'we want everything…you guys get nothing back'…(M: that was my next question) (laughter)…we wouldn't…you know but we'd want *propriety of IP*…to me it is not a question of finance…because, you know, propriety, right…so if I work with Una on a project and I say to Una, 'look, once this patent is made, I own this patent but I am willing to give you 35% royalties, because I want exclusivity and that's a business thing, right…and we need to create that environment…and…I don't know if you read about the *MediaLab (a cooperative between MIT and the Irish government, based in the Digital Hub, a centre for innovation in technology in Dublin)*…(U: yes, yes and that's why)…they're going to shut down, right…and that's why, it was in the Sunday Business Post *(Irish broadsheet)*…exactly for that, right and I mean…what's the guys name? Nick…(U: Nicholas Monlaponte), Nicholas Monlaponte in MIT…he doesn't want to step down from the high moral ground which they have with MIT in Massachusetts…doesn't work here right…so guess what happens…companies won't go in and invest…so you need to create that environment, that conducive environment…so those are the changes that I think are really important

MC: Okay, okay…and so…in many ways, I suppose that does tie in with in many ways…how you see the future of the ICT industry in Ireland? I mean it would be those sort of factors, yeah?

LA: ICT industry will…you know, it is going to become…it will still be a major…its going to change dramatically…em, and the one thing you got realise, you know, em…is technology is going to become more affordable…right…I mean, its going to go down, people want…ease…if you look at what the future holds, it is starting to happen…so…its also going to be a tough place to be…on those kind of business

MC: In terms of competitiveness?

LA: Competitiveness…and you know, market-share and but its not something you can't succeed in, you can, you just got to get better and I think, Kylie (?) said this at the last meeting when we had in EME, which I thought was very good, right, apart from, you can have passion, you can have confidence but you got to be predictable, of what is coming ahead of you, in anything you do, the ICT business or any business we do, if we are predictable about what is changing out there…and we start to keep defining our business model…which, by the way, is what is making the company successful today, its not technology…it's the business model, see, 15 – 20 years ago, it was technology which differentiated companies, right, who came out with the first IP…and you know, you remember that these, you may be too young *(laughter)* the 41C calculators, right…you remember the old HP calculators? I was in engineering school and if you had a 41C stuck to your belt…you made it! *(laughter)* you're a real engineer, right because that was technology…right, and we sold that because of the technology, we didn't even have to market it, I mean, with a 41C you didn't have to put an ad in the paper, engineers just (clicks fingers) engineering degree, 41C…today is not about technology, today companies that succeed are companies have the right business model…and if you have the right business model
MC: So you mean in terms of being flexible?

LA: Redefine the model of what the customer wants…right…eh, customers want different things in terms of…one common example, of course is Dell and *Dell Direct*, that's a business model…right…that direct model…has created…opportunity for PCs to work but the same direct model does not work for cars, you never buy a car from a PC…or you, you want to go see, to feel…so…where is the common ground? So if you want to sell a product, direct is important…but you also need to create an opportunity for customers who want to experience that change, right…and…an example of what some people have been talking about was…eh…shopping in a supermarket is an experience right…you go to shop, I mean, some people enjoy, some people hate it but some people who enjoy it for the ambiance of the supermarket…you go to the bread section, you get the smell of fresh bread, right…so…there were some guys in the research centre who were working saying, 'why don't we create that ambiance, right, for the customer to do that from the living-room or from their study, by actually creating the smell, so you go through a 3-D dimension model into a…you're actually in the mall…or in the shopping…centre, I mean, the supermarket, (U: in that department), area…and you can actually pick what you want…it automatically and you also get, because of the bread, flavours, smells, aromas being released…you feel you are in the bread section…right so that is one area but what it means is people are trying to change to make it easy…so business models are going to change dramatically that…what we as consumers want with ease…and if companies who have got that right, upfront…are the ones that are going to win

MC: And can I ask, it gets back to…I know I am conscious of time, (U: yeah because we have to get back to, go ahead), you said yourself, you were six months in your first job and then, being let go and then, do you think that's also part of…because, it seems to me, a lot of…a sense of this being innovative, being flexible…being responsive, that that is also the way in many ways, even from personal experience…that is the new way of working…our ideas of, you know, long-term, more permanent work, that this too is also going to change?

LA: It is…you know, eh…a couple of things, right, when in Asia, when I was in school, the idea of jobs was you must join the government…because it was great, right…I mean a job for life (U: a pension)…a pension…(U: used to be the same here, Lionel, it was the same here, 50s and 60s…absolutely the same) and you were engrained and you told your parents, 'I want to go into the private sector', 'why? Are you mad?' you know, so…that's changed and I think like everyone else, every individual in this world today…in any job that we have…and its becoming increasingly clear a couple of things need to happen…*one* is you got to be very flexible…*two,* got to keep educating yourself, right…I mean, with the changes that are happening out there…you know and *three*, I think most importantly that, you know…its

every…single…individuals responsibility not to end up becoming…you know, totally unaware, right, or ignorant in their jobs, right…because you can choose to do that and then you just don't become, you know, a *value-add* anymore, that's got to keep changing so, the continued education, even for engineers, what you graduated four years ago from college…its gone…and you got to keep educating yourself, if you're on the business part of it, keep understanding, understanding what…how business models are changing…what difference between successful companies and unsuccessful companies…and that's primary responsibility, for me personally, in my role, you know…my first year here, and Una will tell you, I was very much in the thick of things…right, I was more into the operational part, because we had to be really good at what we want…but then the second part of it, after a couple of years was…the self-realisation that…where do you see the site, right, in the future? and I would say, three years ago, someone asked me and I really didn't have an answer…I couldn't say where the site was going to be in 15-20 years from now…and it would be very easy to say, 'oh I see us in manufacturing for the next 40 years', you got to be realer than that…so the personal change for me as to be to educate myself and education is about also having the right linkages with people in the organisation, right…talking to them and understanding what their thoughts are…and then starting to formulate what you think the possibilities for people…especially your staff who work for you, right…to get them engaged in where we need to go in terms of change, to ensure the site is here 30, 40 years from now

MC: And one last question…so how…what's the…can you envisage what that site might look like in 30-40 years time?'

LA: I…the site will be doing manufacturing but not the kind of manufacturing you do in Asia, China, India…you know, we'll be specifically building multiple products, multiple skews…high-changeover…very quick response, exactly meeting what the customer wants and creating a valuable position for the customer…that when they want changes, right…that we provide those changes in the shortest period of time to suit their needs, right, because we're going to become very…the customer demands are going to change…
…I always think of the example of Gillette, right…Gillette is the greatest example, I mean, you know, how heck will they last in blades, right…but you think about what they did…I mean, a lot of their programmes they have aren't really major technology programmes, right…their advertising is fantastic…right, but the only problem is, they play with a selection of colours, right…ice-blue…it's a man thing, right…(U: I'll take your word for it) *(laughter)* yeah, but the way they put it "Mach 4, ice-blue', right…and then what they do is they just market, they took the fore-market and put an additive strip on the blade…right, so people who hated putting foam…just was easy for them…that was a major step…you kill one step already, so that was really clever, so what really happens really is that you start to go into *adjacent markets*, right, of your business and start providing so that 'Mach 3, Mach 4' sold very well worldwide, ease of use for customers, that's what the customer wanted…so this site, to me, is going to be providing those kind of solutions for the customer, we'll be doing a lot of R&D, right…specifically…and we will be very integrated in actually differentiating the solutions for the customers in each of the countries in Europe, right, and providing those instantly, (M: again, so very responsive), very responsively…you know…you may want…to have a customer in Belarus or somewhere who wants 50,000, eh, specific custom-made products from printers to cartridges for basically a specific school programme so its going to be designed specific to their need and then you have one development that will do the whole writing system with the printer to cartridges…and specific for that environment, right…and will take 2 months to 3 months from development to delivery

MC: Sorry, the final, final (LA: sure) how do you think the view of Ireland has changed? In terms of a global, how do you think Ireland is viewed, in terms of, is it viewed as, you know, a global player?

LA: I think that, you know, Ireland is, I would say today is viewed as a major powerhouse even much more than the UK, you wouldn't think of that. 15, 20 years ago…right, although the UK might not agree to this but actually it's a fact…it has shifted dramatically…and what exists in the UK today are really some…eh, industries that were very specific to the UK in, originated in the UK…but very little, huge massive investments in support of that so Ireland is viewed as a major player…I also believe, you know, that the government is also aware…which is why you see this delegation going to China *(A Trade Mission including the Irish Prime Minister were presently on a trip to China)*…(U: very important)…eh, its

because you can't fight the emerging countries…I mean, China already today takes 30% of the steel of the world, right, I mean and they're not even…(U: trying)…yeah…they're already eating 30% of the steel…you can see their GDP (Gross Domestic Product) growth, right…they're rich in cash, right…the U.S. government themselves knows China doesn't abide by WTO *(World Trade Organisation)* agreements, they're still not floating the Yuan against free currency…but you don't want to do that because if China floats its free economy, its free currency…Japan and Korea will go tail-spinning in its economy, so China is going to be big and it's going to be a huge market…India, right, its going to be huge and its going to be big and that transformation is happening, right, for those countries and I think Ireland…as, you know its good to see this happening…because its going to help the indigenous companies of Ireland start to create opportunities going in the future because if you cut yourself out and you choose not to engage…you will lose these opportunities to the…to the Polish, to the Hungarians and to other of these European countries

MC: Because some would say that it is a dependency, in some cases of China and India, but in many ways you have to embrace that

LA: Yes, because the Chinese would need a country in Europe, right, for their…so…EU is not going to be very…you know, there is…I mean, whatever you do, eventually, if it is in a balanced economy, the EU will put tariffs on all products coming out of China, so there'll need to be a kind of partnership with some European countries, right…to get around some of this tariff, you know it is going to happen, right…either you're there first or you miss the boat, it was good to see the Irish government taking that…yeah

MC: Aware of time, thanks very much for that Lionel. (U: get some photographs now?)

F – Interview with Mark Doran, Clean Room Operations Supervisor
Hewlett Packard, 28 November 2004 (Canteen 12.30 p.m.)
Present: Mark D., A Representative from Government and Public Relations Department and Mark C.

Mark C.: Can I get your name?

Mark D.: My name's Mark Doran

MC: And where were you born Mark?

MD: I was born in…eh…Dublin, in…in..Crumlin, in Dublin and then we moved to Nutgrove...in Rathfarnham (also in Dublin) when I was very young so, lived there most of me life and I'm living in Tallaght (suburb of Dublin) now...so...that's it briefly...brief spell, brief spell in Lucan (in County Dublin) as well as but...

MC: In between?

MD: Yeah, yeah

MC: And how long have you been working at HP?

MD: With HP almost 8 years, so, eh 7and a half to 8 years...when did I start? More 7 and a half...started in July

MC: So were you out...was HP here or was it Blanchardstown at that stage?

MD: It was Blanchardstown...so there was two...basically two final assembly lines, high vas lines...and one package line there at the time...so...I started off as an Operator on a package line so that's...

MC: And it has worked into what you are doing now?

MD: Yeah well I have worked through from there now...I done a few, about a year and a half as an Operator...and about two years as an Operator and then moved onto Process Technicans job on...done that for…

MC: Which is up in the *Clean Room* area, am I right?

MD: Yeah so it's the Clean Room, worked in an area of the Clean Room called the *Barrier Area...*which is the first area...em...that wafers get processed in the Clean Room and em...I was a *Process Tech* there

MC: And how many areas are there in the Clean Room?

MD: In general? Well there is multiple, each steps of the process are broken down into areas for...you know...ease of management...process flow and that type of stuff you know...so you become kind of...eh...self-sustaining, self-managed kind of...entities within the Clean Room themselves

MC: So if there are any kind of problems, you can quickly identify the area?

MD: Yeah, yeah...exactly...but obviously there is a clear process flow there as well...systems can link up...em...more easily as well...'cause they *allocate location codes* on each of the systems so it's a tracking system...you know...you've got a location code...so you're working in *Barrier...*you could be...I don't know, 7900...and you might have one or two different locations within there so...you can track work in progress as it goes through each area...and if there were *miss-processes* along the line...you can also track them through back to where they happen, you know...it's handy for all those types of reasons

MC: absolutely...and can I ask your role?

MD: *Just In Time (JIT)...*kind of stuff as well...sorry (MC: no, go ahead) I was just saying it's handy for Just In Time management...as well of material...so you're not having big build up of *WIP (wafer in progress)* anywhere...it's kind of moved to the next stage and they may pull from the proceeding area and

MC: So it's quite efficient?

MD: It's pretty efficient...we do tend to buffer material...probably more than we have to but...eh...you know it's a bit of an insurance policy there as well...so (MC: So you have to be aware of that?) yeah, it doesn't work perfectly by any stretch of the imagination so

MC: Like anywhere I suppose?

MD: Yeah, yeah

MC: And your role in that now? As you are no longer a Process Operator…

MD: Hmm, yeah I'm away from the process now, it's more people management...(coughs) so it's really...eh...I think you're given the...eh...you're given the...em...gambit of, eh you need to get the best out of people rather than you having to telling the people what to do...or you have to know what they do with *micro-management* the whole time...it's really...right, they have a set of objectives, I have to know what those objectives are and they need to reach and meet those objectives and once they do that, like, I don't need to know how they exactly how they do it and when they do it...have to have a general idea

MC: You delegate rather than sort of looking over their shoulder?

MD: Yeah exactly so...it isn't...it's not a micro-managed kind of process, it's...you trust people to do it and they get on and do it...if it's not done you have to investigate why it hasn't been done...and then there's an investigation and then you can try and rectify where the problems are but it's not...big on...you do this, this, this and this at that time...you'd say, I need this done

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MC: So more the word 'Supervisor'?

MD: Exactly, I think it's more leadership they try to stress, supervisors' role as leadership (coughs)...I can't remember who said it, I think it was some...I think it was an army general in World War 2, could have been Patton or one of those guys...I can't remember exactly who it was but it was something along the lines of, if I can remember it now...eh, you can either...eh, tell a guy what to do and he'll do just that or you can tell a guy what you want done and he'll surprise you by doing a lot more, that's not exactly what he said but it's along those lines so, I think if you give people the challenge, and you give them the right tools to do it and you get rid of the kind of, roadblocks that are there for them to stop them doing it, they will generally do the job and do it better than if you go in and say I want this, this and this done at certain times and this is the way I want it done

HP Public Affairs Representative: Less authoritarian type of management...more

MD: Yeah, but I mean...having said that, I mean I've seen within even the small work group...I say small...it's relatively big but...we've 4 shifts, say 40 people per shift so we've 8 supervisors looking after about 160 people on the floor...as a production group...and even within those 8 supervisors, like...I've seen varying styles...some of them are more...authoritarian than others, you know...and some of them to be, kind of, too much the other way...so I don't know...there's a balance, you know

HP Public Affairs Representative: A happy medium

MD: You can't really, you know be too soft either, you know, a balance

MC: I could see that this morning

MD: Different characters, different individuals...so we do work a bit differently...but it tends to work, in general, reasonably well...reasonably well *(slight laugh)* room for improvement...there you go

MC: Can I ask before, were you...em...did you work in this industry before?

MD: No, not a great deal...I had production experience but em...so, I suppose I travelled a bit as well...I worked in Germany, I worked in...eh...England, em, doing various jobs really just to, kind of, make ends meet...em...I think the first kind of production factory that I worked in was when I left college, initially, I worked in an Industrial laundry which was an Irish company...and it was a pretty horrendous place to work and I can tell you stories in relation to safety and...em...you know just the way they treated people and the level of trust that you had for you was miles removed from here...but then you had the unions constantly pulling you one way and the management pulling against them...em...a lot of the workers were caught in the middle...so I don't think the unions did any favours for people either...so that's been removed from here
MC: And that works?

MD: It works to a level, yeah but I also think that senior management here at the moment and over the last couple of years have lost a lot of the trust and...and faith of the people on this site...em...they have a world-wide survey which according to the results that we've seen would indicate that around the world, it's pretty much as they were...as a deal of satisfaction but I think the Irish experience is...is way different...so, em...with pay freezes and everything else that's happened...and just the way things are communicated...eh...kind of, doesn't work very well for the Irish experience, because we're being told that the company is doing really well and for the section of the world we're in in particular is doing very well...we're actually working harder than we've ever had to work...our targets are continuously going up but the rewards for that are just...don't weigh up for what we're being asked to do

HP Public Affairs Representative: Rewards are just not there

MC: Didn't HP just announce a profit of around 864 million dollars?

MD: Yeah and, and the bonus we yielded from that was 1.3%...so for the best quarter...thats the last quarter is the best quarter they've...in history for this section of the business...but because the business as a whole has been pulled down in other areas...this is probably the worst bonus we've got since I started here...so

MC: So is part of being the Euro-zone as well in the fact that the Euro has been so strong against the Dollar?'

MD: No, you see...I think, I 'm not sure whether that has

MC: Impacted?

MD: Impacted...now you can ask someone in, kind of, finance department and they'll probably tell you 'yeah'...I'm not too sure how that's impacted...the whole thing but...it's 1.3% worldwide...that's what the bonus would be, (MC: So across the board?), so it's across the board...they do everything across the board here...it's good in some ways but when you're in the section of the business that's busy...and you're kind of carrying other sections as it were or you seem to be...it's not great...so it works against you, (MC: I can understand), I mean it's just one of those things right now...so...yeah...you know

MC: Six of one and half a dozen...

MD: There is, there's a level of dissatisfaction from the ground level but...*corporate* kind of run things differently...they look at the *share price*

MC: So how do you think that has...kind of links in with, in general terms...how do you think this transformation that has been brought about by the IT industry, how it's changed Ireland?

MD: How it's changed Ireland? Well, I suppose from my own point of view...em...it gave...it gave me a bit of stability...it brought a lot of employment into the country and, we had the whole *Celtic Tiger* thing I suppose and that was...really driven by, I think by...a lot of the IT companies coming into the country in the first place...but I think there was a level there where we got carried away with ourselves...eh...I won't go into Government mis-management but I think that's also a lot to do with it as well but...em...the Celtic Tiger for me didn't really get off the ground because I was one of the people...okay so I had a job which was great...em...but a guy doing the job that I'm doing now ten years ago was a lot better off than...my partner works full-time, I know guys who are in a similar position to meself...eh...have got the same job title as me who don't really have a mortgage to pay and wives don't have to work or parents don't have to work...and they drive much better cars or you know...so I think...the way things have escalated on the housing market, the inflation we've had to experience...that's all kind of taken away from the fact that, yeah we've all got a job but things are a helluva lot more expensive...you know, so that would be one thing...but the IT...I mean it's nothing to...it's not the fault of HP, I mean they're providing us with a job...and best luck to them but just...it's unfortunate that the country we live in is a difficult place to live financially and to be competitive I think IT companies can't overpay obviously, the last few years have really hit that home...em...with pay freezes and redundancies...I suppose we haven't had to face redundancy so it's not too bad but...you know it's getting harder and harder to have a job like this in this country...you really need to be moving to the next level if you're going to make...to make a life for yourself

MC: Can I ask you about that, I mean I have asked a few people just in terms of the nature of Ireland being part of the global economy...it's a global player...in terms of and even ideas the IT industry can move...to India and the like...do people think...how does it concern people? Yourself? Does it concern you?

MD: There's definately concerns, I think they're here for tax reasons on one level, there's an element of localisation as well...em...they can produce a lot here and not have to store it in warehouses and transport it around the world and into a European market...from India...so there are cost savings there as well so in that respect and the whole *intellectual property* that's being developed here...em...I think we're starting to develop some technologies here from an R and D standpoint...so that type of stuff is helping us as well so there's a whole number of reasons...why...you know it's good for them to be here...but there is also the worry that...inflation, inflation, inflation is...is making this job less and less attractive for people, I know

Operators who will never own a house...and they could work here 'till the day they die and they'll never be able to afford a house, so, I mean, is that a quality of life? I don't think it is, so sooner or later, these...we've got a young workforce here, they're very bright, sooner or later they've got to make a crunch decision and a lot of them will vote with their feet, you know...they'll just say, I can't afford to work here anymore, it's...it's as simple as that, so...I think what's going to happen is...HP are going to lose a lot of people to competitors if they don't start to financially reward people that are working here...but...*the catch 22 is that can they afford that or is it just cheaper for them to pack up and piss off to India*...that's the bottom line...so we don't know that yet, you know, if you were back here in 5 years time you'd probably see something

MC: I say it again, it's just a question and it is not just because of here but also Intel, SAP are faced with the same choices, same scenarios, and I suppose it is part of this global economy

MD: Yeah, yeah, I mean...and I think, I think what it does auger well is that you see the likes of Intel, who are, actually, expanding

HP Public Affairs Representative: Yeah, Fab 24 and all that, yeah

MD: Yeah and you have Wyatts, who've come in, from a HP standpoint, that could be costly so if we're talking about this site, I don't know how it's going to react because the pay freeze here is crippling them and if Intel are taking people and if...eh...Wyatts start taking people in abundance, we're going to have a hard time keeping up

MC: Wyatts? Is that another?

MD: They're...eh...they're...eh...going to Clondalkin (*County Dublin*) here, they're starting to *ramp up* and they're basically...they're, eh...pharmaceutical company but they'd be very high-tech

MC: This is the other area expanding at the moment

MD: Yeah, but they're taking a lot of technicians at the moment

HP Public Affairs Representative: Yeah, I've heard that alright, a lot have left HP to go working there

MD: Yeah, so that's, that's just from a HP, from, talking about this particular site

MC: Yeah, sure but, so how do you see the future of the IT industry in Ireland?

MD: In Ireland? Well, it's become less attractive, I think...because there's a short...there's a short-sightedness as well on the behalf of people going to college, students leaving school now looking for college places...they're looking at the IT sector as it stands and, you know, with the whole global economy, a lot of it seems to be thrown back onto, the NASDAQ (*NY Stock Exchange Index*) and the IT sector, right and it's probably the biggest players in the global economy, the way it's gone and share prices have crashed and, new technology haven't, you know, the internet really never caught on the way people expected it to, I think Y2K was the biggest marketing ploy of any, you know, greatest marketing ploy of that particular century because it made everyone go out and buy new PC's, new software...nothing happened in the end but people still bought all the stuff and the shareprices were going up, up and up and then it went *weeep*…(whistling sound, hand gesture downwards)...and I think since then what's happened is...the faith in technology, the technology sector and the technology market is...the arse has dropped out it basically...
…so, I think, you know, people trying to get a place in college don't look at IT as, (HP Public Affairs Representative: Attractive?), yeah, attractive...don't see it as a long-term *go-er*, they just look at it and say, well...it's not going to happen in the short-term so I don't want to know about it, I'll do something else...I'll go for medicine, I'll go for...it's not a bad thing either...but

MC: Sure, sure...I suppose the pharmaceutical business too...so do you think now on this push to now make Ireland a, you know...a research base, around R and D and specialise or whatever like that

MD: Exactly but you need different aspects to doing that...I think, I think the biggest R and D expenditure from any particular companies around the world would be in technology-based, IT and communications and then probably pharmaceuticals as well...so, you know you need a balance of both...I don't think in Ireland we're getting enough people involved in the, in the IT sector and you know, the R and D that could go on there

MC: Can I ask you, where do you see yourself in all this? Among all this change that has had such a profound effect on this country

MD: Well I mean...I've changed...my career is basically, kind of, aligned with me expenditure, you know, it's not really, I'm not really that super-driven kind of guy that...maybe I ought to be but it's...or HP would like me to be...but anyway...em...so I got a house so I needed a better job before I wanted a house, I needed a better job, then I had a kid so I needed a better job and that's the way I've always...but it's good...I like to develop me career as well so it's not just down to that but it's part...partly down to the harsh realities and the cost of living and part I get bored in the same job after about 3 years anyway...so, I'm always looking, I suppose, to move on a level but I think this is...more or less where I want to be for now...I'm not looking to move directly out of this straight away because I mean I've got so much on outside of here that, (MC: It's enough), yeah...I mean, going to college right now is not an option as I've got a young kid so, maybe in a couple of years, yeah, that is one of the good things about this place, I mean it will give you the benefit of, of being able to go back and educate yourself...it may not be...you know, right, if you want to do Greek Mythology or History or something, they're not going to, they're not going to give you that opportunity

HP Public Affairs Representative: But the opportunity is there...if you want it

MD: The opportunity is there to do something, you know, if you're in a dead-end job and going nowhere which I think a lot of the Operators probably sometimes feel they are, they always have the opportunity to go and train to be a Tech or do a Supervisors course or whatever they need to do, some of them choose to do and some of them don't...and that's just down to how driven they are and, they are great in that respect, they give you that opportunity and I think, Intel would be the same and Wyatts might be the same, and that I think is great because that I'll raise the profile of this nation as, a viable, kind of, base for High-Tech companies in the future, so if even HP is gone, they'll think, well jesus there's an educated workforce, they've been there, they've done that, let's start up there, so in that respect, they're probably laying a good foundation, I think there's, you can argue for and against every time...it's strange

MC: So how do you think the World views it, Ireland now?'

MD: Well I don't think we're the *Land of Leprechauns* anymore anyway, I think, you'll always see that around St. Patricks Day but...that's, I mean, that's the Americans for you, they like to, (MC: Marketing too for you?), yeah, exactly, but I think we're, eh, we're probably viewed more seriously than we used to be but I think we've a problem with how we view ourselves, so I mean there's a guy who wants to try and, and I don't know whether it's a viable, kind of...project but...eh, a guy who wants to start a massive themepark there on the Northside (*of Dublin*) and he's basically been laughed at, okay, so, he...there are a lot of reasons why it probably wouldn't work but...that's...once something like that is announced, that is what we instantly look at...*this is why it won't work*...we don't look...*can we do this?*...you know there's no confidence there to say *we could probably do this so why don't we try it* and but again...it's...

MC: And why do you think that is, Mark?

MD: I think we've made too many mistakes in the past and I think our, a lot of our planners and our politicians haven't been too well behaved in the last while either to give us the confidence...em

MC: Do you think history has a part to play in it?

MD: Maybe but I think over the last...the last 20, 25 years as we have developed and we have developed a lot, there's also a lot of mistakes made and I think that's what people tend to concentrate on instead of the achievements in some cases that have been made...we've come a long way as I say in the last 20, 25

years...but It's...as we've developed we've taken on new projects and made mistakes and people are...seem like they are afraid to make those mistakes again but I mean...it's part of life, you know...you make mistakes, you have to...like there's the Port Tunnel *(Dublin port tunnel project)* at the moment, it's too short, whatever...the Luas *(Dublin Tram System)* is a bit of a disaster but, like, at least we're trying to fecking do it, it's not like well we can't do it so we won't, we're trying to do something but we're having problems so people concentrate on the problems...em...there are reasons why that happens as well I think some of the politicians are to blame as well

MC: Do you think we have control over our destiny or whatever you want to call it?

MD: As people?

MC: Yeah or as a country? Or even say economically? In terms of a lot of companies here that we work for, salaries are paid by foreign companies, that sort of way

MD: Alright...yeah, yeah...I think we need to be very, eh...cost effective to keep these people in the country...I mean we can keep throwing tax breaks at them but that's just...that's...that will only go so far, em...*it's a fools economy or a false economy or fool's paradise* or whatever you want to call it...I think we need to be, you know...more cost effective and I don't think the way inflation etc. is at the moment...that we really are...what we have got is, as I said, is a well - trained, well -educated, kind of...workforce...so that's in our favour but...again time will tell whether that's enough...I don't see it attracting everybody...I think they'll always come in for the tax break and that's probably the main reason they're here for now...so I'm really not sure where this is going to be in 10 - 15 years time...you could have a lot of well - educated people walking down to the dole office and you know...we need to be careful how we elect our next government because the one we have at the moment seems to take things for granted...a change of pace maybe not a bad idea even if it's only for 4 years, you know...a kick in the ass, (MC: A change is a good thing), so that's...but like, I don't really know where it's going...you know

MC: Okay seems like a good point to finish on...thanks a lot...I wish we had more time to be honest

MD: No problem

Appendix V: Documentation of Installation of *The Breathing Factory* (selection of locations)

A – Belfast Exposed Gallery, Belfast, Northern Ireland, 7 April – 19 May 2006.
    (Images courtesy Belfast Exposed Photography)
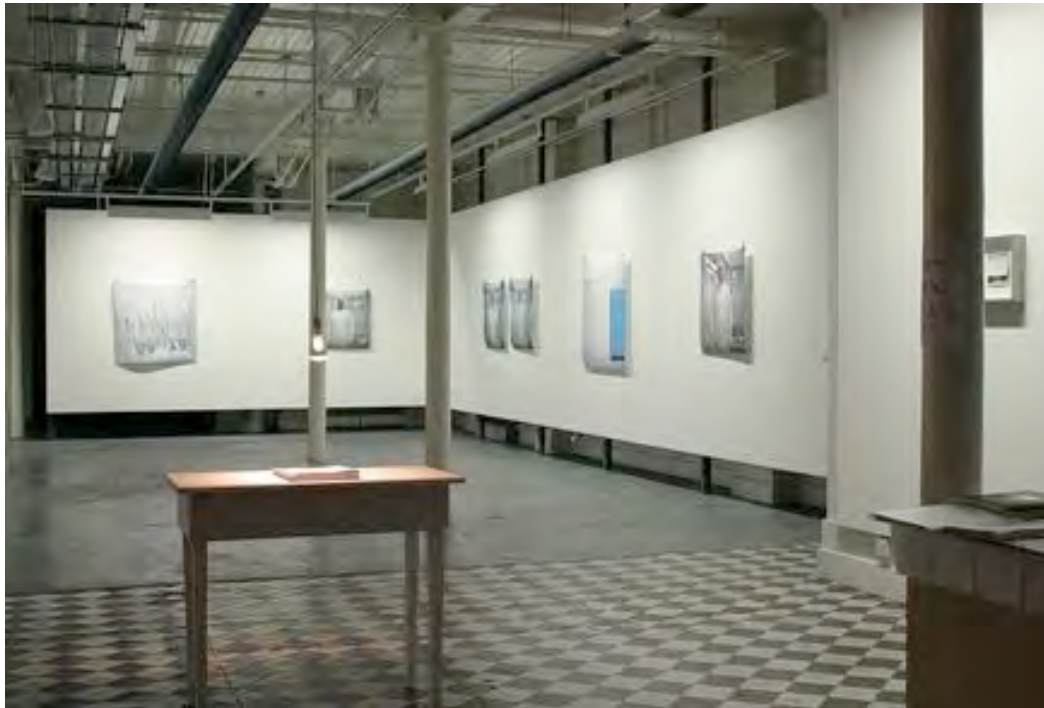
B – Gallery of Photography, Dublin, Ireland, 26 October – 22 November 2006.
  (Images by Craig Cole/ Courtesy Gallery of Photography)
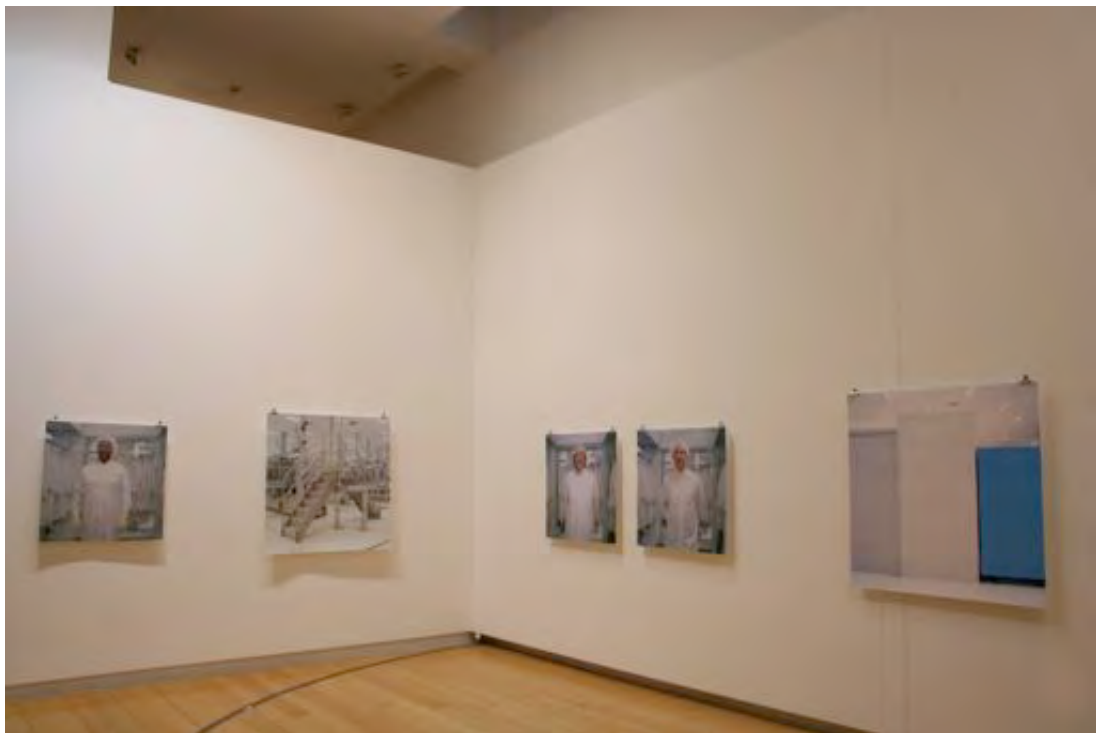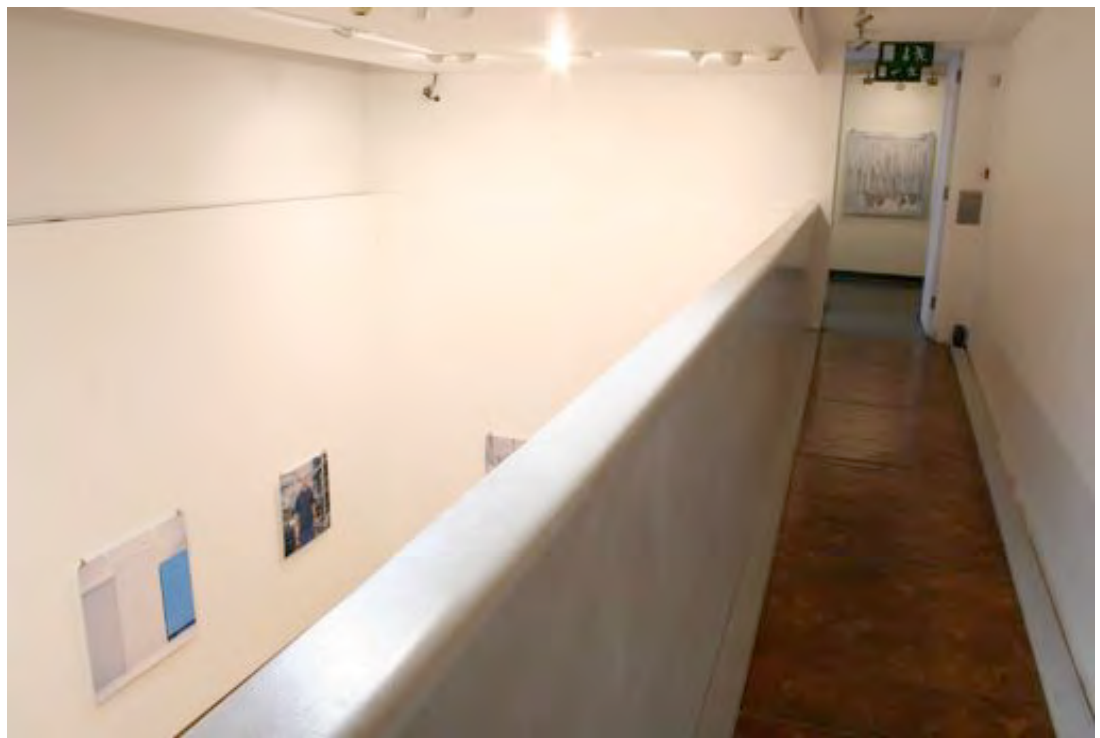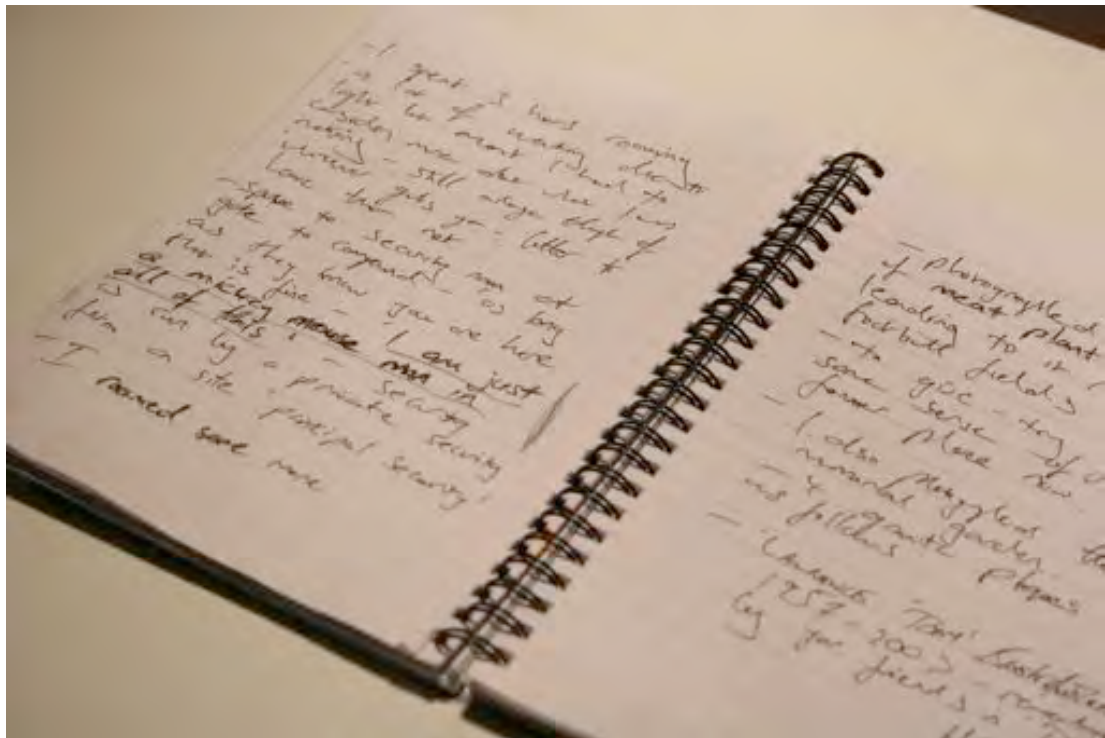
C – Galerie Le Bleu du Ciel, Lyon, France, 20 September – 31 October 2008.
(Images by Jesus Alberto Benitez/ Courtesy Galerie Le Bleu du Ciel)
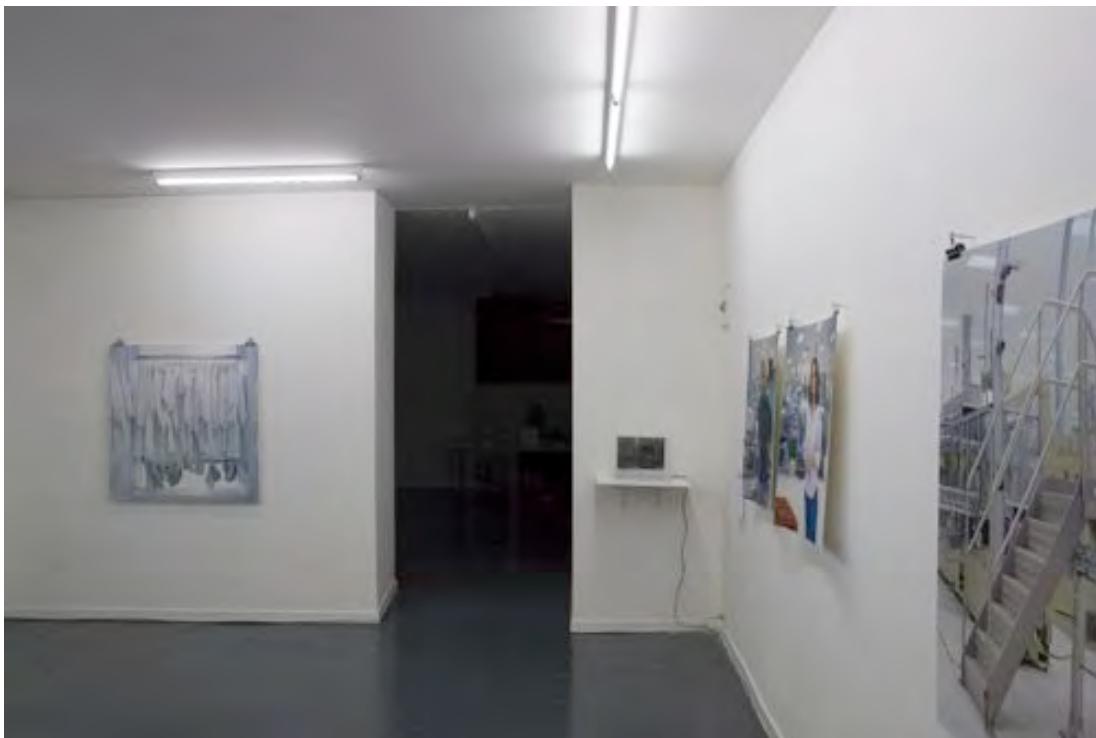
Appendix VI: Selection of Layouts of 'Localised' Testimonies on Architects Paper

A **–** The Breathing Factory (CAN) – English/French

B – The Breathing Factory (USA) – English

C – The Breathing Factory (I) – Italian

Appendix VII: Published and Unpublished Readings of the Installation of *The Breathing Factory*, DePaul University Art Museum, Chicago, Illinois, 2010

The following are a series of written responses to the installation in Chicago. Their inclusion is intended as both a reflexive gesture in the context of the performative outcome and evidencing the cycle of discourse surrounding such undertakings. Each individual article demonstrates a range of cross-cultural, transnational and diverse academic backgrounds, extending from a museum curator, visual arts critic, professor of environmental science and a doctorate candidate researching the relationship between the application of the photograph and social movements. Two of these articles appeared through the course of the installation and two subsequent to its conclusion. All were intended for publication acknowledging in particular, the critical framing regarding the role of print media for three of them. The format of presentation includes the original articles as appeared online (or the format and font of the unpublished essay as sent by Dr. Liam Heneghan), which are followed by transcribed versions and background information on the individual authors.

A – *Site as production studio / production site as studio: The Breathing Factory: A Project by Mark Curran as engaged ethnography and the implication of the subject as object*, Abdul Goler (2010), **Studio Chicago**

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[The text that Curran generated the idea for The Breathing Factory through the course of working on his doctoral degree through the Centre for Transcultural Research and Media Practice at the Dublin Institute of Technology also positions the gallery as a space for critical inquiry into the nature of shared experience as it unfolds within a museum setting. Over the course of the exhibition's run I will digitally video the installation in order to capture the redesign and goings of visitors within this mix of ambient, visual, and textual hues. This will be done not just to archive the event, but also to learn how people interact with the exhibition and if the tools used provided visitors with the means to make sense out of the exhibition. In this way, The Breathing Factory becomes a site by which new knowledge is both accumulated and generated.]

[A native of Detroit, MI, illegible name is the assistant curator of the DePaul University Museum and a budding scholar of the work of illegible. His specialized areas of study and inquiry include critical race theory, museum education and interpretation. illegible completed his MLA degree at Seton Hall University and was an Academic Year Intern in the department of Modern Prints and Drawings at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.]

[illegible caption line]
[Photo by illegible Samuels]

[illegible link text]

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University Exhibition Development and the Gallery as Studio:
Abdul Goler, Assistant Curator, DePaul University Museum, Studio Chicago

Exhibition design and production and all that is entailed in the development of successful shows--from the first inklings of ideas to the writing of didactic text and hanging of work to the public programming--takes on a distinct nature at the DePaul Museum. We are a small staff within the university community consisting of three persons that share responsibilities yet also play particular roles, often overlapping duties in the process of maintaining the museum facilities and caring for the works of art in our collection. As a result of operating parameters, we actively engage the larger university community's expertise and areas of interest. This allows for a kind of collaborative experience to mounting exhibitions and the curatorial process that is unique to university museums and to DePaul. Because of this nature, in a sense, our galleries here at the museum become the working space by and in which we forge together the concepts that are initially rendered on paper. The exhibitions are the three-dimensional fleshing out of concepts and concerns that serve to educate and often titillate our general public and the university community at large. The DePaul University Museum galleries are laboratories that give voice to ideas. Working with the artist Mark Curran during the installation of his exhibition *The Breathing Factory* provided great insight into this collaborative process that I'd like to share.

Site as production studio / production site as studio:

The Breathing Factory: A Project by Mark Curran as engaged ethnography and the implication of the subject as object

I'd like to start by comparing Curran's work in *The Breathing Factory* as currently exhibited at the DePaul University Museum to that of Greta Pratt in her series Liberty from 2009 currently on exhibit at The Mattress Factory in Pittsburg. There is a tacit understanding in both of an underpinning collective effort, which is in fact necessary for both projects to work as multi-layered anthropological studies. Both are tailored to specific sites and I might argue performative in nature. Curran captures the hauntingly hollow syncopated ballet of robotic arms—along with the eerie whoosh and hum created by the machines' programmed movement—within a high tech Hewlett Packard plant in Leixlip, Ireland. Leixlip was Europe's largest IT production and research and development center, modeling itself on California's Silicon Valley. Rather than form the backdrop to the exhibition, the large digital prints of these machines vie for prominence with

the human population of workers that inhabit the plant, growing and shrinking with the needs of the global economy. These workers present themselves and are presented within this framework as disposable as the paper 'clean room' suits they must don to protect the machines from human contamination.

Greta Pratt's series is also concerned with the flux of global markets, but deals with a more downtrodden collection of workers who have turned to performing in and of itself in order to make ends meet. Pratt photographically documents individuals who wave at passersby and dance on street corners wearing full-length Statue of Liberty costumes. These 'wavers' work for Liberty Tax service. Most were formerly unemployed, some were homeless, and all according to the artist, who conducted first hand interviews, happy to have a job even if it entailed dancing on a street corner. Thankfully, the artist redeems these individuals through the use of portraiture situating them within the American urban landscape in a composed dignified manner, turning them into the iconic symbol of Liberty itself.
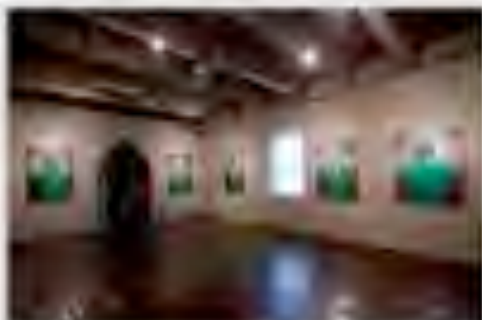
Both sets of images share similarities in their use of portraiture captured through digital photography, and both situate the production of their work in site-specific ways, as well as the use of the interview process in revealing the inner workings of the subjects. Both groups of work also rely on the space in which it will be shown and is tailored not simply to fit each venue, but to meet the intellectual needs and framework of each site.

Curran's exhibition however is different in its tone of almost stoic resignation in the face of seemingly unstoppable capitalist interest. Needless to say, this gives a very wry twist to the work. The initial ethnography was initiated and completed in 2006 when Ireland was still riding the high crest of the wave of its economic boon. The work is prescient really; looking at the images of the workers and reading their collected interviews following the aftermath of the global economic meltdown one can't help but wonder where they are now and what has happened to them.

The workers he portrays stand stone-faced to meet you eye to eye within the factory that is their source of income, but also their undoing. This is the unsettling environment that one enters when walking into the galleries at the DePaul University Museum. One enters the factory and through the use of various tools becomes a part of the factory; the museum apparatus the artist uses subjugates the viewer to the role of object because they act as the means by which the viewer

projects his or her self into the machinations of the global economy. We are forced to consider the wide sweeping impact of the financial downturn and whether or not its full effects have been felt or are still yet to come.

The artist provides many methods for viewers to engage with the exhibition that manipulate and distort the nature of museum displays. I found the hanging of the large format c-print photographs to be one of the subtlest manipulations of museum technology in the exhibition. Rather than insist, as most artists probably would, upon the framing of the images to protect them from potential harm, the vivid images were hung with a combination of bull clamps and dry wall nails. In the repositioning of some of the photographs it became clear that the paper medium upon which the digital images were printed was indeed fragile, as the shifting of the bull clamps left corners and seams abraded. The result of the hanging, the artist confided, was that the images would convey a more tangible sense of vulnerability as they quite literally hang precariously by tooth and nail, trembling at the slightest vibration within the gallery. The labels for the photographs are also hung in the same manner, lending these objects a highly ephemeral quality, somewhat akin to tissue paper in the wind.

While the large photographs seem to represent the 'art', I would argue that the factory and the inner lives of the workers are truly illuminated through the presence of the documentary materials the artist developed for the exhibition which included digital displays of video of the factory and a power point presentation of office workers in their cubicles. One of the most interesting appropriations of museum technology is the stack of eight and a half by eleven-inch double-sided pamphlets printed in small type and folded into eighths. Displayed on a pedestal under a low hanging bare halogen light, most visitors assume it is an art object and don't bother to pick one up and read it, let alone take one with them. While Curran's stack directly references Felix Gonzales-Torres' use of the ephemeral and the absurd, it is the real utility of the object that is most important here. This museum brochure like publication has such information as a map of the Dublin metropolitan area including Leixlip, a bar graph comparing the political, economic, social, and personal indicators among leading industrial nations, quotes from economic policy makers and theoreticians regarding globalization, and most importantly interviews with workers at the Hewlett Packard plant about their experience working in the "most globalized economy in the world."

The presence of such materials disallows for a neat sense of distance or bifurcation of the experience into viewer and viewed, but instead works to entangle the viewer with what is being viewed. This further charges the site-specific nature of the exhibition as an interactive one and undermines its typical nature as a spectator event. Despite the sparse nature of the work and its display, one leaves the exhibition affected not so much by the "art" per se, but by the documentation of the effect of the global economy on people's lives. The photographs work in tandem with the other aspects of the exhibition to create a sense of a lived shared experience, or a gestalt view, which is the art.

Tools used in exhibition:

- Projection of still images of office workers in cubicles at the plant (digital projector, white Mac Book, DVD)
- Projection of digital video capture of machines shielded from view behind a curtain of plastic with sound (digital projector, DVD)
- Projection of Power Point display of interviews of workers (digital projector, DVD)
- Digital display of robotic arms in motion (white Mac Book, DVD)
- Notebook of collected "hand written" notes of workers' accounts (facsimile)
- Series of ethnographic accounts professionally printed on architect's paper for distribution stacked in gallery on table
- Audio Sound track of ambient factory sounds (CD)

Working with the artist for the installation, the importance of the conceptual nature of the exhibition became apparent. The framework of the exhibition was to act as the means of telling and sharing stories, of which many were told over the course of four days of positioning work, hammering in nails, painting surfaces, and plugging in cables. Some of the stories told were ghost stories, which seemed apropos given the faded glory of the once mighty Celtic Tiger that loomed large over the project. The looped continuous projection of digital video of a plastic curtain presumably hiding a machine from view further highlights the haunting nature of the exhibition. The plastic curtain in the video is comprised of two pieces of material taped together in a pattern that our director Louise Lincoln commented as being almost suture like in appearance. Staring at the moving image, we watch hopelessly bewildered as this ghost in the machine rattles and hums, 'breathing' ominously behind the curtain.

> It follows the pulse of the market and can change over to six or seven days of production overnight, uses market opportunities and risks optimally to create value. The break-even point in capacity usage remains low and market peaks can be taken as well. When the production process becomes flexible, then working hours and working conditions must also become flexible. Not only on the factory level. The new 'breathing rhythm' must also make headway at the social level: the time rhythm in society, the labour market, the educational system and the remaining institutions of the welfare state.

The target is a breathing factory

(Source: Peter Hartz, Chairman, VW (1996) The Company That Breathes: Every Job has a Customer) cit. in Curran, 2010.

The fact that Curran generated the idea for *The Breathing Factory* through the course of working on his doctoral degree through the Centre for Transcultural Research and Media Practice at the Dublin Institute of Technology also positions the gallery as a space for critical inquiry into the nature of shared experience as it unfolds within a museum setting. Over the course of the exhibition's run I will digitally video the installation in order to capture the comings and goings of visitors within this mix of ambient, visual, and textual cues. This will be done not just to archive the event, but also to learn how people interact with the exhibition and if the tools used provided visitors with the means to make sense out of the exhibition. In this way, *The Breathing Factory* becomes a site by which new knowledge is both accumulated and generated.

Background:

Established in 2010, *Studio Chicago* is a yearlong collaborative project that focuses upon the artist's studio through exhibitions, talks, publications, tours, and research:

> It is a collaboration between core partners: The Chicago Department of Cultural Affairs, Columbia College Chicago, DePaul University Museum, Gallery 400 at UIC, Hyde Park Art Center, Museum of Contemporary Art, School of the Art Institute of Chicago, and Threewalls.

This article was published on the *Studio Chicago blog*, defined as 'a forum for discussion about topics generated by the project over the course of the year. Guest bloggers are invited by Studio Chicago Core Partners to post for one week, and these posts are moderated by Core Partners.' This is the biography for Abdul Goler as it appeared with this article:

> A native of Detroit, MI, Abdul Goler is the assistant curator at the DePaul University Museum and a budding scholar of the work of Romare Bearden. His specialized areas of study and inquiry include critical race theory, museum education and interpretation. Abdul completed his M.A. degree at Seton Hall Univesity and was an Academic Year Intern in the department of Modern Prints and Drawings at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Goler took up his post at DePaul Art Museum in October of 2009 when *The Breathing Factory* was already confirmed as part of the programming for 2010.

See full article. Available from: <http://studiochicago.blogspot.com/2010/02/university-exhibition-development-and.html> [Accessed 2 March 2010].

B – *Ditch the Factory, Head to the Islands*, Lauren Viera (2010) **Chicago Tribune** (online version)

Chicago Tribune

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"The Breaking Factory: A project by Mark Curran." at DePaul University Museum, 2561 N. Kenmore Ave., 773-325-7506; museum.depaul.edu. Through March 19.

Don Pollack, "Mysterious Island." at Perimeter Gallery.

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Ditch the factory, head to the islands

Chicago Tribune

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Ditch the factory, head to the islands
By Lauren Viera, Chicago Tribune reporter, March 5 2010

Times are tough. This much is obvious. It's interesting, then, to come across a visual art exhibit that, on the surface at least, offers a unique angle on the current state of global economic affairs. DePaul University Museum's current show, 'The Breathing Factory' comes courtesy of Mark Curran, an Irish-born, Berlin-based photographer who over the last five years has seen his exhibit travel from Italy to France, and now Chicago. Which makes me wonder if I'm missing something. The collected works (primarily C-print photographs) are neither artistically captivating nor tell an accurate story about all of the work and research — 20 months worth — that went into them. And that's a problem.

The premise is promising. Beginning in April 2003, Curran spent multiple, escorted visits observing Hewlett-Packard's corporate campus in Leixlip, Ireland, a modest urban village located about 10 miles northwest of Dublin. While Ireland, as Curran points out, never experienced the Industrial Revolution, Leixlip has an industrial history: From the 1940s to the '80s, it boasted a large meatpacking plant employing about 1,000 people, making it one of the largest in Europe. And after the depression that followed, Ireland emerged in the 21st century as one of the most globalized economies in the world, with virtually nonexistent unemployment. Attracting a handful of U.S. corporations to outsource operations there, Ireland (well, Leixlip, really) landed Hewlett-Packard, Intel and a few other information and technology corporations in the mid- to late-1990s, yielding a mini, Irish Silicon Valley.

Curran, for whatever reason, was interested in this new breed of global corporation. His exhibit is named for the corporate factory concept coined by a former Volkswagen CEO, who argued that a successful corporate factory is one that "breathes," in that it's flexible with both economic and social fluctuations. In 2003, Curran began the first of his escorted photography tours of Hewlett-Packard's factory, documenting Ireland's would-be generation of corporate industry. Unfortunately, his results look to have been stripped of any emotion that might have been captured by his lens — possibly a result of Hewlett-Packard's censorship. Dominating DePaul's dimly lit main gallery are nearly a dozen large C-print photographs of employees posing, portrait-style, for Curran's camera. They're paired with immaculate notes documenting each subject's name, formal title, location and the date and time they were shot. But the visual representation;

lacks life — and not in a telling, emotionally void way that would speak to their conscience. Here are normal people casually swiveled around in their office chairs amid generic cubicles, sometimes smiling for the camera. Most of them wear corporate lanyards; little flags representing their nationality peek quietly from a corner of their cubicle wall. It's unclear whether Curran chose not to offer them any direction or offered too much. In place of real, human glimpses of this new breed of global community are banal portraits shot under fluorescent lighting.

There are a handful of machinery stills in addition to the portraits. One of these is worth mentioning: '47 Gowns' portrays the neatly numbered stainless-steel rod where employees' factory gowns, all white and flowy, are hung when not in use. Spotless and almost delicate, they patiently await their next wear. Some have attached white booties that hang gently below the edges of their accompanying coats. This photograph, absent of human expression, says more about the vibe of that factory than any of Curran's portraits.

The rest of the exhibit is passable. There are a handful of lined journals that look to be decoys (blank except for the pages they're flipped open to) fabricated with Curran's alleged notes from his visits, none of the scrawled anecdotes insightful or even interesting. There is a detailed printout with interviews conducted with Hewlett-Packard employees, but the conversations aren't bound to be of interest to anyone who's *not an IT nerd.* There's a darkened projection room in which footage of a virtually still sheet of black plastic is taped over a presumably off-limits area of the factory. If it's meant to say something meaningful, I'm afraid the audio was too quiet to hear.

'The Breathing Factory: A project by Mark Curran', at DePaul Art Museum, 2350 N. Kenmore Ave., 773-325-7506, museums.depaul.edu. Through March 19.

C – *What gets produced in Mark Curran's 'The Breathing Factory'? Art and Truth; Art and History*, Dr. Liam Heneghan (2010), **DePaul University**, unpublished article.

March, 2010

PHL 629 CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS IN PHILOSOPHY

Professor Will McNeill

Liam Heneghan

What gets produced in Mark Curran's "The Breathing Factory"?: Art and truth; Art and History

Memorials of the dead and long past form the corpus of early Irish photography. One the earliest daguerreotypes of an Irish subject; is in fact, of a corpse[1]. Taken in the 1840s, both the photographer and the subject's name are unknown. Though many of the earliest photographs from this period (late 19th Century) were portraiture (typically of a more conventional nature), a review of the earliest pictures also reveals a preponderance of landscapes featuring monuments of ancient faith, ancient ways: ruins of churches, monastic settlements, belfries, military structures, decaying domestic architecture, and infrastructure (ivy-laden bridges and the like). It is as if at the origins of photography, in Ireland at least, commemoration, nostalgia and a search for origins were prevalent themes, as if, that is to say, the world of Ireland in the 1840s, one that is nostalgically remote to us today had already lost its freshness to the artists of that time. One can ask: what is the origin of this commemorative, nostalgic mood, this zeal for origins? What is it to be a nostalgic, commemorative, historical artist, the creator of such works? Is such an artist (and viewer of such works) condemned to sentimentality, to forever gazing away from the realities that present themselves in the here and now? What is being chosen in these pictures; who (or what) does the choosing, what do we learn about the chosen? What is present and what has withdrawn in these portraits and scenes (aliveness from the pictured corpse, the culturally immediate from the monument?); what comes into the frame and what stays away (either with or without the photographer's intention) in the clearing of the lens? At first glance the work of Mark Curran's *The Breathing Factory* (TBF)[2] may seem to exist at some remove from these earliest works of Irish photography. TBF deals with contemporary Ireland, and engages not with yesteryear's faith made

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[1] Observations on early Irish photographer are drawn from Sean Sexton and Christine Kinealy (2002) *The Irish : A Photohistory*, Thames & Hudson, New York.
[2] Initially exhibited at Belfast Exposed, Northern Ireland, 2006

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architecturally solid, nor with the dead, but with the dynamic present-day issue of globalized labor, and with the freight-ready, easily re-locatable means of production. The location happens to be Ireland (at the Hewlett-Packard plants in Leixlip, County Kildare), but really these pictures might have been taken anywhere, everywhere. The mobility of labor: its substitutability, reproducibility, planned impermanence, is the hallmark of the globalized economy. The medium of Curran's art – photography, film, and text is a mirror of its subject, tools made for the documentarian of the present – digitable, reproducible, mobile, and ready for installation anywhere. Indeed Curran himself though living primarily in Berlin, travels to Dublin weekly to teach, and is currently exhibiting in Chicago, is thus the embodiment of the mobile artist. However, there may be more to a direct comparison to antique work than may first appear. Certainly it would not be overly productive to conflate Curran's work with the projects exemplified in earliest examples of Irish photography, but I will suggest that in the following ways the comparisons may be fertile.

Firstly, both the early photographs and TBF provide documentation of turbulent times; turbulence provides a context, if not explicitly the theme. The later years both of 19th and 20th Century were tumultuous periods in Ireland (the former haunted by the trauma of the Great Famine, the later by the prospects of the *Celtic Tiger* which ushered in a few years of unprecedented prosperity, prosperity that was to be very short lived), times when a critical attitude towards the present moment, one that expresses itself in looking-back, might be expected to appeal. Although critique may inhere in Curran's work it seems tendentious to regard the work as a backward glance. Of course at the time the work was done, the *Celtic Tiger* seemed to be ushering in a culturally vibrant and prosperous future, and though there may have been those in Ireland who were suspicious, fearing for what might be lost, was this not the moment that Ireland had been economically preparing for? Was the *Celtic Tiger* not, in fact, offering an antidote to the history (to paraphrase Joyce) from which the Irish were "trying to awake"? However, somewhat surprisingly, the era that Curran captures in this work has now passed – Ireland's moment as an economic powerhouse has passed. Though the Hewlett-Packard factory that he documents is still in operation, the exuberant economic esprit that formed the framing for the show has now wilted[3]. Though it may not have been Curran's intention, nor presumably was it apparent at that time but TBF became a historical document almost before the ink was dry on the prints. It is a peculiar form of commemoration

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[3] A recent announcement in the Irish Times indicated that the Leixlip plant is adding jobs, although the Irish economy has sunk into a fairly deep depression (*Hewlett-Packard Adding 60 Jobs Irish Workforce Has Requisite Skills*, Irish Times (Online edition), March 5th 2010.)

when the dead is still in fact living, although living with altered valency: exuberance now giving way to economic fear.[4]

Secondly, photography in both eras allowed for a certain type of history to be told; one not told by historians but one documented by artists. What type of history can this be if it is not the meticulous, dogged work of the professional historian? I argue that photography can perform a certain type of genealogical work – disruptive though not always gray, a way of festively disordering the past by bringing certain artifacts to prominence in the collective memory. But more than merely serving as a corrective history of the present moment, does art not engage us with its subject in a way that non-artistic statements can not? What is art good for; what sorts of things get revealed in photographic art? Since TBF examines labor in the context of a highly technologized work environment, that is, since the "things" represented in this work are machines, industrial artifacts and the people who tend to their work stations, an analysis of this type of art-of-technology can help us understanding something of the nature of technological systems, of humans and their technology in the 21st Century.

The thinkers whose instruments can help us think about the *ontological* work that art can accomplish (for instance, Heidegger in particular and Foucault more generally) are also thinkers with whom we can think the future of philosophy. The tools of critique that we can employ in understanding what art does, what artists do, and how art-works are taken up in the culture, have also been used question the constraints imposed by the history of philosophy on its future: does Western metaphysics channelize the future of thinking, dictate its questions, determine its province? Although it is not my intention to claim that TBF, or early photographic projects, or art more generally lights the way to a philosophy of the future (nor do I claim that it does not); I hope to show that a certain style of thinking may refresh our enthusiasm for seeing the problem anew.

In what follows I will provide a short account of how Heidegger views the ontological significance of the work of art and in doing so comment on the role of the essay *The Origin of the Work of Art*[5] (1950, based upon lectures in the 1930s) in his later philosophy. Perspectives from this essay are used to provide an analysis of the work that can be accomplished in photographic art (especially

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[4] For one of many account of the Celtic Tiger see Denis Linehan, *For the way we live today': consumption, lifestyle and place in Ireland*. From: B. Bartely and R. Kitchen 2006 *Ireland: Contemporary Perspectives*. London, Pluto Press

[5] *The Origins of the Work of Art*, in *Poetry Language, Thought* Harper & Row New York 1971, pp 17-86.

applied to TBF). We continue with an exploration of the usefulness of regarding the documentary role of photography as a type of genealogical exercise *(this will form the basis for a second, yet to be completed, part of this essay).* For this we will read Michel Foucault's essay *Nietzsche, Genealogy, History* (1971). I will conclude with a sketch of how the philosophically relevant aspect of photographic art, and of TBF, can guide provide us with a way of thinking about ethics in an age of mobility, of replicability, of disposability, of substitutability. First, however, I will provide a brief overview of the materials presented as part of the TBF.

The Breathing Factory

TBF was exhibited first at the Galley of Photography in Dublin in 2006 and was exhibited at DePaul University in winter 2009-10. The work is focused on 'high tech' industrial labor practices at the Hewlett-Packard Technology Campus in Leixlip just outside Dublin. It consists of several audio-visual projections, a series of photographic portraitures, and a set of "interior studies"[6]. The photographs are unframed and unmounted. Excerpts from ethnographic-style interviews conducted with workers at the complex are also made displayed.

The project was based upon 20 months spent by Mark Curran at H-P plant. Each visit was pre-scheduled and cleared by security and Curran was accompanied by security officers at all times. The security conditions under which the work was created is deliberately and conspicuously displayed in the finished work.

The Origin of the Work of Art

First a word on "origin"; in fact, this is the first definition that Heidegger provides in the essay. He says, "Origins here means that <u>from</u> and *by* which something is <u>what</u> is it and <u>as</u> it is."[7] (Emphasis mine). That is, the quiddity (the whatness *and* essence) of a something in terms of both its "source" of emergence *and* the process of emergence. Origins are doubled: a "from" and a "by"; a "what" and an "as". The artist is the origin of the work, but conversely the work is the origins of the artist. If it were not for the productive accomplishment of the work of art, there would be no artist. Thus, Heidegger concludes "[n]either is without the other"[8]. A somewhat obvious conclusion at

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[6] Details relating to the first exhibition of the work is given at:
http://www.galleryofphotography.ie/exhibitions/breathingfactory.html
[7] PLT, 17.
[8] Ibid., 17.

first glance, but it prompts the thought that a "third thing which is prior to both", namely "art" is the origin of both the artist and the work. Perplexingly, art he relates "is nothing more than a word to which nothing real any longer belongs."[9] Seasoned readers of Heidegger will recall that nothing is rarely not anything at all for him. The work should reveal the nature of art; though we need to know the nature of art to know what the work is. Although this gets us into an awkward circle we are "compelled to follow the circle". So although we may not reliably base a selection of examples on a prior notion of what art is, Heidegger invites us to leap in nevertheless. Since we already have a "collective notion" of what art is – architecture, sculpture, paintings and so forth – we can go to the works. The "thingness" of art in the rudest sense may first strike us: "Works of art are shipped like coal from the Ruhr and logs from the Black Valley."[10] This much may be self-evident Heidegger concedes, but it should give us pause to reflect on the "thingly nature" of art. This is not deny that art work is "over and above the thingly element". The thingly nature though is that through which another "authentic element" is made manifest[11]. So what 'in truth' is a thing? Heidegger provides an excursus through the history of the concept of the "thing". The physical things that surround us, even those "which does not appear" ("even God himself"), can be and has been called a thing. We hesitate, Heidegger says, to call God a thing, or applied the term thing to people, although all can be accommodated as such "[i]n the language of philosophy"[12]. Heidegger claims a moment of hesitation on behalf of all is us before applying the term thing to "the deer in the forest clearing, the beetle in the grass, the blade of grass"[13]. In the "strict sense" the widest domain of thinghood has been restricted to "mere" things. Why, in pursuing an understanding the work of art, should one be concerned about the thingly element in the work? A precise determination of what is thingly in mere things allows for subtraction of this from a characterization of "the almost palpable reality of works, in which something else inheres."[14] The philosophical tradition of enquiry into the nature of things has provided us with several interpretations of the "thingness of the thing". Much of the early part of *The Origin of the Work of*

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[9] Ibid., 17.

[10] Ibid., 19.

[11] This should remind is of themes elucidated §7 of Being and Time (The Phenomenological Method of Investigation). There are several points of continuity in *The Origins of the Work of Art* essay from *Being and Time*, and there has been adequate treatment of such matters in the secondary literature. It is nevertheless still worth pointing out that an examination of overlaps and new departures in the Origins essay offer many insights into the notion that Heidegger's work, early and late, can be regarded as a unified body of thought. References to *Being and Time* in my essay are to Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. by John Macquarrie & Edward Robinson (London: SCM Press, 1962).

[12] PLT, 21.

[13] Ibid., 21.

[14] Ibid. 22.

Art concerns a patient recounting of these traditional (though still extantly relevant) accounts. It may be tempting to disregard this as not being immediately useful for appreciating Heidegger's more original accounts of source art's essence.[15] However, Heidegger stops the flow of explication several times in the essay to insist that this initial work is important. For instance, he asks after many pages of accounting for "thing concepts": "Why do we make a detour though other current thing-concepts?"[16] Because, he says, "we...mistrust this concept of a thing, which represents it as formed matter"[17]. That is, the received concepts obscure our understanding of a more fundament conception of art. Later he claims that we take heed of these concepts to "avoid their boundless presumption". Additionally, Heidegger uses some of this analysis to question the "art business". What are these "thing-concepts", the explication of which is so important to Heidegger? I look at each in turn.

Things have a core ("*hupokeimenon*"), the ground around which a suite of characteristics ("*ta sumbebekota*") occur – a substance with its accidents, our most "natural outlook" of things[18]. At stake is the simplicity and seeming naturalness of our interpretation of things as "the union of substance and accidents", is the question whether our propositional assertions (subject and predicates) guide our understanding of the thing; or conversely whether the thing structure, already made visible, structures our sentences. In response to the perhaps irresolvable circularity of the questions Heidegger proposes that both derive from a common and more original source. The current interpretation of the thing is not well founded. It does not, Heidegger says, "lay hold of the thing as it is in its own being, but makes an assault on it."[19] Furthermore, the common conception does not in fact allow us to distinguish between the mere thing and other beings – the task of subtraction that we are hoping for can not be accomplished with this understanding of the thing.

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[15] Many accounts of *The Origin of the Work of Art* ignore these opening pages of the essay. Julian Young in *Heidegger's Philosophy of Art* (Cambridge University Press 2001) refers to "a lot of mainly unnecessary footwork" (p16) seemingly in reference to this initial discussion.

[16] PLT, 26.

[17] Ibid., 26.

[18] This account is an abbreviation, of course, of what Heidegger already acknowledges to be an significant abbreviation of the "translation" of Greek experience, a translation that results in the "rootlessness of Western thought". PLT, 23.

[19] Ibid., 25.

One way of avoiding a conceptual assault on things can be to set aside everything interposing between the thing and us. This can put us into the "undisguised presence of the thing."[20] This should not be regarded as some peculiar esoteric state. Far from it, the unmediated encounter is the aesthetic experience found in sensation. It is what is "later" formulated in the (Kantian) "unity of the manifold of what is given in the senses." However this formulation suffers the same deficit of generality as the previous one – it applies to too much. It also runs counter to the manner in which we encounter things; "[w]e never really first perceive a throng of sensations"[21]. The conception turns on the way in which the thing is perceived by the senses. It does not allow the thing to "remain in its self-containment"[22]. This reference to a deficit of letting things remain in self-containment provides an important clue to Heidegger's corrective account of the nature of art – we will just note for now that an adequate account will neither represent an assault on things, nor will it drag things out of their self-containment (that is self-containment will remain part of the essence of art). In the analysis of the thing as matter, which is a third interpretation of the thing, and one as old as the others already mentioned, matter retains its constancy (rather than being the whir of jumbled perception) because it is "coposited" with form: "[t]he thing is formed matter"[23]. With this conception we have, Heidegger says, a thing concept "which applies equally to things of nature and to use-objects". In reference to the work of art the matter-form concept is "the conceptual schema...quite generally for all art theory and aesthetics."[24] Despite this being the case even this thing concept should cause us some suspicion. Heidegger conjectures that this definition, which ratifies a distinction between the rational-irrational (form-matter), logical-alogical (form-matter), subject-object (form-matter). Again it seems to say too much: "nothing is capable of withstanding" this "conceptual machinery".[25] Perhaps it is the case, Heidegger asserts, that the distinction matter and form are drawn in the first place from the work of art. A comparison of a block of granite and a jug reveals difference in the way in which form is understood. In the case of the jug form determines the choice of matter from which the jug should be constructed if it is to serve it function. Usefulness if a key element here and is "the product of a process of making."[26] Matter and form, where form determines the nature of matter in conformity with a process of

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[20] Ibid., 25.
[21] Ibid., 25.
[22] Ibid., 26.
[23] Ibid., 26.
[24] Ibid., 26-27
[25] Ibid., 27.
[26] Ibid., 28.

making, useful illustrate the relationship of this matter-form distinction to the nature of equipment (the jug, the shoes etc.).

Equipmental use-objects retain an especial interest to us as they are the "nearest and authentic things." Equipment has a relationship with the work of art since both are made things. However, in their self-contained nature the work of art also bears relation to "mere things". In Heidegger's ordering equipment is placed halfway between mere thing and the work of art. As intermediate in this ordering mere things and works of art can be comprehended with "the help of the being of equipment"[27].

The power of the matter-form conception of thinghood retains some of it power from a theological view of the world as created. Even when translated from a medieval view of creation into one more characteristic of the modern era, the historical legacies of the matter-form conception suggest to Heidegger "an encroachment upon the thing-being of the thing".[28] To illustrate the concern Heidegger proposes the thought experiment where one strips from a thing the characteristics of usefulness and of being made. One does not, apparently, get anything securely ontological about the mere thing in view by this reduction. Again, we have a thing-concept – the third traditional view – that can be regarded as an assault upon things. The three thus get in the way of an ontological account of mere things, of equipment and of the work of art.

If the three traditional ways of regarding the thing stand accused of assaults on things, what alternative can be presented that would give us a more ontologically sound account? On the one hand, Heidegger presents what might "turn out to be the most difficult of tasks"[29], (though perhaps in the light of what we have said so far, it is not the most surprising task) that is a directive that we must "let a being be just the being it is." On the other, we clearly must bear in mind the "boundless presumption" of the thing concepts we have just discussed so that we are not led astray by them, though this not mean that these can not be employed at all. Although the thought that we must "leave the thing to rest in its own self" (a leaving which is "the opposite of the indifference that simply turns its back upon the being itself") seems to be met by a stubborn evasiveness from the thing itself, Heidegger offers that this self-refusal might "precisely belong to

27 Ibid., 29.
28 Ibid., 29.
29 Ibid., 31.

the nature of the thing". One should not, Heidegger cautions us, "force our way to its thingly character."[30] With this warning noted, Heidegger returns to matter and form concept from which he has derived and interpretation of the equipmental being of the equipment. An understanding of this equipmental nature is important since, as we have noted, the equipment has an intermediate quality between the thing and the work of art.

To illustrate we are provided with an account of peasant shoes as they appear in Van Gogh painting of them. One might be suspicious that such a rarefied depiction of the shoes gives us nothing. In Heidegger's account however the image of the shoes provides us access to the *earth* to which they belong and access into the *world* of the peasant woman. The terms earth and world are of paramount importance to the essay and we should note their first appearance:

> This equipment is pervaded by the uncomplaining anxiety as to the certainty of bread, the wordless joy of having once more withstood want, and trembling before the impending childbed and shivering at the surrounding menace of death. The equipment belongs to the *earth*, and it is protected in the *world* of the peasant woman.[31]

Why, one may wonder, do we get all of this from Van Gogh painting and not, for example when *wearing* shoes (assuming for the moment that we are peasant women); or why indeed do we fail to get such textured insight at our own world when we glance down at our feet? Equipment disappears into its use; in fact, the more useful and functional the equipment is the less likely we are to notice them. The peasant woman may think of her shoes only if they are cracked and letting in the rain, or if they are ill-fitting. Otherwise, "[s]he stands and walks in them."[32] In the reliable discharge of their duties the peasant's shoes give her "privy to the silent call of the earth". As that reliability fades, one is left with matter imprinted with a form but the "genuinely equipmental being" of the shoes stems from a distant source. It seems that this equipmental quality may be precisely what Heidegger suggests we have been looking for in our interrogation of the being of mere things, but we have discovered this in a painting, in this instance the peasant's shoes by Van Gogh. We learn through this painting what the pair of peasant shoes "*is* in truth." Art then is not

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[30] Ibid. 31.
[31] Ibid., 33.
[32] Ibid., 32.

merely concerned with beauty, rather its nature relates to setting the truth to work. This quite astonishing conclusion has provided us with an ontological account of art: *art is not a mere thing to which equipmentality has been added, or to which, furthermore some aesthetic value adheres – rather each in their own way (the thing, equipment, and art) "comes closer to us only when we think the Being of beings."* [33]

The role of art in the unconcealment of being should not encourage us to think that this is by virtue of their representational nature. Art, in this view of things, does not unconceal in the sense that it represents them in a reproduction of them. That is, it is not by virtue of the accuracy or faithfulness of the replication of nature in art that we get this truthfulness. That this is not the case is significantly illustrated by an important analysis that Heidegger provides of the Greek Temple. The temple as "temple-work" performs the task of gathering the significant attributes that make the temple a temple for a human being, and that makes possible the presence of a god. The temple in its solidness makes visible to us the gathering of the elements, and in so doing "clears and illuminates" the dwelling of man that is called by Heidegger "earth". The temple both opens up a world, and this world is set upon earth which "only thus emerges as native ground".

The two previously introduced terms, earth and world, are crucial to an understanding of the work of art as unconcealment. We have already seen both used in relation to the Van Gogh's portrayal of the peasant shoes. The world of the peasant is that which was conjured up in an account of the anxious contentment of rural life. A complex definition of world is that it is "the ever non-objective to which we are subject as long as the paths of birth and death, blessing and curse keep us transported into Being."[34] Furthermore, it is "the self-disclosing openness of the broad paths of the simple and essential decisions in the destiny of a historical people"[35]. When a world is "opened" the things of our world gain their properties. It is precisely this worlding of the world that is set up in the work of art. Unlike what occurs in the making of equipment, the setting forth of world that occurs in the work causes the material used in production to come forward ("for the very first time"). Earth, in contrast, is that which "the work sets itself back and which it causes to come forth in this setting back of itself".[36] The earth has the characteristic of elusiveness; in Heidegger's terms it is self-secluding, but in the work of art that which is self-secluded is brought

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[33] Ibid., 38.
[34] Ibid. 43.
[35] Ibid., 47.
[36] Ibid., 45

into the Open. However this setting-forth or bringing into the Open occurs as the work "sets itself back into the earth". This earth is not destroyed by the work of art as it may be, Heidegger suggests here and elsewhere, in a bid for technical-scientific mastery. The earth, Heidegger says "is the spontaneous forthcoming of that which is continually self-secluding and to that extent sheltering and concealing".[37]

World and Earth belong together in the work of art. But they come together in a movement of opposition (called "striving"). This striving between earth and world is what the work of art does for unconcealment, that is, for truth. Clearly, this way of thinking about truth as an unconcealment that occurs in the strife of earth and world in the work of art is a radical thinking of the truth. Indeed, it is a persistent claim in Heidegger's work that truth as *aletheia* is a more originary conception of the true than truth as correspondence, and is one that goes back to the Greeks. An interrogation about truth as unconcealment brings us into contemplation of a core idea for Heidegger: the difference between beings and Being. Enigmatically Heidegger says "[t]hat which is, the particular being [humans beings, gifts, sacrifices, animals, plants, equipment and work], stands in Being."[38] We come to know a little, perhaps, of beings. What occurs in the midst of beings, as a whole is a clearing; this clearing within which beings are "lit up". In the work of art, Van Gogh's instance, beings are not necessarily "correctly portrayed", rather the world and earth clash in a manner that "attains to unconcealment".

The work of art is, of course, worked, created. The fact of its creation brings to mind again the proximity of art and the manufacture of equipment. As *techne,* "the Greek practice of naming craft and art"[39], this proximity of art and manufacture is not because something (the hammer, the art work) is practically produced, rather it is that both engage in the nature of knowing as *aletheia*, the uncovering of things. Art is not the only arena in which truth may be established (other examples are the establishment of a political state, the nearness of the "being that is most of all", essential sacrifice). Truth as we have seen is established in the conflict between self-subsistence and concealment. The "rift-design" establishes the truth in a both a setting forth into the Open and a settling back into the earth. Unlike the equipment though, the work is not used up in the setting

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[37] Ibid., 47.
[38] Ibid., 51
[39] Ibid., 57.

forth of earth. In fact, "createdness is part of the created work."[40] That is the creativeness of the production is conspicuously part of art (contrast this with the finished tool in which the creative act dissolves in its successful employment). The created work can transport "us into... openness and thus at the same time transport us out of the realm of the ordinary."[41] The artist is responsible for the creation, the "preservers", those who stand "within the openness of beings that happens in the work..."[42] are those who know what they "will[.] to do in the midst of what is."[43] This willing must be carefully understood in relation to previous discussion of thinking in *Being and Time*. Grasped in this way the willing of the preservers of works of art relates to the opening up of the human being. This openness is not a matter of the human being venturing out from the mind's den to experience the world. Rather humans exist in the sense of already being out-standing within the clearing where beings are lit up. This radicalized depiction of the being of the human being is significant in relation to the work of art: art is not just one of a number of experience out there, nor is it (as might be implied from this prior clause) an opportunity merely for private reflection on the picturesque. Rather, art brings the preservers "into affiliation with the truth happening in the work."[44] As a consequence of this, preserving the work, a work of co-creation according to Heidegger, "grounds being for and with one another as the historical standing-out of human existence in reference to unconcealedness."

The nature of art as a setting-into-work of truth indicates that art is the place where a self-establishing truth in fixed in place. This occurs in artistic creation. In addition to this setting-into-work also means "the bringing of work-being into movement and happening"[45], this latter meaning refers to the act of preserving.

Unconcealment at The Breathing Factory.

TBF has been exhibited several times since 2006[46]. Packed up and shipped around the world, the materials of this show have a thingly quality every bit as merely physical as a lump of Ruhr Valley coal, or as an industrial widget transported from one manufacturing plant to the next. The

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[40] Ibid., 62.
[41] Ibid., 64.
[42] Ibid., 65.
[43] Ibid., 65.
[44] Ibid. 66.
[45] Ibid. 69.
[46] TBF has been exhibited in Dublin 2006, Kilkenny 2006, Montreal 2006, Thessaloniki 2007, Lyon 2008, Pingyao China 2008, Lodz 2009, and Chicago 2010.

propensity of art to devolve into mere things comes in for stern admonishment by Heidegger. "Shippers or charwomen" he claims, "may operate with this conception of the work of art."[47] A significant feature of the work of TBF is the ironic use of the thingly character of the work. For instance, the photographs are displayed unmounted and attached to the gallery walls with simple nails and bullclips. The prints are on Ultrachrome Matt Archival Inkjet Paper and with the passage of time the prints curl at the edges: the exhibit ages over the week, its impermanence is seemingly a feature of the work[48]. On display also are replicates of the ethnographic notebooks that Curran maintained on his visits to the plant. In several places the handwritten notes are overwritten a number times, emphasizing phrases, scraps from interviews with H-P employees. In fact, it is clear if one turns the pages that these are *replicates* of original field notebook. This is an art exhibit so one feels a little disinclined to touch, to examine the material. Curran plays with this: the notebooks just being one instance; although they are clipped open they nevertheless curl invitingly displaying the blankness concealed beneath. In another instance he displays a photograph concealed by a *Post-It* note where the right to the artist to use a particular image is refused. The act of concealment (by H-P in their censorship (a censorship performed in the context of an openness that permitted the artist access in the first instance), concealment by the artist in his private diary) is displayed in a very thingly way in the artwork.

Although the thingly aspect of TBF, are creatively incorporated into the work, the subject matter: the work-world of men and women and their machines, provides the significant theme of TBF. In contrast to the works of art that Heidegger incorporates into his analyses, which are primarily poetic in nature: peasant shoes, a Greek Temple, C.F. Meyer's poems about the Roman Fountain, Curran's subjects are of a more quotidian type. In what way, we ask, can the central devices and insights outlined in *The Origin of the Work of Art* but used to examine work whose subject is of a less immediately poetic nature? What is world and earth, strife, and the role of preservers in TBF?

It is clear from Heidegger's account in *The Origin of the Work of Art* that *he will we will not give us* a sharp distinction between the essence of art and the essence of other creative activities (all such activities are subsumed as "*essentially poetry*"). In fact, Heidegger states in the *Epilogue* to *The Origin of the Work of Art* that his reflections "are concerned with the riddle of art, the riddle that art itself

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[47] PLT, 19.
[48] "[T]he images had a Matt [sic] look to deny almost their photographicness and to emphasise the paper aspect and its fragilenesss…" Email from Mark Curran (21st March 2010).

is."[49] Nevertheless, the significance of the work of art, whether that work is architecture, poetry, painting, or sculpture, relates in Heidegger's account to its capacity for disclosing truth. There is no immediately apparent reason why all art (as long as it is "great art" does not perform the work that Heidegger describes. In truth-disclosing capacity, art in all its forms can be considered *techne* in the Greek significance of the term. Julian Young underscoring this point in *Heidegger's Philosophy of Art* draws upon Heidegger's *Nietzsche* to make this point: "If we return, then, to thinking in a Greek way, 'we [will] understand the word 'art' quite generally to mean every sort of capacity to "bring forth" truth, understand it, that is, so that it corresponds to the Greek concept of *techne'* (N I, p 82)."[50] If art as *techne* brings forth truth, what exactly does this mean when we ask what is produced by TBF? As we have seen Heidegger has translated this portentous capacity as art's capacity to "open up a world"[51]. 'World' has had a significant role in the Heideggerean lexicon from his earlier works. In Being and Time Heidegger presents an account of four ways in which the term "world in used in the analysis. The second one of these is:

> "World" can be understood in another ontical sense—not, however, as those entities which Dasein essentially is not and which can be encountered within-the-world, but rather as that 'wherein' a factical Dasein as such can be said to 'live'. "World" has here a pre-ontological existentiell signification. Here again there are different possibilities: "world" may stand for the 'public' we-world, or one's 'own' closest (domestic) environment.[52]

When Heidegger discusses the world-disclosive function of Van Gogh's painting it is in the sense that the painting delivers unrivaled access to the factical life of the peasant woman, disclosing not just an aesthetically pleasing representation of footwear, but it reveals the life particulars, the moods, the concerns, the environing facts of nature of the peasant-world. What world does TBF reveal? In a strictly ethnographic sense TBF brings us the world of the high-tech worker: video images of working machines and of workers outfitted to undertake industrial tasks. The images reveal more than this: in the portraits, the casually dressed line-workers compose themselves in front of their apparatuses; the workers and their high tech world. Curran gave them little direction

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[49] PLT, 77.
[50] Julian Young HPA, 18.
[51] PLT 44.
[52] BT 93.

regarding their pose; as he glanced down at his viewfinder they had the license to present themselves as the saw fit. Curran refers to this as "co-authorship". Some, stare blankly, some wryly smile, some workers appear uncomfortable.[53] Most are conspicuously surrounded by equipment – large, generic machinery of indeterminate utility. They are stewards of commercial processes – they oversee vast workings, secret, protected, patrolled workings. And of course, they have work, but for how long? Globalized labor is ephemeral, secure on the vast scales, macro-economically reliable. Lionel Alexander, the Vice-President of HP Ireland when asked for assurances of economic longevity says "it's business, right...and if there's no business reason to be in a country we will not...*we will leave... we will leave tomorrow...*"[54]. The success of the exhibit derives from relationships intimated between workers and their tasks, between activity captured in the frame and its relation to the world beyond; all gathered into the frame with lanyards, names, protective gear, and all the trappings of global exchange and activity. The difference between the photographs of TBF and say commercial art, marketing art, is that the world is revealed. The photographer does not merely get surreptitious glimpses of the workers at their laboring; in the art of asking them to com-pose themselves, of allowing their machinery to figure as their context rather than their job the art reveals a world; one with pride, with achievement, with doubt, with rumination.

**** THIS NEXT SECTION HAS YET TO BE COMPLETED... WORKING ON IT.

[...I have not completed this next short section in which I examine what remains concealed]

The Origin of the Work of Art significantly ends with an important section on history...I will read this along with Dreyfus interesting account of history in this essay. It facilitates an important turn to Foucault....I will adapt this familiar section [below] to asking about art and genealogy.]

What kind of tool-box? – Foucault's "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History"

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[53] In a review of the work Chicago Tribune writer Laura Viera complains that "in place of real, human glimpses of this new breed of global community are banal portraits shot under fluorescent lighting." Though it seems that much more is lit up in the photographs than might at first seem obvious. *Ditch the factory, head to the islands* Chicago Tribune 5 March 2010.
[54] Curran, Mark 2008 The Breathing Factory: Locating the Global Labouring Body, Journal of Media Practice 9(2)

Foucault's text *Nietzsche, Genealogy, History* is on the threshold. Methodologically it supposedly inaugurated a new approach for Michel Foucault the one-time archeologist: before this lies *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (1961), *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archeology of Medicinal Perception* (1963), *The Order of Things: An Archeology of the Human Sciences* (1966), after this *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1975) and *The History of Sexuality Vols 1-3* (1976-84). This rather brief essay is important one, since it provides insight into Foucault's methodology. If Foucault intends his work for users rather than readers, an evaluation of his methods allows us to determine the degree to which we might want to use his scholarly tools. Indeed if this methodology engendered a productive renewal of Foucault's work, it is worth enquiring about the resources that genealogy provides him that archeology could not. One might also enquire if the ontogeny of the methodology described in *Nietzsche, Genealogy, History* has its "origin" explicitly in Nietzsche. However perhaps might query what sort of "origin" this might be using the very tools made available to us by Foucault. Ultimately what are Foucault's debts to Nietzsche? And what debts should we as latter-day genealogists have to Foucault?

A suggested experiment: enumerate the lexicon of ambiguity applicable to genealogical analysis as methodology. Genealogy is "gray, entangled, confused". It is attentive to "invasions, struggles, plundering, disguises, ploys." To which gray places must we visit to be genealogists: "unpromising places"! We must inspect "sentiments, love, conscience, instincts". Its method "requires patience": an inductive sensibility at the service of "relentless erudition" is unleashed on "vast" materials, containing "insignificant truths". It reveals a "wavering course", an "oscillating reign".

What does the grayness of Nietzschean genealogy oppose? It opposes "lofty origins", these metaphysical extensions where moments are so perfect as to seem to emerge "dazzling from the hands of the creator or in the shadowless lights of first morning". It opposed the linearity of a Paul Ree whose account of the history of morality is imparted as if morality's origin was unambiguously rooted in utility, as if speech and desire were constants. To repeat Foucault's question: "Why does Nietzsche challenge the pursuit of origin (Ursprung), at least on those occasions when he is truly a genealogist? He challenges origins which pretend to capture the essence of things; he laughs at the "solemnities of the origin", at representations of nativity as the most precious moment, compared to which all other moments are fallen one.

Significant to Foucault's strategy in constructing this essay is the Nietzschean bricks from which it is built. What we are presented in this essay is not just genealogy it is a genealogy with of an explicitly Nietzschean origin. Though there are ample resources in the Nietzschean oeuvre for thinking about origins and history Foucault is very explicit about isolating the projects undertaken as genealogy: "Why does Nietzsche challenge the pursuit of origin (Ursprung), at least on those occasions when he is truly a genealogist?" What does Foucault claim this Nietzschean genealogy to be: what does it oppose, what does it propose, what sort of approach to history does it facilitate? To answer this I will recapitulate Foucault's account of Nietzschean genealogy.

Foucault excavates words connoting origins in Nietzsche's work and delineates origins as Entstehung from those of Herkunft. In so doing we can record "the true objective of genealogy". Analysis of Herkunft, "often involves a consideration of race of social type, is analysis of descent." In such analysis one may, as Nietzsche did and as Foucault recounts, study beginnings – "numberless beginnings" – in order to undo "simple computations". The analysis can undo the selves' illusion of unification, of "empty synthesis". As opposed to synthesis, the function of analysis is to maintain things in their dispersion rather than to reveal descent in the sense of the fate of the essential core of a (spatio)-temporal entity (a people, a thought, a discourse) animating the present. One might be tempted to call genealogical analysis understood as Herkunft "archeology". Foucault of course has already appropriated and reinterpreted the term. In contrast to the archeologist, understood in the traditional sense, who painstakingly reveals the artifact by ablating the matrix in which it lies, the genealogist doubts that the artifact was ever the dazzling item we expected it to be. The genealogist may wonder (if this is not pressing to analogy into too much work) if the matrix, or moreover the process whereby the matrix accretes over time are not in fact the artifact of highest value. If this were true for archeology as an anthropological/physical discipline, that is, if the matrix scraped away with vigorous abandon is a proper object for an exploration of the past, then this discovery would serve as a critique of archeology. In a similar fashion this is why "every origin of morality from the moment it stops being pious – and Herkunft can never be – as value as a critique."

Lest one think that the stakes are just contemplative ones: matters of pride, of scholarly correctness, of mildly embarrassing national self-deceptions etc., Nietzsche reminds us, (and Foucault reminds us that he reminds us) that mistaken attribution by fathers with regard to the descent of items that we value can be translated onto the suffering flesh the "bodies of their

children". The body (and by extension the body of the earth – "diet, climate, and soil") manifests the "stigmata of past experience and also gives rise to desires, failings and errors". Thus the reciprocating relations of body and history are properly the seat of genealogical analysis. Genealogy exposes "a body totally imprinted by history and the process of history's destruction of the body."

Turning to the second Nietzschean conception of origins, this time understood as Entstehung, this usage re-establishes the productive interplay of purposes. It represents an analysis of origins from the perspective of the moment of emergence. The contemplative eye is formerly the eye engaged in primordial trophic relations (the who-eats-who of ecological exchanges), it is also the pigmented epithelial cells on the organism slinking into the crevice etc. The analysis of the Entstehung reinstates the "hazardous play of dominations". The emergence of an entity is illustrated in a discussion of the evolutionary emergence of species out of the cauldron of the struggle "against the outsiders or the uprising of those it oppresses from within." "No one" is responsible for any particular emergence, since, if I correctly follow the thought, emergence occurs in the interplay of forces, that is, "occurs in the interstice". The discussion here is a dense one, and cannot be summarized without a displeasing loss of information. Risking this I summarize by noting that an analysis of emergence rests upon an identification of the tussle for domination within and between components of a defined system. A conjecture (perhaps something even stronger?) is made that after a struggle with allochthonous forces subside individuation may occur ("...the Reformation arose, precisely where the church was least corrupt). The history of an idea must be "made to appear as events on the stage of a historical process."

The question for Foucault now becomes the relationship between genealogy and history. To do so he examines instances where Nietzsche "conceives genealogy as wirkliche Historie". Unsurprisingly, Nietzsche opposes a suprahistorical perspective that "reduces diversity of time into a totality fully closed upon itself". Because of the pretense of "apocalyptic objectivity" claimed by the suprahistorical historian, metaphysical prejudices abound: the feeling of immutability prevails. Where there is a sense of immutability it is opposed by the historical underbelly of even the loftiest sentiment; the unity and "dull constancy" of instinct opposed in wirkliche Historie by the oscillating reign of any instinctual forces. Immutability assumed at the level of the body is corrected by a realization of the body's subjugation to the vicissitudes of historical regimes. "Effective history" in short is "without constants". The task therefore of effective history is to introduce "discontinuity into our very being". The idea of being separated from consoling notions

of the stability at our very core is dramatized by Foucault in a maxim (if it is not a famous maxim, it should be!): "This is because knowledge is not made for understanding; it is made for cutting."

Effective history reorients the gaze of traditional history by "shortening its vision to those things nearest to it". Things deigned insufficiently lofty as subjects for historical analysis can assume their correct place: the body, for instance, may become its proper subject; the historian becomes physiologist, diagnostician. Reconfigured also in effective history is the historian's tendency to conceal his or her proclivities, their orientation towards a topic, a period, a problem. History becomes perspectival. Indeed the Herkunft of the historian, if we accept Nietzsche's generalization on the matter, is plebian: s/he is of "humble birth". The consumers of history are also plebian. The historian, "smug in the presence of the loftiest elements" councils us (though s/he may have too much "tact and discretion" to baldly annunciate it as council) to realize that "[n]o past is greater than your present... I will rid you of your infatuations and transform the grandeur of history into pettiness, evil, and misfortune". The historian as demagogue must wears the mask of objectivity.

This history with its metaphysical preoccupations with the immutable emerges (Entstehung) in the nineteenth-century Europe, "the land of intermingling and bastardy, the period of "man-of mixture". But this is not history's final moment, its enduring climax. If the "successes of history belong to those who are capable of seizing the rules", the ascent of genealogy is assured if history is "seized, dominated, and turned against its birth."

There are three uses that emerge from historical sense that can be set upon "Platonic modalities of history". These are parodic, dissociative and sacrificial uses. Though the historian may offer the "confused and anonymous" European new identities these identities are "ephemeral props that point to [their] own unreality". The genealogist shares in the mirth and will be charged with "prepar[ing] the great carnival of time where masks are constantly reappearing". Related to this, genealogy may be used in "the systematic dissociation of identify". In the genealogical enterprise we commit ourselves to our own dissipation – that is, the fiction of a unitary subject yields under the guidance of genealogy. Masked by this self, our unruly dissipated selves (our possession of "not an immortal soul, but many mortal ones") may now raise "questions concerning our native land, native language, or the laws that govern us...". The third use of history is the sacrifice of the subject

of knowledge. To be clear this is the call for "the destruction of the subject who seeks knowledge in the endless deployment of the will to knowledge."

The Breathing Factory as genealogy

Yet to be completed

Conclusions [merely sketched]

The etymology of nostalgia combines the ancient Greek *"nostos"* with *"algia"*: making *nostalgia* the pain of returning home[55]. The power of great art is that is reveals both world and earth to us – makes visible to us our *Being-in-the-world*, to use an early Heideggerean formulation – while alerting us to the self-concealing astonishment of the mysterious, the earth to which we belong though we can not fully know it. Art lets us to listen in on (in the sense of providing partial access to), or perhaps better, to *think* about the world to which we individually and communally belong. Art can originate a world; indeed great art can inaugurate an age. It is perhaps asking too much of any single work of art to usher in new thinking, to start us on a newer path. Let's not ask too much from TBF, but the interest here is that it shows how art can be ethnographic, accurate, documentary in nature, revelatory, modest, and affords us a moment of nostalgia about the very recent past. The *Celtic Tiger*, at once provided a new narrative for a country, and a reminder of the worlds from which we have painfully withdrawn. If the original photographic acts in Ireland were wistful, their instinct surely was to ask what worlds have been created on that island in it distant past; with TBF we can ask what age is being created, what world is opening up, even if it snaps shut before it was fully revealed?

D – *Spectators of the Same Story: Economy, Technology, Photography,* Jung Joon Lee (2010) **CAMERAta** (original print version).

THE BREATHING FACTORY

D – *Transcribed and translated version* (note: completed by author of this article)

Spectators of the Same Story: Economy, Technology, Photography
Jung Joon Lee [33] CAMERAta, Seoul, May 2010, pp. 52–59

THE BREATHING FACTORY
Mark Curran
DePaul Art Museum
2350 N. Kenmore Avenue
Chicago, IL 60614

January 14-March 19, 2010

In January of last year, South Korea's Educational Broadcasting Station (EBS) aired a documentary series titled "A Report on the Global Competitiveness," showcasing a case study on the economic success of a number of countries, Ireland being one of its main examples. The program featured interviews of Irish politicians, corporate executives, middle-class families, and immigrant workers from Eastern Europe, suggesting that it was their progressive thinking and visionary action that led to the rise of the country's industrial competitiveness and economic success. They also placed an emphasis on Ireland's beautiful natural environment to create a beautiful backdrop to an already attractive story of success. As if to instill hope that Korea could follow Ireland's path, the narrator of the program even compared the historical similarities shared by the two countries. The program seemed to dwell on an 'enlightenment project' approach, yet as I watched on, part of me was becoming envious of Ireland's beauty and remarkable achievement. In January 2010, a year after the airing of the program, the narrator's comment about the two countries' similar histories suddenly struck another chord in my head. If Korea was once one of the four "Asian Tigers", before undergoing the economic crisis of 1997-98, Ireland, the "Celtic Tiger," was now undergoing a crisis of real estate and investment bubbles of its own, with the rate of unemployment reaching over 15 percent as of 2010. And in an ironic twist of fate, a timely exhibition of the work by Mark Curran, titled *The Breathing Factory*, was on view during that same month of January at DePaul Art Museum in Chicago, as if it had already anticipated the current crisis.

After 9 months of earnest persuasion around 2003, Mark Curran was able to get inside the Hewlett-Peckard inkjet cartridge manufacturing plant near the town of Leixlip, located west of Dublin, and pursue his photography project. His project spanned over a 20 month period. In 2005, Ireland had been named "the most globalized economy" in the world, and was ranked number one by *The Economist* as "the most desirable country to live." In his work, Curran shows the plant,

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employing over 2,500 workers and contributing significantly to the economy of west Dublin, without a narrative or drama. His portraits of the factory's employees are especially arresting. Curran introduces the workers carefully with their names, location of their division, dates and time in the labels, which are integral part of his work. The subtle and contingent moment of the employee's psychological states are made discernable in the photographs, as if we could almost feel the sterile air inside the factory. Depending on their tasks, employees are shown wearing protective gowns, caps, goggles, and gloves while others are wearing more casual attires. The garments themselves give the notion that they are protecting the products (invisible in the photographs) and the sterile air of this pristine factory rather than the workers wearing them.

Curran uses push pins and binder clips, instead of frames and nails, to display the photographs. As the audience contemplates on the photographs quietly, footsteps and lowered voices permeate the exhibition space. On close inspection, the photographs begin to breath and for a moment one can't help but doubt her sense of reality. Could this be an illusion? Or is this a breath of wind in the gallery? The portraits tremble as if they are breathing. Standing face to face with the employees, Ebelonga, Mike, Tom, and many more, the audience begins to 'hear' the breath of the factory. It turns out the sound is coming from a corner room of the gallery. Past the portraits of office employees and Curran's documentary journals, a video is playing in the room. The video shows a taped up plastic curtain inside the factory, one that seems to be installed for blocking the artist from viewing production equipment and process. Although we cannot see, there seems to be a working (breathing) machine inside the curtain as it, almost unnoticeably, inflates and deflates repetitiously. In fact, the video seems to summate what the audience experiences in the exhibition. The camera made its way inside the factory, but it cannot tell us what the employees actually do or what they produce. We are only allowed to hear the breath of the factory. This is analogous to today's globalized economy and financial market. For many of us, it is almost unfathomable to understand how they operate. We are left outside of a curtain, inside of which a giant machine breathes intermittently.

The subjects of the portraits may not be significant actors in this global economy, but in *The Breathing Factory*, they fill up the gallery with their individual personalities. This is perhaps one of the reasons why Curran's portrait photographs often get compared to the work of August Sander. Meanwhile, the interior shots of the factory are reminiscent of the photographs of Lewis Hine, who was devoted to making dire situations of factory workers visible to the public in the early twentieth century. Curran's ability to capture the intricacies of the negotiations between

individuals' psychological state and the physicality of the factory space also evoke the psychological tension in the work of Thomas Ruff or Rineke Dijkstra. But although comparing and paralleling *The Breathing Factory* with those works may be a fruitful exercise in contextualizing the work within the historiography of art, *The Breathing Factory* refuses to find a comfortable seat in this mapping of art historical moments. This is because the impact Ireland's current economic crisis has the potential to shake the economy of the Europe Union, if not the entire world. It is a 'problem' of global magnitude, but most of all, it is what Ebelonga and Mike, and every other employee in *The Breathing Factory*, have to face directly for their everyday existence. It seems doubtful that all the employees in the portraits managed to maintain their position at the plant since the crisis.

Much of what seems like we can 'remember' about the Great Depression of the 1930s, when in fact most of us did not live through the era, we owe it to photography's capacity to inform, imagine, and edit our memories. If the memory of the Depression conjures up the image of "Migrant Mother" by Dorothea Lange, it is because of such qualities of the photographic medium. And as it is the case with most things that wield incredible powers, the incredible powers of photography can also be incredibly destructive. The possibility of remembering the Great Depression visually is great, but if the history of the Depression becomes romanticized or simplified through a single photograph, as "Migrant Mother" became an icon of the era, it will only make this history digestible for the ones that have hardly been affected by it. The twenty-first century is a century that cannot be explained without the photographic medium. Experiencing only a tiny portion of the uncountable number of photographs that are being posted online every day, it feels as though our life can only become existential through and by photography. Can we possibly remember everything captured on these photographs? We know very well that it is not possible. Yet we are still taking photographs of the most mundane events as we speak. In hope of remembering the event--this fickle moment life, as we press the shiny metal button.

In the whirlwind of the global market and economy, it is not unimaginable that one day, the Hewlett-Peckard plant in Leixlip may stop breathing. Even if that happens, the current economic crisis in Ireland, Europe, the United States, the global south, and South Korea can be remembered through *The Breathing Factory*. Even if this memory becomes a convoluted or manipulated one, the audience is now in charge of conjuring up the memory and creating a discourse. Jacques Rancière argued that the potentiality of the audience's action is in fact no longer just a potential

but has already been actuated. "Every spectator is already an actor in her story; every actor, every man of action, is the spectator of the same story."[56] Seeing is an action, and observing, interpreting, and selecting what we have seen are already part of our future actions. *The Breathing Factory* therefore activates the future actions of the audience, the spectator of the global economy, technology, and photography.

DePaul Art Museum
http://museums.depaul.edu

[56] Jacques Rancière, The Emancipated Spectator (London & New York: Verso, 2009), 17.