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**THE SETTLEMENT OF MODERNITY**

A study of the relationship between national policies and local culture and the significance of technology in the transition from community to society on Whiddy Island, Bantry Bay, County Cork, Eire.

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

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## Abstract

This thesis is based on an ethnographic study of the inhabitants of Whiddy Island, and focuses on the change from one form of societal organisation to another on this island. The thesis is not an ethnography proper, but an attempt to link the local perceptions of change and the changes in the islanders' daily lives, to the wider political economy.

Throughout the course of the study my original intention of exploring the tension between technology and community was replaced with the wider hypothesis that there is tension between modernity and community. Technology was revealed as both a product and producer of modernity, and modern state capitalist societies as the antonym not the synonym of community.

The 40 remaining islanders represent the last of the transient phase in which community disappears and is replaced by society. The changes in the daily lives of the islanders were not total nor revolutionary. Rather the products of modernity - both policies and artefacts, were absorbed into the islanders' daily lives, and once absorbed the products of modernity promoted modernity in the daily lives of those using them. Modernity is thus a circular process, yet it settled on the island in layers. Each layer produced a new set of paradoxes and reformed the old practices and the old ideology to fit the new setting. The settlement of modernity culminated in the replacement of community members with state citizens.

By focusing on the interrelationship and dialogue between modernity, the state and the citizen the processes by which modernity settled on this small island are revealed. It settled both as a result of the direct intervention of state policies on education, emigration and employment, and as a result of local decisions to embrace mechanised transport, domestic technologies and the mass media. By accepting the policies and the artefacts of modernity, the islanders were prohibited from resisting their transformation from community members to state citizens. The island citizen, like all citizens to-day, has a direct dialogue with ,and relationship to modernity, and an indirect one mediated by the state.

## Acknowledgements

To acknowledge the influences on this thesis is both a personal and an academic endeavour. The first influence has been with me since birth. My maternal family of origin hail from Whiddy Island, and my family have always been generous with both their wit and their wisdom, and the influence of these wise people on my thinking will, I hope, be apparent to the reader.

The second influence began in my under-graduate years. The grand theories of sociology became graspable concepts to me, if I related them to the island and to the islanders (and my own) perceptions of how their lives and their thinking was changing. Thus from the start of my academic career, relating the experiences of the Whiddy Islanders to the writings of Marx, Weber and Durkheim has been second nature to me.

The third influence amounts to the coming together of the first two - for which I remain indebted to Professors Nikolas Rose and Roger Silverstone. From them I received encouragement to develop the ability to relate the comments of ordinary people to those of prestigious academics, not least themselves. Their encouragement provided me with the framework to embed richly described local cultural worlds in the larger impersonal systems of the political economy, and therefore the framework for this thesis.

Again as will be apparent to the reader, Professor Silverstone's writings have influenced my thinking, and I have benefited enormously from his criticism, advice, and the discussions which gave rise to many of seminal ideas in this thesis. Throughout the course of the writing of the thesis, Professor Silverstone has remained sensitive to the difficulties of writing about a group of people to whom the writer is not only related but also has a deep personal affection. Thus, the personal and the academic continued to inform the thesis, and I remain grateful to Professor Silverstone for allowing me to maintain this position.

To the islanders, I remain grateful for their generosity, for imparting so much wisdom so readily to me, for their hospitality and for their insistence that whilst on their island completing the field work I should enjoy myself. Indeed I did, and hope that I have done justice to them and their way of life in the pages that follow.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### I DON'T KNOW WHETHER TO THANK YOU OR BLAST YOU

#### INTRODUCTION

It is my contention that modern state industrial capitalism both precludes and prohibits the existence of small, geographically isolated island communities. This thesis is based on an ethnographic study of one small island off the coast of South West Ireland, namely Whiddy Island. By linking the islanders' perceptions and their everyday life to the wider political economy the aim of this thesis is to demonstrate how the introduction of technology together with a number of other political decisions and processes paved the way for making this particular isolated island community not only governable but also comprised of state citizens and incorporated within the state society. The consequence of these actions, whether foreseen or unforeseen, intentional or unintentional is that the death of the Whiddy Island community is now imminent.

Further, I would argue that all Irish Islands are in the process of dying different deaths. Some like Gola and the Blasket Islands have, indeed, already died. The remaining 18 inhabited off-shore islands around Ireland are either being developed, exploited, or neglected but all are in reality suffering the same fate. The islands can be changed, and their focus of attention altered, re-population is a viable alternative - but no amount of resource input in either people or services or methods of access or industry

will sustain the island way of life.

The Whiddy Islanders themselves were discussing the changes in their way of life; "Sure the whole world is changing away" said one. Another replied, "the world stays the same it is the people who are changing".

My argument revolves around the latter position, namely that political decisions and processes in general, and the introduction of technology in particular, change people's political and personal ideology and their methods of self-assessment. The result of this is that the members of once thriving communities become citizens of the wider society. Community and society are based on opposing value systems, as the value system changes so do the people.

However, if one accepts the views of the phenomenological geographers, discussed in Chapter 3, then people in situ are the essence of place. Inevitably if the people change so does the place. Chapter 4 discusses political decisions and processes brought to bear on the islands daily lives. Chapter 5, 6 and 7 discuss the introduction of mechanised transport, domestic technologies and the mass media to the islanders daily lives. Chapter 8 aims to show how all these processes and policies combined to transform the community member into the modern state citizen and thus to transform one type of societal organisation into another. Put simply, once the value system changes the old way of life cannot be sustained, and the whole world, indeed, changes away.

In Ireland, the question, "What can we do to save the

inhabited off-shore islands?", seems to have been being asked for at least the last 40 years, and is still being asked. Peig Sayers, an internationally famous writer from the Blasket Islands, was reputed to have said on the evacuation of this group of islands in 1953, "that if the minimum had been provided on her island home - water, electricity, a pier, a ferry - the community would have remained on the island." (O'Peicin, Word Magazine, January 1989 p.13)

Government policy in Ireland today, is to treat the islands as yet another natural resource which, with sufficient financial input, would swell the tourist trade and improve Ireland's balance of payments. Other groups like "Friends of the Islands" and "The Federation of Irish Islands" seek to bring the basic services Peig Sayers requested, paid employment, and improved access and transport facilities to the islands, in the hope that providing islanders with the same basic facilities as mainlanders, will maintain and replenish the remaining Irish island communities.

However, from the view point of the argument I am seeking to make, people may remain on the islands, but the islands way of life will disappear. The islands will no longer be communities, rather they will be identifiable, geographically isolated pieces of land, populated by groups of individual state citizens.

Paddy O'Keefe was a historian who lived in Bantry and devoted his life to collecting information on the town and

surrounding area in West Cork. His work indicates that as modernity settled around him, the value system of the people and therefore the place was changing. He died in 1980 leaving a collection of papers and information that have never been published. These papers are now housed in the Cork Archives Institute, and include his work on Whiddy Island. Included in the papers are many letters.

In 1961 the Chief Librarian of Cork City Library wrote to Paddy O'Keefe with details of "a long wished for opportunity of helping the islanders" and he stated:

"that the question will arise whether it would be worthwhile expending money on some of the islands (Dursey is perhaps one) which are economically insupportable." He concluded "to put it briefly, if you yourself had unlimited means and were willing to spend it on the islands what schemes would you support? If to back your philanthropy you had the authority of the state behind you, what would you do? "

Paddy O'Keefe's answer to this letter was not only prophetic of the now apparent fate of the islands nearly 30 years on, but was also an insightful account of the islanders position. He replied :

"I do not know whether to "thank you" or "blast you" for your letter. ... At least I can get a few opinions off my mind, and the first is that life on an island was only possible when the island community were truly communist; when everybody helped everyone else on the land, but above all on the sea and all that pertains to it. Without his boat the islander cannot survive, and if help is not available from his neighbour to launch and haul out his boat, he has no option but to leave for the mainland. ... If the population falls below a certain minimum then they are all doomed to migrate. ... Dr Lucey once put a query to me similar to yours: If you had finance and a free hand what would you do for the



fishermen? It was beyond me and so is your query ... Whiddy, with its thousand acres of fairly good land, will gradually get into the hands of a few large farmers. The Dursey with its fertile windswept slope, will be deserted, and as for Bere island, a few factories on the mainland would help, but there will always be a handful of people on it. ...to do this thing properly would need a team to study each island separately, its land and its sea potentialities, its harbours or lack of them. Pouring money into them is not the answer. Vision and tremendous faith, backed up by corresponding drive may accomplish the miracle of keeping people on the islands and seaboard, but, but, how can you equate the subsistence existence of a handful of people, cut off from human intercourse save between themselves, to the lure of the factory? "

The handful of people who now remain on Whiddy Island have been provided with the basic services. Electricity was introduced to the island in 1961 and running water was provided in 1982. The multinational Gulf Oil Company opened a major oil terminal on Whiddy Island in 1969 which remained in operation for ten years and provided employment for the islanders, (at least during its construction, if not during its operation.) However, the island population to-day has dwindled to 40.

The basic services which Peig Sayers requested for the Blaskets have not saved Whiddy Island. Although there may be room for the argument that in the absence of these services Whiddy would already be uninhabited; nevertheless their provision has played a significant role in promoting a way of life that is not sustainable on an island. National policies with the authority of the State behind them, whether based on philanthropy or not, the expansion of human intercourse resultant from the operation of Gulf and the

introduction of electricity and the mass media to island homes have not prevented the inhabitants succumbing to the lure of modernity and the mainland (if not the factory). Rather these factors have been major forces in transforming traditional community members into modern state citizens. Paddy O'Keefe appeared to have recognised that the continuation of populated islands relied not on provision of services and employment but in the maintenance of the islander's community ideology. The island thrived when the notion that the whole was more important than the individual was a credible one. Once the ethos of the right of the individual took over, the community (whether communist or not) was almost inevitably doomed to fail. Thus, O'Crohan's (1937) desire "to set down the character of the people about me so that some record of us might live after us, for the like of us will never be seen again," (p.244) may not have been a romantic gesture of an ageing Islandman, but rather an accurate statement of the changing character of the people. The like of the community member will never be seen again for they have been replaced by state citizens; people who, in Dumont's terms, relate to each other as autonomous individuals with equal rights: voters; or, in Marxist terms, people who relate to each other as units of production: proletarian workers.

The librarian wrote again to Mr O'Keefe requesting that he carry out a detailed survey of Whiddy Island. His reply was as follows:

"Detailed survey of Whiddy my eye and Betty Martin. Don't you know that that would involve my visiting not alone the island but every household in its 3 x 1.5 miles and giving a case history of every member of each family and why "the stranger's cow was grazing now where the bones of my forefathers lie" AND that would be only the commencement of the task. Sorry, I could not undertake it, but I repeat I would help."

30 years later I set out on just such a task. To provide a detailed survey of Whiddy Island and to account for the now seemingly inevitable evacuation of the island. I too felt the reservations of detailing my forefathers and family in this way (see chapter 2). However, the main aim of my thesis is to explore the interrelationship between the rise of the Irish Free State, the introduction of technology, and the decline of this small island community. The island presents a small easily defined group of people, on whom the effects of increased State intervention and national policies and the introduction of technology (especially electrical technologies) are condensed and visible. The Irish Free State did not come into existence until 1921 and the introduction of electricity to the island in 1961, is also a recent occurrence. Therefore it is possible to compare life before and after the advent of the State and of technology. It is hoped that this enquiry will improve understanding of the invisible and attenuated effects of the nation states and technology in wider society, where the impact of both is now often "taken for granted". Thus, contrary to Peig Sayers' view, from my perspective

rather than being the salvation of the island, technology (like the State) is a symbolic and material manifestation of modernity, and both have played a major role in inculcating the notions of the individual state citizen within seemingly autonomous, traditional island communities and have thus prevented their continuation. The values of society and modernity have replaced the values of community and tradition.

In the 1960's Paddy O'Keefe may have felt that with vision something positive could have been implemented to ensure the continuation of islands communities. As we enter the 1990's, the task seems to be to account for the decline of the islands; to describe the processes by which these communities have been prohibited from existing and record the passing of an entire way of life. Providing an answer to keeping people on the islands, proved as for Paddy O'Keefe, beyond me also. When asked what can be done to help the islanders to maintain their way of life, the inevitable answer today is "nothing". For the whole world today is made up of state citizens (or those striving to obtain citizenship). Where could one find the people with the community ideology necessary to maintain the island way of life?

## CHAPTER TWO

### SUCH A TALE AS HE HAD WAS NEVER IN BOOK OR PAPER

#### THE ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH TO SOCIAL RESEARCH

The title of this chapter "such a tale as he had was never in book or paper" is a favourite saying of one of my favourite islanders. He uses it to describe the hearing of a good story or something of interest. The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate how the ethnographic approach involves the researcher in hearing good stories and things of interest and transforming these passing oral moments into a text which is permanent and can be reconsulted. The ethnographer is indeed involved in capturing the oral word, and putting the tale in book or paper.

The ethnographic process can be divided into three stages, firstly the formulation of the idea and the choice of the research site, secondly the collection of the data, and thirdly transforming the idea and the data into an academic account. Put simply the idea is embedded in the theoretical considerations one took to the research and the data is embedded in the local knowledge obtained during fieldwork and the account amalgamates the two.

Marcus and Fisher (1986) in "Anthropology as Cultural Critique" described this as a radical challenge. "To represent the embedding of richly described local cultural worlds in larger impersonal systems of political economy."

(p.77)

However, the challenge Marcus and Fisher suggest is not so much radical as intimidating. Their plea to embed local studies in the historical, political and economic sphere is little more than a restatement of the classic debate in sociology on the relationship between the macro and micro, and, therefore, difficult to accept as radical. It is, nevertheless, intimidating, not only because of the enormity of the task, but because in this particular instance the focus of the project of research also represents the past, present and future of the researcher.

Levi-Strauss (1961) when describing how he became an anthropologist, suggests "personal peculiarities and one's attitude to society may be decisive, but motives of a purely intellectual character must also be considered." (pp. 58-59) Indeed, both intellectual and personal motives led this particular sociologist to use Whiddy Island as the focus for an ethnography of technology and the ethnographic method employed transformed narrative, biography and autobiography into an inherently different form, namely the written account.

Geertz (1973) asserts that "Although one starts any effort at thick description, beyond the obvious and superficial, from a state of general bewilderment as to what the devil is going on - trying to find one's feet - one does not start (or ought not) intellectually empty handed." (p.27) Indeed this researcher brought well-established theoretical ideas to the study.

My initial hypothesis was that the introduction of electricity to Whiddy Island (a small island in Bantry Bay, County Cork) in 1961, had so radically altered the way of life of the islanders that it had, in effect, signed its death warrant. The once lively and bustling island is now in an advanced state of decline. It appeared that the technology supplied was in many ways inappropriate for the old way of life and insufficient to provide an alternative way of life. Put simply, my hypothesis was that providing more and/or better technology and services was not the solution to the decline of the island, rather it was part of the problem.

De Vere White (1967) asserted that "1927 was a significant year in the history of the five year old Irish Free State. It was the year in which the Shannon Hydroelectric Scheme, a gigantic undertaking for an impoverished country (Mr McGilligan's White Elephant as an ebullient critic called it even four years later) was launched." (p.19) Similarly I believed that 1961 was a significant year in the history of Whiddy Island, the year in which they attained electric power.

Johnston's play "The Moon in The Yellow River" written in 1931 depicts the German engineer Tausch explaining the virtues of electric power thus:

"As Schiller tells us, Freedom cannot exist save when united with might. And what might can equal electrical power at one farthing a unit? ... Soon you will be a happy nation of free men - free not by the magic of empty formulae or by the coats you wear, but by the inspiration of Power - Power

- Power." (p.36)

McManus (1967) described the character Blake (in Johnston's play) as the idealist who stood out in defiance of electricity as an unqualified benefit:

Blake: The rest of the world may be crazy, but there's one corner of it yet, thank God, where you and your ludicrous machinery haven't turned us all into a race of pimps and beggars."

Tausch: Machinery, my dear Sir, does not make pimps and beggars.

Blake: It makes Proletarians. Is that any better? (p.57)

Blake's view was indeed akin to my initial hypothesis. Namely, failure to question the virtues of electric power had obscured the social consequences of its provision on Whiddy Island. Introducing machinery and electrical technology had transformed a unique group into a replica of the proletariat in modern industrialised countries. The old traditions, customs and ways of life had been removed from the local world of the island and replaced with those of Williams' "common culture" in McLuhan's "global village" In "One Dimensional Man" (1964) Marcuse argued that, "society reproduced itself in a growing technical ensemble of things and relations which included the technical utilization of men - in other words, the struggle for existence and the exploitation of man and nature became ever more scientific and rational." (p.146) Technics become the universal form of production, it becomes the whole world. A one-dimensional scientific universe. A universe in which as Sahlins (1977) suggests, men relate to each other only as units of production.



Similarly Vanderburgh (1986) argues that science and technology are creating a transcultural knowledge base and asks how this will effect cultural diversity, which he claims is as important as genetic diversity. Certainly, it seemed that cultural diversity had been diminished by the introduction of electricity to the island - the islanders way of life became markedly similar to my own, in urban England, by this one seemingly simply occurrence. The island had succumbed to the lure of modernity, and was now counting the social cost. It seemed that whatever else advanced technology had brought to the island it was certainly not freedom to continue.

The technology of modern industrial capitalism was introduced to the whole country - but the country (or certainly its rural and island communities) were not, and are not, industrialised. They are agricultural, yet as Brody (1973) argued, the intricate web of traditional life has been undermined by economic and social involvement with urban capitalism. O'Hanlon (1976) describes Ireland as being made up of "people who are wandering around slightly dazed after a head-on collision with the 20th century." (p.16) One ex-islander put the position more amusingly "when we were on our knees praying they told us to get up, and the whole country is on its knees now, there's no work, no jobs, nothing." Thus I would argue that the coming of the belief in idealised materialism, in Weberian terms, demystified the Irish world. O'Neill's (1977) account of

the material culture of Ireland states that "not only implements but habits change". (p.89) My interest was in the interrelation between the two: implements and habits. Healy's novel (1978) "The Nineteen Acres" stated that technologies are measured in economic terms only:

"We have not yet learned to appraise them for their social consequences ... the time span from the reaping hook to the tractor is half a century. The technology is a low grade one. But consider what it did to the social pattern of life in rural Ireland ... we failed to invent a machine capable of monitoring the fearful social cost of new technology." (p.121)

This was my original aim, to compensate for the lack of a machine to monitor social cost and to consider what technology had done to life in rural Ireland generally. By using Whiddy Island as a microcosm of the macro social cost to rural Ireland another case study could be added to the intellectual debate on the unique conditions created by advanced modern state capitalism.

By providing what Geertz (1973) refers to as "thick description" of the minutiae of the everyday life of the islanders, both past and present, the aim is to elucidate the significance of technology as an agent of social and cultural change. Again to quote Geertz (1973): "The aim is to draw large conclusions from small, but very densely textured facts; to support broad assertions about the role of culture (or in this case the cultural phenomena of technology) in the construction of collective life by engaging them exactly with complex specifics." (p.28)

So, far from intellectually empty handed, I planned two periods of fieldwork on the island. One of four months in 1988 and one of seven months in 1989. The aim was to participate in and observe the daily life of the islanders, and to record how technology fitted into these daily lives. To ask the islanders about the "fearful social consequences" of technology; diligently record the information received and reproduce it in an academic account. Somehow, I had forgotten that I am not a machine, and the islanders are not, and cannot be, conveniently reduced to data sources to be fed into that machine. Further, in this case, both researcher and researched have intertwined biographies.

Unlike most researchers my project of research represents a group to which I have long had "an air of deference", respect for their "philosophical passion", and, perhaps above all, a deep personal attachment. To the researcher, the group chosen to "write about" were not a group of natives, primitives, or savages with strange cultural customs, but a group largely consisting of people to whom I am related. The researcher is not a member of the mythic "free floating intelligensia" suggested by Mannheim, (1936) and is like all other members of society unable to step outside of his or her own perspective when interpreting information.

My maternal family of origin hail from Whiddy Island. I have visited my relatives on the island regularly since childhood. Consequently, I have a personal memory of the

island prior to the introduction of electricity. Coming to the island annually as an outsider, possibly the resultant changes were more visible to me than to those who remained there permanently. Certainly similar changes were occurring in urban England, that I was not aware of. Today there is an awareness amongst the islanders themselves and an awareness for the outsider also, that the island will become uninhabited in the very near future.

I do not remember the island as an example of "the good old days" but as Williams (1973) suggests in "The Country and the City", a childhood memory has some permanent significance:

"The growth of adult consciousness is necessary to see that these valued worlds were and are being created by men. The real childhood memory should not be projected unqualified as history. But as adults we do now live in a world in which the dominant mode of production and social relationships teaches, impresses, offers to make normal and even rigid, modes of detached, separated, external perception and action: modes of using and consuming rather than accepting and enjoying people and things." (pp 297-298)

The passage to adulthood has not prevented my accepting and enjoying the island people and the place they call home. As Geertz (1983) said of Java, the island is now:

"a curious mixture of borrowed fragments of modernity and exhausted relics of the tradition that characterize the place, the future seemed about as remote as the past. Yet in the midst of this (depressing) scene there was an absolutely astonishing intellectual vitality, a philosophical passion, and a popular one besides, to track the riddles of existence right down to the ground." (p.60)

The astonishing intellectual vitality of the remaining

islanders has not diminished. It is still a place where good talk abounds. However, the men who could produce these valued worlds no longer seem to be being reproduced. The modern messages, modes of production and social relationships were carried, not least, by electricity to rural Ireland, and contrast with the agricultural modes of production and community relationships based on custom and tradition, that give permanent significance to the childhood memory of the island.

The significance of the childhood memory is not peripheral to the ethnographic analysis of the island, nor does it disqualify me from writing about it. Rather it is central to it.

Momaday (1976, quoted by Valaskakis 1988) stated that biography is central to an ethnography which recognises that "notions of the past and future are essentially notions of the present ... an idea of one's ancestry and posterity is really an idea of the self". Valaskakis (1988), an anthropologist writing about her own people, the Chippewa Indians, argues that ethnographers have long "tried to incorporate the experience of the researched through biography... But biographies have always been marginal to cultural analysis, persisting as individual memories, feelings and beliefs... Narrative has not been valued as a source of scholarly analysis or as the lived experience of collectively constructed cultures." (p.267) The biographies of the researched and the autobiography of the researcher

form the basis of this analysis. In this way as Clifford (1986) suggests the islanders are "co-authors of the text, the ethnographer is a scribe and archivist as well as interpreting observer." (p.17)

Valaskakis (1988) states that from childhood her days were "etched with the presence of unexplained identity and power". She says:

"I knew that my great grandmother moved past the catholic altar in her house with her hair dish in her hand to place greying combings of her hair in the first fire of the day, securing them from evil spirits. And I knew I was yoked to these people through silence of ancient actions and the kinship of the secret." (p.268)

From childhood I knew that my grandmother sat on the settle in a half light and hand crocheted the altar clothes for the catholic church in Bantry. The skill was also used for making and mending the nets for the men to use in the seine boats. I knew she worked hard and died young. I knew my mother made sails for the punts from canvas, laid them out on the floor and hand waxed them to make them weather proof. She also made costumes from brightly coloured material for the men to wear on St Stephen's night to the Wren Balls. I knew my grandfather was a good and respected man, who called his large family around him every night to say the rosary and "how mad he would be if there was any skitting or laughing." I knew the angelus bell rang at 12 o'clock midday, and six o'clock in the evening. I knew it was often used as a signal to stop work in the fields for lunch, or return home for the evening supper. I knew all the people on

the island and all the landmarks. I knew how to play thirty-fives and a hundred and ten, where to go for water, where to swim and where not to swim, where the bogs and the main drain were. All this and much more, gave me kinship with the islanders. Valaskakis (1988) argued that later she realised that she was "both an Indian and an outsider." (p.268) The experience of being a researcher among relatives led to a realisation that I too was both an islander and an outsider.

During the fieldwork the majority of my time was spent on the island. Some weeks were spent in Bantry where I conducted research in the local library, visited societies, museums, stately homes and key personnel on the mainland. I also visited relatives on the mainland and generally had a good time. I spent two separate weeks in Cork city, where I visited the university and discussed the research with academics - consulted the libraries and visited the Cork archives. Also one week was spent on a touring holiday with friends, during which I visited Inis Oirr, the smallest of the three Aran islands. One day was spent visiting Bere Island, the larger of the two inhabited islands in Bantry Bay. The purpose of visiting these two islands was for comparison, both were enlightening but the visit to Bere island was also most enjoyable. In fact the whole eleven months was enjoyable.

Adopting the role of ethnographer/relative is however not an unproblematic experience. Clifford (1986) likened the

ethnographer to "the Cree hunter who (the story goes) came to Montreal to testify in court concerning the fate of his hunting lands in the new James Bay hydroelectric scheme. He would describe his way of life. But when administered the oath he hesitated: "I'm not sure I can tell the truth ... I can only tell you what I know." (p.8) The personal relationship I have with the islanders means this particular ethnographer will not even tell all I know. For as Donnan & McFarlane (1986) argued "generally people do not gossip about their relatives with, say neighbours, nor betray family secrets, since one's own reputation will rise and fall with theirs." (p.382) Indeed as Clifford (1986) purports insiders accounts of their own culture "are empowered and restricted in unique ways." (p.9)

The level of connection the researcher has with the group is certainly not unproblematic. I was constantly aware that the level of connection was there but not always aware how it intruded on the research. I was a researcher who wasn't a researcher, a visitor who wasn't a visitor, an anthropologist who wasn't an anthropologist, an outsider who was an insider and an insider who was an outsider. Paradox upon paradox presented itself. As an insider I was empowered because I knew and was told much that I might not have known and been told as an outsider, but as an insider I was restricted because often I felt unable to relate what I had been told. I was indeed "yoked to these people through silence of ancient actions and the kinship of the secret"



(Valaskakis 1988 p.268) and, therefore, certainly aware that I was not describing "the other".

From the outset of my fieldwork I was plagued by the difficulties of moral and ethical issues arising from researching one's own relations. It seemed inappropriate to use the usual anthropologist's ploy (for example Messenger 1969 and Tall 1986) of maintaining at least a semblance of secrecy about their research sites, by giving them a fictitious name. Not only is this infuriating for the reader, who may spend hours pouring over a map of Ireland trying to locate the alias (as I have found to my cost) but also as Whiddy Island is the only off-shore island in Southern Ireland to have played host to a multi-national oil terminal changing its name seems a fruitless exercise. Identification would require very little effort on the part of those determined to locate it. Also, on a personal level, I wished to name the island, as no record of it exists.

In an attempt to provide a cover of confidentiality to my data sources, I have used three categories; islanders - those now resident on the island, ex-islanders - those born on the island and now resident elsewhere - and mainlanders - those who live on the mainland, mainly in the town of Bantry. However, I am aware that the truth of one mainlander's comment, on Eipper's (1986) book "The Ruling Trinity" focused on Bantry, cannot be denied. She said "He never named anyone, but if you knew the place at all you'd

know who he was talking about. I am glad he never spoke to me". Little wonder an islander said on hearing of my proposed research "I suppose we'll all be hiding under the settle when we see you coming next year with the note-book." I can only say I think some did, some did not, and the use of these three categories was the nearest I could come to providing confidentiality for those who did not.

The method used to collect the data was to "talk to people". Basically I talked to anyone who would talk to me, anywhere, about anything they would talk to me about. When doing ethnography, one's data sources do not obligingly confine themselves to talking about technology. Talking about technology, with the notable exception of television, is a rare occurrence. As a participant observer the ethnographer is faced with information on all and every aspect of the respondents' daily lives. To do an ethnography of technology requires the placing of the phenomena not only within the wider political context but also within the context of the day to day experiences of the people using it. People in the course of their daily living rarely talk about "the fridge", the "cooker" the "electric light" they use it. Technology is what people do with it. The researcher too has to participate in the day to day experience of using technology to understand the phenomena. On a trip to Bantry, an ex-islander asked "Have you the book written yet"? "No" I answered somewhat hesitantly "I haven't really started yet". He turned to the islander I was

with. "Has she it done"? , he said. The islander replied "I don't see her doing a bit. Only what we are doing ourselves, eating and drinking and sleeping, and strawcalling away." The ex-islander looked very disappointed, but as a participant observer I felt this to be a great compliment.

When on the island, I did do what they do themselves. The only real difference was the books I read and the constant making of notes.

On Mondays we did the washing. This was an opportunity often opened by the islanders to recall how the washing was done before running water, and when clothes were boiled on the open fire. Using the technology elicited most of the talk forthcoming on the matter. Comments were "years ago the hottest day of the year you'd have to have a roaring fire going for the washing. Even when you had no washing you'd need the fire for the cooking. We'd be sweltering."; "Do you remember when we had to go for the water, and collect the rain water, we'd be sparing every drop. The clothes wouldn't be half rinsed. We couldn't spare the water for washing them."

Friday was shopping day, this only changed if the weather prevented a trip or a church holiday had meant that a visit to town had been made on another day during the week. Most of the islanders now have cars, and home made trailers into which they "put the messages". Again passing comments would be made "Isn't the car a God send", "Only for it we would

never do"; "We'd hardly be able to walk up ourselves now let alone carry the bags. If the old car packs up we'll have to move off". Sundays we all went out to town for mass. Visits to town were always pleasurable for both researched and researcher - local news was exchanged and drinks drunk, relatives encountered, and shopping gathered. The days that were not washing days or days for going to town, had their own routines.

The mornings were devoted to chores. The islanders baked, cleaned, collected the milk, visited each other, read the paper (which was often yesterday's) dug potatoes, chopped wood, mended boats, ploughed fields, weeded or set gardens, fed cattle. The researcher talked to them, read books and made notes.

At one o'clock the radio went on for the news. The reception was rarely good, so a sort of religious silence would be observed whilst we listened to it. Lunch was 1.30. After lunch the islanders would continue with their chores. At 2.30 an islander would call for me and we walked across the island to visit a relation on the the other side. We talked, we played cards we drank tea. My walking companion said one day " I don't know what they'd say if they knew what you were doing. Playing cards, instead of working". The relation said "That is what she's doing. She's taking all this in and it will all be in the book". On another walk the walking companion said "Have you much work done today. Have you much writing done." "This is how I work",

I replied . "I walk around talking to you and listening to what you tell me and then I go away and make sense of it." She laughed heartily, then said "That's the grand job". (Although, I sometimes felt she was more restrained in what she was prepared to say to me after this conversation) .

We would return to our own side of the island for dinner which was around 6 o'clock. The television was put on at approximately 5.30 and remained on all evening. The angelus bell now rings on RTE One, summoning people to listen to the 6 o'clock news. Dinner lasts until the news is finished. If the evening is fine we go for another walk. On these evening walks, we would often gather sticks from the strand for lighting the fire next day. Sometimes we picked blackberries, flowers, mushrooms, or Corageen Moss (the edible seaweed found on one of the strands).

Often other islanders would be encountered when walking, some seemed reluctant to do more than pass the time of day, others would find a convenient spot and we would sit and admire the scenery and reminisce, converse, or simply gossip. Always there was good talk, laughter, and always for the researcher, more notes to be made. Describing this apparent triviality, or the murmurings of everyday practices to use de Certeau's phrase (1984) is as near as I can come to giving a precise account of the ethnographic practice. Although the final account may be neatly ordered and internally coherent, the process of collecting the data is, in practice, much more ad hoc, unchronological and

interpretative.

My role became that of story taker. As Steedman (1988) suggests of Evans "The story taker is the necessary collaborator in the act of telling, the one who listens. He assumes there is something to be told, and wards off the question "so what?" The story exists in the space between the two". (p.20) Evans captivates his reader by his recognition "of the charm of other men, who tell good stories in public bars, grip with their detailed accounts of something done, of a process of labour completed, the account of it precisely offered." (p.20) The ethnographer too must give a detailed account of something done, and offer a precise account of it.

Geertz (1973) argued that the precise answer to the question "what does the ethnographer do?" is "he writes."

"The ethnographer "inscribes" social discourse; he writes it down. In so doing he turns it from a passing event, which exists only in its own moment of occurrence, into an account, which exists in its inscriptions and can be reconsulted... (p.19) In short anthropological writings are themselves interpretations, and second and third order ones to boot... They are thus fictions, fictions in the sense that they are "something made", "something fashioned" - the original meaning of fictio - not that they are false, unfactual, or merely "as if" thought experiments." (p.15)

At the commencement of my first period of research , an ex-islander approached me in a public house and bid me welcome. "Tell me", says he "what you are doing. I am very interested in what you're at." "I am trying to analyse the decline of Whiddy" I answered. "And is it fact or fiction

your writing", he questioned. I smiled and he answered his own question. "God knows, I suppose there is not much difference, most of what we are told is fiction anyway but we are told its fact. Whatever it is, if it's written down it looks like fact." This ex-islander was articulating the problem of the void between theory (the idea) and collecting data (proving it), and agreeing with Ong (1982) that print suggests that words are things.

Ong (1982) argued that:

"Writing or script differs from speech in that it does not inevitably well up out of the unconscious. The process of putting spoken language into writing is governed by consciously contrived, articulable rules (p.82)

Furthermore:

"The oral tradition can exist and mostly has existed without any writing at all, writing never without orality...those untouched by writing in any form, learn a great deal and possess and practice a great wisdom, but they do not 'study' (pp.8 and 9)

Consequently:

"Writing makes 'words' appear similar to things because we think of words as visible marks signalling words to decoders: we can see and touch inscribed words in texts and books. Written words are residue. Oral tradition has no such residue or deposit." (p.11)

Of course, islanders and ex-islanders are not untouched by writing in any form, but many of them can remember people who were. The old men and women who could tell great tales. The islanders seem to possess an awareness of the difference between orality and literacy rarely expressed elsewhere. Indeed, to realise the implications of putting good tales in

book or paper.

When Flower (1944) wrote "The Western Island" he noted that the oral tradition of the islanders was dying, and being replaced with a printed form. He spoke to Peig Sayers, who was bemoaning the fact that she could no longer tell a good tale,

"And do you know what has driven them out of my head?

I suppose you are losing your memory. (Flower replied)

No it isn't that, for my memory is as good as it ever was for other things. But its Thomas has done it, for he has books and newspapers and he reads them to me, and the little tales one after another, day after day, in the books and the newspapers, have driven the old stories out of my head. But maybe I'm little the worse for losing them." (p.70)

Flower (1944) acknowledged that the world was losing something as this oral tradition passed and argued "The world has turned to another way of life, and no passion or regret can revive a dying memory... we can preserve a little of that tradition in the ink that has destroyed it." (pp.70-71) The focus of this research too, is to account for the islanders turning to another way of life, and to preserve a little of their tradition in the form that has destroyed it. This is perhaps the greatest paradox in ethnographies of technology. For as Ong (1982) argues, writing is itself a technology. "Writing is in a way the most drastic of the three technologies. It initiated what print and computers only continue, the reduction of dynamic sound to quiescent space, the separation of the word from the living present, where alone spoken words can exist... Technologies are not



mere exterior aids but also interior transformations of consciousness, and never more than when they affect the word." (p.82)

Of course modern ethnographers may not use ink and writing as exterior aids to gather their data - rather modern technology in the form of tape recorders may be used to capture the word. This particular ethnographer did not use a tape recorder to gather data. Rather as Brody (1973) suggest of his field work for Inishkillane:

"In sociological terms, this work was participant observation: I lived in the communities as a visitor or additional hand, never as an investigator. No interviews were ever set up, and no formal questionnaires ever undertaken with the people as a whole or even with any section of a community." (p.3)

Similarly Messenger (1973) said that whilst gathering data for his account of "Inis Beag" he attempted:

"to emphasize various modes of participant observation, to devise ad hoc research methods of an unorthodox nature ... and to cultivate that sharpness of ear, feeling for half-tones and shades and subtleties ... which so distinguishes the ethnographic endeavour as an art as well as a systematic epistemology." (p.84)

Whilst completing the fieldwork for this account, I too used ad hoc and unorthodox methods to gather data, and developed a sharpness of ear for the remarkable insights of the speech of the local people. Therefore, the quotations throughout this thesis are not verbatim reports of speech, but are based on first hand observations and conversations, and were captured by a process of listening and taking notes either at the time or shortly afterwards. Thus the precise answer

to what does the ethnographer do, in this particular case, was to use the most drastic of three technologies - writing - to initiate what print and computers turned into the final account.

Thus, ethnographers in general are involved in technologizing the word (that is to say writing) but for those looking at technology they are also involved in wording the technology.

As already stated, people, in the course of their daily lives do not talk about technologies, they use them. They talk about the past when things "were different" and articulate the social consequences of technology without mentioning it and/or necessarily making any causal links. The ethnographer inserts the technology into the text and makes these links.

The islanders made many comments on "how people had changed" the ethnographer made the link between these statements and the effect technologies have had on "interior transformations of consciousness". For example, one islander said:

"In my day (when I was young) it was different. There was always people around and some one to help you. Any time you'd go down to the bank you'd catch some boat going out without waiting too long. You could hop in and get a spin. Now if you went down there would be no one going out. Even if there was a boat going out, you would have to ask in advance for a lift. You only feel your in the way and putting people out. You have to have your own boat and pull away for yourself these days. It's all changed."

This statement, and many others of a similar nature, led the

ethnographer to make causal links between implements and habits. In the past islanders needed to help each other - more than one man was needed to row a boat and passengers to Bantry. To-day the outboard engine means that each islander can be independent of the others and the previous community spirit becomes redundant. In this way as Clifford (1986) suggests the ethnographer is an interpreting observer. Somerville-Large (1985) in his insightful book "Cappaghlass" said that the book was not meant to have any sociological or anthropological clout, it was just "good talk". Somerville-Large had produced biography not ethnography, for which interpretation is essential. He had recorded the "good talk" of the inhabitants of Cappaghlass and without comment, or analysis, reproduced it to form his book. Good ethnography is also primarily based on good talk, which is then translated into good research. Ethnographic research is a process of translating an aural/oral experience into a particular literary form. The researcher gets information in one world and translates it into a form which is acceptable in another. Ethnography is the means to making the final written account an interpretation of factual material, rather than a purely fictional thought experiment. However, Marcus (1986) criticises ethnographers who see ethnography primarily as a method and in text organisation it must be set off and represented as such, analysis being a theoretical reflection upon the data, and questions the validity of abstracting the theoretical contribution of

ethnography from the actual writing of ethnographic description. Thus a good ethnography may be described as one where data, description, theory, evaluation and explanation are brought together as a means of evoking the world. Thus I make no apology for the non-separation of the description, explanation, evaluation and quotes from the data sources, novelists, theorists and myself in this thesis. Rather it is a deliberate attempt to incorporate many "authoritarial voices in a single-author-controlled text." (Marcus 1986 p.190)

Runciman (1983) argued that the centuries old debate on the differences in kind between the science of nature and the science of man can be regarded as closed, if the terms in which it is discussed are rewritten. Reportage, explanation, and evaluation are common to both, the key to understanding the difference is description. "There is no special problem of explanation in the human sciences only a special problem of description. Properly defined explanation and description can be distinguished both from each other and from either reportage of facts or the advocacy of values." (p.1) The centrality of description to social theory means that the aim of the ethnographer is to describe "what it is like".

Runciman (1983) asserts:

"but for that sort of understanding, one goes to novels not sociology. Yes, one may. But not necessarily. The point is not that description of what an action, or a practice, or an institution, or even the mores of a whole

society, is or was like is not part of the sociologists task; it is that the novel, fictional though it is, can perfectly well perform the function of sociology. Novels are sociology to the extent that their authors make them so." (p.21)

Thus I would argue that Healy's book - "Death of an Irish Town" (1968) perfectly well performed the function of sociology. The book is about the decline of his own hometown - Charlestown, and Healy recognises that in the passing of Charlestown a part of his own past, present and future is disappearing.

Although it is not an academic piece of writing, Healy analyses the effect of the war, politics, emigration, communications and the what he refers to as the ad mass society on the local culture of his town and concludes:

"Apathy does not wear the historically hated Red coat. Indifference does not charge down on a cavalry horse and injustice and uncharity do not come tearing down barrack street in black and tanned lorries to shoot up a town which has already surrendered to Batman and the plug boys and the whiz kiddery of the economic jargon boys of Dublin who have assured them they have no future anyway, and don't call us we'll call you." (p.87)

But then Healy was not an objective participant observer. Rather he was a man with a mission, namely, to halt rural decline. He can be accused of subjectivity and romanticism. (McLuhan was criticised in a similar way for being a catholic and therefore having a vested interest in promoting a "Global Village".)

In contrast the academics Aalen and Brody, (1969) did not have a mission they merely wished objectively to research

the death of Gola Island for RTE. For them innovations were

"usually awkward pathetic protestations of association with more sophisticated and imperfectly understood urban societies. ... for example wall paper remorselessly attached to irregular stone walls... Such innovations are strikingly at odds with the domestic tradition of the countryside: sociologically, however, they are of considerable significance - direct expression of changing values, perceptions and ways of life (p.57)

Aalen and Brody (1969) concluded that:

"The gloomy prognoses about Gola thus seem to be substantial enough, and before talking to the islanders one becomes convinced that Gola is, socially speaking at its last gasp. It is curious therefore to find from the Gola people themselves no such certainty (p.78) ... perhaps we are touching on the the passivity, the fatalism, which so many observers have associated with country people who spend their lives struggling against immense and unyielding forces - so that their future is like the sea vast and unknowable, a thing to be accepted mutely and in resignation ... To select such explanations is, however, to suggest that the islanders are not being rational or realistic... To the outsider the situation appears highly dramatic; to the islanders it all lacks drama." (p.84)

Both writers identified apathy in the inhabitants of the areas they perceived to be dying. But the difference in the explanations as to how the apathy arose demonstrates the importance of Marcus and Fisher's (1986) radical challenge. The novelist Healy has grasped the importance of the perception that the "outside forces in fact are an integral part of the construction and constitution of the inside, the cultural unit itself, and must be so registered, even at the most intimate level of cultural process." (p.77)

Involvement with urban capitalism has restructured consciousness and re-evaluated life. Local studies are

problematic because they offer no explanation as to why the community can no longer exist, or make no attempt to explain the processes by which the messages of the centre are carried to the rural areas. Or as Marcus and Fisher (1986) assert "they fail to recognise that not only is the cultural construction of meanings and symbols inherently a matter of political and economic interests, but the reverse also holds - the concerns of political economy are inherently about conflicts over meanings and symbols." (p.85) Aalen and Brody's concentration on the local offered no explanation as to why wallpaper was being remorselessly attached to irregular stone walls and no description of the central processes at work to change values, perceptions and ways of life, rather it was a local phenomena of the "near fatalism" of rural people. But as Geertz (1983) argues "no matter how peripheral, ephemeral or free-floating the charismatic figure we may be concerned with - we must begin with the center and with the symbols and conceptions that prevail there if we are to understand him and what he means." (p.143)

However, if one offers these explanations they both imply and affirm the criticism of the local community that Aalen and Brody dismiss as self-criticism. Just as the local ethnography is concerned with conflicts over meaning, so too, the concerns of the political economy are equally those of conflict over meanings and symbols. If one attempts to portray these conflicts then the political-economy has all

the social structures and institutions in tow to reaffirm their meanings and the local group has little chance of asserting their meanings. Hence what Aalen and Brody dismissed as self-criticism was more to do with their own criticism of the islanders - rather than an analysis of what processes are at work to influence the islanders to stick wallpaper to irregular walls, their fatalism and lack of recognition of the drama of their situation not only seems to be an inaccurate description but to ignore the messages of the "economic jargon boys of Dublin who have assured them they have no future anyway, and don't call us we'll call you." (Healy 1968 p.87) My position is much more that of Healy, namely, that the national policies and state institutions have succeeded in asserting their meanings on the most isolated of their citizens.

For in the case of Whiddy Island too, concentrating on technology in a local study of the island would lead to an impoverished piece of research. As Vanderburgh (1986) argued living systems have no independent parts, yet we often speak of economic, social or political systems as if they had an existence of their own. The same is true of writers on technology, it too has no independent existence of its own. Technology is enfolded into the culture and ideology of the society in which it is embedded. Thus the rise of the free state from 1921 onwards included a rise in the belief that industrialisation was the way forward for the Irish nation.



State intervention in both the private cultural belief system of the islanders (the local) and the public belief system that gives rise to policies (the national) are inseparable if one is to account for cultural change. The influence of the rise of the state, the change in educational policies, industrial underdevelopment, the opening (and closing) of the multi-national Gulf Oil terminal and emigration may all be described as outside forces, which construct the cultural world of the inside, and must be considered if Marcus and Fisher's challenge is to be met.

The island no longer represents an isolated community, rather it is composed of a group of isolated juridical persons who are part of a political society, and are fiercely fighting for recognition by that society - or at least its public face - the state.

It must be said that my original hypothesis to a large extent ignored the premise that technology is itself a cultural product, something used. All cultural products, like myth are both enabling and restraining. Myths allow people to make their worlds intelligible, they attempt to resolve not just the uncertainties of social status but the uncertainties attached to any, and possibly every, aspect of culture. As Geertz (1983) asserts "culture is public because its meanings are public." (p.12)

Colby and Cole (1973) argue that "One is not a member of a culture, nor does one participate in culture, one uses the

culture." (p.90) Thus I would argue that Clifford and Marcus (1986) misnamed their book "Writing Culture". The ethnographer does not write culture but rather uses culture for a particular purpose, namely to produce an account. Ethnographers look at other tribes, other societies, other worlds in order to increase the both the writer's and the readers' understanding of his own world. Indeed, like myth, the ethnographic account attempts to make the uncertainties intrinsic to both historical and contemporary culture more intelligible.

Kemmis (1980) argues the writer of any research should be able to "create the conditions under which the reader can create the case in imagination. Rich description of action contexts create the conditions for imagining what cannot be stated propositionally; it allows the reader to imagine himself in the social world of the case studied. Richness in description can catch the readers imagination and bring into play the tacit understandings that have been built upon his own forms of life." (p.127) (Of course the reader's (or writer's) understanding of his own world may be enhanced by either its similarity to, or difference from, the case described in the text).

Runciman (1983) argues that in sociology "authentic description requires both a demonstrable correspondence with the reactions of actual persons which is irrelevant to the novelist ... the test ... is whether those whose thoughts and deeds being described could in principle be brought to

accept the description as "what it was like". (p.242) Misdescription can be identified. Thus, unlike the novelist, the ethnographer has to offer a description that can be accepted by the subjects of his fiction as well as by his readers. The subjects can remain unconvinced of the interpretation or the explanation which is acceptable to the academic audience as to "why it was like it" but have to be convinced that the description is accurate. This is why the problem of description is special to ethnography.

In this particular case the problem of the subjects acceptance of the accuracy of the description is not only necessary for the ethnography but necessary for the future of the researcher too. I have no wish ever to be excluded from the island or refused access to their talk. None of my subjects will, I hope, take the view of a character in O'Donnell's novel "Proud Island" (1975) who "knew of a man who came to an island and wrote a book about it and as much as his life would be worth would be to show his face there again. There was no telling what students would say or write." (p.58)

So to conclude, ethnographic studies of technology (or anything else for that matter) are as Geertz (1973) asserts "interpretations, or misinterpretations, like any others, and as inherently inconclusive as any others, and the attempt to invest them with an authority of physical experimentation is but methodological sleight of hand. Ethnographic findings are not privileged, just particular;

another country heard from. To regard them as anything more (or anything less) than that distorts both them and their implications." (p.23) I make no claim for the privileged status of the final account of the relationship between technology, modernity and the decline of Whiddy Island. However, I make a privileged claim for having been included in the island and party to their good talk.

As Steedman said of Evans, (1988) I too have had to separate speech from writing and am unable to escape the central contradiction of all studies of spoken language, which is that they have to be made into text before they can be taken. However, I hope I can give dignity to the dialect so that the islanders language will be fitting to the material information conveyed. Put simply the daily experience of living on an island has "fashioned their tongues". The attempt to provide both a thick description of their daily experience and an interpretation of it, have fashioned the account, not the desire to posit sociology in the realms of a value-free scientific discipline.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### IF YOU DIDN'T KNOW WE WERE HERE YOU'D NEVER FIND US

##### WHIDDY ISLAND AS A GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL ENTITY

"But it is not only the logic of evolutionary order that makes me place habitat before heritage: when in particular we are dealing with an island, size and shape are critical environmental factors and the space relation or location co-ordinates are of paramount importance".

E. Estyn Evans (1973)

Tracy (1953) argued that "in every book there should be a fact here and there or the writer is charged with aimless frivolity. But facts in Ireland are very peculiar things." (p.20) Obtaining facts by the ethnographic method often resembles aimless frivolity, and for both researcher and researched facts are rarely allowed to spoil the sweep and flow of conversation and do not have a crabbing effect on good talk. However, it seems necessary to start by masking the good talk and reporting the geographical, historical and contemporary facts as if they existed outside of the aural experience. Whilst acknowledging Buttimer's (1980) observation that the "outsider describes place with nouns and artefacts, whereas the meaning of place to those who live in them have more to do with everyday living and doing rather than thinking", (p.171) it remains necessary to start with an outsider's description of place in order to frame an understanding of the insider's everyday living. For as Saunders (1989) suggests "anybody who comes to empirical research is very soon sensitized to the peculiarities of

place... (p.229) any sociological analysis of why and how things happen will need to take account of where (and when) they happen." (p.218) This is precisely why the geography (and history) of Whiddy (or any other place) cannot but be of interest to those who attempt ethnographic studies.

Whiddy Island lies in Bantry Bay, in the parish of Kilmacomogue, barony of Bantry, County of Cork, and province of Munster. It is three miles long and one and a half miles wide. It lies in the Bay in a south-westerly/north-easterly aspect, approximately 2 miles from the town of Bantry and 4 miles from that of Glengarrif. At low tide it is comprised of 1000 acres and at high tide of 999.

The island like all the parish of Kilmacomogue, is divided into townlands. There are seven townlands on Whiddy with mystical sounding names: Garraha, Reenaknuck, Close, Kilmore, Tranaha, Croangle and Reenabhana.

The island sports the remains of a castle, reputed to have been built by O'Sullivan Beara in the fourteenth century; three batteries, built by the British as a defence after the French invasion of 1796; the remains of an American Seaplane base used during the first World War and of the now disused oil terminal and its heat-mangled jetty where the French tanker the "Betelgeuse" exploded in 1979. The Whiddy Island cemetery is still used and situated in Kilmore. The island also has a fresh and a salt water lake, lying close to each other in Kilmore.

The island has no shop, no church, not even a public house.

The island has no resident priest and no resident medic.

But it does still have 40 inhabitants, an island school and an island post-office.

All the islanders are Roman Catholics.

Apart from the woman employed in the post office and the island postman together with the two men now performing care-taking duties for Gulf Oil, on the disused terminal, all make a living from farming or fishing or a combination of the two.

The demographic "facts" of the island population are that of its remaining 40 inhabitants 15 are female and 25 are male. 34 of the population were born on the island and 6 are on the island by virtue of marrying an islander. 12 are old age pensioners and a total of 22 islanders are over the age of 55. There are three school-aged children on the island under the age of 12. They attend the Whiddy Island National School which was opened in 1887. There is also 1 new born baby. (Two of three school children left the island to attend secondary school on the mainland 1990. Although the islanders doubted that the school would be kept open for the purpose of educating one small boy, this is precisely the case today. The island school now has one pupil and his sister is likely to replace him as the sole pupil in two years time.)

There are 13 permanently occupied houses on the island and the owner of one house spends some time on the island and some on the mainland. It is sad to report that there are

more unoccupied and ruined houses than occupied ones on Whiddy to-day. The islanders say of the decline in the population "at one time there were 21 smokes (houses) in Croangle alone, today there is only 13 in all the island". The distribution of these 14 houses by townland is as follows:

Garraha	3	
Close	1	
Reenabhana	2	
Tranaha	3	(one partially occupied)
Croangle	3	
Kilmore	2	
Reenaknuck	0	(now Gulf Land)

The residents are in the following family groupings within the 14 households:

The semi-resident is a widower

5 houses are occupied by husband, wife and offspring

2 houses are occupied by husband and wife

2 houses are occupied by a brother and sister

1 house is occupied by a bachelor

1 house is occupied by a widow, her offspring and her brother-in-law

1 house is occupied by husband, wife, their son and their grandson.

1 house is occupied by husband, wife and wife's brother.

The main policies and changes brought to bear on the island



in the past 30 years are:

1961, electricity was introduced to the island - only one household refused to accept the new service.

1965, the Government announced that free secondary education was to be available for all children over the age of 12 - and the significance of this for the island will be discussed later.

1969, the multi-national Gulf Oil company opened an oil terminal on the west side of the island. In order to do so, the company purchased 320 acres, or approximately one third, of the total area of the island, now known as Gulf Land. Five families sold their homes to facilitate the building of the terminal. One family re-settled on the island, but 23 inhabitants left the island within the space of 6 months. The terminal was operational for ten years.

1979, the French tanker the Betelgeuse exploded in the bay whilst unloading crude oil to the terminal. 50 people, none of them islanders, lost their lives in the explosion and the whole island was evacuated for four days. At this time there were 69 inhabitants on the island. The terminal has not re-opened since the disaster.

1982, the islanders were provided with running water. Appendix 1 contains a map of Whiddy Island from the Costello Report (1980) on the disaster at Whiddy Island in 1979. This map, the report states, "shows the principle features of Whiddy Island and its position at the head of the Bay." To the islanders, however, it shows very few of the relevant

features of the island they call "home".

With the exception of the Kilmore lakes and the three batteries, only features relevant to Gulf are shown on the Costello map. The island cemetery, the post office, the school house, the islanders' landing quays, some of the major roads, are all notable by their absence.

Similarly, if one looks at a map of Ireland, Whiddy if it appears at all, usually does so as a small unmarked triangle in Bantry Bay. (See Appendix 1) As one islander said "if you didn't know we were here you'd never find us." Another said "we live our whole lives on the dot that's not even named on the map." There was a sadness detectable in this comment that put one in mind of Carpenter's (1976) observation in New Guinea: A missionary school child gave a map to his father who said "The things that hurt one do not show on the map. The truth of the place is in the joy and hurt that come from it. ... the map belittled the journeys he had measured in tired feet." (p.75) For Whiddy too, maps belittle the joy and the hurt of the place.

Gregory (1989) refers to maps as "paper landscapes" which expand surveillance and which are as much a regulator of human affairs as is the clock. However, unlike the clock they are not mechanical but discursive and as such "articulate that abstracted conception of space" (p.210) which pertains to the administrative apparatus of the state. Certainly maps do not convey the conception of space (or place) of the islanders.

Thus, maps define space but it is man's place in nature that gives rise to a definition of place. For the islanders Whiddy is not merely a material space, that can be understood in terms of formal geography. Rather through the islanders' personal experience of, and encounters with, their natural landscape it becomes a place of special personal significance. In order to understand place as opposed to material space Relph (1976) suggests it must be explored "as a phenomenon of the lived geography of the lived-world of our everyday experiences...(p.6) space provides the context for places but derives its meaning from particular places". (p.8) Put simply perceiving man subjectively defining space gives meaning to space, and gives rise to conceptions of place.

Thus maps may be discursive documents on space, but they do not record the lived experience of the islanders that (as for any inhabitant, anywhere) transform meaningless space into meaningful place. As Relph (1976) suggests "... it is personal experiences of space that are the basis for much of the meaning that environments and landscapes have for us. Through particular encounters and experiences perceptual space is richly differentiated into places, or centres of special personal significance." (p.11) These places are best understood as homes. For the Whiddy Islanders it is not merely their island houses that represent home, but the island itself. When away from the island, the islanders will say on arrival at the landing quay, "Thank God to be

home" or "Isn't it grand to be home". For them the notion of home spreads beyond their domestic space and encompasses the island as a whole.

The awareness of man's role in conceptions of place, has led in recent years to the addition of phenomenological geography to traditional structuralist geography. As Estyn Evans (1973) states "(Geography's) immemorial symbol is the map, but although geographers like to have their fingers on the map and their feet on the ground, they cannot but be aware of the philosophical aspects of their subject, of the mystery as well as the reality of man's place in nature."  
(p.4)

Indeed, Seamon (1980) has argued that the phenomenological approach to geographical research may, to the sceptical reader, be more "sociological, psychological, or philosophic than geographic." (p.189) As in the social sciences phenomenology seeks to replace explanation with understanding. The phenomenological geographers aim to show how actors continually construct reality in their interactions not only with other actors but with the natural environment.

Thus Seamon (1979) argues that "Phenomenology, seeks to understand the interrelatedness among the various portions of environmental experience and behaviour."(p.17) Buttimer (1980) criticises both geographers and social scientists for failing to recognise that "there is a fundamental contrast between the insider's ways of experiencing place and the

outsider's conventional ways of describing them ... the road ahead lay in exploring the lived worlds of people in place." (p.170) Put simply, Whiddy Island is its people and the people are the place.

Burgess (unpublished) criticises the media for often erroneously portraying the natural environment as the mere backdrop against which life is lived. Whereas the interrelationship between the inhabitants and their particular natural environment is so close that it actually plays a major role in generating patterns of behaviour. Giddens (1981) also criticises sociologists for having dismissed space as simply the backdrop against which action unfolds. Geographical facts may define the space for those who live on a small islands more overtly than for those who live in urban environments, but for both groups the environmental "facts" also have consequences for their daily lives.

It is therefore not merely that living in an isolated island environment shapes the daily routine of the islanders because this indicates an implicit separation of the person from his world but rather the Whiddy Islanders "interpenetrate that world, are fused with it through an invisible web like presence woven of the threads of body and feelings". (Seamon 1979 p.161) Thus, persons and place may be differentiated in conceptual terms but in experience they are not easily differentiated.

Fennell (1981) in "The Last Years of the Gaeltacht" argued

that in the Irish Speaking Gaeltacht:

"Every large rock on sea or land, every cove and field every rise or turn in the road has a name. Consequently as one looks out across the scene, it is not a mere scene but a dense web of names, a minutely intelligible grid in which one can fix a position precisely. This detailed naming of the land and sea over centuries is the basic activity by which people domesticate raw "nature". By imposing meaning on the earth's surface they make it mentally manageable and transform it into a place where they feel at home ... Meaning and homeliness will vanish, largely, from the environment. There will be a sort of silence as things and places cease to answer with names to the looking eye." (pp. 8-9)

For Fennell, this silence will be a result of the death of the stylish and literary Gaelic language. His argument is severely undermined on Whiddy Island. The islanders have exactly the same ability to look out at a scene and observe a dense web of names. Yet they are English speaking. This naming of the landscape not only reflects meaning and homeliness for the islanders, but also for the outsider it highlights the way in which an environment shapes and maintains the way of life of those people who live with it. Thus rather than pertaining to the Gaelic language this may reflect the difference between outsiders' and insiders' ways of naming place. The silence, Fennell identifies, will come not from the the passing of a knowledge of a particular language but from the passing of the particular people who were bound to the land and its history through their own history. The outsider visiting the island, can pass by this rich history and meaning being unable to differentiate one rock or field from another.

Thus, what to the outsider is a mere scene or a pleasant view for the insider is a locus of meaning.

One cannot of course deny that this particular backdrop is impressive. Its beauty is well documented. The Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland 1844 contains the following report:

"The scenery of Bantry Bay is unexcelled by any in the kingdom and bids defiance to the efforts of either pen or pencil ... I challenge the British Empire to such a harbour, or such fine land and sea scenery. Nothing I have seen in Wales, England or Ireland is at all comparable to it. Bantry is protected from and divided from the outer bay by the green island of Whiddy; and up and down on that placid water are isles and islets, one crested with an ancient castle, another crowned with a modern battery here a mortello tower, there the ruins of a fishing palace, and to finish it off the fine mansion house of Lord Bantry."

Although it must be said that the waters are not always placid, it is difficult to argue that the scenery could be excelled. As an outsider, whether researcher or visitor, it has been a constant source of pleasure to open the back-door of my usual cottage of residence, and admire the view, across the island and the bay to the Cahah mountains. (The photographs in appendix 2 may go some way to depicting what defies pen and pencil). On several occasions I have been asked "What are you looking at?" The response "I am admiring the view" usually created some mirth, but also a great deal of pride. Typical comments of islanders when the beauty of their home is alluded to are "We have been looking at it so long we don't notice it any more"; "God knows I suppose we are lucky to be able to look out and see it"; "I

suppose there is many a poor devil who has never seen the sea". But they do not merely see the scene or the sea, as Fennell suggests, it is named and meaningful to them.

On Whiddy Island as the number of people who can legitimately call this place home dwindles, the ability to repeat this dense web of names will be lost. For the islander the owner of each field, its characteristics, history and most productive purpose is known. Many of the names given to these fields belong to islanders long since deceased and many of the ruined houses are still identified by the names of those who lived in them. This in itself lends weight to the argument that people and place are not easily differentiated in experience.

Pertinent landmarks on the island are often so blended with the environment that they are not visible to the visitor. It is, of course, impossible to name every detail of the landscape but an attempt to place some of them in the meaning system of the islanders may help to illustrate the point.

The Coffin Stone is located on Tranaha quay. This a large flat stone which was in this position before the quay was erected. As one Islander said "the stone was there ever, and the quay was cemented in around it". Every coffin that arrives on the island for burial or is removed to the mainland is laid on the stone. It is traditional that coffins go by the longest route to their resting place. Thus those who are going for burial at the church yard land



at the Abbey slip and are transported to the church. Those that are going to the Abbey land at Reen Rour (an outcrop opposite the dock in Bantry) and go from there to the Abbey. Nobody could tell me why this is - or how the tradition started. The only answer forthcoming was "It was ever like it, and will be now till we are gone."

Four families only are buried in the Whiddy Island Cemetery, at Kilmore. Again the reason for this was not discoverable. Some seemed to say that these families had money and could afford to be buried on the island, others that they had no money and could not afford to be buried on the mainland. Others said they were the real old Whiddy families. Once a female member of one of these families has married she adopts the burying place of her husband. Hence only two spinsters remain to be buried on Whiddy. All the male members are already deceased and all the other living female members are married.

Although the cemetery is mentioned in Paddy O'Keefe's papers he too comes to no firm conclusion. He reports:

"Kilmore Church and graveyard were built within rath. There seems no papal or protestant mention of the church. In 1688 Walter in his will left a bequest to the Chapel of Whiddy. There is a traditional account of the burial of Lady Walter in Kilmore owing to tempest preventing a journey to the mainland. No trace of Walter graves in mainland burial grounds nor a Walter's tomb in Kilmore. Was it used for protestant worship? It must have been a Catholic Church in 1668 as I do not think the term "Chapel" was used in referring to Protestant places until the non-conformists came along."

The slippery slat is a large flat stone near Cosheen quay.

At high tide it is covered by the tide and becomes very slippery and is impossible to walk over. The metaphor is used by the islanders on many occasions. For example a fisherman will say of a fish, "he is as hard to hold as the slippery slat."

The old woman's stone is to be found on the strand at Cos Roe. It is a large bolder that has two large circular imprints on it and four small ones. The story is that a witch once jumped from Hungry Hill and landed on the stone. It is the imprint of her bottom and her cat's paws that formed the depressions. Again it is referred to in islanders speech.

This detailed naming of the land and sea has occurred over centuries, but it is not merely a historical phenomenon. Contemporary islanders maintain this tradition. One island woman on hearing the story of Synge's armchair from the Aran Islands, a stone on which he was purported to sit and watch the wild Atlantic for hours on end, named a stone on Cos Roe as her armchair. "I go away over to my armchair at Cos Roe every night for a walk and sit and watch the cars and the people up and down to the beach (on the mainland)." It is also on Cos Roe that the best harvest of corrageen moss (an edible seaweed) can be collected and this is often the purpose of a walk to this strand.

The Cross Well, to the outsider, is no more than a cross roads where a fresh water well was once situated. However, to the islander it was the place where 40 or 50 years ago

the young men and women of the island met to dance and exchange stories on a Sunday night. The Post Office cross was the equivalent meeting place for the elders of the island. One ex-islander described the meetings thus:

"During the (second world) war all the old men of the island would gather at the cross, you know outside the post office. There they would discuss the war. They had no problem sorting out all the tactics for winning and losing it either. They were clever men. They would have a smoke and a laugh too. Always someone had a tale to tell. Your own grandfather would be there too. I suppose Gulf was good in some ways but it finished the island. Electricity and education were good things in themselves too, but they caused a big break in the social life of the island. In the end people make a place not all these conveniences ... People have got independent now and drifted away from their neighbours, everyone is inside now watching TV."

This description clearly sets up many questions which are central to the arguments in this thesis, and will be dealt with in depth in following chapters.\* However, for the

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\*This ex-islanders comments clearly bear out Buttimer's (1980) assertion that " many residents rejoice in the disappearance of drudgery and poverty but other wonder why one no longer sees many 'local characters' or hears any famous story tellers, except on TV." (p.185) It also pinpoints the ambiguity of the role of technology "What seems technologically desirable in some realms can be socially and ecologically disastrous in other areas... as each individual and his family become more emancipated from their former constraints they are also deprived of former opportunities to contribute to a collective sense of place. (Buttimer 1980 p.185)

Emancipation from former constraints is a product of technology and science. Technology is not a politically neutral phenomena, but rather a politically fused phenomena which carries the message of the centre to the periphery . Technology has a central role in inculcating the notion of the individual in the ideology of those using it. This is not to suggest an uncomplicated causal relationship but rather a complicated alignment of technology to the national criteria of creation of state citizenship as opposed to any local criteria for community membership.

purpose of the present argument, the ex-islander's view that it is people and not conveniences that make a place bears out the phenomenological geographers assertion that people are the essence of place.

Buttimer (1980) acknowledges that the attitudes she brings to her geography derive from her childhood experiences of life in Ireland, and the insensitivity of modern planners to this experience:

"It is difficult for me to find words to describe what experience of living in Ireland still means to me. It is a total experience of milieu which is evoked : I recall the feel of grass on bare feet, the smells and sounds of various seasons, the places and times I meet friends on walks, the daily ebb and flow of milking time, meals, reading and thinking, sleeping and waking.... to live there allows one a sense of being in tune with the rhythmicity of nature's light and dark, warmth and cold, sowing and harvesting." (pp. 172-173)

Her childhood experiences were an insider's experience of place, whereas the planners experiences are those of the outsider viewing meaningless space. Buttimer (1980) argues that her experience is not consciously processed and therefore difficult to put into words. Thus as Seamon (1980) suggests "spatial behaviour is not merely a function of cognitive image; other experiential dimensions must be considered. For example feelings and fantasies in relation to place; the role of the body in spatial behaviour; the importance of stability, continuity, and a sense of belonging in relation to one's environment." (p.191)

The experience of being on Whiddy is also difficult to put into words, for people in situ are the essence of place.

The islanders dwell in the landscape they do not look out at it. They relate to their landscape not as space but as an historical and social resource. As I have tried to demonstrate many stones and fields, unremarkable to the outsider, contain a vast knowledge of history and customs for the islander. For the insider the landscape is not something seen but something read. It is a text. It is part of the narrative and frames both the historical and the social dimensions of their everyday lives. People may indeed be, as much geographical beings as they are social, cultural and economic. But geography too becomes meaningless if viewed in isolation from the people, the social, cultural, historical and economic milieu.

Put simply, if Whiddy is evacuated its geography can have no social meaning. O'Hanlon (1976) suggested in "The Irish": "the most troubling characteristic of rural Ireland (is) the lonely feel of a land without people". (p.47) Conversely, if the islanders move to the mainland the geography of Whiddy can no longer shape their daily lives. As one islander said "if they moved me to where I couldn't see the salt water, I'd be going down the Abbey Road (to the cemetery) within a week".

For the phenomenological geographers the confusing of insiders and outsiders experience of place is not a politically neutral phenomena. Buttner (1980) argues that this confusion is political in that it has consequences for social planners:

"To consider the demise of place and its consequences for personal and community life as the result of fascist decisions to centralize everything may make attractive rhetoric but not the most helpful explanation in the long run. ... rather (it is necessary to) design exercises which could help insiders within their everyday milieux to become aware of the long-term implications of an individualistic and fragmented life-style both for the quality of their own lives and the general character of their residential and work environments". (p.184)

For Whiddy it may be too late to design such exercises. Had the social planners of the 60's recognised the ecological harmony of Whiddy , the introduction of electricity, the opening of the Gulf Oil terminal and the provision of free secondary education may not have had the destructive effects now visible. People may have extended themselves too far at the expense of home, but those like the forty people who remain on Whiddy (in general) are not assisted to remain at home, or rooted in place, by social planners aligned to a nation state which is promoting placelessness.\*

This is precisely why the islanders are so important - they represent 40 people who, whilst remaining rooted in place, are experiencing the change from one sort of societal organisation to another. Features of kinship and tradition

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\*Seamon (1980) asks "How can technological devices such as transportation, cybernetics and mass communications be used to serve home as well as reach? What technologies promote dwelling and a sense of place rather than homelessness and placelessness?" (p.195) As I intend to argue, these questions posed in this way overlook the political nature of technology . Homelessness and placelessness mobilise the workforce, opens up a market in the sale of houses, promotes consumerism and creates the conditions for individualism to replace a collective notion of man.

associated with non-capitalist societal organisation co-exist with time-space distanciations of national state capitalism.

The intermingling of both organisational forms on Whiddy supports Sahlins (1985) view that "there are no grounds for exclusive opposition of stability and change. Things must preserve some identity through their changes or else the world is a madhouse." (p.153)

The uniqueness of Whiddy Island can be easily overlooked in the seemingly simple factual statement; 34 of the present Whiddy population were born on the island; the other 6 are there by virtue of having married an islander. Although the island population has been steadily declining since the turn of the century,\* everyone who remains on it has a direct kinship link with it. As the islanders themselves say, "Sherkin and Bere Island are all full of blow-ins, they are not real islanders. If they get fed up with it they can leave. They have the choice. Half of them are hippies and people wasting time." There are no blow-ins (or drop-outs) on Whiddy. Even visitors to Whiddy are not tourists, but like myself, they are people who have a kinship link with the island. The sense of rootedness in place on Whiddy is thus not merely a function of cognitive image but is located in the islanders knowledge of their own historical place within a historical geography.

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\* Precise statistics are given in Chapter Four.

Indeed, the geography of Whiddy to a large extent dictates its history. Just as there is an insider's and an outsider's view of space: geography. So also there is an insider's and an outsider's view of the past: history. The insider's view of history is mainly passed orally from generation to generation and located in the individual's personal memory of events, people and place. The outsider's view is mainly obtained from written texts and documents.

One islander inquiring about my studies asked "How far are you intending to go back?" "To the turn of the century" I replied. He looked puzzled and said "sure, that's not history we can nearly remember that far back ourselves."

Thus, for this islander history was not that which could be remembered, but rather that which could be discovered in written records.

However written records alone can no more give an insiders view of history than maps can give an insiders view of place. Wright (1985) remarks that "everyday life is full of stories and that these (as Walter Benjamin well knew) are concerned with being in the world rather than abstractly defined truth. Even when they are told of times past, stories are judged and shaped by their relevance to what is happening now, and in this sense their allegiance is unashamedly to the present." (p.14)

Levi-Strauss (1961) when studying Brazil, argued "that he was trying in vain, to repiece together the idea of the exotic with the help of a particle here and a fragment of



debris there." (p.44) Often he was beset by the thought that he was too late - an earlier investigation would have yielded more satisfaction. How often this frustration occurred in respect of Whiddy too. The islanders recollections of the past way of life led to desperately wanting to observe and record it first hand. As one islander said: " You lost it that they are all gone. They had a hold body of information. They knew all the history of the island, they'd have filled the book for you." T.D. O'Sullivan, a local poet, was reported to have said "Had our fathers and we kept diaries, what interesting pages we could have added to the story of Ireland". (Cork Examiner, April 7th 1988). A 91 year old woman whose Uncle had lived in Tranaha when she was a child replied to the question " I am interested in the history of Whiddy" by saying "Its just there, dear, as far as I know it has no history. It has a past all right though."

The poet and the old woman may well have been making the distinction between written history and personal memory. As Hill (1988) suggests written records mean "history does not disappear over the horizon of the past beyond which direct memory of those now alive can penetrate". (p.63) However it seems that people feel that what they can remember is not "real history". The written text captures only that which can be represented in language. "So the subjective experience of history is not brought into the present in its experiential totality, just those elements that are deemed

to be worthy of written record in a past and different age and culture." (Hill 1988, p.63) Thus although the islanders themselves may not consider what they can remember to be bona fide history Trigger (1988) asserts:

" It is , however, clearly wrong to dismiss such work (integrating native and academic studies of history) as only polemic or of ethnological interest. On the contrary what native people currently believe about history may provide valuable insights into the significance of history". (p.35 )

Thus again no apology is offered for the intermingling of the islanders memories and interpretations of history and the written accounts.

The historical facts although mainly gleaned from literary works were supplemented, refuted or condoned by the talk that either preceded, surrounded or followed their discovery. Ayearst's (1970) opening statement that "in few countries is the sense of history so strong and all pervading as in Ireland" (p.3) was difficult to deny. However, it often seemed necessary to bear in mind Tracy's (1953) assertion that "facts in Ireland are very peculiar things". (p.20) The written mention of Whiddy was to say the least scant. Hours of research resulted in less than twenty references to the island, but they did demonstrate that the past is identifiable in the present and that geography is always present in history. The beauty of the bay and its islands was well documented, the quality of its land constantly praised, and its importance as a key defence position against invasion reported.

Many historical documents indeed recorded the geography of Whiddy. For example, Sir Robin Cox, *Regnum Corcegiense*, 1690 :

"Neare this towne is the pleasant island of Whiddy, a most delightful seate in summertime, and not so far from the Chappell island, soe situated and of soe strange an herbage that it yields 20s rent per annum for every acre, which is a prodigious rate in soe poor a country."

Charles Smith, *History of Cork*, 1750:

"The island of Whiddy, anciently Fucida Infula, lies opposite to the town of Bantry, it is a pleasant spot, of a triangular form, and the soil is excellent: In it, Richard White Esq., whose property it is, has a deer park, where are both a fresh and a salt water lake, at no great distance from each other. The deer are very fat, and this island produces as large mutton as any in the County of Limerick, where the largest in Ireland is said to be ; it is not unpleasant to see the small Bantry mutton, which is exceeding good of its fat and good of its kind, compared to this of Whiddy Island,, and bears no proportion to it as to bigness. In this island are good orchards, and also a profitable hop yard; it abounds with hares and the owner suffers none to be killed."  
(s was written as f in the original text)

Lewis *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* 1839:

"(Whiddy Island) is remarkable for the variety of its soil, which in some places consists of a rich loam, and in others of rock of a black shaly substance, soft and unctious and much resembling black lead: it is called Lapis Hibernicus, and was formally given medically in cases of inward bruises, but is now chiefly used by carpenters as black chalk. There are both fresh and salt water lakes on the island. Three batteries, each consisting of a circular tower surrounded by a deep fosse, and together mounting 18 guns, were built subsequent to the descent of the French fleet here in 1796; there were barracks for 7 officers and 188 non-commissioned officers and men of the engineer and artillery departments, but the whole area is now entrusted to the care of one man.... On the eminence near the East point of the island are the ruins of a castle built by O'Sullivan Beara in the reign of Henry

VI. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth it was in the possession of George Carew, Lord President of Munster, and it was ultimately destroyed by Ireton during the civil war of the 17th century. There are also some vestiges of an ancient church, with a cemetery attached. The island forms part of the estate of the Earl of Bantry."

As these references were uncovered I related them to islanders. Most of this history was well known to them and they added a great deal to it and related it to the present effortlessly. The hop yard was in Kilmore. Old ...'s grandfather was Lord Bantry's private postman. He collected the rents for him and went round every morning to check the fences of the deer park. The fresh water lake became the source of the running water to the homes on the island in 1982. The water from the lake is now pumped to a large tank situated on top of the Bullocks field. There it is purified and pumped back to the houses. The black shaly rocks are those around the "blessed well" situated on the shore behind the castle. The islanders said they had never heard of this rock being used medicinally and wryly commented "there must have been a good few carpenters on Whiddy in 1839." The islanders still maintain that the land on Whiddy is some of the finest in West Cork for grazing sheep and cattle. They were also astute enough to note that if Whiddy commanded 20s per annum an acre rent in 1690, and a reputed 3 guineas in 1812, "Gulf got it cheap enough at £250 per acre in 1965, that's all the farmers here got for the land they sold to Gulf. They thought it was a fortune, God help them. Sure Gulf got half Whiddy for nothing."

The factual history of the island was mainly gleaned from written documents and books made available to me in the library of Bantry House (the mansion house of the White family), and from Paddy O'Keefe's papers.

Briefly, until the middle of the 17th century Whiddy was included in O'Sullivan Beara's territory. In 1659 Whiddy passed into the hands of one Colonel Walters as a gratuity from Cromwell for his active engagement in transporting Irish deportees to Spain and for having settled his own and other families in Bantry with the intention of establishing an English settlement. In 1666 the lands were granted by the Government to Lord Anglesey, and by some arrangement, the nature of which is not clear, Colonel Walters appears to have become his tenant. By the end of the 17th Century the White family had settled on the island. Counsellor White was born in 1701 and wrote to, the then, Lord Anglesey in 1737 saying he was "very desirous of purchasing the island" and Whiddy was certainly his property in 1750. The Whites continued to live on Whiddy till 1766. The family then moved to the mainland and had Bantry House constructed, by an unknown architect in a position that gives a magnificent view of the island, and the family still lives in the house at present. When on the island the White family leased the land not required for their own use. It is recorded that the Whites made no increase in rent for these lands for 60 years, and that this may have had some bearing on the rise in population from 450 in 1800 to 714 in 1837. The Whites

continued as owners of Whiddy until the tenants brought out under the Land Acts during the 19th Century.

The islanders had their own interpretation of these historical facts. It was questioned that Whiddy should have been a gratuity to Colonel Walters; rather some of them felt it was more fitting to have punished him for deporting the Irish and replacing them with the English. They doubted that Counsellor White was as benevolent a landlord as the documents suggest, and pointed out that the history of Whiddy, like all Irish history, had been written by the British for the British. Some said the increase in population was more likely due to the fine land on Whiddy and the harvest of the sea and the shore than to White's supposedly static rents. Others suggested that at this time the batteries were occupied by troops and these were probably included in the population statistics of the time. Many islanders told me the story of "the White Horse". Eventually I found a written record of it in Bantry House. The story goes, Counsellor White was travelling to Cork on a white horse with a cargo of scallops. Near the Sheha mountains he met a soldier to whom Whiddy had been granted and who was coming to inspect his property. White told him the value of Whiddy was nil. Thereupon the soldier offered his title to Whiddy in exchange for the horse. So Whiddy passed into the hands of the White family."

The islanders seemed delighted that this story could be uncovered in written documents - despite the knowledge that

the document described it as a legend with no basis in fact. "There you are" said one islander, "I told you the whole of Whiddy was got once for a white horse. And wasn't White a clever man to come up with the plan. Well for him have the load of scallops too." The islander seemed unperturbed that this story is reputed to have no basis in fact, but then facts in Ireland are very peculiar things!

The Gaelic linguists have many explanations as to the meaning in translation of Fucida Infula, ranging from "Island of Length," to "Island Beneath the Sea" or "Island under Tide Land," other linguists think it Scandinavian in origin meaning "God Island". The islanders explanation was much more straightforward. "It is a derivation of White's Island, from when he owned it. It was never under the sea anyway."

Whiddy's strategic defence position has been its major claim to historical fame. Wolfe Tone, an almost unknown protestant from the North of Ireland, enlisted the help of the French to help break the connection with England. The invasion fleet of 25 French ships arrived in Bantry Bay, on 21st December 1796 and were defeated not by opposing forces but by the weather. Kee (1980) reports:

"Before long the wind became a gale, and twenty of the great ships were driven down the bay and out to sea again. But the rest held on and tried to make their way up to more sheltered waters ... They made almost no progress - some fifty yards in eight hours, as the gale turned to storm with squalls of sleet and snow. There was very little sign of human opposition." (pp.60-61)

The Whiddy Islanders were reputed to have had some contact

with the French fleet, and as a result of this failed invasion the island was fortified to prevent further invasions. Kee (1980) asserts this "was one of the most dramatic events in all Irish history and one of the most dangerous moments the English ever experienced." (p.60) (Interestingly even on this historic occasion the elements adopt the role of either hero or villain depending on which side of the political fence the viewer is sitting.) Whiddy's history is therefore inseparable from its geographical position, as Evans (1973) purports habitat does indeed precede heritage.

The islanders acknowledge the achievement of building the batteries. One islander said:

"It was great work to do it in 1800. They had no tractors or machinery, poor devils had to do it all by hand. God knows there must have been a good few working on it to do it. Its right they were all left in the care of one man, he left one to each of his three sons. I can remember old ..... myself."

The middle battery is still occupied by a brother and sister. Their account of the building and subsequent history of the batteries went as follows:

"All three batteries were started and finished within the space of two years. It was great work and great stone masons did it. I'd say they were built in 1760 as there was a brass plaque on the well pump. Someone took it. We have to use a bucket and rope now. (His sister intervened, it was later than that about 1792 I'd say). They were built by the English to stop the French invasion. Each one had sixteen guns - they were never used as the weather stopped the French. Each battery has four streets of six houses. There is a moat about 50 feet deep around it to repel invaders. We don't use it now. No one



here can remember any of the other houses being occupied. (Again his sister intervened and mentioned a family who lived in the end house). The houses have half doors and the soldiers must have been able to talk across the door to each other as the streets are so narrow. What noise there must have been here then. It's quiet enough now. It's an awful spot. There is a road leading everywhere on the island except here. I suppose we will all be gone off it in a few years. If I had my time over I wouldn't hang around this place. (His sister took over) We'll have to go out of here to some old house I suppose. I'd have been gone long ago if it wasn't for my brother. I couldn't go outside the town anyway - as I'd go mad. I say I'd have been gone long ago but I don't know would I? Still in a few years we won't be able to drag everything up here. Years ago there was a body of people. We'd have dances at the upper cross there above . . . . - there's a bit of dancing left in us now then. Everyone goes out of it now. Sure no one marries here now. They all go out to settle. There's nothing here for them. Put down the book and I'll put down the kettle and we'll have the cup of tea."

The historical account may be a little inaccurate. Building actually commenced, according to the Bantry Historical Society, on 16th December 1803, each battery had 18 guns. However, in the above narrative the past and the present are effortlessly linked. From the noise and excitement of the batteries with their 7 officers and 188 men through the time when "there was a whole body of people" up to the present day "when everyone goes of it." What has changed and what has remained stable are interrelated.

As far as I could ascertain the raised grounds on which the batteries were built were a natural geographical feature of the island. "The hills were there, they just put the fortifications up on top of them".

Interestingly, the more modern heritage of the island also

reflects the importance of the geographical position of Whiddy.

In 1916 there was an American seaplane base on Whiddy. The remains of the aerodrome can still be seen. There is a stone hut with 1918 painted on it, a huge concrete water tank covering an area of about 40 by 100 feet, and a large area of concrete where the hangars for the seaplanes were built. At the end of the first World War the Americans left Whiddy and what they had built fell into disuse. One thing that does remain is a drinking fountain four feet high in the shape of a cup and saucer embedded with white stones from the seashore.

Again the islanders had their own version of this piece of their history. They said, "the base was known as the Whiddy works. When the Yanks were on Whiddy we had two shops, to keep them supplied. They closed up when they left. There were five planes based here and one crashed into the bay one time. The plane was lost but the pilot was not hurt, thank God. There is still drinking water in the tanks, they say its the finest water on Whiddy." One islander quipped, "if things had gone differently, it could be like Shannon Airport." Another when I enquired as to the use of the stone hut, replied: "It was some old thing left over from the time of the war. Then it was Mrs .... henhouse. She'd be delighted now if she knew you were around taking photos of it for the university." The large area of concrete on which the hangars stood became the island "dance hall" after

the War. One islander said: "The young ones would be over here on the fine evenings dancing. The concrete made a grand dance floor. This was our disco."

The Oil Terminal was also built as a direct result of the geographical position of Whiddy Island. The island faces the Atlantic and the waters to the rear of the island are so extraordinarily deep that the super tankers could moor at the jetty and discharge their cargo of crude oil to the terminal - a feature said to be found in only one other port in Europe.

When Gulf removed shingle from the strand at Kilmore for the construction of the oil terminal, the strand was so eroded that the salt water lake is no longer distinguishable from the sea at high tide, and consequently this part of the strand can only be travelled on foot at low tide. The construction of Gulf not only eroded the strand at Kilmore, but also involved restructuring part of the island. One islander said:

"If you go away over to Gulf now you can't recognise it. Tank 12 is on .....old house. The rocks where you used to go pollock fishing with him long ago are all done away with. Whiddy point where the seagulls used to be is now Ascons Jetty, and .... fine house is no more than a pile of rubble in the middle of a field. Do you remember when you'd pass along the North Road, herself would always be at the half door. She was a grand old soul. God rest her."

Contrasting the two experiences of building the batteries and building the Oil terminal lends weight to Giddens (1981) distinction between natural and created environments. The

capacity which enables a society to construct a system of knowledge together with technical tools which it can use to intervene in its own functioning. . . . but historicity also has a more existential dimension , relating as it does to fundamental questions 'where have we come from, what are we, where are we going? '...These questions are concerns of everyday life." (p.14)

For the Whiddy Islanders, I would suggest the answers to the first two fundamental questions of every day life are well known and have been well documented in the previous pages. The answer to the third question 'Where are we going?' is also known - and that answer is 'nowhere'. The remaining population cannot foresee a future for islanders and view themselves as the last vestige of a passing way of life.

In August 1986, Bantry Historical Society set up a museum in Bantry Town. Admission is free and the museum opens twice weekly in the summer months only. I visited the museum and told an islander of the some of the artefacts that were housed there. She replied:

"They don't give you time to die now before you are in the museum. The old fire cranes and the bastibles are still being used by some of us. We'd know how to use them anyway. We had flat irons and primus irons here until we got the electric. We had nothing else, what trouble they were. You'd have a big hole burnt before you knew it. The net needles were donated by the . . . . I expect you can remember them yourself. They'd be down on the bank for hours mending the old nets." \*

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\*I am not sure whether I can remember this personally or whether it has merely be recounted to me in the past by my relations. Momaday (1976) said the experience of being Kiowa meant some of my mothers memories have become my own. That is the real burden of the blood." Similarly some of the islanders memories have become mine. Although I do not remember the Wren Balls, or sail boats, or the cross dances, they form a part of my memory.

batteries were seen as a natural result of the existing features of the island, Gulf was manufactured at the expense of recreating a part of the island landscape and diminishing its population.

Thus it would seem that the geography of Whiddy shapes its history and vice versa. Studying the history of Whiddy led me to agree with Levi-Strauss (1967) "that scorning the historical dimension on the pretext that we have insufficient means of evaluating it, except approximately, will result in our being satisfied with an impoverished sociology, in which phenomena are set loose, as it were, from their foundations." (p.23) However, the foundations of Whiddy's history are embedded in its geography, and scorning the geographical dimension renders its history meaningless. The geography and history of Whiddy are inseparable, and there are insiders and outsiders accounts of both.

Thus, the phenomenological geographers have identified the difference between the outsiders description of space and the insiders relationship to it as place in their everyday lives. So too phenomenological history contrasts history with historicity. History equates to an outsiders view of those elements of history deemed worthy of written record. Historicity is the insiders view of their relationship to history in their everyday life. Wright (1985) describes this difference thus:

"(the assertion that) in everyday life we are all historians and philosophers of history obviously does not imply that everyone is an academic specialist. ... Historicity is a symbolic

Williams (1973) suggests, "it is significant, that the common image of the country is now an image of the past, and the common image of the city an image of the future." (p.297) This view of the country as equating to the past is surely strengthened by the current vogue for placing the rural way of life within what Hewison (1987) refers to as the "Heritage Industry."

The Heritage Industry is involved in a powerful re-writing of both place and past. It presents neither the objective, written account of the outsider nor the subjective, oral account of the insider. Rather it produces an account that places the rural way of life, tradition and stable pre-capitalist communities in a stagnant past, and simultaneously places capitalist and industrial society in a dynamic future. Because people need to know "where they are going?" this placement has profound consequences. People are obviously going to align themselves to the ideology which provides a future, and therefore to capitalism and industrialism. The community member, rooted in place, is a symbol of the past, the mobile state citizen a symbol of the future. The notion of the state citizen becomes preferable to that of community member, and the ideology of individualism replaces that of the collective.

Therefore the Heritage Industry produces an account that has a political significance. Political leaders not only respond to preferences but also shape them. The Heritage Industry not only responds to citizens' desires to maintain

a future but actually shapes that future for them, often in terms of a fabricated past.\* As Bell (1976) asserts "By its very nature modernity breaks with the past, as past, and erases it in favour of the present or the future. Men are enjoined to make themselves anew rather than extend the great chain of being." (p.132)

Hewison (1987) claims the Heritage Industry can destroy a living heritage part of a real townscape or landscape and replace it with a Disneyland fantasy. The Heritage Industry produces not only another history but also changes the nature of space and produces another geography. Heritage is worth big money, it is the largest growth industry in Britain (and Ireland) and a major part of the tourist industry. People will pay to see a lost way of life.

People (including researchers) will not only pay £10.00 each for the ferry but will cross eleven miles of wild Atlantic Ocean to visit Inisheer, the smallest of the three Aran Islands. However, when they have made the trip, people do not see a lost way of life, by definition that which is lost cannot be seen. Neither do they encounter the living heritage of those islanders that do remain on Inisheer.

When I visited Inisheer my field diary notes record that:

"My first impression is that Inisheer is probably the most densely populated part of rural Ireland.

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\* This is not to suggest external coercion but rather the third dimension of power identified by Lukes (1974) as the crucial element in the exercise of power. He said: "Indeed, is it not the supreme exercise of power to get another or others to have the desires you want them to have - that is - to secure their compliance by controlling their thoughts and desires." (p.23)

The pier is teeming with tourists of all nationalities. It has the air of a council estate - in the process of being built - the houses are new and sand is blown about them by the winds. The pub on the pier is garishly modern. On the walls are pictures of "traditional" life on Aran. An American drinks coffee and looks at the picture of an old woman in the traditional red petticoat and black shawl of the Island, leading a donkey with two creels of turf to her thatched cottage. "Isn't that cute" she says to her companions. I hope this never happens on Whiddy, perhaps all one can hope is that Whiddy will be left to die in peace."

However, islands that have already died do not necessarily escape the attention of the Heritage Industry. Some are seen to present a prime empty space for development. Charles Haughey, the Irish prime minister, has purchased one of the Blasket Islands and the Irish Government have plans to turn the island complex into a theme park, depicting the past way of life on the island. On hearing of this proposed plan one Whiddy Islander said:

"I suppose the Blaskets will have everything. There will be ferries to get the tourists on and off and hotels and entertainment. They'll have every kind of modern contraption. For those of us that are still living like it we won't get it. We must be part of history now."

The islanders were aware that the theme park would only depict a contemporary fabrication of the past way of life on the Blaskets. One said:

"They can't show what life was like. How will they be able to understand the hardships we all faced when everything is provided for them. We had no ferries, and no running water, and electricity. Sure we haven't a ferry now never mind then. That's only all a cod. There won't be many go to it once the summer months are gone. If they want to know how what it is like to live on an island they would have to be here with us in the wintertime, crossing in the wind and the



rain in the small boat."

The Whiddy islanders were aware that the future being created for their island, may well be that to be found on the Arans or that proposed for the Blaskets. One islander on discovering that in 1837 there were 714 people on Whiddy said; "Soon there won't be seven here. That seven will be stark mad as they won't see a living soul from one end of the week to the next." Another said: "In ten years time there will be no one here at all. Unless they are going to turn Whiddy into a tourist centre, like the Blasket Islands, whose going to come in here and put up with the hardship of living on an island, but it's a grand place for holidays."

The geography of Whiddy Island has dictated its history and if this view is correct it will dictate its future also. In the future, history will no longer be embedded in the everyday consciousness of the Whiddy Islanders. For as Wright (1985) argues "historical memory is determined by the very structure of the life world." (p.15) Nor will the beauty and tranquillity of the island any longer be part of a lived way of life. The dense web of names the islanders see when observing the landscape will be lost to the seeing eye. Meaning and homeliness will vanish from the environment and be replaced with a meaningless holiday haven for those city dwellers who wish "to get away from it all." There may always be a past in the present but for the islanders it seems there will be no future.

Although traditionally ethnographies are a mixture of the

past and the present, the islanders introduced the future into ethnographic practice. An ethnography of the future is, indeed, a problematic concept. However, the future like the past can not be overlooked on the grounds that there is insufficient means to evaluate it. As with the past and the present, there is also an insider's and outsider's view of the future. For the outsider the using of the space on Whiddy may well equate to a future, for the insider the demise of their unique sense of place does not equate to a viable future for the island.

The islanders prediction of the future of the island may well come to pass. In the Spring of 1990, the year after I completed my fieldwork, the semi-resident of Whiddy Island sold his farm house and 250 acres of land to a Belgian. This Belgian gentleman proceeded to buy up four other derelict cottages on the island, and set about renovating them to provide holiday homes for European tourists. He and his wife now visit the island and stay for a week or a fortnight. During their stay they check how work is proceeding on the houses they already own and make further plans for developing the island. The latest report suggests that there are plans to build 32 houses on the island and have a public house and a shop to service the proposed holiday complex.

To the outsider this may well be indicative of a bright future for the island. To the insider it is merely an alternative death. The islanders I have had contact with

since the arrival of the Belgians have made the following comments on his proposed plans:

"I suppose it's no loss as what other future had we; I suppose someone may as well use the place; Better for it be a tourist place than a graveyard; It will mean people around the place anyway, I suppose, but it won't be the same; That is the end of Whiddy as we know it; We will be Belgium colony now; We will be overrun with Belgians next time you come; He is supposed to be getting a tourist bus in here to run the holiday makers around the island ... said we won't be able to call the roads our own soon."

Lefebvre (1971) argued:

"The tourist trade, whose aim is to attract crowds to a particular site - historic city, beautiful view, museum, etc., - ruins the site in so far as it achieves its aim: the city, the view, the exhibits are invisible behind the tourists, who can only see one another (which they could have done just as well elsewhere, anywhere.)" (p.103)

It seems that tourists may well obscure Whiddy Island in the future, and tourists already obscure the islanders on Inisheer. However whilst on Inisheer, I managed to spot one island woman tending her garden. I enquired as the purpose of two large white buildings nearby "That's the factory", she replied. I was surprised by this reply and enquired what was made there. "Nothing", she said. "it was built but never opened. The pubs were opened all right though. That's the way it is, the tourists come first." She turned and went towards her house. I detected a certain note of bitterness or hostility in her voice. I too (along with some of the islanders) feel a bitterness and hostility at the thought of tourists obscuring Whiddy Island, and viewing the island's historical, geographical and social resources with the

unseeing eye of the tourist's gaze. (Blum and McHugh 1974 and Urry 1988) From this view point, the Heritage Industry is not only a rewriting of the past but a re-creation of the future.

The living heritage of Whiddy Island is comprised of the islanders' everyday relationship to, and interaction with, their place and their past. Removing the islanders, or replacing them with tourists, inevitable means destroying that living heritage. People in situ are not only the essence of place but also the essence of heritage. In the future it seems that visitors to Whiddy will no longer have a kinship link with the island. These new visitors will not be able to produce an insider's account of the island they call home, only an outsider's description of meaningless place.

The outsiders' description may well be more readily accepted than the insiders' account. As one islander pointed out in the course of a conversation about books:

"When Pieg Sayers wrote her book the Government tried to stop it being published. They didn't want them to know how the people lived. She was telling no lies either. They used to have the animals inside the house by night. They'd give off heat. And we had no shoes, and no meat for the dinner only spuds. They didn't want the people to know how we lived. Now they will be charging people to go and see for themselves." \*

The islanders were aware that the insider's account of life on the Blasket given by Pieg Sayers was suppressed. They

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\* Sayers' book "An Old Woman's Reflections" was written in the 1930's and first published in English in 1962.

inevitable that no islanders will exist, in situ, in the future.

The only mention of the islanders in the past was to note their numbers in the various centuries. Since 1969 all mention of the island revolves around the oil terminal, in use, the disaster that closed it, in disuse and the possibility of its re-opening. The Report on the Disaster makes little mention of the inhabitants of the island in all its 458 pages. Similarly Eipper's (1986) recent expose of multi national companies, "The Ruling Trinity", focused on the intervention of Gulf on Bantry, and asserting that the local community is placed in a double bind situation by such companies, makes scant reference to the inhabitants of Whiddy. He spent 18 months researching the topic in Bantry in 1978, he gave an acknowledgement to a UCC academic "who worked most closely with him throughout the period". I visited this same academic who was amazed to be told that Whiddy was inhabited. "I knew they had salmon there all right", he said.

Little wonder one ex-islander said:

"Whiddy was the grandest place to grow up. I would never have wanted to go away. Now I wouldn't go back if you paid me. There is nothing there anymore and you have all the hassle of getting in and out every time you want a pint. I will always go back to visit though whilst my mother and father are living anyway."

And an elderly islander said:

"Anyone who wants to come to live on Whiddy now must be clean mad. Those that are on it are only dying to get off. There is no young people and

also asserted that when Thomas O'Crohan's book "The Island Man" was translated from Irish to English, his writing was corrected to standard English and in the process much of the sense of his writing was lost.

It is not only the "Heritage Industry" that expresses another heritage, Governments too wish to deliver a sanitized view of the past: a nostalgia from which hardship, struggle and poverty can be neatly removed. Pieg Sayers attempted to express an insider's view of the past to which these aspects were central. The suppression of the book was not surprising as the genuine, native account contradicted the sanitized account produced and preferred by the outsider.

Valaskakis (1990) reported that Indians protesting at the auction of native artefacts were ushered out by police. A Cree "slipped off one of his workboots, held it high and said, "How much will you pay for this Indian boot, worn by a real Indian?" People, it seems, will pay to see (or read) a fabricated past way of life preferring it to the genuine article. As Eco (1986) in his essay, "Travels in Hyperreality", suggests:

"In search of instances where the American imagination demands the real thing and, to attain it, must fabricate the absolute fake (p.8) objects are put in rows with explanatory labels in a neutral setting. (p. 33) Disneyland is the quintessence of consumer ideology(p.43) Imitation has reached its apex and afterwards reality will always be inferior to it." (p.46)

The Heritage Industry may produce a fabricated form of the islanders' way of life and equate it only with the past, but

the reality of their way of life is also equated with the past. For as Wright (1985) argued:

"Where pre-capitalist society was tendentially stable and past-orientated, capitalist and industrial society is dynamic, future orientated and full not just of disruption but of new possibility." (p.13)

For the Whiddy Islanders the reality of their stable, peripheral way of life is now not only inferior to the dynamic, central way of life, but also inferior to the imitations being created by Borde Failte and the Government. The islanders belief that they have no future gives some foundation to the contemporary phenomena of the islanders reluctance to talk about themselves except in terms of their history. Indeed, as the islander quoted said they are "part of history now".

The islanders and the mainlanders assumed my primary interest would be in the history of Whiddy. During the fieldwork much time was spent consulting historical documents in libraries and stately homes, and undertaking many enjoyable walks to photograph standing stones and monoliths. At times I felt I had lost control of the research and was too easily adopting the role the islanders had ascribed to me. The islanders way of life had never seemed to have any interest for those who chose to write about Whiddy, and the remaining inhabitants seemed to find difficulty in accepting the fact that it was of interest for my purposes. The Whiddy islanders received no mention in the past and none in the present either, and it seems

no entertainment. It was different when we were young there was a whole dose of us. We could work together and play together, there was always someone. What could you do now, except sit around watching the old ones."

I would argue that for unique places like Whiddy, these statements reflect both the impossibility of providing or maintaining a population on the island once the traditional sense of rootedness in place and shared responsibility has been replaced with the modern sense of the individual, and the role spatial mobility has played in disrupting community stability and continuity.

For as Bell (1976) argues "the old concept of culture is based on continuity, the modern on variety; the old values tradition, the contemporary ideal is syncretism." (p.100) Thus modernity attempts to sink differences and effect union between all society's members and to replace rituals which over a course of history have achieved a distinctive style. Modernity values the novel and spatial mobility, against such dominant values it is difficult for anyone, let alone the islanders themselves, to justify rootedness in place as advantageous.

Seamon (1980) suggests (and I would agree) that the key question is "whether rootedness in place promotes a more efficient use of energy, space and environment than today's predominant place relationship which emphasises spatial mobility and the frequent destruction of unique places." (p.194) The complementary question, what are the advantages and disadvantages of place-bound life world? which he



suggests, I would argue is normally never asked. Place-bound life worlds are not promoted by modern state industrial capitalism, and those who do live in such worlds are automatically assumed to be disadvantaged - any advantages are not articulated within the political discourse of the day.\*

However, as Sahlins (1985) argued symbolic action is made up of an irreducible past, because concepts by which experience is organised proceed from the received cultural scheme, and an irreducible present because of the world-uniqueness of any action. Responsible for their own actions people become authors of their own concepts, and there is always a past in the present. Studying both the historical and contemporary information on Whiddy, suggested that there is always a past in the present, but it is by no means apparent that there is a future in the present for the Whiddy Islanders.

The islanders did not ascribe the role of historian to the researcher because of local peculiarities, nor because they had a mistaken conception of the focus of the study. Rather

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\*The groups who aim to promote the cause of the islands: the Islands Trust and Friends of the Islands, even the European Community's Regional Policy and Planning Committee begin from the premise that peripheral maritime regions are disadvantaged. Paradoxically the groups promoting the cause of the islands advocate ease of access to and from the islands as essential for their future. Plans for bridges, roads, cable cars, tunnels, and ferries have been proposed and discussed. However, Valentia Island, was refused membership of these groups as it has a bridge to the mainland and is, therefore, not a real island. If the groups succeed in getting ease of access for other off-shore islands they too, presumably, would cease to be real islands. The Groups could be left with no cause to promote.

the role of historian was ascribed because it fitted the dominant view of both the reality of the islanders daily lives and the imitations of it being created by the Heritage Industry. In both cases it is equated only with the past. The joint efforts of the Nation State, Borde Failte and the Heritage Industry have succeeded in placing the rural way of life in the past. Rootedness in place is now little more than another disadvantage of the past, along with hardship, struggle and poverty. Mobility, change, comfort and wealth are the dominant themes associated not only with technological advances but also with national state capitalism. These are the themes that equate both to the present and the future. The islanders are thus convinced that their daily lives are unimportant and often inappropriate in the present and have no possibilities in the future. Anyone interested in them and their lives must, therefore, be interested in the past.

This may not only explain why the islanders were so reluctant to accept the role of the researcher as anything other than an historian, but also why they are so willing to accept that their children "are better off away from Whiddy."

## CHAPTER FOUR

### ANYONE WHO HAS TO STAY AT HOME IS SEEN AS A PITY

#### EMIGRATION, EDUCATION AND OIL

"The history of Ireland is part of each immigrant's luggage"

(Pauline Jackson 1986)

The islanders' belief that the island has no future is surely embedded in the knowledge that there is no new generation growing up, marrying and settling on Whiddy. The decline in the population of Whiddy has now reached the point where there is no future generation of islanders. The island population is no longer able (or willing) to reproduce itself and is, therefore, doomed to extinction. The island has, indeed, ceased to be a self-propagating community.

Aalen and Brody (1969) asked of Gola Island: "Why did the islanders come to expect from life more than their island could provide?", and answered:

"These forces concern the mentalities and imagination of the people: it is they who, in forming an idea of urban life, reformed their idea of their own life... Country people are no longer willing to live in isolation, separated from the opportunities and excitement they have come to associate with urban centres, where large numbers of people live in a free anonymous complex, with access to a wide range of material, social and sexual possibilities." (pp.122 -123)

Similarly Brody (1973) argued :

"It follows that the person who is captivated by images of capitalism can only find disadvantage at home, where everything is familiar". (p.11)

However, I would argue, that these answers merely set up other questions. They offer no explanation as to how the person becomes captivated by images of capitalism. Rather, these explanations suggest that the country people with an unlimited number of imaginings to choose from, choose one where the urban centre is alluring. Human beings may, indeed, be authors of their own concepts, but not in circumstances of their own choosing. The remaining Whiddy Islanders may accept that their children are better off away from Whiddy, but this offers no explanation as to how this belief came to be accepted.

To obtain an explanation for the change from one sort of societal organisation to another on the island, it is necessary to ask what political decisions and processes were brought to bear on the imaginings of the islanders to persuade them that living in a free anonymous complex was preferable to living in a traditional community. This, I would suggest, is the more pertinent question: Not why, but how the process occurred? How did the ideology of the urban capitalism come to be accepted in a traditional rural community?

O'Hanlon (1976) is not alone in stating: "Television has a great deal to do with it ... it pulls like a powerful magnet on the imagination of the young." (pp.48-49) The role of technology in the process by which the islanders came to accept modernity as preferable to the traditional community, is the main focus of this thesis also. However, technology

has no independent existence of its own. Rather technology fits into the every day lives of the culture in which it is embedded. Technology does not enter an unstructured social world. It is both shaped by and shapes the cultural, economic and political systems of the social world it enters. In order to offer any explanation of the role of technology it is necessary to frame it in the other systems of the lives of those using it.

Thus, whilst acknowledging the paradox of Giddens (1989) assertion that:

" Modernity is inseparable from the constitutive role of social science, and reflection on social life more generally, which routinely orders and re-orders both the intimate and more impersonal aspects of lives people lead." ... (p.252)

This chapter aims to look at three of the more impersonal aspects that have re-ordered the intimate lives of the islanders: namely, emigration, education and the intervention of the Gulf Oil Company. The choice of these three was not arbitrary. All three processes are interrelated and have hastened the evacuation of the island. There can be little surer sign of the decline of a way of life than a lack of people to live it.

The aim is to discover not only the practical effects of national emigration, educational and economic policies on the island, but also their role in changing the local ideology of the islanders. The awesome task is to try not only to locate the interrelation between all three processes, but also, once again, to try to explain the

relationship between national policies and local ideology. The Irish have a long history of emigration, and it is by no means a new phenomenon for Whiddy Islanders. Television could have had nothing to do with the commencement of emigration. What past magnet pulled the previous generations away from rural Ireland?

The first record of the population of Whiddy Island was recorded in The Inhabitant Census of 1659. The census reported that there were 9 English and 26 Irish inhabitants on Whiddy. (However Paddy O'Keefe suggests these may well have been only the main landholders and not therefore representative of the total population of the time.)

Prior to the 1916 uprising and consequent formation of the Irish Free state in 1921, The Census of Ireland, was produced by the London Stationery Office, and recorded the population of Whiddy by townlands:

Population in	1841	1851	1891	1901	1911
CLOSE	39	33	16	20	20
CROANGLE	119	92	69	52	35
GARRAHA	91	64	55	37	32
KILMORE	186	128	71	43	34
REENAKNUCK	63	40	37	22	19
REENABHANA	150	100	44	46	52
TRANAHA	83	100	55	39	32
TOTAL:	731	557	347	259	224

After the forming of the Free State, the Irish Census was

produced by the Dublin Stationery Office. The first Irish Census was in 1926 and recorded the population of Whiddy Island not by townlands but by gender.

Population in	1926	1936	1946	1956	1966	1979	1986
MALES	123	93	72	53	47	30	28
FEMALES	92	74	50	42	50	27	13
TOTAL	215	167	122	95	97	57	41

Thus, the population of Whiddy declined steadily in the later half of the 19th Century, and the process has continued throughout the 20th Century. At the end of the 18th century there were approximately 700 inhabitants on Whiddy at the end of the 19th Century there were 250 and by the end of the 20th Century there will certainly be less than forty, if any at all.

Historically, emigration from Ireland is characterised by the mass exodus that occurred during and after the Great Famine. (Although, it should be noted that a second wave of emigration occurred during and after the Second World War. Irish people were actively recruited to help with the war effort and later to help rebuild post war Britain. It is estimated that 100,000 Irish emigrated between 1946 and 1951. Indeed, four of the present islanders, were born on the island, emigrated to Britain during and after the Second World War but returned, usually to marry another islander). The Great Famine of 1846/7 caused the death of one million people and the emigration of one and a half million. An

unpublished account of "The Famine in Bantry" related that "The famine led to mass emigration from Bantry. The town had the unique distinction of its own transport. William Justin Deeley had his own Brig used to transport timber from the Americas to Ireland. During the famine it brought passengers out and timber back. The Deeley Brig was built in 1839. It made 13 trips across the Atlantic, sometimes two per year. In 1847 a trail of deaths across the Atlantic is recorded". The Deeley Brig was therefore, not so much a unique distinction, but one of the large fleet of "Coffin Ships" which were operational during the famine.

However, the Whiddy Islanders maintain that the island fared better than the mainland during the famine. One said:

"No one emigrated from Whiddy during the famine. Whiddy was the best place to be. We had plenty fish and the seaweed and the winkles and limpets off the rocks on the shore, as well as what we had on the land. I often heard the old people saying that no one died of famine on Whiddy."

In 1852, five years after the Great Famine, the Government commissioned the Griffiths Survey. This was a land survey not a population survey. The survey bears out the islanders' views. Many of the houses in the townlands of the mainland are listed as empty. The occupants either emigrated because of the famine, or stayed at home and died as a result of it. For Whiddy's seven townlands the survey listed 154 houses. Only one was reported empty. Indeed, it could be said that the Great Famine of Ireland did not have the devastating effects on Whiddy Island that modern state



capitalism has had.

After the famine, the observation was made that: "All the mass of the population lies along the sea coast, where they are so thickly spread that there is hardly living room." (Aalen and Brody 1969, p.29) Given the supplementation of the basic Irish diet of the potato by the harvest of the sea, this seems hardly surprising.

However, in 1881 an Act of Parliament in Westminster established the Congested District Board (CDB). Rural Ireland in general, and the western seaboard in particular, were deemed over-populated and chronically short of economic resources. It was suggested that the paucity of the land on the western seaboard was unable to support so many inhabitants. This led to poverty. By depopulation those that remained would benefit. From this viewpoint the CDB reflected a humanitarian rationale on the part of the British Government.

An article on the Congested District Board appeared in the The Times newspaper for Monday March 17th 1913. It said:

"The object of the Act, namely the amalgamation of holdings is achieved by inducing the most successful tenants in crowded districts where holdings are small to surrender to the Board and migrate to a new house and larger farm at some distance. The surrendered holdings are then used to enlarge those not removed. But it is difficult to induce people to migrate."

This article suggests that the object of the Act was not so much the humanitarian aim to reduce poverty, but rather the more economic aim to enlarge the holdings and thus set in place an infrastructure that could support capitalism.

The British Government recognised Ireland's great strength as the sea. Just as the sea was given as the reason that no one died of famine on Whiddy, so Fox (1978) said of Tory island "That this 785 acres of land could have at one time supported 600 is only made plausible by the harvest of the sea. Tory's great strength." (p.13) The sea offered a rich harvest to those who dwelt near it. The small holdings of the seaboard dwellers in such close proximity to each other formed the basis of their agricultural culture. The process of destroying the agricultural culture of rural Ireland may well have been started by the British Imperialist attempt to colonise Ireland. From this point of view the CDB was not so much a benevolent Board as a means of removing the rural Irish man from his land and breaking the community ties which bound the Irish agricultural economy. Fox (1978) ascribed this much more political and less benevolent role to the CDB. "The CDB was that exemplary body founded on funds from the disestablished Irish Church by Balfour in his attempts to kill Home Rule with kindness." (p.10)

It is, of course, impossible to say that the reforms of the CDB were not motivated by philanthropy, it may well be that they were, but the aims were misguided or subverted in the process of implementation. However, given the history of the British in Ireland it is difficult, if not impossible, to equate that history with philanthropy.

The CDB played a vital part in the history of Ireland, the amalgamation or rationalisation of the use of the land was a

first step towards replacing the rural agricultural economy with a capitalist economy. By increasing the size of the small holdings that provided the subsistence economy of the farmers of the time, the aim was the production of a surplus which could be sold for profit and exported. The CDB attempted to persuade the Irish rural community to enter the cash economy of industrial capitalism as opposed to the subsistence economy of their traditional agricultural economy. The CDB encouraged people to migrate to increase productivity, and experienced difficulty in getting people to leave the land.

As Aalen and Brody (1969) correctly asserted on Gola island, rationalisation of the land by "improving" landlords was resisted. "The fact that the holdings are fragmented is no disadvantage to the farming itself. Rationalization of the use of the land has little purpose in a system of minimal provision for home consumption." (p.95)

However, the CDB's difficulty in inducing people to migrate was not purely economic. For as Wright (1985) argued :

"As traditional integrations were burst asunder, together with localised forms of community and status-definition, the apparently 'natural' correlation between people and the external norms of social order governing their situation also comes apart." (p.13)

The small holdings were not only a part of the people's traditional economic system but also part of their social system. As Aalen and Brody (1969) say of Gola Island, the dispersal of farms "was not the wish of the tenantry because

their social life was intimately linked with the old clachans: They are great talkers; as firing is plentiful they sit up half the night in winter, talking and telling stories; they therefore dislike living in detached houses." (p.35) Thus, the land was not merely an economic resource to the Irish, but also the core of their cultural system. Rationalising the land use was resisted precisely because its effects would break the very system Irish culture was embedded in. As an agricultural nation the Irish had a traditional relationship with the land. The process of changing this relationship may have been started by the CDB but it continued under the Free State and did not reach fruition until the 1960s. Indeed, forty years after the forming of the free state, rationalisation of the land and capitalism was still being resisted. The Agricultural Institute of Dublin published a Resource Survey of West Cork in 1963, and concluded:

"The most important overall change which must take place in West Cork Agriculture is to bring it into the market economy by the production of a much larger saleable surplus. Productivity both per man and per acre must be raised. A policy of higher output per farm will lead to a high productivity of the two basic resources of the region - Land and Labour. Labour productivity has certainly risen because of the fall in the labour force .... Problems will occur from structural changes in organisation.... Above all (what is needed is) the acceptance by the farmer of a progressive rather than a traditional farm policy."

Indeed, change does not happen either quickly or easily. Again, it is necessary to look at the political and economic history of Ireland after the forming of the Free State to

see how industrial capitalism came to be accepted.

At the time of the 1916 uprising, Pearse (1976) described the relationship the Irish had with the land thus:

"That the nation may live the Irish life both the inner and the outer life must be conserved. Hence the language, folklore, literature, music, art and customs must be conserved... The language which grows up with a people is conformed in their organs, descriptive of their climate, constitution and manners, mingled inseparably with their history and their soil." (pp 64 and 65)

In 1921, the Free State was to be formed on the traditions of the Irish not on the ascendancy's creed. Beckett (1979) argued "Cultural policy was inspired by Pearse, whose ideal had been an Ireland not only free but Gaelic as well." (p.164) Ayearst (1970) asserted "Irish nationalism hung on two pegs, language and religion ... Ireland had been bypassed by the Industrial Revolution." (p.67)

The nascent Irish State thus maintained an economic dependence on the British from whence most goods were imported, and whilst this was resented by some Irishmen as essentially a continuation of British Imperialism; "The dream of an Ireland with large and expanding manufacturers a steadily growing population remained no more than a dream". (Beckett 1979 p.164)

In the 1960's the prime minister, Sean Lemass, proposed making the dream a reality. Ireland was to have its Industrial Revolution. Lemass argued that the only way for Ireland to be free of the British was to industrialise and break the economic tie. Fennell (1984) argued that in the

sixties morale rose and it was morale tinged with national pride. "In retrospect it seems that this was mainly due to the fact that Lemass, with his impeccable Republican credentials, was at the helm, and he presented the new course in patriotic and nationalist terms. "The historic task of this generation" he said, "is to secure the economic foundation of economic independence." (p.62) Indeed, it is argued that Sean Lemass by linking industrialism to nationalism actually finally succeeded in breaking the relationship the Irish had with the land. The change in this relationship is crucial to any understanding of the current position. Brody (1973) writing on emigration suggested: "Inevitably, the consciousness of the country people began to change: it became less clear that the family farm really did represent all that was good and hopeful." (p.10) This point was made by the Whiddy islanders also:

"Years ago the sons and daughters that had to go to England and America were the unlucky ones. The ones that could stay at home and got the farm or the piece of land were all right. Now that has all changed, anyone who has to stay at home is seen as a pity. When we die no one wants our cottage or our farm these days. I work away on the land and keep the house knowing that when I am gone it will be an overgrown ruin in a few years. Like all the other houses you see around you. It's a terrible thing to see all them old fine houses empty. They all belong to someone but they would not come into Whiddy and live in them if you paid them. I don't know why that is. But I suppose its all the education and the technology and the TV. You could blame the TV for a lot if you started at all. I am often away over there on the strand picking and I think what a grand life I have really - the sea and the fresh air and the freedom and I wonder why my sons have all left to go to the city and live in

the filthy place. The air here is so clean. But you can't live on fresh air - that's why they go to earn the money and get on. I still think money isn't everything. If you have your health and your strength. Years ago we'd be fighting and feuding over the piece of land, you couldn't give it away these days. The whole country will be empty soon."

Indeed, contemporary emigration statistics suggest that the Irish Government could soon be setting up a Deserted Districts Board. Rural Ireland is now underpopulated and still short of economic resources. The statistics suggest that it is not only Whiddy Island, but the whole of Ireland, that could be uninhabited within 10 years. The total population of Ireland is approximately 5 million, and nearly half a million are emigrating each year. The irony of the gibe that Irish history has happened in other countries has a poignancy for the Irish. Ireland is those that stay behind, not those who leave generation after generation. The lack of people staying behind often means that Ireland is today seen as the last bastion of empty space in Europe.\*

Hence, in sharp contrast to the article on the CDB in 1913,

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\* Borde Failte certainly use this view of Ireland in their advertising campaigns to attract tourists to Ireland. Bohan (1979) suggested that in the late 1950's expansion was directed towards the build up of a strong industrial base dependent on exports. Growth centres became attractive and rural development amounted to "a little bit of dole here and a little bit of Borde Failte there." (p. 2 ) Again the Irish are presented with conflicting images of themselves: The Ireland of the advertising campaigns "where all the time in the world is not enough" is promoted as an advantage for tourists from other countries, and slammed as the disadvantage of industrial underdevelopment for those who remain at home.

an article appeared in the Cork Examiner for 1st September 1989 putting forward the present politicians views on emigration:

"Emigration has been used as prime weapon in tackling our unemployment problems. It puts a better gloss on the budget deficit and on the unemployment figures but it also saps much of the life-blood of our country. The figures were a devastating indictment of national economic policy. It can now be clearly seen that the so-called Programme for National Recovery has been built on the back of the misery of young people forced to leave the country."

In the same newspaper the following day, September 2nd 1989, the Church endorsed the political view. The article had the headline: "Emigration now at famine level, says Bishop Buckley." It reported:

"A prominent Churchman yesterday slammed emigration from Ireland as being proportionately at famine level... the latest figures issued by the Central Statistics Office showed that 78,000 people had left the country...In the future Ireland would have two populations. There would be the old and the very young at home, with a generation between in London, New York and Australia. If things continue as they were, the country would not survive because the tax burden would be too great for those remaining. Ireland would be placed on the level of a Third World country in terms of people."

As Healy (1968) asserts: "In our ignorance we valued bank balances more than people. In the 30's we had riches we did not appreciate: a town and countryside full of living, marrying, breeding working people... But Dublin has not yet learned what Charlestown has learned: wealth is no longer money - real wealth is people." (p.64) Perhaps both the Government and the Church in Ireland are now learning this lesson. Today, there is concern that it is no longer



difficult to get people to leave the land, and mass emigration drains the country of its most vital resource.

There is also an acknowledgement that the Irish Industrial Revolution of the 1960's has not taken place. Ireland has not industrialised and the result is a massive increase in unemployment and subsequent to this a massive increase in the numbers emigrating from Ireland. However, industrialisation and unemployment are two sides of the same coin.

Ireland's attempt to industrialise may have failed, but it succeeded in breaking the relationship the people had with the land. More importantly it succeeded in changing people's conception of employment.

Without the notion of industrial capitalism, the notion of unemployment is difficult to substantiate. Put simply, before industrialisation work was part of the subsistence economy of the Irish and directly related to their relationship with the land. After the attempt to industrialise work became part of the cash economy of capitalism directly related to the organisations and structures of capitalism. Thus the attempt to industrialise changed the relationship the Irish had with the land, because it changed their conception of employment. Working on the land or the sea, and carrying out subsistence activities ceased to be considered as employment. In Marxist terms work became wage labour only. (For the Whiddy Islanders this process was consolidated by the intervention

of the Gulf Oil Company in their working lives. This will be discussed later in this chapter.)

Fox (1978) said this separation from the land had profound effects on the Tory Islanders. "Land in effect has ceased to mean the difference between life and death for the islanders. They could exist without it if necessary. Wages, subsidies, pensions, shops, emigration, have all reduced dependence on the land." (pp.83-85) This point was made by Whiddy islanders also. As one islander said:

"Today the young ones want a job with regular wages. In our day when we was fishing, some weeks you'd have a pile of money and other weeks you would have nothing. Mind you, we had no electric, and water and phones to pay for. We only needed the money for the bit of rent. Today there is bills for everything. Sometimes I wonder myself, if we are any better off. But the young won't stay now. Could you blame them. If they stay on Whiddy all they get is the bit of dole. If they move off it they can have a good pay packet. They all want to be in offices now, where they don't get their hands dirty. Only the old age pensioners can manage here as we get the rebates."

Emigration in both the past and the present has a great deal to do with economic policies and the economic conditions of the social system. Indeed, emigration elucidates the notion of continuity and change. There is a continuation of the phenomenon of emigration but a change in the social, political and economic system of the culture in which it is embedded. Changes in these systems effect not only patterns of emigration, but also the motivation for the individual to emigrate and the results for those who stay behind. Thus, one hundred years, and millions of emigrations later,

the aims of the CDB to remove poverty and improve conditions for those left behind seem not to have been achieved. For as O'Hanlon suggests (1976) "...one of the most extraordinary negative results of a century of emigration is how little it seems to have materially benefited those who stayed behind".(p.49) What has been achieved is that emigration is now an integral part of Irish culture, and the traditional relationship with, and employment on, the land and the subsistence economy has been supplanted with the allure of the city centre, the wage labour of industrial capitalism and the cash economy.

As Aalen and Brody (1969) suggest:

"Centre periphery relations are difficult to reverse. The larger industrial centres become the more attractive they are for further growth. The more the rural peripheries decline the less able they are to help themselves." (p.xiv)

Indeed, the economic conditions that force people to leave Ireland result in time in the creation of a social and economic environment that makes it difficult for others to stay. Those who stay behind not only suffer materially but also socially.

The present difficulty the Government has in getting people to stay in Ireland is, therefore, no more purely economic than the difficulty the CDB experienced in getting them to migrate. Irish emigration leaves demoralisation in its wake, which in time encourages those left behind to follow those who have already left. Not only is the tax burden insufferable for those who remain, but young people have

fewer peers to enter the social sphere with. One islander said:

"Isn't it a lonely life for the few young ones left now. They have no one to go to school with when they are young. We used have a Whiddy football team - they would only have two for a team now. We had the gig crews too for the races. Years ago of a Saturday night there would be boatloads go to the dance. They would all mind each other, and have the crack together. Now you would have to go away out on your own. There is no fun in that. If the weather turned you could be lost in the small boat on your own."

Brody (1973) argued that:

"both the media and the migrants emphasise and highlight the benefits of life in the centre, in the heartlands of capitalist society. This image of capitalism is built from suggestions of opportunities that in their plethora will exclude no one. According to its account of itself... capitalist society can make a good life for anyone..." (p.11)

Although the media is seen by so many as the cause of rural decline because of its ability to widen the horizons of isolated communities - this process surely occurred before the advent of the media. The migrant preceded the media. Historically, emigration produced flows of both money and information to Whiddy Island. However, this flow of information entered a culture very different to that entered by the media. By the time the media, at least in the form of television, arrived on the island, the cultural system was already breaking down.

The visits of the emigrants and their letters home, may have increased awareness of the urban industrial milieu, but the islanders who received these letters prior to the 1950's had

a confidence in their own way of life and their own culture. They maintained the relationship to the land. The islanders still conceived of employment as work on the land or the sea, and there were sufficient islanders of all ages to provide a future for their way of life. The social life of the island was intimately linked to the land and to the pattern of the subsistence economy. Once the relationship to the land had changed, along with the conception of employment the islanders social system began to collapse. As the cultural vitality of the island waned, the benefits of life in the centre and the suggestions of opportunities that will exclude no-one became more alluring. The arrival of Television not only made these images more prevalent, but also by bringing these images into the living rooms of the island homes on a daily basis they became part of the daily lives of those receiving them. The migrants letters broadened horizons and increased flows of information between differing economic milieu. The migrant produced images of an alien culture, the incorporation of the media in the islanders' daily lives made these images part of their culture and relevant to their social system. Thus, the media not only entered a different culture but also changed the status of the information received. No longer were the images relevant to the heartlands of capitalist society and irrelevant to the Irish Nation in general, and to Whiddy Island in particular. The image of capitalism, if not the reality, thus became part of the

local milieu. The islanders began not only to emigrate to other lands, but migrated from the island to the mainland towns and cities.

As a mainlander said:

"Years ago it was different. When they went off they went out foreign. When they'd come back then they would be semi-strangers. What was going in America, or England either, for that matter, had little to do with life on Whiddy. Now when they leave the island - if they go to Cork it's as far as they go."

Paddy O'Carroll, Department of Social Science, University College Cork, made the point more academically:

"I don't know why people blame the media for everything. If other changes had not taken place, the media would not have caused them to occur. What I mean is, when people started to migrate from the country to the cities, it was a massive change from previous emigration to another country. No double stratum was possible. As one or two of the family went to the factory at home, they had a different standard of living from the brother left on the farm. They had more social life. The contrast was great between brothers who could still be living at home. The wedge was started by the introduction of local non-traditional employment. The most recent generation got jobs locally. The father could not hold his son or daughter at home. Parental authority is increased by poverty. Those who stayed at home had to wait for the authority to be handed over by the parents. Once the child got money the traditional, parental hold associated with the land was broken. The parents started to lack confidence and were ambivalent to their own ways and handed over to the younger people. People either have or have not a culture able to respond to societal change. Revitalisation occurs at the cultural level. Culture is the vitality to face life."

I would argue, revitalisation of Irish culture failed under the Free State principally because it created economic dependence on Britain. The attempt at industrialisation

promoted by Lemass in the 1960's also failed, principally because there were no structures and organisation to support it. Lacking the vitality to face life, the answer for many Irish is to leave. This is the tragedy of the present position of the Irish nation. As Brown (1981) asserts:

"Social progress created new problems without always sorting out the old ones (The result was) a residue of marginal people stranded in the course of industrial development." (p.331)

The rural Irish are stranded between the ideology of capitalism and the lack of structures and organisations to support it. They seem to be left in the situation said to be impossible by Marx - where they have the superstructure but not the infrastructure of capitalism. The result creates a vacuum and the only answer is to leave - and to migrate or emigrate to places where the infrastructure does exist.

Finding themselves in a situation that is said to be impossible is, however, not a new phenomenon for the Irish. This situation arose for the Irish in terms of their education system also. The National Education System was brought into being in Ireland in 1831. Ireland had a national education system almost a century before it had any claim to be a nation state. Indeed, the Irish national education system preceded the English national education system by four decades.

Akenson (1970) said in Ireland prior to 1831 there had been no industrial revolution, no significant urbanisation, no breakdown in the agrarian order and family structure, and no other social revolution that usually precedes the creation

of a state system of education. "Most historians of education in the western world have concluded that state systems of popular education can appear and operate successfully only in economically advanced countries." (p.386) Ireland is a shattering exception to this generalisation. "Ireland was a poor, stable nation whose social and economic structure was closer to the middle ages than to the industrial revolution. It is an almost perfect example of the kind of society one would expect to be adequately served by informal means of education." (p.387) Put simply the national education system introduced into Ireland carried with it an ideology that was not appropriate to their social and economic structure. Once again they had the superstructure but not the infrastructure of an economically advanced country.

Akenson (1970) went on to give three main reasons for the Irish Education System being introduced so early.

Although Akenson (1970) suggests that Ireland was a nation in 1831, albeit poor and stable, his reasons for the introduction of the education system refute this. The reasons he gives are: Ireland was a crown colony, legislative intervention was therefore greater than in England; There was a tradition of legislative intervention in education in Ireland; The Irish peasantry showed a striking desire for their children to be schooled and thus supported the system.

The tradition of legislative intervention in the Irish



education system again should not be automatically seen as philanthropic. Indeed, Henry VIII in 1695 reviewing the Irish situation asserted that policy should be aimed at educating the savage, changing their dress and wearing of hair styles, and removing the Irish language. Bennett (1869) reported "at the end of the 17th Century the country beyond Bantry was wild and barbarous. It did not contain a single protestant place of worship.\* Eagles gave birth and wolves prowled the plains". However, unlike the English situation, the Irish people were enthusiastic for schooling. This enthusiasm belies the view that Ireland as a country was wild and barbarous! Rather, the consensus of opinion of

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\*Of course the absence of protestant places of worship denotes an absence of the protestant ethic. As Weber (1958) asserts the protestant ethic and capitalism are two sides of the same coin. As Ireland was not a capitalist society at this time, the protestant attitudes to doing a job properly, time as money, work and profit that characterise modern activity were also absent. A point Campbell-Foster (1846) failed to acknowledge when he stated: "Man, who elsewhere in Great Britain often beautifies that for which nature has done little, here (in Bantry Bay) has done worse than nothing. You will look in vain for... anything which can show persevering application of industry or taste.(pp.399-400) When asked "Why don't you get out your nets, and exert yourselves to take fish, or you deserve to starve?" you get an answer, "Och, musha, by dad, sir, before we could get the nets out they would be off." These poor exertionless, good-natured, apathetic men do in reality almost starve. Oh, Irishmen how long will you be deluded. Pray to God that in His mercy He will vouchsafe to you common sense and enable you to realize the wealth which is bountifully thrown at your feet." (p.429) Campbell-Foster was not only adopting an elitist stance but urging the Irish with their traditional agricultural economy and Catholic ethic to embrace the protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism which had no relevance to their cultural system at that time.

the Irish population produced the same sort of education system that usually emerges as a result of society becoming urbanised and industrialised. Akenson (1970) acknowledges that this was a comforting phenomena: "A victory of the spirit over the material". (p.388) Yet a vital component of the system was the colonial relationship between England and Ireland. The lines of the future English Education System were first sketched in Ireland.

Although England and Ireland followed divergent paths economically and socially, the education system was strikingly similar. The national system gave the Irish literacy but it taught English not Irish. The early curriculum of national schools contained no material on Ireland as a nation or as a culture. It was recognised as a geographical unit and little else. However, Ireland was not a nation in the received sense at this time, it was a British colony. Irish culture was to be subverted to strengthen that colonisation. As Corkery (1924) said :

"The first article of the ascendancy's creed is, and always has been, that the natives are a lesser breed and that anything that is theirs (except their land and their gold!) is therefore of little value. If they have a language it cannot be civilised, merely used by hill men to communicate between themselves." (p.9)

Indeed, removing the Irish language was seen by the English as the key to subverting Irish culture. However, again the situation was paradoxical. On Whiddy Island, the original school roll book was in English, the modern book is in Irish. The present teacher said: "Under English rule, Irish

was banned. Then it was re-instated and is now a compulsory subject and all teachers in Irish schools must hold an Irish qualification." One islander said:

"When we were at school it was all Irish. Even in the playground the children had to speak it. If you were caught speaking English you'd be punished. Sure we had no Irish. It wasn't fair to punish us for not speaking Irish. Our ancestors were punished by the English for speaking it and then we were punished by the school teachers for not speaking it. Sure we couldn't learn half our lessons as we did not understand the Irish, let alone the lessons."

O'Caithain (1967) said the education system from 1924 aimed to restore Irish as the common language of the country. Infants were to complete all work in Irish. The general policy was that "If schools succeeded in making the children fluent Irish speakers the greater part of the battle would be won." (p.111) However, in 1941, the Irish National Teachers Organisation published a report questioning the validity of of Irish as a learning medium to children whose home language was English. Although it may have enhanced Irish culture, it certainly made learning more difficult for Irish children. The end result was that Irish became a school subject only. There were not enough people outside the schools who spoke or wished to speak Irish, to make it a living language.

The notion of state intervention to promote the Irish language appears again in the creation of the Gaeltacht areas. The Government has designated certain Irish speaking areas to receive financial backing to ensure the language is preserved. Fennell (1981) suggests, the Gaeltacht was dying

before it was christened. It started dying in the 17th Century more than 2 centuries before it was christened.

The Gaelic language has survived only in very remote parts of Ireland, e.g. Connemara. The Irish Government seeks to promote and preserve those rural people who add credence to the notion of a past celtic civilisation. As Carpenter (1976) suggested we do indeed create the savage we want. However, the small farmer is the backbone of the Irish economy and the Irish culture, yet most of these are English speaking. They feel they were prohibited from speaking Gaelic in the past by the English invaders and are now being penalised for not doing so by the present Irish Government. Little wonder an islander said:

"I never heard of Irish being spoken on Whiddy, as far back as anyone can remember anyway. If we had the Gaelic we'd be all right. The islands that are Irish speaking get plenty hand-outs and plenty help from the Government. We get nothing."

An article in the Irish Times for March 9th 1982, made the same point with regard to the island of Innishturk:

"The Irish Language too, has been gone since beyond memory. This quirk deprived the English speaking islands of the manifold grants lavished on the Gaeltacht islands in a bid to keep the tongue alive."

Healy (1968) noted the importance of the Irish language to the formation of the Free State. He said:

"the national aim 50 years ago was to throw off the yoke of hated England - 50 years ago we were saved if we saved our language... (p.67) We are still trying after 50 years of freedom to save one functional part of our identity and apologising that we are giving five minutes a

night to Bruntus Cainte." (p.91)

It is debatable that the Whiddy Islanders see the Irish language as a functional part of their identity, and apologise for its privileged position. I asked an islander on reading Healy's quote, "What is Bruntus Cainte." She replied: "It was an old Irish television programme. It used be on every night. It was not much good to us as we didn't understand a word he was saying. "

However, when the national educational system was installed not only was the English language taught, but also loyalty to the crown. The nationalist viewpoint was looked on unfavourably.

Whilst the English were totally anti-nationalist, the education system they introduced in Ireland aided it. The system provided a literate populace for the pamphlets and the newspapers of the nationalist movement. Perhaps, the forming of the Irish Free State was the victory of the spirit over the material that Akenson (1970) identified in the early state education system of Ireland. Thus the introduction of the national education system in 1831 had unforeseen consequences. Contemporary educational legislation has also had unintentional consequences for the Whiddy Islanders.

On the island pre-1831 Hedge Schools existed. The children were taught illegally by the side of the road by a literate elder of the island. After the 1831 legislation, the island had a school house and resident teacher and the island

children went to school from the age of 4 to 14. Originally the teacher was an islander who lived permanently on the island. Later she was joined by a visiting teacher who lodged on the island during term-time. To-day the teacher travels into the island daily on the Gulf Boat, and departs again every evening.

The ruins of the original school house can be seen in close proximity to the new school house. The present Whiddy Island National School opened in 1887. It is a single storey building, housing one room with an open fireplace. The school roll book states the internal dimensions of the school in feet. It is 31 feet long, 18 feet broad and 11 feet high. From the time of its opening to the present day all school aged children have been taught together in this single room.

The male and female pupils in the school had separate roll books. Unfortunately the roll book for the male pupils has not been kept. However, as there were 45 girls enrolled in 1887 it is reasonable to assume that the initial intake of the school was around 90 children.

One islander who would have been attending the school between 1925 - 1935, approximately, recalled the experience thus:

"There were 60 or 70 of us going to the school in my time. We would set off on a cold winters morning with no shoes or a bit and walk the frosty road to the school. The few that are there now have bicycles to go to school, or they get dropped off in the car if the weather is bad. I often think the children today won't be able to walk at all. Each of us would have a sod of turf

under the arm for the fire, the way we could keep the heat to ourselves for the day. As we went in we would pile the turf inside the door and the teacher would stoke the old fire with it for the day. We would have a bit of dry bread for the lunch, there were no sandwiches in them days, and a sup of milk if we were lucky."

Another of approximately the same age said:

"Your mother, God rest her soul, could have been a scholar, but she hadn't the opportunity. That's why she was so keen for all of you to have a good education. I was no good at school. The teacher used say to me; "You'll be left where the tide left the sea-weed". High and dry I suppose she meant. God knows she wasn't far wrong. I was pure scared of her. I'd forget to speak Irish and I was always in trouble for it. That wasn't fair."

Yet another of the same age group said:

"There was a body of us at school then about 70 I'd say. In my day they'd be beating and killing them. We'd be afraid to move. We couldn't learn for fear. Now they can do what they like. They talk away to the teacher as if she was one of themselves. We had to march in and out and there would be no jumping or leaping either. We didn't dare pass the playground walls. The girls stayed in one field the boys in another. There was no English spoken either. If you were caught out you'd be killed. That's the way though. Its all different now but I suppose it's as well- they probably learn more."

The roll book for the female pupils when these islanders were at school shows that there were 30 girls registered. If one assumes equal numbers of girls and boys then the islander's estimation of the total roll is correct. It is surprising to note, therefore, that by 1946 there were only 3 pupils in the school. Indeed, in 1946 it was deemed both inefficient and uneconomic to keep the school open and it was closed down. The three children who were attending the school were sent to the mainland to finish their education

and the Whiddy Island school was closed for 9 years. Enquiring of an islander as to the reasons for this sharp decline in school aged children produced the following answer:

"Well the oldest brothers and sisters went away to America or England, they would go to Aunts and Uncles already there. We didn't marry young then. So the older ones had gone and the younger ones hadn't had their children yet. By the time our children were born we had to fight to get the school opened again."

If these islanders were emigrating in the 1930's and the 1940's, it is reasonable to assume that their aunts and uncles emigrated at least 20 years before that. Emigration is, indeed, not a new phenomena on Whiddy Island.

The school was re-opened in 1955. One of the islanders had been complaining to the Canon about the children having no schooling at six years old. The Canon had advised her "to teach them away as best she could at home". A new Canon arrived in the parish and was all in favour of re-opening the school, but they needed seven pupils to qualify. One islander said:

"We had 6 all right. So we added the sister of one of them who was only 3 to make up the 7 and then we were away. During the summer 4 relations of ... arrived to stay on the island. So by the time it opened we had 11 on the roll. I suppose there will never again be 11 there now."

Since the re-opening of the school one roll book has recorded both male and female pupils. It shows that the number of pupils peaked in the 60's and declined rapidly from then to the 90's.



Year	1959	1969	1979	1989
Pupils attending	13	19	17	3

So although a total roll of three was deemed insufficient to justify keeping the school open in 1946, it remained open for three pupils in 1989 and is at present open with a total roll of one.

Prior to The 1965 Education Act, secondary education was not freely available to the Irish population.\* The Act aimed to provide not only free but compulsory secondary education for all children and also provided free transportation for children in outlying regions to enable them to reach the school. However, although the aim of the Act may once again have been philanthropic, its implementation had the presumably unintentional consequence of further entrenching the disadvantages of living on the island. One ex-islander said:

"The free secondary education would have been no good to the poorer people without the free transport to get the kids to and from the school. But there is no free transport for Whiddy kids. Although the teacher can go in and out everyday on the Gulf boat, the kids don't get that service. If I was on Whiddy now I'd be dreading the secondary education and the kids leaving home. We'll be saying good-bye to them soon enough after all the education when they go away to get jobs."

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 \*Nevertheless, as Williams (1989) suggests education is ordinary. "Always from those scattered white houses it made sense to go out and become a scholar a poet or a teacher." (p.5) Free secondary education made sense, not least because, prior to the 1965 Act, secondary education was available only for those that could afford it. On Whiddy at least one family sent their sons and daughters away to boarding schools to obtain secondary education - and one son did indeed become a teacher.

Again this supposed advance in National policies had detrimental, if unintentional, effects on the ecological harmony of Whiddy Island. Since the Act, at 12 years of age island children leave home and attend the secondary schools in Bantry. They stay in the town, from Sunday to Friday, either with relatives or in digs, only returning home for the weekend. It takes little imagination to accept this as an added disadvantage to settling on the island. Many ex-islanders when asked why they had not settled on the island when they married, gave this as the reason:

"Soon enough they will be going down the road with the bag packed. Nearly all the young ones emigrate sooner or later. Sure you would have to be saying good-bye to your children at twelve, if you were on Whiddy. The education is all important to-day and you can't hold them back. To get education they have to leave home too young. They are out in the town on their own, and no look after them when they are little more than babies. Once they leave and get used to the town ways they can't return. Years ago it was different we knew nothing else."

Indeed, the only person to marry and settle on the island, in the last twenty years, said:

"When I was first married and the children were small, I was happy enough. But I'd leave it now if I had the chance. The two older ones are already gone from us. It's too early from them to be outside. We have all the worry of getting someone else to mind them. My sister is very good but she has enough to do to mind her own. If you were on the mainland you could keep them at home till they did the leaving cert (at 18). They would go then either to the university or to get work. But that wouldn't be so bad at 18 you'd accept it."

These comments not only reflect the integral place of emigration in Irish culture to-day, but also the

unintentional consequences of the 1965 Education Act for the Whiddy Islanders. Compulsory, free, secondary education was to have beneficial consequences for the poorer people of Ireland. However, it has had a detrimental effect for Whiddy. Families are less inclined to settle on the island. Not only do the parents have to relinquish their children at 12 years of age, but the children leave the island and grow up schooled in the ways of the town, not of the island. Even if the islanders were not captivated by images of capitalism, loosing their children at 12 is an added disadvantage of being at home and reduces the cultural vitality of the island.

Furthermore the 1965 Act was part of the attempt to industrialise Ireland, and reflected Lemass' dream of an Ireland with a large and expanding manufacturing industry and a large employed workforce. An islander summed the situation up thus:

"I don't know what all the education is for really. They are only educating them to be discontent with what they have and what Ireland has. If you ask me they are educating them to emigrate and that's all there is to it."

Indeed, the content of the freely available secondary education, was geared not towards the Irish language or Irish culture, but towards industrial capitalism, science and technology.

Brown (1981) argued that the Government White Paper on Education in 1980 had only one real policy. "Technology is regarded as some kind of social panacea without which the

economy cannot thrive...There is no apparent awareness of the fact that technological creativity must be stimulated by an inclusive cultural vitality". (p.334) But Brown must acknowledge that without modern technology, and modern education programmes, the desire to industrialise and join the capitalist endeavour could not be inculcated in those citizens living in remote and far flung corners of Ireland. As one elderly islander said:

"Since the secondary education they all go away for jobs. Technology is taking over. Years ago everybody worked the land and did a bit of fishing on the side. We sold the fish to fish buyers in the town, who made more out of it than the fishermen. That time a train left Bantry twice a day, often with a full load of fish. They closed down the railway. Them ways is all gone now. I don't know what they are teaching them in the schools today, but its not what we learnt or valued."

Children schooled for industrial capitalism and with the expectation of paid employment as an end result cannot retain the values of the traditional agricultural economy. Nor can they return to the island way of life where there is no infrastructure to support their learned ideology. For them the island lacks cultural vitality. As one islander said:

"We haven't the facilities the young ones want now, never mind the jobs for them to do. Tending the land or fishing isn't good enough for them now. They are taught in the schools to turn away from it. We are great at talking. If we got paid for talking like you get paid for listening we'd be all right."

Thus again, the Whiddy Islanders are stranded between their educational experience and the expectation of paid

employment in an industrial capitalist society, whilst living in a rural society which can only provide traditional agricultural employment. If they wish to realise their expectation of paid employment they have no alternative but to leave, or to encourage their children to leave, the island.

Today's Whiddy Island teacher said:

"Sometimes I think there is too much emphasis on Irish. It is no use now to the children. They have to make their way in an English speaking country. They would get no job with Irish and that is what we aim for and what they expect. Education is still seen as very important by the country people. It is odd to only have three pupils of different ages, but they get a very good education and benefit from the personal attention of the teacher. There is no overcrowded classes on Whiddy. The experience of the older ones helps the younger ones. The fall in the population here can be attributed to four things, the media, education, employment prospects, emigration due to gulf".

The teacher has placed the interventions on the islander's lives in chronological order. Electricity arrived in 1961, (although the first television did not arrive until 1963) secondary education (and the resultant expectation of paid employment at home) was introduced in 1965 and the construction of the Gulf Oil Terminal started in 1966 and was opened in 1969. All three events occurred in the 60's. They were not only interrelated but also each was related to the attempt to industrialise Ireland.

The school roll has declined sharply since the 60's both because at 12 children are no longer registered at the Whiddy school and because when Gulf negotiated to buy the

land to construct the oil terminal, five families, a total of 23 people, approximately one third of the total population, emigrated from the island in the space of six months. Not only were the children of those families removed from the Whiddy School roll, but also islanders approaching marriageable age left the island and settled on the mainland depriving the island of the future generation of school children.

However, the intervention of Gulf did far more than increase emigration. As one islander said:

"You'd think all Whiddy was now was an oil terminal. No-one ever mentions it unless it is to do with the oil, or the tanks, or the tankers, or what money they made or hope to make. Every fellow has a different answer."

Indeed, the largest file of information I collected related to the oil terminal. Eipper's work and the Costello Report on the disaster together with numerous newspaper cuttings and magazine articles record its opening, the spillages that occurred during its operation, the disaster that closed it and the continuing debate on its re-opening. The modern descriptions of Whiddy bear out the islander view that all Whiddy is now is an oil terminal. (These descriptions can be contrasted with those of Cox (1690) and Smith (1750) quoted in Chapter 3.)

For example, McCormick (1974) said:

"This long, low-lying island, with its macadamised surfaces, is no beauty spot. Its chief significance today is as a terminal for oil tankers. In 1969 Gulf Oil Corporation established an oil distribution installation on the island, and some of the largest tankers in

the world ply between Kuwait and the oil terminal on Whiddy." (p.140)

Somerville Large ( 1977):

"Gulf Oil had chosen Bantry for its new oil terminal after an exhaustive search around the coasts of Europe. It was the first large company to realise the advantages the Bay afforded: a deep safe harbour and a government bending over backwards to entice it to settle in this depressed part of West Cork... "we are fully conscious of the wonderful scenery here," Mr E D Broderick, the chairman of Gulf had said. "it is our intention to preserve it as fully as possible, whilst still accomplishing the purpose of our project." An artificial hill was raised to screen the unsightly lines of tanks like over-blown mushrooms and the tankers themselves, whose size appeared to cleave the bay in two...Through the mist we could make out the vast shape of the tanker rising out of the waves and behind it lines of grey green tanks." (pp 153 and 154)

Islanders were also aware of the effects of Gulf on their environment. One said:

"They were supposed to landscape it by the way. So it wouldn't be an eyesore. All they did was paint the old tanks green. It isn't even green if you ask me. Its an ugly place. Its been closed ten years, but the strand is still all destroyed after them. The oil is baked into the rocks all around Whiddy. We lost half the population and half the island, and for what. God knows when the Betelgeuse went up we were lucky we didn't lose our lives too."

Gulf had profound effects on the culture of Whiddy Island. Paddy O'Carroll, UCC, pointed to these effects by stating: "The wedge was started by the introduction of local non-traditional employment." I would argue that for Whiddy Island the introduction of local non-traditional employment was not the start but the finish of the process of undermining the local agricultural culture.

As one islander said:

"Before Gulf came if we had something to do on the land or the sea, we thought we were employed. Since Gulf came to us we are idle if we don't have the pay packet. That's a big change you know. The few young ones that are left here, don't see what they do as work, they are merely passing the time till they get work. The older ones get the pension. After all the slaughter about Gulf we are still only scratching a living ourselves. In fact we are worse off. It's the old story - what you never had you never miss."

Eipper (1986) said in one of his rare references to the islanders:

"Gulf's interest in Bantry Bay became public in early 1966. ... The company was already having a profound influence on the area, transforming the Whiddy community, farmers selling land and moving off the island to buy elsewhere or become wage labourers - even employees of Gulf Oil itself. Farmers who had not sold their land also sought work on the construction of the terminal, or with Gulf Oil after its completion. The Gulf Oil intervention accomplished in less than a year what had taken emigration more than a century to achieve." (pp.53 - 54)

A century of emigration may have resulted in the islanders increased awareness of the urban industrial milieu, but the intervention of Gulf resulted in the introduction of this milieu to their everyday culture and their transformation from farmers/fishermen to wage labourers, albeit short lived. Whiddy Islander's did gain employment during the 3 year construction of the terminal. After the opening of the terminal in 1969, only 3 islander's remained in Gulf's employ.

Eipper's (1986) account above can be contrasted with the islanders own account of the coming of Gulf. One said:

"The Gulf started negotiating for the land here in January 1966. By the end of the year they had



started on the construction. All those who left had gone by June that year. They took what they had with them. They were sad and lonesome to be going. It took them ages to settle, they were plonked outside in the town it was an awful thing. They all had to buy their own place when they went out. Some of them went away in the night. . . . was a long time after the others agreeing to go. We were quite mad at them. We thought they were holding up the progress, you see. We thought, in our innocence, that Gulf would save us and we would all be rich after them. No more bother to us."

Another said:

"We thought when Gulf came to Whiddy we would never again see a poor day. It only made things worse for us really. We never missed the wages before because we had never had them. They came around November to start building, there were about 1,000 employed there. It brought prosperity to the town but the island got nothing from it. Only what we lost. Everybody got something out of it. Whiddy people got nothing. Whiddy men only got the dirty jobs, and the woman put some of the workers up during the construction. I had lodgers here, I was getting £5.00 a week with board. With the appetites they had it was costing that to feed them. Still we enjoyed the company. We made the most of it. We missed them then when the job was finished and they had gone."

The islanders do not refute Eipper's (1985) contention that Gulf Oil put the people of Bantry in a double bind situation, but deny it had any such import for the islanders. Eipper (1985) acknowledged that Gulf:

"Brought money to the town, but the more it did the more they became beholden to it. They became, in effect hostages to fortune, fearful of alienating their capricious benefactors. (p.209)

Thus, although the multi nationals created jobs they took them with them when they left and as Eipper (1985) asserts:

"The state's conspicuously lenient stance toward the regulation of Gulf did not derive from perceived homology of interests. On the contrary,

Gulf had to be treated with diplomacy simply because the risk of a pull-out were so great."  
(p.212)

In fact, the double bind of the Bantry people caused a rift between them and the islanders. The islanders were not party to the prosperity once construction was finished. The townspeople benefited from the tanker crews with shore leave and money to spend in the shops and the hotels. All Whiddy people got from the tankers was oil spillages and further threats to any possibility of livelihood from the sea. The Betelgeuse disaster was the epitome of the threat to Whiddy people. The disaster that closed the terminal was the final straw, and in many cases consolidated the islanders feelings of being duped by the Government and by Gulf.

Word Magazine, January 1989, carried an article entitled "Ireland's Islands" by Father O'Peicin the leader of the Group "Friends of the Islands." He said:

"In this case the motive is economic, or in blunt terms, naked profit. An Oil Terminal was built on Whiddy Island in 1969. Ten years later, fifty people lost their lives in the Betelgeuse tanker disaster. Soon after their entry to the Irish scene, Gulf Oil in 1973 were able to record an after tax-profit of 343 million. Press reports now suggest that the Whiddy Oil Terminal may be rebuilt. This would be welcomed, provided the Whiddy islanders be taken into consideration. But not once have they ever been mentioned."

As one islander said:

"There were never any proper safety precautions taken on the terminal. I suppose they thought no one would ever come to check, and there were too few of us to make any real fuss over it. The night it happened the fire hoses were out of order, the phones were out of order and there was no proper drill for the tugs to save them. What a terrible death those 50 men got. They were

burnt alive, God help them and rest their souls. Some of the bodies were never got. The enquiry only highlighted the lies told, but they got away with it. They never had any look after the Whiddy people. We were only in the way."

Another said:

"That night was terrible. It was a sight to God. The fire was like the jaws of hell. We all had to get off the island in the small boats and the fire raining down on us. We got no help to evacuate. They are supposed to be going to re-open it now with a single buoy mooring, instead of the jetty. The government want to get the hell out and don't won't to spend the money rebuilding the jetty. The risk of oil spillage is greater with a single buoy mooring. After what happened last time there should be more not less precautions. Wait till I tell you how it is. The time of the disaster we had oysters, they were selling for 15p each, we were warned not to dare sell them, they were poisoned with the oil. We waited 7 years for compensation, by then they were selling for 21p each but we got 7p for each oyster lost. We didn't want the extra but we should have got the 15p they were worth at the time. If we didn't accept we had to raise £10,000 to go to the High Court. We could have lost and we would have had to wait another 10 years, so we accepted. There will be objections flying everyday now, over the mooring. An oil spillage would wipe out the mussel beds and it would be three years before we could start again. The oil and mussels could work together, side by side like, but we need more assurances that there would be no trouble or leaks. Its all right for the town people to be in favour of re-opening but they won't be in danger. I was at a meeting there about it. You know what they said. In the event of another fire go to Ascons Jetty and you will be removed from the island. Can you imagine that. With that inferno raging and the danger of it coming back along the pipes and blowing up the tanks that we would go towards it. Any one with any sense will go away from a fire especially when there is danger of explosion. They don't care about the Whiddy people, but we won't lie down so easy next time."

Yet another said:

"Everyday there is something about its re-opening, but I think that's only all red

herrings. The Nigerians were supposed to want it, even the Russians were said to be interested, but there are no takers. They bring them in by helicopter to look at it, while we are still using the old punts. It will never again be open now. As the Government got wise and wouldn't give them so many concessions next time. Gulf operated here for nothing."

However, it is not only the Government that have got wise, the islanders too have very different feelings about any re-opening of the terminal. Their original optimism is no longer evident. Not only are there fears for the islanders safety in the event of a further disaster, but also the prosperity they envisaged did not materialise, and the pollution caused by Gulf prohibited the traditional reliance on the harvest of the sea.\*

Mussel farming was a new venture for the local fisherman, caused by necessity. As the oil sank fish and crustaceans that inhabit the deeper waters were polluted and therefore neither edible nor marketable. The mussel industry provided an answer as they grow on "stockings" suspended from

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\* The optimism Gulf brought to the island led to the closure of the co-operative creamery also. It was opened in 1952 and closed in 1968. The island farmers took the milk from their cows to the creamery every morning by horse and cart. The churns of milk were then treated and taken by boat to Bantry. From there they were picked up by lorry and taken to Aghadown Creamery to make butter. The Closure was with hindsight seen as a mistake by the Whiddy islanders. Similarly when visiting Bere Island, one islander said: "The creameries were the life blood of the islands. We had a government guarantee here that it would never close regardless of profit. But it did. The islanders themselves didn't want it anymore. There was a great mistake made. All the money is in milk now. You would get £1,000 for a cow with milk now, and the quotas and everything. It meant regular money for farmers when it was open, and it still would. It is an awful loss but it will never re-open. Them times are gone."

floating rafts within the bay. The rows of stockings are supported by barrels which can be seen strung across the bay "like rosary beads". Four island men are employed in the mussel industry, the rest have returned to farming, picking winkles from the shore, or are in their own terms "idle". Healy (1968) made the same point as the islanders on the effects of local non-traditional employment on his home town. Charlestown's "Gulf" was a six million pound drainage scheme which no longer exists. Temporary jobs and pay packets, for Charlestown as for Whiddy, merely:

"Increased the sense of futility when the job was up and the machines moved on and the local bonanza ended... (p.9) The humour is purely defensive. The same fruitless dialogue is heard all over the West and every man has his own solution and will never concede that the solution might be a combination of all those things and given a common desire to see this to work for it. And is it any different at national Government Level." (p.80)

It is not only the local and national definitions of the solution that differ, but also the local and national definitions of the problem. Father O'Peicin (The Southern Star, December 19th, 1987) stated that the islanders safety and the protection of the mussel industry were not being considered by the Government in their plans to re-open the terminal:

" One spill of oil and the mussel industry could be destroyed. Once construction work is completed on the terminal there will be few if any jobs available for Whiddy Islanders. Automation is the order the day now. Whatever jobs are needed will be technical and these will probably be filled by non-nationals. Those who live with the hazards of oil should get the benefits as well. Whiddy is holding the Oil Bomb

for the State. Is it too much to ask the State for fair play in return."

Father O'Peicin visited the island during my fieldwork and suggested to one of the islanders that what was needed was permanent local employment on the islands. "Industry must be brought to you," he said " and be locally controlled." The islander quickly retorted "And whose going to do the jobs, the few pensioners we have here now. Sure all that is too late for us now. Any industry that comes to Whiddy now, whether its the terminal or no, won't be manned by Whiddy people." Both Father O'Peicin and the national Government failed to identify the present number of the Whiddy population and the loss of the future generations of islanders as an integral part of the problem, for which they are seeking a solution.

Thus, once again the Gulf Oil Industry did not have the intended consequences for the Whiddy Islanders. The islanders expectation of continuing paid employment was not realised. Far from being able to enter the capitalist economy whilst remaining at home, islanders became, at best, part of the mobilised workforce which Marx described as a prerequisite of capitalism. Such a workforce is both willing and able to migrate, further entrenching the decline in the population. Furthermore, the Islanders' traditional fishing activities were severely curtailed by the pollution caused by many minor oil spillages from Gulf culminating in the major human and ecological disaster of the Betelgeuse.

However, the intervention of Gulf changed the islanders

ideology of work. The Whiddy Islanders changed from farmers/fishermen to wage labourers. This not only affected the islanders economic system, but also the islanders social and cultural system was changed by their inclusion (albeit briefly) in industrial capitalism.

Indeed, one of my strongest impressions as a child visiting the island was that the island had a culture where "no one worked". Of course people did work and work very hard on the island in my childhood - but this work was not the paid employment that I associated with the British industrial society of the same time. The fishing and farming activities of the islanders were in Marxist terms work not wage labour.

Before the 1960's the island did seem to fit the notion of communist society put forward by Marx (1938), in "The German Ideology":

"Society regulates the general production and thus makes it possible for one to do one thing today and another tomorrow, to hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, rear cattle in the evening, criticise after dinner ... without ever becoming hunter, fisherman, shepherd or critic." (p.33)

The same man (or woman) could be fishing in the morning, tending hay in the afternoon, setting the garden in the evening, and telling a good story after dark.

In my childhood, the division of labour was not apparent on Whiddy. Whole families would work in the fields to "save the hay". Daughters would accompany fathers on fishing expeditions and sons help their mothers around the house.

Members of the family worked together, and family members of both sexes rarely seemed to be away from the home, or from each other, for long. This was very different from my experience of work in England. My father left for the factory every morning, not to return again till late evening. No one from the family accompanied him, nor, indeed, knew what he did when at work.

Perhaps, as Redfield (1956) suggests, in England, my family were already subject to the market as both a state of mind and a place of trade. Redfield (1956) posited that:

"It is the market, in one form or another, that pulls out from the compact social relation of self-contained ... communities some part of men's doing and puts people into fields of economic activity that are increasingly independent of the rest of what goes on in local life." (p.46)

Gulf Oil took the Whiddy Islander's economic activity out of the fields. The introduction of paid labour was accompanied by a more pronounced division of their labour from the rest of their local lives. Gender divisions of labour also became much more pronounced. The men worked on the construction of the oil terminal and the women provided lodgings for mainland workers. Daughters could no longer accompany their fathers to work, and sons had the expectation of following their fathers into paid employment. Schwartz Cowan (1983) argued that:

"As each generation of fathers ceased to cut, haul and split wood, each generation of sons knew less and less how it should be done - and more and more about how to find and keep a job that paid wages." (p.63)



On Whiddy this process seemed to be accomplished within one generation. Not only did fathers cease to be involved in the domestic sphere but mothers ceased to work alongside fathers in the economic sphere. Sons therefore no longer helped their mothers around the house and daughters no longer worked in the fields or went fishing with their fathers. Both sons and daughters were educated to find and keep a job that paid wages. With hindsight, my childhood recollection should not have been that no one worked on Whiddy, but rather that no one went to a place of work and worked for set wages for set periods of time.

Indeed, wage labour also changed the Islanders' relationship to time. They became subject to what Thompson (1974) described as "the tyranny of the clock." One mainlander pointed to this change:

"Up until Gulf came there was no work to rule or to time. This changed their attitude to life. Industrialisation mechanised time in every area of their life. When they were farming and fishing they would stick at it as long it took to get the job done. It didn't matter if they were out for a day or an hour so long as they got the catch. Once they started working for a boss they got so much a week. They would do a certain amount every day, and no more. Irish lads who went to England, were told to slow down to make the job last. Those who stay are the same now. They get used to dodging the boss, and making the job last. In the 60s they were the first generation to get a regular wage, previously wages for farming and fishing were less certain. It is doubtful really if those who left were better off, and it made life worse for those who stayed."

Piven & Cloward (1972) noted that men:

"Bred to labour under the discipline of the sun

may resist the discipline of the factory and the machine, which though it may be no more severe, may seem so because it is alien." (p.6)

The Whiddy Islanders may have been bred to labour under the sun and the season but they did not resist the discipline of the factory, or deem it alien. (Of course Piven & Cloward were writing of sixteenth century England, and men who had not been subjected to the communication era.) For the Whiddy Islanders well versed in the images of capitalism and conversant with machines, wage labour was not alien. Their process of human adjustment to wage labour did not cause distress and disorganisation. Rather the distress and disorganisation they feel has much more to do with the unemployment the closure of the Gulf Oil terminal left in its wake.

Again, in contradiction of Marx's view of capitalism, the attempt at industrialisation did not alienate the islanders from the product of his work or from paid labour. Nor in Durkheim's terms did it create anomie in the work place. Rather the islanders became alienated from the traditional agricultural activities and were left in a state of anomie when the job was finished and the workers left and they realised how deserted their island had become. Not only did the islanders learn too late that real wealth was people, but they had no alternative other than to return to more traditional activities which they no longer valued, or to rely on State benefits, to ensure that their newly acquired bills were paid.

This, in itself, creates a conflict - modern services were adopted and the expectation was that modern employment would pay for them. The islanders are faced with managing these conflicts in their daily lives. One islander said:

"Sure God help us we don't know whether to work or play. Moreover, we don't know whether its work or play we are at anymore. Since Gulf work meant the pay packet - the work we do now, is hard enough but there is no pay packet at the end of it. As the old woman said long ago, and her son dying, 'We don't know whether to put on black stockings or smoke a cigarette.'

This is a trait described by Kearney (1985) in "The Irish Mind":

"from the earliest times the Irish mind remained free of the linear, centralising logic of the Graeco-Roman Culture ... (the) prevailing culture was based on Platonic-Aristotelian logic of non-contradiction ... Irish intellectual traditions represented something of a counter-movement to the mainstream of hegemonic rationalism ... often flew in the face of such logocentrism by showing that meaning is not only determined by a logic that centralises and censors but also by a logic which disseminates a structured dispersal exploring what is other, what is irreducibly diverse. ... The Irish mind may be seen to favour a more dialectical logic of both/and, an intellectual ability to hold the traditional oppositions of classical reason together in creative confluence." (p.9)

Sean O'Faolain (1947) gives a charming example of this in "The Irish", that of the old West Cork woman who was asked "Do you really believe in the fairies?" and who replied " I do not, but they're there." (p.31) The Whiddy Islanders may well now believe in industrialisation and capitalism but in their daily lives the reality of paid employment is not there.

The Irish mind may well have remained free of linear logic

from the earliest times, simply because their experience belied it. They have no option but to embrace a dialectic option of both/and, as the contradictions of their daily lives renders their reality irreducibly diverse.

Irish history seems often to be little more than a series of paradoxes. The islanders were placed in a paradoxical situation by their language, by the creation of the Gaeltacht areas, by the national education system, by the introduction of technology, the attempt to industrialise, and the entreaty to find paid employment in a society where none exists to be found. The final paradox for the Whiddy Islanders may well be that dependence on the land has been replaced with dependence on the State. As one ex-islander said:

"We were told to give up the subsistence economy, if you please. Now in order to subsist we have to have money to pay for everything. If you ask me it's still only a subsistence economy we have. When you think back to years ago, we were more or less self-sufficient. A lot of what we had was free - the water, and the peat for the fires, for one thing. We used to buy the bit of oil for the trolley lamps, but we had no electric bills and no TV licences, the petrol for the cars, and all that crack. Now we have to pay for all these things, and we haven't the jobs. Hand-outs from the State are only another kind of subsistence if you ask me."

The decline of Whiddy island is due to the irresolvable paradoxes in the logic of their situation. The mutually reinforcing paradoxes become the single overdetermining paradox of their level of involvement with, and dependence on, the Nation State. Contradictions are brought to bear on

their local everyday life by the policies and processes introduced through this channel of involvement. Little wonder their own culture now lacks vitality and the lure of the city centre has replaced the traditional relationship with the land.

From the time when the English colonial settlers were rewarded for removing the Irish from the land and replacing them with British settlements, successive governments of Ireland have done little to ensure that the Irish, can or will, remain at home. The Irish Government from its formation in 1921 to the present day is criticised for not being Irish at all, but rather based on the English modes of Government learnt during the occupation. Indeed, they are accused of accepting the ascendancy's creed and not having produced a new form of Government appropriate to the Free State.

However, I would argue that the new form of Government was not so much based on modes of government learnt during the occupation and the ascendancy's creed, as on modes of government appropriate to independent nation states. In the sixties they adopted the creed of industrialisation and capitalism. Neither was appropriate for the rural culture of Ireland.

The CDB was the first of a long series of national policies designed to reform country people's idea of their own life. The political decisions to form the Gaeltacht, improve education for the people, industrialise Ireland and break

the economic ties with England, led to the devitalising of the rural culture of Ireland. The images portrayed of the traditional Irish way of life, except when aimed at tourists, are either negative, or placed within a stagnant past.

Thus, I would argue that the disadvantages the Whiddy islanders find at home, are a direct result of the implementation of national policies. These policies led to the islanders becoming both disenchanted with, and disadvantaged by, their traditional way of life. It is not so much that they became captivated by images of capitalism as Brody (1973) suggests, but rather these images filled the vacuum created by the demise of their traditional way of life, and the devitalisation of their traditional culture. The Whiddy Islanders, as state citizens, adopted the ideology of industrial capitalism whilst lacking the organisational structures to support it. Their culture has fallen between two stools. If the attempt to industrialise had been accompanied by organisational support, a new culture would have emerged with its own integral vitality. National policies for industrialisation conflict with the local agricultural reality and the result is a conflict of the two societal forms. Thus, the policies of the Irish Government in the 1960's attempted to industrialise Ireland whilst the country lacked the wherewithal to support a capitalist economy. As a result the Whiddy Islanders are left with an ideology their way of life cannot support.

Thus O'Hanlon (1976) was led to describe the Irish as:

"A people who are wandering around slightly dazed after a head-on collision with the 20th Century" (p.16)

More forcefully Brown (1981) said:

"The end of the 70s was the end of an Irish Era. The Current state of the national psyche is punch drunk mental confusion. The Irish now have no serviceable self image. The 70s put paid to the version of Ireland as a Gaelic, Catholic and republican nation. Despondency is on the increase. There is no confidence in Ireland's ability to control its own future." (pp.329-330)

Sean Lemass espoused industrialism and capitalism as the way forward for the nation in the sixties. The industrial revolution never materialised in the rural areas. The rural dweller is thus left with no serviceable self-image. Faced with the insoluble problem, of applying the ideology of industrialisation in a rural setting which does not have the infrastructure or the organisations to support it, they become captivated by capitalism's own account of itself, which will provide the good life for anyone.

National policies have a direct effect on the personal ideology of those people subjected to them. It is not the mentalities and imagination of the people, but the force of national policies and their implementation that explains precisely how the islanders reformed their idea of their own life, and ultimately became captivated by the allure of the urban centres.

Whether intentional or unintentional, these policies valued the modern over the traditional, industrialisation over agriculture, and placelessness over rootedness in place.

The implementation of these policies explains both how and why "the islanders came to expect more from life than their island could provide."



## CHAPTER FIVE

### WHAT'S ALL THE HURRY FOR

#### DISCUSSING MECHANISED TRANSPORT

The influences of the Gulf Oil Terminal on Whiddy Island were many, but one of the most significant was the presumably unintentional introduction of mechanised vehicles to Whiddy Island. The construction of Gulf changed the islanders from farmers/fishermen to wage labourers. The introduction of mechanised transport not only embedded wage labour in their traditional agricultural economy, but also further eroded the traditional culture of the island. Prior to 1966 when the Oil Company started the construction of the terminal, tractors and cars were not found on Whiddy. The horse was used for farm labouring and the horse drawn cart, or pony and trap, used for transporting people and goods.

In 1967, the Oil Company provided a large flat bottomed boat - The Whiddy Worker - which transported machinery and jeeps from the mainland to the island. The machinery was necessary to undertake the construction of the terminal. The jeeps were used to transport staff around the island. The island men were employed in the construction of the terminal and were consequently in the position where they were earning a regular weekly wage. The Whiddy Worker provided the means of transporting vehicles to the island,

the earning of regular wages provided the islanders with the wherewithal to purchase them. Thus, the opportunity to acquire mechanised transport arose and was taken up by the islanders.

Of the thirteen houses on the island eight now have at least one form of mechanised transport:-

Five have no form of transport.

Three have both a tractor and a car.

Two have one car.

Two have more than one car.

One has a tractor only.

However, to the outsider, mechanised transport affords the islanders both considerable expense and considerable hardship. Before the advent of the car, horses could be brought (and sold) in Bantry on Fair Day - the monthly market day for the area. If an islander wished to purchase or to sell a horse at the market, a halter was made for the horse and the horse could swim alongside the islander's boat whilst crossing the bay. The halter ensured that the horse's head was kept above water during the journey. Horses, once on the island, mated and reproduced themselves as a mode of transport for the islanders. Their "fuel" was both free and freely available in the island fields. When they died they were buried and fitted into the life cycle of a rural community. Only the Fair Day purchase price of the horse involved any financial cost to the islander, and even then it was often a barter system (mainly of other animals) that

was used rather than a cash exchange.

Conversely, mechanised transport has to be introduced to the island at some considerable financial cost. The Whiddy Worker has to be hired, the car purchased and several people involved in its transportation and paid "for their trouble". Once there, its fuel has to be brought to it and paid for. Islanders carry out a seemingly constant, and often imaginative, amateur car maintenance programme on their cars, and when they are beyond repair, they are not buried - but can be seen lying around the island as rusting corpses. It is now necessary to include the purchase of petrol from the mainland garage on the weekly shopping list. Islanders when going to town by boat carry with them a two gallon petrol drum. This is then carried from the Bantry pier to the garage, where it is left for filling by the garage attendant. On the way home from the day-long shopping trip - the drum, now full, is collected and carried again to the boat. Unloaded from the boat at the Whiddy quay and then put into the trailer with the rest of the shopping, taken to the house and later funnelled into the car. This happens every week, and is a far cry from most car drivers experience of refuelling, simply by pulling into a petrol station. The laborious nature of obtaining petrol for the islanders can also be contrasted to the apparent ease of feeding a horse. One islander said:

"We used to drive down in the horse and carts. The old horse was untackled and left to graze on the bank, while we did the shopping. He had

plenty petrol. There was no need to be bringing in gallons for the old horse."

This analysis can be extended to all islands who do not possess a roll-on roll-off car ferry. For example in "Field and Shore, Daily Life and Traditions on the Aran Islands" (produced by the Curriculum Development Board and edited by O'Sullivan 1987) the concluding chapter entitled "Modern Aran" has a section on Transport on the Islands. It states:

"For most people small donkey or horse carts are still the main form of transport but the number of cars has been increasing on Inishmore, since the first one arrived in 1959. Distances are too short on the other islands for the car to be of any use. Tractors are used... Motor bikes are common... The possession of mechanically propelled vehicles presents problems which do not exist on the mainland. There are no filling stations on the islands, so all petrol and diesel fuel has to be imported in drums... Furthermore they have to be taken to the mainland or parts have to be brought out to the islands for servicing and maintenance, both operations involving heavy freight charges. Except for a few tarred "main roads" on Inishmore, roads on Aran are dirt tracks. The car owner complains that the bumpy dirt roads ruin their cars, and the horse and donkey owners complain that the tarred roads do not give their animals enough grip!" (p.164)

Given the seemingly impractical consequences for islanders of replacing the horse with the car and the tractor, it is necessary to ask the questions : why did the islanders avail themselves of mechanised transportation and what were the social consequences of replacing the horse with the tractor and the car?

The starting point in any discussion of islanders transportation should start with transportation across water. Prior to 1960, when the first outboard motor was

purchased by an islander, the island punts were propelled either by sail or oars. When ever possible sails were used but in the absence of wind or in treacherous winds oars would be used. I asked one islander why he changed to the outboard engine in 1965. He replied:

"The outboard was the best thing we ever had. When we got used to them, we'd go fishing with them. We would get there quicker, and have no strain or a bit. To row out to Bantry would take half an hour in good weather, its fifteen minutes with the outboard. The engine I have now is a grand engine. Mind you, the old sailing boats were just as speedy. You could row to Bantry on your own if you had an empty boat. If you had passengers or messages you'd need two really to do it. You never need anyone with you if you have an engine. We used to row to Castletown fishing. We would go away with two oars and two paddles. Its a good spell, 32 miles. It would be four or five hours sculling away. We would have the primus in the boat and the boil the kettle and all for ourselves. They were good old days really. I could still do it if I had to. That's more than can be said for the young ones now. My own son couldn't row to Bantry now, although he was in the last Whiddy crew for the gig races. The Whiddy gig was sold in 1980 to the Bantry crew. She was the new forty footer, the fibre glass one, the old Whiddy blue fell asunder. Do you remember the ballad they used have about it. About "Bere island had one gig and Whiddy had two, The new forty footer and the old Whiddy blue." I can't remember any more of it. Its equal be damned now, as there will never be another Whiddy crew. What races we won. There was a boat builder on Whiddy you know, he was a first cousin of .... They say he could make the grandest boat in all Cork. He's gone now too. We had a cattle boat too, for four or five years. Four or five of us owned it together. It was allowed to fall asunder after Gulf came in. That was a crying shame, it was a grand boat. We have to use the Whiddy Worker now. What changes there has been too when you think about it."

I have used this quote in full as it demonstrates how asking

about a new technology elicits so much fascinating information on the past. People do not talk directly about the technology but rather about change. By describing the past they elucidate the present. There is, indeed, always a past in the present. As already stated, the ethnographer makes the links between implements and habits and the effects technologies have had on "interior transformations of consciousness", and vice versa.

This same islander also said:

"You'd be ashamed nowadays to be seen swimming a horse to Bantry. They'd think you couldn't afford the Whiddy Worker and were a real old timer. Them ways are all old-fashioned now." He paused for a while then added wistfully "I don't suppose there is a man left who would know how to make the halter for it now, or keep it's head up and stop it drowning. They were clever men that could do it you know".

Similarly, when I visited Bere Island one Bere islander said:

"We are too near to the mainland and too influenced by it. We are not islanders anymore, we want to be mainlanders, to live like they do. We don't take our own boats in and out anymore. Well we do but the number who can is dropping every year. I have sons who couldn't take a boat to Castletown. Well they could on a summer's day when any old gom (fool) could do it, but on a bad winter's day they wouldn't stand a chance of making it. It's only half a mile. They don't have to now you see. The ferry is there and they can use that whenever they want to get off the island. They can drive on it and drive off and away for the day. Its £10.00 to take a car. Everyone, even the Old Age Pensioners have to pay £1.50 for a return trip. Except the secondary school children, they go free. A grant from the government covers them. Its all money now and no-one wants the hardship of rowing when they can walk on, or drive on the ferry. I suppose its progress but I don't know if it is or not."

The detailed accounts of change given by the islanders articulate clearly, through biography, the most important attributes of technology. Hill (1988) describes these attributes academically. He argues that technological systems reflect:

"the culture of the time (which) was increasingly placing an emphasis on individuality, and privatised possession of unique status symbols".  
(p.192)

and:

"the need to enter the cash economy was a direct product of the introduction of the technical system in the first place" (p.76)

and new technology, renders the common stock of technical knowledge:

"useless as far as the acquisition or production of modern technologies is concerned ... the indigenous knowledge becomes 'common', useless, and associated with a past order the people are escaping... (It) challenges the wisdom of the old whose authority depended on integrating technical knowledge with all life and its meaning." (pp 81-82)

The islanders' quotes suggest that technology is responsible for both positive and negative changes in their way of life. The outboard motor is seen as a natural progression from sails and oars, allowing them in Gehlen's (1980) terms, to perform beyond the potential of their organs, to extend performance, and save effort. The outboard was for the islander "a grand thing" - offering them Gehlen's (1980) combination of three different capabilities as a replacement, strengthening and facilitation technique. Yet within these capabilities the exceptional skills of the islandman's ability to row and negotiate the waves has been

forfeited.

Put simply, alien artefacts brought with them mainland influences. The islanders became party to the hierarchy of individual consumption above shared responsibilities, to the money economy above shared ownership, and to the placing of modern information above traditional wisdom. This may tell us what the social consequences of adopting mechanised transport were, but offers no explanation as to why the islander's adopted the system so eagerly.

The outboard introduced mechanised transport into the daily lives of the islanders. It was a technical expression of the islanders willingness to embrace modernity and move away from an interdependent relationship with other islanders towards an ethos of individualism and independence and scientific control of nature. For the islanders the outboard initiated what the tractor and car consolidated.

On the land, the reaping hook was replaced by the horse drawn mowing machine, which in turn was replaced by the tractor. It could be argued that the islanders went from depending on each other, to depending on the horse, to depending on machines. The local history of the artefacts being the material manifestation of the national history of Ireland.

Kopytoff (1986) suggests that things, as well as people, have biographies that produce a wealth of cultural data. This, in itself, lends weight to the argument that technology and its material manifestation, i.e. things, are



cultural phenomena. Further, I would suggest that things, as well as people, also have ancestors. The ancestors of the outboard were oars and sails, those of the car were the horse and the tractor. The islanders certainly see this advance as a linear progression, each phase following logically from the one before. Indeed, the islanders often include the horse in their definitions of cars and tractors. One said:

"The old horse did a lot of work in his day. Between farming and fetching and carrying, we could not have managed without him. Now the tractors and cars do it all for us, but it is still the same thing we are doing. Some things change but not everything."

As Silverstone (forthcoming) suggests "The particular route that each object follows as it runs its life-history ... illuminates not just its own biography but also throws light onto the culture and cultures through which it moves. ... they reveal the changing qualities of the shaping environment through which they pass." Discussing the life history of the car may be more helpful than discussing the biography of individual cars in assessing both cultural changes and cultural stability. The life history of the car suggests that the horse is the embryonic stage of the tractor, the car its maturation to adulthood. Again, the life history of things and the actions and ideology of those using them are interrelated.

Prior to mechanisation all the island farmers would travel (on foot, by horse or horse drawn vehicle) from house to house in the good weather and help each other to "save the

hay". Islanders freely exchanged a days work with their neighbours. The residents of the house whose hay was being saved would provide a meal for the workers at the end of the days work, and usually porter or whiskey as well.

O'Neill (1977) suggests: "A meithal or voluntary gathering is no longer essential (or possible with depopulation) so many of the most joyful occasions in rural Ireland have disappeared." (p.89) From O'Neill's point of view mechanisation rendered the meithal unnecessary and this joyful pattern of social and shared interaction a thing of the past. However as the islander said "not everything changes". With the coming of mechanisation to Whiddy Island, the meithal did not disappear. The meithal still exists on the island, but mechanisation has changed it from a social and shared interaction to a part of the cash economy.

The agricultural economy of the island today is a curious mixture of the meithal and the money economy. What was enjoyable has been saved and islanders still gather to "save the hay " and enjoy a meal and a drink afterwards. However, they also receive a cash payment for their trouble and the use of their machines. Once equipment is seen as expensive and costly to run, cash changes hands when it is used. Prior to mechanisation men did not sell their labour. The wind needed for sailing, the man power needed for rowing and the horse power needed for ploughing, were all seen to cost nothing and were therefore both freely acquired and freely

employed.

Sahlins (1977) suggests historical materialism is a self awareness of bourgeois society within the terms of that society. Use value is no less symbolic or arbitrary than commodity value. In contemporary culture, "no object, no thing has being or movement in human society except by the significance men can give it." (p.170) For islanders it would seem that the tractor is given the significance of a capitalist commodity and therefore implies and requires inclusion in the money economy for its use. The horse was a part of nature and the agricultural economy, not a capitalist commodity and therefore did not imply the money economy. As Barthes (1972) suggests we may resent seeing nature and history confused in contemporary life, if we scrape away at what appears natural we uncover history. Cultural beliefs taken as natural will be revealed as historical.

Mechanisation embedded the capitalist system in the island's agricultural culture. As O'Neill (1977) purports "even though a money economy has operated in most parts of Ireland for centuries, rural dwellers regarded self-sufficiency as normal and earnings were often only needed for the payments of rents, taxes and tithes." (p.82) As the money economy became embedded in island society, so did the notions of capitalist commodities.

Money was needed not only for the payment of rents, tithes and taxes, but for payment of household bills and for the

Whiddy Island is, at the very least, debatable.

Firstly, the islanders actually visit each other less frequently than previously and face to face interaction has been severely curtailed by the introduction of the motor car. My childhood memory, and that of the islanders also, is that when out walking if a horse and cart passed you, the driver would stop to have a chat, even offer you a lift. One islander said:

"Before we had all the cars anyone you would meet would be generally as interested in you as you were in them. To-day if you are out walking they fly past in the car and all you can do is stand into the ditch or be thrown down. I don't know what all the hurry is for. No-one stops to talk any more."

Donnan and McFarlane (1986) identified the same social consequence of the car in rural Northern Ireland thus:

"Cars have done away with the necessity for stopping to have a chat on the road, one can signal one's social concern with the subtle wag of the finger at the steering wheel." (p.395)

More academically Lefebvre (1971) says:

"It might be interesting to point out some curious phenomena: motorized traffic enables people and objects to congregate and mix without meeting, thus constituting a striking example of simultaneity without exchange, each element tucked away in its shell; such conditions contribute to the disintegration of city life and foster a 'psychology' or, better a 'psychosis' that is peculiar to the motorist." (pp 100-101)

This psychosis is not only to be found in city drivers - or its effect felt only in the disintegration of city life. It can be, and is, identified by the islanders themselves, as a consequence of the introduction of the car both on the

purchase and subsequent running costs of machinery. Furthermore men's labour also became a commodity, and was available for sale or purchase. Thus one ex-islander said:

"People have got independent and drifted away from their neighbours. It can't be helped. Money is at the root of it. Years ago everyone would give a days work for nothing. It worked well - you came to me one day and I came to you the next. It was seen as fair. If I had an old horse and bring him to you, it was no bother. The tractor is different though. It's an expensive piece of equipment. You'll get no day's work with a tractor for nothing. The man with a tractor was set apart from the one without, the horse was different."

Thus, the tractor embedded the ideology of industrial capitalism in the islander's economic system and the automobile further entrenched this ideology in their everyday lives. Hill (1988) agreed with Lefebvre (1971) that the car is a "leading object". For Hill (1988):

"The automobile symbolised the entry of the machine system into personal life ... leading symbols are connected in a progressive trajectory, where each emergent superordinate symbol implies those that went before." (p.103)

Therefore, the adoption of the automobile by the islanders may be seen as hardly surprising. It was part of a progressive trajectory, and was implied by both the horse and the tractor. Furthermore, it offered the only practical solution to what Sorensen (1991) called:

"a totally new pattern of mobility - and probably social interaction ... travel became more frequent, the speed of travel increased substantially, and this has made it possible to interact with people within a far larger area than previously". (p.114)

However, whether this new pattern of mobility exists on

individual psychology of the 40 remaining islanders and on the collective way of life. It is surely a paradox that the car whilst being hailed as a means of communication actually prevents meeting, exchange and face to face conversation.

Indeed, on Whiddy as Hill (1988) said of society more generally, "the automobile privatised life. It broke the social cohesion between work, play and living domains." (p.194) However Hill's reason for this privatised life cannot be applicable to Whiddy. For the islanders it is clearly not the case that "social networks became scattered across the territory that automobiles could reach, rather than being located within the immediate neighbourhood." (p.194) Yet the car has had precisely this effect of privatising life on the island.

Secondly, the speed of travel may have increased to a limited degree, but the geography of the island prevents this being of any major consequence. The furthest one can go in any direction is three miles, and then one is travelling on single track roads designed to accommodate the horse and cart and fraught with blind bends. Two cars cannot pass on these roads and in order to negotiate them safely in a car travelling at anything above fifteen miles an hour is nothing short of foolhardy. If a car driver is thought to be going too fast for the single track roads of the island, the following are typical of islander's comments:

"You'd think he had a plane to catch the speed of him";  
"You'd think the devil himself was after him the speed he's going";  
"Look at the speed of him and he having nothing to do and all day to do it in";  
"God help him if he meets any fellow coming up around the turn, and help the other fellow more".

Thirdly, on Whiddy Island the car cannot increase the number of people the islanders can interact with. They can still only interact with the forty remaining islanders, within the same area. Once they get to the edge of the island the car becomes useless - it cannot without the introduction of a boat increase the area with which they can interact. For the islander a car does not make it possible "to link up geographically distant objects in a reasonable, fast, flexible and comfortable way."

So as Sorensen (1991) suggests:

"There is more to driving behaviour than just the technical characteristics of the cars. Consequently, we need a different perspective to understand the phenomena - a perspective that allows us to conceive of the car as an ensemble of culture, politics and economy. ... we can analyse the car system as a large technological system ... a system consisting of roads, gas stations, oil companies, ... numerous public institutions, etc." (pp. 110 -111)

As I have attempted to show, and to some extent should be self evident, on Whiddy Island this large technological system is not available to the car driver. The mere ownership of a car cannot for the Islander give them access to these numerous public institutions.

Thus the answer to the question; why did the islanders avail themselves of mechanised transport cannot be embedded in

understandings that are merely practical, it saves them very little time and effort and certainly saves them no money. Nor can they be embedded in the technical characteristics of the car, which are not relevant to travelling only within a three mile radius. Nor does the car give the islander access to the larger technical system.

Sorensen (1991) argues:

"Another network appears to have been of far greater importance. The political labelling of the private car as luxury was by no means unambiguous. The car was also an important symbol of modernity, perhaps the most striking one ... the car as a system was closely integrated into their visions of the future."  
(p.117)

The key to understanding the islanders adoption of mechanised transport can be found within the language of their quotes. Interestingly the horse is nearly always described as "the old horse" - whilst speeding in a car is linked to "having a plane to catch or being in a hurry". Swimming a horse to Bantry is "old-fashioned," and islanders are now "influenced by the mainland and wish to live like they do". Thus, I would argue that islanders adopted the car as a symbol of modernity and a vision of the future. Hill (1988) asserts "each immediate system-artefact implies the other elements in the system." (p.71) To use an automobile assumes a road-based transportation system, which in turn implies a wider system of urban design and values. The islanders consume the car as a sign of their progress, along, with the rest of Ireland's state citizens into the age of modernity. It implies and is a symbol of their



inclusion in the wider system of urban design and values, in spite of their geographical location which precludes their complete involvement in a road-based system.

As one islander said:

"We are as good as the rest of them. We can drive and operate all the machines, only we haven't the roads and the access to the rest of the country. In a way we are better as we can take a boat in and out as well."

Thus, the islander derives status from the car, as a symbol of their entry into the larger technical systems and as a measure of the islanders' willingness both to adopt and to be included in the consumer oriented phase of the twentieth-century industrial order, limited only by their geographical position. For them the car is less of a status symbol and more of a symbol of modernity than for the mainlander.

The symbolic significance of the car does not deny O'Neill's (1977) point: "That the importance of vehicles as an index of man's status was as great in early historic times as modern vehicles are in contemporary society". (p.76)

Nevertheless, it is difficult to equate the physical attributes of island cars with Barthes (1972) description:

"I think cars today are almost the exact equivalent of great Gothic cathedrals:" (p.88)

Or Lefebvre (1971):

"The car is a status symbol, it stands for comfort, power, authority and speed."(p.102)

For mainland drivers the technical characteristics of the car may, in large part, account for its status. For the island driver the status a car confers certainly does not

I would argue that the absurd,\* levelling significance of the motor car is more evident on Whiddy Island, and more amazing than in large, anonymous, urban societies. Even for these 40 kinship related people living in an isolated geographical position with an agricultural economy, the car has given rise to the attitudes of modernity and imposed its laws on everyday life. The vehicle may have been an index of man's status in early historical times, but objects of historic societies reflected that society's cultural codes, and the collective nature of men, whilst the transport of modern state capitalism reflects the cultural codes of independence and private ownership. Thus a lift in a horse and cart was freely offered and seldom refused, but a lift in a car has to be requested, and often the driver is "paid" for his petrol and his trouble. Brothers and sisters can now pass on the road without stopping to speak.

The levelling significance of the car on the islanders way of life, and their adoption of economic, psychic and social attitudes it gives rise too, do suggest that McLuhan was

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\*Of course, the example of the Sri Lanka fisherman acquiring televisions without the electricity system needed to view them seems equally absurd. So too it can seem absurd for the Whiddy Islanders to consume cars without the access to to the transport system needed to realise their potential. However, this is not as Stirratt (1989) asserted merely a form of consumption that apes central values, but rather as Gell (1986) asserts for the Sri Lankan television owners, for Whiddy Islanders the car symbolised what their own lives were not. Whilst their lives are isolated and space bound, the car symbolises inclusion in the wider society and mobilisation. Moreover the car represents a vision of the future, whereas their traditional way of life is associated only with the past.

derive from its technical and aesthetic characteristics nor from the outlandish cost of the car. Island cars are predominantly Volkswagen Beetles, old, rusty, and dented. Often lacking brakes, lights and seats. As one islander said:

"Any old thing at all will do you in here. So long as the wheels keep going round at all we keep driving them."

It may not be possible to go as far as Barthes (1972) and say that for the islander the car is "consumed in image if not in usage by a whole population which appropriates them as a purely magical object" (p.88) but I would argue that it "is consumed as a sign in addition to its practical use, it is something magic, a denizen from the land of make believe." (Lefebvre 1971 p.102) The islanders consume the car as a sign. They make believe that its ownership symbolises their inclusion in the modern industrial world, and derive the status of equal state citizenship with other Irishmen from this inclusion.

As Lefebvre (1971) asserts:

"What is also significant is the place of the car in the only global system we have identified, the system of substitutes. . . . It is an imposing technical object . . . and figures also in a simple, unimposing functional and structural social complex where it plays an increasingly important part; it gives rise to an attitude (economic, psychic, sociological etc.) assumes the dimension of a complete object and has an (absurd) significance; in fact the motor car has not conquered society so much as everyday life on which it imposes its laws and whose establishment it ensures by fixing it on a level (levelling it)." (p.101)

right after all. The medium is the message. Rather than remaining an isolated, autonomous community the island was introduced to McLuhan's "Global Village" by the introduction of the artefact alone. If this position is accepted, technological determinism cannot be avoided. However, the artefact is subject to re-reading and writing of those receiving it.

Eco (1986) in his essay " Reports from the Global Village," also refuted technological determinism. He argued that if the medium is the message, "the contents of the message will not depend on the author but on the technical and sociological characteristics of the medium." (p.136) Liberated from content the addressee receives only a global ideological lesson, the call to passivity - media triumphs, the human dies. He concluded that the chemical composition of every communicative act is not the same and the receiver has a residual freedom to read the message in a different way. "The battle for the survival of man in the communications era is not to be won where the message originates but where it arrives." (Eco, 1986 p.142)

Thus, the islanders read these messages and incorporate them into their way of life. So once again it is necessary to look at the daily use the islander makes of mechanised transport, their residual freedom to read the car and the tractor in a different way from mainlanders, to understand the phenomenon. An ex-islander said:

"You wouldn't expect the young to stay on Whiddy now. I wouldn't go back there either. I

couldn't imagine having to mess about putting all my shopping in a boat. We just drive to the supermarket and throw it all into the car. I'm home in a hour. For the old people left there, shopping takes all day, and its all fetch and carry. I don't know how they stand the hassle of it now. God knows I sometimes think it would be a good thing if they all left it, besides hanging on till they can't do it anymore and are made to leave. I worry about them. Still I suppose they are happy with the old ways and too old to change now."

Most of the remaining islanders may be too old to change, but there is certainly no evidence that they do not adapt to change.

The global ideological lesson and call to passivity is, as ever, mediated by the addressee. Levi-Strauss' bricoleur is very much in evidence on Whiddy. New technologies are absorbed into the traditional stock of knowledge by imitation and improvisation. Machines are indeed re-invented and re-innovated and adapted to fit into the islanders way of life. The medium may have a message, but the message is re-written in use.

The tractor is used not only as a piece of farm machinery, but for those who possess only a tractor it doubles as a car. It is used in the transportation of goods and people also.

The message of the car is adapted at its point of arrival also. A Beetle owner finding herself without headlights, adapted to the situation by ensuring that she had a passenger when out after dark. The passenger would hold a flashlamp through the open window to compensate for the lack of headlights. Another car owner had no brakes and would

consequently stop his Beetle by driving into the ditch - seemingly totally unconcerned that the front wings of the car were being severely dented in the process. There is no lower age limit set as to when island children can be taught to drive. Some island drivers cannot reverse a car, all drivers know who these people are. When meeting a non-reversing driver the other driver will reverse until a suitable passing place is encountered. The geographical isolation of the island adds another dimension of freedom to the residual freedom of the islandman to read the message of the car idiosyncratically.

For Lefebvre (1971) the car "may have its own code, the Highway Code, a fact that speaks for itself", (p.103) but for the Whiddy Islanders this code is a self-created one - based more on traditional knowledge than on capitalist codes. Despite the significance of the car as a symbol of modernity the island drivers have adapted and produced a code for its use based on a common stock of knowledge. Indeed, as Hill (1988) asserts "the knowledge that weaves social practices into the ecological niche that the society inhabits." (p.81) Islanders know each other, know and recognise, often simply by sound, each others cars, know every turn in the road and every place where it is wide enough for two cars to pass, etc.

Their Highway Code is based on this common knowledge, and in this way can be seen as an extension of traditional life based on custom and wisdom, rather than being the received

cultural codes of modernity based on law and information.\*  
On Whiddy the car can have a use over and above that of transport system. Old tyres can be used to decorate gardens, children use them as swimming aids, tyres are cut and used on all the punts as fenders to prevent the boats being damaged when hitting each other or the quay. It is an incongruous sight to see an old, bright yellow, Volkswagen Beetle door filling a gap in a traditional stone wall that would once have been filled with twigs or a home made wooden gate. Innovation is certainly always present. O'Neill (1977) suggested "the ingenuity of the country-man and his ability to use simple materials to be found readily at hand rarely found greater expression than in some of the donkey harnesses used extensively in all Irish counties till well into this century."(pp.73-74) It would seem that the modern country man uses the different things he finds to hand with equal ingenuity - car doors can for the modern islandman become a gate and the same islandman can equally well use his traditional knowledge to turn a pair of old trousers into a collar for a donkey. Change is not total, relics of the past and visions of the future are operating in parallel on the island.

Sahlins (1977) adopted the Marxist position "that animals reproduce only themselves while men reproduce the whole of

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\* It will be interesting to see if the Belgian drives his tourist bus in accordance with the local code of the islanders, or replaces it with the accepted highway code of the mainland.

nature... Production is the reproduction of culture in a system of objects." (p.178) Men produce machines, and if one accepts that nature for most men is now modern state capitalism, all the cultural codes of capitalist society are reproduced within the machine. Objects are incomplete without consumption. Culture defines objects in terms of itself and vice versa. Thus, islanders consume mechanised transport, completing production, and then define their culture in terms of the machine and the machine in terms of their culture. For whilst the object may be incomplete without consumption, in the absence of consumption industrial capitalism becomes non-existent. By this process the cultural codes of capitalist society amalgamate with the traditional codes of the island producing the synthesis that is now their everyday life.

The adoption of mechanised labour and transport of goods and people on the Island again belies the Marxist notion of economic determinism. Everyday life on Whiddy to-day reflects the cultural codes of modern state capitalism. As already stated the island has no industry, yet the islanders have willingly embraced the symbols of modernity and the ideology of capitalism.

However, it is problematic to replace a crude economic determinism with an even cruder technological determinism. The Marxist slave to the economy duped into accepting exploitation by false consciousness, merely becomes the Marcusean slave to technology duped by machines into



becoming a one-dimensional man. Rather technology is a cultural product. Like all cultural products it has a symbolic value in the mythic system and a material value in imposing order on peoples everyday lives.

McLuhan insisted the electric light bulb was an information technology. So too is the car. Despite the symbolic significance of the car, it cannot be denied that the technical characteristics of the car, promote patterns of behaviour most appropriate in the free, anonymous complex of the urban centres. Not only is the road based system available, but also it seems natural for cars to pass each other, and pedestrians, in the anonymous city without acknowledging their social concern. Transferred to the island this behaviour seems unnatural, if not absurd. However, enclosed in their cars the islanders display just such behaviour when passing their relatives on their limited road system.

The message of the car was so powerful, that the anonymous, independent values of the centre were absorbed and reflected in the behaviour of those citizens who lived in one of the most closely knit, autonomous, kinship based, traditional agricultural areas of the Nation State of Ireland, and whose isolated geographical location gave them a greater residual freedom to read the messages of mechanised transport idiosyncratically.

This could suggest that once the car arrived on the island, the islanders had no option but to embrace the ideology of

the message embodied in its form. The message would, indeed, have been independent of both author and addressee. The islanders would have been brought into the "Global Village" by the global ideological lesson carried by the technical characteristics of the artefact alone.

But, as Silverstone (forthcoming) suggests "we do not have to accept the full force of McLuhan's catch phrase - the medium is the message." For the technical characteristics of the car are themselves both politically and culturally produced. Although the islanders re-read these messages and re-write them in use, the technical characteristics of the car have prevented face to face interaction and further entrenched the notions of individualism and privatisation in their daily lives. The medium is articulate. It does have a message, but that message has an author. The author of the message writes it into the technical characteristics of the medium. As Eco (1986) suggested the medium is not devoid of content. The car carries with it the articulation of the messages of industrial capitalism. Indeed as Hebdige (1988) suggests things are not silent.

Thus the islanders' willingness to accept mechanised transport can be explained by its significance as a symbol of modernity incorporating a vision of the future. Once accepted the symbol was adapted to the islanders' every day life and produced material changes in their traditional culture. However, this begs the question, why did the islanders embrace modernity?

Hebdige (1988) argued that "nowhere do we encounter "networks of relationships" more familiar and "material" yet more elusive and contradictory than those in which material objects themselves are placed and have meaning(s)." (p.77) Whereas Barthes (1972) recognised the illusory nature of language itself, and suggested the real could only be inserted in language as "silence". Hebdige (1988) asserted that "the object is neither illusory nor silent but material and solid and we should stress "its being there." (p.164) However concentrating on the object will lead to an oversimplification of the position and despite its apparent solidity the object will in Berman's (1983) terms "melt into air". Concentrating on the object itself or on its cultural significance cannot provide an answer to the allure of modernity.

Sorensen (1991) argues :

"The diffusion of the car is not a cause of the change from pre-modern to car transportation dynamics...at best the diffusion can be interpreted as a measure of the change ... On the one hand we may conclude that modernization as we know it has been contingent on the car. On the other hand , the position of the car in this modernized network ... is contingent on other processes of modernization. Without changes in the way of living, in patterns of housing and consumption, in patterns of production and distribution, etc., the car would not have the very strong position it has to-day." (p.126)

Hill (1988) makes a very similar point:

"The car did not do this (privatise life) by itself. Instead, its impact occurred because the artefact aligned in both the automobile's symbolism of the value of commodity- possession, and its implied structure of social life, with other forces producing the same alignment. The

system of electricity production and distribution had already prepared the way." (p.195)

The arguments of both Sorensen and Hill can be contrasted with that of Healy (1978):

"Above in Dublin now we are already worrying about the cultural impact of technology and the effect which television, with its Anglo-American values, was having on rural Ireland. We talked about it as if it was the first wave of technology and the only one which would have a fearsome cultural spin-off... Another and earlier technology had already altered the cultural patterns and we had never recognised it or what it was doing to our people. The rusted reaping hook was the last of the old technology...it predicted sharing. It produced the meithal and all that sprang from the meithal... We may cry about losing our language:we lost as much again when we lost the meithal." (pp. 119-120 and 121)

Sorensen (1991) identifies changes in the way of living and the position of cars as interdependent, whilst for Hill (1988) the car derives its position from alignment with other forces that privatised domestic life. For Healy (1978) the rural traditions that predicted sharing were eroded and cultural impact was not a concern until the advent of the mass media.

I would argue, along with Hill and Sorensen, that mechanised transport is but one facet of the modernisation programme and as such should not be viewed in isolation from the others discussed in this thesis. Furthermore, patterns of cultural behaviour and artefacts are two sides of the same coin. One does not cause the other - rather they are interdependent variables in the modernisation programme. Modernisation is unthinkable without the artefact, the artefact unthinkable without modernisation.

However, the erosion of rural traditions that predicted sharing, suggested by Healy, are crucial to understanding the allure of modernity (and its artefacts) for the islanders. Although, no direct state policy directed the islanders to buy cars, I would suggest that the key to understanding the process lies in understanding the interrelation between the local logic of the islanders and the national logic of the State. For the islanders have both a direct relationship with modernity and an indirect one mediated by the State. Just as the logic of industrialisation promoted the State to implement the national policies of the 60's so the logic of industrialisation promoted the islanders to buy cars. As the Irish Free State replaced British rule, the value system of the Irish people changed. Put simply they became citizens of an independent nation, assessed themselves as such and desired technologies that reflected this self-assessment. Without this change in the interior consciousness of the individual, from community member with a traditional ideology of sharing, to state citizen with the modern ideology of the individual, the Irish in general, and the Whiddy Islanders in particular, could well have displayed a more active resistance to the modernisation programme, and its material manifestation in the system of objects. Lemass' plea would have remained unanswered.

Bourdieu (1979) asserted:

"One of the difficulties of sociological

discourse lies in the fact that like all discourse, it unfolds in strictly linear fashion whereas, to escape over-simplification and one-sidedness one needs to be able to recall at every point the whole network of relationships found there." (p.126)

Indeed, the reader has to bear in mind, the whole network of relationships being brought to bear on the Whiddy Island community to understand the phenomenon of their adoption of mechanised transport.

The car (and electricity) arrived on Whiddy during the 1960's. Those receiving it were influenced not by the artefact alone. Consumption of artefacts was a corollary of Sean Lemass' plea for the Irish Nation to industrialise.

As Donnan & McFarlane (1986) suggest "you get on better with your own". Lemass was an admired Republican, not an alien from the ascendancy, and as such he was advising others, like himself, to industrialise for their own good and the good of the nation. \*

Lemass' plea appealed not only to any latent nationalistic tendencies the islanders held, but also offered prosperity

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\* The CDB did not have this advantage when encouraging smallholders to migrate in 1881. The CDB were part of the alien culture of Westminster. By defining that which is different we define ourselves also, and vice versa. (See Littlewood and Lipsedge 1982 "Aliens and Alienists") Lemass was not only the leader of the Irish Free State, but also a citizen of it, as such all other citizens were, according to the ideology of equality, going to benefit equally from the industrialisation process. It was precisely by linking the ideology of industrialisation to the ideology of nationalism, that capitalism produced an account of itself that could produce the good life for anyone. The notion of equality effectively meant that no citizen could, or should, be excluded from the plethora of opportunities and prosperity modernity had to offer.

and the plethora of opportunities that would exclude no-one. As Brody (1973) suggested "according to its account of its itself ... capitalist society can make a good life for anyone."(p.11) Little wonder both the ideology and the artefacts of capitalism were so willingly consumed on the island. The local changes afforded by mechanised transport were related to a higher order of change at national level. As national Irish policies attempted to mobilise the logic of modernity on behalf of the nation, the islanders used the same logic as the citizens that made up that Nation to accept the car. The same decisions were being made at different levels. The desire "to be modern" and to secure a place in the vision of the future, links the national policies of the State and the local process of consumption of the car. Modernity, the communications era, allows the same decisions to be made at very different levels in very different locations, but with very similar consequences. Just as national policies had detrimental, if unintentional effects on the social life of Whiddy, so too the local decision to adopt mechanised transport, did not have the envisaged results. For although the islanders adoption of the car was part of their vision of the future, informed by state policies and processes, it has become merely another feature to be written into the island's obituary. Not only did mechanised transport further preclude the traditions that promoted sharing that previously informed the islands daily lives, but also exclusion from the road-based system

of the mainland, became yet another disadvantage of remaining rooted in place, highlighting the geographical isolation of the island and further discouraging islanders from settling on the island. Far from promoting the island's future, mechanised transport furthered its depopulation.

Marvin (1988) suggests:

"The electric media of spatial extension promised a way to impose order from the centre on the periphery.... newly accessible lands and people were seldom cherished for any cross-cultural opportunities they offered , except abstractly. Concretely, they appeared as ISLANDS of cultural anomaly that new techniques of communication made available for absorption into the mainstream."  
(p.191)

Whiddy was both symbolically and materially an island of cultural anomaly. It was not merely the artefact that absorbed it into the main stream but the ideology behind the artefact. Thus, technological determinism, centred on the artefact and its message, and ignoring the other policies and processes being brought to bear on the island will not account for cultural change. Neither is it possible to choose between joining the ranks of techno-optimists or techno-pessimists. Technology may not be an unqualified benefit but neither is it the unqualified source of unhappiness, alienation and domination of modern man. For the remaining Whiddy Islanders mechanisation has allowed them to preserve aspects of their traditional culture and to resolve the uncertainty that their geographical position confers on their status as state citizens.

Mechanisation was yet another influence on the interior



transformations of consciousness of the islanders. It further highlighted the allure of the city centre providing a further incentive for the young to leave the island. It is not only in the system of objects that the island can no longer reproduce itself, but also in terms of human population.

Once again, as the indigenous knowledge became useless and associated with a past order the people are escaping, the notion of the state citizen becomes preferable to community member, and the ideology of individualism replaces that of the collective. Reliance on people is replaced with reliance on machines. In the absence of the traditional system where the younger generation gradually took over from the older generation and relieved them of the material burdens of life, mechanisation provided an alternative. As one islander said:

"Its every man for himself now. If you can get a job you take it, and the old ones left at home have to manage away as best we can. So long as we can knock a day out of it at all, we are not so bad. Still we have the modern conveniences to help us. We couldn't go back to the old ways, we wouldn't be able for it now. God knows I often wonder how we did it at all before. We would be at it all day everyday and took no notice of it. Now if we have a power cut we are in a hames (a mess). We can hardly boil the kettle. Without the car most of us couldn't walk the island now, let alone the town."

Without the introduction of mechanisation, it is doubtful that the forty remaining, and now predominantly elderly, islanders could have, or would have been allowed to, remain on the island. It has enabled these remaining inhabitants to

preserve some of their traditions in a curious synthesis of history and modernity. Yet it has restrained others from remaining on the island, and encouraged the younger generation not to settle on the island. For those who leave the island what is perceived as the reality of the road-based system and the infrastructure of modern industrial capitalism to be found on the mainland takes preference over any mythic inclusion within it to be found on the island. The political economy eroded the traditions of sharing and installed large impersonal systems that privatised life. Simultaneously in local cultural worlds events were aligned to these systems and local life became privatised. New methods of production and distribution in the political sphere did not cause new methods of consumption in the local sphere, but methods of consumption are a measure of, or an expression of, that change. The Whiddy Islanders cannot use the artefact without changing any of the other parameters of their daily lives. The murmurings of everyday life are, indeed, the distant echoes of the rumblings of the political economy.

As, I have attempted to show the loss of the traditional meitheal which Healy is bemoaning was not directly caused by replacing the reaping hook with the mowing machine. Neither was the loss total, rather the parameters changed. The islanders' way of life has been adapted to mechanised transport, and the cultural codes of modern state capitalism have been inculcated into the superstructure of the island.

At the same time the islanders have adapted mechanised transport to their infrastructure and their economic and geographic position and in so doing have maintained aspects of their traditional way of life whilst being included in the modern State as citizens. The fluidity of modernity merged with the stability of the past.

Like Hegel we have to question the philosophy of an ideal static state for mankind. The conflict of ideas of tradition and modernity produce not one victorious idea, but a combination of the two ideas: a synthesis. If alien artefacts and their implied structure of social life had not been introduced to Whiddy Island it could well already be only a sad relic of the past. Their introduction has, for the time being at least, produced a synthesis of old rural traditions and ingenuity with urban modernity. However, it seems inevitable that as the remaining islanders decline so too will the old traditions and urban modernity will become the victor. The island will be silent - things may yet have the last word.

## CHAPTER SIX

### THE FIRST THING WE GOT WAS THE LIGHT

#### DISCUSSING DOMESTIC TECHNOLOGIES

"Old practices are then painfully revised, and group habits are reformed. New practices do not so much flow directly from technologies that inspire them as they are improvised out of old practices that no longer work in new settings."

(Carolyn Marvin, 1988)

The aim of this chapter is show how when the Whiddy Islanders received electricity in 1961, the old practices no longer worked in the new setting, accordingly the old practices were revised and group habits altered. New practices were improvised from the old traditions and again a curious synthesis of old and new resulted.

Just as the introduction of mechanised transport discussed in the previous chapter changed the setting of the external space on the island and reformed group behaviour on the roads, electricity changed the setting of the islanders internal domestic space and reformed group behaviour and patterns of consumption in the home. These changes were not directly caused by the technological system, but were an expression within the private sphere of changes in the public sphere of the wider political economy. Again the islanders could not use the system or its artefacts without changing any of the other parameters of their daily lives. As suggested throughout this thesis, with the notable exception of television, islanders rarely talk about

technology. They use it. Rather they talk about and describe the old practices and the old setting and this elucidates the new. Again, one has to start by describing the island homes prior to 1961 in order to record change within the domestic sphere.

The island homes have thick stone walls covered with mortar, and whitewashed. Thatch has long since been a thing of the past and the houses have slate roofs. The windows are small and deep set in the walls which is appropriate for the severe weather conditions that can prevail on the island. The houses are either cottages with one acre of ground, referred to as the haggard, or larger farm houses with several acres of land. The farm houses were mainly built by the farmers themselves, and the cottages were built by "The Government" (obviously the English Government) around 1880 and were therefore related to the policy of rationalisation of the land and the aims of the CDB. Thus the cottages themselves were part of national policy.

Since they were built, both farmhouses and cottages have been occupied by different generations of the same family. Thus the present generation have a knowledge of the "life history" of their home, and can relate the past easily to the present. Again this bears out the unique sense of rootedness in place of the islanders daily lives. One islander said:

"I often remember my mother saying my grandmother was thrilled when they got the move from Croangle to the cottage. They all lived together in one room in Croangle whatever kind it was. When they

came here and had the separate bedrooms they thought they were in a hotel. I suppose if they could see it now, god rest their souls, they would think we had a mansion"

Farmhouses were usually larger and grander than the cottages, reflecting the differing financial status of the occupants. Three of the cottages were built as single storey dwellings with all rooms leading off the kitchen. Although different styles and sizes can be identified the basic layout of the interior of the island homes was similar.

The cottages traditionally had one large and one small room downstairs. The large room, approximately 14 ft. square, was "the kitchen" and the small room was (and still is) referred to as "the room". The kitchen had a large open hearth with a high wooden mantelpiece called "the clevy". Traditionally a strip of patterned oil cloth would be scalloped at one edge and pinned by the straight edge to the clevy for decoration. Above the fire was the "the crane" a metal bar with hooks from which the cooking pots were suspended. The kitchens of two of the larger farmhouses contained a coal-fired range as well, which was installed when they were built. The old flat irons along with various three legged pots, kettles and baking bastibles were kept in the hearth. Prior to the introduction of electricity many houses had a transistor radio and listened daily to local, national and international news broadcasts. Also many homes had a primus stove which was used either to supplement the open fire when cooking, or to replace it on a hot day when the fire had not been lit.

The kitchen furnishings consisted of a large wooden dresser, a wooden table and chairs and a wooden settle. All were home made and sometimes roughly assembled. Under the settle would be buckets of water, brought from the well, for cooking and making tea. In every kitchen there was a picture of "The Sacred Heart" with a small shelf in front, on which sat a miniature oil lamp, with a red globe, which was kept permanently lit. The lighting in the kitchen was provided by wall mounted oil lamps, which were known as tilley lamps. These lamps did not have the traditional wick of the oil lamp, but a fine gauze mantle that gave out a brighter and more diffused light. Tilley lamps were usually only found in the kitchen. Lighting elsewhere in the homes was provided by portable oil lamps, candles or simply done without.

It was necessary to walk through the kitchen to get to the room. The room was roughly equivalent to an English parlour, though much smaller, measuring approximately, 14ft. by 6ft. As Miller (1987) suggests: "Over a long period of time there had developed among the working class a concept of the parlour. Despite lack of space, this room was not used except on special occasions, but was reserved for displaying goods such as ornaments. The parlour does not seem to a result of the recent emulation of the middle class, but may rather relate to much older traditions." (p.197) The room was concerned with display, and had little to do consumption directly connected to basic demands.

In the room a glass fronted cabinet held the wedding china and other treasured possessions of the family living in the house. The cabinet was, again, usually home made. Framed family photographs hung on the walls. Often a more comfortable armchair would be found in the room, though it was rarely sat upon. The room was rarely used, except perhaps when a priest or a doctor visited the house. The room often became a temporary bedroom for family members home on holiday, or a more permanent bedroom for elderly relatives, who had become too infirm to go upstairs to sleep. Indeed, one islander said:

"Many a one died in the room, and was waked there too. The burial clothes all laid out ready for them. They would be laid out then, all washed and dressed, and every fellow on the island coming to pay his respects. They would pass away fine and happy for themselves. It is in the hospital they nearly all go now, sometimes with no one they know with them. The children would come into the world in the houses too, there was no rushing to the hospital. Many a one came and went within the same four walls."

The stairs to the first floor went up from the kitchen, there was no hall. Upstairs the cottages contained two bedrooms (in the single storey dwellings these two bedrooms also led off the kitchen). The first bedroom was basically the landing, you arrived in the bedroom at the top of the stairs, no door divided it from the stairs. The other bedroom (often referred to as the easter room) was reached by walking through the "landing bedroom". No bathrooms or toilets existed in the houses.

Aalen and Brody (1969) described the interior of the houses



on Gola island thus:

"The interior of the houses are simple, even austere, reflecting not only the humble way of life but also the comparatively small store which the Irish countryman has set by material comforts." (p.53)

This can be contrasted with a Whiddy Islander's view of the interior of the house:

"When you look back its hard to imagine how we used to manage. When I was a child there were eight of us and our mother and father and auntie all here. That was eleven, in them days, living here. After I married and had the children there were were six of us living here. We would have visitors every night and people coming home on holidays to stay for a couple of weeks. Where did we put them all. Everything inside in the one room, buckets of water and bags of flour and all. Cooking and cleaning and everything going on around them. They were hard days you know. But we all fitted in somewhere and they were good times too in a way. You were never lonely anyway. We hadn't half so much then I suppose, only what poverty and hardship we had. I wouldn't wish them days on anyone."

I would suggest that the interiors of the houses were simple and austere because space was at a premium. The Irish country man maximised the space available for living by keeping the decor simple and austere, and confining display to the room. The lack of material comforts was not so much a reflection of a humble way of life, but of the often grinding poverty in which the Irish countryman lived. Outside the house, the haggard was (and still is) planted as the cottage garden. Potatoes are grown in the traditional ridges of the lazy bed. Cabbages, mangles (swedes), carrots and onions are set in neat rows. A salting barrel was also in evidence. This was used to salt fish, mackerel and

pollock mostly, for consumption by the islanders during the winter when fresh fish was less plentiful. A roughly made shed held tools and equipment, and most cottages had a hen-house made of wood and wire mesh in the haggard. Hens and turkeys were kept by all the islanders and those with larger farms often kept geese and ducks as well. The poultry provided fresh eggs, and also the occasional roast dinner for an island family. Many houses also kept goats. The goat's milk was particularly sweet and nutritious and often fed to babies and young children. A young kid could also provide a roast dinner.

Various tubs and barrels for washing and steeping clothes were kept around the haggard. Rain barrels collected water for washing of both clothes and body. In a drought water for these purposes would also have to be brought to the houses from the fresh water lake or from the main drain, in barrels or buckets. When washed, clothes were not pegged on a line but thrown over bushes to dry in the sun. One islander still refers to the now neatly clipped hedge outside the house as "my mother's washing line". To-day only the old coats used to protect travellers from the salt water spray and the rain when crossing the bay by punt are dried on the bushes in this way. As one islander said "The washing would be all smeared if you put it out on the bushes to dry - its handy though a fine day if the washing is dry to air it." The old tradition carries on but has been adapted to a new setting.

Islanders always washed clothes but what was acceptable as clean washing has changed. Similarly, Island houses were always kept clean and tidy, but electricity provided a new setting and a different standard of acceptable cleanliness and tidiness. To-day island houses are spotlessly clean and tidy and very different from the traditional home described above. The task now is to identify the new setting and to account for the new standards of cleanliness and new patterns of social behaviour and consumption that accompanied it.

In one island home I asked: "What was the first thing you got when you got electricity?" I expected the answer to be a refrigerator or a cooker, or an electric kettle. This was the answer I actually got:

"Well the first thing we got was the light. We couldn't wait for the dark night to come the way we could turn it on. We were charmed with it. God knows when the night did come and they turned it on, I nearly got them to turn it off again. It showed up every cobweb and bit of dirt in every corner of the kitchen. We thought the houses were shining in the tilley lamps, when the electric came we realised you couldn't see the dirt. Every woman on the island was up the next day, cleaning and polishing. The next thing we got was the cooker, I suppose. We had no where to put it then. So we built on the back kitchens. Every house has a back kitchen now. We couldn't have all the gadgets without it. That made a lot of difference too."

Another also said:

"The back kitchens made a big difference, when they were at it they put down the concrete round the houses too. Sure years ago you couldn't have had carpet on the floors, with everyone trailing the mud and the gutter in through the front door. We had no back door. We had stone floors. The

wood was often chopped inside of the floor, and the cooking and everything done in the same room. At the end of the day the floor would be brushed out. There was no hoovering, only open the door and sweep it outside. When we put down the concrete paths, the dirt didn't get trodden in. If the boots are dirty now, they take them off outside on the concrete, or come in through the back door in the back kitchen."

Similarly a mainlander said:

"Times were very good in the 60's. The young people especially went towards cleaning and tidying. The stalls were all moved away from the houses and the yard cleaned up and concreted. Women in rural areas got house-proud then you see. The electric light showed up all the flaws. At one time no-one minded. Every one was in the same boat. They would trek in and out to each other. Once they got the lino and the carpet and all the finery, you'd have to give a house notice before coming in. It was a good thing but it meant a break in life. People stopped visiting each other in the evenings as was the old tradition, because they would have to be expected to be welcome. If you like the house would have to be prepared and tidied for a visit, before you would just be welcome any time."

Thus electricity provided a new setting for the islanders. Not only were new standards of cleanliness adopted, but these standards altered group behaviour and further discouraged house visits and face to face interaction between the islanders. Cleanliness, in and of itself, was part of the process of privatising life.

Again, however it is necessary to be mindful of the dangers of technological determinism and to relating the message of cleanliness to the artefact alone. The electric lightbulb is an information medium, and does have a message, but the message also has an author. As Marvin (1988) argued in 1892 scientific investigators and technical experts studying

electricity were:

" ...creators in their own eyes of a new millennium, separated from a past over which men had possessed neither mastery of nature nor the enviable understanding of it that abstract knowledge has given them. Nature was the base line from which human civilization had emerged by subjugating the natural... In expert epistemology nature was messy. Technology was the great order.... The practical electrician should aim at nothing less than control of the weather for the sake of agricultural productivity.... What was messy was dangerous." (p.114)

Thus the islanders by adopting the new standards of cleanliness, were again buying into an idea that had currency. Scientific control of nature included notions of order and cleanliness. Shunning either meant living a dangerous life.

However, order and cleanliness are not easily achieved on an island. As Irish citizens strove to achieve the new standards, the added difficulty of doing so on an island, became a further disadvantage of remaining rooted in place. Nature is still messy and still dangerous for the residents of, and visitors to, Whiddy Island. Thus on the island nature is part of daily life and part of home and the islanders do not have an expert, or adversarial relationship to it. Rather they view the power of the elements and the majesty of the sea with great respect. As one islander said of the sea:

"She is an angry old lady. You can never trust her. Treat her with respect. She has claimed the lives of many a good Whiddy man who had been riding on her all his life. God rest their souls."

Marcuse (1964) suggested :

"In a paradoxical development, the scientific efforts to establish the rigid objectivity nature, led to an increasing de-materialization of nature " (p.155)

For the Whiddy Islanders nature has never been de-materialised. Their lives revolve around the sea and the elements, and nature has material consequences for their daily lives. The Whiddy Islanders are certainly aware that science has not de-materialised nature and constantly face the material constraints of nature. Science offers them little help against an angry sea or gale force winds. Little wonder the islanders always say "We are going to town on Friday, God willing!" or "weather permitting". Any journey, for an islander, no matter how essential can be prevented by nature and the elements.\*

Crossing by boat is not only dangerous, but also messy and adds to the difficulty of reaching the new standards of cleanliness. Indeed, the islanders realise not only that science has a tenuous hold over nature, but also that they have to work harder to achieve the standard of cleanliness and order advanced by scientific rationality. The following are typical of their comments:

"Sure you couldn't keep a bit nice here;  
The salt water destroys everything, everything

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\* One only has to remember the postponement of the Bush/Gorbachev summit on Malta in November 1989, because of high seas and gale force winds to acknowledge science's tenuous hold over nature, even by the super powers. How much more apparent is this situation for an islander with a small punt attempting to cross two miles of open sea to shop or to go church.

rusts or gets marked from the salt water;  
You can't keep your clothes nice here, what with  
getting in and out of boats, and tar and  
everything else;  
You'd have no need for grandeur around here, only  
something servicable and warm. The young ones  
to-day want all the style and the high heels.  
What good would they be around here when they  
married;  
Its harder inside here to be clean, you have the  
dirt from the boats and the fields and all the  
wet coming into the houses."

Similarly, for ex-islanders the added difficulties of  
maintaining the new standards of cleanliness whilst  
remaining on the island were an incentive to leave.

"Its hard enough to keep everything clean out  
here, in there I don't know how they do it they  
must be at it all day:  
Sure half the time you'd be soaked going in and  
out, and then you would have all the trouble of  
trying to dry everything.  
When you go in home, the houses are gleaming, I  
don't know how they do it, with the weather  
conditions and everything else they have to put  
up. They are great women to be able for it, and  
they all nearly old age pensioners".

Schwartz Cowan's (1983) argument that domestic technology  
created "More work for Mother" is certainly born out by the  
islanders description of the introduction of electricity.  
Higher standards necessitated more work. However, Schwartz  
Cowan (1983) suggests that we should now try:

"to neutralise both the sexual connotations of  
washing machines and vacuum cleaners and the  
senseless tyranny of spotless shirts and  
immaculate floors." (p.216)

Again, perhaps Schwartz Cowan is over-privileging the  
artefact. For it is not only washing machines and vacuum  
cleaners that have sexual connotations but cleanliness  
itself. Whilst women strive to achieve the aim, men also

become enmeshed in its tyranny. Many island men complain about "all the cleanliness" but largely accept it as part of the new setting. As one said:

"Its all take off your boots now, and wash and polish and sure what's it all for. We are out around cattle and fish all day and they expect us to come home clean. Sure for God sake what sense is in it. Still I suppose only for it we would be still in the dark ages."

Yet another said:

"When herself is inside cleaning, you might as well get the hell out of it. That way you get a bit of peace. She's always busy. Everyday she's at it. You'd be annoyed from it. Still it's grand to go in and see it all shining."

The difference between the old and new setting and the different views of the island men and island women were summed up by a situation that arose during the fieldwork. On this occasion due to the inordinately hot weather, island homes were subjected to a plague of house-flies. This caused great consternation. Island women were referring to them "as filthy things", and asserting that "you can't eat your dinner in peace because you would be afraid they would land on it". Obtaining fly papers and aerosols to eradicate the pests became a major talking point.

One islandman pin-pointed the change in standards of cleanliness and the gendered related attitudes to it, by remarking to island women who were complaining about the flies:

"I don't know what all the fuss and the excitement is for. The old aerosols are more likely to kill you than the flies. Years ago the flies were everywhere, they would be crawling about in the sugar, no one took a blind bit of



notice of them. We never came to no harm from them. All the cleanliness will be the death of us. Its only a cod to make us buy the things to get rid of them. You could make your fortune now just selling fly-killer."

The island women were not convinced by his argument, and later discussed it among themselves when he was gone. The outcome was that they related the change in attitude to the change in the setting but could not deny that he had a point:

"I wouldn't like to be inside with him, if he still have the flies crawling in the sugar. Filthy things. He must be none to pleasing either. Sure God help them years ago they did their best, they hadn't the water or anything to wash things with, yet alone money for fly killer. His own mother, God knows, kept a fine clean house. Still I suppose he have a point too, the dirt never killed us."

Not only is cleanliness a gendered issue, but the islanders succumbed to the tyranny of the new standards not only without washing machines and vacuum cleaners, but also until 1982, without running water. Indeed, many of the houses do not yet possess either a washing machine or a vacuum cleaner, but the same standard for shirts and floors is aimed for. The electrical system with or without all its incumbent gadgets seems indeed to have "made more work for mother". Simply by changing the setting, new standards of cleanliness were adopted. The desire to present a clean, tidy and orderly appearance was part of the desire to be modern. However, once again, the introduction of electricity to the island had unforeseen consequences, not only did patterns of domestic activity change in the new setting, but

these changes further privatised life and added to the disadvantage of remaining rooted in place.

Electricity is both structured and structuring. Electricity not only provided a new setting for the traditional practices of the islanders daily lives, but paradoxically, electrical gadgets themselves required housing in a new setting. The addition of back kitchens to island homes has radically altered the islanders domestic setting, no longer does everything go on in the one room. Although the islanders now refer to their three rooms as the kitchen, the back kitchen and the room. The kitchen is much more akin to a lounge or a living room today.

The large fireplaces and cleavies have been removed and replaced with smaller tiled surrounds. The cranes were removed and cooking no longer occurs in the kitchen. The cooking vessels and flat irons no longer reside in the hearth. Modern saucepan sets and electric irons are neatly packed away in cupboards in the back kitchens. The three-legged pots and kettles may be seen on window-sills as decorative containers for potted geraniums. Other vessels and the flat irons, along with the primus stove, have either been completely disposed of, or put into one of the many outhouses that each house now has. Increased living space and storage space is part of the new setting. One islander said:

"Years ago I don't know where we put everything. We had only one small shed, and a couple of presses (cupboards) in the house. The house is full of presses now, and we have the back kitchen

and three large sheds and every place is full up with something. I suppose we didn't need the space then. God knows we had little enough. I don't think it matters how many presses and sheds you have they all get filled up with something. I swear we don't need the half of it. We are only storing rubbish."

The home made wooden furnishings have also gone from the kitchen, either disposed of completely or relegated to the back kitchen. Many islanders have kept the settle, and it is now housed in the back kitchen (or bathroom.) Others have kept the dresser and/or table and chairs as part of the furnishings for the back kitchen. As one islander said:

"My father and grandfather made the settle. It is part of our family history. I couldn't get rid of it, even though we don't really use it anymore. I often regret getting rid of the dresser to tell the truth, but it was not much good once we had the back kitchen. It was only taking up space."

It is clearly an irony that when large extended families lived entirely in one room the dresser was not seen as merely taking up space, but as an essential item of home furniture. Yet when a large back kitchen was also available for much smaller family units it was said to take up too much space to be given houseroom. Rather than being related to lack of space, I would argue that once the setting changed, the traditional furniture no longer seemed the appropriate form to complement the home, or to reflect the islanders daily lives. Although items of the traditional furniture have been maintained by the islanders, they have been subject to re-definition to fit the new setting. Settles and dressers are kept more as symbols of the past

than for their use function. Again the mingling of past and present can be easily detected.

Upholstered three piece suites, and shop bought sideboards and dining room suites now furnish the kitchens. The tilley lamps in the kitchen have been replaced with a central electric light. Each room has now has light and bedside lamps are provided in every bedroom, also. The small red globed oil lamp in front of the sacred heart, has also been replaced with a wall-mounted electric lamp with a red bulb, the filament of which is in the shape of a crucifix. Again the old practice has not died, but has been transformed by the new setting.

Traditionally bad luck would come to a household that allowed the light in front of the sacred heart to go out. This is no longer applicable in the new setting. The islanders are subject to frequent power cuts and at such times the sacred heart lamp goes out. This is not seen as capable of bringing bad luck. Presumably it is outside of the householders control and therefore viewed differently from neglecting to fill your own oil lamp. However, failure to purchase a new bulb when needed shows dishonour to the sacred heart, and the consequent likelihood of bad luck for the household. Of course, it may be some days before a new bulb can be obtained, but so long as the purchase is made at the earliest opportunity the tradition is adequately fulfilled. The traditional catholic ideology of honouring the sacred heart has been amalgamated with the modern

consumer ideology of purchasing. Indeed, the sacred heart lamp now serves a dual purpose. It still fulfils the old tradition of honouring the sacred heart and also fulfils the modern function of letting the islanders know when the electricity supply has been restored after a power cut. Again the old and the new mingle together in a curious synthesis, the old practices are re-shaped and re-defined to fit the new setting and the new setting re-shapes and redefines the old practices.

Most noticeably to-day, in every kitchen, housed on a table or press there is, of course, a television set. The set is usually placed opposite the fire and can therefore be viewed by the inhabitants of the kitchen whilst sitting close to the fire. All but three of the houses also have a telephone, which is normally placed alongside the television set. Transistor radios have also largely been relegated to the back kitchens, or are the property of individual household members and are located within their bedrooms. Some of the households have replaced the transistor radio in the kitchen with a mains operated set. The radio is still used mainly to listen to news broadcasts, although some of the islanders listen to the popular music programmes, phone-in and chat shows during the day. (The communication technologies will be discussed in the following chapter.)

The back kitchens contain the electrical gadgets. Electric cookers are the most popular, although some households have a gas cooker that runs on bottled gas as the island has no

piped gas supply. Some households have a coal-fired range in the kitchen which is used for cooking, but these households have an electric or gas cooker also. Those households that have an electric cooker may also have a gas drum with a cooking ring attached which is used in the event of a power cut. Thus many households have at least two methods of cooking available to them. All houses have a refrigerator and some have a freezer as well. Electric kettles are the norm, and many smaller electrical gadgets are present, though not all are used. Since the introduction of running water sink units are in all the back kitchens. Many households, divided the back kitchen when running water was installed and installed a bathroom and/or toilet on the ground floor. There is always a table and chairs in the back kitchen, and often meals are now eaten in the back kitchen.

The function of the room has remained very much the same. Although more furniture may be housed there. Framed photographs and other wall decorations are no longer confined to the room, but can be found in the kitchens and back kitchens also. Thus, as living space increased and poverty was reduced, display was also transformed to fit the new setting and no longer confined to the room. The bedrooms too have been re-furnished with shop bought bedroom suites. Bedside cabinets are also now evident, a necessity of requiring somewhere to put the bedside lamp.

The addition of the back kitchen separated the household

domestic working environment from their living environment. Work, at least, washing and cooking and ironing, no longer goes on in the same room as everything else, but in the back kitchen. Flink (1990) suggested whilst discussing the automobile that :

"The kitchen began to lose its status as the centre of household activity as shopping and food preparation came to require far less time and moreover as automobility encouraged families to eat out more often." (p.166)

However, on Whiddy Island, no cars existed in 1961, even today families do not eat out, yet the kitchen has lost its status as the centre for household activity. Electricity divided work activities from living activities within the domestic sphere. Industrialisation divided work and living in the economic sphere. The logic of modern state capitalism informed both spheres. Little wonder the islanders so readily accepted the separation of their working environment from their living environment introduced by Gulf in the economic sphere, it was a logical extension of the separation that had already occurred in the domestic sphere.

However Flink's (1990) assertion that food preparation came to require far less time is surely debatable. Schwartz Cowan (1983) argues:

"Housework was reorganised but not necessarily lightened. Devices eliminated drudgery not labour. The nature of work has changed but the goal is still there." (p.101)

I would argue food preparation and cooking were reorganised when electricity was introduced to the Island. Drudgery may

have been eliminated, but the labour is still there, and paradoxically the labour takes just as much, if not more time, than it did previously. For instance, the islanders maintain the tradition of making home baked bread. Traditionally, the large flat loaves, made with wholemeal flour and sour milk or buttermilk, known as brown cakes were baked in the open fire in the bastible. As one islander said:

"You'd work you cake the same way we do to-day, and put it into the bastible. You'd need a good fire going, put the bastible into it then put the turf up on the cover of the bastible to make enough heat all round it to bake it. Leave it for an hour, turn it out and let it to cool. I often seen, the old women here turn out a cake in one movement on the flat of their hand, I don't know how they used do it without getting burned. ... always said they had asbestos hands in them days. It wasn't only the women could do it either. Old ... couldn't bake a cake if you paid her, but her brother could turn out the grandest brown cake on the island. Old ... (another island man) was nearly as good. I don't think any man on the island would have a clue how to bake a cake to-day. Mine wouldn't anyway. We roasted meat in the bastible as well, only for Christmas did we have a roast. I don't know was it the way we couldn't afford it, or that it was easier, with the fire, to throw everything in together and let it boil away. We had boiled meat and fish most days."

To-day brown cakes are still baked, they are "worked" in the traditional way, then put in a baking dish and baked in a pre-heated oven. I asked the women, if it was easier and quicker. "Sure you know it is", was the reply. However, further discussion led to some doubt. The cake is made in the same way, so no saving of time and effort is made in the preparation, it actually takes the same time to bake in the



electric oven as it did in the fire. So I enquired further as to why it was easier and quicker. One woman replied:

"Well for one thing you wouldn't have to light the fire and have it going well before you can start baking."

Another then seemed to take the point I was making:

"God knows when you think about it we had the fire going most days anyway. It takes long enough sometimes for the oven to get hot. I don't know why you think its quicker, but when you think about it like that, it isn't. It's cleaner anyway, you would end up all soot from the fire and the pots before."

So it would seem that the benefits of baking a cake in the electric oven, are not that it saves labour, or time, but that it is cleaner. Again the tradition has been continued but has been re-defined by the new setting. Similarly, if everything was thrown into the pot and boiled together it is doubtful that food preparation took anything like as much time as it does today.

The islanders' description of the tradition of baking bread in a bastible, led to a discussion of the change in the style of dress of the island women. Island women always wore black in the past. Although in the 50's the younger women had started to move away from the tradition, they still wore either a black, or dark coloured, apron when working in the house. It was suggested that this was probably the most sensible dress to combat the soot when carrying out domestic chores on an open fire. As one islander said:

"That way we would only have to wash the apron,

the clothes would do us a couple of days. It was no joke to be washing in them days, when we were sparing the water. We could wash everyday now."

Styles of dress and patterns of washing clothes also changed in the new setting. Schwartz Cowan (1983) argued that the industrialisation of the household was part of a larger technological system in which each must be linked to the other in order to function appropriately, no current, no water, no system. However, the experience of the Whiddy Islanders belies this. Although some of the larger farmhouses had managed to pipe cold water from a nearby well to their back kitchen, or to a tap outside the house, usually by means of a rubber hosing system, most of the houses on Whiddy did not receive piped water until 1982.

Thus, even without a water system, the standards of the larger technological system and its ideology was adopted. When every drop of water has to be carried to the house, or collected in barrels, cleanliness is indeed a tall order. Yet the islanders strove to achieve it. Schwartz Cowan (1983) argued that the "water supplies created new chores and new standards ... (p.89) piped water did away with perpetual bucket carrying." (p.64) However, the Whiddy islanders strove to achieve the new standards and carry out the new chores in the absence of a piped water - perpetual bucket carrying continued for twenty years after they "got the light".

In the years between 1961 and 1982, much of the islanders washing was done not in the back kitchen, but outside the

house in the traditional manner. Before the addition of the back kitchen it would be done in the field, after on the concrete outside the back kitchen, in the wash tubs and barrels provided for the purpose. One island woman said:

"When I was first married we would have to light a big fire outside in the haggard, and put the washing down to boil on it in the galvanised drum. You'd have to wait for the men to come home to lift it. God them days were hard. A bad day, or if we hadn't too much to boil, we would do it inside in the kitchen on the fire there. Then when we got the electric we would boil the washing on the ring. You can't beat the boiling to get the whites clean. I could never get on with a washing machine as the washing don't be half clean from it. Our washing do be grand and soft too, from the soft water. You'd hardly need any washing powder. We still had to do the hand washing outside in the tub though as we had no sink till we got the running water."

Indeed, I recall doing the washing outside in the tub. I commented that I used to enjoy washing in the fresh air and admiring the view whilst completing the task. The islander dispelled any over romantic view I had of the past thus:

"It was a change for you I suppose, we were at it every week. I tell you girl, if you had to stand outside there in the winter time, in all the wind and rain and wash under it, you'd soon enough get fed up of the view. You'd be damn glad to be inside in the kitchen doing it with the door shut."

Many of the islanders suggested that the running water was more essential for modernity than electricity. One said:

"We could manage without the electric if we had too, we could never go back to dragging the water now though. I'd say nearly every house got the back boiler in the fire when the running water was installed. The hot water is grand, and we have the hot press for drying and airing the clothes. Sure it's much better. Mind you I often think how quick we got used to all the changes. When we had to carry the water we'd

spare it, once we had the tap we waste more than we use. Turn it on and let it flow away, rinse everything under it."

Similarly with ironing, change was recorded. Ironing was traditionally done in the kitchen using the fire, again it is normally carried on in the back kitchens to-day.

"After the old flat irons, we had box irons too. They were used the same way. Only you had a heater. You'd heat the heater in the fire and there was a hole in the box iron to put it into and iron away. You'd have two heaters one using and one heating in the fire. When it got cold you'd swap them over. You could iron a lot with one heater. ... had a tilley iron too, it ran on paraffin the same as the lamps. The box iron was better than the flat iron. It was cleaner, you wouldn't have to be wiping the soot of it, and even then it would get on some of the clothes. I suppose we weren't so fussy then, we were quite happy when we didn't know anything else. Mind you it took a bit of getting used to the electric irons. At first they seemed so light we couldn't iron at all with them. I still couldn't use a steam iron, they are too light and I'd be half afraid of them."

The descriptions of cooking, washing and ironing suggest not only that as standards rose more chores resulted but also patterns of behaviour changed. For as Marvin (1988) suggests each new set of machines carries with it a new set of social practices. As cooking, and what was cooked, became more diverse more utensils were required and were more frequently washed up. The large pots used on the open fires for boiling potatoes were not washed daily. Now all used dishes and pans are washed and put away after every meal. As washing clothes became easier and more frequent islanders owned more clothes and more of them were ironed. As one islander said:

"Years ago we had our work clothes and clothes for mass on Sunday and no changing. Now we have something different for everyday of the week. Every man had a pair of hob-nail boots. They were great boots too, one pair would last a lifetime. Hardly anyone wears them now. When we got the tarmac roads, we didn't need them. We went for the lighter shoes, and now we are buying a new pair every couple of months. They don't last anytime. I don't know where you would go to get a pair of hob-nails now."

Thus changes inside the house may have done away with the necessity for women to wear black, changes outside the house altered the men's style of dress. Clearly patterns of group behaviour and consumption changed in the new setting. However, the new setting did far more, it resulted in the more pronounced gender division of labour that exists on the island to-day. Schwartz Cowan (1983) argues domestic technologies resulted in the disappearance of some female chores but almost everyone was replaced by others:

"Household technologies separated the work of men and children from that of women... Domestic technology and modern fuel systems, eliminated only male tasks ... Devices eliminated drudgery, not labour. The nature of work has changed but the goal is still there. (pp. 99 and 100)

Indeed, the islanders comments on the introduction of electricity and their subsequent daily lives support her view. Housework was re-organised and drudgery was removed from many chores, but the chores increased as standards of cleanliness rose, women exerted more effort to keep their domestic space at the new standard, and re-organised their lives and behaviour to ensure the standard was met. The participation of island men in domestic chores diminished, no longer did the men help with lighting the fires and

lifting the heavy pots of washing, or assist with getting the irons hot and lifting them out of the fire and "no man on the island would have a clue how to bake a cake to-day." This does indeed suggest that the industrialisation of the home resulted in "more work for mother".

However, on Whiddy, the double sided nature of the change in gender divisions of labour is perhaps more evident than in the more urban settings described both by Schwartz Cowan (1983) and Flink (1990). Sharing of household chores was accompanied by sharing of agricultural and fishing activities. Men helped women in the home, but women also helped men in the fields and on the sea. As male chores were eliminated in the domestic sphere so female chores were eliminated in the economic sphere. One island woman described the breakdown in shared activity thus:

"I don't know how the old women used do it. Mind the big families and help in the fields and the boats. We are all day now just cleaning and cooking and we have all the help to do it"

And an islandman said:

"When we were out working, men and women and children together, we'd be as bad as each other at the end of the day. Everyone would be daubed coming home and no fuss about it."

The traditional patterns of behaviour that predicted sharing were eroded in all spheres of life and replaced with patterns of behaviour that promoted individualism and modern state capitalism. Chores were shared and not gender specific in the traditional community. I would argue that gender roles are themselves an integral part of the division of

labour and therefore of national state capitalism. Domestic technology, indeed, further privatised activity and separated individual family members thus preventing shared activity even within the family unit. From this view point, the industrialisation of the home is not confined to the feminist argument, more work for mother, but encompasses a broader argument - more work for father too. Men's work was also re-organised to fit the new setting. Some male chores disappeared but almost everyone was replaced with others. Island men to-day are a synthesis of farmers, fishermen, motor mechanics, electricians, plumbers, and builders. As one islander said:

"You have to be a jack of all trades inside here, you can't be calling out the experts every five minutes."

Although this phenomenon may be more pronounced on Whiddy, I would argue that men's work has been re-organised to fit the new setting of modern society in general. It is not only for the island men that traditional male chores have been replaced with others. The modern urban male also, generally, has his occupation and has to turn his hand to gardening, decorating, do-it-yourself and car maintenance in his spare time.\*

However, on the island the male chores of constantly chopping wood and digging peat, to ensure fire for both heating and cooking has been re-organised. Digging peat is a thing of the past on the island. The peat bogs still exist but no-one digs, turns, dries and collects the peat.

One islander said:

"Every man would have his own few lines of peat each year. Away over to dig it with the slane, and then back every couple of days to turn it in the sun to dry it out. Then away again with the horse and cart to bring it home. God knows we used enjoy the few days in the bog. Women and children as well turning with us. We don't do it now. As old age pensioners we get free coal from the government now to keep the heat to ourselves for the winter."

Thus providing peat may have been a male responsibility but women and children also helped with the chore. However, the island man still collects and chops wood. The men now go alone with a chain saw to collect fire wood. However, change is not total and drift wood is still collected from the strands by women also when out walking.

Schwartz Cowan (1983) suggests that piped household water did away with the need for perpetual bucket carrying, and designates this chore as female. However, on the island

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\* Miller (1987) said "This plurality suggests a growth in the use of time for activities which are seen by the general population as self-productive. In this sense the older dichotomy between production and consumption is challenged. The workplace is not and, indeed, never has been the only site for self-production through work." (p.210 - See also Gershuny 1978 and Pahl 1984). Indeed, such do-it yourself activity saves the household considerable amounts of money and takes many processes out of the sphere of production and service industries, and replaces them within the household. On Whiddy, the plurality of chores suggests a new pattern of self-sufficiency and a new pattern of home production. Again a curious synthesis of past and present emerges and change is never total. In the modern island cottage production has not disappeared and been replaced with consumption. The modern island cottage does not simply consume it also produces, but the patterns of production have changed in the new setting of industrial capitalism. It has not ceased altogether to be self-sufficient but the patterns of self sufficiency have changed and are amalgamated with dependence on the State.



both men and women would go to the well and collect water.

One said:

"It was often in the summer the cross well dried up if we had a dry spell. We would be strained then from carrying it across the island. It was grand to go to Gutlahan for the water, to walk north a fine summer evening. You could stop and talk to anyone you'd meet."

Another island woman referring to the introduction of running water noted the effect it had on her husband also:

"When we first got it he wouldn't drink it all. He said there was a taste from it. So he would go away down the road with his two buckets every night for the first few weeks. He soon got fed up of it though. If you ask me he was only at that in the hope that he would meet up with someone else down there for the news. But when he realised everyone else was inside he stayed inside himself."

Indeed perpetual bucket carrying may have been a chore, but it was a chore shared by both men and women. Furthermore, it was part of the social environment of the islanders daily lives and therefore, part of the traditional social relations of production on the island. Women would go together to the well during the day and enjoy the social interaction, men often went in the evening and had their own interaction. Piped water did away with the last vestige of the need for face to face interaction on the island. However, some island men have tried to carry on the tradition. In the summer in the fine evenings three or four of the men can often be found congregating for an hour or two in one of the derelict houses on the bank. Very occasionally they may be joined by a woman. Many of the islanders refer to this as "The Boys Club". One islander

said:

"They might as well be at it, as stuck inside the fine nights watching the television. In the winter it is dark at 4 o'clock so they don't go. I suppose its no different from years ago when they met at the cross, only they are inside in the shelter."

Again the old tradition carries on but has been adapted to the new setting. In the past the young people met at the cross well, the elders at the post office cross, often carrying their buckets for the water or returning from the well. Regardless of the weather, winter and summer it was necessary to journey to the well for water. To-day there is no necessity to go out for water, but the men still congregate in the "Boys Club". Now the men only go out on fine evenings, and then they have the shelter of the derelict house if necessary. They get neither wet nor dirty from the trip. They can now choose when to go out and when to stay in and avoid the elements, and thus exercise a control of nature not possible in the old setting.

Thus, from the discussion so far, electricity took over from solid fuel systems, and piped water from water carried from the well. Patterns of behaviour and labour changed as non-human energy sources took over in the home, and the gender divisions of labour became more pronounced. However, as patterns of behaviour changed in the home so patterns of behaviour on the land and sea also changed. Change was not confined to the interior of the households but could be noticed outside the houses also.

Thus one islander said:

"When the creamery commenced in 1952 there were fifteen white horses on the island. It was grand to see them all below on the bank road, delivering the churns to the creamery. There are only three horses on the island now - they are still used now again for setting and ploughing and making drills. There were wild goats on the Wester Battery. Every house had two pigs too. They used to take them to the fair to sell them to make the price of the rent. Or they would kill them for themselves and eat them at Christmas. There are no pigs on the island now. We have only about half the cattle we used to have. There are seven donkeys as all the farmers think it is good luck to put a donkey in with the cattle. They say the donkey stops the cattle getting sick. Every house had turkeys and chickens too. Some had ducks and geese. About four of the houses still have a few chickens and they keep them for eggs for their own use. I suppose they were all done away with as they were a lot of bother and brought dirt around the house. As the feed got more expensive it would be hardly worth your while to rear a turkey and try to sell it. Old ... would stand at one corner calling her turkeys pin, pin pin, and old ... at another calling hers, gobble, gobble, gobble. The two on the wester side would be calling the ducks. Duck, duck, duck, one would have and diddle, diddle, diddle, the other. Everyone had their own way of calling them. It was like a song when they were all at it together. There is little enough singing here now."

One island woman said:

"The women did a lot of work too you know. We used keep the turkeys for sale on fair day, before Christmas, that way we could get the groodles (treats). What slaughter we'd have trying to get them out to it. We would have to tie up their legs and beaks, and put them into the boats. We don't keep the chickens anymore they brought dirt around the house. A lot of the houses had the half-door to keep the old hens from coming in around the kitchen, picking. Meself and .... used put out a salmon net from the bank too at night. We'd go away down about mid-morning and haul it. It was often we had a couple of grand fish. We would pick winkles too from the strand in the season, and the seaweed for making the jelly. The old people used to say

that Corageen Moss was the best cure for chest complaints. They still have that. In the health shop now they sell little bags of it as a cure for the chest. God knows they pay well for it and we having it going begging on the strand. We should go into business selling it, and the mushrooms. God the horse mushrooms here do be a sight in the summer. There is good money to be had for them too."

In the new, clean and more ordered setting islanders moved away from the traditional methods of raising animals and slaughtering them for their own consumption. No longer do households keep poultry, goats and pigs. Fish is no longer salted, and even dairy products are largely purchased from the mainland. As islanders refrained from smoking and curing their own bacon and salting freshly caught fish, so the pattern of consumption changed. Increased shopping activity became necessary and the car became an important element in what Flink (1990) called the "automobile-refrigerator complex". (p.164)

However, again shopping is an easier task for mainlanders than islanders. As one islander asserted in a radio programme entitled "Living on the Edge", first broadcast on 9th September 1987:

"You have to be dedicated to live on an island ... Draw the messages down to Bantry pier on a Friday and Saturday take them across by boat and draw them around the island maybe in a wheelbarrow and see how they like that for a change. It would be a big difference from driving up to the supermarket with a motor car and driving home to your door like. It is still done like , everyone can't have a motor car inside on an island... Farming is also a problem. Because you have to get across fertiliser, machinery and all this and you have no landing place. To take something across at low tide you can't land. You have to wait three or four hours

till the tide get high... Its only an old slip and you can't land there unless its high water."

Shopping, even for those islanders who do possess a car, is an automobile-boat-refrigerator complex. As one islander said:

"We not only have to catch the shop open but we have to catch the tide as well. On a bad day, if its raining like, the messages all have to be covered in the boats with tarpaulin to keep them dry. Even then in the wintertime half of what you buy would be all destroyed by the time you make home. You know yourself that if the tide is going you have to leave whether you are ready or no. A real bad day you won't be able to get out for the messages. God knows you would be glad of a salt mackerel then. Since everything goes in the freezer you couldn't get one now. God they used be grand for the supper."

The added difficulty of shipping things in to the island was well recognised as a further disadvantage for the islanders of remaining rooted in place. Also mainland farmers could bulk buy and get their goods delivered to their door and thus cut down costs. The island farmers have to buy in smaller quantities and transport the goods themselves. As one said, "it all bloody well costs money you know". Thus on the mainland it is both easier and cheaper to be a consumer, and being a consumer is a necessary part of being a citizen in a modern state capitalist society. As the islanders became part of the cash economy of modern state capitalism, patterns of consumption changed. The new energy sources have to be paid for and as Hill (1988) suggests:

"The need to enter the cash economy was a direct product of the introduction of the electricity system in the first place." (p.76)

However, like most social phenomena money can not be viewed

in isolation. As Parry & Bloch (1989) suggest we must:

"Shift our focus from a consideration of money to a consideration of the meanings of whole transactional systems ... The fishermen ... are thus involved in two different transactional orders: a world of fishing and commerce in which men engage with strangers in a myriad of short-term transactions and where individual competition, if not sharp practice, is acceptable; and a world which is oriented towards the longer term goals of reproducing the household ..." (p.23)

But if Schwartz Cowan (1983) angled her argument purely towards women, Parry and Bloch's (1989) argument ignores them. Within the home women too engage with a myriad of strangers who present a human face to the non-human energy systems they now use. No longer do husbands, sons and brothers help to provide the fuel and water for the household, rather payment of an anonymous bill and/or an equally anonymous state benefit ensures provision of the service. Interaction with strangers in a myriad of short term transactions is also now a part of the women's longer term goal of reproducing the household in the new setting. Thus both men in the economic sphere and women in the domestic sphere are part of the cash economy of modern state capitalism. Both become consumers, for as stated earlier, the artefact may be incomplete without consumption but in the absence of consumption capitalism is unthinkable.

Schwartz Cowan (1983) argued that :

"Twentieth century technology radically transformed the American household by turning it from a unit of production to one of consumption. What we do (now) in our homes has little economic significance." (p.70)

She argues that this change had two corollaries. Firstly, that the ties that once bound family members so tightly to each other came undone, and secondly there was nothing left for adult women to do at home. These now guide people's daily lives. However, I would argue that Schwartz Cowan (1983) overlooked the relationship between domestic technologies and the wider political system, and Hill (1988) privileged domestic technologies as an independent variable within that system.

Household technologies were not an independent variable in the modernisation programme. Household technologies did not turn the Irish household from a unit of production to one of consumption on their own. Rather they were the product of the many national policies and processes brought to bear on peoples daily lives to promote industrialisation and modern state capitalism. In other words, promoting individual activity both publicly and privately, is a necessary component of replacing isolated community members with national state citizens. Thus, those technologies that were promoted were exactly those which served the required political ends. Namely, those that eroded the traditions that predicted sharing and promoted both individualism and consumerism. The circularity of this argument is crucial to understanding the structured and structuring role of technology. Technology was structured and promoted by the national state policies that were informed by the ideology of industrialisation and capitalism. The island accepted

the products of modernity and absorbed them into their daily lives, often in ways that were innovative and inventive, and produced the curious synthesis of tradition and modernity now found on the island. However, the synthesis of the islander's daily lives to-day is informed by the ideology of industrialisation and capitalism - the traditions may have continued but the ideology that informs them has changed. Put simply the ideology is not simply tacked on to the technology it shapes it and then shapes the daily lives of those using it. The result is that, not only is the new setting a cleaner and more ordered setting, but also a setting capable of supporting national state capitalism, and based on the modern ideals of individual state citizenship and consumption, not the traditional ideals of community membership which promoted sharing and self-sufficiency.

As argued previously in Chapter 4, in Ireland the attempt to industrialise required the breaking of the bonds that bound family members so tightly together and so tightly not only to the home but also to the land. Island women as argued throughout this chapter have plenty to do at home, but they are no longer active in the fields, the bogs and on the sea. In the pre-modern social organisation the household produced goods for use and for sale in the market place. Households on the island produced their own furniture, provided their own fuel and water and to a large extent their own food. The self sufficiency of the islanders was not confined to the shared activity in the domestic sphere but to shared



activity in the economic sphere also. Women played a large part in the production of goods for sale in the market place and for consumption by the family.

In the modern social organisation the islanders purchase both their furniture and their services from outside of the household. This changed the islanders domestic environment, but more importantly it changed the social relations of production. The traditional social relations of production were eroded and replaced with capitalist relations of production on the one hand and consumerism on the other. The one being meaningless without the other.

Male activities in the domestic sphere and female activities in the economic sphere diminished, and both were replaced by consumption - or rather in every day terms "shopping".

Carrier (in an informal lecture in 1991) suggested that shopping is a cultural event. Like all cultural events it reflects the social relations to be found within the society. He argued there is a tendency to see gift exchange and commodity exchange as a continuum. Rather they are two distinct realms that became separated by historical process. It is possible to trace the separation of personal forms of exchange from economic forms of exchange.

In the "golden unalienated past" exchange occurred between individuals who knew each other and was morally assessed by the local values of the largely self-sufficient community. Thompson (1971) also asserts the moral economy of the past. He argues that the common people, before the French

Revolution, were only seen as historical agents in time of riot and social disturbance. But in every eighteenth century crowd disturbance it was possible to detect some moral legitimation. Riot was caused as much by outrage to the assumptions of the moral economy of the poor, as by any actual deprivation that occasioned direct action. The new economy entailed a de-moralising of the theory of trade and consumption - devoid of intrusive moral imperatives. Thus the new economy (and I would argue, the modern standpoint of egalitarianism in general) where the good of the individual outweighs the good of whole, does make it difficult to:

"re-imagine the moral assumptions of another social configuration. It is not easy for us to conceive that there may have been a time within a smaller and more integrated community when it appeared to be "unnatural" that any man should profit from the necessities of others, and when it was assumed that, in times of dearth, the prices of necessities should remain at the customary level even though there might be less all round." (Thompson 1971 pp. 131-132)

Thompson (1971) argued we take up the story of the free market economy in the 19th century, and ignore the moral economy of the old market place - and the moral implications of the friction therein. Similarly, Carrier (1991) argues historically fair trade not free trade governed the market place, and reflected social relations. At this time the purpose of life was not to make money. As the social relations of production changed, the cash economy became embedded in social relations and resulted in the emergence of impersonal retail trade which has now become

institutionalised. Whereas exchange was traditionally based on local knowledge and personal knowledge of those with whom one did business, retail trade is based on the impersonal relationship of equal state citizens and the relationship between the individual and the State. Confidence in the State has replaced local knowledge and personal knowledge of individuals as the basis for exchange. The State now has the key role, it guarantees trust in the product. As Giddens (1990) suggests the local community is replaced with abstract systems as a means of stabilising relationships. "These systems have provided a great deal of security in day to day life which was absent in pre-modern orders." (p.112)

The fair trade of the local community has been replaced with the free trade of abstract systems. Commodities are pre-packed and guaranteed to be alike reaching the same standards of hygiene and quality regardless of who is involved in the transaction. Carrier concluded, this led to alienation from the commodity and the shopkeeper. Ultimately there was no personal relationship between the participants and no basis for selection of alienated commodities.

I would argue that Carrier is correct in asserting that the historical process resulted in impersonal retail trade, but wrong in asserting that this is dependent on citizens buying commodities from which they are alienated from people they do not know. Whiddy Islanders buy those commodities which

fit their new domestic setting, from Bantry shopkeepers, most of whom they know personally. Not only are the shopkeepers known to the islanders, but also their family history is well known, many are distant (or not so distant) kin relations to the islanders and therefore have intertwined life histories. However, when shopping the same impersonal relationships governed by the abstract system of free trade are brought into play.

Indeed, Schwartz Cowan (1983) also suggests :

"Almost nothing we buy has been made for us, to fit special needs that we may have. Houseworkers are alienated from domestic tools... There really is no a priori reason why things should have worked out the way they did. Women's and not men's work could have become completely industrialised we have the technological capacity to have constructed our society this way, but we did not." (pp.7-8)

However, I would argue, that there is a definite a priori reason why things turned out the way they did. As Carrier (1991) correctly suggests separation can be traced out in the historical process - consumption is a vital element in the social relations of production of modern state capitalism. Miller (1987) argues that the modern citizen is not alienated from everyday artefacts and tools in the modern world. Consumption does not only reveal personal tastes or idiosyncrasies. Rather consumption of modern artefacts reflects modern moral principles and social ideals, as much as the consumption of the fair market of eighteenth century reflected the moral principles and social ideals of another social configuration. Indeed as Miller

(1987) argues:

"Consumption is concerned with the internalization of culture in everyday life, but thereby incorporates parties, pubs and holidays as much as do-it-yourself home based activities... there remain common problems, in response to which consumption practices develop a plethora of projects... Such projects may include ideas about the proper relationship between individual and society, models of Romantic past and utopian futures ... expressed in developing forms of cultural relations." (pp.212 and 213)

For as Silverstone, Morley, Dahlberg and Livingstone (1989) suggest:

"Our consistent preoccupation with the process and dynamics of the relationship between the material and the symbolic has required that we take consumption very seriously indeed... Consumption is an essential aspect of the dynamics of modern (and post-modern) society... Consumption is simultaneously an economic, a political and a cultural activity. When we consume we are engaging, through the market, in a set of economic relationships that bind us to the system of production in complex and dialectical ways." (p.82)

For the Whiddy islanders the old ties that bound them to the home and the land prevented them from participating in the new system of production and therefore from engaging, through the market, with the State. Self-sufficiency and local knowledge resulted in a pattern of social relationships that could not support capitalism. New patterns of production and consumption were a necessary corollary of industrial state capitalism.

The "fair" market Carrier identifies reproduced the traditional social relations of production of the Whiddy Island community. The "free" market reproduces the modern social relations of production of industrial capitalist

society. No longer do community members exchange goods and services with people whose purpose in life is not to make money, and whose daily lives are orientated towards the collective. Rather individual state citizens (who may or may not be known to each other) interact with other individual state citizens in the free market. Making money is now vital to everyday life and individual consumption has replaced the collective way of life. The fair market bound people to the traditional agricultural relations of production, each other and the land. The free market binds individual citizens not only to the industrial system of production but also to the State. Indeed as Lefebvre (1971) argues "consuming is no joke". (p.107) Rather it is the symbolic and material manifestation of industrial state capitalism that now informs both the public and private spheres of the daily lives of state citizens.

Strathern (1988) also makes a very similar point by suggesting that in gift societies and commodity societies it was not only the product and the method of exchange that differed but the whole gamut of social relations.\* Dumont's

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\*An interesting parallel can be drawn between this argument and Diamond's (1978) argument on custom and law. Personal exchange and retail exchange are the antithesis of each other, not a continuation. State guarantees of sameness are part of national state policies for both citizens and commodities. Before the French Revolution, social relations of production were based on traditions that predicted sharing, notions of liberty, fraternity and equality only became part of social relations with the rise of the nation states. Not only are state citizens equal but must be given equal access to commodities (and since the advent of the mass media to information).

(1970) Homo Hierarchicus rises up to haunt us. From our modern egalitarian standpoint it is difficult to imagine a community whose purpose in life was not to make money, where individualism was not an aim, but rather the good of the whole community formed the basis of social relations. One islander acknowledged the change in the pattern of social behaviour and its symbolic and material manifestation in the new social relations of production and exchange thus:

"Years ago we got the milk from the farmers or from the goat. We had our own eggs and of course the fish. The bit of meat was slack enough with us. A chicken was a big treat. We'd kill one of our own and eat it. We all knew each other. You would know who to trust to buy a horse from, and who would sell you a nag. There was three butchers in the town, everyone had their own favourite. Now we get nearly everything inside in the supermarket. We would buy sugar and tea and little else. Anything else we needed we had to get for ourselves or from each other. We all helped each other out like. Now everything comes in from outside."

Again the island's traditional way of life was in competition with the ideals of modern society. Although islanders had a residual freedom to refuse the new setting, given the power relationships of modern state capitalism, this was unlikely. For as Bourdieu (1985) argues

"Those who occupy the dominated positions within the social space are also located in dominated positions in the fields of symbolic production, and it is not clear where they could obtain the instruments of symbolic production that are necessary to express their specific viewpoint on social space." (pp.735-736)

Schwartz Cowan (1983) suggests that "when it comes to decisions on spending limited funds, most people will still

opt for privacy and autonomy over technical efficiency and community interest." (p.150) I would argue that most of what people can buy in the new setting is both structured by and structures notions of privacy and autonomy over community interest. Although shared domestic technologies may be technically efficient they cut across the modern notions of individualism and consumerism. Indeed, it is not clear how the Whiddy Islanders could have obtained instruments of symbolic production that would have been necessary to express their specific viewpoint on social space, and social patterns of behaviour.

However, Schwartz Cowan (1983) did acknowledge the complex and dialectical relationship between the individual and the system of production. She too suggests that the individual was not entirely free to produce their own symbolic systems.

"The industrialisation of the home was determined partly by the decisions of individual householders but also partly by the social processes over which the householders can be said to have had no control at all, or certainly very little control. Householders did their share in determining that their homes would be transformed (indeed, we have very few records of any who actively resisted the process) but so did the politicians, landlords, industrialists and managers of utilities." (p.14)

Indeed, householders did their share in determining that homes would be transformed, but given the ideology of the time resistance - like nature - was not only dangerous it was messy. All citizens, be they householders or state officials, were informed by the same ideology. Shunning technological transformation meant shunning modernity, and



denying oneself the equality and equal access to commodities and information to which state citizenship gave the individual an automatic right.\*

However, on Whiddy Island one household did resist the process of industrialisation of their domestic space. The reason they gave for refusing electricity in 1961 was that their mother was very ill, and they were advised that the upheaval and change of installing electricity might cause her to deteriorate further. This may not be active resistance but nevertheless this home still has no electricity and no running water. Although acknowledging Benjamin's (1973) assertion that for fame the opinion of one is not enough, the difference between this home and the others on the island to-day bears out Marvin's (1988) point that "habits are transformed within a new setting." (p.5) The inhabitants of this house when in the external setting, that is one the island or in the town, neither appear nor behave in a manner different from the other islanders. Their external behaviour coincides with every one else's in the new setting. Thus I expected their domestic setting to be similar to that of all the island houses just lacking electricity. The reality was very different. On entering this household, it lacked virtually all of the symbols of

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\*Indeed, as Brody (1973) suggested "This image of capitalist society is built from suggestions of opportunities that in their plethora will exclude no one. According to its account of itself ... capitalist society can make a good life for anyone." (p.11) Citizenship and equal rights will be discussed further in Chapter 8.

modernity to be found in the other houses.\* It evoked a pure nostalgia, indeed as I recorded in my field diary, it was like stepping back 30 years in time.

Everything in the house evoked the past. It was clean, neat and welcoming. There was no division between the living and working space, everything still goes on in the kitchen in this household. The dresser, settle and wooden table and chairs still had pride of place in the kitchen. The coal fire burned brightly in the large open grate complete with cooking crane. Above the fire was the clevy with the traditional oilcloth decoration. The small red oil lamp burned in front of the picture of the sacred heart. The mingling of coal with oil lamps produces a curious aroma. Indeed, one thing that was completely forgotten by me, was the smell of the past.

Although one would expect that oil lamps and the crane would still be in use in this household, why had they kept the traditional furniture? In theory they have less bills to pay than any other islander, therefore they must have more money. They too could have changed the traditional home-made wooden furniture for the modern three piece suite. They could have purchased a dining room table and chairs. It is tempting to argue along with Lefebvre (1971) that in the absence of television this family are not subjected to the

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\*I am aware that this household can be identified by all those who know the island, and accept that any discussion of the interior of this household represents a breach in confidentiality, and therefore will keep description to a minimum.

ideology of advertising and publicity - "the poetry of modernity".(p.107) However, these householders are subject to advertising and publicity in newspapers, on the radio and on the occasions when they watch television in other people's houses. They are also subjected to the material example of the modernisation programme in the other homes they visit, on the island. Yet they still maintain the traditional furniture and the traditional patterns of social behaviour in their home.

Lefebvre (1971) suggests:

"You are at home in your living room, in the company of the diminutive screen (rather than of the message it transmits, asserts McLuhan) and you are being looked after, cared for, told how to live better, how to dress fashionably, how to decorate your house, in short how to exist; you are totally and thoroughly programmed, except that you still have to choose between so many good things, since the act of consuming remains a permanent structure. ... consuming is no joke; well-wishing and helpful the whole of society is with you, and considerate into the bargain, for it thinks of you personally, it prepares for you personally specially personalised items..."  
(p.107)

I would argue that for this one household the key to understanding why they have maintained traditional patterns of behaviour can be found in their living room. Not so much that the diminutive screen is not present, but in the absence of electricity their setting has not changed. Although they are well versed with the form and the message of the diminutive screen, both are inappropriate in their domestic setting - articles are not produced for them personally or their personal setting. Like the emigrants

letters home, for this household publicity and advertising are describing the world of semi-strangers, a world that has little to do with their daily lives. The flow of information enters a setting to which it is not appropriate.

For as Carrier (1991) suggests circulation does not end with the purchase. The commodity is involved in a set of commodity relationships. One set of relationships informs the purchase, once "in the cart" a different set of relationships operate. Silverstone et al (1989) refer to this second set of relationships as the moral economy of the household. Commodities are absorbed into the household then subjected to re-negotiation and re-definition to either reinforce or subvert the existing patterns of social relationships within the household.

I would argue that if this household purchased modern furnishings they could not be absorbed into their existing social setting and patterns of social behaviour. Sitting on upholstered chairs whilst cooking in a bastible and getting covered in soot, is too great an ambiguity even for the dialectic Irish mind.

This household also refused running water when the service was offered. They said:

"We didn't get the electric that time when it was offered, afterwards if we wanted it we would have to pay to bring it to the house. When the water was offer we went without that too. The well is only just outside the door. We could manage away with that too. There is a road leading to every place on the island only here. Anything we want we have to carry up from the pillars. No car or tractor can get to the door here. In the winter time you could not walk in

or out without boots, the field is mud you see then."

Indeed, this house is situated on the top of the middle battery on the island. Shopping for these islanders is largely dictated by what they can carry home. The automobile-refrigerator complex described by Flink (1990) is even more inappropriate in their geographical setting than for the other islanders. Non-human energy sources and tarmaced roads have not added to the cleanliness and order of their domestic setting. Thus the woman of the house still wears the traditional dark floral apron when in her domestic space and the man of the house his hob-nailed boots. As Silverstone et al (1989) suggest:

"Both the elements in the term "moral economy" are important. Every household is both an economic and a cultural unit. Each respective material position sets profound limits on the opportunities available for consumption and self-expression, but within those limits and in important ways perhaps transcending them, households are able to define for themselves a private/public moral, emotional, evaluative and aesthetic environment - a pattern of life- on which they depend for their survival as much as on any economic activity." (p.2)

For the household without electricity the pattern of life they define for themselves, and to a certain extent is pre-defined for them, by the geographical location of their household limits their opportunity for consumption of the artefacts of modernity, but not their opportunity for self-expression. They said:

"We are stuck now really with the tilley lamp. Every shop in Bantry had the mantels once, now there is only one shop where you can get them and they have to send to Cork for them. We pay dear

to get them now. Still we are happy enough so long as we can get them at all. I suppose in time we won't be able to. Like ourselves they will be antiques."

Even within the supposedly stable and traditional environment of this household, innovation is necessary and change occurs. Schwartz Cowan (1983) suggests;

"Tools are not passive instruments, confined to do our bidding, but have a life of their own... We can use them in many different ways but not in an infinite number of ways. The tools organise our work for us in ways we may not have anticipated". (p.9)

Visiting the household that had refused the offer of both the services and the tools of modernity, highlights the other side of the argument. Lack of tools also organises our work and our patterns of social behaviour in ways we may not have anticipated. Hence I was surprised to discover on entering the house that it was not a modern house lacking electricity but a traditional house lacking all the symbols of modernity and its associated patterns of behaviour. It would seem that this household had chosen to refuse modernity, yet innovation was present.

Williams (1989) suggests:

"Culture is ordinary. Every human society has its own shape, its own purposes its own meanings. A culture has two aspects: the known meanings and directives which its members are trained to; the new observations and meanings which are offered and tested. Culture is always both traditional and creative." (p.4)

Domestic technology , was offered and tested by the islands and its acceptance inevitably changed the patterns of behaviour in both the public and private sphere of the

islanders daily lives. However, this was neither the beginning of the history of change nor its ending. For culture is always the cutting edge of the direction of the wider political sphere and individual creativity.

It is therefore important to remember that in the stable agriculture and traditional past of the island, no less than in the household without electricity, innovation was also present. Fuller (1989) criticises Dumont for failing to address the notion of change in traditional societies and "accepting as given the "attribute of 'traditionalism' - timelessness and stability - which is also part and parcel of the concept of the village community." (p.52) Fuller suggests that the village community is discussed by both Marx and Dumont as ahistoric. From this viewpoint change only commenced with the introduction of the capitalist system. However, from the description of the islands past it is impossible to maintain this view - the island was never isolated from the wider political system - the politics of colonialism informed their daily lives under English rule, from the 1920's to the 1950's the politics of the nascent Free State entreating them to form an Ireland not only free but Gaelic as well informed their daily lives, and to-day the politics of National State Capitalism informs their daily lives. It is not only in modern state capitalism that the murmurings of everyday life reflect the rumblings of the political economy.

Ross (1989) suggests:

"The exercise of cultural taste ... remains one of the most efficient guarantors of antidemocratic power relationships, and, when augmented by the newly stratified privileges of a knowledge society, give rise to new sorts of subordination." (p.227)

Similarly Bourdieu (1979) asserts:

"Symbolic systems owe their specific force to the fact that the power relation expressed in them only ever manifest themselves in the misrecognisable form of sense relations." (p.82)

However, there is not only a tendency towards elitism in these statements but also they reflect the pessimistic views of the Frankfurt School that "mass culture was the seed-bed of totalitarianism" There is a latent inference that consumers suffer from false consciousness and are not able to see their subordination through the material benefits of the symbolic system and are duped into confirming a system which operates against their own interests. Both these position ignore that both the producers and the consumers of the symbolic systems are individual state citizens. The sender and the receiver are informed by the same ideology. As Fenster (1991) argues:

"To separate either the sender or the receiver, to see them as alienated moments in a process of communication, is to do violence to the process of taste... what needs to be accounted for in the study of taste, then, is not merely the dialectic between choice and structure but the ways in which choice is articulated within the structure over cultural forms." (p.101)

I would argue that Whiddy Islanders are well able to recognise and articulate exactly the ambiguous role of technology. It does make sense; it has eliminated drudgery and has made life easier, but also it has changed the social



relations of daily life on the island. The islanders are well aware how choice is articulated within the structure of cultural form, and how cultural form structures their choices. Forty (1986) suggests that:

"It is a peculiarity of capitalism that each beneficial innovation also brings a sequence of other changes, not all of which are desired by all the people so, that, in the name of progress, we are compelled to accept a great many distantly related and possibly unwanted changes."(p.11)

What Forty has termed a peculiarity of capitalism is, in fact, a paradox of modernity. Throughout the islanders quotes the structuring of their choices and the paradox of modernity is articulated. They could have refused electricity but would have remained in "the dark ages", left behind by modernity, living a life that was both dangerous and messy and offered little control of nature. Once electricity was accepted, it structured the choices they made in their daily lives. Cleanliness is a code to make you buy aerosols, light shoes need replacing every couple of months, clothes no longer do a couple of days, more utensils and pots are required for cooking, every place is full up with something, but you pay dear to get a mantel now.

As Williams (1989) suggests:

"A different system of production is in some ways a cultural directive, indicating not only a way of life but arts and learning... It is stupid and arrogant to suppose that meanings can be prescribed - they are made by living made and re-made, in ways we cannot know in advance." (p.8)

Indeed, the quotes of the islanders throughout this chapter, and the thesis in general, show just how stupid and arrogant

this position would be. Living with electricity has shaped the meanings of their daily lives in ways that could not have been known in advance. Electricity is part of the different system of production. As such, it was praised and welcomed for removing drudgery making life more comfortable - it was offered and tested and not found wanting. However, they were also constantly aware that it had a cultural directive that altered their patterns of social behaviour in ways that could not have been known in advance. Thus the islanders neither join the ranks of techno-pessimists nor techno-optimists - but rather maintain the paradoxical position, "they were hard days but they were good days too." Williams (1989) stated the techno-optimist position:

"At home we were glad of the Industrial revolution, and of its consequent social and political changes. But there was one gift that was overriding, one gift which at any price we would take, the gift of power that is everything to men who have worked with their hands. It was slow in coming to us, in all its effects, but steam power, the petrol engine, electricity, these and their hosts of products and commodities and service, we took as quickly as we could get them and were glad. The working people in town and country alike will not listen ( and I support them) to any account of our society which supports that things are not progress, not just mechanical external progress either, but a real service to life ... not in million years would you make us give up this power." (p.10)

The Whiddy Islanders too support the view that things are progress. Again, however, they may be seen to favour a more dialectical logic of both/and, an intellectual ability to hold the traditional oppositions of classical reason together in creative confluence. Using the dialectic logic

the Whiddy Islanders clearly articulate the argument of the phenomenological geographers which is more sophisticated than the one-sided view given by Williams. "What seems technologically desirable in some realms can be socially and ecologically disastrous in other areas ... as each individual becomes more emancipated from their former constraints they are also deprived of former opportunities to contribute to a collective sense of place" (Buttimer 1980 p.185) The islanders express this opinion thus:

"Jesus Christ, its all how wonderful the old days were. I don't see anything wonderful about them only what a damned hard life it was. Work, and I mean work from morning till night and nothing in your stomach then perhaps. I for one wouldn't go back to them days for love nor money. Mind you I suppose it wasn't all suffering either when you look back. We had the dancing, and music and we were never lonely. As I said before there is little enough singing or dancing here now."

The Whiddy Islanders (in general) took electric power as quickly as they could get it and were glad, but also realise that their acceptance of the gift directed their culture in ways that could not have been known in advance. The academic writers on technology (in general) adopt the logic of the prevailing culture based on non-contradiction, and technology becomes either an unqualified benefit, or an unqualified source of domination. I would suggest that the academic audience must now learn what the Whiddy Islanders experience of change from one societal form to another makes so obvious to them. Namely that technology is the material manifestation of the paradox of modernity. Producers of the

messages are consumers also, and consumers produce and send messages. The Whiddy Islanders experiences of modernity articulate the position of Silverstone et al (1989):

"...That same complexity is expressed in the politics of modern society, where consumption can be seen as both an activity in which we express our acute and irremedial dependence and at the same time (and in the same actions) as one in which we express our freedoms and construct our identities." (p.82)

Thus to study technology it is necessary to adopt the not so easily sustainable dialectic position that it is both benefit and disadvantage, both a source of domination and of freedom. As Fenster (1991) suggests unless this dialectic approach is taken writers will continue to:

" come up with vastly different ways of looking at the same process; those who privilege the receiver ... will continue to find the individual and /or the group freely choosing and constructing themselves; those who privilege the sender ... will continue to view the process as one in which consumers are oppressed in the market place; those who privilege the text or message will continue to come up with what ever they read into it; and those.. who privilege the reproduction of cultural and economic hierarchies of receivers will continue to perceive an essentialized and closed process of taste." (p.101)

As Williams (1989) said of his Welsh family:

"I can only say that I found as natural fineness of feelings, as much quick discrimination , as much clear grasp of ideas within the range of experience (of my family and family friends) as I have found anywhere ". (p.12)

I would suggest that the lived experience of the Whiddy Islanders and their ability to hold two opposed views in their head and not seek to sort out the contradiction has given them a clear grasp of the ideas that inform only the

most sophisticated writers on technology.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### IF YOU ASK ME IT'S SOME KIND OF A DISEASE

#### DISCUSSING COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGIES

"The lace curtains which once surrounded Dublin had been penetrated in the sixties by a barbarian, uninvited guest - television. It had been easy to tame the cinema with the scissors; books had no defence, but it was impossible to veil television."

(Peter Lennon, 1991)

Television was not the uninvited guest of the sixties. On the contrary, it was the most welcomed guest of the period. At the national level television was set up by legislation as an instrument of public policy, presenting a way to develop national policies and promote ongoing social objectives. At the local level television was a guest that did not bring the mud and the gutter in through the front door. Nor did it need food, drink or entertaining when present in the home. Rather television provided entertainment for the islanders in a way that fitted the new clean and ordered setting of the island homes. Entertainment (and communication) was possible at the flick of a switch.

In the sixties, the guest did not turn up uninvited or unannounced. Television is not an ahistoric phenomenon. Rather television has a history and television is part of the history of modernity. Silverstone (1991) suggests that "Television has become the source, site and symbol of most of what is particular to contemporary culture". (p. 147) In

other words television is both a symbolic and material manifestation of the values of modernity. Thus , it is all too easy, with hindsight, to make a causal connection between television and modernity, and to see the advent of television and of modernity as being one and the same thing. Television, at both the national and the local level, in Ireland today, is seen as providing an explanation for the loss of the traditional community in Ireland and its replacement with modern society.

The aim of this chapter is to counteract this explanation. For such explanation overlooks not only history, but two further crucial points. Firstly, communication, like all cultural events, reflects the social relations to be found within the society of the time. The arrival of television, on Whiddy Island, did not herald the arrival of modernity, rather television was itself a product of modernity. Secondly, the traditional patterns of entertainment and communication did not disappear, rather the old patterns of communication were reformed to fit the new setting. Just as mechanised transport and domestic technologies changed the external and internal settings of the islanders daily lives and reformed group behaviour, so too telecommunications and broadcasting changed the setting for their communicative activities and reformed patterns of behaviour.

By discussing the use islanders make of television, not least in their talk about television, communication, like all other cultural events is transformed on the island from

a pattern of activity that reflected the social relations of community that predict sharing, to the social patterns of behaviour that form the basis of their claim to individual state citizenship.

By embedding the discussion of television in the history of the wider political economy and the history of the media in Ireland, television as a product of that history becomes apparent. By discussing changes in the patterns of communications behaviour on Whiddy Island, it becomes apparent that new practices were improvised from the old traditions, and yet again a curious synthesis of old and new resulted.

Ong (1977) refers to the new pattern of communication as secondary orality. He suggests that telecommunications have produced a synthesis of both oral and print based cultures, a hybridised culture, and that the new orality has striking similarity to the old. Silverstone (1991) argues: "(Ong's) seminal notion of secondary orality captures precisely the essence of this technological and cultural dialectic: the identities and differences between the present and a world we thought we had lost". (p.147) Again, there is always a past in the present, and change is not total. The media, no less than any other product of modernity, is both structured and structuring. As with other technologies the argument is circular and not causal, modernity promoted telecommunications and telecommunications promote modernity. The time space distancing of modernity promoted



electronic means of communication, and the means of communication embedded time space distancing in the everyday lives of those using them. Television, is both an expression of modernity, and an example par excellence of the dialogue between the populace, national policies and modernity.

Neither the islanders, nor the State, could use the communication system, or its artefacts, without changing any of the other parameters of their daily lives, and television, no less than any other technology, is in the end what people do with it.

Nevertheless, the perfect house guest of the sixties is not so welcome today, but is overtly criticised. At national level, the State (especially its embodiment in the Church) criticise television for having destroyed the moral fabric of the Irish nation. As Lennon (The Guardian 26-27th January, 1991) suggests it was impossible to censor television:

"Day by day, hour by hour television brought messages of ways of life where all that was forbidden or curtailed in human relationships at home was seen to have the full approval of respectable people elsewhere."

Furthermore, in Ireland, national disapproval of the media is carried to the periphery, not only by the media themselves, but also by the Church. The vast majority of Irish citizens still attend Sunday mass. Many of the arguments put forward by islanders and ex-islanders alike, can be heard in the priests' sermons on Sunday. From the

pulpit the threat of television is proclaimed. Typical inclusions in sermons are:

"Families no longer say the rosary in the evening. Most of you listening are probably watching television when your fathers and forefathers would have been saying their rosary. When families prayed together, they stayed together. If any of you are having difficulties in your marriage, turn off the TV, get down on your knees every evening and say your rosary together;  
Every day on television we see examples of crime, violence, adultery. This is being reflected in Irish life;  
Today's children are more likely to know the advertising jingles than their prayers."

Just as the introduction of the national education system had unforeseen consequences for the British Colonial Government of the time, by providing a literate populace for the pamphlets of the nationalist movement, so television had unforeseen consequences for the Irish Free State. The State may have recognised broadcasting to be too important and potentially dangerous to be left to the broadcasters, but even the most rigorous legislation could not harness television. Television presented the population with the opportunity to circumvent censorship, and for the voice of the people to be heard whether the State liked it or not. Television, whatever else it may (or may not) have done, has not served the original aims of the Free State - to promote an Irish nation that was not only free but Gaelic and catholic as well. Rather television was promoted by the modernisation programme and has promoted modernity in the Irish nation. Not only do both local and national priests and elders attribute negative characteristics to television

but also as McLoone (1984) suggests:

"Most worthwhile writing on television in Ireland has tended to concentrate on the institutional structures of RTE and on the relationship between RTE and the State. Most other writing has tended to be negative, dismissive or downright hostile."  
(p.8)

Little wonder against the backdrop of the current discourse on television in Ireland, the Whiddy Islanders isolate and privilege television above other technological innovations. At the local level, the islanders comments on television reflect the highly pessimistic views of the mass media put forward by Adorno, Horkheimer and Marcuse, the founding fathers of the Frankfurt School. Television (if not the mass media in general) is seen as a propaganda machine, causing passivity and inertia, replacing wisdom with information, and is accused of being the source of modern domination that has eliminated spontaneous expression of the people, and eroded local communities in favour of mass society.

Hence one islander said:

"The television changed the people. We know what's going on all over the world now but we couldn't tell you what's happening down the road. Every fellow do be moaning about it and how it is no good , and there is nothing worth watching on it, but however bad it is everyone watches it. No one turns it off, if they did they wouldn't know what to be at anymore. It have the whole country destroyed."

Similarly one ex-islander said:

"If you ask me it is some kind of disease, every fellow suffers from it, and no fellow have the cure for it. Sure we are looking at the TV before we can walk now, and we spend the rest of

our lives gawping at it. From the cradle to the grave you might say. In the latter end we don't be any the wiser. Sure we don't know if its lies or truth were getting, only propaganda from the big fellows."

Islanders now blame television for their inclusion in Riesman's (1969) *Lonely Crowd*:

"They were good old times really. Someone would always call in. We had a dart board in the evening and the men would come for a game, or for rings. Everyone would have some bit of news. TV have done away with all that. Everyone is on their own now. "

For changing what counts as knowledge, and as Turkle (1984) suggests replacing wisdom with information:

"I notice that with the all young ones today. They have no memory. I often wonder why that is. As soon as they hear something they forget it again. No wonder you are writing all this down. You see people don't write anymore - everything is just spoken. It's from the television of course. If you wrote down what was being said you'd learn a lot, but they don't. It goes in one ear and out the other - and one eye too. Its all bits and pieces of information, they get on TV. The know a bit about everything but nothing about anything in the end. Information is all around them now, so they don't know how to keep it in their heads - they can look up or find out anything they need to know - and the rest they simply forget. When I was young if you didn't have the information in your head you hadn't it at all. I think we were wiser really that time, for what we knew we knew ourselves - from experience. But you can't halt progress." \*

For embedding consumption in their daily lives, and subjecting them to Lefebvre's (1971) "poetry of modernity" - advertising:

"Years ago if we got an orange and a few sweets Christmas time, we thought we were blessed. We had the greatest time. To-day I notice with my own they want everything. They have a list as long as your arm, of what they want. And its not cheap things, or small things either. I blame

the blasted telly, as they do be advertising all those things on it and then the kids want it all. Its no joke. I think it should be stopped as not everyone can afford it. I said to mine when they wanted to write to Santy ... write away child but don't expect to get what you ask for. They have to learn to happy with what they get. They will have to play with each other like we used to. There is enough of them to keep each other amused. But they don't want that anymore."

Thus the islanders are in many ways blaming television for modernity. The islander's give television a privileged position in the realm of technological determination (and domination). The criticisms levelled against television by the islanders were not apparent when they discussed electricity, electrical gadgets, the outboard or the car. The pertinent question is why?

Silverstone (forthcoming) argues against technologically determinist accounts of the media that refuse to consider social and cultural influences on the production and consumption of new technologies but points out "that many of these discussions are highly suggestive, above all because paradoxically, they do insist on isolating or privileging media technologies, and in that isolation raise

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\* The marked similarity between this old woman's view of television and another famous old woman's view of newspapers is worth noting. For change did not start, and it won't end, with television. Already satellite, video and the computer are bringing new anxieties and new suspicions. Yet in 1944 Pieg Sayers said:

"My memory is as good as ever it was for other things. But its Thomas, has done it, for he has books and newspapers and he reads them to me, and the little tales one after another, day after day, in the books and the newspapers, have driven the old stories out of my head. But maybe I'm little the worse for losing them." (Flower, 1944 p.70)

important questions about their significance in a way that is relatively free from the determinations of the polity or economy". The Whiddy Islanders isolate and privilege television and raise important questions about the determinations of the polity and economy.

Thompson (1990) argues that industrial organisation, the state and mass communications, are the three key constitutive features of modern society. To understand the process Thompson (1990) refers to as the mediatization of modern culture, and understand how the development of mass communications becomes a constitutive feature of modern society, is therefore meaningless if removed from the wider political economy.

O Briain (1978) also asserted an ahistoric role for television and suggested that it was now impossible accurately to reflect the influence of television on Irish culture. He said:

"If the sociologists were on the ball (in 1960) a survey of attitudes and behaviours then would have provided us with valuable information against which a comparison could be made now."  
(pp.5-6)

This view suggests that no one, sociologist or not, can now remember what life was like before television. I would suggest that the Whiddy Islanders can well remember what life was like before television and their comments provide a valuable insight into the role of television in the modernisation programme that changed community members into state citizens. Whereas Dumont (1970) was criticised for

asserting that change only occurred with the advent of capitalism, O Briain (1978) seems to be suggesting that change only occurred in Irish social and cultural patterns with the advent of television - and it is now impossible to measure this change. To answer the pertinent question why do the islanders privilege television above other technologies as the source of cultural transformation, I would argue, it is necessary to re-place television not only in the history of the wider political economy but in the particular history of the media. Again, as Barthes (1972) suggests if we scrape away at what appears natural we uncover history.

For the islanders, the ancestors of the outboard motor were oars and sail, those of the car the horse and the tractor, those of the electric light the candle and the tilley lamp. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that they would cite the ancestors of television as being newspapers, the post office, and the radio.

However, the islanders' talk about television gave no such indication. Television, unlike other technologies simply arrived. It had no material ancestors and no history. Television was a completely new medium and became the scape-goat for the changes in the islanders daily lives. By designating television an ahistoric technology the Whiddy Islanders privilege it and remove it from the polity and economy. I would argue, that the history of television is concealed, partly because its ancestors did not fall into

disuse when it arrived. With the coming of television, newspapers, the post office and radio did not disappear, rather they all operate alongside each other in the new setting. Thus television did not displace other media, nor was it simply an addition to them, rather by a complex process it fused the past and present and produced the hybridised form of communication, suggested by Ong (1982): The synthesis of orality and literacy, led to the technologizing of the word. Indeed, as O Tuathaigh (1984) suggested it is necessary to:

"Discuss the media in Ireland not as a single uniform instrument, but rather as a mix of different elements of communication." (p.100)

Furthermore the communication media cannot be discussed as an isolated phenomenon. The different elements of communications are themselves part of the mix of modernity, and as such should not be viewed separately from all the other issues discussed in this thesis. For television not only has its own life cycle, but is part of the life cycle of the history of modernity, and the place of television within both is more apparent than the islanders comments suggest. The communications media were yet another layer in the settlement of modernity on the island; part of the period of history that transformed one type of societal organisation to another - and the community member to state citizen. The modern citizen, the press, the telephone, radio and television all operate alongside each other in the new setting for communicative practices.



Smith (1984) asked:

"But where should we look for the subtle but historic turning points that tend to escape the attention of the technological determinists and futurologists? Perhaps we should look hard at the ways in which distance is being steadily abolished as a factor in the calculation of the cost of shifting information. In the information age it is as cheap to send material via satellite between two distant places on earth as between two close ones. The imagination can play on the many implications." (p.92)

We can only look to history, to avoid technologically determinist accounts and to provide an explanation for the time space distancing of modernity and the new patterns of communication. It did not start with television. The migrant preceded the media - the postal and telephone system preceded the electrical system, and the press and radio preceded television. The migrants letters and phone calls home, the press and the radio all brought messages of other ways of life to the island before television arrived. All played a part in changing the setting and reforming group behaviour.

It is therefore necessary to trace the history of the press, the postal and telephone system, radio, broadcasting and television. By discussing the relationship between the history of the media and the wider political economy and the local use the islanders made of each artefact and how they now operate alongside each other in the new setting, the view that television can be blamed for modernity can be counteracted. The starting point is the Irish newspapers. As Farrell (1984) suggests the newspaper was the first mass

circulation media, and as such was an historic turning point in Irish social and cultural behaviour. Farrell (1984) asserted:

"The distrust of the media, the concern and confusion about the effects of mass communication, the fear that it will lead to a mass society that will blanket individuality, stifle good taste, and ultimately corrupt and destroy freedom, is not new and certainly not distinctly Irish. It can be traced back to the fear of the radical press in the early nineteenth century, through elite reaction to the vulgarity of popular entertainment in later decades, on to the remembered manipulation of mass propaganda by totalitarian regimes... For those reared in an older tradition these developments may be unwelcome, even alien. They can scarcely be condemned as either impious or irresponsible."  
(pp. 112 and 117)

The Whiddy islanders were reared in an older tradition but the developments of the media were not unwelcome, they did not resist the innovations but, with hindsight, blame television for much of their contemporary situation.

Nowlan (1984) gives a detailed account of the origins of the press in Ireland. In the seventeenth century Irish "newspapers were a mirror image of the London papers with a few local advertisements and items." (p.7) (Again, it is clear, that it is not only under national state capitalism that the media reflects the relationship between the wider political economy and the local everyday lives of those living within it. Ireland at this time was, after all, a British Colony, so Irish newspapers mirrored the Government of the time and had meaning for the local readers. ) However, if the nascent Irish Press was a mirror image of the British Press, to-day both British and Irish newspapers

are sold side by side in all Irish newsagents. The British influence on the history of Ireland can be detected in the press and once again there is always a past in the present.

As O Tuathaigh (1984) points out:

"We cannot strictly confine ourselves to the Irish media. In communications terms Ireland is an extremely 'open' society. British newspapers and journals (with some exceptions) enjoy a wide circulation in Ireland, as do the print publications of other cultures. In sound broadcasting the only real limitation to access is the capacity of the radio set. In television, over sixty per cent of the country now receive the signals of British stations, through the overspill, and cabling of the remaining areas is proceeding. The advent of satellite will render Ireland even more 'open' to programmes from other cultures. Thus while the media forms are easy to list, the provenance of the media at work in Ireland is a more complex matter." (p.97)

Nowlan (1984) goes on to suggest that the newspaper press was becoming an important agent in the political education of the Irish reading public and was adding a further dimension to the tasks of governments in Ireland. Indeed, the appearance of each new medium re-shaped traditional social habits, and as Marvin (1988) suggests "when old technologies were new" they aroused many of the same anxieties as today's newer than new technologies.\*

Hence Nowlan (1984) argues:

"From the beginnings of the history of the newspaper press in most countries, governments had tended to view the new medium with suspicion. It was strange and politically dubious. Preferably it should be guided in the appropriate direction or, if it proved unwilling to submit, then it would have to be restrained... The acceptance by government and the courts of an effective freedom of the press was a slow and for the editors and printers, often a painful

process." (pp.9 and 10)

Of course, the press is still subject to methods of control and censorship and the effectiveness of the freedom of the press is debatable. Nevertheless, the medium is no longer viewed as strange and politically dubious, rather as each new medium evolved it became the focus of suspicion. McCartney (1984) argued that in Ireland:

"The rapid advance in literacy was one of the great achievements of the nineteenth century... A society that was thus becoming literate was assisted greatly by the cheap newspaper. And it in turn was influenced by the vast number of new readers whose only formal education had been that of the national school... in order to extend its own circulation it had to respond to the needs and interests of a mass readership. To promote mass circulation the English newspaper of the late nineteenth century made a conscious effort to provide their readers with much more than the merely political. They had to appeal to every aspect of life, and entertain as well as inform."  
(p.30)

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\* Smith (1984) makes the point more strongly: "it is relatively easy to list the technical possibilities inherent in the conjoining of modern communications with digital computers. We can have vast quantities of information and entertainment on tap. The computer will revolutionise every aspect of daily life, labour time will dwindle. "An age of total leisure is at hand. One can spin the predictions onwards and onwards , moving upwards into a frenzy of extrapolated social optimism or downwards into a trajectory of ecological despair." (p.86) History again informs the position, every new media created just such anxieties, every new technology was to bring closer the age of total leisure. But as Schwartz Cowan (1983) suggests each task that disappeared was replaced with others. As each new technology and medium was absorbed into the existing culture some aspects of that culture changed others remained stable - change is, indeed, never total, or else the world is a mad house. Thus in Ireland, the sacred heart is now honoured with an electric light bulb and the Angelus bell still rings on RTE. The computer too, will produce a synthesis of the past and the present and ,no doubt, of social optimism and ecological despair.

The history of the Irish Press therefore suggests that long before television was even thought of, production and consumption were two sides of the same coin. Even for the early newspapers it was the consumer that made production complete. Furthermore, even at this early stage other processes were crucial. Without the education system the newspaper would have had a very limited circulation. The early mass media were produced for mass circulation and aimed to entertain as well as educate the audience.

Even the British colonial government of the late nineteenth century which in theory overtly dominated the Irish people, in practise had to make a conscious effort to appeal to them for the message of the media to be received. Thus, historically the notion of the mass as the passive recipient of the messages of the media is difficult to substantiate. As Redfield (1956) suggests historically the rural community cannot be understood in terms of itself alone, the little tradition may belong to the locality but the rural community also had a great tradition that derived from influences outside that become part of the local culture. Furthermore, the relationship between the mass and the elite, was a two way process and effected both the great and the little traditions. Indeed, the English newspaper may have influenced the Irish people, but the Irish people also influenced the English newspaper. The dialogue between the local and the national did not start with capitalism, nor the relationship between senders and receivers of the

message, but national state capitalism and telecommunications changed both.

Cullen (1984) argued technical advance made the nineteenth century dramatically different from preceding centuries :

"There were also changes in cultural aspects of life, nowhere more obvious than in news. News travelled faster, up-to-date news became part of daily awareness in a novel fashion... In the eighteenth century news travelled much more slowly... news from London in the 1790s was reported in the Dublin press three to five days later; continental news a week later still. Newspapers and letters travelled in the same bundles and packets... Newspapers appeared twice or three times a week ... many people were already aware of the world's news through letters they had received in the same packets as carried communications for the newspapers." (pp.18 and 19)

On Whiddy to-day Newspapers are neither delivered or obtained daily. As one said "its still like 1790 here." Curiously, the circulation of newspapers is directly related to the education system on Whiddy to-day. During the school term time, the island teacher brings a paper in daily. She leaves it with one islander, who having read it passes it on to another household, who then passes it on to a third. By the time the third house gets the paper it is at least one day (if not two days) old, and is even then often passed on yet again. One islander commented on this thus:

"I suppose you get your paper delivered on to the mat every day. We have to be satisfied with getting it whenever we can. Its all the same only read it away, whatever days paper it is. You'd know what's going on anyway from reading it even if you'd be a bit later than the rest of the world finding out. We have most of it from the TV and the radio anyway but we still read it. "

Thus news is not always new on the island, but is very much

part of daily awareness on the island. Islanders never go to town without returning with a newspaper. Any one, returning to the island will usually be greeted with the question "Did you get the paper?" Islanders often greet each other by using the saying "what's the news" or sometimes "what's new".

The answer to the question can be given by using local, national or international information, and maybe a mixture of all three. For example:

"Not a bit at all, only the electric will be off for three hours tomorrow;

"The unemployment figures out yesterday were a disgrace. Charlie should be ashamed of himself. The country is going to the dogs;

"The poor devils out in India, have a hard times with the floods, and we here praying for rain for the cattle and the gardens. Sure the whole world is gone mad".

Indeed, the time-space distancing of modernity is indistinguishable in what counts as news in face to face interaction on the island to-day. What one heard orally, read in the paper or saw on Television, is all part of the mix of local news today. As Thompson (1990) suggests through the use of technical media "symbolic forms acquire ... an 'extended availability' in time and space. They are made available to an extended range of potential recipients who may be situated in contexts that are remote, both in time and space, from the original contexts of production." (p.13) The news is just such a symbolic form, placing the islanders daily lives within the context of both national and international occurrences, and national and

international occurrences in the remote context of their daily lives. Thus, the prime minister is known as Charlie and needs no more explanation than the local power cut, and the island drought is effortlessly comparable to the floods in India.

The mix of local news today, not only elucidates the argument that the media operate alongside each other in the new setting, and how the time space distancing of modernity is embedded in every day life, but also demonstrates how news and information are part of modernity and part of everyday life. Indeed "The Desire for the New" as Campbell (1992, in press) suggests is at the centre of modernity - modern citizens desire new products but as Smith (1984) points out "information is the hidden ingredient in all products." (p.90) News and information is the novel fashion of modernity.

Although the islanders may seem willing to accept the news in their newspapers even if a little out of date, this seems less true of personal written communications, that is letters. As one islander said:

"Long ago you would be waiting for the letters. We would be praying we would get some news in the post. We never get letters now. Mind you I hated writing them although I loved to get them. By the time you got a letter now you would probably have had the news from some other one on the phone. Like the papers you'd only be reading what you knew already from some other place."

Indeed, many islanders suggested that the telephone had done away with the need to write letters. Many suggested that



they used to look forward to the letters coming - "now all we get is bills in the post." The islanders have never received a daily newspaper, nor a daily postal service. Today the post is delivered on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays, at about 11.30 in the morning. Four posts per week is a far cry from the urban service of two deliveries every day except Sunday. The islanders geographical location means that written information has never been easily or readily obtained. Written communication requires a material movement of the information across time and space - which is not apparent with telecommunications or broadcasting.

The teacher's role in the circulation of newspapers today, was previously a role fulfilled by the post woman. Thus, the press and the post were linked in the history of the island. Before the island teacher travelled daily to the island, the island post woman often brought in the paper.

As one islander said:

"God knows she was handy when she was doing it. You could always ask her to bring you in a paper or a small message, a packet of fags like, a bad day, or in the wintertime. She'd do it too. She was one of the old school. She'd help out if she could."

The post woman has now retired. One islander said:

"She would get out as best she could. Get a lift from someone like anyone who was going out. She didn't have her own boat. But she never missed the post. She always found a way. Sure some days she'd have to wait all day to get back in. It would be evening before we got the post."

After her retirement, the job was taken for a short time by

a mainlander with his own boat, and is now carried out by the grandson of the post mistress on the island who also has his own boat and often delivers the post by car. No longer is delivering the post a shared activity, but an individual employment. When the postwoman retired, the old ways went with her. The new postman rationalised the service. The Post Office has been rationalised too, and the private telephone has been introduced to the islanders' daily lives. The Whiddy Island Post Office opened in September 1940. An islander applied to be the post mistress and got the job. The post-office was (and still is) situated in the room of her single storey dwelling. The post mistress said:

"When I first started the hours would be 9.00 in the morning till 7.30 at night. A long enough old day. They used be very strict. The new post-master is very nice. The hours are 9.00 to 5.00 now. The main duties are to answer the phone, supply the stamps and licences, and pay out pensions and the dole, benefits like. The phone doesn't ring much now, as every house nearly has its own phone. At one time people would be ringing all hours of the day and night, you'd have to go then to the house with the message. At one time they were going to put a call-box on the quay but it never came to pass. Once the post-office shut at 5.00 o'clock communications by phone weren't possible. When the Government introduced the free rental for old age pensioners in remote areas nearly every house here qualified for it - so they all got the phone in themselves. I don't be very busy now as nearly every house has a private phone in. Since they got the phones there don't be so many letters written either, so I don't be so busy with the stamps and the post. It is as easy to phone America now as Bantry, only its much dearer of course."

The history of the telephone on Whiddy Island seems thus to be a reversal of the history of the telephone within the

Amish community described by Umble (1992, in press). The Amish received private telephones and discarded them for a community system of phones. The Whiddy Islanders had a community sytem which was replaced with private phones. As the post mistress said "there are only three houses now on the island that don't have their own phone."

Umble (1992) describes the resistance of the private telephone by the Amish community on religious grounds and suggests that the community telephones were the compromise that provided access without intrusion. When the only telephone on Whiddy was in the post office a similar compromise resulted. Islanders, like the Amish, "had access to the telephone system in a way that did not intrude on their communication patterns, structured through the rituals of community life and anchored in the home." (Umble 1992) All islanders used the same communal phone, and all outsiders wishing to contact an islander had to go through the Post Office to do so. Both incoming and outgoing calls, involved the islanders in face to face interaction. The post mistress (or a member of her family) delivered phone messages in person to the island houses. If an islander wished to phone out, she/he went to the post office interacted with the household and made the call.

News of an incoming phone call often came first by letter. When writing home relatives would inform the islander that they would attempt to call at a particular time on a particular date. The islander would inform the post office

the telephone is a manifestation of the paradox of modernity, it both facilitates and prevents contact. Whilst facilitating contact across time and space, it diminishes face-to-face interaction.

Umble (1992) suggests the Amish rejected private phones on religious grounds. Paradoxically, the reasons given for their adoption of the community phone system, namely the non-Amish need for privacy, access to current information, doing business, handling emergencies and preventing unnecessary trips to town, were very similar to those given by the Whiddy islanders for their rejection of it and its replacement with the private phone system.

The islanders suggested that it was no longer appropriate to sit in the post office awaiting a call. One said:

"They want their privacy too. You couldn't expect them to be running all over the island with the messages to-day."

Others said:

"We need to phone the vet and all sorts more often, with the new farming regulations; If we need the doctor or anything its hard enough for us, but at least with the phone they would get the message quicker, however they would get in after that;

I phoned up to Cork and ordered the new outboard in advance like, and then went up and collected it. It was great ease to me, besides travelling up and down a couple of times and paying the fare. You could order spares or anything and get them sent down. They'd send them down on the bus and ... would mind them for you till you go out to pick them up;

Once we got the free rental we thought we might as well take up the offer. We are all getting old and you never know when you might need to contact someone in a hurry. I couldn't be without it now. Only for it I'd hardly know what me own children were doing. Its great for

and go and sit in the kitchen of the post office at the pre-determined time and await the call. As the international dialling system at this time was unreliable the islanders would often spend a large part of the evening socialising with the post mistress and her family, whilst awaiting incoming calls or attempting to make outgoing ones. As Umble (1992) said of the Amish:

"In those days, contacts among neighbours - Amish and non-Amish alike - were built on face to face communication, common understandings, rhythms of farm life and personal acquaintance. Relationships were personal and grounded in shared life experiences... Community telephones remind the Amish communicator that his or her point of reference is the community, not the outside world. "

I would argue that when the community telephone operated on Whiddy the islanders adopted the same point of reference. They had their own system for telephone use that reflected group behaviour. As relationships became less personal and shared life experience began to be replaced with individualism they adopted private telephones, and new patterns of telephone behaviour evolved. Again the structured and structuring role of technology can be seen. As social patterns of behaviour privatised everyday life, the telephone was adopted, and once adopted the telephone further privatised life. As Keller (1977) suggests "Among the intrinsic uses of the telephone are the social contacts it facilitates ... (Yet) one wonders whether there is a new breed of telephone hermits." (p.285) De Sola Pool (1977) also suggests the telephone has a double life. Yet again,

keeping in touch. You don't feel so cut off, anyway."

Patterns of telephone behaviour reflected the changes in patterns of social behaviour generally. Indeed, when islanders first "got the phone" they were reluctant to phone each other on it. It seemed to be an inappropriate use of the technology. The phone was to be used to phone relatives on the mainland or in other countries, or to conduct business transactions and contact the appropriate services in an emergency. However, as one islander said :

"When we first got the phone we didn't use it only to phone town, or out foreign. We soon gave that up though and now we all phone each other."

Technology is, indeed, what people do with it. The telephone too played its part in removing face to face interaction from the island. As more of the islanders obtained private phones the old practice was reformed. The islanders now phone each other quite regularly and "think nothing of it." As one islander said "no matter how bad it is (the weather) you can still pick up the phone and talk to someone and get some bit of news. God knows a bad day there is little else to do." As Marvin (1988) suggests new technologies are not so much transformative agents as "opportunities or threats to be weighed and figured into the pursuit of ongoing social objectives." (p.232)

Moyal (1990, unpublished) surveyed the use of the telephone in Central Australia and found:

"That, in a changing and turbulent social environment, the telephone had come to furnish a 'psychological or telephone neighbourhood' that

transcends physical distance and suburban and rural isolation, and offers relief from loneliness and social alienation, and a supportive sense of caring and self esteem. Most respondents did not see the telephone as a substitute for face-to face contact - although for country and remote outback women it served as a transport substitute".

On Whiddy the telephone is now a necessary part of kinship relationships. It provided the opportunity to keep in touch with relations with whom it is no longer possible to have regular face to face meetings. As Keller (1977) suggests "the telephone is clearly a means to geographic mobility... one of the basic instruments holding people together." (pp.284-285) Contact is maintained without face-to face interaction. However, time and space have not disappeared but have been re-negotiated to fit the new setting. Indeed, some islanders when phoning their relatives in America or England, allude to the distance rather than the relative. "We were just talking to America". Others note that the distance and time spent talking are related, and all convey that a telephone conversation is not the same as a face to face meeting. Thus one said:

"Talking on the phone is better than nothing. You'd know everyone is near enough all right anyway. But its not the same as seeing them. Its grand when they come home. I love to see them coming home, but you'd be lonesome then when they go away again."

Thus, although the community telephone of the past and the private telephones of the present enable islanders to communicate across space and time, these dimensions do not disappear. Rather a pattern for telephone communication

evolves, business calls are made with the urgency of the situation - the vet, doctor, spares shops, mechanics are all phoned as, and when, the need arises and are usually local calls.

When phoning relatives, (or on rarer occasions friends) those in close proximity may be contacted several times a week (or even daily), those in England perhaps once a week or a fortnight, those in America rarely more than once a month. As the post mistress said its as easy to phone America now as Bantry only its dearer of course.

Claisse and Rowe (1987) suggest:

"Space and time have not been erased by the development of telecommunications. It is to be found in its duration-distance dimensions in telephone bills ... If the telephone sometimes enables us to obtain a better mastery of space and time, it would more often appear to enable us to manage new space-time constraints linked to the incumbent of space and time, that of farness away for relational communications and that of the urgency for functional communications."  
(p.212)

Smith (1984) suggests that technologies usually turn up to help people out of their difficulties not to take over their lives." (p.91) The telephone did turn up to help the Whiddy Islanders out to their difficulties; to enable them to manage the new constraints of space and time the far awayness of relational communication and the urgency of functional communication. The telephone provided an opportunity to meet the new social objectives of the modernisation programme, to maintain kinship relations across time and space, and to participate in modern business



transactions. Rakow (1987, unpublished) concluded the telephone was a:

"location where the means and experience of gender are played out ... Women's telephone talk is work women do to hold together the fabric of the community, build and maintain relationships, and accomplish important care-giving and receiving functions ... It is both gendered work and gender work."

Undoubtedly on Whiddy men and women use the telephone differently, and women use it more often than men. The island women use it primarily to maintain relationships with their families, the men use it for business transactions. Both patterns of behaviour reflect the changes in the social pattern of life on the island, and the gender division of labour of national state capitalism. On the island, prior to industrialisation, men, women and children participated in both kinship and economic activity on the island. The feminist argument put forward by Rakow (1987; 1988) again ignores that things were changing for men too. When local knowledge informed their economic activity, business was conducted by face to face interactions - spares were not needed for oars and sails, nor for horses. The feminist argument suggest that the gendered division of telephone talk exactly parallels the gender division of labour in national state capitalism. However, I would argue that the position is not so clearly defined. On Whiddy, the men also talk to relations who have been contacted or have contacted them, and the women make business calls for the men. Again change is not total, echoes of the past are heard in the

present.

Umble (1992) said for the Amish:

"The coming of the telephone introduced new linkages both with and beyond the Amish community...The telephone contributed to individualism and pride rather than humility .. The Amish position reflects an insistence that community needs take priority over individual needs ... telephone use itself was not banned but rather the installation and private ownership of the telephone in the home. The telephone was both a symbolic and a physical connection to the outside world... The Amish leaders made it clear there was no place for the telephone in Amish homes."

I would argue, that the Amish community was no place for the telephone. Horses were still used for farming and transportation of goods and people, and Amish homes had no electricity, no radio and no television. The Amish community was still based on the old traditions that predicted sharing, where "one 'gives up' or 'gives in' in deference to another for the sake of the community." (Umble 1992)

However, even in the extreme example of the Amish, who are a group of state citizens overtly striving to carry on in the old traditions and to reject modernity, neither the telephone nor the messages of modernity can be completely shunned. Umble (1992) suggests "Their distinctive plain dress, their German dialect and the unchanging patterns of life and worship serve to mark and emphasise their distinctiveness" I would argue that it is, at least, debatable that the pattern of their life is unchanging for as Umble herself states "Amish entrepreneurs argue that

access to the telephone is now a necessity for running a business." Artificial breeding programmes, instant access to the vet, entrepreneurs and running businesses are incompatible with an unchanging way of life based on religious traditions and grounded in shared life experience. In the absence of electricity, radio and television, Amish farmers are still aware that to-day efficient dairy farming requires involvement in modern methods of artificial breeding which, in turn, requires faster access to the veterinarian. This, in itself, casts grave doubts on the privileged position of the media - for even in the absence of the media the messages of the wider political economy arrive in the Amish community. The Amish community could not shun the message of the outside world, nor survive in the modern world in the absence of a method of communicating with it. Even the murmurings of their daily lives, based on religion and shared activity, are affected by the rumblings of the wider political economy. The efficacy of their farming activity requires interaction with the outside world - and with modernity. The old practices are reformed in the new setting.

The Whiddy Islanders were certainly aware that the old practices and the new setting are incompatible. Trying to relate the one to the other often produced an amusing incongruity. One islander gave the following account of the disjunction in this casual conversation over a game of cards:

"You needn't go out at all now, only pick up the phone... It would have been handy years ago if we had it. We could have saved ourselves a lot of walking God knows. Years ago we would be out trying to find where the hens were laying and gathering up the eggs before we went to school. Then when they were hatching we would have a great caper. If you found an old nest with no hen on it, we would be sent running across the fields to old ... to know had she any old clucker we could have to sit and hatch them for us. Beating road as fast as we could, and back again with the old hen under our arm. If she was there now we could phone her to know had she one, and save ourselves all the running and tearing to come back empty handed."

This caused a lot of laughter, the narrator, the researcher and the other islanders present, appreciated that the idea of getting a "clucker" by telephone communications was somehow absurd. If the islanders social patterns of behaviour still included the sharing of a hen, the telephone would not be present, and if the telephone is present the islanders no longer share hens. Once again going for the hen was part of the social relations that predicted sharing and the telephone is part of the modern relations that predict individualism. The old ways and the new setting can only be adjusted to certain degrees. I would argue that it is also absurd to suggest that entrepreneurs are part of the unchanging tradition of the Amish community.

Although Umble (1992) argues that the telephone has no universal meaning apart from that which is constructed or negotiated by those social groups making use of it, and also is not universally welcomed, it does seem that it has a universal use. Keller (1977) argued, "Without doubt, the telephone has become indispensable and modern life

inconceivable without it." (p.281) Modernity required the absorption of the telephone into the daily lives of the Amish, and like it or not, altered patterns of behaviour.

However, unlike the Amish, for the Whiddy Islanders, it was not only the telephone that turned up to help them out of their difficulty and to assist them in the pursuit of modernity, but the full gamut of modern communications.

De Sola Pool (1977) said "to talk to others who are unseen and far away is an experience which before the telephone, occurred only in mythology. Gods, Devils and angels talked from the sky across the world, but not mere mortals."

(p.372) Once mere mortals could talk across the sky to people they did not know, radio turned up, then television added the sense of sight to sound, and mere mortals could see those who were doing the talking. Nevertheless, broadcasting began with the radio.

Cathcart (1984) offers a comprehensive study of the history of Irish Radio:

"It was at this early stage in the development of broadcasting that the Irish Free State came into existence in 1922. Within six weeks .. Marconi's company applied to the Irish Post Office for a licence to erect and operate a radio station in Dublin. It offered to provide an efficient and adequate programme of music, speeches, songs and news in return for the exclusive right to broadcast and to sell wireless receiving equipment in the Twenty-six Counties." (p.39)

He argues that Post Office Officials suspected that the Marconi company's interest would only last while sales were profitable and were in no hurry to make a decision.

Broadcasting was not at the the time an issue of any public consequence. However, in July 1923, with the Civil War ended, amateur and professional radio enthusiasts formed the Radio Association of Ireland confident that broadcasting had serious potential. The Dail reached the same conclusion and viewed:

"The use of radio for entertainment, however desirable, as of vastly less importance than its use as ministering alike to commercial and cultural progress." (Cathcart, 1984 p.41)

The Radio Association agreed:

"Broadcasting may indeed mould the nation's thoughts and aspirations to an extent now wholly unappreciated. With State control of Broadcasting that great national spirit which has been the forerunner of all national prosperity in every country of the world will have ample opportunity of development ." (Cathcart, 1984 p.41)

Thus the formation of the nascent Irish State and the nascent Irish broadcasting company, co-incided. The radio was to aid and abet the State to develop the national spirit of Ireland and ensure prosperity. Radio at this time was to develop an Ireland not only free but Gaelic as well. As Cathcart (1984) said, in the beginning radio provided 'listeners-in' with an undiluted diet of live traditional music, but by 1936, music occupied a less prominent place and talk took 21.8 per cent of air time. Indeed, replacing music with talk is crucial to understanding modernity. Live music was part of the old setting, recorded music and talk is part of the new.

I asked an islander when the first radio came to the island:

"You'd be surprised what you'd learn from listening to it. You get a lot of different opinions anyway on the phone-ins. It is company too I think when you are here working in the back kitchen all day on your own. You'd get fed up with the quiet. One thing about the radio, you can work away while you are listening to it. "

Working all day on your own is part of the new setting. The old practice of listening only to radio news broadcasts has been reformed to fit the loneliness and the quiet of the new setting. Oakley (1985) suggests the housewife uses the strategies of day-dreaming or of having the radio or television on to combat the boredom of the task in hand. Those islanders who now listen to daytime radio, suggest that it is not the boredom of the tasks, but the loneliness of the new setting that using the radio combats. The forefathers of the media were the people. In the absence of people the radio does, indeed, both educate and entertain. Moreover, those people who do remain reform the old patterns of behaviour to fit the new setting.

The mother and her sisters, Friel (1990) remembers, suddenly catching hands and dancing a spontaneous step-dance and laughing - screaming! - like excited school girls, would to-day be more likely to suddenly catch up the phone and give a spontaneous opinion over the airwaves, like informed modern citizens. Lyotard (1984) suggests the nation as a whole was supposed to win freedom through the spread of new domains of knowledge to the population:

"The decline of narrative can be seen as an effect of the blossoming of techniques and technologies since the Second World War... That is what the post-modern world is all about. Most

"As far as I know, ... had the first one ever here. She was the teacher. I was at school that time ( it would therefore have been the late 30's or early 40's). She brought it into the school for us to listen to it. God knows we were all half afraid of it. We couldn't make it out at all I suppose. It was different from anything we had known before."

Friel (1990) in his play "Dancing at Lughnasa", described having similar childhood anxieties at approximately the same time:

"When I cast my mind back to that summer of 1936 different kinds of memory present themselves to me. We got our first wireless set that summer - well a sort of a set; and it obsessed us...I remember my first delight, indeed my awe, at the sheer magic of radio. And when I remember the kitchen throbbing with the beat of Irish dance music beamed to us all the way from Dublin, and my mother and her sisters suddenly catching hands and dancing a spontaneous step-dance and laughing - screaming! - like excited school girls, ...I had a sense of unease, some awareness of a widening breach between what seemed to be and what was, of things changing too quickly before my eyes, of becoming what they ought not to be... I had witnessed Marconi's voodoo derange those kind, sensible women and transform them into shrieking strangers." (pp.1 and 2)

However, as the islanders themselves say, there is little enough singing or dancing on the island now. Radio now serves as a replacement for the kind, sensible people of the island.

Whilst some islanders still use the radio only to listen to news broadcasts, others listen to the variety of programmes broadcast throughout the day. Current affairs, educational programmes, chat shows, phone-ins, quizzes, and music are all part of the daily broadcasting service. As one islander said:



people have lost the nostalgia for the lost narrative. It in no way follows that they are reduced to barbarity. Their own linguistic practices and communicational interaction saves them." (pp.37 and 41)

Thus modernity requires the demise of the traditional, space bound, narrative interaction. But narrative does not disappear. The modern world has its own style of narrative communication. Radio and television are different from print - they provide the setting for the new orality. Citizens are in no way reduced to barbarity. For as Theal (1990) suggests communication and communication technologies are the warp and woof of civil society. As sociability enters the public domain, linguistic practices also change in the new setting. Put simply, modernity requires its citizens to be able to communicate with everyone, indeed anyone. That is what modernity is all about.

Scannell (1992, in press) said:

"In modern societies we are obliged to interact co-operatively - day in day out - with a large number of people, many of whom will be unknown to us or familiar only for a brief duration."

Scannell (1992) argued that public life is "brought into being by radio and television not only in terms of its content (its 'universe of discourse') but also in terms of its communicative ethos or style: a preference for relaxed, natural and spontaneous seeming modes of address and forms of talk that constitute the world as ordinary, familiar and communicable for very large audiences." In this way, broadcasting is now part of the everyday life.

Public displays of sociability on radio and TV are not

merely sociable, but a form of social interaction that transforms both public and private interactions. Citizens have to feel comfortable with the media. They are assured, not least by chat shows and phone ins, that the broadcasting channels are not only open to them but that their own linguistic practices and communicational interaction are appropriate to the public domain.

Audience participation brings the private into the public as well as taking the public into the private. Indeed, during the course of a popular chat show on RTE1 entitled "Bibi" and broadcast on the June 1st 1989, the female presenter had visited a country home and filmed the inhabitants going about their daily lives. After showing the film the phone lines were opened. One caller, a countryman, "with a brogue so thick you could cut it" was full of praise for the film and for the presenter. Bibi, he said, was to be admired, and he thanked her for bringing the programme down the country and bringing the rural way of life into the urban homes.

The new orality, like the old, indeed reflects the two way process of communication. The roles of sender and receiver of the message are interchangeable. With the advent of broadcasting, the telephone has not disappeared rather it operates in the new setting alongside radio and television, and has been incorporated into broadcasting practices. De Sola Pool (1977) questioned why the telephone had been ignored in the study of mass communications. I would

suggest, that the telephone was seen as unproblematic because it was not perceived as a mass medium. Rather it was a private convenience facilitating communication between family and friends. To-day the telephone is an overt part of mass communication, and is now the subject of considerable attention. The telephone chat show, allows the listener to speak, and the receiver to become the sender of the message. Indeed, islanders comments on radio (and television) chat shows confirm this view. They said:

"Sure he was only an ordinary old fellow, like ourselves, a real country man. And to hear him giving out you'd think he was a TD;  
I often think I suppose I could phone in myself;  
I like to hear the ordinary peoples views on whats going on in the world, its very interesting;  
When the islanders, those from Whiddy too, were on the radio, God knows I thought they talked a lot of sense. They are the sort of programmes I like."

Just as the early press was aimed at the audience, broadcasters too have to shape their behaviour to the audience not vice versa. "Broadcasting in its development has had to learn how to communicate with everyone by adjusting its style and manner to fit with the situational proprieties of everyday life and the actual conditions of listening and viewing." (Scannell 1992)

All broadcasting whether by the host, participants, studio audience, or telephone is performance. Broadcasting has made people more relaxed in interactions in both the public and private sphere. Put simply it has democratised social interaction. If the culture of modern industrial state

capitalism is embedded in the social interaction of every day lives, then it follows that culture is now embedded in performance. In a democracy we are all party to it. Eco (1986) points out that culture despite decades of cultural anthropology is still thought of as high culture - but high culture is no less a form of show business than any other. Thus culture as show business is a specific ideology denoting that a lecture, a rock concert, Beethoven and a film are similar. The cultural masses (not necessarily the same masses that attend sports or rock concerts) also come mainly to be together. "Culture as show business is not inevitably a product of theatrical society, it can also be an alternative. A way of eluding organised entertainment - to create others for ourselves." (p.157)

Thus, in the modern and post modern world, high culture, low culture and folk culture are all ways for people to come together, for the participants to create entertainment for themselves, and all are, in the end, performance.

Scannell (1992) argues that early analysis of self-presentation gave rise to a cynical view - "Garfinkel calls it a naughty view - of the performed self as a mask ... people are not to be taken at face value." Rather as Scannell (1992) says the self may be a performance but it is the real thing, on such trust the taken for granted character of the social world as knowable and familiar depends. Thus radio and television have brought the art of performance into the very heart of everyday life; the real

thing. The local interactions of persons known to each other are as much performance as functional interaction with unknown people. Telecommunications and broadcasting transform both how people communicate, and who they communicate with, and what they communicate about, in the real world of their daily lives.

Joyce (1964) using his mastery of the pun, suggested that telecommunications had transformed the real world. The hero in *Finnegans Wake* was asked to "roll away the reel world, the reel world." (p.25) The real world and the reel world are now indistinguishable. Both may be intangible but neither is illusory. Put simply, modernity means that the real world of the private and the reel world of the public can no longer be easily distinguished, or taken for granted. Ong (1977) suggests "The 'tube of plenty' has generated an other-then-real world which is not quite life but more than fiction." (p.315) This is precisely why Meyrowitz (1985) criticises McLuhan for focusing on the media and ignoring the situational aspects of face to face communications. He argues:

"These oversights may stem from the traditional view that face-to-face behaviour and mediated communications are completely different types of interaction - real life vs. media. (The) common denominator that links face to face interactions with the study of the media (is) the structure of social situations." (p.4)

The media are an intrinsic part of the every day structure of social situations, the new setting, and as such inform both public and face to face interaction. People do not

simply talk about radio and television but rather broadcasting informs the style and manner of their daily communicative practices.

Indeed, chat shows and phone-in programmes allow the "ordinary fellow" access to the airwaves and demonstrate how the new linguistic practices of the situational face to face interactions of everyday life are appropriate in the public sphere, and vice versa.

In the past, Pieg Sayers and Thomas O Crohan may have had their books censored and suppressed, because the Government did not want others to know how the people lived. The Government, may have been able to control the messages of everyday lives in the books written by those who were living them, by censorship or refusal to allow publication, but as Murphy (1984) concludes :

"However one regards the story of the effort to protect the national community against alien influences considered to be undesirable, nothing can be said, then or now, in extenuation of the attempt to silence the nation's own voices simply because the state did not like the sound of them. That was the great abomination of the age of Irish censorship. That was the very antithesis of communication. Culture is communication. Whatever our present problems and future prospects ... we are at least communicating with one another loud and clear." (p.63)

The mass media are the focus of this loud and clear communication. The voice of the nation can no longer be silenced because the State does not like the sound of it. Again, we would do well to question the pessimistic views of the islanders on television and the Frankfurt School's

equally pessimistic views of the mass media in general. The passive and inert mass on the receiving end of bourgeois culture, duped into believing they are happy by the affirmative nature of technological rationality - is, it seems, at least capable of picking up the telephone and answering back. The citizen can use the mass media to circulate messages, as much as can the State. Both can adopt the role of either sender or receiver of the messages. The interrelationship between telecommunications and broadcasting are a manifestation of the time space distancing of modernity, where all that was solid has melted into air. Information once circulated only in the solid, tangible form of the written text to those we did not have direct, personal contact with has now melted into the new orality of the airwaves, and the new orality informs daily face to face interaction also. Everyone, in every communication, uses the new orality.

On the island to-day islanders may be said to interact, with each other, with who ever is on the end of the phone, with radio (during the day) and television (in the evening). Therefore, complete separation of the media in use is impossible. Nevertheless, I shall now return to the introduction of the medium of television.

O Tuathaigh (1984) highlighted the operation of mass media in conjunction with each other:

"It has been said that when television comes sound broadcasting takes a back seat ... television has the news value, the glamour, the popular appeal. And so indeed, it must have

seemed to many broadcasters in Ireland during the early 1960's. However, the 1970's have seen a revival of interest in radio - particularly as a morning-time media ... One major change has been the inauguration of Radio 2, with an unashamedly aggressive commercial flavour offering almost twenty hours broadcasting a day. Meanwhile radio 1 continues to adhere more closely to the original Radio Eireann concept to inform, educate, and entertain." (p.102)

Again it should be noted that by the 1970's the modernisation programme was well established. Capitalism and industrialisation urged citizens to be unashamedly, aggressive and commercial. Broadcasters are citizens too. Mac Conghail (1984) reports that at the second meeting of the Dail on January 20th 1960, to introduce the broadcasting Authority Bill to establish a national television and sound broadcasting service, the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs made some general observations on the role of broadcasting and noted that it was:

"The most powerful and pervasive medium of mass communication yet devised... Now that television had added sight to sound its potentialities are indeed incalculable: already it has altered in many respects the pattern of living in those countries where it has most developed. The television set has even become a household god with more power over its devotees than was ever held by ancient idols. If this is so elsewhere to-day what may not be the power of television here in ten or fifteen years time when there may be a television set in every home." (pp.65-66)

The Act was passed and an Independent Broadcasting Authority, Radio Telefis Eireann (RTE) set up. Mac Conghail (1984) suggests the Act laid down the broad terms and rules of the game of broadcasting.

"The Act required the Broadcasting Authority to bear constantly in mind the national aims of



restoring the Irish language and preserving and developing the national culture and required the Authority to endeavour to promote the attainment of those aims." (p.66)

Again the Act, fits the historical context. When the Act was passed the Irish Free State was still clinging to the last vestiges of the revolutionary ideals of 1916. However, television was both a product and promoter of modernity. As the national aim changed so did the messages the State wished to convey and RTE's independence was questioned. It took not ten or fifteen, but five years for the power of television to be established in Ireland, and for the struggle to control this power to surface. Chubb (1984) said:

"At first the new generation of broadcasters in the sixties, in the words of one of them, Brian Farrell, 'were not unduly constrained by the restrictions of the Act; indeed in many cases they were scarcely aware of them.' But not for long. Governments and politicians generally viewed broadcasting as altogether too important and potentially dangerous to them to be left to the broadcasters." (p.83)

Chubb (1984) concludes that experience suggests that as the pattern of communications changes our politics will also be affected. However, the reverse also holds true, as our pattern of politics changes our communications will also be affected.

In 1966, Sean Lemmas, re-asserted government supervision of the media . He said:

"RTE was set up by legislation as an instrument of public policy, and as such is responsible to the government. The government have overall responsibility for its conduct, and especially the obligation to ensure that its programmes do

not offend against the public interest or conflict with national policy as defined in legislation. To this extent the government rejected the view that RTE should be, either generally or in regard to its current affairs programmes, completely independent of government supervision." (McLoone, 1984 p.6)

However, as Lennon (1991) suggests:

"Long before Ireland had its own television, or the provinces could reach for it, Dublin had put up its aerials to receive this profane feast, pirating and scoffing the lot. With cable and satellite, British and Irish television, Dublin has a choice of a dozen channels."

Indeed, the Government could not censor television. Programmes that offended against public interest or conflicted with national policy, even if censored on Irish Television could be picked up and viewed in Irish homes.\* Again, it is impossible to escape the notion that technology is what people do with it, and neither the State, nor the Church, not the producers of the technology, nor the sender

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\* It is estimated that 60% of Irish homes can receive British Television today. The Whiddy Islanders can receive only the two Irish Channels, RTE1 and RTE2. Thus there is little daytime television available. I asked if they would prefer to get BBC and ITV as well. One said: "We are badly off enough with what we have, without having more of it. Sure for God's sake there is nothing worth watching on it, whatever Channels you have." Another said: "God knows I wouldn't then. Sure I 'd say some of those in the towns do be watching nearly 24 hours a day. That's no good to them. They should be out in the fresh air. I see ... (her grandchildren) when they come in here, they can't wait till the children's TV do be on. No matter how fine the day they are inside then watching it. All the kids are the same - they won't move when its on. There is no talk of playing or going out when the TV is on, in case they miss something." These were typical of islanders views, but one did say, "I suppose it would be good too really. I'd say you get better programmes on the BBC anyway. Sure half of what's on RTE don't be worth watching. It's only tormenting the people half the time."

of the message, nor the writers on technology can have the last say in what that use is. Each may have an element of control, and some more than others, but in the end, as the islanders themselves often say "you can do what ever the hell you like with it."

At national level, the State may have failed to control the media, and all its works and pomps, but they still use it. The state use the media to communicate politics, and promote or discredit policies. The media renders the nation governable. As Rose and Miller (1992, in press) suggest:

"Radio and television beam authoritative messages into previously inaccessible regions and spaces, broadcasting to highland crofter and inner city dweller alike a dual message: not only a particular set of instructions for seeing the world and acting in it, but also the fact that, irrespective of the message, one is a member of a society."

Even the Church, who overtly criticise television, also use it to further their objectives. Thus citizens who cannot, or choose not to attend Sunday mass, are encouraged to watch the service on television. Indeed, when the weather is too bad for the islanders to cross the bay to attend mass, the service is watched on television. The behaviour associated with being in Church is transferred to the domestic setting. The mass is watched with reverence. No talking, mobility, smoking, or eating is appropriate behaviour in the kitchen when "the mass is on." The internal setting of the kitchen can be transformed, by television, to represent the real internal setting of a place of worship. The Church has decreed that in the case of genuine hardship in travelling

to the Church, the statutory Catholic duty of attending Sunday mass is fulfilled by watching the service on television. The Church too, whilst criticising television, find a use for the time space distanciation of modernity it represents. The television is absorbed into the daily practices of the Church too. One priest said during his Sunday sermon:

"When you hear the Angelus bell on your TV and see the picture do you think I've time to put the kettle on or do an odd job. No look at the picture, say a prayer and re-dedicate you lives to the Blessed Virgin."

At the local level, when talking about television the islanders may adopt the received view of television, but they are still busy using it. One island woman told the story of the arrival of her television set in 1965:

"Old ... didn't speak to us for a week after we got it. Then she said "God knows plenty dry money you have to be out buying a television and the whole country talking about you, and twas you had the fine, decent mother and father. Whatever kind of money, dry money is - spare money I suppose she meant. A few months after that... brought the telly too. The old woman was charmed with hers when she got it. ... often told me that when they first put on the news the old woman used say, put down the kettle and make a cup of tea for that fellow, he's a stranger in the house. She couldn't understand at all, at all, how he was only a picture I suppose. God rest her soul."

In the beginning, it was not only only the State that was concerned about television's potential for corruption. Those reared in the old ways were also suspicious of it. But once in use the anxiety disappeared, and charm took over, but as at national level "not for long."

Furthermore, I would argue, that the old lady had a point, and a very pertinent point. The news reader was not only a picture. The adding of sight to sound, has incalculable potential, and does makes television the most powerful and pervasive (and persuasive) medium of mass communication yet devised.

As the islanders said "You could work away while listening to the radio" but to use the TV they are obliged not to "move when its on. There is no talk of playing or going out when the TV is on, in case they miss something." Yet again the paradox of modernity manifests itself, the modern citizen has to remain rooted in place, to use the television, yet the whole world can pass before their eyes. As Meyrowitz (1985) argued; "more and more, media make us direct audiences to performances that happen in other places and give us access to audiences that are not physically present." (p.7) Behaviour is no longer matched to physical locations and the audiences found in them. Thus, the kitchen of an island home can be transformed to the physical location of a church and the islanders to worshippers at the flick of the switch. People and places appear in the physical location of the kitchen and the islanders interact with them. It is not that what one sees can no longer be trusted to represent reality, but rather what one sees transforms the physical location. Time and space have to be further re-negotiated to include the sense of sight and again the old practices are reformed.

In 1989, two Whiddy islanders were invited to be part of the audience of the Late Late Show on Islands (discussed later in the chapter). One described the experience as follows:

"The studio was not built for men anyway. ...'s knees were up under his chin. When you see it on TV you think its huge, but its small out, it only seats 120. Mind you , you often hear people saying that the television makes things look different. I tell you, you couldn't trust your own eyes to-day."

Thus the old practices of matching behaviour to physical locations and trusting ones own eyes are reformed to fit the new setting. Television changes physical locations and makes things look different, patterns of behaviour change to encompass this change - people do indeed question what they see.

Horton and Wohl (1956) suggests that one of the most striking characteristics of the new mass media, is that they give the illusion of face to face relationship with the performer, this seeming face to face relationship between spectator and performer they call a para-social relationship. "Para-social relations may be governed by little or no sense of obligation, effort, or responsibility on the part of the spectator." (p.215) Horton and Wohl (1956) ask how these para-social interactions are integrated into the matrix of usual or ortho-social relations.

The old woman and the newsreader provide an answer. For the old woman the newsreader was not just a picture, rather he was both a part of the physical location and represented the change in that location and in face to face relationships.

The old woman had to learn to reform her behaviour, and the old practices, to accommodate the para-social relations. As the old obligations of face to face relations were reformed, the traditional practice of making tea for the stranger in the house was again reformed to fit the new setting. On the island to-day it is no longer part of group practice to automatically offer visitors either food or drink when they enter your home. This not only adds to the concept that people are not as charitable today as they were in the past, but demonstrates how the para-social interaction of television is integrated with the ortho-social interaction of people's everyday lives. In the new setting as Meyrowitz (1985) suggests "we would be forced to say and do things in front of others that were once considered unseemly or rude."  
(p.6)

Silverstone, Morley, Dahlberg & Livingstone (1989) suggest that television is a doubly articulated medium. It has the covert message that can be found in all technological forms, but unlike other technologies has an overt message which is heard in the content of its programmes. But so does radio. I would argue that the addition of sight adds a third layer of articulation. Television in the private space, (like film in the public space) is a triply articulated medium. Television is a technology and like all others carries messages in its form, like the radio it carries messages in the audible messages of its programmes, but it also carries visual messages into the living room, the very centre of

daily lives.

Whereas the written messages of the migrants, and to large extent the audible messages of the telephone and radio, depicted the life of semi-strangers located in different places, the third layer of communication - sight - changes the status of the messages. All three messages then become, not so much messages of other ways of life, but messages that are appropriate, and therefore incorporated, in the very ways of life of the viewer and become part of his daily locally lived life. They become part of what you can see around you in the course of daily life - part of the local knowledge that informs daily life and part of the physical location in which daily life is lived out, and are used to construct local culture. Put simply the time space distanciation of modernity is now a constitutive part of the local setting. Indeed, islanders to-day are as familiar with the characters (and places) on television as they are with each other, the slippery slat and the old woman's stone.

Giddens (1990) suggests "the primacy of place in pre-modern setting has been largely destroyed .... Place has become phantasmagoric because the structures by means of which it is constituted are no longer locally organised." (p.108) Thus the characters and places seen on television and those seen locally, are integrated on the island today and redefine the islanders' sense of place. Television gives the "bricoleur" endless scope. It is a leading object in modern society providing the material means to merge the



private and public sphere; to combine the real world and the reel world and vice versa. Always what one heard was intangible, television means that what ones sees is now also intangible - but neither is unreal. Use of the telephone and radio means you can talk to people who are not present, use of the television means you can see people (and places) that are not present. Thus television added a third layer to the time-space distanciation of modernity - and further reformed patterns of behaviour when used.

When using television, as Morley (1986) suggests "people are just as likely to view types of programmes which they claim not to like as they are to view their claimed programme preference." (p.18) Obviously, the Islanders watch many different programmes on many different subjects - and equally obviously they find some of them most informative and entertaining others are watched despite the fact that they are described as rubbish, no good, or a waste of time. Individuals may have favourite sources of entertainment from show jumping to old movies, but three types of programmes are most popular and most regularly watched.

First and foremost they watch the news. As already suggested news and information is the novel fashion of modernity, and is very much part of daily awareness on the island. Secondly they watch soap operas, those programmes "where the ordinary people" appear on television. and thirdly they watch the Irish chat show, the Late Late Show. The news and soap operas are very similar in form and

content across cultures, and across time and space. As Silverstone (1991) said "Television news, the soap opera, and the ads are bare respecters of cultural difference, generating a universal language, not this time for an educated elite, but for all of us. Television is becoming the source of a new global vernacular at odds with national culture." (p.153) Indeed the news and soap operas are part of the new global vernacular and little different in Ireland to anywhere else in the world. The Late Late Show is, I would argue, a specifically Irish phenomenon - and as such merits particular attention. So although much could be said about how and what islanders watch on TV, and the use they make of it, for the purpose of this argument I intend to concentrate on the Late Late Show. The show is not at odds with national culture, indeed some would argue it now forms the basis of Irish culture.

For instance, Scannell (1992) argued the Late, Late Show, was a new kind of public event in Ireland. A new use of broadcasting as a social public performance. A mainlander said:

"The Late late Show is probably the greatest institution in Ireland to-day. Gaybo has more power than the politicians. The Show has done more to change Ireland, and the Irish, than may ever be realised. And don't you forget that and you writing the book."

Earls (1984) said "choosing the Late late Show as a subject of study is unlikely to cause surprise given that the social role of the programme has been a matter of public interest since its inception."(p.107) The Late Late Show went on the

air in the summer of 1962 when Irish television was in its infancy.

The presenter of the show Gay Byrne, Gaybo, in his autobiographical book "To Whom it Concerns" (1972) explained that the show was devised to create the ambience of an evening round an Irish country fire with a young master entertaining various guests. As Earls (1984) argues:

"This fireside image comes straight from the twilight world of de Valera's ideal Ireland and it is significant that in 1962 the desire for an Irish chat show found expression in the language and imagery of protectionist culture."\* (p.108)

Indeed, it is significant, for the image of Irish families, gathered round the hearth, and telling stories to each other, or being visited by a travelling story teller is part of the very fabric of Irish tradition. The devising of the

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\*However, the traditional fireside scene was not without its critics - the narrative of the traditional story teller, was not it seems always benign, and did effect inner structures of consciousness also. One islander said in a general conversation (not related to television) : "Sure years ago in the farmhouses they would be telling yarns and stories all night. There in the half light they would have tales of fairies and, banshees, and ghosts. Sure God knows you would be afraid to go out after them. Often meself I thought I heard something on the road after me. There are still things that I couldn't explain to you if I tried. Sure that was all wrong too. If you like it was only frightening the children and the people around the place. I'd say that's what was wrong with half on them in those days, they were pure scared of their own shadow. There was many a one played a joke on some other fellow, crept up on him or jumped out on him. Old ... one time sat up in the paddock at night time behind the furze bush playing the fiddle. Sure everyone was afraid to pass the height of the road, when we caught him out we were pure mad at him. But sure he only laughed. The stories had us all foolish. It a good thing them ways are gone now. People can go out at night anyway without thinking about them things."

Late Late Show may have been an attempt to fit the new medium into the old tradition, but the new medium had already transformed the old traditions. The television is part of the ambience of the evening regardless of what is on it, once again it is both a symbolic and material manifestation of the demise of the twilight world of de Valera's ideal Ireland. Presumably, the presenter and others involved in making the show were shrewd enough to recognise this. For as Earls (1984) suggests:

"The show did not adhere to the fireside motif... In exposing the actual studio components of television broadcasting the programme was identifying with the medium and consciously adopting a modern character. At first the press did not quite know what to make of the programme with its mixture of serious and casual panellists and guests, its studio audience and its ability to move from serious to light topics and back again without apparent effort. The public, however, were less at a loss and watched the programme in large numbers from the beginning."  
(p.108)

Again, the pertinent question is why? Earls (1984) clearly identifies the wider political and economic context in accounting for the the popularity of the Late Late Show. The ideology of self-sufficiency by the early sixties was seen to have failed to promote the Irish nation. "If the ethos which had developed the struggle for political autonomy was rejected with the failed policy the whole point of and validity of independence would be called into question. It was essential to maintain the positive attitude towards existing Irish values while moving towards the more liberal cultural values of the outside world... As

the doubt spread a new optimism also developed ... which welcomed the Lemmas economic programme and believed in the possibility of Irish modernisation and development." (Earls, 1984, p.114)

Thus the Late Late Show is a microcosm of Irish society today. The programme in its ideology and its content reflects the curious synthesis of the past and the present found on Whiddy - it was precisely because Gaybo managed to identify with modernity and the new medium, and maintain a positive attitude to existing Irish values that the programme became so popular. It was both an example, and a legitimation, of the incomplete nature of change - a manifestation of the past in the present.

Furthermore, it was both an example of, and a legitimation of, the new linguistic practices. Indeed, as Earls (1984) points out:

"When people turned on their television sets and saw Gay Byrne chatting easily to all all sorts of exotic foreigners on terms of evident equality while still being a nice young Dubliner it augmented the confidence and hope with which the public increasingly viewed national prospects in the 1960s...It might be said that the Late Late Show constituted a democratization of opinion which was immensely popular because it came at a time when when there was a search underway for language to represent the aspirations of a new optimism. Guests on the Late Late Show gave their opinions as ordinary people, which enabled the audience to take them or leave them." (pp. 114 and 117)

The Show demonstrated that nice young Dubliners were capable of chatting to exotic foreigners - and provided the solution to the search for the new language to represent modernity.

As Lazarsfeld and Merton (1957) suggest, the media may be said to fulfil the role of conferring status on individuals, groups or policies that get favourable attention in the media. The media "creates a mutual admiration society: "If you really matter, you will be the focus of mass attention, and if you are the focus of attention, then surely you must really matter." (pp.461-462) Of course democracy predicts that all state citizens must really matter. The views and opinions of the ordinary citizen are affirmed by watching soap operas in general and the Late Late Show in particular. The ordinariness of the presenter and the guests and the audiences not only supported the democratic ideal, that all state citizens must really matter, but also demonstrated and legitimised the new patterns of linguistic behaviour that democratised not only opinion, but social interaction. The Show is still immensely popular today. It is broadcast on a Friday night, and forms part of the social interaction on the island on a Saturday. On Saturday islanders enquire of each other "Did you see the Late Late.?" Who appeared on the show, what they said, what they did, is discussed in depth by islanders and mainlanders alike. It forms part of face to face interaction, telephone conversations and is discussed in the press, on the radio and on television itself. Gaybo, like Charlie, needs no explanation, everybody knows who he is and what he does. He and his Show are part of local culture. Many criticise Gaybo and question that he is the nice young Dubliner of the 60's. However,

even those islanders who purport "they can't stand him" watch his show. Often the show is challenged in talk for going too far, or not far enough and Gaybo's motivations are questioned, but it is still watched.

Typical of islanders comments are:

"I often wonder if those people phoning up are real people or no. Does he fix that up too; I don't like him at all. He have a kind of mocking manner. He delights in making a fool of the people he have on it; They say he is the richest man in Ireland, I was reading there about him in the paper. All the houses he have and the money. Sure he made his fortune from talking. I say Olivia O'Leary (another popular presenter of serious news and current affairs shows and interviews) is a better talker than him in the latter end."

Public talk is indeed a feature of modernity. To be part of society, the citizen must know how to talk, and how to present themselves. The Late Late Show demonstrates both to the Irish citizen, combines the public and the private and changes local culture.

Here the pertinent question is how? The mechanism through which the show affects local social behaviour can be demonstrated by reference to specific shows. On one show, during the fieldwork, an American sex therapist formed part of the panel. She gave details of how to revive a failing sex life. She suggested the couple stand naked and throw ping-pong balls at each other, or cover each other in jam. The phone lines were open, the traditional and liberal views were heard from a cross section of ordinary people. There were those who criticised her for talking openly about such things in public, who although allowed to have their say

were left in no doubt that they had not moved with the times, other entered into the conversation by asking serious questions about sex therapy in general, and a third element made jocular comments. For instance: "I don't like jam could I use marmalade or honey", or "if I started that caper my old one would only think it was a terrible waste of good jam."

So what did the islanders make of all this. The following day when the programme was discussed, as it always is, the general consensus of opinion was that the sex therapist "was odd out," "half queer," "she was a yank, was she" , "I was going to turn it off, but I enjoyed the ones phoning in, I thought the old boy was good."

The islanders may have had no great praise for the sex therapist but nevertheless she (for a short period of time at least) affected their daily lives. For some weeks afterwards "jam" had a double meaning, and was the focus of much of the jocular conversation on the island.

"Don't forget to get the jam now and you going to town, you never know what you might need it for; ... is away picking blackberries again. How many pounds of them must she have now, she'll have enough jam for the therapy;

Always these comments caused laughter. By watching the show the islanders (and mainlanders alike) were party to the public display of sociability and by incorporating the joke into their private sociability clearly demonstrate the fusing of the two realms within daily life. As Morley (1988) suggests this challenges the idea "that people are



either living in their social relations - or watching television - as if these two activities were mutually exclusive." (p.28) Again the circularity of the arguments of modernity can be seen. For watching television is part of the social relations of modernity, and social relations are informed by watching television.

Another Late Late Show, in 1989 (which, unfortunately, I did not see) invited islanders to make up the panel and the audience and aimed to discuss island life. One Whiddy Islander invited to be part of the audience described the experience:

"We were invited to attend all expenses paid. We went all that way to keep our mouths shut. It was hopeless none of those talking were real islanders - only all blow-ins. The Aran islanders and Sherkin got a say, but the ones from the North mentioned a ferry boat and he passed them over. It was a pure cod. There was an old blow -in from Australia and he got more time than anyone. Sure we had pains in our hands from holding them up for him to give us a chance to speak. He knew well who we were but wouldn't please us to let us have a say. Gaybo is a mick - a Dublin jackeen. He has no time for Cork he is always mocking. ...

Another said:

"The island programme was a disgrace. He never spoke to an islander and we all sitting watching it like fools. Thinking our case would be put. We were mad out. Any other week, he have on a suit and a collar and tie. On the island programme he had on an old Aran ganzy (jumper). I suppose he thought the islanders never wear suits. Every one that went from the islands put on a collar and tie for him."

So the presenter was seen to have control of the programme and of who is allowed to speak in a way that is difficult to

identify when watching the programme. The mutual admiration society may not be so mutual after all. In deference to the presenter and the occasion the islanders dressed up, they wished to show that they knew how to act in public, the presenter on the other hand wished to demonstrate that he knew how they acted in private and dressed down for the occasion. The islanders were offended both by his refusal to put their case, and grant them their status as citizens, and by his insinuation (in his dress) that islanders would not be conversant in public sociability. Gaybo had failed to learn his own lesson. As Earls (1984) suggests The Late Late Show has been a major source of the expression of liberal ideas but they are not established in Irish society.

"This process has been paralleled by a widespread realization that the open economy has not, as yet, proved a panacea to Ireland's economic ills. The optimism of the sixties which facilitated the emergence of the Late Late Show as a symbol of changing Ireland ...has given way to a calmer realization the problems of development and modernisation cannot be solved at a stroke. This new mood ... is one which is wary of heroes, magic solutions and public symbols." (p.122)

Indeed, for the Whiddy Islanders, the optimism of the changing Ireland of the sixties, has given way to the realization that for them the problems of modernisation has resulted in the death of the island community and its replacement with modern society. Those same islanders who welcomed electricity, the car, the multi-national company, the education system are wary today of heroes, and none more so than television. For all these policies and processes

brought to bear on their daily lives, embedded modernity on the island, and eroded the traditional community.

As Smith (1984) asserts "each new technology transforms the circumstances which give rise to it but also interacts with those circumstances and its progress is modified by them". (p.91) The press, the postal system, the telephone, the radio and television all arrived, all were absorbed, all were modified, and all now operate in unison transforming the traditional community into a group of modern state citizens, and facilitating interaction with modernity. For although the islanders have modified each technology in use, each technology has played its part in embedding modernity in their daily lives.

So why do the islanders privilege television above all other technological innovations and political policies as the source and the site of modernity.

By placing television within the wider political context, it is revealed as just another rotation of the circular process of modernity. Television, like technology in general, was not an independent variable - but both structured and structuring. By placing it within the history of the media its material ancestors are revealed. Television is clearly neither the beginning nor the end of modernity. But nevertheless it is blamed for the demise of the traditional community, both nationally and locally.

As I have suggested throughout the chapter, television is unique in that it did not displace its material ancestors by

its arrival. It was unique in adding sight to sound and embedding the time space distancing of modernity in the islanders daily lives. By carrying visual messages of other ways of life into the kitchens of island homes, it changed the status of these messages from being information about the different ways of life to semi-strangers, to messages that formed part of the islanders daily lives and were incorporated into it. By blurring the distinction between private face to face interaction and public displays of sociability television changed patterns of communication. Yet the islanders suggest that television had no material ancestors, but rather the ancestors of television were the people.

One islander said:

"There was no television in them days and God knows they were better days too. All the people that were on Whiddy long ago. There won't be a one here soon. If there is anyone here at all it will be tourists. Years ago sure people were different. They had different ways with them. No one wants to be bothered with anyone anymore. Every fellow has his own troubles."

Thus, the ancestors of television were not only the people, but people with a different set of values. The islanders make a causal connection and privilege television as the cause of interior transformations of the character of the people. Television changed the people. However, again the argument is circular and not causal.

For as the social relations that predicted sharing were eroded and replaced with those of the individual state

citizen, both the setting and the people changed. In the new circumstances television was absorbed, and television changed the setting and the people further, and group behaviour was reformed. Television is a product of the time space distancing of modernity, that did not turn up to take over people's lives but to help people out of their difficulties - and to allow them to manage the new constraints.

But as, Meyrowitz (1985) suggests:

"The behaviour exhibited in this mixed setting would have many elements of behaviours from previously distinct encounters, but would involve a new synthesis, a new pattern a new social order. An outside observer from the old social order might conclude that the people in the new social system had lost their sense of etiquette and even perhaps, their morality and sanity. Yet the observer would, in fact, be witnessing the effects of a merger of social situations rather than a conscious decision to behave differently."  
(p.6)

Thus the islanders are aware that people did not consciously choose to behave differently, and television becomes the scapegoat for this change. Television is the material manifestation of the merger of social situations in their kitchens, previously distinct encounters are no longer possible in the new setting. Put simply, you cannot offer the newsreader a cup of tea, whether you want to or not. This change in human relationships is seen as the source of the change in the people themselves from community members to state citizens where "every fellow has his own troubles." I would argue, that the islanders privilege television because the amalgamation of the unique features of

television, is designated as the cause of the interior transformation of the character of the people. This is the crucial factor in understanding the privileged position given to television.

Indeed, as Scannell (1992) suggests if the media have transformed structures of consciousness, the pertinent question is how? Meyrowitz (1985) suggests "the mechanism through which electronic media affect social behaviour is not a mystical sensory balance, but a very discernible re-arrangement of the social stages on which we play our roles and a resulting change in our sense of "appropriate behaviour". For when audiences change so do the social performances." (p.4) Just as it is possible to trace the separation of personal forms of exchange from economic forms of exchange, so it is possible to trace the separation of personal forms of communication from those of the electronic media.

Ong (1977) suggests that electronic media change the way we think and organise our daily lives but gives little indication as to how secondary orality becomes internalised as the new pattern of communicative behaviour. Thompson (1990) suggests that through the transmission of symbolic forms, ideology is not the search for shared values, but a complex way of mobilizing meaning to maintain relations of domination. The media occupy a unique space between the market and direct state control.

However, as Meyrowitz (1985) points out understanding of the

changes in patterns of communication requires an understanding of the link between these two positions. "The electronic media have undermined the traditional relationship between physical setting and social situation."

(p.7) Social situations now include both physical settings and informational settings created by the media. Television, did not have some magical effect on the islanders consciousness, but very discernibly changed the setting for their social performances - in the new setting a new sense of appropriate communicative behaviour emerges.

This is precisely how telecommunications have transformed inner structures of consciousness. No longer are either the social situation or social interaction directly related to the physical setting. Television means that people and places not physically present are a constitutive part of the social setting on the island today. The behaviour of the mixed setting has many elements of behaviours from previously distinct encounters, but involves a new synthesis, a new pattern of social behaviour and social interaction.

People and places not physically present are as much an integral part of social interaction as elements of daily life that are physically present, and social interaction is based on the ethos and style of the secondary orality of the airwaves. Put simply, to-day, the newreaders, characters from soap operas and Gaybo, are as much a part of the circle of acquaintances of the islanders as those who are known

personally to them. Who (and what) is not physically present is a real part of the social situation today - and social interaction mirrors the para-social interaction of the media. People have changed, because their daily face to face interactions are also governed by little or no sense of obligation, effort or responsibility.

The soap opera no less than the chat show brings the private into the public and vice versa. The public then informs the private social interaction, and vice versa. Everything becomes both real and reel. Audience participation and talk about television have transformed the people and altered group behaviour.

However, ideology remains a shared search for shared values. The patterns of behaviour that predicted sharing are eroded, but sharing has not disappeared. Rather it has been reformed to fit the new setting, what people now share is the public sociability of modern society, and the values of the individual state citizen in the time space distanciation of the setting of modernity. It was on this basis that McLuhan's notion of the Global Village rested, but as the islanders suggest the new village could not be the same as the old one, for the people had changed, and people in situ are the essence of place. No longer can the good of the whole outweigh the good of the individual. The new village is made up of individuals not community members, and the islanders erroneously blame television for this phenomenon. That no one can be bothered with anyone anymore



is a consequence of modernity not of television. For television was itself a product of modernity, both structured and structuring, and it too had an ambiguous role, it had both a use value and a capacity to change the social relations of every day life.

Again, although the Islanders were well able to recognise and articulate exactly the ambiguous role of other technologies, this did not apply to television. Other technologies, indeed, made sense. They eliminated drudgery and made life easier, but also changed the social relations of daily life on the island. Television was seen only to have done the latter, and therefore the islanders adopt the role of techno-pessimists when discussing television. Whereas other technologies were seen to change the methods of doing things that had always been done, television transformed the interior consciousness of the people who were doing the things. The utilitarian function of television like its ancestors is concealed. But television does have a use.

As stated throughout the thesis, people, with the notable exception of television, do not talk about technology, they use it. Talking about television is part of modernity, it is inconceivable that television could be talked about in a traditional setting.

Lull (1988) suggests:

"Television does not give families something to talk about, it directs their attention towards particular topics and, because families like to

gather in front of the screen, the viewing situation is a convenient social setting in which to talk and otherwise communicate. Viewer conversations about programme content are, in my view, one of the most powerful forms of empirical evidence to be considered in any substantive and revealing appraisal of the social and cultural aspects of television. It is through talk about television that the audience is constituted in certain ways." (p.17)

Through their talk about television, the islanders deny its use. Yet it is through talk about television that its use is revealed - that its constitutive role in producing citizens can be identified. The islanders do not talk about other technologies they use, but when they talk about television - but this talk is about its use. The utilitarian function of television is embedded in this talk. Through talking about television, and talking whilst gathered around the screen, the islanders assert their claim to individual citizenship, and express their relationship to the State and modernity. It is through talk about television that the empirical evidence can be found to back the claim that the audience is now constituted not as the traditional community member with private social interaction but as the individual state citizen of modernity displaying public sociability.

Silverstone (forthcoming) argued:

"television as medium: extending our reach and our security in a world of information, locking us into a network of time space relations, both local and global, domestic and national, which threatens to overwhelm us but also to provide the basis for our claims for citizenship."

The islanders, and citizens in general, use television to provide the basis for their claim to citizenship, whatever

that claim may be. The State is certainly aware of the use of television. Terrorists are denied their status as citizens by being refused access to the media. Section 31 prevents the broadcasting of the comments of any member of the IRA or Sinn Fein. The elite may claim their status as citizens by claiming that do not watch television, but they still appear on it and claim bona fide citizenship through it.

I would argue the islanders criticism of television is itself a claim for citizenship. They affirm their status as citizens by mirroring the views of the wider political economy on the perils of television. Those giving the views are no more, and no less, state citizens than themselves. Furthermore, I would argue that the programmes the islanders watch, particularly the Late Late show, also forms the basis of their status as citizens. No where is the basis of the claims for citizenship more apparent than in those programmes where "the ordinary people" appear on the television. Seeing people like ourselves on television confirms our status as citizens, and renders access to the use of television open to us all.

Modernisation and industrialisation co-incided in their introduction, and acceptance with the advent of Irish television. The Late Late Show also arrived at the same time, it was (and remains) both a major source of the acceptance of the changes and a reflection of the Irish citizens desire for change. A basis for the claim for

citizenship, and a lesson in how that citizenship is to managed. Television is indeed, both a mask and a veil. Modernity is based on the claims to citizenship of its members. The paradox of the circularity of modernity is complete. Individuals claim their status as citizens through talk about television, and through talk about television blame it for their status as citizens. There may be little enough singing and dancing on the island now, but there is certainly an abundance of talk. Talk, like news, is part of the novel fashion of modernity. Modernity is constituted not least through talk both on and about television and through television the traditional relationship between physical location and social situation is eroded, and the traditional community member claims his status as modern state citizen.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### WE HAVEN'T VOTES ENOUGH

#### DISCUSSING THE CHANGE FROM COMMUNITY TO SOCIETY

"In less than 25 years, these villages have been emptied and the sociologists and economists and politicians and priests and bishops and government ministers will all give you differing reasons why"

(John Healy 1968)

"Now all this country is gone lonesome and bewildered and there's no man knows what ails him"

(J M Synge 1920)

Giddens (1990) argued "modern social institutions are in some respects unique, distinct in form from all types of traditional order... Obviously there are continuities between the traditional and the modern, and neither is cut of whole cloth; it is well to know how misleading it can be to contrast these two in too gross a fashion." (pp. 3 and 4) Throughout this thesis the modern social world has been contrasted with the pre-modern on Whiddy Island. It is apparent that change is never total and the old island habits have been reformed to fit the new setting. Indeed, it is possible to suggest that nothing is "new". As has been argued, money, production, consumption, education, emigration, transport, domestic technologies, media, conflict, inequalities of power and wealth, and involvement with the wider political economy all existed in the pre-

modern organisation.

When discussing the changes from the pre-modern to the modern on Whiddy Island I have asserted that the community member has been replaced by the state citizen, and each has a way of life based on a qualitatively different ideology. The old island practices can be identified in the new social order, but the locus of meaning attached to them is discontinuous. Thus whilst it may be the case that nothing is new, everything has changed. The notion of social evolutionism is brought into question by elucidating this contrast in meaning and the discontinuous character of modernity is revealed. I would argue that the site and the source of modernity is not to be found in the continuities of the island practices (albeit reformed to fit the new setting) but in the contradictory value systems of the community member and the state citizen. From this viewpoint, the site and the source of modernity is embedded in the islanders seemingly simple, and much repeated, statement "the people have changed."

Cohen (1985) suggests:

"It used to be claimed that modernity and community are irreconcilable, that the characteristic features of community cannot survive industrialisation and urbanisation. It is a spurious argument for its opposition of 'community' and 'modernity' rests only upon ascribing stipulatively to community those features of social life which are supposed to be lacking from modernity.!" (p.11)

However, to project community into the modern era, is problematic. To suggest that in the settlement of modernity,

community has maintained its original meaning, is also a spurious argument. It is not that features of community are lacking in modernity, but rather that national features of modernity have transformed the local community. The issue is not whether modernity has eroded community, but rather in what form has it preserved it.

As Hall (1981) suggests:

"Time and again, what we are really looking at is the active destruction of particular ways of life, and their transformation into something new. Cultural change is a polite euphemism for the process by which some cultural forms are driven out of the centre of popular life - actively marginalised. Rather than simply 'falling into disuse' through the the Long March of modernisation things are actively pushed aside." (pp 227-228)

Indeed, I would argue that this thesis has demonstrated how the traditional way of life of the Whiddy Islanders has been pushed aside (whether intentionally or unintentionally, actively or passively) by the policies and artefacts of modernity. It has been transformed into something new, but it is no less particular.

Cohen (1982) suggests:

"The discreteness of local experience is all the more important in societies whose communities see themselves as peripheral or marginal, and in which the reality of difference is continually glossed by the appearance of similarity. The anthropology of these areas ... must explore the intrinsic and idiosyncratic characters of particular communities - even though its eventual statements will inevitably have a much broader and comparative applicability." (p.13)

The eventual statements of this thesis, attempt to embed the locally specific ethnographic study of Whiddy Island in the

wider political economy, and to demonstrate the pivotal significance of citizenship in the transformation of the islanders' way of life. In order to elucidate the argument that the relationship between the pre-modern social organisation and the modern social organisation, is not one of continuity but of contradiction, it is necessary to discuss what it means to be a member of a community, and the role citizenship played in transforming that meaning. To account for the change in the pre-modern community, it is first necessary to define both what it was and what it was not, and then to suggest what it may have become.

As Cohen (1985) rightly asserts 'community' is one of those words which when imported into the discourse of social science causes immense difficulty. I would argue that there is gross confusion in the use of word community, not least because it is used to describe both the traditional local setting and modern local setting in which people define their social and personal identity. Thus, in an attempt to avoid confusion, I have used the word community to describe the pre-modern social organisation and the term society to describe the modern social organisation. This presents an immediate problem for as Cohen (1985a) argued we are misled by the idea of community, it appeals to our notions of pre-industrialised man who was not subject to bureaucratic or state intervention. The word is "ideologically superior", but we should remain suspicious of it. It is at best little more than part of an unrealistic nostalgia for "the golden



age of community".

Bell and Newby (1971) suggest :

"One solution to the problems of the definition of community, indeed an avoidance of the term 'community' altogether has been proposed by Margaret Stacey. If institutions are locality based and interrelated there may well be, she argues, a local social system that is worthy of sociological attention. She does not want to call this local social system a 'community' for the latter she feels is a non-concept." (p.49)

The term community is so widely used within sociological discourse that avoiding it altogether is virtually impossible. Thus, whilst I have not avoided the term community altogether, I am seduced by this argument. Community in the sense of an unrealistic view of the past is a non-concept and remains a non-concept if projected into the present in such a way to allow for the belief that in some rural paradise, or some inner city ghetto the collective idea of man survives.

Community may well elude definition because in the sense in which it is traditionally perceived, studied and analysed it may well never have, and certainly no longer exists. Indeed, the islanders' comments suggest the received view of the pre-modern community is not only romanticised but erroneous. As Wright (1985) suggests there was no golden age of nostalgia but "human development is seen in the light of traditional and deeply settled communities that have already been destroyed." (p.21) In the pre-modern societal organisation, life was hard, poverty and drudgery abounded. Conflict and the wider political economy were not removed

from daily life.

Donnan and McFarlane (1986) suggest:

"It must be stressed that the idea of community identity does not carry with it any implication of community harmony for anyone except a small minority of the rural population. That you get on better with your own in this context does not mean that there are no conflicts" (p.390)

One ex-islander put the point more strongly:

"Sure we had nearly all the same problems and troubles years ago that we do to-day, only the people had different ideas and the ways things got sorted out were different. There was enough fighting and feuding in them days too. Sure the big fellow was always there, but we needed him as much as he needed us."

The "golden age of community" is not compatible with this statement. The ex-islander has highlighted an essential feature of community, namely the mitigation of conflict, and also asserted that different ideas essentially make for different social relationships. As Eipper (1986) suggests: "An essential feature of this notion of community is its ideological character: community is defined and redefined in relation to specific conflicts as well as perennial antagonisms, i.e. by the way people become conscious of their conflicts and fight them out." (p.6)

So as Cohen (1985) suggests:

"It follows, therefore, that in so far as community provides the context of culture, a different conception of it is required. We propose that rather than thinking of community as an integrating mechanism it should be regarded instead as an aggregating device. In this approach then, "commonality" which is found in community need not be a uniformity. It does not clone behaviour or ideas." (p.20)

Community in the sense that Cohen uses it is a useful

concept. If community is used as a means of describing the local setting where people live out their daily lives, construct their culture, mitigate conflict and gain their personal and social identity, it is a local social system worthy of sociological investigation. Knowable communities are in reality local cultures. Clearly, from this viewpoint, the local is as important to modernity as to pre-modernity and cannot be contrasted in too gross a fashion. For as Hamilton (1985) argues "people manifestly believe in the notion of community, either as ideal or reality, and sometimes as both simultaneously ... if people believe a thing to be real, then it is real in its consequences for them" (p.8) Indeed, the local setting has real consequences for the people who are living out their daily life within it.

Bell and Newby (1971) in their classic text on community, noted that 94 different definitions of community had been identified. Beyond the fact that communities involve people, the three most common components of community are "area, common ties and social interaction." (p.29) Bell and Newby (1971) found the three most commonly acknowledged characteristics of community produced unconvincing definitions. They concluded, after much analysis, that community should merely be treated "as what community studies analyse" (p.32) (and by implication that which community sociologists, anthropologists and ethnographers study). Bell and Newby's conclusion also seems

unsatisfactory. For one cannot begin to define communities "beyond the fact that communities involve people". If we accept the phenomenological geographer's view, that people in situ are the essence of place, then if the value system of the people changes so does the place. I would argue that in order to define community (or society) the difference in the ideology of the people who inhabit and live out their lives in the social organisation is the crucial component. Nevertheless, area, common ties and social interaction are important aspects in people's ideology and self understanding. As argued in chapter two, the specific ecology of a place is not the backdrop against which daily life takes place. Rather the geography of the life world shapes the routines of the daily lives of the inhabitants of the area. The Whiddy Islanders have a more specifically defined geographical location than other groups of people. Most of the remaining islanders are related, all know and recognise each other, and feel they have a common bonding in being islanders. They share activities, history, knowledge and habits. As Cohen (1987) says of Whalsay Island, on Whiddy Island also,

"the boundedness of the community vis a vis the 'outside world'; its egalitarian discipline, which inhibits assertive or disruptive behaviour; the sense of place, and of the past; the dialectic of communality and segmentation, and so forth ...should not be thought of as determining people's behaviour, but as intruding certain constraints which have to be acknowledged if behaviour is to be mutually interpretable... people do not conform to these constraints in a uniform manner, they are negotiable". (p.58)

yet Lowenthal (1986, unpublished) suggests there is a phenomenon of "islandness", islands are special. Living on an island requires the inhabitants "to get along with each other in a multiplicity of social and economic contexts. For the social machinery to function without undue stress, they must minimize and mitigate conflict. It is one thing to differ with a person you need seldom if ever come across again; it is quite another if you must go on being involved with him in countless essential ways for your whole life." Indeed, the complexities of living on, and getting off, an island and the difficulties of transporting people and goods, lead to islanders having to co-operate to solve problems of sharing the area, but if one accepts Cohen's definition this phenomenon is not restricted to islands, but rather is the basis of communality regardless of the local setting. Indeed, as Lowenthal himself suggests, his conception of islandness is, at risk of being labelled romantic or reactionary.

The Whiddy Islanders' clearly defined territory and their geographical isolation from the systems and sub-systems of modernity often leads to them being erroneously described as, at best, a traditional community, at worst, as a people who "are living in the past". Concentrating on a phenomenon of islandness may well promote this view and obscure the changing social relationships within local settings. Very often isolation is itself the basis of a community study and is often seemingly confused with autonomy. Indeed there is

great emphasis in community studies on the physical nature of the neighbourhoods. The phenomenon of "islandness" and islanders' geographical isolation may make their way of life unique, but I would argue that it does not make them anymore of a community, then the uniqueness of the particular way of life in any other local setting.

Bell and Newby (1971) assert social behaviour in community studies is too often related to a precise and specific ecology. "The emphasis for the sociologists, then, should not be on geographical, demographic or economic indicators, but on changing social relationships." (p.51)

Aalen and Brody (1969) said that on Gola island it was not geographical isolation that was causing current problems but relationships to the outside world. They argued "the causal relationship between insularity and socio-economic decline is difficult to assess" (p.xiii) Insularity is an aggravating factor given general decline in the West. But as Ardener (1989) argues remoteness is a conceptual experience, but it does not appear to protect remote areas. "from the inside outwards, there was an almost exaggerated contrary sense of the absence of any barrier to the world - a peculiar sense of excessive vulnerability, of ease of entry." (p.215) But to the outsider the remote area remains remote even when it has been reached and should be merely present. Indeed, community sociologists, anthropologists and ethnographers are often drawn to remote areas, but if they concentrate on the remoteness of the area, and the

peculiarities of the local culture, to be found there local studies loose validity. Remote areas are not merely present - they are incidences of the present and of modernity.

Once in a remote area the observer has to constantly bear in mind the centre which denotes the area as remote if one is to produce a valid understanding of the peculiarities found there. For as Cohen (1982) argued that "the forces exerted from the centre thus do not result in a cultural monolith. The study of locality does not inform us only about these eccentric particulars: they teach us also about the centre..."(p.12) Conversely , Marcus and Fisher (1986) assert that "outside forces in fact are an integral part of the construction and constitution of the inside, the cultural unit itself, and must be so registered, even at the most intimate levels of the cultural process." (p.77) Understanding requires that we elucidate the interconnection between the two areas, the local and the national. For whilst Cohen (1982) is correct in asserting that "local experience mediates national identity, and, therefore an anthropological understanding of the latter cannot proceed without knowledge of the former". (p.13) he acknowledges that the reverse also holds true. National experience mediates local identity. Studies of the centre teach us about the eccentric particulars of the locality also.

As Wright (1985) suggests:

"The rags and tatters of everyday life take on the lustre of the idealised nation when they are touched by its symbolism. There is therefore no

simple replacement of community by nation, but rather a constant if also always momentary, fragile and partial redemption of its unhappy remains." (p.24)

Thus again, change is never total and remnants of the past can be seen in the present. As with the introduction of other policies and artefacts of modernity discussed throughout this thesis, the advent of citizenship resulted in a new setting in which people gain identity, and in this new setting the old practices no longer worked, accordingly the old practices were revised and group habits altered. New practices were improvised from the old traditions and again a curious synthesis of old and new resulted. Modernity is based on the claims to citizenship of its members, these claims represent both rights and responsibilities. Put simply no matter where the local setting is, how peripheral or central, how rural or urban, its populace will be state citizens. Bouquet (1986) borrowed the remarkable phrase "You cannot be a Brahmin in the English countryside" (p.22) as the title for her discussion of the way status is achieved in a community. I would argue, you cannot fail to be a national citizen in the contemporary world, regardless of the geographical location in which you live out your daily life.

Nevertheless, as Cohen (1982) suggests:

"There is a conundrum here: one can only achieve a sense of the cultural whole through knowledge of its parts, but can only properly understand the part by locating it in context." (p.14)

Thus studying the peculiarities of the Whiddy Islanders'



local culture gives us an understanding of the national policies of Ireland and the national policies of Ireland give us an understanding of the Whiddy Islanders' contemporary local culture. The conundrum extends to personal identity, citizens construct their social identity through local experience mediated by national identity, and through national identity mediated by local experience. As the national ideology changes so does the local culture. Arensberg's (1959) anthropological study of the Irish Countryman carried out in the 1930's described the reciprocal nature of the Irish Rural Community at that time:

" The countryman at work is little concerned with the usual economic categories. He is a family man. He may be the shrewdest of traders and the best of farmers but what gives him his occupational status, determines his patterns of work, provides his incentive, is a set of dispositions arising in the balanced interests and reciprocal obligations of the social group to which he belongs." (pp 60-61)

I would argue that in the 30's reciprocal obligations were the usual economic (and social) categories in rural Ireland, and were sanctioned at national level. Indeed as Arensberg (1959) suggests "Co-operation of this sort takes many forms." (p.62) This co-operation formed the basis of a whole way of life. What was unusual in the 30's was non-cooperation in the mutual reciprocity of the local community. Arensberg (1959) makes the point that:

"There was no monetary payment involved in this work. In the country surrounding Luogh, the only hired labour to be seen worked in the meadows of a large farmer, a cattleman with over 300 acres. He did not co-operate; in fact, his whole life was cut out of a different cloth." (p.65)

Frankenberg (1966) said Arensberg and Kimball's pioneer study of County Clare in the 1930's showed how:

"Under the impact of the town and industrialisation, things were beginning to change. Ireland revisited in 1962, thirty years later, has changed in more than just name. Even in 1932, co-operation was declining, farmers were beginning to keep accounts, craftsmen were being replaced by town-made factory goods. I hope that someone will go back to Rynamona and Luogh and see what they are like now. We shall look at communities which have already moved to successively further stages along the path away from the style of life we have illustrated in rural Ireland" (pp.43-44)

Indeed returning not to Rynamona or Luogh but to Whiddy Island on the West Coast of Rural Ireland in the 80's may through some light on what County Clare is like now. This is not to suggest a cultural monolith, but rather to place local culture in the national context. The style of life of Rural Ireland has moved further along the path to modernity, not least because of the adoption of Sean Lemass' modernisation programme in the 60's.

Eipper (1986) argued:

"The prevailing cultural economy meant that inter-personal relations in the rural community were based upon an authority structure of patriarchal familism sanctioned by both the nationalist movement and the church ... an individual was first of all a member of a family and carried that identity prior to any specifically personal one... But kinship increasingly lost its capacity to organize economic relations within and between families and more and more land entered the market ... wage-labour brought independence to farming children, altering their marriage prospects and encouraging new life styles in the countryside. Improved transport, the telephone, electrification of the home, electronic mass media, better schooling, and the cumulative

effect of emigration all had an abrasive effect on traditional perspectives" (p.22)

With the exception of marriage prospects, this thesis has looked at all of these aspects in one particular local setting - and has attempted to detail how the amalgamation of their effects replaced the family man of the 30's with the individual state citizen of the 80's. The authority structure sanctioned by the nationalist movement and the Church in the nascent Irish Free State is a different authority structure from that sanctioned by the nation state of the Republic of Ireland, and both formed an integral part of the construction of the cultural unit itself.

The countryman of the 80's is concerned with the monetary economic categories, hired labour is the norm that is striven for, and monetary payment is the replacement for co-operation. Put simply the Irish Countrymen cannot meet their modern obligations of paying electricity bills, water rates and other domestic tariffs, participate in production and consumption, and public sociability and still adhere to the old customs of reciprocity between family and friends. The public sociability of modernity requires its citizens to participate in the public reciprocity of citizens rights and obligations. Of necessity their whole life is now cut out of different cloth. But as Cohen (1987) suggests:

"The sense people have of 'being Whalsa' and, thereby, different may have changed greatly from the sense their grandparents had, but it is no less authentic." (p.16)

The sense people have of belonging to their local community

is no less authentic than that of the past, but it is based on different principles. Modern co-operation too takes many forms. The modern state citizens belongs to both a local "community" and to a nation state and interacts with both. For as argued throughout the thesis, in modern localities, people and places not physically present are as much a part of local social interaction as elements of daily life that are present. The modern notion of community is informed by democratic principles and the policies of the nation state of which it forms a part. Community may be an aggregating device but the subjects of this aggregation are citizens. The inculcation of citizenship in people's self assessment, informs us as to the form in which community has been preserved and accounts for what it has become in modernity. The people who make up the modern community are juridical state citizens, and are qualitative different from the pre-modern community member who was primarily part of kinship unit. Pre-modern communities were based on the social relations that predicted sharing, the modern community is based on the social relations of the citizens of capitalist nation states. Neither implies the search for shared values, but both are a a complex way of mobilising meaning and the meanings are different. The local setting informs modernity but as Turner (1986) suggests part of the argument has to acknowledge that in modernity "What it is to be an individual is bound up with what it is to a citizen." (p.6) What it is to be a community member is also bound up with

with it is to be a citizen modernity.

Wright (1985) argued that everyday day life is not now nor perhaps ever has been exhausted by its immediate locality or as if it amounted only to millions of little localisms - rather it starts by being lived in situ:

"History bears a relationship to people's own self-understanding, the nation promotes self-understanding in people in very different situations and circumstances. The nation's connection with everyday life should also be seen as its project - where it gains support. There is a shared sense of history (and therefore the nation) in everyday life. (It is) the expression of peoples self-understanding." (pp 5-6)

Indeed, the peoples self-understanding has been radically altered by recent history. The birth of the Irish Free State made the Irish Nation independent, the granting of citizenship made its members individuals, changed the people's self-understanding and during the following 50 years gained support in their everyday lives. Put simply, it is not possible to compare the social identity the Whiddy Islanders constructed when they were a peripheral community under British Colonial rule, to the social identity they constructed in the nascent Free State when citizenship was developing, and their modern social identity as a peripheral group of state of citizens who are fighting for recognition by the mature Nation State of Ireland of which they perceive themselves to be members and to which they have obligations.

Cohen (1987) suggests:

"Remote communities, whether their remoteness is geographical, cultural or both - have a keen sense of their own anomalousness. Their members see themselves as marginal as powerless to alter

the course of events, vulnerable to all pressures exerted from the centre, to consume like them, to live like them. They see their distinctive way of life being steadily eroded by the irresistible force of modernity. The insularity is bridged; the language is suppressed; the economy stagnates; the culture atrophies. Superficially the remote periphery begins to take on the appearance of metropolitan society... Yet, beneath the surface, it harbours a powerful sense of self, an almost ironic view of these alien styles which it appears to embrace but which, in reality, it transforms by assimilation to that sense of self." (p.16)

The irresistible force of modernity, has led the Whiddy Islanders to embrace the artefacts and systems of modernity, they may express an ironic view of these alien styles, and interpret them idiosyncratically, but they cannot maintain, even superficially, the appearance of a metropolitan society. For it would seem they are now powerless to alter the course of events, and the island will become uninhabited. The remaining islanders do have a powerful sense of self and a pride in their local culture, but acknowledge that neither has a viable future. Thus, inevitably, "the way they have of sorting things out is different."

O'Hanlon (1976) argued that:

"Country people are the living link between Irish history and the present ... The old traditions will soon be a little more than cultural curiosity. The distinctive social life, centred round the Church on Sundays and house-to-house visits, or ceilidhs, is replaced almost everywhere with television and occasional visits to the city.... Of a vibrant, harmonious, natural life, nothing will remain." (pp.47 and 48)

The remaining islanders do form the link between the pre-modern and the modern. They have experienced the

transitional phase from community to society. Once these islanders have passed on their like will never be seen again. The old traditions and values will pass with them and future generations will only have experienced the values of society. Features of the pre-modern island community when as Paddy O'Keefe suggested "everyone helped everyone else on the land but above all on the sea, for if help is not available from his neighbour he has no option but to leave for the mainland" will no longer be remembered as a lived way of life, or form part of the consciousness of future generations of citizens, who undoubtedly will have left for the mainland. The remaining 40 people living out their daily lives in this geographically isolated territory, may be the same people, who have remained rooted in place, but they have now inculcated the values of citizenship into their personal ideology. The mitigation of conflict is also situated in time and space, with the coming of modernity conflict between persons gave way to competition between individual citizens. For the islanders features of kinship, tradition, rootedness in place and a way of life where the good of the whole outweighs the good of the individual associated with pre-modern societal organisation co-exist with features of citizenship and the time-space distanciation of modernity. They may have assimilated alien forms to their sense of self but accept that by the end of the decade of a once vibrant way of life nothing will remain.

For as Cohen (1985) argued:

"If the members of a community come to feel that they have less in common with each other than they have with the members of some other community then clearly the boundaries have become anomalous and the integrity of the 'community' they enclose has been severely impugned. The important thrust of the argument is that this relative similarity or difference is not a matter for "objective" assessment: it is a matter of feeling, a matter which resides in the minds of the members themselves. Thus, although they recognize important differences among themselves, they also suppose themselves to be more like each other than like the members of other communities." (p.20-21)

The recent generations of islanders, schooled on the mainland, and trained to fulfil their duties as citizens, gain paid employment, etc., clearly no longer suppose themselves to be more like islanders than mainlanders. The distinctive way of life of the Whiddy Islander, is a disadvantage to the modern citizen. Indeed, as the islanders themselves say anyone "who has to stay at home now is seen as a pity."

As one ex-islander said:

"I can stand outside looking in at it. That's enough for me. I wouldn't go back in now and put myself to all that trouble. Life's no picnic outside but inside you'd be tormented trying to manage."

People who share an area (whether remote or otherwise) will also share a common culture and gain a sense of identity within the locality. But the locality will also have an identity as a more or less valued area of the nation of which it is a component. Part of the identity of the individual will be constructed by the national identity



bestowed on the area and by the individual's rights and responsibilities as members of that nation. Modernity, has indeed made the boundaries of community symbolic.

McLuhan's "Global Village" may be a discredited notion, but the "autonomous community" out there waiting for a community sociologist or anthropologist to uncover has also long been a discredited notion. All the processes and policies brought to bear on the Whiddy Island community, whether as a result of direct State intervention or a result of personal decisions by the islanders, were either material or symbolic manifestations of the value system of modernity. As each manifestation was absorbed into the islanders daily lives modernity settled on the island and the ideals of liberty and equality now inform the daily life of the islanders. All the policies and artefacts of modernity are both structured and structuring. Old habits were reformed to fit the new setting, but the new setting is based on individualism and freedom - not the local collective and rootedness in place.

Wright (1985) suggests:

"Society made a value of egoism and rationalised self-interest defining it in the long run as identical with the general interest." (p.12)

The islanders and ex-islanders through their lived experience of the change from community to society perceive the general interest and self-interest to be diametrically opposed world views. The relationship the citizen has with the state actually constructs his private and cultural

world. As the islanders' say we all now inhabit a world where "every fellow has his own troubles". The experience of the Whiddy Islanders of the change from one type of societal organisation to another refutes the theory that modern society evolves from, or is a continuation of traditional community. For regardless of both changes and continuities in institutions and group practices, the islanders acknowledged that the people have changed and it "is every man for himself now."

Throughout this thesis, the islanders' quotes provide evidence to support the argument that the people have changed, or that they were different in the past. Thus they have said:

"You have to have your own boat and pull away for yourself these days. It's all changed.  
" You were never lonely anyway";  
"People have got independent and drifted away from their neighbours;  
"Anyone you would meet would be generally as interested in you as you were in them... No one stops to talk anymore."

Cohen (1987) identified the same phenomenon on Whalsay island:

"Those members who are seen by others as relatively quick to embrace change are also seen as having thereby become 'less Whalsa' and more 'like da folk sooth'... I am deeply sceptical about such judgements, and I shall argue that the movement some people may appear to make towards outside values is largely illusory, for it is motivated by their intention of reinforcing the community boundary and maintaining the cultural difference which it marks. This is not to say that the culture does not change, for of course it changes continuously and substantially. But, to this observer, such change does not entail the loss of distinctive identity and its dissolution

into 'sooth' anonymity." (pp 143-144)

Cohen, when observing Whalsay Island, may have been justified in seeing the movement as totally illusory, and in being deeply sceptical about such judgements. But to this observer of Whiddy Island no such conclusion is possible. The movement is not illusory but is the reality for an island with a remaining population of only 40 and whose recent generations have "voted with their feet." Their view of their future is a realistic assessment of the eventual evacuation of the island and the loss of their distinctive identity.

Giddens (1990) suggests:

"The modes of life brought into being by modernity have swept us away from all traditional types of social order, in quite unprecedented fashion . In both their extensionality and their intensionality the transformations involved in modernity are more profound than most sorts of change characteristic of prior periods. On the extensional plane they have served to establish forms of social interconnection which span the globe; in intensional terms they have come to alter some of the most intimate and personal features of our day to day existence." (p.4)

Again my argument (and that of the islanders) revolves around the latter position that modernity has changed the value system of the people, and the source of modernity is not to be found in the extensional plane but on the intensional one. For the notion of citizenship changed the interior consciousness of the people, and their method of self-assessment and assessment of others.

The intensional aspects of modernity are the source of its uniqueness, and the site of the transformation of community.

The intensional aspects of modernity are also the site and the source of the difficulty in defining it and comparing it with pre-modern social organisations. For as Cohen (1987) suggests:

"As these cultures lose the protection of structural boundaries and become more and more constructs of the mind, so they become more difficult for the anthropologist to document. They have to be the subject of ethnographic claim rather than of scientific demonstration. They are recordable by intuition rather than by direct observation or statistic, and must be thought of as the ideas behind the words rather than the words themselves. It is precisely these ideas, the intentionality of meaning, which sustains a culture, and in these tortuous depths that we locate symbolism" (p.18)

Indeed, there is something more to what people are saying and doing, and it is in the symbolic area they we locate meaning. The meaning, is inevitably, a version constructed by the observer. Thus, very different interpretations were put on the words "the people have changed" on Whalsay and on Whiddy Islands. On Whalsay Cohen did not associate the meaning with a loss of distinctive identity and dissolution into anonymity, on Whiddy these associations were made by the observer. Both versions are valid, as both are the result of ethnographic claim and intuition - and highlight the problems of the gloss of similarity in remote areas. Symbolism, the meaning behind the words, constitutes the realm of values and interior transformations of consciousness and self-assessment: concepts that are difficult to find evidence to support. Symbolism accounts for the discreteness of local experience that eventually

informs us about the wider political economy, and vice versa. The ethnographic practice is a means of access to the local experience that eventually allows us to make broad sociological statements. The broader statements of sociological theory have an application for the ethnographic practice also. The interrelationship between the local and national is reflected in the interrelationship between the social ethnographer and the social theorist, and vice versa. Marcus and Fisher's radical challenge "to represent the embedding of richly described local cultural worlds in larger impersonal systems of the political economy" (p.77) requires the social ethnographer to embed the local description in the more impersonal accounts of the sociological theorists. For as Giddens (1990) suggests, "modernity is itself deeply and intrinsically sociological . Much that is problematic in the position of the professional sociologist, as the purveyor of expert knowledge about social life, derives from the fact that she or he is at most one step ahead of enlightened lay practitioners of the discipline." (p.43) As modernity is intrinsically sociological so too are modern people (lay practitioners of the discipline). It is only by interacting with the people (doing ethnography) that the sociologist's expert knowledge can be validated, and conversely sociological theory can validate the people's perception of their own position. Just as the Whiddy islanders indicated that the people had changed so Dumont in "Homo Hierarchicus" (1970) highlighted

the opposition between the value systems of the pre-modern and modern societal organisations in India. His argument is equally applicable to the opposed value system that replaced community with society on Whiddy Island. Dumont has been criticised for refusing to acknowledge the changing face of traditional societal organisations but he was masterly in discussing the different values on which the members of pre-modern and modern societal organisations organised their daily lives.

Dumont (1970) discusses the different ideology of the caste system of the jajmani, and accurately described the difficulty the modern citizen has in recognising the caste system as a traditional society with a collective idea of man, in which the whole governs the parts. He argued that the caste system of India was based on hierarchy which is contrary to modern values and leads us to reflect on these values. The two cardinal ideals of modern societies are equality and liberty. Paradoxically, in modern societies the concept of class arises from the aggregation of the interest of individuals, and there is no notion of anything over and above the legitimate demands of the individual. Such societies oblige their members to be free, individualism is seen as a mature and calm philosophy which severs the individual from the mass and has its roots in democracy. Indeed, democracy promotes the notions of citizenship and freedom which are the roots of modernity.

Under British colonial rule the value system was different,

Ireland (and India) are different places today and cannot be contrasted using the same value system. History shows how changes occurred throughout the traditional community, but modernity is an opposed value system that changed the people and the place. Looking at the past from the timeless ahistoric viewpoint can only produce a biased view.\* For the modern state citizen, the value system of national state capitalism has quickly become taken for granted, and all other historic times are viewed from the modern perspective. It is largely assumed that inequality has been a problem for time immemorial. Inequality was present in communities and caste systems but only from the modern perspective does it become problematic. The new value system may not be appropriate to access and analyse history.

The two cardinal ideals of modernity, egalitarianism and liberty, have nothing to do with nature and nothing to do with the past.

Fuller (1989) in "Misconceiving the Grain Heap" said Dumont suggests we may have missed the point. "An economic phenomenon presupposes an individual subject; here on the contrary everything is directed to the whole." (p.35)

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\* Of course India did not gain independence until the 1940's and like the Irish State, that of India, may be argued to be still in its infancy. As Wright (1985) argues the national past is above all a modern past, and as Williams (1989) suggests: "oldness is relative, and many immemorial traditions were invented, just like that, in the nineteenth century." (p.15) The nation is a relatively new phenomenon (traceable to the French Revolution) as is the state - yet both are often discussed as if they have existed for time immemorial.

Indeed, I would suggest that we have missed the point for it is not only economic phenomena but modernity in general which presupposes an individual subject.

Fuller (1989) said:

"To put it another way, my submission is to show that the historical evidence shows that - by the standards of normal anthropological definitions - pre colonial India does not fit the model of a "traditional" or archaic economy. It also shows that it is wrong to assume that the establishment of British rule was the only begetter of 'modern' economic features ... The anthropological model of a traditional India only really shaken by British rule has been a grossly distorting lens through which to view Indian economic evidence. (p.51)

Nevertheless, Fuller (1989) argues that it is in Dumont's analysis, more than anyone else's, that the contrast between holistic interdependence, said to characterise jajmani, and individualistic exclusive rights, characteristic of capitalist market systems, is most subtly developed into a comparison of opposed value systems, and concludes:

"that the concept of the jajmani system whether we look at its development in ethnographic studies or at the more sophisticated analysis of it produced by Dumont (and those influenced by him), is predicted upon a combination of historical inaccuracy and the ahistorical premise of the unchanging, 'traditional' India. ....the ahistorical premise is untenable." (p.57)

My conclusion (and I was influenced by Dumont) is that the traditional and the modern are opposed value systems , but even a cursory glance at the history of Whiddy Island make the notion of an unchanging traditional way of life untenable. Change to modern values and citizenship may have arrived with the Nation State in 1921, but this is not the



beginning of history. For the Irish, not only is it wrong to assume that British rule was the begetter of modern features, but also modern social systems and institutions and the establishment and adoption of technology in general and the mass media in particular, and television even more specifically, cannot be isolated as the cause of modernity. This is a grossly distorting lens through which to view the historical evidence of social, political and economic changes on Whiddy.

Durkheim (1964) argues that there are manners of regulation common to all societies, it is not that community breaks down, rather it is a transition from community based on mechanical solidarity, to one based on organic solidarity. But a community based on organic solidarity presupposes an individual subject, and is, therefore, society. Ignoring the fact that the people have changed results in definitions of communal societies and societal communities and continuum as a common link in the theories. This can only serve to confuse, and mirrors the confusion in theories of custom and law.

As suggested earlier in the thesis a parallel can be drawn between community and society and custom and law: each is the antonym and not the synonym of the other. Indeed, as Diamond (1978) argued that law is the antithesis, and not the continuation, of custom, so I would argue that society is the antithesis and not the continuation of community. To further elucidate the argument, that the relationship

between community and society is one of contradiction and not continuity, I would suggest that custom is synonymous with community and law is synonymous with society. Thus the tradition of analysing social change by using law as an index may well help clarify the present position of community.

Unger (1976) asserted, law became prominent in societies' normative order when the state and society separated and the community disintegrated. The state has mastery of social relations and what people do (society) becomes differentiated from what they ought to do (the state). When community disintegrates, accepted practices are increasingly open to question and only then are formalised rules possible and necessary. If all citizens are equal then laws cannot be directed to separate groups, status is replaced with the notion of contract. So far from being free, individuals and kinship groups lost even the autonomy to seek retribution. Arensberg's (1959) family man who gained status from a set of reciprocal obligations of the kinship group became the state citizen whose social relationships are based on contract.

Unger (1976) argued that law and custom are commonly confused terms in sociological theory to the extent that law is seen as a universal phenomenon common to all societies. Similarly, I would argue that community and society are confused terms to the extent that community is seen as common to all societies. Only confusion can result from

treating community and society as interchangeable phenomena, and failing to differentiate between the pre-modern community and the modern local setting.

Tonnies (1887) said in a community everyone is known and can be placed in the social structure, there is a relatively homogeneous culture and the moral codes are clear and well internalised. In contrast societal members are anonymous, have conflicting roles in the social structure and are bound together by impersonal contractual ties. Tonnies conceptualised social change as a continuum between two polar types, and the discontinuity caused by citizenship is not apparent. For, on Whiddy today, everyone is known, they have a relatively homogeneous local culture, all have remained rooted in place, but the codes of the individual state citizen with equal rights are also known and internalised by the islanders. Put simply, even these uniquely kinship related islanders, who have remained rooted in place in the ideal setting for a community, have accommodated impersonal contractual ties into their social organisation.

As Giddens (1990) suggests "worldwide social relations ... link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa. This is a dialectical process because such local happenings may move in an obverse direction from the very distanced relations that shape them. Local transformation is as much a part of globalisation as the

lateral extension of social connections across time and space." (p.64) Whiddy Island is now part of a society with a political ideology. The islanders are juridical persons. The juridical person, with a political ideology, regulated by the rule of law, cannot constitute a pre-modern community.

Giddens (1990) suggests modernity has institutionalised doubt, and fundamentally changed the relationships between trust and risk and security and danger. This fundamental change may be materially manifested in the institutions of modernity, but I would argue it has also been internalised within the inner consciousness of the modern state citizen. Thus what Giddens analyses as the consequences of modernity, I would analyse as the consequences of citizenship, of communion with others unknown.

As Giddens (1990) suggests " if there are features of the psychology of trust which are universal, or near-universal, there are also fundamental contrasts between the conditions of trust relationships in pre-modern cultures and those of the modern world." (p.100) He identifies four localised contexts of trust in pre-modern cultures, kinship, the local community, religious cosmology and tradition itself and argues that in modernity they are replaced with personal relationship, abstract systems and future oriented thought.

Little wonder one islander said:

"There was a time when whatever happened you was God's will, and there was great comfort in it. Now sure everything is somebody's fault and nobody takes the responsibility for any of it in

the finish up."

The remaining Whiddy Islanders have remained rooted in place, yet they have changed, they doubt the viability of their daily lives and the vitality of their local culture. Indeed, the Whiddy Islanders experience of the settlement of modernity bears out Giddens' consequences. From the point when the CDB initiated national policies to break the bond the Irish countryman had to the land, kinship relations, and religion have been replaced with trust in anonymous others who are citizens of the same society. Trust in ones neighbours and the local community has been replaced with trust in technology, abstract systems and the State.

On Whiddy prior to the 1960's there was a predominance of presence or very high presence availability, that is to say, it did not as in large societies involve regularised transactions with others who are physically absent. Society requires the Whiddy Islanders, as much as anyone else, to transcend time-space through confidence in transactions removed from the immediate contexts in which the individuals find themselves. Pre-modern communities did not require a mediated transcendence of space. The advent of modernity, changed all this, radically altering the connections between social life and the material world.

Giddens' (1990) ontological security is the theorisation of the phenomenological geographers traditional rootedness in place, his time-space distanciation the theorisation of the role mobility has played in modernity. Each, whether in

theory or practice, can be related to citizenship. Citizenship promotes confidence in the distanced relationships of modernity, and binds the citizen to the modern nation state.

Citizens are the members of both nation states and local settings in the contemporary world, and are bounded by and bonded to both. As Giddens suggests:

"Modern societies (nation-states), in some respects at any rate, have a clearly defined boundedness. But all such societies are also interwoven with ties and connections which crosscut the sociopolitical system of the state and the cultural order of the "nation". Virtually no pre-modern societies were as clearly bounded as modern nation-states." (p.14)

Boundary is central to definitions of community and society. However, the meanings attached to boundary are not continuous. For the Whiddy Islanders, before the advent of the Irish Free State, boundary may well have been beneficial, it made it more difficult for the British Colonial Government to exert their powers over the inhabitants of the island, gave increased autonomy and warded off the consequences of famine. Once the Islanders identified with the Free State and wished to be included in the benefits available to the state citizen, the boundary became a disadvantage. Not only are the islanders removed from the centre and placed on the periphery geographically, but they are removed from the systems and subsystems of modernity.

Anderson (1983) argues:

"Thus I am driven to the conclusion that no

scientific definition of the nation can be devised; yet the phenomena has existed and exists...(p.13) In an anthropological spirit then I propose the following definition of the nation: it is an imagined political community ... It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion... In fact, all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined" (p.15)

The daily life and local culture of both urban and rural citizens, is informed by political acts. In the minds of the modern citizen there may live the image of communion but it is a communion of free, equal individuals. A political community is a contradiction in terms - political social orders at best give us imagined societies. No modern group of people, no matter how isolated can continue to keep the private and public domain indistinguishable. All have a relationship with the state, and have internalised their identity as a free, equal citizen of that state. Every aspect of life both public and private, is informed by politics. As Held (1983) suggests "political activity ... is instrumental; it secures the framework or conditions for freedom so that the private ends of individuals might be met in a civil society. Thus membership of a political community, i.e. citizenship, bestows upon the individual both responsibilities and rights, duties and powers, constraints and liberties." (p.13) Despite the contradiction in the term political community, these are the consequences of citizenship. The modern community is indeed "a new beast".

Marshall (1977) claimed that citizenship may be defined as:

"a status bestowed upon those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed ... societies in which citizenship is a developing institution create an image of an ideal citizenship against which achievement can be measured and towards which aspiration can be directed." (p.92)

As argued throughout the thesis, living on an island presents added difficulties in achieving the image of the ideal citizen and gaining the status with which citizens rights and duties are endowed.

Rose and Miller (1992 in press) pose the question:

"But what does it mean, in governmental terms, for the inhabitants of a territory and the subjects of a system of rule to be constituted as citizens?"

And answer:

"Clearly, the citizen is the terminal of a range of different ideals, programmes and technologies. But, overall, one might consider citizenship as a complex that aspires to the self-identification of subjects with the procedures that govern them. Thus citizens are to be provided with a national identity by distinguishing them from subjects of other nation states. They are to be bound into a system of rule according them a role in its operation through the franchise. Simultaneously they are to be constituted as autonomous and self-regulating subjects. The constitution of a self-regulatory citizenry has been fundamental to the formation of the modern nation state."

Indeed, this thesis demonstrates how the citizen was the terminal of economic and cultural policies and modern technologies that were both cause and effect of the change in the value system on which the islanders base their self-identification.



Thus on Whiddy to-day, those who can leave, do so. Those who can't, encourage others to do so. Previously the children stayed at home and took care of their parents in old age, took over their land and provided a future for the island. Now the children feel that their rights cannot be met on the island, and the parents feel that attempting to coax their children to stay would deny them their rights. So kinship ties fall apart. Thus although Paddy O'Carroll suggested that poverty increased parental control, I would suggest that citizenship decreased it. Parents now encourage their children to be free, equal citizens. Similarly, the rights of the post-mistress are now acknowledged, and she too has to have her privacy and you could no longer expect her to run all over the island for the good of the collective. You could no longer expect to get a day's work for nothing from the man with a tractor - but you could also no longer expect to get a day's work for nothing from another citizen as you would no longer be prepared to give it. Thus citizenship dictates not only what we do ourselves, but what we expect and encourage others to do. Indeed, the modern citizen is self-regulatory.

Hirst (1980) argues that citizenship changed the fundamental principles of daily life. Obligations to the collective were replaced with individual rights. This was a two way process - for not only did the citizen have his own rights but had to acknowledge the rights of others - conflicts in society arise over whose rights are to count not over issues

that are detrimental or beneficial to the collective. As C. Wright Mills (1959) suggests public issues become confused with private troubles. Yet the distinction between them "is an essential tool of the sociological imagination and a feature of all classic work in social science... This debate is often without focus if only because it is the very nature of an issue, unlike even widespread trouble, that it cannot very well be defined in term of the immediate and everyday environments of ordinary men." (pp.8 and 9) Little wonder an islander said, "Your troubles are your own these days."

The creation of the isolated individual was necessary for the growth of law, but the replacement of the kin unit as the economic and social unit with the concept of the individual enabled the capitalist mode of production, the growth of the state and the possibility of governable society. The state presupposes an individual subject and the distanced relationships of modernity.

However, the state citizens who make up society are as absent from the definitions of society as the community member is from definitions of community.

Just as Bell and Newby (1971) defined the three most common characteristics of community, so the three most common characteristics in the multitude of definitions of society are the state, the capitalist mode of production, and technology (especially the mass media). Again the state citizens who make up society disappear from the definitions.

Thus Thompson (1990) argues that industrial organisation, the state and mass communications are the three key constitutive features of modern society and Giddens (1990) argues that two distinct organisational complexes are of particular significance in the development of modernity: the nation state and systematic capitalist production. However the nation state and systematic capitalist production (not to mention technology and the mass media) presuppose an individual subject. All three are not merely organisational complexes but also in intensional terms, they alter the interior consciousness of the people. Indeed, the people are as crucial to definitions of society as to definitions of community.

Townsend (The Higher, November 1st 1991) suggests that the weakness of the Anglo-Irish settlement which resulted in partition in Ireland:

"stemmed directly from the negative character of the British approach to the Irish question as a whole: all the way back to Gladstone, the object was to "pacify Ireland." Home Rule was a law-and-order policy; it was intended to make Ireland governable. Partition followed under the threat of ungovernability, and Stormont fell to the reality of it."

Indeed, the Irish settlement allowed for the settlement of modernity. Home Rule was a pre-requisite of citizenship and therefore of governability, system integration, and the capitalist mode of production.

Prior to 1921 and the foundation of the Irish Free State in Southern Ireland, the hold of the local community and its

traditions over the mass of the agrarian population was unbroken and system integration could not therefore be achieved. Put simply the decline of the Whiddy Island community is directly linked to the national policies operational in Ireland over the last 70 years. What is decided at national level affects the local in a way previously unknown. As Giddens (1981) asserts prior to capitalism there was no large-scale society in which the village did not remain a basic unit. System integration was not achieved through social integration but almost in spite of it.

As Wright (1985) argued:

"One cannot hope to maintain an adequate relationship to the events of recent history while also concluding that the nation is simply unreal - a culturally derived illusion existing only to obscure the truth ... The crude Marxist view that the nation is so much bourgeois ideology laid on through a dominant media to obscure class struggle ... makes all nationals identically benighted dupes of the ruling illusion." (pp.4 and 5)

The nation state (like television) is both a product of and a producer of modernity. It is not unreal but actually becomes a constitutive part of the everyday lives of all state citizens, including the Whiddy Islanders.

During the transitional period from the 1920's to the 1970's the ideology that predicted community was abandoned and replaced with that of the individual citizen, changing the traditional patterns of behaviour that pertained to physical location and social setting to those of the time space distancing of modernity, replacing dependence on

the land and local people with dependence on the state and abstract systems. In short by the 1970's community had been replaced with society, the Irish people in general, and Whiddy Island in particular, needed time to get used to their new self-image as individual state citizens and the new patterns of behaviour it predicted. The Irish people were not only stranded in the course of industrial development, but also in the course of the development of society. The alignment of the State, the introduction of industrial capitalism and the provision of electricity, combined to produce the change in values which led O'Hanlon (1976) to suggest the Irish are "walking about dazed after a head on collision with the 20th century." (p.16)

Messenger (1969) said of Innis Beag:

"The experience of living under foreign rule for over three centuries has created in the islanders an attitude of dependence and, at the same time, one of hostility towards the government which continues to this day." (p.2)

But as Wright (1985) suggests the nation relates to self-understanding. The nation's connection with everyday life should also be seen as its project - where it gains support. As the nation gained support, the islanders' attitude of independence and hostility to government no longer has a connection with every day life. Indeed, in modern local settings the ways in which people become conscious of conflicts and fight them out are different from the ways found in the pre-modern community. The following contrast between the islanders' encounter with State officials in

1957 and 1989 highlights the point.

On May 26th, 1957, an article in the Sunday Pictorial entitled "Stop War - Tis Race Day!" went as follows:

"Queen Helen O'Driscoll, leader of an island in revolt came to terms last night with an attacking force which threatens to land on her domain. She agreed to a two-day truce in the war, between her islanders and the bailiff's men. But only because both sides want to go to Bantry races tomorrow.

Queen Helen's territory is Whiddy Island... The eighty islanders led by twenty-eight year old Helen, are in revolt over an £800 rates demand from Cork County Council.

Throughout the night till early yesterday the islanders, including eight over-sixties and seven children, stood by prepared defence positions waiting for invasion.

Ready to hand were heavy blackthorn stakes and piles of stones. Over on the mainland nine bailiffs with orders to land on Whiddy and seize goods stood by with an escort of four policemen. But Queen Helen laughed "This gale will keep them away" she said.

She was right. For the second time in a fortnight the invasion in a 16ft. rowing boat was called off. Then came the truce."

An islander commented on this episode in their history thus:

"They never landed they weren't able to. We had a pile of gluggers eggs and every fellow pelting them. We got the rates reduced that time. They took a bullock from ... one day. The poor farmers were afraid to go out as they might get their cattle confiscated. ....'s launch chased them off and they were lucky to escape alive. We were up every morning at 6 that time. We were watching everyone. There was fierce clipping that time."

In 1989 on the Radio programme "Living on the Edge," two islanders were requesting State help to get a pier to improve access to the systems of modernity. Having mentioned the tragedies that had occurred when island men drowned mooring out their boats, one said:

"My own uncle drowned that way. Its going on and on, and I hope it will stop, but it seems to be going on all the time. We are very much afraid we'll have another tragedy and then maybe the politicians will start talking - if they have to wait for that may God help us. We were promised two and a half years ago that we get a pier on the island and something would be done for us. We're going from Billy to Jack since and we are not getting very far like. We were told there would be money saved up from the Bantry package and money from here there and everywhere, and we're definitely making no progress at the moment anyway. We are let down very bad like... It's a disgrace, I think the simple reason that we won't get a pier is because we haven't votes enough. It is as simple as that ... Nobody has any interest, the votes aren't big enough, so they are not interested in the island and they just don't give a damn at the moment we think anyway. They are not helping us in any way in the world... Some of the T.D.'s and politicians and people that we talk to, stick them into an island for three months in mid-winter and see how they'll enjoy it... I didn't see any politician in there only one in my life ... I didn't see any politician interested in joining us ... they are quite welcome to if they want to... You have to be dedicated to live on an island, you certainly get no encouragement from the state, the reverse in fact."

The same islander who commented on the bailiff episode made the following comments on this programme:

"God knows they are damn right, they only think if they leave us alone long enough we'll soon get fed up and come of it. The only way you'd get help from the state is if you had the Irish - and could draw the tourists in. 40 votes won't put them up or down so they don't bother with us."

The contrast between these two incidents, I would suggest demonstrates how the islanders' self understanding has changed, and consequently what community has become. In 1957 they perceived of themselves as a community, made up of members who protected their local territory and had a relationship to the land. By 1989 they conceived of

themselves as citizens, entitled to State aid and help and inclusion in the systems of the State. Their self-understanding had changed, they perceived themselves to present a problem for society. How could they, forty people, separated from the mainland and the systems of modernity, be given their rights to equal access. Living on an island now presents a problem for the citizen and the State.

In the 1970's Paddy O' Keefe said: "The standard of living has gone up, and rightly so, but the islands lack the potential to provide even the present standard without help from outside. No wonder thoughts turn to emigration. Emigration is self-generating, examples of those already gone lure the rest, only the pensioners remain." Thus as the community breaks down and the islanders (who are predominantly pensioners today) no longer receive help from their neighbours, technology is welcomed and the outside forces they once tried to keep out are encouraged.

For the modern state citizen living on an island is a disadvantage, and leads to a re-assessment of their daily lives. Thus, the notion of citizenship changes the interior consciousness of community members and alters the most intimate and personal features of their day to day existence. Lowenthal (1986) argues that outsiders harm islands everywhere. The mainlanders who have settled on the Orkneys since the 1960's exemplify two misconceptions common among such outsiders:



"First, they fail to realize how superficial was their conversion to traditional folkways whose personality components were invisible to them, and how deeply ingrained in themselves were the drive, individualism, and reformism of modern urban culture. Second, they wrongly assumed that to become full-fledged participants it is enough to esteem a community's values: in most island societies linkages are inherited, not chosen, requiring manifold ties of memory and kinship."

Lowenthal, I would argue, has also failed to recognise two misconceptions. Firstly, on islands too, traditional folkways have been reformed to accommodate the value system of the individual. Secondly, as Giddens (1990) suggests in traditional cultures there was a quite clear divide between insiders and outsiders or strangers. Although insiders and outsiders describe and experience place in different ways, both insiders and outsiders are now citizens. Lowenthal has confused local culture with community and overlooked that modernity requires citizens, regardless of their geographical position, to interact with anonymous strangers on a daily basis. Nevertheless, State intervention and citizenship, broke down precisely these bonds of memory and kinship that Lowenthal identifies and replaced community with society.

For as Held (1983) argued:

"The state - or apparatus of 'government' - appears to be everywhere, regulating the conditions of our lives from birth registration to death certification. Yet the nature of the state is hard to grasp. This may seem peculiar for something so pervasive in public and private life, but it is precisely this pervasiveness which it difficult to understand." (p.1)

The islanders pointed to this regulation from birth to death by the State. No longer do citizens come into the world in the island houses and leave it with a wake in the room. No longer "can many a one come and go within the same four walls." Television is watched before the citizen can walk, and they spend "the rest of their lives gawping at it. From the cradle to the grave you might say." The regulation may be identifiable but the nature of the state is harder to grasp, its pervasiveness is difficult to understand. Rose and Miller (1992) suggest:

"Citizens, as free subjects, were to adjust their public and private selves in relation to the web of norms as to how to conduct an orderly, responsible and 'social' life within which they were enmeshed... The individual was to be integrated into society in the form of a subject with social needs that would be met by society in return for social duties that the citizen would perform."

How do citizens become enmeshed in society?

Shils (1975) argued that there is a central zone in the structure of society. A phenomena of the realm of values and beliefs, a nature of the sacred, not a geographical or geometric centre. Society consists of a number of interdependent subsystems, each with its own elite for decision making. Decisions contain the general standards espoused and observed by the elites, and called the central value system of the wider society. Economic elites govern economic activity, polity elites govern the political activity and university and ecclesiastical elites govern beliefs and cultural activity and all three are interrelated

and espouse the same general standards. Similarly Simmel (1971) argued that in every cultural epoch there can be discovered a 'central idea' which represents the 'secret being' of the epoch. Tonnies (1887) also asserted that in society all activities are restricted to a definite end and a definite means of obtaining it. For Shils (1975) this central value system legitimates roles and rewards appropriate qualities. Unsurprisingly the rewards symbolise proximity to the centre, and the system legitimates the lesser rewards of those who live at a distance from the centre. Again local identity is mediated by national policies.

The Island Trust produced a booklet in 1986 entitled "Friends of the Islands" which stated the lack of reward available to those far removed from the centre. It said "there can be no doubt that islands experience the problems encountered in the peripheral regions of Europe in their most acute form. They are the bottom of the pile. They have no voice, no political muscle. They just don't count." (p.1)

Again the paradox of modernity is revealed. For having made political decisions to create and sustain individualism, the current political thinking reflects a notion that all island citizens must combine, and assert their rights jointly, for as individual islands they have no chance of furthering their cause. Little wonder an islander said "a man on his own is a very small thing."

Irish sociologist, O'Connell, (1982) berates the theory of modernisation for asserting the formation of an urban/rural split, and failing to realise that the peasants were not a homogeneous group, anymore than the urban dwellers. He says "The peasant is seen as a universal type, with a way of life and set of values invoked when the Irish experience differs from what one might expect to find in a modern polity." (p.187) For O'Connell the peasant political culture model is the norm in sociological analysis of Ireland, since Arensberg and Kimball's (1940) classic study of County Clare "personalism, localism, authoritarianism and anti-intellectualism are held to characterise peasant political culture in Ireland. Traditional rural social practices are extended outwards to the hurly-burly of politics through clientelism. A form of politics that is, in Arensberg and Kimball's view, peculiarly peasant and Irish, as they insist the personal approach comes "naturally" to the Irish." (p.189) O'Connell puts forward an alternative to the popular "peasant culture" analysis, and argues that there is nothing natural about Irish political culture, rather it is a product of capitalist underdevelopment in Ireland.\* The urban/rural split is untenable, for local cultures may be unique but outside forces will be a constitutive part of that culture, and regardless of geographical location that local culture will be being lived out by modern state citizens.

What O'Connell (1982) refers to as the peasant political

culture model in modernisation theory can be likened to Messenger's (1969) analysis of the nativistic movement and primitivism. The nativistic movement was an attempt to perpetuate and revive selected elements in the indigenous culture. It offered psychological compensation for cultural subordination.

Messenger (1969) argued the nativistic and primitivistic positions are similar. Central to both :

"is the belief that civilisation has dehumanised man and undermined his valued institutions, fostered immorality, and created mental illness on a vast scale. Primitive and folk peoples, according to this view, represent man as he once was and could or should be again were civilised society drastically reformed." (pp.4-5)

The paradox of this view is clear. Man cannot live in the past, and neither can man be dehumanised. Man may now value

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\* Messenger (1969) argued that "catholicism emerged as one of the significant symbols of Irish uniqueness and superiority in the acculturation process." (p.3) Capitalist underdevelopment in Ireland, may well be linked to the endurance of the catholic religion, and to the self-understanding of the Irish people, as catholic citizens of a catholic nation. As Giddens (1971) argued: "In fact, the surveillance of the catholic church over every day life was loose; the movement to Protestantism involved acceptance of a very much higher degree of regulation of behaviour." (p.125) The conclusion can be reached, therefore, that we must look to the specific character of Protestant beliefs if we are to account for the connection between Protestantism and economic rationality. The numerous references to God in the islanders' quotes show how the catholic religion is still part of their every day lives. Indeed islanders often used reference to religious ceremonies (christenings, first communions, confirmations) to set dates for non-religious occurrences. Therefore the protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism may not be entrenched in their self-understanding and may be the site of some resistance to industrialisation. The general desire for modernisation may not have been accompanied by a general desire to adopt the protestant ethic. But that is another thesis waiting to be written.

other institutions, have a different morality and mental illness may be little more than the outcome of modernity where Ortega's (1957) suggestion "to be different is to be indecent" (p.45) is translated as to to be different is to be mentally ill. Yet this cannot be dehumanising. Rather it is the outcome of changing societal form - community members held different beliefs from individual state citizens but both represent humanity.

However, the subsidies to the Gaeltacht areas reflect the nativistic outlook of the Government. Too often they have been unaware of, ignored, exaggerated, or misinterpreted beliefs and behaviour so as to the present a desired picture of the folk, in keeping with the nativistic stereotype. As Carpenter (1976) suggests we create the savage we want, and Marcus and Fisher's (1986) assertion that we must acknowledge that "most local cultures are products of a history of appropriations, resistances and accommodations", (p.78) is backgrounded.

For as Brown (1981) argues, in the 60's there was a general desire for social modernisation. If social modernisation was to be achieved the people as well as the ruling class had to desire its success. Indeed one islander said:

"In the 60's, with Gulf coming and all, we had great hopes, but it came to nothing. I don't know why. If it wasn't for the dole and the pensions these days we'd still be scratching a living. We have more freedom now, and there is more equality and opportunity, if we had the jobs to go with it we'd do."

The Whiddy Islanders had a direct relationship with, and

desire for, modernity, and one mediated by the State. Modernity was brought to Whiddy Island by policies and decisions of central Government and by the islanders own desires for modernisation and their individual decisions to embrace modernity and its artefacts. Modernity requires the citizen to look to the future and places the traditional way of life in a stagnant past. The rural dweller no longer wished to be seen as "living in the past", "primitive" or "conservatively clinging to traditional methods". Resisting industrialisation and capitalism meant resisting the future and the dream of progress. Industrialisation was central to the modernisation programme and as Marshall (1983) suggests:

"profoundly altered the setting in which the progress of citizenship took place. Social integration spread from the sphere of sentiment and patriotism into that of material enjoyment. The components of a civilised and cultured life, formerly the monopoly of the few, were brought progressively within the reach of the many, who were encouraged thereby to stretch out their hands towards those that still eluded their grasp. The diminution of inequality strengthened the demand for its abolition, at least with regard to social welfare... What matters is that there is a general enrichment of the concrete substance of civilised life, a general reduction of risk and insecurity, an equalisation of the more and the less fortunate at all levels."  
(pp.257 and 258)

The policies of Sean Lemass in the 60's had profound effects on the advance of citizenship in Ireland. After 1921 industrialisation and capitalism were resisted, by both the State and its members. In the 1960's the cultural policy of an Ireland not only free but Gaelic as well, was replaced

with the cultural policy for the true Irish nationalist to produce Irish goods for sale on the international market, to abandon traditional kinship based communities and enter the international economy.

The Gulf Oil Terminal brought the international economy to Whiddy Island. Yet Eipper (1986) said of developments like the intervention of Gulf Oil in Bantry :

"It is not that they present some kind of image of the future, but that so many of the processes they unleash expose in stark form how quickly major changes are rendered unexceptional, how quickly a seemingly impossible future is lived through and comes to seem like an all too predictable fate. " (p.204)

So too many of the processes unleashed by citizenship, have quickly been rendered unexceptional and are seen as an all too predictable fate. The critics of Gulf made comments to the effect "God gave us Bantry Bay and we gave it to Gulf Oil". The all too predictable fate for Whiddy Island now is that it will be given to the tourist industry. In the absence of the appropriate infrastructure to support capitalist production, most have left to follow a way of life which will be both materially rewarded and ideologically valued. Those who are left seem almost resigned to tourism as the only viable future (for the island if not for the islanders). Capitalist underdevelopment is also a disadvantage for the citizen. As Eipper (1985) suggests dispensation of development as patronage to needy communities puts such communities in a double-bind situation. Such communities become ambivalent



advocates of capitalist interests in defence of their own. This is not synonymous with false consciousness, for people can be hegemonized without necessarily being duped, especially when subjected to the double-bind. The islanders I would suggest are in just such a situation. To quote Eipper (1985) they show:

"more or less of a grasp of the complexities of their circumstances though their insight or understanding remains practically inadequate in the sense of being devoid of a capacity to remedy the situation in which they find themselves."  
(p.209)

The islanders are practically devoid of a way to remedy their situation - how could they keep citizens on the island. Citizens have a right to access to the systems and sub-systems of modernity, to status and reward for involvement with the centre.

As Marx (1970) argued:

"On the one hand all labour is physiologically speaking, an expenditure of human labour power, and in its character as similar or abstract human labour it creates the value of commodities. On the other hand, all labour is the expenditure of human labour power in a special form and with a definite aim, and in this, its character of concrete useful labour, it produces use-value."  
(p.61)

Sahlins (1977) argues use-value is no less symbolic or arbitrary than commodity value. Thus the Whiddy Islanders now define the subsistence economy as inferior to the cash economy. Traditional labour on the land and the sea for irregular wages is less useful than regular paid employment in the capitalist system of production. Citizens, no less than community members, use the things at hand as cultural

artefacts, but the use will be determined by the central zone of values and beliefs.

The islanders experience reflects Sahlins (1977) view in "Culture and Practical Reasoning" that production is more than a practical logic of material effectiveness. For cultures, including the local culture of Whiddy Island, define objects in terms of themselves and vice versa. There are cultural reasons for all habits.

The cultural reasons for production espoused by the centre are capitalist, to maintain its self esteem and survive Whiddy has to be, and to feel itself to be, viable in capitalist terms. As Sahlins (1977) suggests, man seeks not only to survive against a supreme nature but to survive in a particular way - by a definite form of activity. Whiddy now has to survive not in terms of self sufficiency, but in ways that will be rewarded by the centre. Thus the Whiddy Islanders today do request and receive help from each other, but those giving the help are always paid for their time, their petrol or their trouble. Human labour, time and artefacts, are now commodities and part of the capitalist system of exchange.

For as Eipper (1986) suggests:

"By definition both local communities and nation states are bounded geographically. Capital by its nature is nomadic, and its *raison d'etre* lies neither in community loyalties nor national allegiances, but only in ever-expanding, ever more extensive reinvestment." (p. 191)

Modernity too is nomadic - capital and capitalism are

material manifestation of modernity. Neither money nor exchange nor consumption are modern phenomena. What is modern is the system of values embedded in commodities and the cash economy. Payments of any sort, whether in cash or in kind, clearly demonstrate the impossibility of isolating the exchange system from its wider context.

As Giddens (1971) asserts:

"Every kind of production system entails a definite set of social relationships...This is at the root of one of Marx's most important criticisms of political economy... The conception of the "isolated individual" is a construction of the bourgeois philosophy of individualism, and serves to conceal the social character which production always manifests." (p.35)

The capitalist mode of production presupposes the individual subject and is itself both a product and producer of modernity. A different mode of production not based on the values of the individual would produce and promote not only a different social organisation but also different artefacts for consumption. Appadurai (1986) questioned the validity of focusing on the artefacts produced and exchanged by the capitalist mode of production and ignoring the meanings attached to modern methods of exchange. He argued:

"Focusing on the things that are exchanged, rather than the forms or functions of exchange, makes it possible to argue that what creates the link between exchange and value is politics, construed broadly." (p.3)

This justifies the argument that things as well as people have social lives. For even if the material manifestations of modernity existed they would operate, and be used, in quite different ways in a different social organisation not

based on self-interest. Put simply, things change in space and time as much as people do.

The community member and the state citizen cannot be compared for they are completely different entities - so too the horse in the community, and the horse (or tractor) today cannot be compared for each carries an inherently different locus of meanings. The community story teller and the television cannot be compared either, for they too were created by and transmit a different set of material and symbolic meanings.

As suggested, in what might be described as "mute technologies" these messages and values are implicit. The refrigerator, for example, carries with it implicit messages of hygiene, individualism, consumerism, ownership, and independence. In contrast "communication technologies" makes these messages explicit. Radio and television, for example, legitimise citizenship, reinforce the sacredness of the modern values of the centre and unsacredness of the traditional values of the periphery and legitimise the resultant rewards and penalties.

Silverstone (forthcoming) argues:

"Many of the discussions (on technological development) are cast very much in technologically determinist terms, and many refuse to consider the social and cultural influences that lie behind the emergence of these new technologies and inform their reception. Yet equally many of these discussions are highly suggestive, above all because, paradoxically they do insist on isolating or privileging the media technologies, and in that isolation and privilege they raise important questions about their

significance in a way that is relatively free from the determinations of the polity or economy."

The Whiddy Islanders also discussed television (if not the media technologies in general) in technologically determinist terms, and in so doing privileged television as the site and the source of modernity. Television is present in the home, the very hub of every day life. Through television, and talk about television, the modern state citizen becomes enmeshed in society, participates in political society and is involved in communion with others unknown. But television, no less and no more, than any other technology, has to be viewed as both political and economic. For the central zone of values dictates the technology produced, and once produced and consumed, promotes those values in the daily lives of those using it. Garnham (1986) argued that when discussing the media, we have to start:

"from the position that the institutions and processes of public communications are themselves a central part of the political structure and process. It is a commonplace to assert that public communication lies at the heart of the democratic process; that citizens require if their equal access to the vote is to have any substantive meaning, equal access also to sources of information and equal opportunities to participate in the debates from which political decisions rightly flow." (p.37)

Thus the mass media are a focus of public communication. A means for the isolated individual to express communion with others, and become enmeshed in society. Access to the vote would have no substantive meaning if citizens remained

ignorant of the political structure and process not to mention the personalities who give the polity a human face. Without information citizenship would be meaningless. The modern State requires a means of transmitting large quantities of information to its citizens and thus promotes communication media, which in turn promote citizenship.

Thus another paradox of modernity is revealed. Modern societies oblige their members to be free, and individualism is seen as a mature and calm philosophy which severs the individual from the mass and has its roots in democracy. But, defining individuals as equal allows for notions of identicals and therefore for definitions of the people as masses.

Williams (1989) suggests there are no masses to save, to capture or to direct:

"Ordinary people don't resemble the normal description of masses, low and trivial in taste and habit. There are no masses - but only ways of seeing people as masses... I also deny that popular education and commercial culture are cause and effect. The bad new commercial culture came out of the social chaos of industrialisation and out of the success, in this chaos, of the masses formula, not out of popular education. (pp.11-12)

Whilst, it is debatable that the new culture is bad, the success of the masses formula removes from definitions of society, local peculiarities and inequalities, and backgrounds the innovations of the ordinary people in the local culture of their daily lives. The success of the masses formula perpetuates the notions of equality and freedom. Free to choose, all citizen are choosing alike and

forming the mass. Without the concept of the mass, the mass media, one of the three main components of society, would lack an audience. Silverstone (forthcoming) argues:

"Nevertheless any discussion of the tele-technological system as a whole must be prepared to acknowledge where its power lies, and any project which seeks to construct a theory of the place of television in everyday life must take this as central .... But it should not be forgotten that in the process of mass consumption we are swimming in a sea not of our own creation. Many of us can indeed swim. All of us will swallow water, some of us will drown."

Similarly any discussion of modernity is meaningless without acknowledgement of where power lies. The nature of the State is hard to grasp, for there is no doubt that the state is powerful, but the nature of modern power is hard to define.

The Whiddy Islanders do have a grasp of their present position but are powerless to remedy it. What does seem certain is that the personal and cultural demoralisation of peripheral groups, and the depopulation of the periphery by the quest for individuals to gain status and reward by greater involvement with the centre prohibits the continuation of the islands traditional way of life. Tribal, ancient, and feudal organisations (not to mention colonialism) could all be maintained and incorporated on a small island. National state capitalism, it would seem, cannot. The islanders may indeed "drown whilst swimming in a sea not of their own creation."

It is certainly the case that in the light of citizenship

when asked what can be done to maintain the traditional island way of life? The answer is inevitably "nothing". For the answer cannot be found in the economy, the polity, technology or the mass media, but in the people, and the discontinuity of meanings they attach to the systems of modernity. We are now bound by our freedom and our equality, in ways in which in the past we were bound to place and community. As the islanders suggested even if the whole world stayed the same, the people are changing.

Lowenthal (1986) argued: "change endangers islands as much as failure to change ... stability alone seldom secures economic and social survival, let alone well being ... Hundreds of once stable, even thriving, island communities are now reduced to seasonal occupance ... if not totally abandoned." But where could one now go to find a community member - someone who gives up and gives in for the sake of the whole and could live their daily life in ignorance of the values of equality and freedom.

Rose and Miller (1992) suggest:

"each programme and technique sought, in its own way, to act indirectly upon the 'private wishes and choices of family members in order to secure national objectives.... These programmes dreamed of the inculcation of new modes of self-evaluation ... each citizen should want to regulate their conduct and existence for their own welfare, their own family and that of society as a whole."

Foucault (1977) argues that we are now living in a highly regulated and controlled society, but this has not come about through punitive mechanisms, but because of the



general transformation in the exercise of power. For Foucault, in the ancien regime social power was sovereign power, demonstrated by physical abuse and torture of the body. The ancien regime gave way of the "psychologising regime where social power is that of observation and discipline, demonstrated by working on the mind, will and soul to create a docile and useful subject. As Cohen (1979) suggests: "The techniques of order, discipline and regulation developed in schools, monasteries, workshops, the army ... began to spread to become de-institutional and to circulate in a free state." (p.359) Individual citizens exercise the power of surveillance discipline on each other, and citizens are indeed self-regulating and overt control is no longer necessary.

Foucault (1977) suggests that the move from overt punishment to the psychologising regime was made possible by the knowledge of the human sciences. The emergence of these new forms of knowledge were significant in directing attention towards the individual. Power and knowledge directly imply one another. Little wonder that information and news is the novel fashion of modernity - all citizens require knowledge for the exercise of modern power, and survey and discipline each other to create docile and useful subjects.

Towards the end of my first period of field work, an islander in whose house I stayed throughout both periods of fieldwork, asked "What is it again you are supposed to be studying?" "Sociology" I said as if it were a self-

explanatory response. "And what's that" she replied. Rather disconcerted by the question I replied, "A study of society and how we all got to be how we are." She paused momentarily and replied with her customary insight; "That's no joke, no wonder you're queer."

Indeed sociology, like advertising and consumption, is no joke. Rather it produces forms of knowledge that are both structured and structuring of modernity. My answer to the islander could equally well have been, "I am studying you. In modernity we are all studying each other, surveying and disciplining each other and engaging in activities that allow for the modern exercise of power."

Wright (1985) suggests the increasing independence of knowledge and science opens a space in which the non-practical relationship to nature has developed. For:

"Science does not imply a life-world; it also draws knowledge away from everyday life into the specialised spheres of reproducible know-how, only returning it to everyday life in the form of rationalised and mechanical practice." (p.18)

Social science too does not imply a life-world, rather it opens a space for a non-practical relationship with other men. Their everyday life is rationalised as reproducible know-how and returns as effective knowledge on how individual citizens behave, and allows for the exercise of modern power. Thus most social researchers do not research their own relations. As Levi Strauss (1967) suggests, "a notion like empathy inspires great mistrust in us, because it connotes an added dose of irrationalism and mysticism."

(p.16) These concepts have no standing in science, whether natural or social.

On one occasion, during the fieldwork, an islander was taking me to town, he had gone before me to the bank to make ready the boat. He was standing looking into the sea when I arrived. I assumed something was amiss and enquired as to the problem. He replied:

"Sure not a bit in the world child, I am only pausing and pondering. It would get you thinking about things you know. There is not much we don't know really. I suppose they (presumably the academic audience) all want to know about us for they have never seen anything like us - they never will now either. God, when you think of it, what history there is around us. May God help them when it's gone. All their education won't bring it back, or my mother (or yours either.) What a body of knowledge that woman was and she had little enough education. Only what the life and the sea taught her. She knew her place anyway, which is more than can be said of them to-day. I don't know half the time if they know what in the hell they are doing, rushing and travelling. The whole world has gone mad. If you are going to tell them, tell it right anyway. The life we have and the life we knew was hard all right, but God knows it made us what we are, and there is no shame in it."

The non-practical relationship opened up by social science, allowed the researcher to transform the islander's account of the demise of his way of life (and her own empathy with his view) into a specialised sphere of reproducible know-how. From the stand-point of social researcher he was expounding in his language the arguments of the phenomenological geographers for rootedness in place, Giddens' theory of the time space distancing of modernity and Meyrowitz's assertion that in modernity there is "no

sense of place".

Telling it right was the hardest task of all. The islanders may well have preferred me to commit a different tale to book or paper. As Levi Strauss (1967) suggests the challenge of anthropology is "without a doubt unique in making the most intimate subjectivity into a means of objective demonstration".(p.26) Translating the islanders' "good talk" into the written account presented just such a challenge. Putting the tale in book or paper, essentially meant using the islanders (my relatives and friends) as the raw material for an academic audience. The ethnographer indeed takes a more precarious route than the theorist to make broad sociological statements.

As Cohen (1987) said of his work on Whalsay I too have already come to have misgivings about the material I have written "On reflection I decided that what, if anything, was really offensive, was not the content of any statement I had made so much as the fact that I had said anything at all. When the business of so tightly bounded a community as Whalsay is broadcast to the outside world, people may somehow feel they have lost control over it. The purveying of such information might therefore be seen as, at best, intrusive and, at worst, a betrayal of trust, particularly if people have forgotten with the passage of time that one had always intended to write about them." (p.206) Indeed throughout the process of putting the Whiddy Islanders tale in print, I was haunted by the customary comment of an ex-

islander, who when surprised by, or in disagreement with, what is being said will sigh and say: "Hear everything and say nothing." Of course I could not allow myself this option, tempting though it often became. I was committed to say something. Cohen (1987) asserted "The world ought to know about Whalsay. My chief reservation is whether I have done justice to their remarkable qualities. I suspect that most Whalsay people would sympathise with my defence. They are aware of their special character and have more than an inkling of the extent of their extraordinary achievement. Most of its members would endorse my suggestion that they have much to teach the rest of us." (p.206)

For the observer of Whiddy too, the same dilemmas arose. The Whiddy islanders, as usual, were aware of the dilemma for the writer, and the importance of what they have to teach the rest of us. Hence one said:

"Sure poor devil you have a hard task. You know yourself what has happened to us. Everything was supposed to be for our good, and in the end it all turned out to finish us. We are going away quite quick now.\* It's a good job you came when you did or you would be poking through the briars and turning over the stones looking for information. That's the way, tell them what we

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\*Since completing the fieldwork, two island men in their twenties have married and settled on the mainland, two children have left to attend secondary school on the mainland, returning only at week-ends. Ironically, one of the islanders who participated in the radio programme, "Living on the Edge" and was requesting a pier for the island to prevent further loss of life, was himself tragically drowned in 1990. Yet another island man has been hospitalised and is unlikely ever to return to the island. The population now stands at 34. They are indeed going away quite quick now - in the age of communications, the island will be silent.

knew. Someone might remember. We knew how to make the island work between us like. Now its every man for himself. A man on his own is a small thing. Gulf and the disaster taught us that - as islanders we know what hell is since the night the Betelgeuse went up."

Again the non-practical relationship opened up by social science allowed the researcher to translate this quote (and many others like it) as evidence that the value system of the people has changed and community has been replaced with society on Whiddy Island. Modernity does indeed rumble on and we are all party to it. Paradoxically, as a social researcher I brought another layer of modernity to the island. As Giddens (1990) argued "the discourse of sociology and the concepts, theories, and findings of the other social sciences continually "circulate in and out" of what it is they are about. In so doing the reflexively restructure their subject matter, which itself has learned to think sociologically." (p.43) But as Levi-Strauss (1961) suggests, the paradox is unresolvable:

"The less one culture communicates with another, the less likely they are to be corrupted, one by the other, but on the other hand, the less likely it is, in such conditions, that the respective emissaries of these cultures will be able to seize the richness and significance of this diversity." (p.45)

The paradoxes of modernity are unresolvable, the islanders like all Irish citizens entered into a contract with modernity and are faced with the consequences of fulfilling that contract. Paradox upon paradox presents itself for inspection.

It is not only the islanders who have been going from Billy

to Jack - sociologists too have been going from pillar to post looking for the locus of modern power. The answer may well turn out to be that modern power resides in each and every modern citizen . Attacking the new locus of power would in effect mean attacking everybody, including oneself. The rationalisation of self-interest made the good of the whole an irrational concept. The cardinal ideals of modernity - equality and liberty - are the source of the difficulties that technology came along to help us escape. Technology is the material manifestation of the paradox of modernity and production and consumption are the theory of the islanders contract with modernity seen working in praxis. The ultimate paradox of modernity may mean that man is not dominated by industrialisation, capitalism, technology or any other symbolic or material product of modern society rather man is dominated by the ideals and ideology of modernity itself. The ultimate and overriding paradox of all the paradoxes of modernity, is that citizenship the site of our freedom and equality is also the site of the modern exercise of power.

Citizenship, like technology, may not be a unqualified benefit, but neither can it be an unqualified disadvantage. Citizenship like technology has an ambiguous role. For both are both structured and structuring of modernity, and modernity is based on ambiguity - a social organisation where meaning is no longer given. For as Wright (1985) argued natural or blood kinship no longer determines the

path of the individual. "A dramatic increase in social insecurity followed in the wake of these transformations of trust but also increases in freedom, potential and possibility." (p.13) Democracy like technology makes sense - it has reduced poverty and promoted opportunity but has profoundly changed social patterns of behaviour.

As Williams (1989) said of electrical power, the power of citizenship too would not be given up easily. People were (and are) glad of revolutions that create independent nation states and their inclusion through the franchise in the system that governs them, and the consequent social and political changes. "Not in a million years would you make us give up this power." Thus one islander said:

"Years ago, if we didn't help each other we couldn't survive at all. All that has gone. The people can be independent now and the modern ways are a big improvement. I, for one, wouldn't go back. We have more freedom and more chance to get on, but I suppose we lost something too. I'd say we are getting weaker, but we have some come back these days."

A mainland put the point more strongly;

"No Irish man would go back to British Rule. That was only keeping us down. The British treated us like dogs, with shootings and killings all through. Anyone that can remember the Black and Tans, would tell you that. It's still the same in the North. At least now we can make our own mistakes, we are responsible for our own troubles. If we don't like it we can vote them out. That has got to be better."

As Held (1983) suggests the struggle for power, for no other reason than self-preservation and self-interest (however disguised by rationalisation) defines the human condition. Citizenship implies that everyone has a certain power and it



will, indeed, not be given up easily.

Williams (1989) asked: "Who still believes in democracy?" and answered: "The millions who still have not got it where they work and feel." (p.18) In the light of the present situation in Eastern Europe and the USSR it would be difficult to argue against this answer.

As Scase (The Guardian, 18th June, 1991) commented on the situation:

"Sociologists are having to re-think their attitudes towards capitalism ... Until now, most have seen it as a system of inequality which inhibits the material and psychological potential of the majority of populations... It is hardly surprising that most people prefer to be exploited and feel free, rather than be subjected to tight forms of bureaucratic control ... People generally measure their own success in terms of improvements in their material standard of living ... In doing this sociologists need not become apologists for capitalist or other ideals."

Indeed sociologists may not be able to join the ranks to democro-pessimist or democro-optimist anymore than those of techno-optimist or techno-pessimist. Power is elusive, and paradoxical. Democracy empowered us all. Who will take responsibility for it in the finish up? We can no longer blame Governments for we elected them, we cannot blame technology we welcome and consume it, we cannot blame the economy for we all want employment, we cannot blame each other for we are all state citizens with equal rights.

Eco (1986) made the following comments on the mass media, they are equally applicable to modernity:

"The mass media are genealogical and have no memory. They are genealogical because new

inventions set off a chain reaction - at the end no one remembers who started it. (p.145)

The memory is not there.

"The mass media is now a multiplicity of media acting through different channels. The media have multiplied, but some of them act as media of media, or media squared. Who is sending the message. There is no authority now, we are all in it and outside out.(p.149)

Power is elusive.

"Once upon a time there were mass media and they were wicked and there was a guilty party ... Well its over. We have to start again from the beginning asking one another what's going on?" (p.150)

We do indeed have to start again asking each other what is going on? I would argue to conclude this thesis, paradoxically we have to start again from the beginning, asking one another what's going on? For modernity too is genealogical and has no memory - it set off a chain reaction and no one remembers who or what started it or can define precisely who or what should be the guilty party. Modernity is now a multiplicity of the modern working through different channels. Modernity has multiplied and gained support in every day life. All the different channels of modernity, reflect and promote citizenship. All could be argued to be media of citizenship - citizenship squared.

However, starting again from the beginning, asking one another what is going on is a dangerous pursuit, for we are all in it and outside it (and perhaps none more so than those involved in the human sciences.) If the ethos which

developed the struggle for political autonomy is rejected the whole point of and validity of independence would be called into question. People would, indeed, be wary of claiming equality and liberty as heroes, magic solutions and public symbols. For the cardinal ideals of modernity are also genealogical and have no memory. They set off a chain reaction - at the end no one remembers who started it. The memory is not there. We are all sending and receiving the message, and the validity of independence is not called into question. Power is indeed elusive, for we can't all be wicked and the guilty party. Or can we? In a democracy it is difficult to argue that we are not.

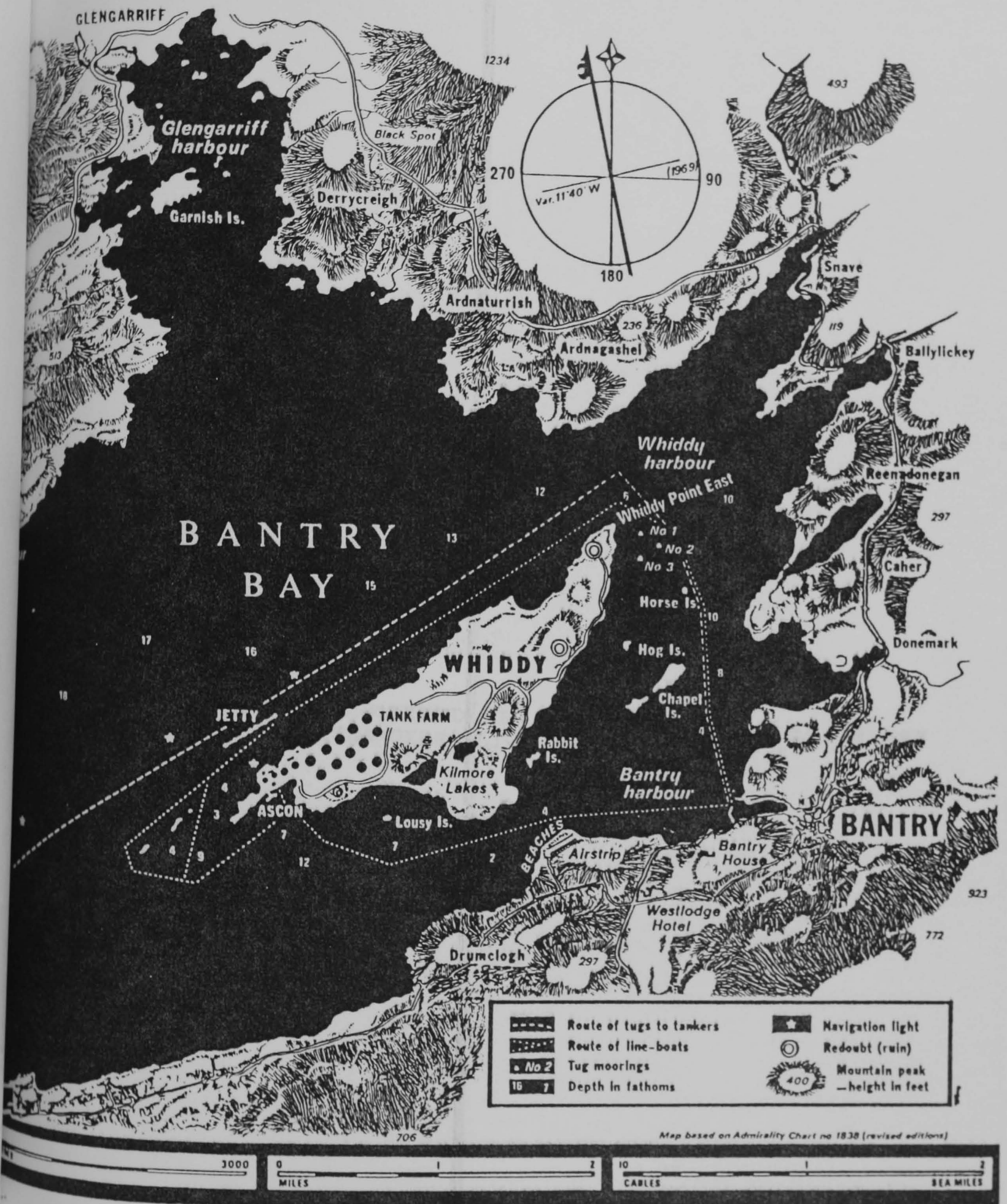
PAPER LANDSCAPES

"The things that hurt one do not show on the map. The truth of the place is in the joy and the hurt that come from it ... the map belittled the journey he had measured in tired feet."

Carpenter 1976

THE MAP OF WHIDDY ISLAND FROM THE COSTELLO REPORT ON THE  
DISASTER AT WHIDDY ISLAND IN 1979.

# Appendix 7 Part 1



THE SMALL UNMARKED TRIANGLE IN BANTRY BAY WHERE  
THE ISLANDERS' LIVE THEIR WHOLE LIVES



Towns underlined in Northern Ireland give their names to the Districts in which they stand  
 The remaining Districts are—

1 Fermanagh	5 Castlereagh
2 Moyle	6 Ards
3 Newtownabbey	7 Down
4 North Down	8 Newry & Mourne



PHOTOGRAPHS

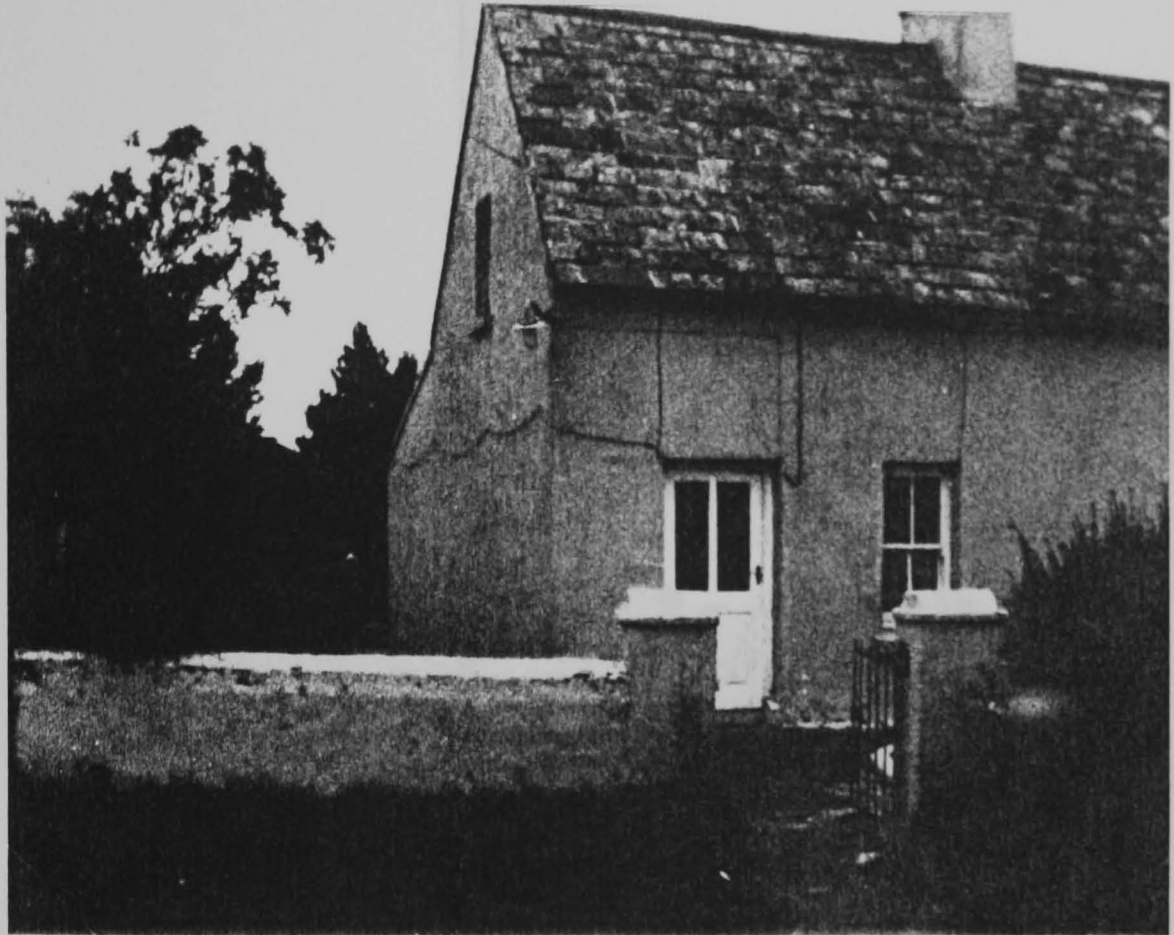
"For surrealists the logical distinction between what is imaginary and what is real tends to disappear. Every image is to be seen as an object and every object is an image. Hence photography ranks high in the order of surrealist creativity because it produces an image that is a reality of nature, an hallucination that is also a fact."

Andre Bazin 1967

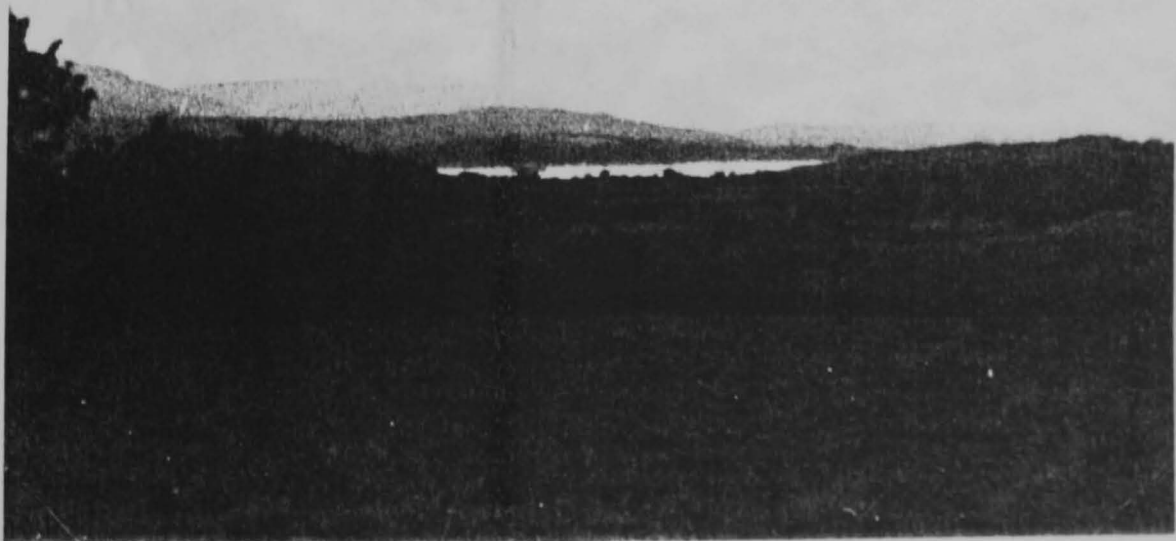
"Postcards of Indians have always attracted me. As a child... I watched cultural tourist search postcard racks for images of Indians. Even then I knew that postcards of Indians had little to do with Indians... These silent, decorated images masking our struggles of empowerment were so removed from memory and daily life in Flambeau. Postcard Indians have to express another heritage."

Gail Valaskakis 1990

THE COTTAGE IN WHICH I STAYED DURING THE FIELDWORK



THE VIEW FROM THE BACK DOOR



THE ISLAND

AN ISLANDER'S GARDEN



THE ISLAND

A MODERN MEITHAL



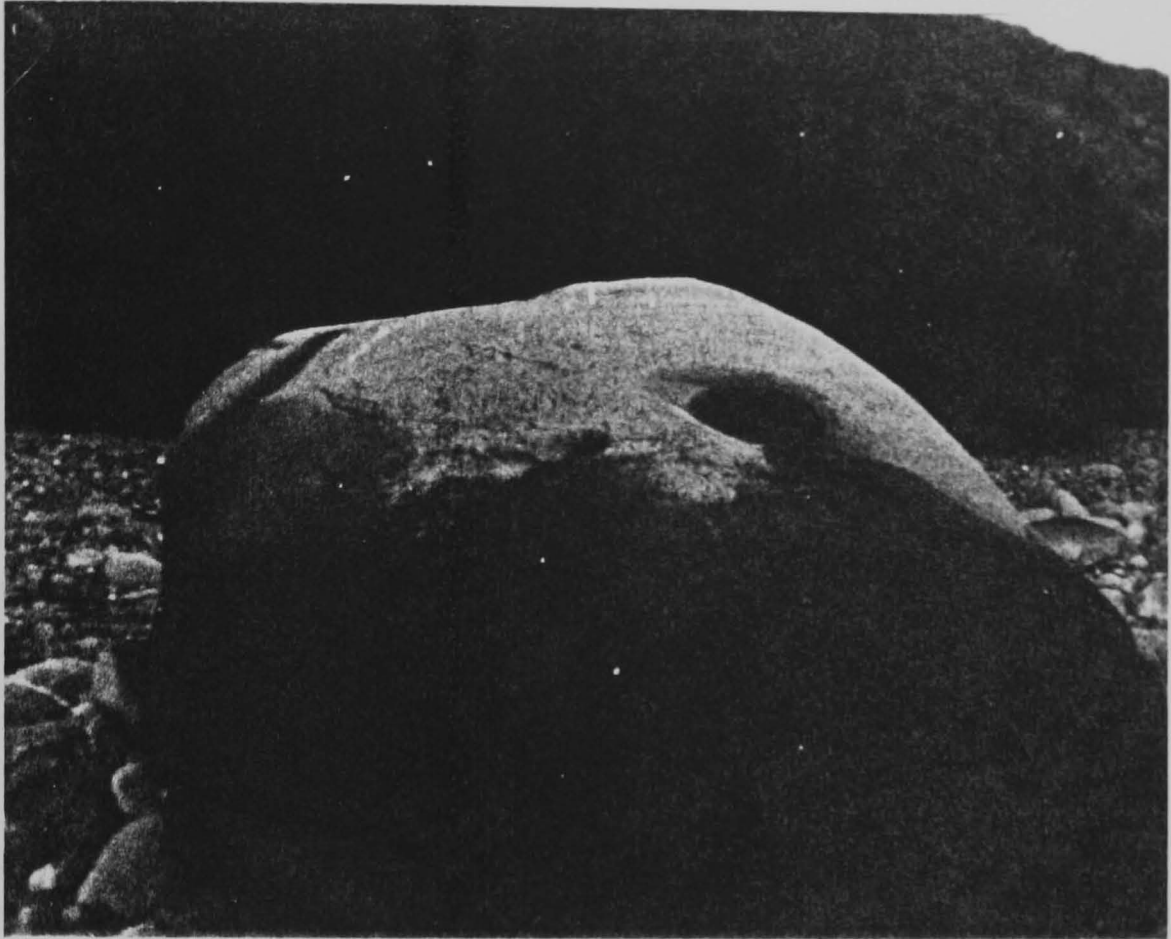
THE RUINS OF O'SULLIVAN BEARA'S CASTLE



THE DISUSED SOLDIERS' HOUSES ON THE MIDDLE BATTERY



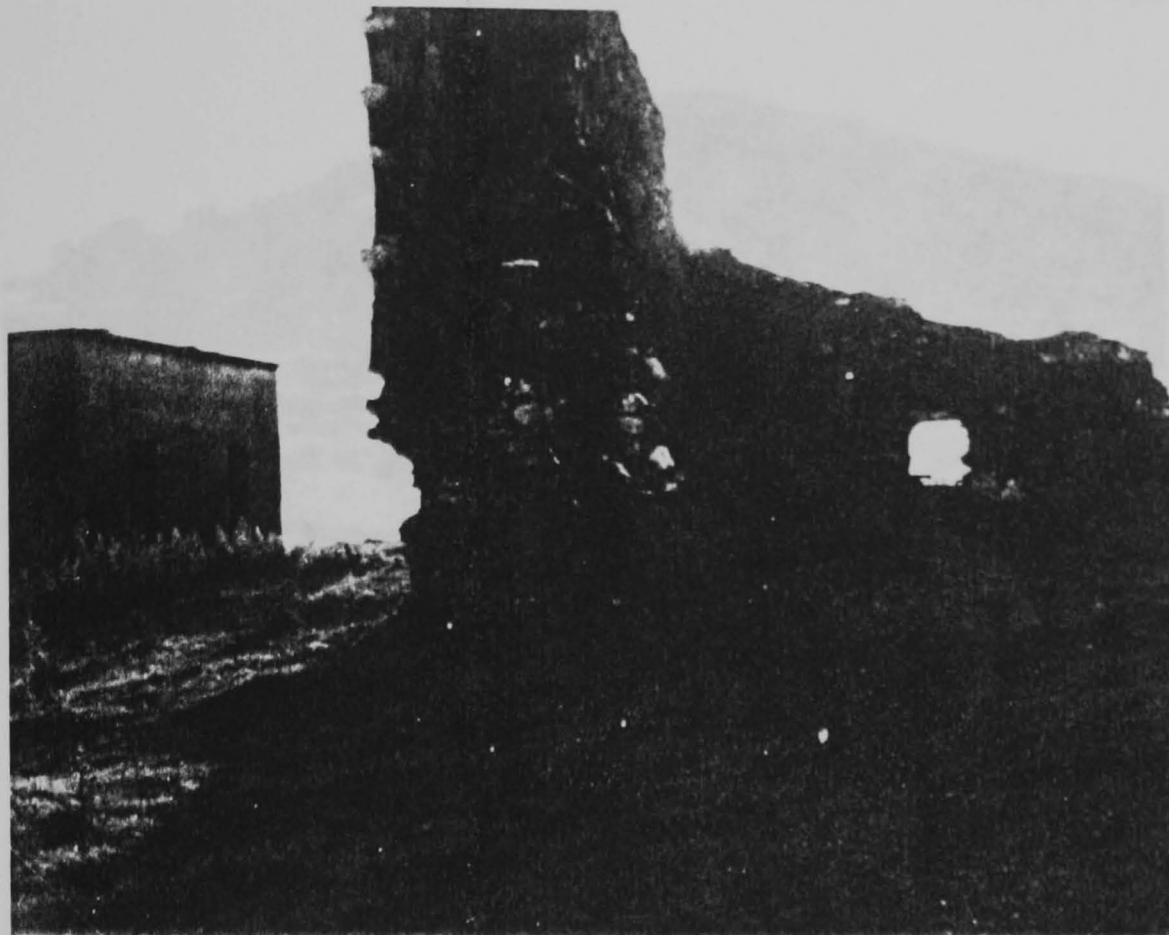
THE OLD WOMAN'S STONE



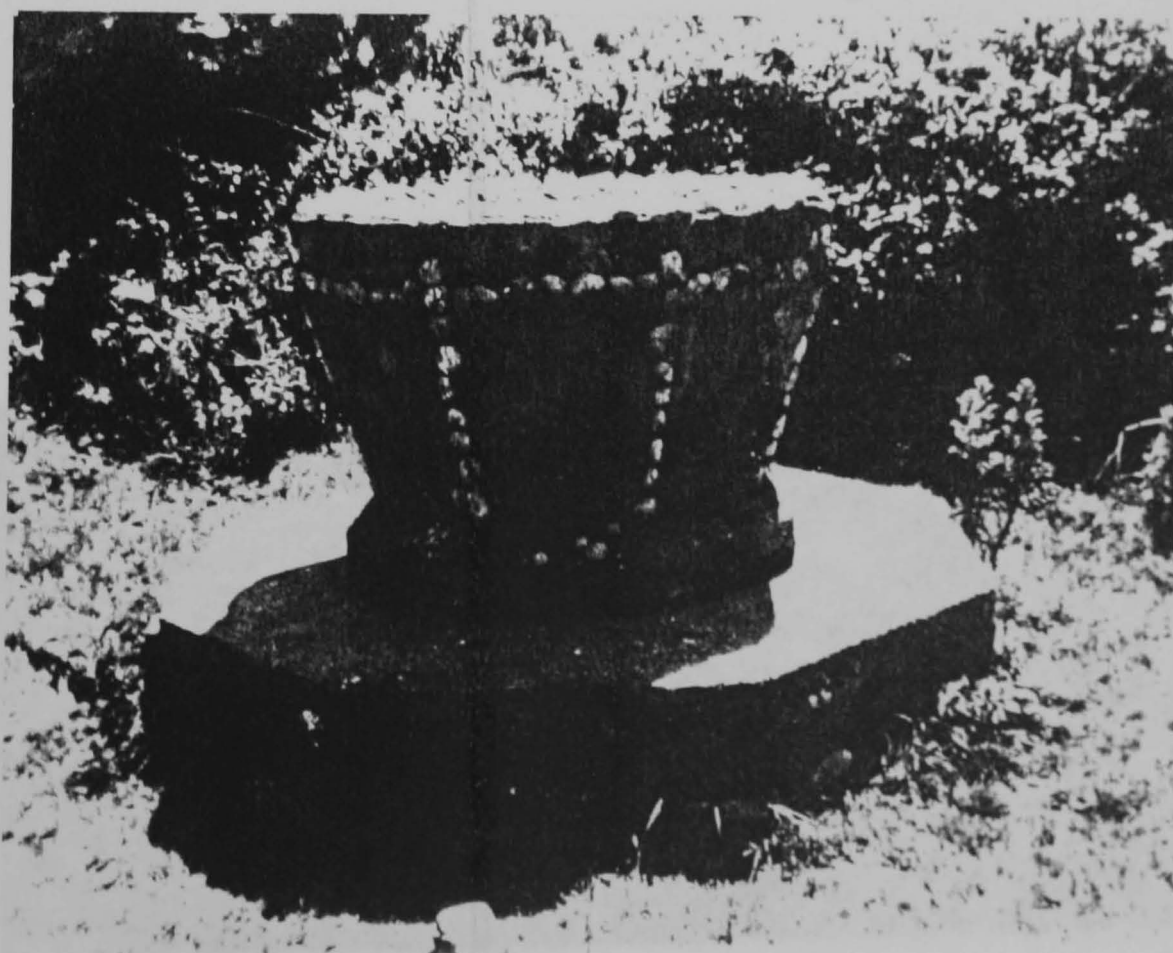
THE BLESSED WELL



THE AMMUNITION STORE THAT LATER DOUBLED AS A HEN HOUSE



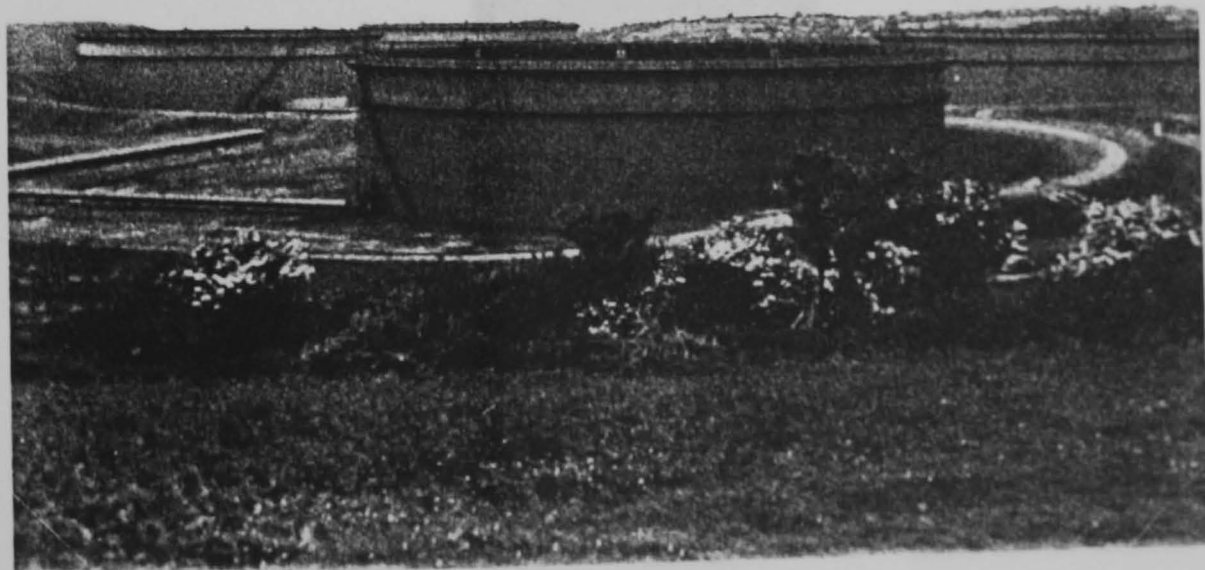
THE CUP AND SAUCER

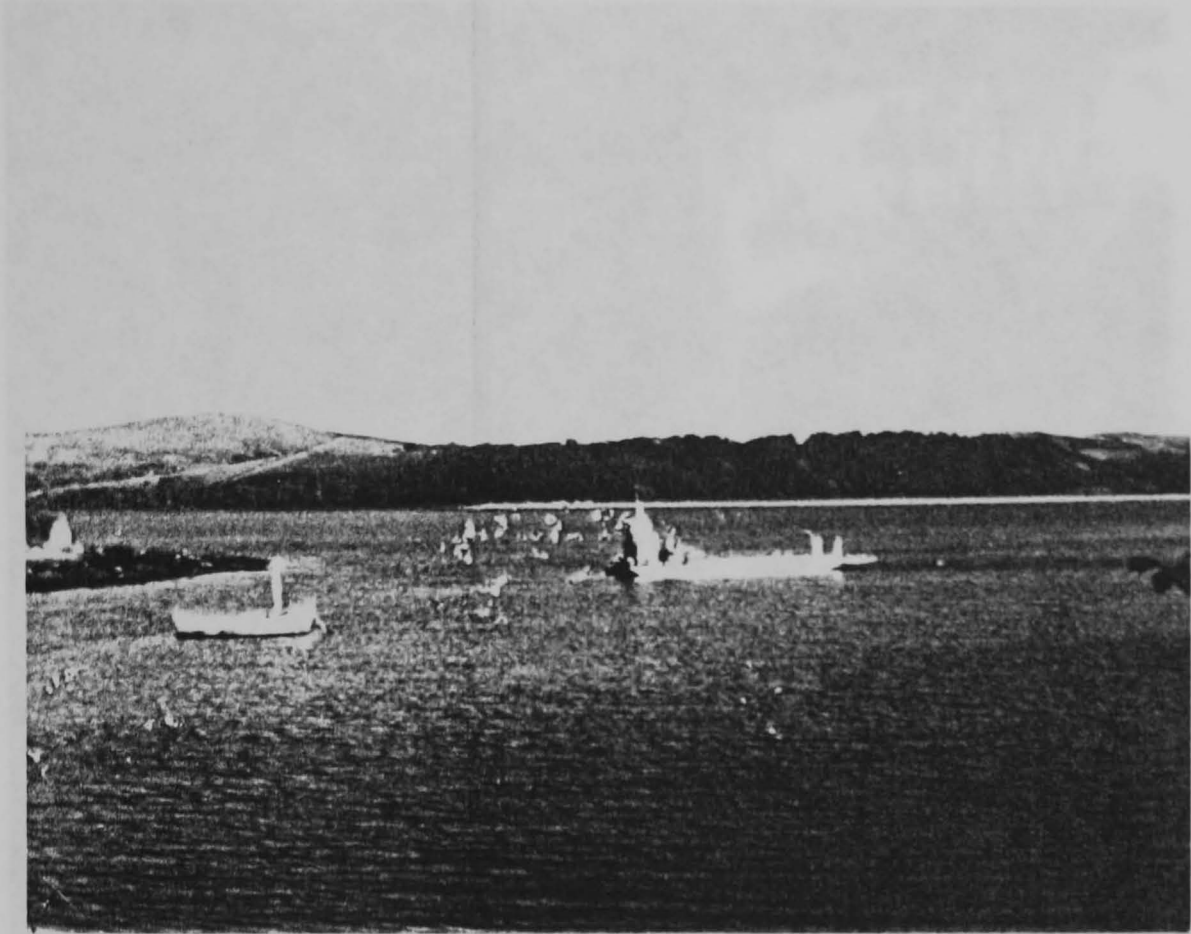


THE AIR BASE - LATER THE WHIDDY ISLAND DANCE HALL



THE TANKS OF THE DISUSED OIL TERMINAL



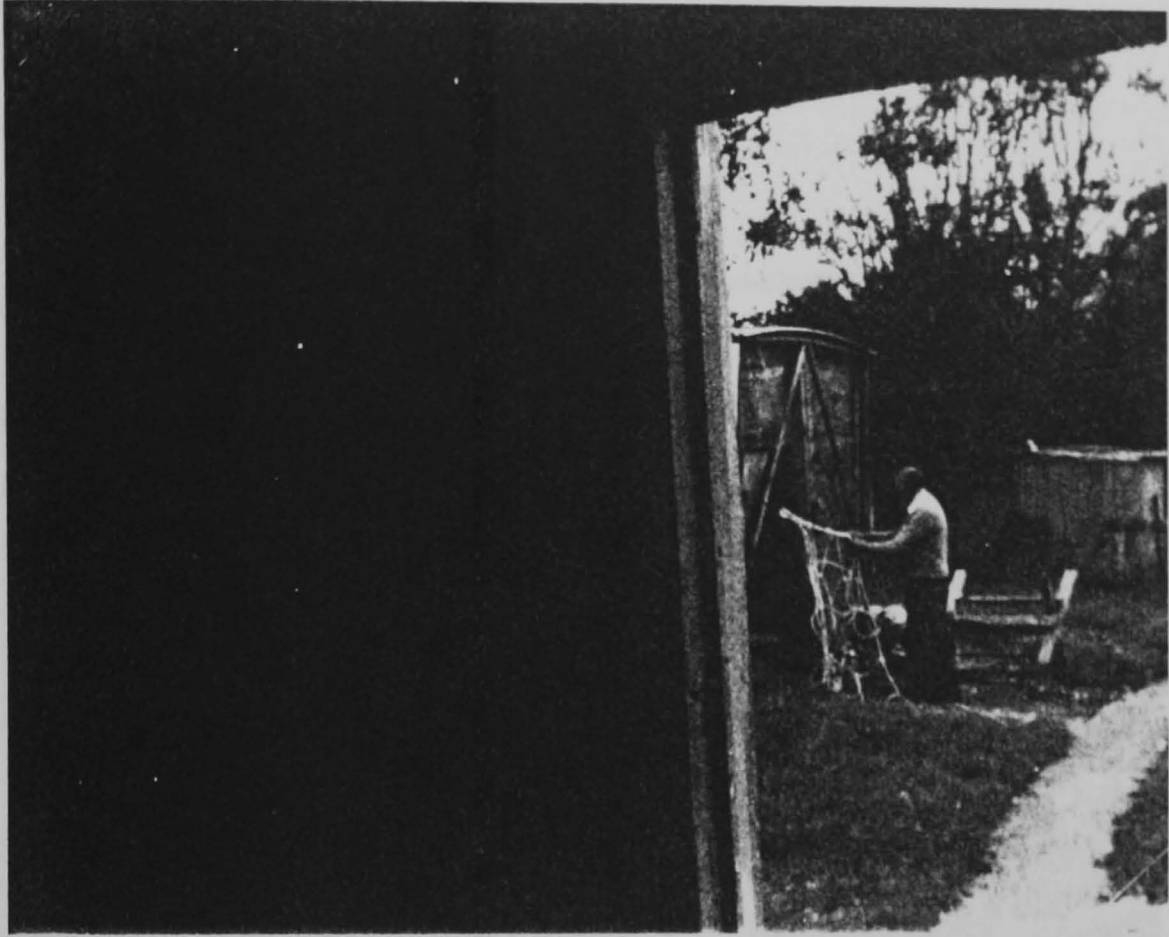


THE BETELGEUSE MEMORIAL IN THE ABBEY CEMETERY ON THE MAINLAND

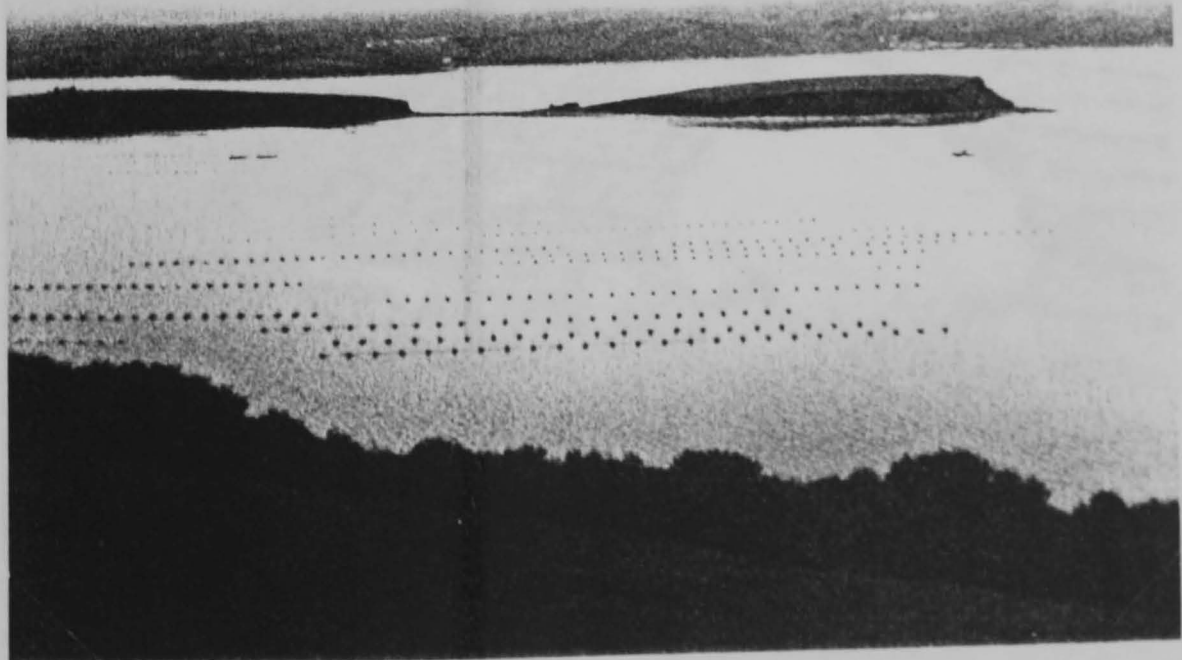




MAKING A STOCKING FOR THE MUSSEL BARRELS



THE MUSSEL BEDS - LIKE ROSARY BEADS ACROSS THE BAY



GETTING READY TO GO TO MASS ON SUNDAY



THE COFFIN STONE



SUNSET



"The island it is silent now;  
But the ghosts still haunt the waves.  
As the torch light up a famished land  
That fortune could not save."

From "Thousands are Sailing",  
Philip Chevron/Unchained Melodies

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