TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN

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Foreword

It is my pleasure, as Dean of Graduate Studies, to write the foreword for the 13thvolume of the Journal of Postgraduate Research (JPR). The JPR has become an institution in Trinity and is a showcase of the excellent research being carried out by our postgraduate students. The fact that postgraduate students take responsibility for all aspects of the production of this publication is testament to their dedication to the communication of their research to the wider College community and beyond. Research carried out in multiple schools and disciplines within the university is presented in this issue, reflecting the breadth and quality of the work being done across the College. Unlike the specialist journals that publish within narrow research themes, the JPR is multidisciplinary and this year contains articles on subjects such as European law, contemporary cinema, science fiction, robot morphology, even stretching to an exploration of the concepts and determinants of mental health of the Tibetan community in exile. Itis so satisfying to see Trinity postgraduates excelling across such a broad range of very interesting topics.

I would like to commend the editorial team, Olivia Wilkinson, Clodagh Jordan, Jansen Seheult and Megan Lee on the excellent job they have done in producing this issue of the JPR. Thanks also to the Academic advisory committee, Drs Gillian Wylie and Carlo Aldrovandi (School of Religions, Peace studies and Theology), Maeve Foreman (Social Work and Social Policy), Dr Robert Armstrong (School of Histories and Humanities), Prof. Neville Cox (School of Law), Dr Edmund Lalor (School of Engineering) and Dr Andrew Loxley (School of Education). The commitment and support of the Graduate Students Union has been fundamental to the success of the JPR since its inception and this year the work of GSU President, Ryan Kenny has ensured the production of yet another excellent volume. Ryan, together with GSU vice-president, Sarah Smith have done sterling work on behalf of all postgraduate students this year and it has been a pleasure to work with them.

Finally, thanks to all who have supported the publication of this issue of the JPR and I hope you enjoy reading all the articles.

Dr Aideen Long
Dean of Graduate Studies
May 2014

Preface

We are pleased to present the thirteenth volume of the Journal for Postgraduate Research (JPR). Postgraduate students at Trinity produce a wealth of new and noteworthy contributions to knowledge each year. The JPR aims to provide examples of the breadth and depth of study undertaken and is built to reflect the wide diversity of researchers that constitute the postgraduate student body. The articles presented in this volume demonstrate that Trinity's postgraduate students consistently generate research of both national and international significance that bridges disciplinary boundaries and creates innovatory theory and practice.

In-depth analysis of texts provides the foundation of several articles. Jim Clarke offers an insightful reading of the development of science fiction through the use of dream narratology. Michael Morris' meticulous reading of the Gospel of Matthew provides new observations on anti-demonic traditions. Gerard Farrell's archival research unveils new insights into class divisions among the Irish in colonial Ulster.

Our authors also increase our understanding of modern day social and political issues. Aoife O'Brien reports on the lack of response for grieving students in Irish schools. Redmond Arigho examines legal federalism between the European Union and Member States arguing that 'conflict' between the two can be defended as inevitable and necessary. Connor McGinn gives an example of how technology, through the use of robots, can improve the independence of those living with disabilities. Ciara Barrett examines questions of ethnicity and gender with her analysis of perceptions of 'Irishness' for women in Hollywood.

Several articles report on students' recent original research results through the use of interviews as a research method. Nicole Byrne examines the experiences of eight young offenders in an activity programme in North Dublin. Mark Kearns, using an ethnographic approach that also included data collection from diaries participants were asked to keep, looks at the experiences of mature students in higher education in Ireland. Ciaran Tobin used interviews to explore the construction of and influences on mental health for exiled Tibetans.

Methodological advancement is evident in both the sciences and humanities. Brian Murphy details how experimentation with a fungus usually used in hot climates demonstrated that it can also increase grain yield in cooler climates. Connor O'Donoghue relates his experiences with biographical research and adds to ethical debates on field research.

Thanks are due to Dr. Gillian Wylie and Dr. Edmund Lalor for their adjudicatory roles in the JPR paper presentations. Further sincere thanks are sent to our academic advisors and peer reviewers for reading and commenting on the articles. Thanks to Jonathan Cresy, Editor of Volume XII, for his advice. Shane Finan deserves great praise for his design and typesetting and receives our sincere thanks for all his hard work in this regard. Finally, we are exceedingly grateful to Ryan Kenny, President of the Gradaute Students' Union, for his support throughout every stage of the Journal's production.

Olivia Wilkinson, Clodagh Jordan, Megan Lee, and Jansen Seheult
Editors

The Supremacy of European Union Law:
An Inevitable Revolution or Federalism in Action?

by
Redmond Arigho

Abstract

The European Union is a fully fledged, sui generis legal order. The doctrine of supremacy, developed by the European Court of Justice in the seminal case of Costa v ENEL established Union laws having primacy over domestic law of the Member-States thereby rendering as non-applicable national law that was deemed to infringe EU Law. Although the ECJ has clarified that this extends to domestic constitutional law, this claim of authority has not been welcomed in its entirety in any of the Member-States. This issue is encapsulated in the so called 'kompetenz-kompetenz' debate, a phrase uttered by the German Constitutional court. According to the Member-States, they retain the ultimate authority to designate which law reigns supreme (regarding it as a fundamental component of national sovereignty) and most importantly, to what extent Union competence extends to. It is clear therefore that there is a fundamental dichotomy over the position claimed by Union law, and that of the Member-States. This has been described as eradicable conflict that must inevitably lead to conflict between the Union legal order and the national ones, with the outcome resulting in a legal revolution which will result in in one of two situations: (i) the acceptance on behalf of the Member-States of the Supremacy doctrine as enunciated by the ECJ or (ii) a clear rejection of the ECJ's claim and the positioning of national constitutional law as the 'grundnorm' of domestic Member-State law. The aim of this paper is, however, to demonstrate that rather than an eradicable conflict, the current dichotomy between the two legal orders is a necessary result of federalism. Under this theory, the 'conflict' between the two systems will not necessarily lead to a legal revolution, and that in fact, such diametrically opposed claims from two sui generis legal orders within the one federal system are bound to occur in a federal legal order. Federalism, by its very nature, is the legal fruition of competing legal orders. It is proposed to undertake a comparative analysis of some of the seminal decisions throughout the EU on supremacy, from both the perspective of the Court of Justice and the most relevant emanating from national courts. A teleological analysis of these legal positions will then be undertaken within the competing frameworks of 'conflict' and 'legal pluralism'. Ultimately, the position that legal federalism, by its very nature, engenders such a 'conflict' is proposed and defended.

Keywords

European Union law, domestic constitutional law, supremacy, conflict of legal orders.

"The precedence of Community law is confirmed by Article 189, whereby a regulation 'shall be binding' and 'directly applicable in all Member States'. This provision, which is subject to no reservation, would be quite meaningless if a State could unilaterally nullify its effects by means of a legislative measure which could prevail over Community law. It follows from all these observations that the law stemming from the Treaty, an independent source of law, could not, because of its special and original nature, be overridden by domestic legal provisions, however framed, without being deprived of its character as Community law and without the legal basis of the Community itself being called into question."[1]

This famous acknowledgment by the European Court of Justice in the infancy of the development of the then European Community has acted as the foundation for the development by that court of many unique legal instruments which ensure the implementation of European Union law within the Member States.[2] However, two perspectives on the Supremacy of EU Law have emerged. The European perspective, as held by the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU), takes the view that Supremacy of EU law extends to domestic constitutional law and that the Court of Justice will determine when this is the case.[3] On the other hand, the Courts of the Member States have been reluctant to agree with this analysis. Their approach, most strikingly observed in Germany, is that Member States retain the competence to decide whether Union law trumps national constitutional law.[4] This has been described as an eradicable conflict that must inevitably lead to conflict between that Union legal order and the national ones, with the outcome resulting in a legal revolution which will result in in one of two situations: (i) the acceptance on

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1 Case C-6/64 Costa v. ENEL [1964] E.C.R. 585, 593.

2 Direct Effect, Indirect Effect, Horizontal Effect and the effect of EU law doctrine on Judicial Review procedures are just a number of instances where the supremacy of EU law has had a dramatic effect on the legal processes in the Member States.

3 Case C-6/64 Costa v. ENEL [1964] E.C.R. 585; Case 106/77 Amministazione delle Finanze dello Stato v. Simmenthal SpA [1978] E.C.R. 629.

4 The Federal Constitutional Court of Germany has been the most vocal in this respect. See Internationale Handelsgesellschaft mbH v. Einfuhr-und Vorratstelle fur Gettreide und Futtermittel (Solange I) [1974] 2 C.M.L.R. 540; Wunsche Handelsgesellschaft (Solange II), [1987] 3 C.M.L.R. 225; Brunner v The European Union Treaty [1994] 1 C.M.L.R. 57.

behalf of the Member-States of the Supremacy doctrine as enunciated by the ECJ or (ii) a clear rejection of the ECJ's claim and the positioning of national constitutional law as the *grundnorm* of domestic Member-State law.[5] The aim of this article is, however, to demonstrate that rather than an eradicable conflict, the current dichotomy between the two legal orders is a necessary result of legal federalism. Under this theory, the 'conflict' between the two systems will not necessarily lead to a legal revolution, and that in fact, such diametrically opposed claims from two legal orders within the one federal system are bound to occur in a federal legal order. Federalism, by its very nature, is a political compromise between two legal orders with two competing visions of ultimate sovereign authority.[6] It is proposed to undertake a comparative analysis of the seminal decisions throughout the EU on supremacy, from both the perspective of the Court of Justice and the most relevant emanating from national courts. The two Member States chosen for the present article will be Germany and Ireland.[7] A teleological analysis of these legal positions will then be undertaken within the competing frameworks of 'conflict' and 'legal pluralism'. Ultimately, the position that legal federalism, by its very nature, engenders such a 'conflict' is proposed and defended.

The Supremacy of EU Law - The Perspective of the Court of Justice of The EU.

Long recognised as perhaps the most prolifically integrationist of the European Institutions, the Court of Justice (CJEU) has been pushing the legal boundaries of Union law since its inception. Rather than merely follow the traditional public international law approach, the Court used the supranational (i.e. federal) aspects of the foundational treaties to establish EU legal order as constituting a new one with direct legal effects within the Member States.

In *Van Gend en Loos*[8], the Court held that Union law was capable of being directly effective in the Member States. Individuals therefore could rely on Union law to justify their actions as upholding the law, if those actions were

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5 Diarmuid Rossa Phelan, *Revolt or Revolution: The Constitutional Boundaries of the European Community*, (Dublin: Round Hall Sweet & Maxwell, 1997).
6 Robert Schutze````, *From Dual to Cooperative Federalism: The Changing Structure of European Law,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
7 These Member States have been chosen due to the fact that the German position represents the most sceptical of the claims of the CJEU, whilst an analysis of the Irish position will appeal to a domestic Irish audience to which the present article is catered for.
8 Case C-26/62 Van Gend en Loos [1963] E.C.R. 1.

contrary to domestic law. This position was built upon by the Court in its seminal decision relating to Supremacy in *Costa v ENEL*.[9] Here the Court handed down a judgment that unequivocally enunciated Union law as enjoying a higher legal status that than of national law. The central rationale of the Court was that in order for EU law to be given the same uniform application across the Member State, it would be incongruous to place the power of interpretation with the Courts of the Member States, which would likely reach different conclusions, thus negating any attempt at one single European law having the same effect in the Member States. If Union law was not superior to national law, then divergent national laws would trump Union law, leaving the State of Union law in a perilous position. This was a clear bold assertion by the Court that placed teleological considerations of the role and purpose of the Treaties at its forefront. In its subsequent *Simmenthal*[10] judgment, the Court reiterated in strong terms that Supremacy was to be guaranteed against national constitutional law.

An Opposing Vision – The View of the Member States

Germany

The largest Member State in the Union, as well as one of its founding Members, the legal position adopted by the German Constitutional Court is an interesting one. The Kalsruhe Court has an interesting constitutional tightrope to walk. The German basic law contains famously strong fundamental rights provisions. The *Bundesverfassungsgericht* (the German Federal Constitutional Court) sees itself as the custodian of these human rights protections. Unique to the German Constitution amongst the constitutions of the Member States however, is a provision that obligates the German state to seek European Unity under Article 23.1 of the German basic law. So how has the Federal Constitutional Court reacted to EU Law's claim to ultimate supremacy and how has it balanced this according to its own Constitutional commitments? Two series of cases reveal two pertinent teleological issues that the Federal Constitutional Court has raised that go to the limits of what it views as the boundaries of EU law. The first round of cases concerned the interaction between Union legal provisions with fundamental rights guaranteed by the German Basic Law. Could it be acceptable that Union law, as required by

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9 Case C-6/64 Costa v ENEL [1964] E.C.R. 585.
10 Case 106/77 Amministazione delle Finanze dello Stato v. Simmenthal SpA [1978] E.C.R. 629.

the doctrine of Supremacy, could trump a human right guaranteed by the German Constitution? The second round of cases arose directly as a result of the adoption of new EU treaties. The issue these cases revealed has been termed that of *Kompetenz-Kompetenz*.[11] Effectively, this efficient German phrase addresses the question of who determines when Union Law has infringed national constitutional law. Does the CJEU retain this power to determine what fields of law are governed by Union law, or does the competence to decide the remit of Union law rest with national legal systems? The result of these cases would ultimately rest on the issue of the Supremacy of EU Law and whether the view of the ECJ was going to be accepted by the Federal Constitutional Court.

Moving to the first issue, the first case to be considered is the appropriately termed *Solange I*[12] (So long as) decision of the German Federal Constitutional Court in 1974. The factual background of this case concerned two Regulations of the then European Community. These laws placed a time limit on the length of time permitted for a company to export goods within the Community after which the company would not be able to recover its original administrative deposit. The plaintiff company wished to challenge this European rule, arguing that it infringed some of the fundamental rights guarantees in the German Constitution, namely that of freedom of action and of disposition and of economic liberty. It was further argued that these violations were disproportionate, thus infringing the German Constitutional guarantee of proportionality. Whilst ultimately holding that the rules requiring the forfeit of the deposit did not infringe the rights guaranteed by German Constitutional law, the Court nevertheless took the opportunity to outline its dissatisfaction with the ECJ's claim of ultimate legal authority over German constitutional law. According to *Solange I* the German Courts would determine whether Union law infringed German constitutional law and they would reserve the right to apply national constitutional law ahead of Union Law. This legal analysis was therefore in clear contra-distinction to what the CJEU ruled in *Costa v ENEL* and *Simmenthal*. Before moving to considering the next case, it is important at this juncture to highlight the Court's view that human rights protection at a Union law level was not sufficient vis-à-vis the rights protection available under national law. The debate at this point therefore rested on fundamental

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11 U. Elbers and N. Urban, "The Order of the German Federal Constitutional Court of 7 June 2000 and the Kompetenz-Kompetenz in the European Judicial System" *European Public Law* 7 (2001): 21, 32.
12 Internationale Handelsgesellschaft mbH v Einfuhr-und Vorratstelle fur Gettreide und Futtermittel (Solange I) [1974] 2 C.M.L.R. 540.

rights guarantees and appeared to suggest that if Union law were to protect human rights in an equivalent manner, then the supremacy of EU law could be accepted in national law in a manner advocated by the ECJ. However, despite inclinations to that effect in the *Solange I* judgment, the *Solange II*[13] judgment marked the inception of what has now become the crucial issue which marks the difference in opinion between the constitutional law of the Member States and EU law.

In the *Solange II* case, the German Constitutional Court abandoned its reservations about the standard of European fundamental rights protection. So long as European law guaranteed a similar level of rights protection, the German courts would no longer be obligated to examine the compatibility of Community legislation with domestic human rights protections. Crucially however, it still reserved the right to be the adjudicator of whether fundamental rights were breached. The judgment failed to accept the ECJ's view on supremacy, and strongly indicated that ultimate supremacy rested with German Constitutional Law. This was the very first hint of the *Kompetenz-Kompetenz* debate. Although the court found that there was no breach of fundamental rights in this case and that Union law now guaranteed such rights to the same degree as under national law, *Solange II* suggested that it would be the German courts, and not the CJEU in Luxembourg that would determine whether fundamental rights, guaranteed both at a Union level and at a domestic level, were infringed.

The second issue, and what has become the largest bone of contention between the Courts of the Member States and the CJEU, has become apparent in cases with the backdrop of treaty amendments which further crystallised the federal method of European integration. The first concerned the watershed Treaty of Maastricht which established the European Union, the 1993 decision of *Brunner v Treaty of Maastricht*.[14] Following a trend in the cases that have come before the German Court, the Court held that the Treaty was in compliance with the German Constitution but at the same time outlined a power of ultra-vires review for itself when it arrived, determining whether EU law went beyond the scope envisaged for it under its foundational treaties. This power was inherent in the Federal Constitutional Court's jurisdiction as it was to be the ultimate arbiter of to how far EU law would extend in its scope. It alone

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13 Wunsche Handelsgesellschaft (Solange II), [1987] 3 C.M.L.R. 225.
14 Brunner v The European Union Treaty 1994] 1 C.M.L.R. 57.

determined the *Kompetenz-Kompetenz* of Union law. The case of *Gauweiler v Treaty of Lisbon*,[15] concerning the constitutionality of the Lisbon Treaty with the German Constitution, the Court (once again upholding the validity of the Lisbon Treaty) reiterated that the power of *Kompetenz-Kompetenz* remains with the German Courts and not with the EU.[16] In the ECJ's view, it has the sole authority to decide whether national constitutional law infringes Union law. The Maastricht judgment clearly posits this power with the German Courts from the perspective of German Constitutional Law. There is therefore a potential challenge to the supremacy of EU as enunciated by the CJEU and the German Federal Constitutional Court.

But what of the practical effect of this discrepancy? Surely the ground is fertile for a direct constitutional conflict between these competing constitutional visions? In Kelsian terms we should be expecting a legal revolution in order to determine the one and only true *grundnorm* that must be placed at the pinnacle of any legal order. To spell this argument out, if a case is to come before the German Federal Constitutional Court and that court exercise its asserted power to judicially review EU legislation, the Court will be acknowledging the locus of German legal sovereignty (i.e. its *grundnorm*) within its traditional confines in the German legal order. If however, the Court accepts the view of the CJEU on the supremacy of EU law, then the locus of German legal sovereignty would be transferred to the EU, with the resulting *grundnorm* of the German legal order resting within the EU legal order.

Alas, a German litigant provided such an opportunity in 2011 in the *Honeywell* case.[17] The initial plaintiff in this case objected to his employment contract on a year only basis, rather than being a fixed-term one, as he had worked for the same company on an ongoing basis for over four years, thus rendering any subsequent employment contract a fixed one in accordance with EU rules to that effect. However, the employer relied on domestic German law that permitted it to grant year-long only contracts in such instances. Although initially unsuccessful, the employee was successful in his claim at the Federal Court in Employment matters. It dis-applied the national provisions, ruling that EU law took precedence and that its rules must be followed above any contrary national ones. Thus far, this result would cohere exactly with

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15 Lisbon Case BVerfG, 2 be 2/08, 30 June 2008 92.
16 D. Halberstam and C. Mollers, "The German Constitutional Court says "Ja Zu Deutschland!" *German Law Journal* 10 (2009): 1241.
17 Honeywell, BVerfG, 2661/06, 6 July 2010.

the doctrine of Supremacy handed down by the CJEU. At this stage, the employer took a complaint to the German Constitutional Court, arguing the position outlined by the German Court in its judgments pertaining to the ratification of the Maastricht and Lisbon treaties respectively. In effect, the appellant's argument was that, in line with these judgments, German constitutional law rather than EU law was supreme as the German courts were the arbiters of the exact extent of Union law in German law. Although the German national employment laws were not constitutional ones, in this instance domestic constitutional law was engaged as there had been an infringement of his constitutional right to have his legitimate expectation honoured. The employer's contention was that his legitimate expectation was that the national law was good law and that it was not clear that the competing European Directives were directly effective in this instance. The battle line was thus clearly drawn setting up a conflict between national constitutional law and EU law.

This case therefore concerned the practical effect of Supremacy and tested the Federal Constitutional Court's asserted ultra vires competence to review whether a Union Act went beyond the competence conferred upon it in the Treaties. However, even though the Court used its own supremacy analysis to come to its decision, the result that it reached was the same as would have occurred if it used the Supremacy analysis favoured by the CJEU. It held that EU law here trumped national law as the EU had not gone beyond the competences conferred upon it by the Treaties. The important point to stress is that the Court places a significantly high barrier to ultra vires review of Union Acts. Even though it accepted that it retained the ultimate *Kompetenz-Kompetenz* to judge the exact ambit of EU law, it nevertheless adopted a highly deferential standard when it came to review the practical implications of that principle.[18]

The result in this case is surely significant. It demonstrates the political appetite that exists to reduce the potential of conflict between domestic constitutional law and that of EU Law. Whilst there are competing claims for the ambit of each legal order's potential legal reach, both are unwilling to crystallise the potential legal conflict that is undoubtedly possible. The existence of two sovereign claims, yet the inexistence of any practical conflict poses a challenge

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18 M Payandeh, "Constitutional Review of EU law after Honeywell: Contextualizing the Relationship between the German Constitutional Court and the EU Court of Justice" *Common Market Law Review* 48 (2011): 9.

for advocates of indivisible sovereignty.

Ireland

Ireland joined the then EEC in 1973. In order to ensure that the obligations of membership were fulfilled Ireland inserted Article 29.3 into its Constitution. On the face of it, the doctrine of the Supremacy of EU law as enunciated and developed the CJEU in *Van Gend en Loos*[19] and *Costa v ENEL*[20], would appear to have been directly accepted by Ireland in accordance with the doctrine of *acquis communautaire* that must be accepted by new Member-States. If taken to its logical conclusion this would mean that the State had wilfully accepted that the Irish Constitution now accepted EU law as the supreme normative authority in the areas in which it agreed to transfer part of its national sovereign authority to, and thus gave EU law the ability to dis-apply national constitutional provisions in cases of conflict. In reality the position may be far more nuanced than this.

In the Republic of Ireland the Constitution has been conceived as guaranteeing certain unenumerated rights. Its inherent rejection of the positivist conception of law and the acceptance of a type of natural law theory has led to the development within Irish Constitution of a rich jurisprudence of rights guaranteed to citizens that are not outlined in the disposition of the Constitution itself. To use the particular linguistic style adopted by practitioners and judges alike, their existence is 'inferred' because of the nature of the Constitution itself.[21] This created a 'constitutional gap' in the relationship between Irish Constitutional law and the law of the EU. Similar to the German context, it may be contended that Human Rights protection may have, at least in the early years of membership, been superior at a domestic level, rather than at the federal Union level. There is therefore a divergence between those that argue that in accepting the Third Amendment to the Constitution and inserting Article 29 to the Constitution that Ireland had unambiguously accepted the legal obligations of membership up to and including supremacy of EU law[22], and those who suggest that similar

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19 Case C-26/62 Van Gend en Loos [1963] E.C.R. 1.
20 Case C-6/64 Costa v. ENEL [1964] E.C.R. 585.
21 Ryan v. Attorney General [1965] I.R. 294. For a nice overview of the unenumerated rights doctrine in Irish constitutional law see Ronan Keane, "Judges as Lawmakers: The Irish Experience", *Judicial Studies Institute Journal* 4(2) (2004): 1.
22 B. McMahon, and F. Murphy, *European Community Law in Ireland*, (Butterworths, 1989).

problems such as those suggested by the German *Solange I* decision are capable of surfacing within the Irish jurisdiction.[23]

The question as to whether a potential conflict exists between the Irish Constitution and EU law would therefore appear to rest, at least in part, as to what conception of the Irish Constitution is accepted. The question as to conflict between these two legal norms was alluded to by a former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, O'Higgins, who has stated: 'it is certain that in relation to developing jurisprudence on human rights fears will be raised as to the possible conflict between a philosophy of legal positivism [an approach that would favour the position of the CJEU] and the concept of natural rights founded on natural law.'[24] Contrary to this view, it is interesting to note the remarks of another former Justice of the Supreme Court, Henchy J, who suggested that 'it is as if the people of Ireland had adopted Community law as a second but transcendent Constitution, with the difference that Community law is not to be found in any single document-it is a growing organism and the right to interpret it and give it conclusive judicial interpretation is reserved to the institutions of the Community and its Court'.[25] Whilst both positions have considerable merit, the jurisprudence of the Irish Courts has not provided us with a clear answer.

Initially, it appeared that Henchy J's position was the one that was to be favoured in Ireland, thus favouring the radical claims by the CJEU. Early judicial comments were supportive of this doctrinally succinct position. Thus in *Pigs and Bacon Commission v McCarron*[26] Costello J held that community law requires 'that it takes effect in the Irish Legal system in the manner in which it itself provides'. This would certainly establish EU law as supreme over constitutional law and it would give the CJEU the authority for deciding when it had the competence to do so.[27] The decision came in the same year as the ECJ's famous *Simmenthal* judgment, which expressly stated that Community law was enjoyed a higher status over national constitutional law.[28] Thus it

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23 Diarmuid Rossa Phelan, *Revolt or Revolution: The Constitutional Boundaries of the European Community*, (Dublin: Round Hall Sweet & Maxwell, 1997).

24 Preface to M. Reid, *The Impact of European Community Law on Irish Constitutional Law*, (Dublin: Irish Centre for European Law, 1991)

25 Henchy J, "The Irish Constitution and the EEC", *Dublin University Law Journal* (1977): 20.

26 High Court, June 30, 1978 J.I.E.S.E.L. 77.

27 This was a very early indication of the so-called *Kompetenz-Kompetenz* issue which has surfaced in Germany, resolved in this case in favour of EU law.

28 The French judgment and its allusion to EU law enjoying a 'rang de supériorité' (a superior status) is perhaps the most revealing version of the CJEU's view.

may be that Costello J was not fully aware of the implications that this would entail giving EU law supreme effect over Irish Constitutional law. Further authority for this notion can be found in *Campus Oil v Minister for Industry and Energy (No.2)*.[29] This case concerned the preliminary reference procedure under what is now Article 267 TFEU. At the Supreme Court, it was argued that the Court had jurisdiction to overrule the decision of the High Court to submit a preliminary reference to the CJEU. It was argued that this decision fell within the scope of Article 34.4.3 of the Constitution which stipulates that 'the Supreme Court shall, with exceptions and subject to such regulations as may be prescribed by law, have appellate jurisdiction from all decisions of the High Court.' However, Walsh J held that the request for a reference was not an appeal, but a consultative request which was based on the interpretation of the EC Treaty. This was an implementation of the position enunciated in the *Pigs and Bacon Commission* case. The consequence of these pronouncements would of course mean that the CJEU's *Simmenthal*[30] position was accepted by the Irish Courts. The decision was subject to decisive criticism from the renowned Irish Constitutional scholar, Kelly, in which he outlined that this position favoured 'the radical proposition that Article 29.4.3 has the effect of scheduling every Article of the Treaty of Rome to the text of the Constitution.'[31]

But can it be said that EU law has supremacy over Irish national constitutional law? These early judicial pronouncements have since been radically diminished and it can no longer be conclusively said that Irish constitutional law can always be dis-applied in favour of EU law. Fundamentally this issue is that of *kompetenz-kompetenz.* Whereas EU law trumps constitutional law in most respects, this is done by virtue of article 29 of the constitution. The application can be seen most clearly in *SPUC v Grogan*[32], where Walsh J (the same judge who gave the decision in Campus Oil) held in obiter remarks that: 'even if the reference to the Court of Justice were a decision within the meaning of Article 34 of the Constitution, I would hold that by virtue of the provisions of Article 29.4.3 of the Constitution, the right of appeal to this court from this decision must yield to the primacy of article 177 of the Treaty'.[33] EU law gets its authority from the fact that the Irish Constitution gives it this

29 [1983] I.R. 88.
30 Case 106/77 Amministazione delle Finanze dello Stato v Simmenthal SpA [1978] ECR 629
31 G.W.Hohan and G.Whyte, Supplement to the second edition of *J.M Kelly: The Irish* Constitution (Dublin: University College Dublin, 1988), p. 40.
32 [1989] I.R. 753.
33 Ibid.

authority. It follows that it is then up for the Irish Courts to decide the extent of the parameters that EU governs. According to Walsh J in *SPUC v Grogan* there were certain fundamental rights that are provided for by the Irish Constitution in which it would never be allowed to be dis-applied in favour of an opposing EU law rule: 'it cannot be one of the objectives of the European Communities that a Member State should be obliged to permit activities which are clearly designed to set at nought the constitutional guarantee for the protection within the State of a fundamental right.'[34] In a similar legal analysis taken by the German Federal Constitutional Court, it was clear that Irish courts were sceptical of losing their supreme authority to a jurisdiction that did not guarantee fundamental rights to the same extent.

The overall conclusion that must be reached as a result of these decisions is hard to determine. Fundamentally, it can at least be established that Irish law does not categorically accept supremacy of EU law to the extent to which it has been outlined by the CJEU. It is also clear that EU law certainly has precedence over ordinary law[35] and that in many circumstances the effect of Article 29 of the Constitution will effectively negate a contrary Constitutional provision to an EU law rule[36]. But the exact parameters of the application of the doctrine in Ireland are difficult to quantify. However, unlike Phelan's suggestion that there is an unlitigated conflict between the positions of the two jurisdictions, it would appear that the Irish Courts are not completely averse to adapting a position that is more in congruence with that of the CJEU.[37] The effect of *SPUC v Grogan* may have been that the line for potential EU law supremacy over national constitutional law is established when fundamental rights are at stake.[38] Although there are echoes of the German Court's reservations concerning fundamental rights, it should nonetheless be noted the Irish Supreme Court is yet to assert its *komptenz-kompetenz* jurisdiction. Unlike the German Federal Constitutional Court, they have not

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34 Ibid at 769.

35 Meagher v. Minister for Agriculture [1994] 1 I.R. 347, Blaney J : 'It is well established that Community law takes precedence over our domestic law.' The learned judge quoted the ECJ decisions in Case C-106/89 Marleasing SA v. La Commercial Internacional de Alimentacion SA [1990] E.C.R. 1-4315 and Francovich v. Italy (Case C-6/90) [1991] E.C.R. 1-5357 to that effect.

36 This is perhaps the most comprehensive statement that can be made based on the decision in Campus Oil Ltd v. Minister for Industry [1983] I.R. 83

37 Diarmuid Rossa Phelan, *Revolt or Revolution: The Constitutional Boundaries of the European Community*, (Dublin: Round Hall Sweet & Maxwell, 1997).

38 For an opposing view on the statue of the supremacy of EU law see W, Phelan, "Can Ireland Legislate Contrary to EC Law?" *European Law Review* 22 (2008): 530. However, it is submitted that Phelan's approach of viewing Irish membership of the EU on a public international law approach, a view that is rejected further in this article.

explicitly reserved an inherent rights of Ultra vires review of Union action where it deems the Union to have acted outside an area which it has been given the competence to so act.

The Potential for legal Conflict?

As a matter of law therefore, it cannot be categorically said that there is unity of the rule of law between national constitutional law and European law.[39] German law goes so far as to explicitly state that it has the power to judicially review EU legislation if it deems it to go outside its constitutional remits guaranteed by the foundational treaties of the EU. But is it inevitable that there will be an eventual legal revolution or is the existence of a discrepancy in the sovereign claims at different levels proof of the existence of a federal legal order?

Constitutional Pluralism?

The result of the analysis of the relationship between national constitutional law and European law would appear to leave us in a type of legal limbo. The traditional response is of course to posit that sovereignty is indivisible and that a conflict is inevitable. Phelan suggests that a conflict between the two orders is inevitable and that when this occurs, the adjudicating jurisdiction (namely the national court as any reference to the ECJ will ensure that the European interpretation of the law is put forward) will have to decide whether or not to accept the supremacy of European law and thus adjudicate on whether national constitutional law is superior or inferior in application vis-à-vis EU law. There are two issues with this presumption. Firstly, the Member-States have since constitutionally ratified various treaty amendments and have therefore, as a matter of law, implicitly accepted the *acquis communautaire* of the European Union. There is therefore, at least on some level and in keeping with national courts' views on the position of EU as it pertains to national constitutional law, acceptance of EU law's claim of supremacy over

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39 R. Kwiecien, "The Primacy of European Constitutional Law Over National Law under the Constitutional Treaty", *German Law Journal* 6 (2005): 1480. For a view arguing that the *kompetenz-kompetenz* now rests with the European Council, and thus the EU itself since the introduction of the Lisbon Treaty see G. Barrett, "Creation's Final Laws: The Impact of the Treaty of Lisbon on the "Final Provisions" of the Earlier Treaties", *Yearbook of European Law* 27 (2008): 3 at 15 'From the theoretical standpoint, all of these are of interest in that they confer a form of kompetenz-kompetenz on the European Union in that, for the first time they empower an institution of the Union itself – vis the European Council – to amend the Treaties.'

national constitutional law. Secondly, it fails to explain how some conflicts have been resolved by national courts already. Taking the German example, it is easy to forget that whist the Federal Constitutional Court reserved the power of Ultra Vires Review of Union Acts, it has yet to exercise this power. It is submitted that this is significant. It hints that the Court is attempting to save constitutional face while at the same time guaranteeing the practical supreme authority of EU law, even over its national constitutional law. There is an important nuance here. The analysis that the Court uses is that of public international law. It is the domestic national constitution provision that gives effect to EU membership that permits the Courts to grant EU law supremacy whilst retaining national sovereignty. We are therefore faced with a glaring discrepancy. The European Court has proffered a more traditional constitutional analysis of its own order to gives its law supreme effect. The Member states have rejected a constitutional analysis and have instead applied a public international law one. The end result in practical terms has nevertheless been the same. This suggests that a conflict is in fact unlikely to occur.

It is further asserted that it is possible to describe this order without the need for there to be a revolution in either the national or EU legal order so as to ensure that there is not a conflict of laws. European Constitutional scholarship has proudly asserted that the European order as a *sui generis* (i.e. unique and lacking in comparable comparisons) one. By applying with rigid loyalty the construct of indivisible sovereignty, European legal scholarship struggled to come to terms with a theory to successfully describe the new legal order which undoubtedly has traditional international elements to it (unanimity requirements on behalf of the Member States) but also supranational ones too, that has pooled the respective states' sovereignty into a new entity. Federalism was deemed an inappropriate conceptualisation for the new legal order as it was too closely associated with the idea of a Nation-State, whose legal notion rests upon the indivisibility of sovereignty and it being placed neatly in one place at the summit of the hierarchy of norms. Thus, it has been proudly asserted that it represented a *sui generis* legal order.

In response to this 'federal dilemma' a new strain of legal thinking based on the work of MacCormick suggested that we conceptualise the legal order as being one that is constitutionally pluralistic (Constitutional pluralism).[40]

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40 Neil MacCormick, *Questioning Sovereignty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001*)*; Neil

Under this conception, it is recognised that there are two legal orders at work. They exist side-by-side and are distinct normative legal orders.[41] We can see how this applies to the European scene as the CJEU has confirmed that it administers a new, *sui generis*, legal order.[42] The doctrine of supremacy that it has developed is the clearest vindication of this new sui generis normative order.[43] It is also obvious that the member states have their own legal orders. Their existence is not dependent on the existence of other constitutions nor of the EU legal order.

Conclusion

Although the present author sees the logical merit of the position taken by the pluralists, it must be questioned whether this feat of jurisprudential effort is to be congratulated as a breakthrough that the sui generis nature of the Union legal order posed to legal scholars. It is submitted that European scholarship has been too willing to accept this very notion that the EU legal order is a sui generis one. Whilst certainly not a federal *State*, it has clearly not been refuted that the Union order is a federal *Union of States,* that have pooled their sovereignty at an international level to be governed at that level in the areas which the States have willingly forsaken their sovereign authority over. The comparative analysis of the three legal systems undertaken with a view to discerning the exact nature of the relationship between the federal EU legal order vis-à-vis that of the domestic legal systems of the Member States highlights a different view on the crucial issue of *kompetenz-kompetenz*. Whether the status quo remains, and an unlitigated conflict between the two approaches continues to exist into the future remains to be seen. But it must be recognised that the current unlitgated conflict is representative of the distinct federal nature of the EU legal order, rendering it unnecessary to conceptualise that order as a 'sui generis' one. Perhaps the time has truly come to accept the fact that the European Union, at least in a legal sense, is a federal entity.

MacCormick, "The Maastricht-Urteil: Sovereignty Now" *European Law Journal* 1 (1995): 259; Neil MacCormick, "Beyond the Sovereign State" *Modern Law Review* 56 (1993): 1; Catherine Richmond "Preserving the Identity Crisis: Autonomy, System and Sovereignty in European Law", *Law and Philosophy* 16 (1997): 377.

41 N. Walker, "Late Sovereignty in the European Union" in N Walker (ed), *Sovereignty in Transition* (Hart, 2003) 3; M. Poiares Maduro, "Contrapunctual Law Europe's Constitutional Pluralism in Action" in N Walker (ed), *Sovereignty in Transition* (Hart, 2003) 501; M. Kumm, "The Jurisprudence of Constitutional Conflict: Constitutional Supremacy in Europe before and After the Constitutional Treaty" *European Law Journal* 11 (2005): 262.

42 Case C-296/83, Parti Écologiste "Les Verts" v. European Parliament [1986] E.C.R. 1339

43 Case C-6/64 Costa v. ENEL [1964] E.C.R. 585.

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Black and White and Green All Over?
The Emergence of Irish Female Stardom in Contemporary Mainstream Cinemas

by
Ciara Barrett

Abstract

This article proposes to address issues of gender and ethnicity in performances by Irish female film stars since 2000. In *Acting Irish in Hollywood*, Ruth Barton has noted that it has been easier, historically, for Irish male actors than for females to succeed in Hollywood as film "stars". Indeed, the young Irish woman has largely been avoided both in Hollywood film narratives (as a protagonist) and by industry casting directors (as "star" material). As seen by the relative ubiquity in the press of Irish male actors like Colin Farrell, Cillian Murphy and Michael Fassbender, "Irishness" in contemporary Hollywood remains largely the province of male actor-stars. Nevertheless, since 2000, several Irish film actresses have achieved notable mainstream recognition outside of Ireland through Hollywood-made or otherwise widely-released films: Ruth Negga, Saoirse Ronan, Evanna Lynch and Dominique McElligott.

This paper examines the different ways in which, both in film and press appearances, such actresses have negotiated their Irishness, as well as the performance of Irishness, from the perspective of being female. I will highlight the ways in which more traditionally "Irish-looking" actresses have often suppressed the Irish side of their personas in the construction of their star images (building on Richard Dyer's theory of the star image/persona), while in the case of the "off-white" (borrowing a phrase from Diane Negra) actress Ruth Negga, her Irishness has rather been highlighted. This paper will show that contemporary Irish female stars in Hollywood are rapidly destabilising traditionally held views of Irishness as "white" and, more specifically, Irish femininity as domestic/maternal, or indeed, conventional at all.

Introduction

In this article, I will be interrogating the seeming incompatibility of "Irishness" as a cultural commodity with stardom on behalf of the female

using two "Irish" identified female film actors, Saoirse Ronan and Ruth Negga, as contemporary case studies. I will do this firstly by tracing the history – or significant lack-thereof – of Irish female stardom in Hollywood as an indication of these actors' departure from certain representational trends, and secondly by analysing their individual performances and instances of star representation against this established paradigm. I will suggest ultimately that Irish female stardom, as indicated by Ronan and Negga's rise to prominence internationally, is just now beginning to find embodiment onscreen and in contemporary discourses.[1]

It will be necessary first to define the terms and theories from which I shall be drawing, particularly the working definitions of "Irishness" and "stardom" relative to this qualitative analysis of performance. I will be using the word "Irish" to signify the indigenous or "home-grown" Irish actor, who regardless of ethnic origin identifies as culturally Irish by virtue of having physically grown up in Ireland. Irishness, in this case, is contingent on physical platial association, distinct from the more nebulous heritage of Irishness associated with the hyphenated identities of, for example, Irish-Americans or the Irish diaspora. Furthermore, I will be discussing contemporary Irish female star performance largely in the context of Hollywood (and to some degree non-Hollywood but nevertheless mainstream or "popular") cinema, in that contemporary film "stardom" within Anglophone societies is contingent on international recognition, market accessibility and appeal/sale-ability in a capitalist system, which is largely the province of the Hollywood-associated actor. Generally speaking, a "star" is a composite sign or matrix comprised of several interconnected signifiers, the "real person," the persona, the image, and the star-as-commodity, according to Richard Dyer's seminal theory of stardom.[2] In practice, a film star may be entrusted to open a medium- to big-budget production based on name and image recognition, a byproduct of visibility in the media. Once these terms of reference are established it will be possible to review and explore why, historically, there have been relatively few Irish female stars.

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1 I would note that I will be limiting my discussion to these actresses' film work – accepting that Negga in particular has built up an impressive resume of critically acclaimed stage roles – in that such stage work, by nature of its medium, is inherently local, or place-and-time-specific, and is not immediately reconcilable with the discussion of international stardom with which I am concerned here.

2 Richard Dyer, *Heavenly Bodies: Film Stars and Society* (London: BFI, 1986); *The Matter of Images: essays on representation* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002); *Stars*, 2nd Edition (London, BFI Publishing, 1998).

Over the last 100 years of cinema, Irishness as a particular and specific ethnicity has held considerable value on a global scale. This is evidenced by the ubiquity of Irish-themed movies and Irish-identified characters in popular Hollywood films from James Cagney as the classic Irish-American gangster in *The Public Enemy* (William Wellman, 1931) to the "Oirish" man-candy of *P.S. I Love You* (Richard LaGravenese, 2007) and *Leap Year* (Anand Tucker, 2010). As has been noted in recent discourses on Irish cinema and film stardom, it has been easier, historically, for Irish male actors than for females to succeed in Hollywood or internationally as so-called film "stars".[3] Major Irish or Irish-associated female stars are few and far between over the course of Hollywood film history, limited to Mary Pickford (1892-1972), Colleen Moore (1899-1988), Maureen O'Sullivan (1911-1998), and Maureen O'Hara (b.1920). By contrast, a partial list of Irish-identified male stars includes George Brent, Richard Harris, Peter O'Toole, Gabriel Byrne, Pierce Brosnan, Liam Neeson, Colin Farrell, Cillian Murphy, Jonathan Rhys Myers, Michael Fassbender, and Jamie Dornan. Male Irish stars like Farrell and Neeson open or are expected to open (would-be) blockbusters such as *Total Recall* (Len Wiseman, 2012) and *Non-Stop* (Jaume Collet-Serra, 2014). Meanwhile, Michael Fassbender works consistently as a second lead in blockbuster films (*X-Men: First Class* [Matthew Vaughan, 2011], *12 Years a Slave* [Steve McQueen, 2013]) and takes top billing in high-profile independent and European-arthouse movies that get considerable press in the American market (*A Dangerous Method* [David Cronenberg, 2011], *Shame* [Steve McQueen, 2011]). Significantly, regardless of whether the characters they play in such high-profile films are Irish or not, in promotional materials and appearances, their Irishness tends to be objectified towards their portrayal as positively masculine. An equivalent representational paradigm, however, does not exist for female Irish actors.

As a means towards addressing this perceptible imbalance, Ruth Barton has suggested that the Irish female star has been disadvantaged by a shift in the representational paradigm common to Hollywood cinema by which the ideal of de-ethnicised, and thus "unproblematic" whiteness in women has given way to the idealisation of "mixed-race" female beauty.[4] In his Foreward to Barton's book, Luke Gibbons proposes the theory that Irish actors' performance style – which historically has tended to eschew the close-up in negation of

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3 Ruth Barton, *Acting Irish in Hollywood: From Fitzgerald to Farrell* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2006), 224-225.
4 Ibid., 9.

the allure of the body – has almost disqualified Irish actresses from attaining Hollywood stardom which, in the case of women at least, is predicated to some degree on the acceptance of a scopophilic gaze.[5] A theoretical consensus has therefore been reached that Irishness is not fetishised as a cultural signifier in women to the same extent that Irishness in men has been employed by actors themselves, or deployed tactically through public relations, as an asset to their stardom. Indeed, the young Irish woman has largely been avoided both in Hollywood film narratives as a protagonist and by industry casting directors as "star" material. This is, of course, with the exception of the aforementioned Pickford, Moore, O'Sullivan and O'Hara. But as Gaylyn Studlar and Christopher Shannon have shown, Pickford consciously invoked her Irish heritage through colleen-esque character choices and surrounding publicity materials to complement her image as unchallengingly innocent and asexual.[6] Furthermore, Diane Negra has argued that Colleen Moore's Irishness became acceptable and even attractive for the silent star in signifying a safely a-physical – again, asexual – youthfulness in mitigation of her assocation with liberalised flapper culture.[7] Therafter, such assocations of Irish femininity were borne out (albeit with problematic flashes of subversion and inconsistencies of ethnic characterisation) in the star careers of Maureen O'Sullivan and Maureen O'Hara.[8] Overall, Irish female stardom may be seen as ultimately self-negating in its aversion to the self-conscious performance of sexuality, which at least partially accounts for the historical paucity of Irish-identified female star performers. This is seen and perpetuated by the casting typically of non-Irish female stars in high-profile "Irish" roles: for instance,

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5 Luke Gibbons, "Forward" in Barton, ibid., xviii. I am taking the theory of "to-be-looked-at-ness" inherent to the female star/image from Laura Mulvey's theorization of the gendered politics of viewing, founded in "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," reprinted *Film Theory and Criticism: Introductory Readings*, eds. Leo Braudy and Marshall Cohen (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999). It should be noted that feminist film criticism has since the 1970s expanded on – and at times diverged from – this Mulveyan apparatus theory to accommodate for a discussion of female agency, authorship and phenomenological impact, such as in the work of Tania Modleski and Gaylyn Studlar. Nevertheless, it remains a given to contemporary film and star studies that the image of woman has been constructed through the classical Hollywood style (with exception and notwithstanding certain evident strategies of subversion) as "pure image", as put by Lucy Fischer in "The Image of Woman as Image: The Optical Politics of 'Dames'," *Film Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Autumn, 1976).

6 Gaylyn Studlar, "Oh, 'Doll Divine': Mary Pickford, Masquerade and the Pedophilic Gaze" in *A Feminist Reader in Early Cinema*, eds. Jennifer M. Bean and Diane Negra (Durham and London, Duke University Press, 2002); Shannon, "The Bowery Cinderella" in *Screening Irish-America*, ed. Ruth Barton (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2009).

7 Diane Negra, *Off-White Hollyood: American Culture and Ethnic Female Stardom* (London: Routledge, 2001).

8 Barton, 2006, Op Cit; Martin McLoone, *Film, Media and Popular Culture in Ireland* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2008).

Kate Hudson (American) in *About Adam* (Gerard Sternbridge, 2000), Kelly MacDonald and Shirley Henderson (Scottish) in *Intermission* (John Crowley, 2003), and more recently Judi Dench (English) in *Philomena* (Stephen Frears, 2013). Compounding the problem, Irish film criticism has fallen short in recent years of investigating this imbalance from a critical persepective, remaining focused instead on explorations of ethnic stereotyping (the Irish-American gangster, the comedic and/or violent drunkard, and less frequently the Irish mammy) alongside a trend in Irish film theory towards the deconstruction of representations of Irish masculinity in crisis.[9]

Again, of course, in terms of raw material/data – that is, Irish female protagonists within film narratives and/or Irish female stars in the mainstream today – there is little with which Irish film critics might work. Ed Guiney, Head of Production at Element Pictures, has suggested that the scarcity of lead roles for women in indigenously made Irish films has contributed to the low rate of retention for Irish female talent in the film industry, as compared to theatre. This is exacerbated by the proximity of Ireland to Britain, which encourages young female acting talent to emigrate prior to establishing strong national profiles and consequent international reputations as "Irish stars".[10] In the meantime, Irish male actors like Colin Farrell, Cillian Murphy and Michael Fassbender remain ubiquitous onscreen and in the press. Thus, "Irishness" in contemporary Hollywood and/or the mainstream remains largely the province of male actor-stars, while explorations of female stardom and femininity are under-represented.

Nevertheless, since 2000, two indigenously Irish film actors, Saoirse Ronan and Ruth Negga, have achieved notable mainstream recognition outside of Ireland through Hollywood-made or otherwise widely-released films. And it is for this reason that I wish to explore how these actresses' rise to stardom or potential stardom (in the case of Negga) reflects changing cultural attitudes towards Irish femininity both within and without the nation itself. In the context of a nascently multi-cultural, or as Edna Longley would have it, "inter-cultural" Ireland[11], which is also crucially post-Celtic Tiger, the stability of the meaning of Irishness is now breaking down or perhaps already has

9 C.f. *Masculinity and Irish Popular Culture: Tiger's Tales*, eds. Conn Holohan and Tony Tracy (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014).
10 Interview with Ed Guiney, National Media Conference panel. Trinity College Dublin, 16 November 2013.
11 Edna Longley and Declan Kiberd, *Multi-Culturalism: The View from the Two Irelands* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2001), 10.

been broken down. This has left room for the evolution of a new concept of Irish stardom and a new understanding of Irishness as differently gendered and alternately "coloured" away from the traditionalist, masculinist concept of Irishness.

Below, I will examine the different ways in which, both in film and press appearances, these two actresses have negotiated their Irishness, as well as the performance of that Irishness, from the perspective of being female, simultaneous with their ascendancy as stars (though in somewhat different ways). I will highlight the various ways in which the more traditionally "Irish-looking" Saoirse Ronan may be seen to have suppressed the Irish side of her image in the construction of her star image-persona, whilst in the case of the "off-white" actress Ruth Negga (to borrow a phrase from cultural theorist Diane Negra)[12], her Irishness has rather been highlighted in surrounding star discourses as a means of solidifying her cultural identity (a prerequisite of stardom). In such a way, I will demonstrate how contemporary Irish female stars have the potential to destabilise traditionally held views of Irishness as "white" and, more specifically, Irish femininity as domestic and maternal, or indeed, conventional at all.

Irishness as cultural currency, or as a potential star attribute, has been established in cultural discourse and media as effectively incompatible with "femininity." That is, Irishness, in the traditionalist sense, does not belong to the female body; in another sense, it is not physically "of the female." Indeed, the composite image of Irishness upheld and developed by audiences historically has been both gendered and sexed overtly *away* from "the feminine" and the female, except where the feminine, as a gender, is contained by associations with bodily/sexual negation. It is this specifically gendered aspect of theoretical Irishness that I want to explore before going on to discuss its application in analysis of the star performances of Saoirse Ronan and Ruth Negga.

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12 Diane Negra, *Off-White Hollywood: American Culture and Ethnic Female Stardom* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001).

Bodiless Women:
The Absence of Irish Female Stars in Classical and Contemporary Mainstream Cinemas Historically

 "Irishness" as an ethnic and cultural marker can only be understood and made appreciable as a star attribute and thus commodifiable and consumable for a mass (American) market when it is gendered male. That is to say, Irishness has only been "readable" as a positive sign, a signifier of desirability, when the star-body to be looked at, and to which Irishness is being ascribed, is male. Barton and Negra have shown us that when Hollywood – and for the most part Irish – cinema has dealt with Irishness, more often than not it has also been trading on images of masculinity. Irishness, connoting a history of oppression and racial Otherness which has been overcome in the attainment of literal and metaphorical whiteness and assimilation into the middle class[13] – has thus become a self-effacing symbol of the American cultural status quo (which is capitalist, heteronormative, and patriarchal in ideology). In this context, Irishness is a "pure" ethnicity removed of the traces of racial ambivalence, and in its lack of racial ambivalence/impurity/dilution, the male Irish body has been made to seem sexually unambiguous or un-contaminated. Irish heritage, in America at least, can therefore be traced patrilinealy, not matrilinealy, and is thus perfectly embodied by and through the heterosexual, white, male. Therefore, the heterosexual, white, male body looks at itself as Irish because that ethnic Otherness is immediately re-assimilable within capitalist-heteronormative-patriarchal ideology. The specifically gendered-as-male star embodies this, and is thus acceptably desirable and commodifiable as an image or a product. In this way, as Negra writes illustratively in relation to the representation of the Irish and Irish-Americans in (American) popular culture, Irishness is thus "correlated with depictions of male centrality and ancillary femininity."[14]

It is perhaps not surprising, then, that representations of Irishness in mainstream and particularly Hollywood cinema have been de-populated up until recent years of actual Irish female bodies. They are palpably absent. As has already been noted by Guiney and Barton, this is first the fault of the

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13 This is the central argument of a recent collection of essays on Irish ethnic assimilation within America, *Screening Irish America*, ed. Ruth Barton (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2009), which builds on a theory developed by Noel Ignatiev in *How the Irish Became White* (London: Routledge, 2008).
14 Diane Negra, "Irishness, Anger and Masculinity in Recent Film and Television" in *Screening Irish-America*, ed. Ruth Barton (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2009), 280.

indigenous Irish film industry for its reluctance to cast homegrown actors as central, female protagonists in its major productions (a significant example, again as noted by Barton, being *About Adam* from 2000).[15] There have been, however, several exceptions to this rule of "absent actresses" in the last five to ten years: notably Saoirse Ronan and Ruth Negga, to whom I return as examples of Irish female stars – or actors who have the potential to *become* nominally Irish stars – if Irishness as cultural currency in Hollywood can be successfully redefined to accommodate for "the female." This entails a thorough evolution, or revolution even, of representational paradigms of Irish femininity and female sexuality first within Ireland itself and secondly outside it.

The composite image of Irish femininity both within and without Ireland is a bodiless one and thus, following Richard Dyer, devoid of sexuality. As Dyer writes, "To represent people is to represent bodies," implicit in which – particularly through the apparatus of cinema – is the representation of sexuality.[16] However, despite the obviously real fact of Irish woman/ personhood, Irish media and cinema more particularly has resisted being "peopled" with women. Over the history of Irish visual and literary culture, which has been associated predominantly with *Catholic* Irish visual and literary culture (the dominant inflection of Irishness at least in the eyes of the outside world), the Irish woman has been denied a basic, earthly embodiment, tending to be figured as a de-sexualised religious or political symbol (the Virgin Mary or Kathleen Ni Houlihan). On film, female sexuality and/or the female body tends to be contained within or restricted to domestic maternity and traditionally maternal roles (for instance the ever-pregnant Brenda Fricker of *My Left Foot* [Jim Sheridan, 1989]). Alternatively, if the sexually active female is not contained within the domestic, she is posited as in some way dangerous, disruptive to, or otherwise transgressive, within traditional Irish-Catholic society (taking, for example, the "problem" of unwed mothers, Goretti in *Hush-a-bye Baby* [Margo Harkin, 1992] and Sharon in *The Snapper* [Stephen Frears, 1993]). If not *unimaginable*, as such, the desirable (that is, sexual or sexualisable), young Irish woman has been almost (pleasurably) un*image*-able. For this reason, I would suggest, the Irish female film star – within or without Ireland – and with certain marked exceptions (such as

15 Barton, 2006, 224-225.
16 Richard Dyer, *White* (London: Routledge, 1997).

classical Hollywood stars Maureen O'Hara and Maureen O'Sullivan),[17] has been largely a non-entity. This is because the film star – and certainly and perhaps especially the female film star – is necessarily "of the body," and highly image-able, whereas the Irish woman in traditionalist and popular culture is decidedly not.

Therefore it will be interesting to see how this is negotiated in the performance and mediation of young, female Irish actors such as Saoirse Ronan and Ruth Negga, who are either – in the case of Ronan – actively being promoted in the media as rising Hollywood stars, or – in the case of Negga – poised to make the transition from Irish (and British) screen star status to potential "rising star" status in Hollywood. As will be seen, their particularly ethnically inflected images as self-declaratively Irish star-performers – Ronan as conventionally white, Negga as unconventionally "off-white" – has impacted their promotion and reception as commodifiable stars or star "packages."

Contemporary Irish Female Stars: Definitions in Black and White

Ronan, born in America to Irish parents in 1994 and raised in County Carlow, first gained international acclaim for her Oscar-nominated appearance in a supporting role in *Atonement* (Joe Wright, 2007). Since then, she has appeared in a number of similar "prestige" drama films, including *The Lovely Bones* (Peter Jackson, 2009), *Hanna* (Joe Wright, 2011) and *The Grand Budapest Hotel* (Wes Anderson, 2014), as well as starring in the teen-oriented Hollywood would-be blockbuster *The Host* (Andrew Niccol, 2013), evidencing her assumed assimilability and indeed saleability within the Hollywood star production system. Negga, on the other hand, despite having twelve years on Ronan – born in Ethiopia in 1982 to an Irish mother and Ethiopian father and thereafter raised in Dublin – has been slower to transition into big-budget international productions; unlike Ronan, she has not appeared on the American chat show circuit in promotion of her films and star image, though she has recently in Britain. Negga first rose to prominence as an Irish actor on a number of Irish television series, transitioning to Irish cinema in Neil Jordan's *Breakfast on Pluto* (2005), and to British television with *Misfits* (2010), and the Shirley Bassey biopic *Shirley* (2011). In 2012 she appeared in a leading role in the low-budget Canadian crime drama *Fury* (David Weaver),

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17 Barton, 2006.

also known as *The Samaritan*, which was released in the UK but did not pick up international distribution. Since then, she has shot scenes for major Hollywood productions *12 Years a Slave* and *World War Z* (Marc Forster, 2013), showing evidence of a building international star profile (however she has been largely cut out of both releases).[18]

For now, I want to look at how Ronan and Negga's respective "Irishness" has been employed (or not) in the mediation of their star images. Thus far, Saoirse Ronan, the more established "Hollywood star" of the two, has been engaged in a subtle process of Irish-disavowal, by which her Irishness is consistently and systematically dis-embodied or removed from her body via her own self-performance, and as channelled through promotional discourses. This is seen first in a fixation on her fluid performance of non-Irish accents, both in films and in interviews, and secondly in the fetishisation of her Irish name, which has functioned to contain her Irishness in a verbal form.

In appearances on talk shows during and since the promotion of her star vehicle *Hanna* (Joe Wright) in 2011, Ronan may be seen to be engaged in an ongoing process of simultaneous fetishisation and disavowal of her Irish ethnicity. This has manifested itself in a tendency to poke fun at the Irish (though interestingly slightly Anglicised) pronunciation of her first name as a means of acknowledging her ethnicity first, and secondly by compartmentalising the significance of that ethnicity within her name-as-sign. As a means, then, of disavowing the practical limitations of her ethnicity – which as I have shown for a female actor to be founded in a process of bodily negation – she tends to engage in a series of performances of accents, thus re-claiming her ethnicity-as-Irish as signifying a more generalized pan-whiteness – a *lack* of ethnic identification – than a commodifable attribute. This may be seen in a number of appearances on chat shows in Britain and America during her promotional tour for *Hanna*, most notably her interview with Ellen Degeneres from April 2011, in which she insists upon the pronunciation of her Irish-spelled name as "Sersha," whilst making fun of a number of common mis-pronunciations.[19] As prompted by Degeneres, she performs a series of regional American accents, as if in the same breath denying that same Irish specificity of image that her name would purport to indicate. In such a way, Saoirse Ronan's star image

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18 Overall, Negga has found most success on the stage and, in terms of screen work, on television. Most recently she appeared in three episodes of the American series Marvel's *Agents of S.H.I.E.L.D.*
19 "Saoirse Ronan (Ellen)." YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ggx0qSjnbME (retrieved 21 April 2014).

is constructed as nominally Irish, but practicably and personally it remains undefined or malleable: classically "white".

This is in keeping with the essential paradigm of Irish femininity I have reviewed above, by which physicality –a prerequisite of star performance – and traditional white "Irishness" is seen as incompatible within the female body. For Ronan, adhering to this representational paradigm, performing Irishness may be seen to detract from her image as a star to be looked at and desired. Because Ronan is white, however, her Irish ethnicity is easily manifestly erasable, once fetishised and simultaneously disaoved into the verbal/aural packages of her name and voice. Her white body, in a way, becomes a blank canvas on which any number of performed ethnicities may be inscribed and thereby signified by or channelled through her speech. In most of her film roles and in her extratextual appearances, Ronan thusly appears to be engaged in a conspicuous under-performance of her white ethnicity-as-Irish.[20]

Ruth Negga, on the other hand, may not be seen to have had the same flexibility of image and identity, precisely and ironically because her race and ethnicity are, at least on the visual outset, more ambiguous. Negga's appearance as "mixed race" is such that her Irishness is not immediately or stereotypically visually markered, and the fact that Negga speaks with an Irish accent but *looks* "black," i.e. "not Irish," in the traditionalist sense, is evidently a source of fascination for many interviewers. For this reason, she may be seen constantly re-affirming her Irishness in media appearances, and to actually declare or call herself out *as* Irish, towards the end of achieving a coherence of star image.

In a recent interview on BBC in promotion of her starring role as Shirley Bassey, Negga has declared unequivocally, "I'm Irish," as an explanation of her ethnic background and the consequent challenges of adopting the Welsh accent of her role.[21] Indeed, Negga's ethnic background is consistently interrogated in her public appearances, seemingly as a means of solidifying/identifying her problematic star image as an "off-white" Irish star: simultaneously ascribing to the cultural heritage of Irishness, but physically speaking against the bodily

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20 It should be noted that Ronan's performance in Wes Anderson's *The Grand Budapest Hotel* is most recently is exceptional, in that she speaks in her "natural" Irish accent – a directorial choice which is not within the scope of this paper, given space constraints, to analyse.

21 "Ruth Negga on BBC Breakfast 26.09.11." YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ggx0qSjnbME (retrieved 21 April 2014).

effacement which has been seen to go hand-in-hand with traditional Irish femininity. The incongruousness of Negga's visual appearance, compounded by the mismatch of her Irish-sounding voice, apparently necessitates interrogation when she performs "as herself" in a public forum.

In print interviews with Negga, the ostensible mismatch between her visual and aural image is frequently made explicit. As noted in the London Metro in September 2011, for instance, her looks are simultaneously described as "striking," being the "result of an Irish mother and Ethiopean father," thus euphemistically referring to the exoticism of her ethnic lineage, at the same time as her accent is noted as a "pronounced […] soft Irish brogue."[22] The distinction between Negga's and Ronan's various (re)presentations of Irishness, then, appears to be between Irishness-by-ascription on Negga's part, versus Irishness-in-containment on Ronan's. For Negga, the seeming incompatibility of her ethnic signifiers – visual versus aural affect – invites consideration of her (problematic) body. Meanwhile for Ronan, fetishisation of her Irish monicker serves as an outlet almost for her ethnic identification as "Irish," which might otherwise disallow focus on her physicality as a star. In this sense, Saoirse Ronan may be seen to perform against her Irish ethnicity, whereas Negga – whose body itself would seem to speak ethnicity otherwise – literally speaks for Irish-identification, but through new visual signifiers.

In one of the few scholarly articles to address this motion towards a performed redefinition of female Irishness in contemporary film and media, Charlotte McIvor has provided a useful analysis of Negga's function in *Breakfast on Pluto* as "forc[ing] the audience towards a contemporary engagement with a transnational Irish history that illuminates the history of a 'global Irish'."[23] While perhaps not done consciously on the part of casting directors in Irish cinema and television shows such as *Love/Hate*, Negga's bodily presence onscreen as a non-white Irish female nevertheless serves as a constant reminder/commentary on her national identity and indeed the unstable definition of Irish femininity. Negga's unavoidable "coloured-ness" thus requires repeated definition and explanation in media and press, while the reiteration of her Irishness over a breadth of interviews seems to amount to a

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22 Keith Watson, "Misfits actress Ruth Negga talks Robert Sheehan and the Irish accent." http://metro.co.uk/2011/09/26/msifits-actress-ruth-negga-talks-robert-sheehan-and-the-irish-accent-163619/ (retrieved 26 September 2011).
23 Charlotte McIvor, "'I'm Black an' I'm Proud': Ruth Negga, *Breakfast on Pluto*, and Invisible Irelands," *InVisible Culture*, No. 13 (Spring 2009), 22-36.

composite image of her as Irish *but-not-white*. Such reiteration also constantly draws attention back to her body, her physicality, firstly as a non-white woman, and secondly *as a woman*. Thus, for Negga, Irishness, as a component of her star image, is seen to function as a complement to her physicality as an actor – a star asset perhaps. For Ronan, meanwhile, the "truth" of her ethnicity, even as she talks about it to Ellen Degeneres, is repeatedly disavowed or denied in the physical casting-off of the signifiers of Irishness through her vocal performance and mimicry of accents commonly ascribed to other white ethnicities. It remains to be seen, however, how Negga might be further "packaged" by Hollywood, ethnically and racially, as she develops her image as an increasingly and unavoidably *visible* Irish female star.

Conclusion

In this article, I have shown how stardom on behalf of the Irish female performer was made an impossibility due to certain cultural associations of Irishness-cum-femininity with traditional whiteness, bodilylessness and asexuality, as well as a failure on behalf of the Irish film industry to promote indigenous female talent both nationally and abroad. However, as I have traced the rise to prominence of two talented film actors in the last decade, Saoirse Ronan and Ruth Negga, I have shown the visible absence of Irish femininity from popular cinema and associated media is currently being redressed. Furthermore, in light of Negga's a-typical effect / affect as Irish but "off-white", I have suggested that she poses a problem to the signifiying value of Irishness in the film texts and media in which she appears – which cannot be contained in the same way that the "problem" of Ronan's Irish ethnicity in relation to her female stardom can be disavowed or indeed performed-against. Therefore, while Ronan's trajectory as a female performer in Hollywood is unlikely to see her promoted internationally as an "Irish star", in keeping with an historical representational paradigm, Negga's Irishness must be invoked in the explication of her visually and aurally incoherent or problematic star image. In that her image's incoherence is predicated on the mismatch of her body with the established cultural significations of Irish femininity, Negga thus provides a new site of embodiment for the Irish female star.

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RoadRunners:
An Exploratory Study of an Activity Programme for Young Offenders in North Dublin

by
Nicole Byrne

Abstract

Purpose

The Children Act 2001, in a significant departure from earlier Irish juvenile justice legislation, introduces a range of community based sanctions for young offenders including a Probation (training and activity programme) Order. This study, in the context of these new developments, was concerned with a particular type of intervention for young offenders: an activity programme.

Methods

This small scale qualitative study explored a specific programme, the RoadRunners, from the perspective of eight male participants through the use of semi-structured interviews.

Results

It was found that prior to participation on the RoadRunners, the participants were disengaged from the education system and their time was characterised by boredom and offending. Participation provided the young men with the opportunity to have new experiences and learn new skills, such as teamwork. Following completion of the RoadRunners, six of the eight participants had re-engaged in education. Four had self-reported changes in their offending behavior and all reported changes in how they spent their leisure time.

Conclusions

In line with the limited literature on this topic, this research found that activities provided a medium for personal and social development. They

also provided the young people with a constructive way to spend their time; providing a diversion from offending. This simple notion of the diversion mechanism has been largely ignored in the literature to date. This research also draws attention to the need for future research into the crucial role of staff as mentors in programmes of this nature

Keywords

Children Act 2001, young offenders, physical activity.

Introduction

For almost a century in Ireland our juvenile justice system was governed by the same legislation: The Children Act 1908.[1] On the 8th of July 2001, a new Children Act was introduced which dramatically changed how young offenders are responded to in this country. Detention is now viewed as a measure of last resort and in a significant departure from earlier legislation, the Act makes provision for ten community based sanctions.[2] Included in this menu of sanctions is a Probation (training and activities programme) Order. Under part 9, section 124 (1) of the Act "a court may order that a child shall undertake and complete a programme of training or specified activities in accordance with the provisions of this section".[3] The aim of the Order is to help the young person sanctioned to learn positive social values.[4] Although this Order was introduced over ten years ago, there is no research on this type of intervention to date in Ireland. Indeed, the topic of juvenile justice is broadly under researched in Ireland.[5] According to O'Sullivan, there has been a "virtual neglect" of the topic of juvenile justice since the foundation of the Irish State.[6] More specifically, interventions and policy have been, and continue to be, introduced without a research base. It is of great concern that

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1   Ursala Kilkelly, *Youth Justice in Ireland: Tough Lives, Rough Justice* (Dublin: Department of Justice and Law Reform, 2011) [hereafter Kilkelly, *Youth Justice*].

2   Mairead Seymour, *Juvenile Justice in the Republic of Ireland* (European Society of Criminology, 2005) [hereafter Seymour, *Juvenile Justice*].

3   Government of Ireland, *Children Act 2001* (Dublin: Stationary Office, 2001).

4   Irish Youth Justice Service, *Irish Youth Justice Service Annual Plan 2010* (Dublin: Department of Justice and Law Reform, 2011).

5   Paul O'Mahony, "A Brief Overview of Juvenile Justice in Ireland" In *Children, Young People and Crime in Britain and Ireland: From Exclusion to Inclusion*, ed M. Barry et al. (Edinbourgh: Scottish Executive Research Unit, 2000).

6   Eoin O'Sullivan, "Ireland" in *Confronting Youth in Europe-Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, ed. J. Mehlbye et al. (Copenhagan: AKF Forlaget, 1998), 341.

various approaches to dealing with young offenders are being introduced in the context of a dearth of research on juvenile justice in this country.[7]

This qualitative study was interested in exploring and describing a specific intervention for young offenders: a physical activity programme. It aimed to do this from the perspective of programme participants. For the purpose of this research, following Taylor, Crow, Irvine and Nichols, physical activity programme refers to planned and regular opportunities for participation in activities including 'sport' (both indoor and outdoor), and 'physical recreation' (eg. walking, expeditions).[8] The research aimed to explore a particular physical activity programme: the RoadRunners. This programme caters for young people ranging in age from sixteen to twenty four, from a specific area of North Dublin. This area of Dublin is characterised by high unemployment rates, high crime rates and low educational attainment. The RoadRunners is twenty six weeks in duration and consists of a programme of activities including running, gardening, dance and expeditions, whereby on completion participants are awarded with the Bronze Gaisce Award.[9] The majority of participants who take part in the programme are under the supervision of the Probation Service.

This research aimed to explore what participation in this programme involves from the perspective of young people who have taken part in the RoadRunners. The research was not an evaluation of a programme nor did it aim to find out if the RoadRunners reduces recidivism, rather it is was an exploratory study of an intervention involving activities for young offenders.

Methods

Research Design

This qualitative research study adopted the perspective of interpretivism. According to Rossman and Rallis "interpretative research typically tries to

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7 Seymour, *Juvenile Justice*, 20.

8 Peter Taylor, Iain Crow, Dominic Irvine and Geoff Nichols, "Methodological Considerations in Evaluating Physical Activity Programmes for Young Offenders", *World Leisure and Recreation*, 41 (1) (1999), 11.

9 Otherwise known as the President's Award, this is Ireland's National challenge Award for young people. The Bronze Award requires the young person to complete thirteen weeks of at least one hour activity a week in the areas of community involvement, personal skills and physical recreation, alongside planning, preparing and undertaking an adventure journey (Gaisce, 2013).

understand the social world as it is (the status quo) from the perspective of individual experience, hence an interest in subjective worldviews".[10] As this research was specifically concerned with the individual experiences of participantion on the Roadrunners, this perspective was deemed most suitable.

Sampling

Purposive sampling was used for this research.[11] This type of sampling was chosen as it allowed for the specific selection of respondents who had actively participated in the programme and thus were able to share first hand their experiences. As the aim of the study was to explore and describe an intervention from the perspective of programme participants this was deemed the most suitable sampling method. This type of sampling is also well suited to small scale and in depth studies. It is not intended to be statistically representative.

Access

In line with the chosen sampling strategy, there was a strategic request for volunteers. The researcher had an existing relationship with Roadrunners staff due to a placement in the Probation Service, and these staff members were contacted and informed about the aims of the reserach and the criteria for selecting partipants. The staff made a list of Roadrunners participants who met the criteria in order of most recent graduates from the course. They then contacted potential participants for the research. This was deemed most appropriate due to data protection and the staff member's existing relationship with the programme graduates. The first ten participants on the list agreed to take part in the study and they were then provided with more in depth information sheets. Two of the ten did not attend for interview. This included a female who could not come to the interview location due to a threat of violence in the area. She was then unavailable for phone interview. The table below gives more detailed information on the participants in the research.

10 Gretchen B. Rossman and Sharon F. Rallis, *Learning in the Field: An Introduction to Qualitative Research* (London: SAGE, 2003), 46.
11 Jane Ritchie and Jane Lewis, eds *Qualitative Research: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers* (London: SAGE 2000).

Participant Information Table

Name	Gender	Age	Year of Completion
Peter	Male	18	2012
Philip	Male	18	2012
Jake	Male	18	2012
Mark	Male	18	2011
Barry	Male	18	2011
Brian	Male	19	2010
Will	Male	21	2009
Greg	Male	19	2009

Data Collection

The method of data collection used in this research was semi-structured interviews. According to Whittaker "interviews are best used for research that focuses on the knowledge, values, beliefs and attitudes of participants".[12] This research was interested in the knowledge and also the attitudes of participants, which cannot necessarily be observed and hence interviews were chosen as the most suitable method. Interviews were also chosen above other methods due to a desire to give participants a voice. This was seen as crucial as existing literature has highlighted how the voice of young offenders has been neglected and marginalised in the study of offending and interventions with offenders.[13] Interviewing participants gave them the opportunity to talk about their experience in their own words. The interviews were both semi-structured and retrospective in nature. In using semi-structured interviews, an interview schedule was developed as recommended by Whittaker.[14] Questions were created with the aim of exploring participant's experience of the Roadrunners and what the programme involved, their experience of the juvenile justice system, and of education and training. As the interviews were retrospective in nature, participants were able to reflect on their time in the Roadrunners and discuss how they had spent their time since completing the

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12 Andrew Whittaker, *Research Skills for Social Work* (London: SAGE, 2012), 37 [hereafter Whittaker, *Research Skills*].

13 Wing Hong Chui, B. Tupman and C. Farlow, "Listening to Young Adult Offenders: Views of the Effect of a Police-Probation Iniative in Reducing Crime", *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 42 (3) (2003): 269.

14 Whittaker, *Research Skills*, 96.

programme. The interviews took place in an interview room in the community job centre. This venue was chosen due to its location and accessibility. Two of the eight interviews were carried out over the phone due to a threat of violence for these participants in an area near the interview location. With the permission of participants, interviews were taped and then transcribed.

Data Analysis

The data was analysed using qualitative thematic analysis. Qualitative thematic analysis is "a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data".[15] The first three transcripts were reviewed for emerging themes and then coding categories were created. The remaining transcripts were then reviewed according to criteria in the coding categories. This process was done manually, using a colour coding system. The codes were then grouped according to category.

Ethical Considerations

Approval for this research was granted by the Trinity College Research Ethical Approval Committee on the 1st of October 2012. Each participant in the research was provided with, and signed, an information sheet and a consent form. The content of these forms was also explained verbally to participants prior to interview, to cater for low literacy levels. The participants taking part in this research had been involved in illegal activities in the past and may have also been involved in criminal activities at the time of research. The bounds and limits of confidentiality were explained prior to, and throughout the research process. In terms of anonymity, when writing up the research, pseudonyms were used for all participants and the name of the programme was changed.

Limitations

Some limitations of this study should be noted. Firstly, although the majority of RoadRunners programme participants from 2009 to 2012 were male, the programme does cater for young people of either gender. Unfortunately, there were no female participants in this research. Secondly, it is important to note that all participants in this research volunteered to participate in interviews

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15 Ibid.

and also completed the RoadRunners programme. This may have had an impact on the findings. This is a point that has been highlighted by academics writing on this topic.[16]

It is also important to note that with retrospective interviewing "memory is fallible", and the researcher must keep this in mind."[17]

Finally, this research relates to a specific programme or intervention at a particular point in time and hence is not generalisable.

Results

This part of the paper contains an analysis drawing on eight semi-structured interviews with participants on the Roadrunners programme. It is divided into three sections: 'Paths into the Roadrunners', 'Experience of what the Roadrunners Involves' and 'Experience Post Roadrunners'. Each section contains a number of themes which are discussed in more detail below.

Paths into the RoadRunners

Three core themes emerged from interviews in relation to these eight young men's paths into the Roadrunners. The first involves engagement with the juvenile justice system. The second theme involes a lack of engagement with the eductaion system. The third theme 'doing nothin' applies to how the young men spent their time prior to participating on the programme.

All eight participants interviewed had contact with An Garda Síochana, Young Person's Probation (YPP), and the courts or juvenile detention centres prior to their involvement with the RoadRunners. Some, such as Brian, often came to the attention of the Gardaí:

> *I'd been getting arrested; getting caught with things… prescription pills. (Brian)*

Other participants had more extensive involvement with the juvenile justice system:

> *Well I first got locked up in 2006 when I was fourteen, I got put in custody for two or three weeks, I got out then and about two months later I got two*

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16 Andy Smith and Ivan Waddington," Using Sport in the Community Schemes to Tackle Crime and Drug Use Among Young People: Some Policy Issues and Problems", *European Physical Education Review* 10 (3) (2004). [hereafter Smith and Waddington, *Sport in the Community*].
17 Roger Sapsford and Victor Jupe, *Data Collection and Analysis* (London: SAGE, 2006).

> *years when I was fourteen, so I stayed in then 'til I was sixteen in (named detention centre) and then when I was sixteen I went em to (named place of detention.... (Will)*

Prior to their involvement with the RoadRunners, seven of the eight participants were not attending either education or training. The educational qualifications of the participants were limited. Half had left school before sitting their Junior Certificate Exam. Of the four who had sat their Junior Certificate, one had done so in a detention centre. The remaining three left school immediately after the exam. Two of the participants had attended another course after leaving school but were then excluded. Mark was the exception; he was attending a FÁS course before the RoadRunners and got leave to attend the programme. This lack of engagement in education or training meant that these young men had a lot of free time.

Before participating in the RoadRunners, all participants reflected on how they spent this free time 'hanging around' (Greg, Pete), 'gambling' (Will) or 'doing nothin'' (Brian, Philip). Barry smoked cannabis in his spare time. A number of the participants also spoke about how they caused trouble or came to the attention of the Gardaí:

> *....sitting around with the boys on the block just wasting my time doing nothin', getting chased by the gardas or annoying other people or whatever, you know what I mean, nothing good anyway. (Brian)*

Hence, engagement with the juvenile justice system, a lack of engagement with education and leisure time characterised by doing nothing was the norm for these eight young men prior to participating in the RoadRunners.

Experience of the RoadRunners

In discussing what the Roadrunners involved, a number of themes emerged. These include new experiences, constructive use of time, teamwork, the role of staff and the difference between attending YPP and the Roadrunners.

A consistent theme that emerged from the interviews was that as part of the programme participants had the opportunity to take part in activities they had never tried before, which often led to the development of new skills;

> *I think I learnt communicating and me leadership because eh everyone who wasn't working I was getting them working and Mary was even saying I was a big influence on everybody there. (Brian)*

Alongside the pleasure of trying new activities, another theme which emerged concerned time and the constructive use of time which the programme enabled. Taking part in the RoadRunners provided these young men with a constructive way to spend their time. This quote from Barry illustrates this point:

> *You can't roll a joint in front of Mary now can you! (laughs). I'm only messing, but it's just 'cos you're getting out you're doing things you're doing stuff, it's more like you're not sitting around and if you're sitting around you're bored and if you're bored then that's when it happens. (Barry)*

Another theme that emerged in relation to what the RoadRunners programme involved was teamwork. Four of the participants mentioned a sense of team or teamwork as an important aspect of the programme:

> *'Cos everyone works as a team that's like what makes it so good. There's no discriminating or anything. (Mark)*

The participants, both as part of a team and individually, received support on the programme and another important theme arising from the interviews was the supportive role played by the staff. All eight participants spoke positively about the RoadRunners staff. According to Barry:

> *They were sound they were, you could talk to them whenever you wanted to talk to them, you could tell them anything, anything you wanted to tell them and they'd understand. (Barry)*

Participants also liked the high expectations the staff had of them and the personal touches the staff used in communicating with them:

> *You can't get any better than them two, they'll remind you that it's on and all with little smiley faces…if they don't text you they ring you and if you're not in they want an explanation…I liked it (Will)*

Indeed, four of the participants when asked what made their experience of the programme so positive stated that it was the staff.

Alongside the participant's discussion of staff, an unexpected theme which emerged from this research was the difference between the RoadRunners programme and Young Person's Probation (YPP). Emerging consistently

from the findings was the notion that there was a difference between attending YPP and attending the RoadRunners. The first difference that was highlighted by participants was that the RoadRunners programme was more intensive and also involved 'getting out and doing things' (Greg). Another difference involved talking with a Probation Officer in a formal setting as opposed to taking part in the programme in a more informal environment. A number of participants expressed a preference for the RoadRunners over more traditional forms of probation. Finally, the fact that the Roadrunners staff were not acting in the role of Probation Officers was important to some of the particiapants:

> I don't see Rachel as a Probation Officer, I see Rachel more like she bleedin' works in the jobs centre, Mary and Rachel, I don't class them as probation (Will).

This section has discussed these eight young men's experience of what the RoadRunners programme involves. The themes which emerged were new experiences, constructive use of time, teamwork, staff, and the differences between YPP and the RoadRunners.

Post-RoadRunners Experiences

Considering the participants experiences after completing the Roadrunners, four themes emerged: a sense of acheivement upon completing the course, engagement in training, differences in how leisure time was spent and decresased engagement with the juvenile justice system.

On completing the RoadRunners programme, the participants were awarded certificates of completion, the Bronze Gaisce Award and the Fetac Level Three Award in Health and Fitness. As part of the programme, the participants also took part in a five mile fun run in aid of an Irish homeless charity. Mark was especially proud of his achievement in the run:

> We did the marathon thing; I actually came tenth out of about 5,000. Yeah ask Mary, she has the thing out there the award and all, so I kinda represented, I did the best in the jogging, no brag! (Mark)

The above quote illustrates how participation in the RoadRunners enabled these young men to be acknowledged for their achievements.

Following their completion of the RoadRunners, six of the eight participants continued on to further training or education. Greg progressed to a degree

course in outdoor pursuits. Brian pursued a catering course before gaining employment as a chef:

> *I went to (training centre) and now I'm a chef, I was working in a Mexican restaurant and now I'm working in the (named restaurant) in town, top of the range restaurant. Mary got me into (training centre) when I finished the RoadRunners... (Brian)*

Hence, after participating in the programme, most of these young men continued to engage in constructive activities during the week. They also discussed a change in how they spent their leisure time. For two participants this involved caring for others. For example, Philip's uncle is paralysed from the waist down and Philip spends some of his free time caring for him:

> *My free time now I get me uncle out of bed, I go on the stroll with him like 'cos he can't go anywhere so I get him up and around to my aunties or something with him. (Philip)*

As mentioned earlier, a number of the participants spent their time prior to participation in the programme 'up to no good' (Philip) and 'getting chased by the gardas' (Brian). However, it emerged in four of the interviews that there were self-reported changes in attitudes towards offending or indeed offending behaviour following participation in the RoadRunners. Will stated that taking part in the RoadRunners helped him realise that he does not want to be imprisoned again:

> *It's just made me, I don't want to be locked up, there's no point in me being locked up, I'm just missing out on everything…(Will)*

Jake also acknowledged that his attitude towards offending has changed:

> *Suppose now…back then I would have been getting into trouble…now I'm not know what I mean…There's just no need to be getting into trouble... (Jake)*

This final section has illustrated how post-RoadRunners, the participants were proud of their involvement and achievemenst; six of the eight young men interviewed participated in further training after the programme; there were reported changes in how they spend their leisure time and four participants self-reported changes in their attitudes towards offending.

Discussion

As previously stated, literature in the area of activity programmes and young offenders is limited and there is a lack of consensus among academics and evaluators on activity based programmes. Some academics list perceived benefits of participation including increased fitness, reductions in offending behavior and increased self-confidence,[18] whereas others are more critical of the links between sport or leisure and offending. [19]

This section relates the findings of this authors research to some of the key findings of other researchers in the area and to existing evaluations of activity programmes.[20] This author's research was not evaluative but rather was interested in what participation in an activity programme involved for eight young people. Hence three elements that were most significant in this research, and that have been discussed to varying degrees in the limited academic literature on this topic, are considered. These are the ideas of activity as a medium for personal and social development; the notion of the diversion mechanism and the role of staff as mentors.

Activity as a Medium for Personal and Social Development

This section focuses on activity as a medium for personal and social development. According to Utting, in his research on sports and constructive leisure activities, it is very difficult to argue that the activities themselves on programmes for young offenders have a generalisable influence on criminality.[21] According to Utting, simply introducing young people to sport or adventure activities is unlikely to reduce criminality and hence the role of activity is devalued to some extent.[22]

Similarly, the Fairbridge programme in the United Kingdome aims to "develop young people's personal and social skills and build their

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18   Relevant literature includes Andrew Miles, *The Academy : A Report on Outcomes for Participants (June 2006-June 2008)* (ESRC Centre for Research on socio-cultural change, University of Manchester 41, 2008) [hereafter Miles, *The Academy*] and Nichols, "Crime and Punishment and Sports Development," *Leisure Studies* 23 (2) (2004): 178 [hereafter Nichols, *Crime and Punishment*].
19   See Smith and Waddington, *Sports in the Community* and D. Utting, *Reducing Criminality Among Young People: A Sample of Relevant Programmes in the United Kingdom* (Directorate Home Office London, 1996) [hereafter Utting, *Reducing Criminality*].
20   This includes evaluations of the Fairbridge, Summit and Dance United Programmes in the United Kingdom.
21   Utting, *Reducing Criminality.*
22   Ibid., 64.

confidence". [23] In Fairbridge, the activities themselves are used as a medium "to help participants learn about themselves".[24] In other words, the outdoor sports activities are used as a means to an end. One of the products of this for participants on Fairbridge is increased self-esteem.

This is also echoed in the findings of the Dance United Evaluation report which found consistent references from participants to the way "completing the programme and managing to cope with the pressure of performance has boosted their confidence".[25] However, unlike the Fairbridge study, Miles' research found that the activity itself, dance, and the discipline associated with it was important in achieving this.

Although this author's research did not aim to evaluate the effectiveness of activity in reducing criminality, similar to Utting, it was found that even though the RoadRunners consisted of physical activities, these were not the most significant aspects of the programme. However, this is not to downplay the role of activity. Rather, similar to findings in other literature, this research found that the activities provided a vehicle for other outcomes, in particular personal and social development. An example of this is Brian's reported developments in his communication and leadership skills.

Similar to the Fairbridge study, participants in this author's research reported that participation in the RoadRunners gave them increased self-confidence. What is more, it was often the fact that activities were new and different that was significant for boosting participant's confidence.

To summarise, existing literature in this field often aims to discover if participation in activity and constructive leisure can be linked to decreased criminality.[26] However, this research found that what activity actually does is provide a medium for personal and social development. Following Astbury et al., it is argued here that this is very significant as increases in personal and social skills in turn can lead to "long-term behavioural improvements".[27]

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23   Rowan Astbury, Barry Knight and Geoff Nichols, "The Contribution of Sports Related Interventions to the Long-Term Development of Disaffected Youth: An Evaluation of the Fairbridge Programme", *Journal of Park and Recreation Administration*, 23 (3) (2005): 84 [hereafter Astbury et al., *Fairbridge*].

24   Ibid.

25   Miles, *The Academy*.

26   Utting, *Reducing Criminality*.

27   Astbury et al., *Fairbridge*, 82.

The Diversion Mechanism

Considering the topic of activity further, this section focuses on the concept of the diversion mechanism. Nichols, writing on the Summit programme, mentions the idea of diversion and states that "while the participant is doing the programme they cannot at the same time be offending. This can be extended to a diversion from boredom, a regular activity to look forward to, providing a structure to the week or day".[28] In his research, Nichols examined evidence for what he called the "simple diversion mechanism" and found that such evidence was limited due to the short term nature of the programme and the lack of long-term participation in sport.[29]

This author's research found that what the activities of running, gardening and dance actually provided, alongside a vehicle for personal and social development, was a constructive way for the young men interviewed to spend their time during the week. Their participation on the programme alleviated boredom. What is more, the results section of this paper has outlined how the young men were engaged in offending behavior and disengaged from the education system prior to their involvement in the RoadRunners. Their free time was characterised by boredom and 'hanging around' (Greg, Pete). The RoadRunners provided them with a reason to get out of bed in the morning (Paul). The programme appeared to provide a diversion from boredom, a point which was mentioned either directly or indirectly by all participants. Unlike Summit, the Roadrunners programme was quite long-term in nature at twenty-six weeks duration. Crucially, after completing the Roadrunners, participants self-reported changes they had made to their lifestyles, for example re-engagement in education and decreased involvement in offending behavior.

This notion of the diversion mechanism is very simple, it appears to be at play in the RoadRunners, yet it is something that has not been given enough attention in the literature to date.

Staff as Mentors

This final section of the discussion focuses on the role of staff as mentors

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28 Nichols, *Crime and Punishment.*
29 Ibid., 179.

in juvenile justice interventions. Research by Nichols[30] and Taylor et al.[31] has stressed the importance of the mentor role of programme staff. Existing literature has also highlighted the most significant characteristics of staff on activity based programmes.

Taylor et al. found that participants in their research stressed the importance of having activity programmes delivered by agencies outside the Probation Service.[32] Similarly, on the Summit programme, staff members were sports leaders and participants were referred through the Youth Offending Teams. Both Youth Offending Team staff and sports leaders in this study felt that the Summit staff members were not seen as part of a system, as part of the Youth Offending Team, or as a teacher, and this was a benefit to the programme.[33] However, it was also noted that there were some disadvantages to this as sports leaders were not specially trained to work with young offenders. [34]

The literature reviewed also stresses the importance of staff going above and beyond the role of facilitators and providing other forms of support, including support after the programme is completed. For example, in the Academy, "for some younger participants, the presence of older female figures to give advice on turbulent social issues beyond the Academy was one of the most striking aspects."[35]

Finally, researchers on the Fairbridge programme found that the most important factor in contributing to behavioral change in programme participants was the characteristics of the staff.[36] Again, the activities themselves were not the most important aspect but rather provided a catalyst for developing a strong mentor relationship with the staff.[37]

In this author's research, staff also appeared to play a crucial mentor role. Indeed, four participants mentioned staff as the most important element of the RoadRunners programme. This research found that staff played a role in ensuring attendance, offering encouragement to participants, and allowing

30 Ibid.

31 Peter Taylor, Iain Crow, Dominic Irvine and Geoff Nichols, *Demanding Physical Activity Programmes for Offenders Under Probation Supervision* (London: Great Britain: Home Office, 1999).

32 Ibid.

33 Nichols, *Crime and Punishment.*

34 Ibid., 190.

35 Miles, *The Academy*, 35.

36 Astbury et al., *Fairbridge*, 97.

37 Ibid., 95.

them to feel listened to.

Participants made it clear that the RoadRunners staff members were regarded as separate from the Probation Service; this is despite the fact that one of the programme organisers was in fact a Probation Officer. Similar to findings by Taylor at al. and Nichols, the notion that the RoadRunners staff were outside the main juvenile justice system appeared to be very important for participants.

Hence, an important aspect of activity programmes appears to be that staff members are viewed by participants as someway separate to the more general juvenile justice system. However, simultaneously it is important for staff to have skills and knowledge in relation to offending.

Literature reviewed highlighted the importance of staff going above and beyond the role of facilitator. This authors research also found that a number of the participants continued to link in with Mary from the jobs centre after the Roadrunners programme and continued to receive support.

To summarise, both this research and the existing literature has found that staff play a crucial role in activity programmes for young offenders. They are viewed as mentors and are particularly effective as supportive figures when their role extends beyond the programme. The role of staff, although given some attention in the literature, could be researched more and this research would be particularly relevant to social workers as the main employees working in the Probation Service and other agencies which deliver programmes for young offenders.

This section has discussed three central ideas in relation to activity programmes for young offenders, activity as a medium for personal and social development, the notion of the diversion mechanism and the importance of the mentor role played by programme staff. It is argued here that the simple notion of the diversion mechanism has not been given enough attention in the literature to date. Similarly, according to the participants in this research, the Roadrunners staff play a crucial role on the programme, and more attention needs to be given in the literature to the mentor role of staff on programmes of this nature.

Conclusion

The field of juvenile justice is under-researched in Ireland. [38] This research aimed to begin to fill this gap in the literature by focusing on a particular type of community based intervention for young offenders in the context of the Children Act 2001: a programme of physical activities. This is a topic that has been completely ignored in the research in Ireland to date. Existing research from our closest neighbour, the United Kingdom, shows no clear consensus in relation to activity, in particular physical activity and links to offending. Some commentators argue that there are both individual benefits such as increased self-esteem, and links to crime reduction from participation on such programmes.[39] Other authors are more critical.[40]

This research aimed to explore what participation in the RoadRunners involved from the perspective of programme participants. Before participating in the RoadRunners all of the young men interviewed had some involvement in the juvenile justice system. Seven of the eight participants were disengaged from the education system. Their time was characterised by boredom and offending.

The research found that participation on the RoadRunners was a positive experience for all interviewed. The activities provided them with new experiences and the chance to develop new skills, including teamwork; the programme also provided the young men with a constructive way to spend their time during the week. Staff played a crucial role on the programme and both the staff members and the RoadRunners itself were viewed as distinct from Young Person's Probation.

After completing the RoadRunners, six of the eight participants re-engaged with the education system and four of the participants self-reported changes in attitudes towards offending and their offending behaviour. Participants also reported changes in how they spent their leisure time.

In line with the work of Miles[41] and Astbury et. al[42], this research found that

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38 Kilkelly, Youth *Justice.*
39 Miles, *The Academy*; Nichols, *Crime and Punishment.*
40 Smith and Waddington, *Sports in the Community*; T. Crabbe, "A Sporting Chance? Using Sport to Tackle Drug Use and Crime", *Drugs Education Prevention and Policy* 7(4) (2000).
41 Miles, *The Academy.*
42 Astbury et al., *Fairbridge.*

the activities on the RoadRunners provided participants with a medium for personal and social development. The activities also provided what Nichols has termed a 'diversion mechanism'.[43] The RoadRunners provided a diversion from boredom and behaviour associated with it such as offending. This notion of the diversion mechanism has not been given significant attention in the literature to date. This research found that the RoadRunners staff acted as mentors for participants, and importantly were viewed as separate to the juvenile justice system. The mentor role of staff in juvenile justice interventions needs to be addressed in greater detail in future research, to give both Probation Officers and social workers who intervene with young offenders and young people at risk a greater insight into how staff can best provide valuable support.

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43   Nichols, *Crime and Punishment.*

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Visions of the Future:
Dream narratology in (Proto-)Science Fiction

by
Jim Clarke

Abstract

Dream narration has a lengthy history in the Western literary tradition, functioning as the earliest iteration of the frame story. Dream narratives can be found in the Bible, and in Greek and Latin classical literature, but perhaps reached a zenith during the Medieval period, when dream visions became a central narratological strategy in theological texts and secular romances alike. Deriving from this Medieval tradition, early speculative literature utilises the dream narrative to construct and legitimise literary speculations about the future. Futurological dream narratives are thus mediated and undermined by the distancing mechanism of dreaming. Yet paradoxically, they are also legitimated by Christian traditions of belief in predictive dreaming and divine visitation through dreams which were not deconstructed until firstly the Age of Enlightenment and more fully following the advent of Freudian psychoanalysis. In a further subversion, these traditions were often challenged and questioned by early Science Fiction, even as it adopted the legitimating form of Christian dream visions.

My paper intends to examine how early SF exemplified this usage of dream narration for centuries after the Medieval dream poem tradition had waned. I hope to demonstrate that the mechanism of dream narrative within science fiction was not eradicated by the advent of seventeenth century 'Protestant' rationalism, as has been argued by SF historian and scholar Adam Roberts, but instead has persisted in a tradition that encompasses the work of H.G. Wells, Olaf Stapledon and other modern authors.

Keywords

Science Fiction (hereafter SF) has long been considered the literary genre which tacks closest to rationality. Despite its clear roots in fantastical literature, notably the Gothic and the earlier Scientific Romance, attempts to define SF or to establish an originating point for the genre have habitually sought to relate its emergence to the science from which its name derives. While the birthdate of SF remains hotly contested, with many critics, such as Brian Aldiss, espousing Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* as the point of origin; others Voltaire or Edgar Allan Poe; and some dating it as far back as the Greeks or even the Gilgamesh epic; a consensus has arisen that SF's origins relate primarily to its close connection with rationalism and the emergence of science. Those critics for whom SF as a literary genre of ideas replicates the scientific method of speculative exploration and analysis, have latterly followed SF historian Adam Roberts in pinpointing the liminal border between the Renaissance and the Enlightenment as the moment when Protestant 'rational' SF sundered from Catholic 'magical' fantasy.

This is problematic for two reasons. Primarily, it enforces an originating moment rather than an ur-text, and Roberts proposes the death of the proto-rationalist Giordano Bruno at the hands of the Inquisition in 1600[1] as the moment when Catholic hegemony rejected the developments of early natural science by opposing the Copernican view of the Cosmos and thereby condemned Catholicism to a retrograde future in which scientific development would be viewed as a threat to be countered or suppressed. However, as the Brunonian scholar Frances Yates has extensively demonstrated[2], Bruno's own philosophy drew heavily upon the mystical tradition of the magical Hermetic tradition. While his derived conclusion from Copernicus - that there may be a myriad of planets with uncountable proliferation of intelligent life - is undoubtedly science fictional, Bruno's conclusion was informed more by arcane and esoteric traditions of magic than by a proto-rationality which could be considered in any way scientific.

Additionally, Roberts's introduction of a religious component to SF's origins generate an uneasy dichotomy which allies Protestantism with rationality against Catholicism and 'magical' thinking.[3] This unnecessarily sectarian approach to uncovering SF's origins ignores the less rational elements in many forms of Protestantism no less than it evades the contributions made

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1 Adam Roberts, *The History of Science Fiction*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006), 36.
2 Frances Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*, (London: Routledge, 2002).
3 Roberts, *History,* 3.

by Catholicism to the history of rational thought and science in particular. The aim of this paper is to blur that demarcation line. Furthermore, since this limiting definition cuts SF off from many of its founding impetuses, I intend to correct that by proposing a significant influence of Catholic medieval dream poetry, and its antecedents in the Bible and Latin literature, upon the earliest SF and upon a tradition of visionary SF which continued into the twentieth century.

Whatever date one chooses for the birth of SF, it is clear that the motif of exploring future existence is a key component of the genre. If we extend the conceit of science to SF, then it becomes a form of literary thought experiment, in which authors explore the consequences of various possible futures. The SF critic Darko Suvin borrowed from Bertolt Brecht the concept of the novum, which in SF terms denotes the singularity which affects the change from our present reality to the created reality of the SF universe, thereby permitting the literary experiment to take place. Common nova in SF include interplanetary travel, robots, alien interactions and time travel.

To travel in time to the past in a literary sense is not really to travel in an SF sense, however. Since Walter Scott, we have defined the genre of the historical novel which trades in reconstructed literary depictions of previous eras. It is the novum of travel forward into the future that marks achronological texts as potential SF. Nova do exist within historical fiction, primarily in the form of Jonbar points, hinges in time where the author diverts from recorded history. Such speculative alt-histories are generally considered science fictional, in that they adhere to the conceit of SF as literary experiment. An examination of such texts, including Kingsley Amis's *The Alteration* or Keith Roberts's *Pavane,* appear to endorse Adam Roberts's understanding of Catholicism as a retrograde, anti-scientific social force. By seeking to rewrite history by erasing the Reformation, they unwrite the Enlightenment and plunge the world into a regressive, unscientific age, dominated by the Vatican. Yet it is circular logic to suggest that SF originates from the Enlightenment simply because some SF texts function as anti-Catholic literature. By considering the more common form of achronological SF, which trades in depictions of or travel to the future, one seminal element of SF can be uncovered in the mystical dream literature of the Catholic Middle Ages.

Visions of the future predate SF no matter how early a date one chooses for the

genre's creation. The practice of oneiromancy, or dream interpretation, as well as examples of prophetic dreaming can be found in the Bible and the literature of the ancient Middle East, and these latter have proved indirectly influential over the development of futurological speculation in SF and how it has been narratologically constructed. According to Biblical scholar Robert Gnuse, "In the ancient Near East, dreams were seen as a mode of revelation by which the gods spoke to kings and priests, and for common folk dreams symbolically foretold the future when properly interpreted with the aid of dream books or professional interpreters."[4] Gnuse describes three forms of ancient dream: auditory message dreams which contain direct verbal messages from a deity; symbolic message dreams from deities which require interpretation; and 'psychological status dreams' which also require interpretation (this latter was the day-to-day oneiromancy, where commoners would consult dream interpreters about the meaning of their dreams). The former two forms of dream tended to be experienced by important people. The Greeks added a variant of the auditory message dream – the Speaking Dream Image, in which the deity appears in a dream and speaks their message.

As well as the dreams of Joseph and the Egyptians in Genesis, Nebuchadnezzar's dreams in the Book of Daniel, and dreams by Jacob, Solomon and others, Jean-Marie Husser identifies a broader dream tradition in the region and era of the Bible, within the literatures of Mesopotamia, the Hatti, Ancient Egypt and Syro-Phoenicia, leading into the Western tradition via dream narratives contained in early Homeric literature.[5] Husser notes that dreams in these traditions perform two narratological purposes – either they prophecy forthcoming action or else they form a diptych which hinges on the moment of awakening, after which the dreamer attempts to emulate or copy the events of the dream. Such narratological strategies are distinct from what we may think of as more typical Biblical-era dream scenarios which are often constructed to permit communication from or discourse with divinities. The most influential of all Biblical dreams is obviously the *Revelation of Saint John*, which contained a prophetic symbolic vision of the end of the world that shaped Christian and Western thinking about the future of mankind for centuries and has been no small influence upon the lengthy tradition of millennialist and post-apocalyptic literature, much of which is SF in part or

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4 Robert Gnuse, "Dreams in the Bible", *The Bible Today*, Vol. 49, no. 4, July 2011, 215.

5 Jean-Marie Husser, *Dream and Dream Narratives in the Biblical World*, (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press,, 1999), 103.

in whole.

Latin literature, drawing from the Homeric style, developed a literary tradition of dreams also. These must be distinguished, just as they must be in the Hellenic context, from acts of oneiromancy, wherein priestly figures, such as the sibyls or the oracles, sought to prophecy the future by interpreting dreams. An interesting development of the dream narrative in the Latin era is its sundering from prophecy and oneiromancy or any discussion of deities. One of the most influential Latin dream texts was the *Somnium Scipionis*, which not only influenced medieval dream poetry by way of Macrobius's fifth century commentary, but in its detailed depiction of cosmology as it was then understood, can be seen as a precursor to Kepler's *Somnium*, or even later SF such as Olaf Stapledon's *Star Maker*. Scipio's development of this narrative form was primarily cosmological, since the removal of the body from earthly confines facilitated a narratological perspective which permitted consideration of Earth's place in the (then Ptolemaic) universe.

Scipio dreams of his adoptive grandfather, the Punic War hero, who takes him out of his body and above the Earth, where he has a vision of the spheres of the cosmos and the geography of the Earth. In this sense, Scipio's *Somnium* functions as a repository for contemporary cosmological science. When Macrobius came to gloss this text,[6] he categorised dreams into five types, a construction which remained current into the early modern era. The *insomnium* was a nightmare, perhaps inspired by evil spirits. The *phantasma* was a vision of chaos. The *oraculum* was, drawing on the Biblical and classical precedents, a direct communication from the divine. The *somnium* itself was an enigmatic dream, often requiring its symbols to be interpreted to be understood. The final category is the *visio*, which is a straightforward prophecy of the future. Macrobius's anatomical understanding of dreaming helped shape the narratological structure of texts like Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, which in turn was to influence the development of the medieval dream poem. As A.C. Spearing notes, "medieval writers of dream-poems were conscious of writing in an ancient tradition, going back to Scriptural and Classical sources, to which they felt a need to establish the relationship of their own poetic visions."[7]

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6 Ambrosius Aurelius Theodosius Macrobius, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*, intr. and trans. William Harris Stahl, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990.)

7 A.C. Spearing, *Medieval Dream-Poetry*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 4.

In the second half of the fourteenth century, dreaming frameworks became a central narratological strategy in French and English theological texts and secular romances alike. There is no single or obvious reason for why this development occurred, and critics have speculated about the disorientating effects of dreams coinciding with particular historical difficulties of the era extensively, but to no clear conclusion. Nevertheless, one can see from the opening of Dante's *Inferno*, to the French *chansons* and *dits,* to the poetry of Chaucer, Langland, Gower and the *Pearl* poet, evidence of this clear trend toward framing narratives within dreams. Spearing rightly identifies the *Roman de la Rose* as the most influential of medieval dream poems, and its frame narrative, which commences with an invocation of Macrobius endorsing the 'truth' inherent in dreaming, is one that is emulated by most of the later poets.

These dream poems had such a coherent set of conventions that critics like George Kane have identified them as a separate literary genre[8] (Kane 1965, 11). Often the dreamer is located in a wooded glade in springtime, or is suffering insomnia in bed. They cross the liminal border into dream, and may encounter a spiritual guide, such as Dante's Virgil or the *Pearl* poet's daughter, who escorts them through their vision. They may witness Hell or Heaven or both. When they return and awaken, they are changed spiritually by the experience and drawn to interpret it and record it. These conventions overlap with many of the attributes of the phenomenon of near-death experience, and Susan Gunn has examined the parallels between *Pearl* and modern Near-death Experience (NDE)[9]. However, these conventions have not only informed science but also helped to shape the development of SF narrative. This is especially apparent in the visions of other worlds depicted within medieval dream poems. Within the dream-state, it is not possible to assert that a vision of Hell or Heaven takes place in the 'present' of the dreamer. In fact, such visions take place in a demonstrably different timeframe. The daughter-guide in *Pearl* is depicted as a grown woman, yet when she died, she was a two year-old child. Such visions of the afterlife in Medieval dream poetry, in other words, can be read also as visions of possible futures.

In his *History of Science Fiction*, Adam Roberts pinpoints the birth of the genre as the moment that Giordano Bruno was put to death for heresy in

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8 George Kane, *The Autobiographical Fallacy in Chaucer and Langland Studies,* (London: Chambers Memorial Lecture, 1965), 11.
9 Susan Gunn, "Pearl: Medieval Dream Vision and Modern Near-Death Experience," *Journal of Religion and Psychical Research*, (July 1995, Vol. 18, Issue 3), 132-140.

1600 by the Roman Inquisition for promoting the Copernican model of the universe and proposing an infinite number of worlds inhabited by sapient beings. Bruno's theorising of other worlds is fundamental to Roberts's notion of what SF is about. In terms of literature, Roberts follows Carl Sagan and Isaac Asimov in anointing Johannes Kepler's *Somnium* as the first SF text, though this in itself is problematic since Kepler's text was scientific research masquerading as adventure fiction so as to evade the censorious attentions of Church authorities. Roberts identifies Kepler's *Somnium* as a "mobile Protestant *voyage extraordinaire"* in contrast to "static, Catholic" utopias, which originated a century earlier with Sir Thomas More.[10]

Leaving aside the debate as to whether utopia is inherently static – contemporary critics of utopia such as Ernst Bloch, Fredric Jameson and Tom Moylan would suggest otherwise - evidently Kepler's text owes much in terms of narratological structure to the Catholic medieval dream poem which in turn derived that structure from Macrobian *somnium.* The structure of a dream encompassing an extraterrestrial vision, rooted in scientific observation, extends back, via Chaucer's *House of Fame,* to Macrobius and Scipio. An additional complication arises out of Roberts's binary opposition between utopia and *voyage extraordinaire.* In many proto-SF texts, such as Gabriel de Foigny's *La Terre Australe Connue* (1676), an extraordinary voyage concludes with a description of a utopia (or dystopia). The defining narratological change in the early modern era is not the emergence of rational science or the scientific method so much as the dawn of the imperial age, which generated sufficient reports and travellers' tales of new lands to inspire the new literary genre of the *voyage extraordinaire.*

Kepler's text does avoid utopia, insofar that his purpose is more to describe the moon scientifically rather than to fictionalise a utopian society, and in the sense that it involves an extraterrestrial journey, *Somnium* could feasibly be considered a *voyage extraordinaire* with SF sensibilities. Narratologically, the text features two dreams one nested inside the other, both drawing on the medieval poetic tradition. The opening frame is that of Kepler himself dreaming. Within his *somnium,* his hero Duracotus is also put to sleep with opiates in order to survive the transit to Levania, or the moon. These two crossings of the dream threshold perform very different functions. Duracotus is sedated so as to survive the perils of sudden acceleration and breathing in a

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10 Roberts, *History,* 54.

limited atmosphere. While Kepler could not entirely comprehend the nature of interplanetary travel, nevertheless his description of some elements, such as the force of gravity, inertia and the nature of atmosphere, are as radically prescient of later science as the early adoption of Copernican cosmology that underpins the text and was his reason for writing it.

The reason the entirety of the text is framed as a dream was much more pragmatic. Kepler had originally attempted to present the science of *Somnium* as a dissertation in 1593, but its radical anti-Ptolemaic cosmology was rejected by the academic authorities and led him and his family into trouble with the Church. Kepler was careful to tread a fine line as a court astronomer, publishing much innovative science, but always leavening his Copernican bias with sufficient Ptolemaism to satisfy the religious authorities. The frame-narrative of dreaming that bookends the *Somnium* therefore functions as a distancing mechanism, permitting Kepler to disown the speculative science contained in its extensive footnotes. This strategy of masking literary or scientific inquiry which might prove unpopular by framing it as a dream persisted in SF into the Victorian era.

Due to the influence of the imperial age, and rapid colonial expansion into previously unknown territories, the sudden explosion of what we might term travelogue literature in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had an enormous influence on speculative fiction. *Voyages extraordinaires* texts and utopias set in remote unexplored parts of the planet or else in hollow earth scenarios predominated in this era. These often served the purpose of oblique political commentary or satire, as in Swift's *Gulliver's Travels.* In many cases, they were used to explore issues of religious or doctrinal concern. There is a small tradition of lunar visitation texts which, as the Enlightenment gathered pace, explored the ramifications of Giordano Bruno's speculation about sapient life on other worlds. However, as with many of the *voyages extraordinaires,* these lunar texts often focused on issues of speculative theology, asking questions such as whether the men on the moon were subject to Original Sin, or whether Christ's salvatory sacrifice extended beyond the confines of this planet. This area of speculation, now known as exotheology, remains current today both within SF and in theological exploration, and has even been the subject of conferences at the Vatican.

What Roberts refers to as a "mystical-religious trope of souls touring the

material solar system"[11] can be discerned in the science poetry of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These were not dreams or visions at all, but very much an attempt to depict in poetry the cosmological discoveries of the Enlightenment. Roberts describes this genre as "an almost entirely 'Protestant' and English phenomenon", but it ran parallel to a dream-vision tradition that burgeoned in other European literature, particularly French prose, that is more recognisable as what we would now think of as SF. In Louis Sebastian Mercier's 1771 novel *L'An deux mille quatre cent quarante,* for example, the narrator has a heated discussion with an Englishman about the flaws of contemporary France before retiring to bed. When he awakes, it is in the 25th century where oppression, slavery and abuse have been eradicated, and the monarchy and the Church abolished. This rational, republican future France is clearly a Utopian vision, made all the more evident by the narrator encountering fellow time-traveller Louis XIV in the ruins of Versailles, where the old king expresses his guilt. The narrator is bitten by a snake, however, and is woken by the shock back in his own time. Mercier had a tempestuous relationship with the authorities made no easier by the publication and enormous success of *L'An deux mille quatre cent quarante,* which went through 20 editions in three languages in twelve years. Nevertheless, his work is now considered an early example of the potentially prophetic power of SF, since many of the changes detailed in his future vision came to pass only a few years later during the French Revolution.

Mercier's optimistic text can be usefully contrasted with Jean-Baptiste de Grainville's prose poem *Le Dernier Homme,* which was published after the terror and restoration of imperial power in 1805. De Grainville's text is commonly proposed as the earliest expression of 'dying-world' SF, since it depicts the end of the world, and is thought to have influenced Mary Shelley's *The Last Man*. However, as with much proto-SF, *Le Dernier Homme* conflates religious and rational themes and sentiments in a manner that is as much reminiscent of medieval dream poetry as it is of contemporary futurist SF. On the one hand, de Grainville depicts a Malthusian dystopia in the far future and a cataclysmic explosion of human sterility, both common tropes of modern apocalyptic SF. On the other, it contains a very medieval vision of Hell, as well as angel visitation and an encounter with Adam, the first man. Narratologically, the story is framed as a tale told to the narrator by a spirit. But it contains within, as some of Chaucer's and Gower's dream poetry does,

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11 Roberts, *History,* 67.

a further dream, in which the protagonist Omegarus has a vision of the last fertile woman on Earth, whom he then goes to visit.

In Victorian proto-SF, the influence of industrialisation helped to generate SF's ongoing attachment to technology as a source of its nova, but it also triggered a vast upsurge in depictions of utopia, often pastoral and anti-industrial in form, in response to the 'dark, Satanic mills'. Donald E. Morse writes of "the utopian visions of the nineteenth century that eventually numbered more than sixteen hundred"[12]. In addition, endless pulp novels and short stories featured visions of the future that are not related to matters of utopia, but rather like Mercier's novel, focus on visions of the future as political commentary on the present, or else, like Kepler's *Somnium,* locate radical discussions of scientific development within a dream (and often in the far future too). Among the most prominent of these is Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward 2000-1887,* which did not merely spawn imitative sequels to its hypnotic dream account of life in the 21st century, but also led to the foundation of hundreds of 'Bellamy Clubs' where the public discussed ways to implement his ideas of utopian socialism. In cases such as Bellamy's text, the purpose of dream-framing is clearly to iterate the utopian aspect of the future vision, an attainable heaven no less inspirational than the medieval dreams of paradise. Equally, as with Kepler, the purpose of dream-framing in many other Victorian SF texts was very much to facilitate contradicting the import of the text, in order to avoid public condemnation from political or religious authorities. Everett Bleiler has highlighted this issue of apparently self-contradicting SF. According to Bleiler:

> A typical example is the story that is presented as fantastic until the ending, when the author apologetically removes the sub-structure by declaring the story a dream or the product of madness. Thus, the voyage to Mars turns out to be the claim of a lunatic, or the world catastrophe is only a dream or drug delirium.

> Such stories, however, do not represent a different point of view or internal dynamic from full science-fiction. They may even be highly technical. They merely mirror the cultural censorship of the day: An editor might hesitate to publish an undiverted story of life in the future, for fear of complaints; he could soften matters by insisting that the author negate what went on before.[13]

12 Donald E. Morse, "Introduction", in *Anatomy of Science Fiction*, ed. Donald. E. Morse, (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2006), 2.
13 Everett Franklin Bleiler, *Science-Fiction, The Early Years,* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press,

As noted in relation to Kepler, this dream-frame strategy of deniability is nothing new. In fact, it dates back to the medieval dream poem, in particular Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, which itself borrowed the strategy from Latin historical writing, according to W.A. Davenport: "Dream is a useful device of disguise for the political commentator and satirist, and the kind of allegorical vision which Gower elaborately compiles here [in *Confessio Amantis*] has a long ancestry in Latin historical writing."[14] The requirement to enclose potentially contentious speculative fiction in a respectable wrapper of oneiric deniability has waned in direct proportion to the power of religious authorities, but it is interesting to note that, for very different reasons, dream narratives were utilised in the SF of H.G. Wells, Olaf Stapledon, C.S. Lewis and David Lindsay into the twentieth century.

In the work of H.G. Wells, especially in *The Dream,* and arguably in *Men like Gods* and *A Modern Utopia* also, where the protagonists are transported to extraterrestrial or parallel universe utopias instantaneously, there is no attempt to explain the transportation rationally. Whether dream-framed or not, (and again the precedent of medieval dream-poetry remains evident, since in fourteenth century literature also, a text may often be a dream without an overt statement of crossing the limen into unconsciousness), Wells's texts indicate a focus on an alternate reality that contains the possibility of being our own future, deriving from his obsession with utopian issues later in life. A similar conflation of religious and scientific perspective can be found in these Wellsian utopias as existed in earlier proto-SF; in *Men Like Gods,* the protagonist is transported to another world 3,000 years ahead of ours, literally called Utopia, which functions as an anarchy, but which also had a Christ who died on the wheel, thereby resolving the age-old exotheological problem of alien salvation.

David Lindsay's 1920 novel *Voyage to Arcturus* is sometimes classified as fantastical rather than SF, but it does contain an interstellar voyage to an alien planet, in which the protagonist Maskull is drugged, just like Kepler's hero, in order to survive the journey. When he awakens on the planet Tormance, he finds he has grown additional sense organs and can identify two new primary colours, a literally indescribable paradigm shift in reality perspective, akin to medieval dream-poetry attempts to describe Heaven or Hell, that suggests an

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1990), viii.

14 W. A. Davenport, "Dreams in Gower's Confessio Amantis", *English Studies* Vol. 91, No. 4, June 2010, pp. 377-378.

oneiric rather than realist narratology. Lindsay's text generates a Manichean binary of good and evil out of Tormance's terrestrial visitors and, considered as allegory, it may be compared to Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress.* Lindsay's complex adventure story continues a long lineage of marrying religious and supernatural themes to scientific interest which dates back to the earliest proto-SF.

Inspired by Lindsay's novel, C.S. Lewis's *Out of the Silent Planet*, which was in part an attempt to reintroduce religious considerations into a genre Lewis felt had been atheised by Wells, also utilises the drug-dream route to the stars. His hero Ransom is kidnapped and drugged, awakening on a spherical craft bound for Malacandra, or Mars. Ransom's nemesis, Dr Weston, is an empirical (and imperial) physicist, and the author's note in which Lewis refers to both Wells and "[c]ertain slighting references to earlier stories of this type" make it very clear who Weston is intended to represent. Ransom's name indicates his ultimate role in Lewis's SF trilogy – encountering a Satanic figure on Venus, he is destined to fulfill a Christlike sacrificial role in order to prevent a second Fall.

It is notable that from the time of Lindsay onwards, SF has not overtly used the dream-frame format without a concomitant appeal to drugging, or as a metaphor for some other form of altered reality. This may be attributable to the emergence of psychoanalysis in the early twentieth century, and its attempt to empirically examine the nature of dreaming, especially in the works of Freud and Jung. Both Freudian or Jungian approaches to dream analysis concur that dreams contain narrativisation even as they are being experienced, due to the mind's attempt to process the image stream of the latent dream. Hence three layers of narrative exist – the latent dream stream, the secondary revision of the manifest dream, which is how the dream is experienced by the mind, and the recollected dream report, which is mediated by conscious recollection, confabulation and organisation. Given these strata of narration in actual dreaming, it goes beyond mere metaphor to suggest that dream-framed literary narratives of the future could be interpretable as lucid dreaming, conscious attempts to replicate the imaginative and wish-fulfilment aspects of actual dreaming.

Perhaps the epitome of later SF's debt to medieval dream-poetry is Olaf Stapledon's *Star Maker,* a classic 1937 text in which the narrator lies down

on a heath and is suddenly transported from the planet and escorted about the universe, not unlike Scipio, and ends with an encounter with the Star Maker himself, a clearly divine figure, before he wakens with "[a] surge of joy, wild joy ... Then peace."[15] There is no need to labour the parallels between formats. The lying in the open air while emotionally upset, being transported across a sense boundary, experiencing an extraterrestrial view of Earth, being escorted about the known universe, encountering that universe's maker, then awakening full of joy and peace is a format found identically in *Pearl* written over five centuries before *Star Maker*.

But quasi-religious themes in SF took alternative directions after Stapledon, and he proved to be one of the last SF writers to seek to evoke an earlier model of dreaming than the psychoanalytic one. Today, dream visions in SF are almost entirely pure metaphor, indicative not of dreaming itself but a mode of analogous expression for virtual realities that are best explained by metaphorical means. William Gibson's cyberpunk vision of a virtual future in the *Neuromancer* trilogy pursues this strategy successfully, commencing with a bi-directional metaphor in which his hero Case both considers cyberspace as a hallucinatory dream-state and actively dreams of cyberspace while sleeping, envisaging escaping "the prison of the flesh"[16]. By the third volume of the trilogy, *Mona Lisa Overdrive,* the Count is permanently hooked to the Matrix, where he lives in a dreamland paradise depicted as a contemporary Eden.

In earlier literary eras, right up until the psychoanalytical models of dreaming began to emerge, dream narratives functioned in a similar way to SF nova, generating estranging paradigm shifts which facilitated consideration and analysis of existence beyond that which could be discerned from an entirely earthbound perspective. This narratological tradition, in the Medieval era, was suffused with Catholic theology and often functioned as devotional literature, yet this Catholic thematic element need not disqualify the tradition from consideration as a formative element in the construction of what was to become SF. The dominant perspective of SF as a fundamentally rational literature of ideas arising out of the Enlightenment ignores such earlier informing traditions and thereby limits understanding, in an unnecessarily sectarian manner, of how SF constructed itself.

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15 Olaf Stapledon, *Star Maker,* (London: Gollancz, 1999), 209.
16   William Gibson, *Neuromancer*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2000), 11.

SF has not lost its impetus to see and depict the future, but it no longer requires the construction of a dream-framework to envision or equivocate about the speculative futures it portrays. Following Wells, nova such as time travel have served in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries the narratological purpose of shifting paradigms into the future which dreaming fulfilled in proto-SF. However, while the lengthy debt this most rational of literary genres owes to the very mystical and religious dream-visions of medieval poetry may have finally been expunged, it has not yet been sufficiently acknowledged by SF criticism.

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Class divisions and the 'mere Irish' of colonial Ulster

by
Gerard Farrell

Abstract

This article seeks to delineate the class structure of indigenous society in Ulster in the period between the beginning of large-scale colonisation at the start of the 17th century, and the 1641 rising. This has been attempted in order to see what insights can be gained from an analysis, in terms of class-struggle, of a society that has often been viewed solely in terms of ethnic or confessional conflict. Use has been made of primarily English sources, bearing in mind the requisite caution that needs to be employed when using sources that were often hostile and disparaging of Gaelic society. The 1641 depositions, for example, were taken with the expressed intention of recording Irish crimes and the sufferings of colonists; while in this sense biased in intention, they have nonetheless proved of particular value in the evidence they supply of social relations and contemporary perceptions of those relations, at the endpoint of the period under discussion. The evidence thus gleaned about class divisions among the Irish, and the way in which the plantation transformed this class structure, are used to examine several key questions about early colonial Ulster, such as to what extent the plantation represented a transformation of the economy of the province, and offered greater economic opportunities to the landless class; also examined is the hotly-disputed question of whether or not the plantation was a primary cause of the 1641 rising which, it is here argued, can be resolved by a consideration of divergent class interests among the native population.

In the early decades of the 17th century, Ulster, hitherto the part of Ireland which had remained most free of government control and effected least by anglicising influences, was subjected to the most ambitious colonisation project yet seen in the country. This was made possible by the defeat of the Irish in the Nine Years War and the departure, in 1607, of the most resistant element among the native elite. The following paper will consider the early decades of colonisation in Ulster leading up to the 1641 rising from the perspective of the indigenous population, known in the parlance of the time as the 'mere Irish,'[1] with particular reference to the class structure of that society, both before and at the conclusion of the period in question. The application of a class-based analysis can enhance our understanding of this time and place, one normally discussed in terms of ethnic or confessional conflict, in several ways.

Firstly, by comprehending the development of the class structure of Gaelic society in this period, the changes wrought by colonisation upon that society can be understood in a more concrete way. There is some disagreement about the extent and nature of these changes in Ulster as a whole; Raymond Gillespie writes of 'the replacement of a Gaelic lordship economy by an English-style market economy' in this period, whereas Nicholas Canny and Aidan Clarke argue that the extent of this transformation has been overestimated by historians.[2] The aforementioned authors have generally attempted to gauge these changes based on measures of economic activity such as grain exports and agricultural efficiency. While such statistics measure the degree of transformation in the economy of the province, we can gain an enhanced insight into what colonisation meant to the majority, non-elite element of the native population by looking at changes in the lives of those who were forced

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1   Derived from the Latin *merus* for 'pure,' the designation 'mere' seems to have meant both a group of people who had not intermixed with another, and also to have had the more derogatory meaning with which it is today associated. Joseph Leerssen, *Mere Irish and fíor-ghael: studies in the idea of Irish nationality, its development, and literary expression prior to the nineteenth century* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Pub. Co, 1986), 39.

2   Raymond Gillespie, "Explorers, Exploiters and Entrepreneurs: Early Modern Ireland and its context, 1500-1700," in *An Historical Geography of Ireland*, eds. B.J.Graham and L.J.Proudfoot (London: Academic Press, 1993), 136. Canny has referred to this notion of a 'dramatic transformation in every aspect of life' as a 'myth,' arguing that the kind of colonist attracted to Ulster 'brought little knowledge of agricultural methods that was not already familiar to the native population in Ulster.' Nicholas Canny, "Migration and Opportunity: Britain, Ireland and the New World," *Irish Economic and Social History* 12 (1985): 27 and "A Reply," *Irish Economic and Social History* 13 (1986): 98, n.3. Aidan Clarke likewise asserts that 'the economic activity of the region was not dramatically transformed by the plantation. There was a quickening, and an increasing commercialisation, but the aim of replacing Gaelic pastoralism by a more civilised arable economy was not quickly achieved.' Aidan Clarke, "The Plantations of Ulster," in *Milestones in Irish history*, ed. Liam De Paor (Cork: Mercier Press, in collaboration with Radio Telefís Éireann, 1986), 66.

to adapt to the transition from living as followers of Gaelic *tiarnaí*, to rent-paying tenants.[3]

Distinguishing the classes of Gaelic society from one another further develops the historiography of the period, because historians often overlook the fact that 'native Irish' does not represent one uniform class of people with common interests. References to the 'native Irish' can mask the fact that class divisions existed within this category which could have profound implications, as will be seen in the case of the 1641 rising. It is with regard to the rising that this class-analysis can add, in one further sense, to our understanding of the period. The causes of the 1641 rising continue to be debated by historians of the period. As Aidan Clarke notes, the debate has generally been between those who argue that the rising was a direct (albeit belated) result of the plantation, and those who posit more proximate causes.[4] In the final part of this paper it will be seen that, while these two positions have the appearance of being irreconcilable, an appreciation of the class divisions amongst the native Irish population offers a possible resolution of this dialectic.

The structure of Gaelic society

One of the most succinct descriptions of Gaelic society is that given by Jane Ohlmeyer, of a 'fighting and feasting' culture.[5] These two activities were the main means by which the elite of this society articulated itself, and were the mechanism by which surplus produce (which they were too busy fighting and feasting to produce themselves) was redistributed. Rather than being sold for a price determined on a market, goods were distributed by local rulers to their retainers in return for their loyalty and services. These rulers had appropriated this surplus agricultural produce as tribute, paid to them by a landholding class (sometimes referred to in English sources as 'freeholders') who possessed a form of collective ownership of the land and supervised production. The production was itself carried out by a peasantry which, while it constituted the largest proportion of the population, is largely invisible in

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3   A *tiarna* was a local Gaelic sovereign, usually translated as lord, but characterised by some peculiarly Gaelic features which necessitate distinguishing the role from that of a lord in Britain or on the continent.

4   Aidan Clarke, "The genesis of the Ulster rising of 1641," in *Plantation to partition: essays in Ulster history in honour of J.L. McCracken*, ed. Peter Roebuck (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1981), 32.

5   Jane Ohlmeyer, "Civilizinge of those rude partes: colonization within Britain and Ireland, 1580s-1640s," in *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Vol.1: The Origins of Empire*, ed. Nicholas Canny (Oxford University Press, 1998), 127.

the sources.

From the foregoing, the following model of four classes can be usefully employed in an analysis of Gaelic society in its pre-colonial state:
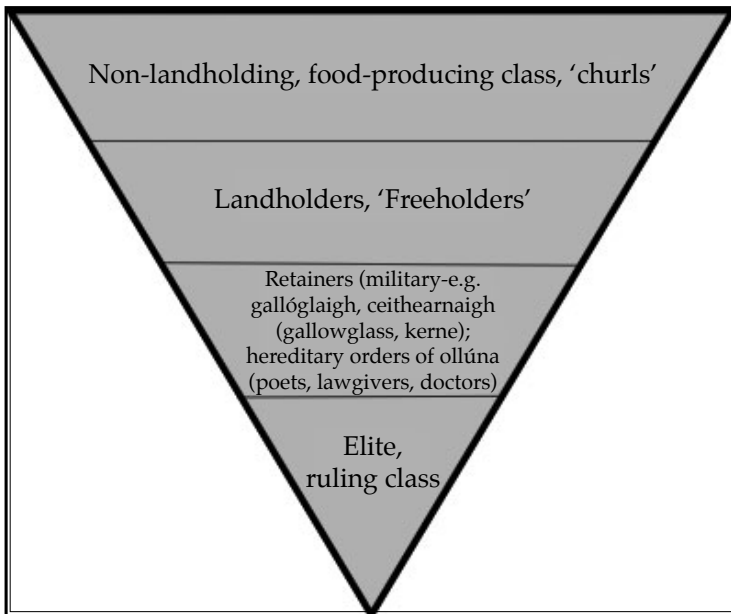
Fig. 1: Model of four classes in pre-colonial Gaelic society

It must be stressed that this is not to give the impression of a 'pure' state in which Gaelic Ulster had existed from time immemorial up until its conquest and colonisation. At the same time it is true that Ulster remained relatively untouched by anglicising influences up to the end of the sixteenth century, in comparison with the rest of the island; even the Anglo-Norman settlement had not penetrated far beyond the coastal regions of what is today County Down. While it thus exhibited features that had disappeared elsewhere, it should be borne in mind that, like all societies, this was a society in flux. Profound changes were indeed taking place throughout the sixteenth century; Kenneth Nicholls, for example, writes of 'a general increase in violence everywhere, leading to a decline in material conditions and economic life' from around the middle of the century onwards.[6] Katharine Simms has

6 Kenneth Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1972), 5; Katharine Simms, "Nomadry in medieval Ireland: the origins of the creaght or caoraigheacht," *Peritia, Journal of the Medieval Academy of Ireland* 5 (1986): 383-4.

convincingly depicted an increasingly pastoral and mobile economy in the late middle ages; the raising of cattle—a food source which could be moved with relative ease compared to crops, which could be easily destroyed by invading forces—simply made more sense under these circumstances.[7] Prior to these developments, there is evidence to suggest that the cultivation of wheat had been widespread in Ulster; by the time observers like John Davies (who had only observed Gaelic society on a heightened war-footing or in the aftermath of a devastating conflict) came to write, he could claim, however, that the land would 'lie waste like a wilderness' if left in the possession of its native inhabitants.[8]

Given that Ulster was changing under the impact of such pressures, the portrayal that follows should be understood in the nature of a snapshot of a culture on the eve of colonisation, rather than a static situation that was eclipsed overnight by the plantation. As will be seen, in many areas of Ulster, colonisation did not represent any wholesale overturning of pre-colonial society at all. Gaelic *tiarnaí* acted as regional foci for an inward flow of surplus produce in the form of tribute, prior to its redistribution in the form of largess and hospitality. The payment of such tribute was not the only means by which the ruling elite appropriated the labour of its subjects. Military billeting known as *buannacht* was another pivotal institution by which the subjects of a *tiarna* were compelled to feed and lodge his soldiers. It may be asked what the landholders and their labourers received in return for such impositions. Hostile English observers asserted that they received nothing, that these subservient orders were simply the victims of the 'tyranny' of their rulers. It would be misleading to accept this assessment uncritically. The most obvious advantage of this arrangement was that the *tiarna* offered military protection. In one sense, this was in the nature of a 'protection racket,' in that a subject would no doubt suffer dearly for his refusal to accept the 'protection' of the *tiarna* in question. When seen in context, however, an element of reciprocity can be discerned; due to the incessant warfare of the ruling elite, engaged as it was in an almost-constant struggle to expand at the expense of, or defend itself against, neighbouring territories, adherence to one warlord or another was unavoidable for the purposes of protection from the others.

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7 Katharine Simms, *From kings to warlords: the changing political structure of Gaelic Ireland in the later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1987), 9.

8 Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland*, 131-2; John Davies, letter to Salisbury concerning the state of Ireland, 1610, reproduced in *Historical tracts* (London: John Stockdale, 1786), 288.

It is difficult to determine to what extent social mobility was possible in the Gaelic world. Certainly, the consciousness of noble lineage was acute, as evinced by the meticulously-preserved genealogies compiled by the learned classes. There were various restrictions placed on entry to the aristocracy; those eligible to succeed to the position of *tiarna* for example (power was not hereditary but subject to the approval of other powerful figures in the locality), had to come from within the sept, a predetermined number of generations back — often four, a unit known as the *derbfine*. A member of Gaelic society was born into a role relative to his peers. This might take the form of a hereditary position (soldier, poet, doctor) in the service of a *tiarna*, or a position within a sept that was perceived to be following another sept. Judging by the ease with which traditional leading families of Gaelic Ulster were able to raise troops in 1641, it would seem that such hierarchies endured throughout the early colonial period.

The 1643 deposition of Nicholas Simpson provides an insight into these hierarchies at work. Simpson described the arrival of a group of Mhic Uaid in the town of Glaslough (northern Monaghan) at the outset of the rising. They first entered the town under the pretense of searching for thirty lost sheep belonging to Toirdhealbhach Óg Ó Néill (a younger brother of the 1641 leader Féilim), whom the deponent mentions as having been fostered by the Mhic Uaid. Fosterage, which created a traditionally strong bond in Gaelic society, had clearly not lost its socially-cohesive power even after three decades of colonial acculturation. Having ransacked the town, Simpson deposed that the colonists, while accepting their incapacity to defend themselves, 'refused to yelde to those mcwades untill some gentleman of qualitye in the Cuntrye Came to us.'[9] Only with the arrival of Toirdhealbhach Óg shortly afterwards were they prepared to surrender.[10] Not only does such evidence suggest that the hierarchy of Gaelic Ulster was understood by the colonists, but that perceptions of some septs being subordinate to others were still strong. Contemporary Irish sources demonstrate that these traditional hierarchies were, at the same time, perceived as being undermined by colonisation. For example, the anonymous *Pairlement Chloinne Tomáis*, is suffused with the resentment of a ruling elite that had lost its privileged position and was confronted with the social climbing of people (both native and newcomer) whom it considered upstarts.[11] Such evidence would suggest, therefore, that

9 Deposition of Nicholas Simpson, TCD MS 838, ff.182r-184r.
10 Ibid.
11 Anonymous; *Pairlement Chloinne Tomáis*, ed. and trans. N.J.A. Williams (Dublin: Dublin

colonisation destabilised the traditional hierarchy of Gaelic society, but not to the extent that, by 1641, it had overturned it.

In the pre-colonial *milieu*, opportunities for social climbing of any description must have been very limited. The general trend towards the close of the sixteenth century was in fact in the opposite direction, that is, for dominant ruling septs to expand at the expense of the freeholders below them and to acquire their lands.[12] As a consequence of this, the landholders could be relegated to the level of the landless peasant. This group, often referred to in English sources as 'churls,' represented the productive element in Gaelic society, who worked on the lands of the above-mentioned classes.[13] While English writers sometimes portrayed the condition of this class as tantamount to serfdom, once again we must be wary of such generalisations, mainly because they represent an attempt to apply English terminology to concepts that were peculiar to Gaeldom. Fynes Moryson, a secretary to lord deputy Mountjoy who spent time in Ulster at the close of the Nine Years War, claimed that this labouring class were 'reputed proper to those lands on which they dwell,' and that Gaelic *tiarnaí* vied with each other, not so much to conquer lands as the people who were tied to them.[14] John Davies decried Aodh Ó Néill's attempts, in the aftermath of the war, to secure the return of people who had fled to the Pale from his territories, claiming that Ó Néill aspired to be 'master both of their bodies and goods.'[15] It would appear, however, that this is another example of the kind of innovation that accompanied the growing autocracy of Gaelic *tiarnaí* in the specific war-torn period during which Moryson and Davies were writing. Kenneth Nicholls observes that the contrary was in fact the norm during the sixteenth century, and that this labouring class had in fact been free to wander 'from place to place and master to master, apparently driven not by want, but by restlessness and the inducements held out to them.'[16] This relative freedom was largely due to

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Institute for Advanced Studies, 1981).

12 Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland*, 11-13.

13 For examples of the term in use, see Thomas Smith, *A Letter sent by I. B. Gentleman vnto his very frende Maystet R. C. Esquire*, (London : By Henry Binneman for Anthonhson [i.e. Anthony Kitson], 1572).

14 Fynes Moryson, *Shakespeare's Europe: unpublished chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary, being a survey of the condition of Europe at the end of the 16th century*, ed. Charles Hughes (London: Sherratt & Hughes, 1903), 194.

15 John Davies to Cecil, 19 April 1604, in *CSPI, James I, 1603-1606,* 160.

16 Kenneth Nicholls, "Gaelic society and economy," in *A New History of Ireland, volume 2: Medieval Ireland 1169-1534*, ed. Art Cosgrove (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 409; Duffy likewise attests to a 'tendency for tenants and labourers to abandon oppressive and war-torn lordships' in Patrick J. Duffy, "Social and spatial order in the MacMahon lordship of Airghialla," in *Gaelic Ireland,*

underpopulation and a chronic shortage of labour. It may indeed have been partly due to the problems associated with such a shortage that Gaelic lords began to claim their subjects were *not* free, but were bound to the soil. Such were the vicissitudes of class struggle as played out in Gaelic Ireland.

Rather than simply being free or unfree then, the extent of freedom and mobility of the productive class in Gaelic society fluctuated with shifts in their strength relative to the other classes. In this, it was no different to the bargaining power, likewise linked to demands on the labour supply, enjoyed by the wage-labourer in a market economy. While a low population gave these labourers a relative advantage in this sense, on the other hand, allusion has already been made to what Kenneth Nicholls describes as 'the expansion of the ruling or dominant stocks at the expense of the remainder,' a process by which, within a few generations, the propagation of these ruling families could displace subjects who had previously held land beneath them.[17] It might be expected that the onset of large-scale colonisation in Ulster would alleviate this pressure on the landholding class. In fact, the opposite would appear to have been the case. While loyal elements of the Gaelic elite were deemed 'deserving' of land-grants in the plantation project, no provision was made in these plans for the middle, landholding class. What followed was an accelerated squeezing-out of the middle landholding class of Gaelic society. This is a relatively unexplored theme of the plantation, and to understand the mechanics of how it happened necessitates a consideration of how colonisation transformed the social structure of indigenous society in Ulster.

Colonisation and the class structure of Gaelic Ulster

When reflecting upon the fate of the smaller landholding class, it is instructive to recall that John Davies, the primary legal architect of the plantation scheme, had claimed in 1606 that these people 'were not tenants at will, as the lords pretended, but freeholders, and had as good and large estate in their tenancies as the lords had in their seigniories.'[18] Seeking to buttress this class

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c.1250-c.1650: land, lordship and settlement, eds. Patrick J. Duffy, David Edwards and Elizabeth FitzPatrick (Dublin: Four Courts Press for the Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement, 2001), 122.

17 As examples of the rapidity of this displacement, Nicholls has shown how the Mag Uidhirs, whose reign as rulers in Fermanagh began in 1282, had by 1607 come to possess at least three-quarters of the entire county. Such expansion is not surprising when we consider that Pilib Mag Uidhir alone, who died in 1395, had two sons by eight different mothers, and at least fifty grandsons. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland*, 11-12.

18 Davies to Salisbury, 12 November 1606, in *CSPI James I, 1606-1608,* eds. C.W. Russell and John

as a means of weakening large landowners like Aodh Ó Néill (who were still suspected of pretensions to regional sovereignty), such a recognition had been expedient from the government's point of view at the time. A year later, however, with the Flight of the Earls, increasingly-ambitious colonisation plans depended upon the confiscation of the attainted individuals' lands. This in turn depended upon the redefinition as tenants of those previously described by Davies as freeholders. Davies thus completely reversed his previous assessment of the situation. When confronted by the claims of the inhabitants of Cavan in 1610 to be freeholders, he wrote that 'they never had any estates, according to the rules of common law, but only a scrambling and transitory possession, as all other Irish natives within this kingdom.'[19] By this legal sleight-of-hand, a class of people who regarded themselves as heirs to the land, in a collective sense, were dispossessed, and their lands handed over to colonists, both English and Scottish, or to members of the former ruling elite to whom they had previously owed merely tribute and services, but who were now deemed to constitute the new native landowning class.

These latter 'deserving Irish,' as well as the 'servitors' with whom they were to live side by side, are represented in white on the following map; in these areas the native Irish were to be allowed to remain living as tenants. In those grey areas which were exempt from plantation, conditions varied from place to place; sometimes they were left in the possession of Irish owners, in other cases (such as grants made before the official plantation to James Hamilton and Hugh Montgomery in Down) it was stipulated that the grantee introduce English or Scottish settlers.[20] The areas earmarked for English and Scottish undertakers (hatching), as well as those of the London companies (black) were to be cleared of native inhabitants altogether.

P. Prendergast (London: Longman & Co., 1874), 19.

19 Ibid., 498.

20 The King to Arthur Chichester, 16 April 1605, in *CSPI James I, 1603-1606*, 271. The impression sometimes given that these non-escheated counties were not subject to colonisation is quite misleading. Indeed, in the case of east Ulster, the opposite would appear to be the case; Perceval-Maxwell has estimated from the muster roll of 1630 that Antrim and Down contained at that point 'more Scottish families than all of the escheated counties combined.' Michael Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish migration to Ulster in the reign of James I* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), 251. The greater proportion of respondents professing a British identity in the eastern part of Ulster, according to the 2011 census, also bears out the long-term consequences of this: John Burn-Murdoch, "National identity mapped for Northern Ireland," *The Guardian*, 12 December 2012, accessed 15 December 2013, http://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/interactive/2012/dec/12/northern-ireland-census-national-identities-mapped?guni=Data:in%20body%20link.

Ulster Plantation project

Native Irish/servitors	Exempt from official plantation project	English undertakers	Scottish undertakers
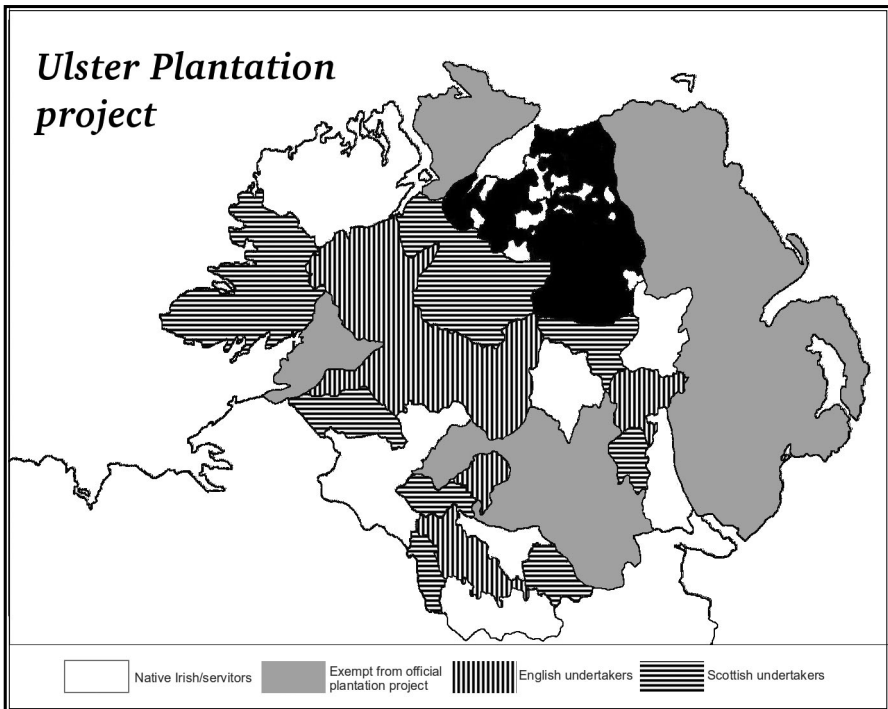
Fig. 2: Plan of Ulster plantation, map based on the work of T.W. Moody and Robert Hunter, in *A New History of Ireland 3, Early modern Ireland, 1534-1691*, eds. F. J. Byrne, F. X. Martin, T. W. Moody (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991) 198.

While useful to bear in mind the dramatic population displacement involved in the *plan* of plantation, it must be remembered that such plans were never fully realised for several reasons. Firstly, undertakers and the London companies soon realised that, due to deficiencies in the plantation surveys, they had far more land at their disposal than they could possibly farm with the few colonists they could attract over from Britain. It was also found, moreover, that natives, desperate to stay on their ancestral lands, were willing to pay far higher rents than colonists. Therefore, instead of the division envisaged in the map above, what evolved was a colonial society in which native and newcomer lived side-by-side. This was a society characterised on the natives' part, by adaptation to the economic system of these newcomers. In this system, property relations—backed up by the common law—predominated, and the market mediated the flow of goods and services, replacing the reciprocal and

redistributive economy, dominated by personal ties of loyalty and kinship that had previously been in operation.

As T. W. Moody has remarked, instead of being simply physically expelled, the former proprietors of the land were degraded to the status of tenants, 'for the most part remained on their former lands.'[21] Living in proximity to outsiders who now occupied positions of status and wealth, they were often reduced to working as servants or cowherds for the same people who had taken their place. Even more so than if they had been expelled, this was a recipe for resentment and eventually, violent retaliation. The 1641 depositions offer abundant evidence that a widespread perception existed among the insurgents that they (or the generation before them) had been unfairly dispossessed of their lands by force and legal chicanery. Dorothy Moigne in Cavan, for example, reported that her attackers told her that she and her family had 'enyoied wrongefully the said Landes too longe.'[22] Not content with repossessing these lands, the insurgents were also said to have claimed 'the areres of rent of the said landes duringe the undertakers possession.'[23]

The economic consequences of colonisation from the point of view of the landless class are somewhat more difficult to quantify. Given that this class had less to lose in the way of property, it might be thought that the plantation offered them an opportunity to improve their economic situation. The sparse population of the province, even more pronounced after the scorched-earth tactics employed by the English in the latter stages of the Nine Years War,[24] resulted in an acute labour shortage that empowered the landless class to a certain extent in their relations with a class of landlords that was eager (despite, in the case of colonists, being forbidden) to attract tenants. It has been seen, however, that this had already been the case earlier in the sixteenth century. In this sense, it could be said that the plantation represented a turning-back of the clock to this earlier, more favourable (from the peasants' point of view) demographic balance in their relations with landowners, the difference now being that many of these landowners were now English and

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21 T. W. Moody, "The Treatment of the Native Population under the Scheme for the Plantation in Ulster," *Irish Historical Studies* 1:1 (1938): 63.

22 Deposition of Dorothy Moigne, TCD MS 833, f.36r; John Brooks, TCD MS 832, f.193r likewise reported that the instrugents had 'said that they had longe paid rents to the English but they wold make them pay it back againe.'

23 Ibid.

24 For examples, see Chichester to Cecil, 22 November 1601, in *CSPI Elizabeth I, 1601-1603*, ed. Robert Pentland Mahaffy (London: H.M.S.O., 1912), 175, and Chichester to Cecil, 8 October 1601, ibid., 111.

Scottish colonists.

Nicholas Canny writes of the 'general erosion of the customary dependency of Irish tenants' that, in plantation Ulster 'found themselves in a more powerful position to negotiate an improvement in their social and economic conditions than ever before.'[25] While this dependency had certainly grown increasingly heavy in the war-economy of the late sixteenth century, to describe it as 'customary,' given what has already been said about their relative freedom of movement in earlier periods, would be somewhat misleading. The idea therefore, that the plantation freed the 'churls' from an immemorial thralldom is a false one. It is just as likely that what brought about opportunities for economic improvement was the coming of peace after a long and destructive conflict rather than anything intrinsic to the new dispensation.

Canny also shows how the initial appearance of economic opportunity offered to this class was something of a false dawn; the advantage of a sparse population and resultant competition among landlords for tenants and labour was nullified by a rapid demographic recovery. This, coupled with the steady migration of tenants from England and Scotland, who were increasingly favoured over native tenants, gradually thrust them off the better-quality lands.[26] The growing indebtedness of Irish tenants and craftsmen to colonist creditors in the period up to 1641 is testified to throughout the depositions.[27] Several years of bad harvests further curtailed possibilities for economic recovery. The growing hostility towards the plantation was acknowledged by some of the more perceptive administrators throughout the period. Even at the outset of the plantation project, observers less starry-eyed than John Davies, such as Chichester, acknowledged that the Irish merely awaited the opportunity to cut their landlords' throats.[28]

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25 Nicholas Canny, *Kingdom and colony: Ireland in the Atlantic world, 1560-1800* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 44.

26 For one of the best accounts of this, more gradual, displacement of the Irish to areas of poorer-quality land, by economic forces rather than the dictates of the plantation project itself see Clarke, "The Plantations of Ulster," 67.

27 A deponent reported Féilim Ó Néill as including, amongst the insurgents' war-aims, the forgiveness of debts incurred to the colonists, Deposition of Robert Maxwell, TCD MS 809, f.7r.

28 Davies appears to have believed that the 'common people' would welcome the arrival of English sheriffs and landlords, claiming that "albeit they were rude and barbarous… [they] did quickly apprehend the difference between the tyranny and oppression under which they lived before, and the just government and protection which we promised unto them for the time to come." John Davies, "A discovery of the true causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued," in *Historical Tracts,* 210. Chichester to Salisbury, November 1610, in *CSPI James I, 1608–1610,* 526. Over the course of the following decades, such warnings continued to be made, belying, incidentally, the notion that the rising came as a bolt from the blue; Francis Blundell wrote in 1622

The reputed opportunities opened up to the landless by the 'free' market were thus largely illusionary. Certainly, compared with a system in which tribute and services were established by custom, a market-economy offered opportunities to those with capital and entrepreneurial know-how. Most of the Irish, however, lacked both these advantages. The economic decline of the 'deserving' grantees and their descendants through inexperience with an unfamiliar economic system has long been acknowledged.[29] Additionally, it has often gone unremarked that the advantages with which contenders in a market economy start out often play a decisive role in determining success or failure. A lack of capital as well as experience therefore usually determined the failure of the Irish in the market from the outset, even if this was not initially perceived.[30] Indeed, the plantation no doubt *appeared* to offer some of the landless Irish the opportunity of improving their lot in its early years. Life as a servant in the household of a colonist may have represented greater access to manufactured and imported goods for an individual whose previous lifestyle had consisted of tending to cattle and living in a wattle hut on a windswept hillside.

In reality, however, the only significant difference in the lives of the majority of natives who lived side-by-side with colonists, compared to when they had lived under the thumb of their fellow Gaels, was that whereas once they had earned the right to subsist on these lands by exchanging a part of their labour power directly, this labour was now to be converted into a cash form with which they were to pay their landlord a money rent. A survey of native Irish tenants living on colonists' estates in 1624 reveals that many of these tenants still lived by grazing cattle.[31] The lives of such people cannot have differed very much from what they had been before, apart from the necessity of finding a market in which to sell their goods. Even then, it is highly likely that landlords often received rents in kind instead of cash. Certainly they often

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that the Irish would 'rather choose to die in rebellion than live under such a government where their lands are taken from them upon bare pretences or obscure titles at the best.' Francis Blundell, "On plantations," c.1622, BL, Harl. MS 3292, ff.40-45.

29 Clarke, "The Plantations of Ulster," 67.

30 The colony, established primarily to offer economic opportunities to the undertakers, presented other disadvantages to the Irish; possible benefits opened up by the existence of markets in which to sell their produce were offset by the difficulty of accessing such markets. Philip Robinson has noted that while 90% of British-owned farms were within a five-mile radius of a market, Irish farms, 'occupying marginal lands,' were often 'outside the effective ranges of the markets.' Philip Robinson, *The plantation of Ulster: British settlement in an Irish landscape, 1600-1670* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1984), 166.

31 Armagh: SP 63-238-1, ff.139r-144r; Fermanagh: SP 63-238-1, ff.57r-83r.

paid their employees in forms other than money. A 'heardseman to Mr John Hamilton' in Armagh named Eoghan Modartha Ó Néill was allowed to graze three cows on his employer's land in return for his services.[32] Such figures would appear to remain outside the market economy entirely, and their economic relationships with the colonists to be strikingly similar to those they had had with their 'betters' in the Gaelic order. Under these circumstances, the bitterness towards social upheaval evinced in *Pairlement Chloinne Tomáis* may have as much to do with the decline of the ruling elite than an upturn in the fortunes of the lower orders.

Class and the causes of 1641

Given the number of contemporaries who testified to the discontent of the native Irish towards the plantation and the likelihood of their rising up against it, not to mention the many examples of insurgents in the depositions citing their dispossession as motivating their actions, it is curious that several leading authorities on the period have been reluctant to accord the plantation a leading role as a cause of the 1641 rising. Raymond Gillespie argues that the rising was a 'conservative affair initiated by those who benefited from the plantation scheme and, in the short term at least, had little interest in overturning that world.'[33] Aidan Clarke reasons that the Irish gentry (socially and politically acceptable, propertied) that planned the rising cannot have been motivated by disaffection towards the plantation *per se*, and that it had other, more proximate, causes.[34] While the economic decline and indebtedness of this class is not discounted by these writers, stress is laid upon political and religious factors, such as the growing threat of the Puritan element in the London parliament, the failure of Wentworth's government to honour the 'Graces,' by which the Irish Catholics had hoped to relieve the pressure of legal disabilities. In light of such anxieties, it is argued that the conspirators hoped to emulate the success of the Scots, who, in the recent Bishops' war, had succeeded in getting the government to address their grievances by

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32 SP 63-238-1, f.139v. Even domestic servants remained attached to the pastoral lifestyle by means of such payments in rights to graze land. Eoghan Mac Gafraidh, for example, living on the proportion of Charles Waterhouse in Fermanagh, was a 'howse servant' who also took care of 'his master's cattle,' services for which he was allowed in return to graze one cow on his employer's land. Aodh Mag Uidhir, a servant to one Robert Montgomerie, was similarly paid in grazing for his cows until the following May. SP 63-238-1, f.59r.

33 Raymond Gillespie, "Success and failure in the Ulster Plantation," in *The plantation of Ulster: ideology and practice*, eds. Éamonn Ó Ciardha and Micheál Ó Siochrú (Manchester University Press, 2012), 98.

34 Aidan Clarke, "Ireland and the General Crisis," *Past & Present* 48 (1970): 89.

recourse to arms.

Claims that the rising was rooted in problems particular to the late 1630s would appear to contradict those who have posited a direct link between the dispossessions resulting from plantation and the outbreak of violence in 1641.[35] Essentially, two different risings are being portrayed here: one, planned by a small group of conspirators, relatively conservative in its aims, seeking to seize a few strategic forts and towns and negotiate from a position of strength; the other, a less centrally-directed outburst of violence by an oppressed colonial underclass that sought the complete overthrow of the existing dispensation. An awareness of divergent class interests within the ranks of the Irish suggests that the co-existence of both risings is in no way contradictory. The more limited rising of the conspirators, as portrayed by Clarke and Gillespie, makes sense if understood as relating to the Irish gentry alone. Confusion has arisen from the tendency to conflate this group (who constituted, after all, merely a small minority of the native population in Ulster) with the whole. In this way, the majority has to some extent been written out of the history of this period. It was in fact this landless majority which seized the initiative in October 1641 and determined the character of the rising, especially in Ulster, where it was particularly bloody.

It is not surprising that an event as divisive as the 1641 rising has provoked such debate. It would indeed be perverse to ignore the context in which explanations other than the plantation have been stressed. To play down the role of dispossession and colonisation was a necessary corrective to earlier historians who, Clarke rightly points out, 'admitted the significance of nothing else' besides these factors as a precondition for revolt.[36] This revision took place in the polarised atmosphere of the Northern Ireland Troubles, at a time when some historians may have felt that history should serve a conciliatory role rather than fuel sectarian divisions. In the context of the times, such an irenic aspiration was understandable, even laudable. It would appear, however, to veer somewhat from the originally-stated endeavour of 'revisionist' history to be the 'scientific study of Irish history.'[37] Bradshaw warns that the writing

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35 Brendan Bradshaw, writing in 1994, found it 'dismaying to find Raymond Gillespie still hammering home Aidan Clarke's thesis that the Ulster Rising came as a bolt from the blue,' and that the Irish had 'reconciled themselves to making the most of the crumbs that came their way.' Brendan Bradshaw, "The invention of the Irish: Was the Ulster rising really a bolt from the blue?" in *The Times Literary Supplement*, 14 October 1994 (1994): 9.
36 Clarke, "The genesis of the Ulster rising of 1641," 32.
37 R. Dudley-Edwards, T. W. Moody, "Preface," in *Irish Historical Studies* 1:1 (1938) 2.

of history with such an aim in mind had in effect led to a 'normalisation' and 'tacit evasion' of the 'catastrophic dimension of Irish history,' designed to rid that history of its legacy of bitterness.[38] To posit a rising *not* caused by the plantation is a prime example of this, as it implies a colonial society that was largely harmonious, suddenly destabilised by political crisis and harvest failure. Given that the maintenance of this harmonious appearance necessitates the elision of the majority of Irish in Ulster, who had been 'undeserving' of lands in the plantation scheme, Bradshaw's concerns would appear, in this case, to have been warranted.

In summary, an appreciation of the divergent class-interests among the Ulster Irish offers a more rounded picture of colonial society on the eve of the 1641 rising. Seeking to problematise a view of the rising which sought the overthrow of the plantation, historians have sometimes cited cases in which native landowners such as Féilim Ó Néill consolidated or even increased their holdings, and participated fully in the political and social life of the colonial power.[39] It is important to recognise that such cases were the exception rather than the rule. A more nuanced picture of the Irish element in colonial Ulster reveals this view of the rising to be in no way problematic, in that the vast majority of the Irish had little to lose and much to gain from such an attempt. Such recognition enables the historian to reconcile a rising initiated by those with a more limited reformist agenda, with the more revolutionary character of the rising as it transpired.

While not wishing to give the impression of fixed and impermeable barriers between the classes as outlined above, the transformation from a society divided into four classes (elite, retainers, landholders, landless) to one divided into two (landed and landless), is a useful model for further analysis of the effects of plantation on the indigenous population of Ulster. In this model, the great losers were the retainers and the landholders. In the former category, the remnant of the Gaelic warrior caste was either killed, deported or driven to remote woodland or mountain areas in the years after the Flight of the Earls; while some of the bardic poets received land grants in the plantation scheme, they were, as a class with the hereditary function of legitimising the Gaelic ruling order, doomed to extinction. The latter category of landholders, meanwhile, treated for the purposes of plantation as tenants of the former

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38 Bradshaw, "The invention of the Irish," 8.
39   Clarke, "Ireland and the General Crisis," 89.

ruling elite, were subsumed into an economic role indistinguishable from the landless class. It is from this class that much of the consciousness of dispossession attested to by the 1641 depositions has its origins.

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A Risk Worth Taking?
A Study of Mature Students' Experiences in Two Irish Universities

by
Mark Anthony Kearns

Abstract

Policy forecasts suggest that mature students (aged +23) will form an increasing part of a more diverse student body in Irish higher education going forward. This presents challenges for a provision that has been geared to the needs of a traditional age cohort during a period of unprecedented growth in the sector. Notwithstanding speculation and debate about equity and 'balance' in the system now and in the future, the question remains: Is higher education 'fit for purpose' given a forecast of 20% participation rates for full-time mature new entrants to third-level by the end of the current decade, and 25% thereafter? Previous research efforts cast some doubt on this enterprise, suggesting that this is an inherently more 'risky' venture for mature students than it is for their younger counterparts. Specifically, this indicates that mature students intentions (and hence needs) in higher education differ from the traditional age cohort and that some older learners face multiple barriers to their participation and success at third-level.

This paper discusses a critical ethnographic study looking at the intentions and first-year experiences of mature students (n=30) in two Irish universities in the period 2012-2013. Initial findings indicate a highly diverse grouping whose heterogeneity is best captured in the complexity of intentions that these students hold for their higher education experience. This illustrates how career aspirations are held alongside more personal reasons that are located deep in these students' personal histories and biographies from which themes of emancipation, liberation, catharsis and transformation emerge.

Keywords

Mature students; higher education; critical ethnography

Abbreviations

HE   Higher Education
HEA   Higher Education Authority
HEI   Higher Education Institution
IOT   Institute of Technology
ROI   Republic of Ireland

Introduction

At a recent conference examining the legacy of the seminal Investment in Education Report, 1965, Slowey served to remind us that, while significant numbers of Irish people have benefitted from system expansion over the last four decades, many more have remained excluded in an era of so-called mass participation in HE.[1] To put this in context, only 20% of the traditional age cohort advanced to third-level education in 1980. This rate had more than doubled to 44% by 1998 and had reached 55% in 2004.[2] Current participation rates exceed 60%, more than three times that of the 1980 cohort.[3] This has gone hand-in-hand with rapid expansion in a system that has grown from a handful of universities and affiliated colleges in the 1970s, to a provision now comprising seven universities, fourteen IOTs and six smaller colleges.[4]

Irish policymakers have been slow to recognise the situation of those who 'missed out' in this period, only responding to the low numbers of mature students in HE in light of a projected shortage in numbers of traditional aged students[5], or meeting the demands of the 'knowledge economy'.[6] More recent attempts at increasing participation rates for mature students might be judged in terms of justifying further expansion in the HE system in ROI and a projected rise in numbers from 42,500 new entrants in 2009 to 68,000

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1   Maria Slowey, *'Education and the Economy – contemporary education policy'*.(Seminar address to mark the 50th anniversary launch of the *Investment in Education Report*, 1965, Trinity College Dublin, 28th November, 2012).
2   Higher Education Authority, *Who went to college in 2004? A national survey of new entrants to higher education* (Dublin: HEA, 2006).
3   Selina McCoy and Emer Smyth, 'Higher education expansion and differentiation in the Republic of Ireland',
Higher Education, 61, 3 (March, 2011): 243.
4   Higher Education Authority, *Towards a Performance Evaluation Framework: Profiling Irish Higher Education* (Dublin: HEA, 2013). This numbers fifteen if IADT is included.
5   Higher Education Authority, *Report of Steering Committee on the Future Development of Higher Education* (HEA: Dublin, 1995).
6   Expert Group on Future Skills Needs (EGFSN), *Towards a National Skills Strategy* (Dublin: Forfas, 2007).

in 2027.[7] These documents chart an increasing focus on the human capital dimension and a situation where HE is now firmly positioned as an adjunct to macroeconomic policy.[8]

Progress…for some

Some progress has been made in the interim, with mature new entrants to HE in ROI peaking at just over 15% (5,944) in 2010/11.[9] However, this remains some way short of the participation rates for mature students enjoyed in other Western industrialised countries; for example, mature students account
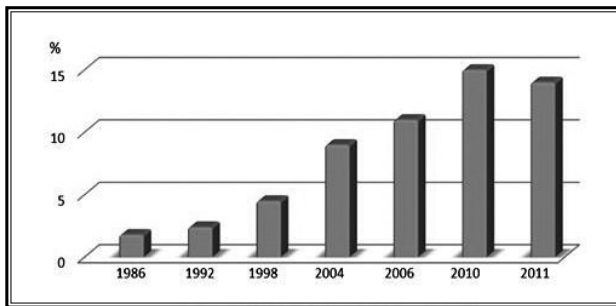

Figure 1: Mature Students New Entry to HE in ROI 1986-2011
Source: Clancy, 1995; HEA Statistics, 1997-2012

for a quarter of university graduates in Iceland, New Zealand and Sweden.[10] With this in mind, the *National Strategy for Irish Higher Education to 2030* predicts that mature students will comprise 18% of new entrants to HE in ROI by 2015, rising to 20% in 2020 and peak at 25% in 2025.[11] Only then will ROI begin to reach participation rates for mature students enjoyed in other countries that have taken a more enlightened approach to including older learners in their HE systems.

These targets already appear in some doubt given that mature new entrant rates have fallen back to 14% in 2011-2012, the first decrease numbers since the

7   Department of Education and Skills, *National Strategy for Higher Education to 2030* (Dublin: DES, 2010).
8   Ellen Hazelkorn and Vincent Massaro, A tale of two strategies: higher education in Ireland and Australia. *Higher Education Policy and Management*, 23, 2, (February, 2011):79.
9   Higher Education Authority, *Higher Education Key facts and figures* (Dublin: HEA, 2011).
10 OECD, *Education at a Glance, 2010* (OECD, Paris: 2011).
11   DES, *National Strategy, 2010*.

1980s.[12] Anecdotal evidence suggests that a revision of funding arrangements arising from Government austerity measures (and specifically a cut in favourable adjacent rates available to mature students) have had a detrimental impact on applications from mature students to HE in ROI. Notwithstanding fluctuations in entry rates going forward, a question mark remains over the 'fitness for purpose' of the HE system given the ambitious targets set for new mature entrants. The relevant literature, below, indicates that HE represents something of a 'risky venture' that poses specific problems or barriers to success for the cohort in a provision that often remains ambivalent to their specific needs and interests.

The Risk Landscape of Higher Education

While the extant literature suggests that mature students have a lot to gain from HE, research shows that this poses particular risks for the cohort. Leonard's study in the Irish context found that mature students are often at greater risk financially, socially, psychologically and academically than their younger counterparts, and thus require a more considered approach in terms of their pedagogical and support needs in HE.[13] Full-time study can place immense financial burden on mature students and this is particularly the case for those who enter with existing incomes that remain close to the poverty line.[14] Furthermore, many older learners enter HE without a full realisation of the true cost of participation and the considerable impact this can have on their studies.[15] The reality is that many mature students commence their studies with a degree of uncertainty surrounding the financial commitment and eventual return on their investment (for example Moss, 2004)[16], but still hold high expectations that their efforts will result in financially rewarding jobs or careers, despite evidence to the contrary.[17]

The research effort to date points to a critical lack of time, or 'time poverty' that

12 Higher Education Authority, *Higher Education key facts and figures 2011/12* (Dublin: HEA, 2013).
13 Marie Leonard, 'Educating real-life Ritas: Mature female students in higher education', in *Women and Education in Ireland*, eds. Brid Connolly & Anne Ryan. (Maynooth: MACE, Volume 1, 1999).
14 Jackie Brine & Richard Waller, 'Working class women on an Access course: risk, opportunity and identities', *Gender and Education*, 16, 1 (April, 2004): 97.
15 Rachel Alsop, Stella Gonzalez - Arnal & Majella Kilkey, 'The widening participation agenda: the marginal place of care,' *Gender and Education*, 20, 6, (November, 2008):623.
16 Dorothy Moss, 'Creating Space for learning: conceptualising women and higher education through time and space', *Gender and Education*, 16, 3, (November, 2004): 284.
17 Kate Purcell, Nick Wilton & Peter Elias, 'Hard Lessons for Lifelong Learners? Age and Experience in the Graduate Labour Market,' *Higher Education Quarterly*, 61, 1, (January, 2007):57.

can have severe implications for the health and well-being for those juggling external responsibilities with the academic demands of HE.[18] Entry to HE can also place significant stress on existing relationships; for example, 50% of participants in Murphy and Flemings' ROI study experienced relationship difficulties as a result of their decision to return to education.[19] Research elsewhere points to the fragile nature of some mature students education biographies that can manifest in a lack of confidence in their ability to cope in academia.[20] Stevens found that her participants were more likely to suffer crises of confidence in terms of their academic ability and experience greater distress concerning coursework and examination as a consequence. Similarly, Leithwood and O'Connell note how constant feelings of inadequacy or 'not being good enough' were deep-rooted in the accounts of mature students in their sample.[21] These feelings can be particularly acute in the initial stage of entry to HE that can also provoke feelings of strangerhood (Stevens, 2003)[22], isolation (Foster, 2009)[23], alienation (Bowl, 2003)[24] or anomie (Merrill, 1999)[25], leading to considerable anxiety and stress for some mature students as they try to locate academic community.

Different Risk Parameters

A nuanced reading of the literature indicates that some sub-groups of mature students face multiple barriers to their participation and success in HE. Bowl's study of working-class women demonstrates how this group take up their studies 'resource poor' relative to the traditional aged cohort as well as other, more advantaged, mature student groups.[26] Despite the heavy workload associated with a return to full-time education, mature women entrants

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18 Diane Reay, Steven Ball & Miriam David, 'It's taking me a long time but I'll get there in the end': mature students on access courses and higher education choice' *British Educational Research Journal*, 28, 1 (February 2002): 5.

19 Ted Fleming and Mark Murphy, *College Knowledge Policy, Power and the Mature Student Experience at University* (NUI Maynooth: Centre for Adult and Community Education, 1997).

20 Graham Stevens, 'Late studentship: Academic aspiration, personal growth, and the death of the past.' *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology*, 4, 2 (November, 2003): 235.

21 Carole Leithwood and Paul O'Connell, 'It's a struggle: the construction of the 'new student' in higher education', *Journal of Education Policy*, 18, 6 (November, 2004):597.

22 Stevens, 'Late studentship, p.240.

23 Tom Foster, *Research paper No.4: Alternative Routes into and Pathways through Higher Education.* (London: BIS, 2009).

24 Marion Bowl, *'They talk about me': Non-traditional entrants to Higher Education* (Staffs: Trentham Books, 2003).

25 Barbara Merrill, *Gender, Change and Identity: Mature Women Students in Universities.* (Hants: Ashgate Publishing, 1999).

26 Bowl, *'They talk about me.'*

continue to bear the burden of family care and often have to juggle multiple roles and responsibilities as a result. Edwards found that the withdrawal of time and concomitant care led to acute feelings of guilt on the part of her women participants, some of whom faced persistent opposition to their HE venture from partners or significant others. Elsewhere, Hinton-Smiths' research investigating the experiences of single parents in HE earmarks this as sub-group of mature (mostly women) students who face specific difficulties in attempting to sustain their third-level studies.[27]

This sample of the extant literature points to specific 'at-risk' groups within the mature cohort who present to HE with particular needs. This refers to pedagogical and support needs that differ in many ways from the traditional age cohort, and illustrated further by the efforts of Fleming and Finnegan in the ROI context.[28] These, and other contributions in the literature (for example, Daniels)[29] point to HE policy and institutional systems that continue to favour the notion of the autonomous, eighteen year-old learner that remains far outside the experience of many mature students making their way into HE. Given the above, HEIs are challenged to replace '…outmoded pedagogy, policies and practices with systemic supports for adult students'.[30] Sandmann suggests that:

> The data on adults into higher education indicates that those HEIs who are successful are those who recognise change, embrace it and implement the integration of adult curricula and support and delivery systems…[31]

The Study

Research Questions, Purpose

With the above debates in mind, in the position of (n=30) full-time, mature undergraduate students in two Irish universities in the period 2012-2013 is problematized and explored via two guiding questions:

27 Tasmin Hinton-Smith, *Lone Parents' Experiences as Higher Education Students.* (Leicester: NIACE, 2012).
28 Ted Fleming and Fergal Finnegan, *Non-Traditional Students in Irish Higher Education: A Research Report.* (Wroclaw, RANLHE: 2011).
29 Jennie Daniels, 'Women learners and their virtual handbags: invisible experiences and everyday contexts in vocational education', *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 29, 1 (February, 2010):77.
30 Lorilee Sandmann ,'Adults in Four Year Colleges and Universities', in *The Handbook of Adult and Continuing Education*, ed. Carol Kasworm et al (London: Sage, 2010), 221.
31 Ibid.

1. What are the intentions and related expectations of mature students to HE and, given these intentions/expectations;
2. How do mature students experience HE in their first year of study?

Intentions here refers to reasons for taking up study at a mature age, while expectations relate to participants' perceptions of the particular support (pedagogical and other) needs to help them in their efforts. With reference to (1), above: How do these intentions relate to participants' 'learning careers' to date?[32] This aims to establish connections between reasons for return to study and past education/life histories, so that mature student entry to HE can be placed in the context of educational efforts and individual biographies across the lifespan. In relation to question 2, above: How do mature students experience teaching and learning as well academic and institutional supports in their first year in HE? What are their experiences of the non-academic (or social) element of university life and how does this impact on their first year experience? It is hoped that this study will add significantly to our understanding of why mature students take up HE at a later age as well as highlighting the factors that contribute to their success in the academy

Research Approach

The research approach is informed by prescriptions for conducting applied or 'field' ethnography (for example, Le Compte and Senshul, 2010)[33], as well as insights offered by Carspecken and Apple (1993) for effecting a critical research project in the field of education, or 'critical ethnography.[34] Gunzenhauser (2004) suggests that critical ethnography usually entails four specific promises on the part of the researcher: giving voice; identifying agency; uncovering power; and connecting analysis to cultural critique.[35] This amalgam of aims served to guide the project throughout, from research design to selection and deployment of research instruments, below.

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32 Beth Crossan, John Field, Jim Gallacher and Barbara Merrill, 'Understanding Participation in Learning for Non-traditional Adult Learners: Learning Careers and the Construction of Learning Identities', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 24, 1 (April, 2003):55.

33 Margaret Le Compte and Jean Senshul, *The Ethnographers Toolkit* (Maryland: Altimira Press, 2010).

34 Phil Carspecken and Michael Apple, 'Critical Qualitative Research: Theory, Methods and Practice', in *The Handbook of Qualitative Research in Education* ed. Margaret Le Compte et al (London: Academic Press, 1993).

35 Michael Gunzenhauser, 'Promising rhetoric for a post-critical ethnography', in *Postcritical Ethnography: Reinscribing Critique,* ed. George Noblit et al (Michigan: Hampton Press, 2004).

Research Site, Sampling Strategy

A purposeful sampling approach was employed in order to yield a broad mature student population across two Irish Universities with contrasting mission and institutional response to accommodating mature and non-traditional students. Briefly, the relatively smaller 'College A' trades on a reputation for accommodating a more diverse student body in its ranks, including mature students. In contrast, the much larger, elite-status, 'College B' retains a rigid limit on the numbers of mature student entrants and those seeking to gain entry via alternative routes, while continuing to serve a more traditional student body in terms of age and profile. Previous research effort (Fleming and Finnegan, 2011)[36] indicates that these contrasting strategies have implications for how non-traditional and older students are received in the institution and this research effort will allow for these differences to be investigated further. The sampling strategy yielded eighteen female and twelve male participants studying a broad range of arts, and non-arts, based subjects across the respective HEIs.

Research Instruments & Output

The initial data generation element of the study comprised a set of (n=30) interviews with students to explore their intentions for HE study as well their expectations for their forthcoming venture. Participant observation, or rather 'observation of participation' in the form of (online, real-time) participant diaries provided the bulk of data on students experiences in their first year in the academy. This yielded n=160 entries over a nine month period from n=25 mature students who took part in this element of the study. In addition, two focus groups were operated mid-way through the academic year across both research sites and were attended by one-third of the group (n=10). This data provided the basis for final interviews with (n=27) participants the end of the academic year to explore their experiences and observations of life as a mature student in HE. Thus, the attrition rate in this study was n=3, or 10% of the sample.

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36 Fleming and Finnegan, *Non-traditional students*.

Instrument	Research Output n=
Interview 1: Learning Careers/Biographies	30
Online Logs or Diary Entries	166
Focus Groups	2
Interview 2: End-of-year review	27

Table I: Research Output: Student Population

Other 'key informants' included two MSOs (Mature Student Officers) as well counselling and academic support services across the respective HEIs (n=4).

Findings

Initial findings from the study indicate a highly heterogeneous cohort (23 to 55 years.) representing two distinct generations of mature students to HE. This heterogeneity is captured, in the first instance, in the participant census attached to this paper (Appendix 1). Age is one point of difference in a cohort who present to HE as a highly diverse grouping in terms of status, social class, race, colour, sexuality, cultural background, educational attainment, previous occupations and so on. The sample here can be seen to be made up of older and younger mature students variously representing first, second, as well as third generations to progress to third-level education. The findings also reveal significant disparities in prior education attainment, ranging from no formal educational attainment to MBA level. While the bulk of these mature students are first time entrants (n=20), this research also reveals a significant number (n=10) who return as undergraduates for a second time, four of whom have successfully completed undergraduate degrees. This research effort also provides evidence, previously anecdotal, of the impact of the GFC (Global Financial Crisis) and new mature student populations being pulled into the system of HE as a result. This impact can be detected in 50% of cases (n=15) with participant's citing redundancy, business failure, economic hardship or a failure to secure meaningful or sustainable employment as a primary catalyst for their return to education.

In keeping with the literature on the matter, this mature student group present to HE with different 'risk parameters', not just in terms of educational profile or 'capital', but also in terms of access to highly practical resources (time,

health, finance, external support networks) to sustain them in their efforts. While some in the sample cohort are well positioned to absorb the cost of their undergraduate degrees without incurring significant debt, others like Paula, below, take up HE with precarious finances and limited access to other resources that place this venture in some jeopardy from the outset.

Mature Students Intentions for Higher Education

The heterogeneous nature of this group is further revealed in the complexity of meaning or meanings that these students offer for their return to education at a later age. This includes themes relating to unrecognised or unrealised potential, missed opportunity or ambitions thwarted. In this regard, HE offers the prospect for actualising potential; for emancipation or liberation from alienating work or domestic roles; for meaningful employment and the prospect of a 'good life'. The journey into HE can be cathartic process for some and related to perceived past failures or hopes stymied by systems / others. Still more look upon HE as an opportunity for work on the self; for identity work or play; for respect and recognition; for personal transformation or change. While HE holds a deep-held, personal, significance for many in this sample group, there is very little evidence to suggest that this is positioned as any form of lifestyle option; rather, it can be seen that participants in this study also retain highly pragmatic, instrumental, reasons relating to career progression and improved life chances for themselves, their families and for their wider communities. There is a strong altruistic streak running through many of these accounts that places HE in the context of the benefits accruing to self, significant others, as well as to society at large. The complexity of intention that these mature students hold for their HE is captured in the respective cases of Paula and Jo, below.

Case Studies: Paula & Jo

Paula, (26), is a single parent with two young children studying for a combined arts degree at College A. She also grew up in a single parent family - Paula's father died when she was very young, leaving her mother to bring up four small children on her own. Paula describes an impoverished family situation where she felt compelled to leave school early to take up work so that she could buy all of the things that her teenage peers took for granted: decent shoes, make up and so on. Asked about her intentions for HE, Paula states

that her main priority is:

> …for my children to follow me and break the cycle of leaving school early in the family. I want my children to reach their full potential in life whatever they choose to do. I want them to have options.

Recent research in the ROI context indicates that it is the mother's level of education attainment that will have the greatest impact on a child's life chances, negating factors such as family composition, status and class.[37] While the need to create a culture of learning and progression in her small family unit remains a priority for Paula, she readily acknowledges some contradiction in her motives for HE when she states that she also wants to:

> Get my own identity back - I'm not just a mammy, and to gain self-respect.

Paula has a long wish-list for HE that extends to a career and the prospect of financial security:

> I want a career and of course to be financially secure in life so I can give my children the things that two parent families have.

In terms of post-graduate destination, Paula reveals that she would like to pursue a career path that involves helping young people who face structural disadvantage in society to realise their potential in life. This brings Paula's intentions for HE back full-circle to her own formative experiences of growing up in a culture of poverty and the multiple barriers that she has had to overcome in her life to now. While Paula and others have a lot to gain from her HE venture, as a single parent solely reliant on welfare payments, this appears in some jeopardy from the very outset; for example, she reports having to borrow money to pay for her registration fees while waiting for a subsistence grant that did not arrive until three months into her studies. The diary entries supplied by Paula over the course of the year describe a complex logistical process of childcare involving family, childcare facilities and help from friends in order to make her time and meagre finances go further. The following contribution captures the precarious nature of the venture for some groups of mature students, who nonetheless manage to succeed in HE, despite the odds:

> My head is just above water. I have 4 assignments to do, a book to read and a presentation to do all in the next 2 weeks. I should be stressed but I'm not, which worries me. I feel I've lost my get up and go. I have had a lot of family ties this semester and they keep

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37 Department of Health and Children, *Growing Up in Ireland: The Lives of Nine-Year Olds*, Dublin: The Stationery Office, 2009.

coming. But I'll do what I can in the time I have and I'm hoping its enough to pass. I can't wait for summer as I need to recharge and spend some much needed time with the kids as they have been emotionally neglected. I feel bad about that, but I know it's for their own good in the long run. It's been a great year, it is nearly over, don't regret doing it, and I've gained respect for myself and from others, I have noticed. People treat me different as a student…than as a single mother, with respect. Sums it up nicely.

Jo's Story

There are similar themes underlying through Jo's decision to embark on a four-year (applied) Arts Degree at College B. Jo is a single parent with one (pre-school) aged child and, like Paula, sees her HE entry in terms of improved life chances for her off-spring:

> Because I am a single parent, the onus is on me…I want to be a good role model for him and be able to support him without being on benefits and that kind of stuff.

Jo was recently made redundant from her (sales-related) job that was intimately connected to the housing boom during the so-called Celtic-Tiger years. There is an element of serendipity attached to her decision to eschew a return to a form of work she found alienating in favour of taking up HE and a potentially rewarding career helping others:

> I think down the line…I don't want to say make a difference because it sounds like I want to change the world: there are other reasons why I chose (profession). But, yeah, to effect some sort of changes, even if they are only small.

Like many of the women-carers who make up a significant sub-cohort in this study (n=10), Jo frames this as a process for others, as well as 'doing it for myself', when she states that:

> I didn't want to be just going through the motions and not being really happy just so I can support him (child) financially.

Jo is second generation to progress to HE, third generation if you include her grandmother obtaining an OU (Open University) degree. She suggests that this background is an important factor in her decision to return to education as a mature student and that it is 'quite normal' for members of her family to progress to third-level. Jo's decision to leave school early is framed in terms of not having the necessary personal resources to carry on her education past

the formal age of schooling, as well as lack of direction as to where this might take her:

> I wasn't ready for further study at that time and, over the course of the next ten years, I had a hundred and one different ideas about what I wanted to do with my life….

The following diary entry from Jo illustrates the misrecognition of mature students and their intentions to HE as they attempt to establish their place as legitimate students in the academy:

> Had an interesting discussion in my Sociology tutorial last week. We were asked to discuss Mills' idea of 'private orbits'. I am the only mature student in this class and was openly singled out as being 'different' by the younger students. It was assumed that I must have come from a family that 'didn't place importance on higher education' because otherwise I would have gone to uni at aged 18. Quite untrue. A few of the students seemingly looked down on me because of my situation (single parent, mature student) but I, in turn, felt sorry for those experiencing immense parental pressures...

Despite having positive intentions towards engaging the 'whole student experience' in HE, Jo is resigned to the fact that her commitments as a single-parent will limit her opportunity to fully immerse herself in academic and social life of HE. At the same time, she is optimistic that her maturity and life experience will add significantly to her chances of third-level success.

Discussion

As a group, these mature students represent broader patterns of engagement and participation into HE that stands in contrast to the homogenic, second-cycle, third-level progression route that has been the main concern of the system up to now. This sample can be seen to represent a highly diverse cohort with many points of difference in and between the group; while some of these students present near to the traditional student 'norm' in terms of age, profile, background, educational profile and so on, others can be seen to share few characteristics with their younger student counterparts. In short, for this sample grouping, the risk parameters attached to their HE participation are wide and varied and some mature students like Paula take up their third-level study relatively resource (financial, other) poor.

This analysis calls, in the first instance, for a more nuanced understanding of how mature students are variously situated in terms of access to resources that is little recognised in policy or in institutional responses to including a more diverse, older, student in HE. Clearly, younger mature student returners armed with an undergraduate degree present a vastly different proposition to older mature students who make their way to HE following a thirty-year absence from formal education and with fewer educational resources to hand. The study reveals how a significant number (n=10) return to third-level study following first-time withdrawal and/or having pursued the wrong degree pathway. This group of 'recyclers' offer the prospect of (negative) a consideration of a culture of progression to HE, the peer/parental/policy-system pressures involved, and a seemingly complicit, conveyor-belt system of second-cycle, third-level progression. Jo's case highlights how some students may not be ready to make the leap to HE at the formative age, either through a lack of personal resources or a clear vocational focus, or both. Simply, the route into HE as a mature student makes more sense for Jo now that she has gained a deeper appreciation of what she wants from a future career; in this case a vocational pathway that offers intellectual stimulation, as well an opportunity to help others in adversity.

The heterogeneity of this group is further revealed in the complexity of these mature student's intentions or motives for HE that remains qualitatively different to their traditional age counterparts. Here, jobs and projected future careers sit alongside deeper-held meanings rooted in personal histories and past encounters with education. The accounts supplied by Paula and Jo illustrate the highly autobiographical nature of this venture, quite often with the intention that this will be of benefit to themselves, their offspring and/or to wider society. However, it is often the case that mature students like Paula and Jo who have the most to gain from their HE correspondingly face the greatest risks or dangers of non-completion in a system that remains wedded to the notion of the independent, academically successful, traditional aged learner. Jo's account captures the very real prejudices and difficulties facing some of the cohort as they attempt to find their place in the institution, while Paula's contribution highlights the financial, practical, as well as the emotional cost for some 'at-risk' groups of mature student to HE. The particular dilemmas or risks facing mature students in academy will be further explored in subsequent papers and presentations derived from the (on-going) study.

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ID	College	Gender	Origin	Age	Social Class	Marital Status	Generation to HE	Dependents	Highest Education Attainment	Previous Higher Education
PT01	A	F	ROI	40	WC	Single	1st	0	LC	N
PT02	B	F	ROI	55	MC	Married	1st	3	LC	N
PT03	A	F	UK	47	WC	Separated	1st	2	FETAC 5	N
PT04	A	F	ROI	52	MC	Married	1st	2	LC	N
PT05	A	F	ROI	28	WC	Single	1st	0	LC	Y, W/D Yr.1
PT06	B	F	UK	27	MC	Single	1st	1	FE CERT	N
PT08	B	F	ROI	50	MC	Married	3rd	3	MBA	Y, Successful
PT09	B	F	ROI	24	WC	Single	2nd	0	LC	N
PT10	B	M	ROI	26	MC	Single	3rd	0	Hons Degree	Y, Successful
PT11	B	F	ROI	32	MC	Single	2nd	0	LC	Y, W/D Year 1
PT15	B	F	ROI	45	WC	Married	1st	3	LC	N
PT16	B	M	S.Amer	28	WC	Single	1st	0	FETAC 5	Y, W/D Yr.1
PT17	B	F	ROI	54	MC	Separated	2nd	2	FE Diploma	N
PT18	B	F	ROI	55	WC	Single	1st	1	LC	N
PT20	B	M	ROI	24	WC	Divorced	1st	0	LC	N
PT21	A	F	ROI	26	WC	Single	1st	2	ESL, FETAC 5	N
PT22	A	F	S.Africa	33	WC	Single	1st	0	LC Equivalent	N
PT23	A	F	ROI	30	MC	Single	1st	0	LC	Y, W/D Yr.1
PT24	B	M	ROI	51	MC	Re-married	1st	2	LC	Y, W/D Yr.2
PT25	B	M	ROI	28	MC	Single	2nd	0	Ordinary Degree	Y, Successful
PT26	B	M	ROI	24	MC	Single	1st	0	Hons Degree	Y, Successful
PT27	B	M	ROI	52	WC	Married	1st	2	None	N
PT28	B	F	S.Africa	35	MC	Married	2nd	2	LC Equivalent	Y, W/D Year 1
PT29	B	F	ROI	28	WC	Single, Co-habit	1st	1	FETAC 5	N
PT30	B	M	N.Africa	28	WC	Single	1st	0	FETAC 6	N
PT31	B	M	UK	47	MC	Married	2nd	4	A-Levels	N
PT32	A	M	ROI	40	WC	Single	1st	0	LC	N
PT33	A	M	ROI	33	WC	Married	1st	2	LC	N
PT34	A	M	ROI	27	WC	Single, Co-habit	1st	0	LC	N
PT35	B	F	ROI	40	WC	Married	1st	3	LC	N

Appendix I: Participant Census

A Practical Humanoid Robot Morphology for Operation in Civilian Environments

by
Conor McGinn

Abstract

Despite recent progress in robotics research and development, the effective design of multi-purpose robotic solutions for civilian and domestic environments has proven particularly elusive. Mechanically simple systems are typically incapable of traversing stairs (a feature in most buildings) and lack the flexibility to undertake many tasks that may be desired while more complex solutions suffer from practical issues relating to excessive weight, size, power consumption and control complexity. The purpose of this research was to develop a hybrid robot morphology which possesses a high degree of mechanical complexity while retaining much of the control simplicity, stability and power efficiency of a conventional wheeled robot.

This paper presents the novel design of a robot morphology capable of exhibiting efficient locomotion within virtually all civilian/domestic environments and picking up objects from the ground. Through real-time control of the robot's static stability margin, the pose of the robot has been engineered to maintain stability while reducing control complexity and energy consumption. A mathematical description of the robot's forward kinematics is given. Practical performance capabilities of the first physical embodiment of this design are presented and future work including the implementation of a novel stair-climbing gait is discussed.

Introduction

Personal robots[1] that can reliably operate in human occupied environments (public buildings, houses, hospitals etc.) have the potential to provide unprecedented independence to people with a wide range of disabilities, the elderly and any other interest group that presently requires human assistance in order to live their everyday lives. Not only will these robots perform the types of tasks that their users are unable to but they will provide a portable, cost effective and relatively unobtrusive means of monitoring that would otherwise require a high degree of human supervision.

It is observed from the literature that correlations typically exist in the design of mobile robots between mechanical complexity, control complexity, power consumption and practical performance capability (Guizzo 2014, Hirose 1991). Robots that are mechanically simple (i.e. a 3 wheeled differentially driven robot) are also usually simple to control. Furthermore since they contain few active joints and are usually statically stable[2] (i.e. they don't require continuous power to maintain stability), they can also be said to possess a high overall energy efficiency. While such robots may seem highly desirable, their simplicity is also a limiting factor in the range of tasks that they can carry out (i.e. a simple three wheeled differentially driven robot cannot typically open a door or climb a step). As the mechanical complexity of a robot increases, so too usually does its ability to perform a wider range of tasks (i.e. a biped humanoid robot may be able to open a door and climb a step). However as such manoeuvres require close coordination of several links/joints, the problem of inverse kinematics and motion planning becomes increasingly more complex. Additionally by increasing the systems controllable degrees of freedom, the number of actuators required goes up thus raising the overall power consumption.

This paper describes the development of a novel anthropomorphic robot morphology (kinematic and dynamic configuration of a robot) which seeks to overcome the traditional relationship that exists between mechanical complexity, control complexity, energy efficiency and practical performance.

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1 Personal robots refer to some form of electro-mechanical machines that operate in close proximity to/with people and possess the ability to sense and act on their environment in some way.

2 A notable exception here is self-balancing robots that use two wheels and maintain stability by adjusting the wheel velocities in response to the overall position of the centre of mass.

The robot morphology presented in this work has been designed to be capable of performing a broad range of assistive tasks in human occupied environments (the home in particular) with relatively low levels of control complexity and power consumption when compared against existing equivalent systems. Such tasks include picking up objects from the ground and from various heights, locomotion, social interaction and stair-climbing. Therefore the primary objective of this work was to develop a high level design for a robot that is capable of multi-purpose operation in domestic and civilian environments whilst possessing good usability and high levels of stability and energy efficiency. The secondary objective of this work was to build a full-scale prototype of this morphology and to characterise several aspects of its embodiment including grasping efficiency, stability and controller performance.

Methods

Related Work

The design of the proposed morphology has been influenced by a long line of preceding robot design philosophies. Humanoid robots such as Honda's famous P-Series and Asimo series (Hirai et al. 1998), the HRP robots (Kaneko and Harada 2008, Kaneko et al. 2009) and more recently Petman/Atlas (Nelson et al. 2012, Guizzo 2014) have each demonstrated the impressive locomotive capability of bipedal robot designs. Wheeled self-balancing robots such as iBot (Ding et al. 2004), the Segway mobility platform (Nguyen and Morrell 2004) and Ball-bot (Lauwers 2006) have demonstrated that high manoeuvrability can be achieved on a statically unstable base with a large aspect ratio (ratio of robot's height to width/depth). Additionally through the development of T-Bot (Ragusila et al. 2010) and Golem Krang (Stilman, Olson, and Gloss 2010), it was demonstrated that such systems could be designed to utilise functional manipulators and an anthropomorphic design. The PR-2 (Bohren et al. 2011) and Care-O-Bot (Connette and Parlitz 2008) have each explored how assistive domestic tasks can be undertaken through sophisticated algorithm design and a user-centered approach. The CHIMP robot developed by CMU (Guizzo 2014) to compete in the DARPA Robotics Challenge demonstrated that a level of performance in civilian environments normally reserved for statically unstable robots can be achieved on a statically stable platform that uses a hybrid form of locomotion.

If robots are to operate in the same environments as humans, it is important that they possess some means through which they can easily and effectively communicate with people. Robots that possess social interfaces such as SPARKY (Scheeff et al. 2002), Kismet (Breazeal 1999, 2003) and Pearl (Pineau et al. 2003) have each shown that a social interface provides an intuitive, effective and easily understood mechanism through which robots can communicate with people. As social interfaces provide a continuous form of feedback to the user, their presence serves as a powerful means for people to establish their expectation of the robot's abilities. Consequently a lack of a social interface in a robot can serve to confuse and in some cases intimidate humans in its vicinity (Schulte and Rosenberg 1999)(Green, Huttenrauch, and Norman 2000; Fong, Nourbakhsh, and Dautenhahn 2003).

A high level comparison of several of these robot platforms is presented in Table 1 and corresponding images of the robots given in Figure 1. It is noted that each robot mentioned is representative of a particular class of robot morphology.

	Golem-Krang	PR-2	HRP	Care-O-Bot	Robbie
Overall DOF	6	20	42	14	9
Overall Default Size breadth/depth/height (mm)	<700/460/50-1500	690/670/1330-1645	695/460/1606	500/600/1400	550/600/1040
Locomotion (multiple gaits y/n)	Diff-Driven (n)	Omni (n)	Legged (n)	Omni (n)	Diff-Driven (y)
Social Interface y/n (focal point for interaction y/n)	n (n)	n (y)	y (y)	n (y)	y (y)
Statically Stable y/n	n	y	n	y	y
Requires additional hardware to program y/n	y	y	y	y	n

Table 1: A comparison of features of several state of the art robots developed for operation in civilian environment including the proposed morphology referred to here as 'Robbie'

Figure 1: from left to right:
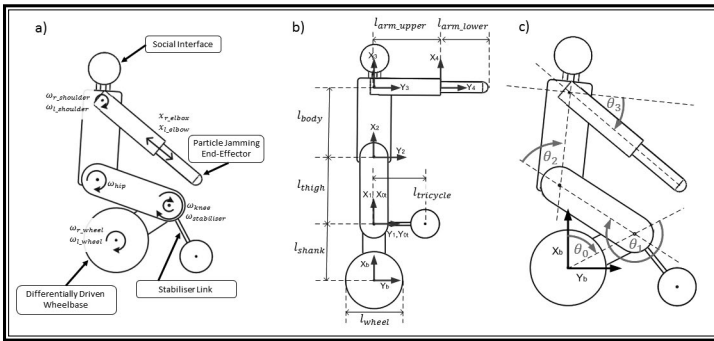Golem-Krang, the PR-2 robot, HRP-C, the Care-O-Bot robot

Figure 2: (a) A labelled diagram of the proposed morphology including the robot's actuated degrees of freedom (in italic) (b) the coordinate system used when applying the DH method for determining the forward kinematics (c) the DH joint angles relative to the base origin. It is noted that the z-axis is located into the page.

Mathematical Description of Robot

The proposed robot design describes a 9 degree of freedom (DOF) humanoid-type mobile robot that possesses a body, arms, head, and legs. Instead of using a walking gait for locomotion as is the case with bipedal robots, the left and right legs are rigidly fixed to each other and possess a pair of differentially driven wheels at the ankle joint (Figure 2). An actuated stabilising link which rotates about the z-axis is positioned in the shank. Actuation of this joint will cause a proportional change in the robot's wheelbase. Through coordinated movement of the hip, knee and stabiliser joint, the robot is able to adjust its height and centre of mass (COM).

The arms have one rotational degree of freedom at the shoulder and a prismatic joint at the elbow. Universal jamming type grippers (Amend and Brown 2012) are located at the end of each arm, both of which connect to a vacuum pump located in the robot's body. The robot's social interface consists of a digital LCD mounted inside a moulded robotic head. An interactive facial animation enables people to interact with the robot.

Using the Denavit-Hartenberg (DH) convention (Sprong and Vidyasagar 1989), the forward kinematics of the robot can be defined. The DH convention provides a systematic mechanism through which homogeneous coordinate transforms can be defined from the specification of just four parameters per link - link length (a_i), link twist (α_i), link offset (d_i), joint angle (θ_i). A transformation matrix (A_i) is generated by substituting these link parameters into a generic transform equation given by:

$$A_i = \begin{bmatrix} \cos\theta_i & -\sin\theta_i\cos\alpha_i & \sin\theta_i\sin\alpha_i & a_i\cos\theta_i \\ \sin\theta_i & \cos\theta_i\cos\alpha_i & -\cos\theta_i\sin\alpha_i & a_i\sin\theta_i \\ 0 & \sin\alpha_i & \cos\alpha_i & d_i \\ 0 & 0 & 0 & 1 \end{bmatrix} \qquad (1)$$

The DH parameters which describe a 2D projection of the robot specified are given below (Table 2). Although each base transformation matrix describes the relationship between just two coordinate systems, a larger transformation matrix can be generated by multiplying successive base transformation matrices. For example the transformation matrix which describes the position of the end-effector relative to the robot's wheelbase (T_{ee}) is given by:

$$T_{ee} = A_{shank} * A_{thigh} * A_{body} * A_{arm_{upper}} * A_{arm\_lower} \qquad (2)$$

	a_i	α_i	d_i	θ_i
A_{shank}	l_{shank}	0	0	θ_{shank}
$A_{tricycle}$	$l_{tricycle}$	0	0	$\theta_{tricycle}$
A_{thigh}	l_{thigh}	0	0	θ_{thigh}
A_{body}	l_{body}	0	0	θ_{body}
A_{arm_upper}	l_{arm_upper}	0	0	θ_{arm_upper}
A_{arm_lower}	l_{arm_lower}	0	d_{arm_lower}	θ_{arm_lower}

Table 2: The DH parameters for the robot morphology

Using the segmental method, the overall COM of the robot can be computed from the cumulative position of the centre of masses of the robot's limbs. The expression which defines this point is given by:

$$(x_{COM}, y_{COM}) = \left(\frac{\sum_{i=0}^{n} m_i x_{COM,i}}{\sum_{i=0}^{n} m_i}, \frac{\sum_{i=0}^{n} m_i y_{COM,i}}{\sum_{i=0}^{n} m_i} \right) \qquad (3)$$

Maneouverability and Stability

As domestic and civilian environments are primarily designed for use by people, it is proposed that robots possessing a similar form (i.e. a high aspect ratio and possessing legs, torso and arms) will be morphologically better suited for practical operation in such places than robots that do not. Not only are robots of this type likely to be better suited for locomotion in civilian spaces (i.e. it is challenging for robots with long wheelbases to traverse through doorways and in cluttered spaces) but they will also be able to interact with the wider environment in a more diverse and natural way, especially in instances where spatial positioning of limbs is important (engaging in social interaction with a human at eye level, picking up objects from a table etc.).

Domestic and indoor civilian environments typically possess firm and flat floor surfaces which make them well suited to locomotion for wheeled robots. The proposed robot morphology achieves locomotion through a pair of differentially driven wheels located at the base of the shank (at the ankle joint). Differentially driven robots (turning achieved by actively modifying the speed of one wheel relative to the other) have a greater degree of mobility than steered robots meaning that they can in theory follow more demanding kinematic trajectories. It is noted that to avoid the lateral turning resistance which emerges from the ground-tire interaction in skid-steered vehicles, two passive omni-directional wheels were incorporated at the end of the stabiliser link. In this instance, omni-directional wheels were deemed preferable to caster wheels as they possess a larger diameter wheel for the same overall form factor. This increased radius allows the robot to traverse bumps that would be too demanding for equivalent caster systems.

An important and novel aspect of the robot's design is that it utilises a stability mechanism that enables it to undertake tasks previously reserved for statically unstable robots (i.e. biped legged robots) whilst retaining statically stable capabilities. During periods of rest and when engaged in locomotive tasks on hard, flat ground the robot operates in a configuration of high static stability. However when required, the robot can adopt a more upright pose through actuation of the stabiliser and knee joints and thus for the required

time period, operate in a manner comparable with more conventional self-balancing wheeled platforms. Mathematically the stability of the robot can be quantifiably defined by its static stability margin (Armada, Estremera, and Santos 2002). The static stability margin (SSM) states that the robot is statically stable if the horizontal projection of the robot's COM lies within its support polygon (convex polygon formed around the ground contact points of the robot) and that the margin of stability is given by the shortest straight line distance between the projection of the COM and the edges of the support polygon. For the robot described in this work, the SSM is at its maximum when the stabiliser is extended and the knees are bent (Figure 3a). However when the knees straighten and the stabiliser recoils, the shortening in the robot's wheelbase causes the SSM to reduce (Figure 3b).
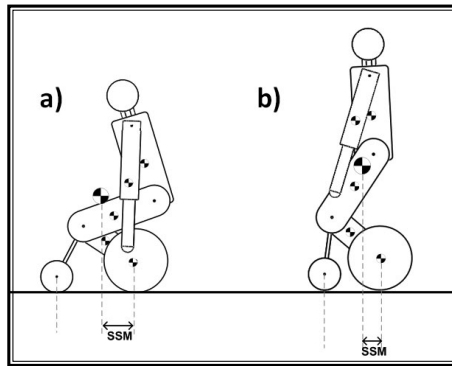

Figure 3: (a) Pose with high SSM (b) Pose with low SSM

While not accounted for in the SSM criteria, it is noted that when the robot is in an upright position, the vertical height of the COM increases and this too has the effect of decreasing the effective stability of the robot. To ensure that stable operation can be effectively maintained during less stable postural configurations, a reactive real-time controller is implemented which adjusts the wheel velocities to counterbalance any observed unexpected pitching of the robot's body. As the joints at the wheel, knee, hip and shoulder are all constrained by the bearings to rotate in the same plane (x-y plane), it can be assumed that each joint possesses a high degree of lateral stability. A high level of lateral stability of the robot as a whole can also be expected during locomotion as the moment of inertia about the y-axis of the drive wheel is significantly larger than that about the axis of wheel rotation. Furthermore as the wheel generates significant angular momentum during locomotion, large lateral forces would be needed to induce lateral instability.

Social Interaction

The social interface on the robot consists of a custom moulded head mounted on a 1 DOF neck (Figure 4). A monitor is mounted in the head and is in turn connected to a computer in the robot's body which renders a dynamically responsive animated face (Figure 4a). Furthermore since this interface is connected directly to the computer controlling the robot, it can double as both a programming interface (Figure 4b) and a medium to directly communicate the robot's internal states such as sensor readings, belief states and joint trajectory plans (Figure 4c).
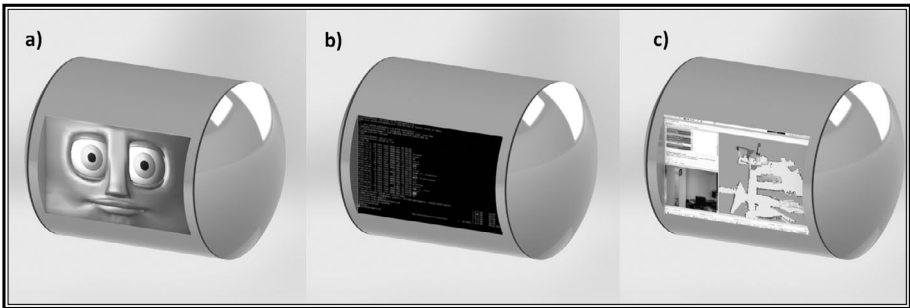

Figure 4: (a) the graphical face mode
(b) the programming interface mode
(c) internal state visualisation mode

Several important design considerations were incorporated while designing the interface for the robot. Firstly it is clear from the work of Mori (Mori 1970) that for psychological reasons, the level of familiarity (the 'humanness') of the interface is something that should be regulated and that interfaces that are too 'humanlike' tend to illicit feelings of unease and distrust in the human user. It has been further demonstrated that in general the most agreeable interfaces retain some level of 'robot-ness' while also possessing some but not all human features and capabilities (Scheeff et al. 2002, Canamero 2001, DiSalvo, Gemperle and Forlizzi 2002).

Social interaction amongst humans is a complex and highly layered process whereby participants regardless of whether they know each other or not, possess a preformed mental map of the other's mental states (desires, beliefs, feelings, intensions etc.) and as the interaction transpires, this map is dynamically updated (Dautenhahn 1999). As the mental states that human

users will assign to robots are likely to differ from those they will assign to people, it was determined that a face alone was not a suitable mechanism to achieve effective social interaction (since information pertaining to a robots internal states is generally not easily translated to a facial expression alone). Other considerations relating to practical suitability, suitability for long term use and requirement for customisation were also incorporated when developing this interface.

Grasping

A central requirement of this design was the ability for it to pick up items from the ground. Through elongation of the arm at the prismatic joint in the elbow, a universal particle jamming gripper (Amend and Brown 2012) deforms around the object to be picked up (Figure 5). By creating a vacuum in the gripper, the gripper contracts and thus tightens around the object which can be then be safely lifted.

This type of gripper was favoured over more conventional manipulators due to its mechanical and control simplicity. As particle jamming grippers passively adapt to the shape of the object they pick up, the complex coordination between sensing, planning and actuation typically required to perform a 'pick-up' is substantially reduced.
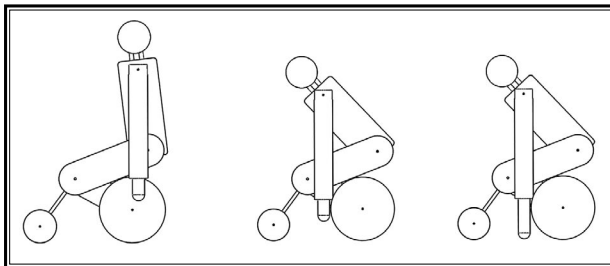

Figure 5: A graphical description of the process of picking up an object from the ground: (left) default position of robot (middle) tilt robot forward and position gripper above object (right) elongate arm and engage universal gripper to pick up object

Control

As the stability margin of the platform is something that can be dynamically

adjusted, it is important to design the controller for poses of high and low stability. In order to avoid the computational resources required by a self-balancing algorithm, a low level subsumption architecture is implemented (Figure 6). Using rotary encoders at each joint and an inertial measurement unit (IMU) located in each limb, filters are implemented to monitor the orientation of the robot's limbs. From this, the position of the robot's COM is computed and the SSM is inferred. On the basis of the SSM, a PID (proportional-integral-derivative) controller adjusts the drive speed of the wheels to maintain the COM within the support polygon. A PID controller was chosen due to its computational efficiency and low system modelling requirements. The output of a PID controller is computed from the weighted sum of three gains each of which is associated with one of three system parameters: the present error (the linear distance of the COM from the support polygon), the integral of the error (sum of the previous errors since the projection of the COM fell outside the support polygon) and the derivative of the error (the rate of change of the error).

Tuning of the PID controllers, especially the controller directly responsible for wheel velocity (based on the SSM), is critical to the stability of the robot. In small scale self-balancing robots where the robot falling may not be of great concern, this can be done manually through trial and error however for larger and more complex robots simulation is necessary. In either case the proportional component is tuned first until the robot can maintain stability for several seconds, though it will oscillate considerably as the system is at best marginally stable. The integral component is then gradually increased to help reduce the overshoot and also to eliminate steady state error. The derivative control is then introduced to remove the remaining oscillations.
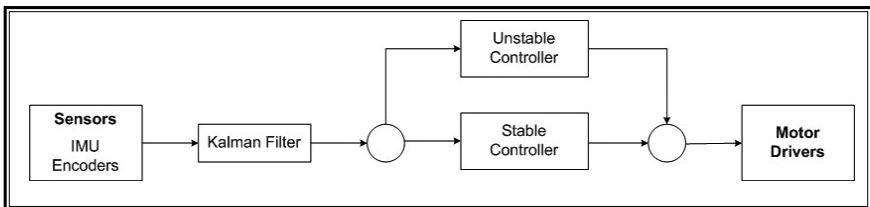

Figure 6: A graph of the subsumption control architecture used on the robot

Full Scale Prototype

A full scale first prototype platform has been built and tested (Figure 7). The physical properties of this robot are listed in Table 3.

Robot Section	Mass [kg]	Length [m]
Lower Leg	22.0	0.32
Upper Leg	2.5	0.35
Body	10.2	0.4
Arm	1.2	0.625 (contracted) 0.725 (extended)
Head	1.8	0.23

Table 3: A table of the robot's key parameters

The drive wheels are powered using 12V DC CIM motors with attached spur gearboxes. The knee, hip and stabiliser joints are actuated using three identical worm drives each using identical 12V CIM motors. While the wheels, stabiliser joint and knee are actuated directly at the joint, the hip is actuated through a chain drive whose driven axis is at the knee joint. The five motor assemblies and a 12000mAh LiPo battery reside in the lower leg compartment of the robot. The decision was made to place the majority of the robot's weight in the lower compartments in an effort to improve the static stability of the robot and to minimise the moment of inertia of the upper body. At the shoulder, the arms are each directly connected to a 360:1 planetary gearbox with an attached 12V motor which controls the swing of the arm. Due to the high gearing ratio, no control effort is generally required to maintain the position of the arms once it has picked up an object. A 12V linear actuator located inside each arm is used to extend/contract each arm at the elbow as needed and a 12V vacuum pump located inside the body is used to provide the vacuum to the universal gripping mechanism.
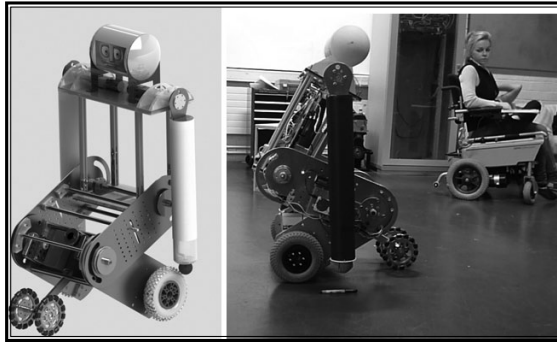
Figure 7: The first prototype (left) a CAD model
(right) a photo of the robot in the process of picking up a pen

Computers and sensors on-board the robot include a dual-core mini-ITX PC, a wireless router, a zigBee transceiver ("XBee ® /XBee-PRO ® RF Modules" 2009) and a custom made electronics control board. Additional sensors include five quadrature encoders (left/right wheel, stabiliser link, knee and hip), a 10 DOF inertial measurement unit (IMU) and a battery voltage sensor. The robot is tele-operated either through a custom made I-Pad app or using a simple X-Bee API that was developed primarily for testing purposes. The overall control structure is described in Figure 8.
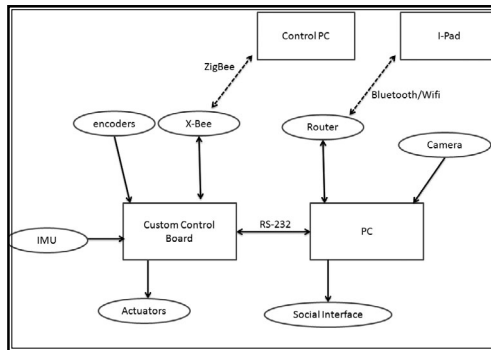

Figure 8: The system architecture used on the robot prototype.
The solid line conveys that the communication is achieved using a
wire while the dotted line represents wireless communication

The social interface on the robot consists of a custom 3D printed head mounted on a neck constructed from an aluminium-foam composite. A 7" LCD monitor is mounted in the head and is in turn connected to a computer

in the robot's body which renders a dynamically responsive animated face that was built through Blender software ("Blender") (Figure 9a).

After undertaking several 'Wizard-of-Oz' tests where volunteers were asked to provide feedback based on a simple interaction with the robot, we found that by reducing the complexity of the animations to 5 discrete states (neutral, happy, sad, angry, surprised), people could easily understand and distinguish each state. It was further reported by the volunteers that during instances where the interface was slow to respond/react (facial features were static and animation only occurred to transition between emotions), it sometimes appeared that the computer controlling the robot may have frozen. To help alleviate this concern, the interface was made to blink at a fixed period of once every two seconds. Therefore should the computer freeze, it would be immediately apparent to the user that the computer had failed. Additionally since the robot is presently tele-operated, the blinking feature was also disabled if the computer controlling the robot lost its wireless connection. This was implemented by time stamping all received remote commands and modifying the blink function such that it would stop blinking if a defined time threshold had elapsed.

Since the computer controlling the robot interface is decoupled from the microcontrollers controlling the robot's motion (i.e. the robot can operate without the social interface turned on), it was important to incorporate a design feature that could communicate with users to indicate that the robot was turned on. This feature was embodied as a fan which projects green light as it rotates (Figure 9b). If the robot is turned on, the fan lights up and rotates in a way that is visually evident to the user. It is noted that a fan was chosen over a static light display as it serves a double purpose of cooling the electronics located in the robot's body.
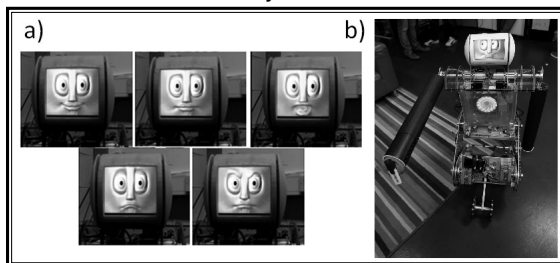

Figure 9: (a) The emotions that can be expressed by the robot
(b) the robot with the light emitting fan that indicates that the robot is turned on

Results

The following subsections describe preliminary results obtained from conducting performance evaluation tests on the robot prototype.

Upper Body Stability

Since the hip contains a revolute joint, a controller was developed to maintain the angular position of the upper body when the robot is both at rest and in motion. The angle of the hip joint is measured using both a rotary encoder and an IMU each located at the axis of rotation of the hip. These values were passed to a Kalman filter that was designed to calculate the tilt angle of the upper body and to infer its pitching velocity and angular acceleration. Using these measurements as outputs, a PID controller was implemented which acted to maintain this angle of the upper body at a desired setpoint. Due to the large torques acting on the knee and stabiliser joints, it was not possible to test this controller on the knee or stabiliser joints.

The ability of this controller to maintain the hip joint in a constant position was evaluated as the robot underwent a typical driving task - to drive forward from rest and stop (Figure 10). The maximum deviations from the desired setpoint occur during periods of acceleration (most notably during periods of 'starting' and 'stopping') due to inertial effects. Backlash in the joint control system makes it more difficult to limit the error in the angle position, especially under dynamic conditions. This backlash was due to the use of a chain drive as well as a gearbox to transfer torque from the motor to the joint. This results in a delayed response, as the motor must turn significantly before it engages the joint. Additionally inertial effects at the joint during these periods mean that substantially higher forces are required to correct deviations from the setpoint, further delaying the response.
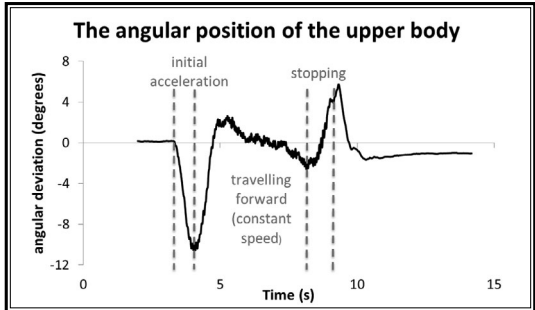
Figure 10: The typical angular movement of the upper body during a 'start-stop' cycle. In this case the travel speed between the periods of acceleration was 0.56 m/s.

'Start-stop' tests of this type were conducted at 4 travel speeds, as the robot travelled forward and backwards. The maximum angular deviations from the upright position under these conditions are shown for three controllers in Figure 11. It is evident that the controller based on the angle from the IMU performed significantly better than that based on the encoder. This is due to the increased accuracy of this measurement due to the instrument's capabilities but also the removal of backlash as a factor in angle estimation (the IMU being located on the upper-body itself). It was also observed during testing that at higher travel speeds the deviation from the desired angle increases.
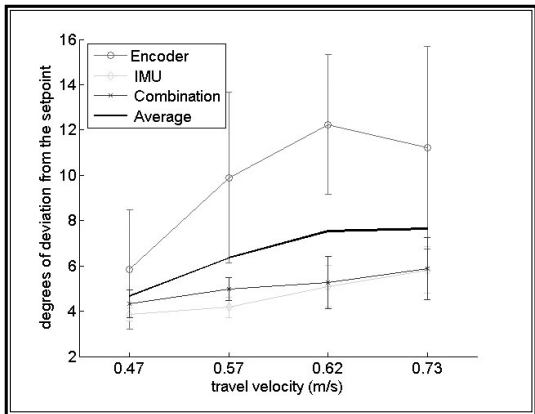

Figure 11: The maximum deviations from the setpoint (vertical) of the hip joint for three controllers (encoder only, IMU only, combination of IMU and encoder) as the robot starts from stopped, accelerates, drives and stops. The tests were repeated 4 times at each velocity (0.47, 0.57, 0.62, 0.73 m/s) for each angle estimate method.

It is imperative that this robot be able to navigate a domestic environment without small obstacles or raised surfaces (i.e. rugs, doorstops) prohibiting its operation. The robot was tested while driving over a door sill (commonly found on the threshold of a doorway) which was 12mm high and 80 mm in length. Figure 12 shows that the response of the upper body (in terms of angular deviation from the vertical) as it traverses the obstacle for three controllers (one using angle estimates from the encoder only, one using angle estimates from the IMU only and one using angle estimates from a combination of the IMU and encoder). It is observed that the response is similar to that observed during the 'start-stop' tests with each angle measurement technique resulting in stable behaviour and a broadly similar response. Figure 12 also shows that during normal travel on flat ground (in the period 4-7s), the combined IMU / encoder angle estimation resulted in smoother, less oscillatory angle control. This improved performance can be attributed to the ability of the combined controller (which is inherently less sensitive at high frequencies than the controllers that depend on only one sensor) to dampen transient vibrations induced in the robot.
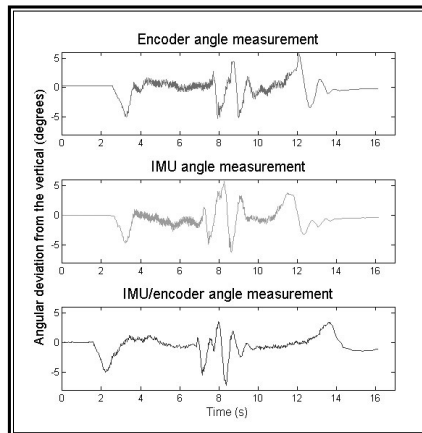

Figure 12: The angular movement of the upper body during a 'start-stop' cycle during which it goes over a 12mm high door sill. The angle measurements displayed here are those calculated by the Kalman filter using IMU data. An identical PID controller was used in each case with Kp= 4, Ki=2.5, Kd= 0.04 and the approach speed was 0.47m/s

Bending at Hip

The response of the hip joint to a command to rotate the upper body clockwise and counter clockwise was measured for the angle measurement paradigms analysed above. The results showing both the angular position of the joint and the angular velocity are presented in Figure 13. Starting in the upright position, the system is instructed to rotate the hip forward by 20 degrees and then back to the vertical. To ensure a natural movement, the rotational velocity at a point should be proportional to the instantaneous angle to the proceeding end point (i.e. higher velocity closer to the middle of the movement and slowing down towards the start/end positions). Four tests of forward and backward bending movements were done for three controllers – one using angle estimates from the encoder only, one using angle estimates from the IMU only and one using angle estimates from a combination of the IMU and encoder. Using the combination of the IMU and encoder gives a marginally more stable angular velocity based on a smoother angular velocity line. This is most noticeable at the extreme positions where the upper body is changing directions. As was illustrated in Figure 12, the improved performance of the combined controller is most evident during periods of movement when transient vibrations are continuously induced in the robot.
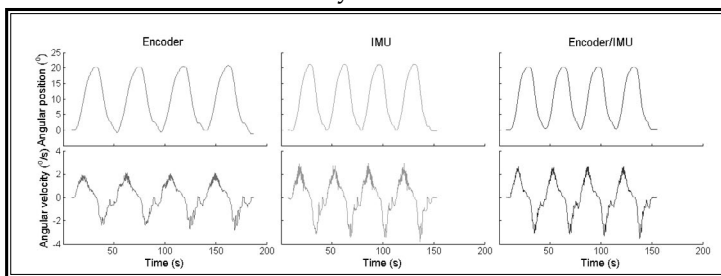
Figure 13: The performance of the robot in bending at the hip using PID controllers driven by angle estimates given by (left graphs) encoder readings alone (middle graphs) IMU readings alone (right graphs) combination of encoder and IMU readings using a Kalman filter. An identical PID controller was used in each case with Kp= 4, Ki=2.5, Kd= 0.04

Grasping Performance

The success rate of the gripper at picking up several small objects from the floor was evaluated (Figure 14a). The analysis suggests that for a sample set

of similarly sized small items, the gripper is more effective at picking up those with larger diameters. This is likely due to the larger surface area in contact with the items allowing the gripper to maximize its gripping force. Other factors could include surface roughness of the item as well as their mass. The ability of the robot to pick up an object and return it to a person was successfully demonstrated (Figure 14c).
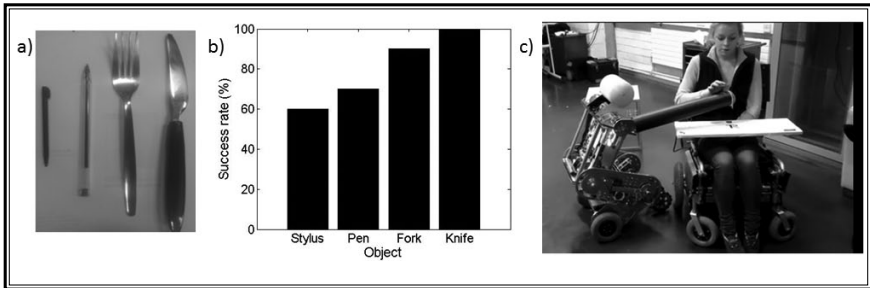
Figure 14: (a) test objects (b) the statistical likelihood of test objects being picked up. The prismatic joint in the arm was extended to push the gripper onto the object which had been placed beneath it. The vacuum pump was then turned on causing the gripper to grasp the item. After 10 seconds the prismatic joint lifted the gripper, bringing the item with it. For each item case the test was repeated 10 times (b) a handover procedure between the robot and a user

Discussion

Throughout the period of testing, the robot demonstrated high levels of manoeuvrability on hard, flat ground. This manoeuvrability can be attributed to both its differentially driven configuration and the location of the horizontal projection of the COM. Since the overall COM tends to lie closer to the axis of the rear wheels rather than the axis of the stabiliser wheel during normal operation, the normal reaction force at the omni-wheel is reduced and therefore the build-up of lateral forces which resist turning motion is minimised.

The robot also demonstrated impressive upper body stability when stationary and when moving. The robustness of the controller was evident when the robot demonstrated the ability to remain stable in the presence of a considerable disturbance when driving over the door sill. These results serve

to validate the effectiveness and robust nature of the PID controller which maintains the setpoint of the upper body. Furthermore it was shown that the performance of this controller is generally smoother when the upper body pitching angle estimate is taken from the combination of the rotary encoder at the hip joint and the IMU located close to the axis of rotation in the body.

Since the system is statically stable, no actuator effort was required to maintain static stability (although depending on the required pose, actuation may be required to counter inertial effects) during periods of 'downtime' when the robot is not actively engaged in undertaking a task. Therefore the robot can be said to be inherently more energy efficient than comparable designs which use statically unstable morphologies where continuous actuation is required in order to avoid falling over. As the control requirements of statically stable robots are inherently less than for statically unstable ones, the control and computational requirements are significantly reduced in comparison also.

It is clear from the test results that the controller succeeds in balancing the upper body during locomotion and during 'bending over' phases. However despite this success, the testing revealed several mechanical design improvements that would lead to a better performing robot. The first design improvement might be to increase the gearing ratio of the knee, hip and stabiliser joint. With the current design, the motors are unable to supply enough torque to extend the knee or stabiliser due to the large torques acting at these joints. This made physical testing of the controller for maintaining the SSM impossible with the current prototype. Also the rotation of the hip was limited to approximately 30 degrees as the joint torques required for recovery at greater angles became prohibitive. It is noted that during the initial testing phase, it was observed that the robot tended to oscillate about its setpoint. As the hip joint utilises low-friction rotary bearings, these oscillations were attributed to insufficient damping at the joint. These oscillations reduce significantly with the addition of an elastic rubber coupling mechanism which when installed formed an additional connection between the upper leg and the body.

It was found during testing that the gripper is extremely reliable at picking up small objects from the ground. Additionally as the inverse kinematics required to perform this task are simple, controlling a 'pick-up' operation via tele-operation was easy and highly intuitive. This simplicity of control contrasts greatly with conventional anthropomorphic manipulation systems

where due to the large number of controllable DOF in the arm and hand, advanced kinematic planners are required and manual control typically requires extensive training. Tests were undertaken on larger objects (mobile phones, TV remote control etc.) and it was found that for larger objects, the reliability of the gripper reduced dramatically. Furthermore it was observed that this type of gripper suffers from a significant practical drawback in that it can only reliably pick up objects from the ground or from a surface that can apply a reaction force to the object during 'pick-up' in order to allow the gripper to deform around the object. Therefore while this solution provides excellent practical performance for picking up relatively small objects that have fallen to the ground, the solution will not generalise for all grasping scenarios.

While formal experiments have yet to be conducted with the social interface, it is noted from observation that the blink response which was implemented in the face has proven a highly effective means of establishing when/if the robot is connected with a host computer. It can be envisaged that when mobile robots such as the one proposed become ubiquitous in domestic environments, such an effective means of communication of non-human states will be very important in diagnosing whether a robot is malfunctioning or not. Additionally since the face can double as a programming interface and sensor visualisation suite, no external hardware (external monitor, wires, power supply etc.) other than a wireless keyboard and mouse were needed to interact fully with the robot's main computer. This feature enables an extremely complex piece of electro-mechanical hardware to become substantially more practical than equivalent systems which require the connection of additional hardware in order to perform similar functions.

Future Work

While the physical embodiment presented in this work exhibits many of the features of the proposed robot morphology, it is expected that future prototypes will demonstrate improved performance levels and possess an increased range of features.

The limitation of the current gripper to grasp larger objects and objects from elevated surfaces (tables, shelves etc.) has been described. Research is presently being conducted on the development of an anthropomorphic robotic hand

which it is expected to have the capability to perform these tasks. A model of this hand has been designed, built and is currently being tested (Figure 15a). While introducing such features will increase the robots capabilities, they will also increase the overall complexity (both in software and hardware) of the machine. Some features that have been incorporated in the design of the hand to minimise this added complexity include: a lightweight structure using predominantly 3D printed plastic parts, highly compliant fingers each requiring just one actuator and a fully embedded control board that can controls the fingers through a simple API.

The practical importance of stair climbing ability for domestic robots is especially high considering that falls are the biggest cause of accidents in homes and stairs account for a significant proportion of such falls (Jackson and Cohen 1995). While the embodiment described does not possess stair climbing ability, it is expected that future prototypes will succeed in demonstrating this capacity. The proposed solution makes use of a two-phase gait pattern (Figure 15b). The first gait phase involves the thigh and the shank being lifted such that they rest one riser below the torso. The second gait phase involves the simultaneous extension of the arm and legs such that due to the kinematic configuration of the robot and the horizontal constraint that the stair imposes on the robot, a vertical raising movement is possible. In order to descend the stairs, a slightly modified process in reverse can be adapted. It should be clear from this description that not only does this method offer an easily controlled, stable mechanism for stair climbing but since the robot ascends and descends the stairs facing the same direction, it is simple for it to backtrack if it senses that the stairs are impassable or if instructed to do so.
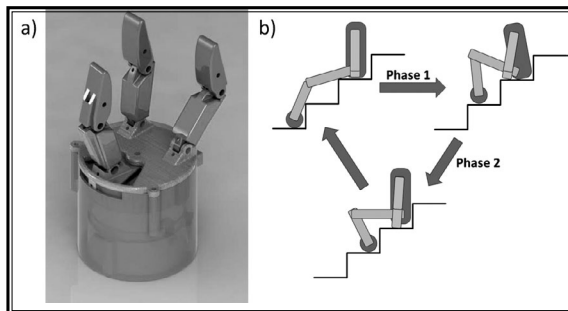

Figure 15: (a) The robot gripper that will be implemented on the next prototype (b) graphical description of the proposed stair climbing gait

Conclusions

This paper presents the design of a novel robot morphology – one that simultaneously possesses high energy efficiency, low control complexity and an anthropomorphic form factor all arising from its ability to adjust its static stability margin. Additionally by incorporating design criteria arising from psychological considerations, the morphology is such that it's not only capable of great behavioural diversity but it possesses the capability to engage users who may have little formal training in robotics using meaningful social interaction.

The proposed morphology may appear relatively simple in comparison to equivalent biped systems of a similar size. However due to the inherently integrated nature of the morphology, it remains one of high complexity. As well as this, with only one prototype built, the design remains at present in its relative infancy. It is clear that despite successful demonstration of core abilities including locomotion, dynamic stability and grasping, significant work is required before it can be demonstrated that an embodiment of this morphology can provide both the performance and reliability required for safe, long term use in domestic and other civilian environments.

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"Apotropaic" Tactics in the Matthean Temptation

by
Michael Morris

Abstract

Among the Dead Sea Scrolls are a number of texts that provide insight into demonological beliefs and practices in Second Temple Judaism. Some passages are concerned principally with providing safety from demonic influence. This anti-demonic orientation is expressed in two fundamental ways: the first is *exorcistic* and intends to relieve a person of *current* demonic affliction; the second is *apotropaic* and seeks protection from *future* demonic harm. Assessments of exorcistic and apotropaic works have benefited scholars of both early Jewish and early Christian literature. However, the majority of discussions which intersect Qumran studies with demonological traditions in the Synoptic Gospels have typically focused on exorcism.

Still, the growing interest in preventative, apotropaic prayer and the illumination of this tradition by the Qumran material is resulting in recent endeavours to broaden the conversation about anti-demonic elements in the gospels. Building on the latest contributions, I analyse the account of the Temptation in the Gospel of Matthew (Matt 4:1-11) with the aim of demonstrating the presence of apotropaic features in the pericope. Specifically, two components of the narrative are considered: quotations from (1) Deuteronomy and (2) Psalm 91. The nature and function of these biblical quotations in the gospel text are examined against the backdrop of anti-demonic traditions from Qumran. This comparison reveals a similarity between aspects of the Temptation and early Jewish apotropaisms. Not only does this suggest the likelihood of analogous apotropaic features in Qumran texts and a Matthean narrative, it puts key parts of the pericope into sharper focus.

Keywords

1. Introduction

Among the Dead Sea Scrolls discovered at Qumran there are a number of texts that provide insight into demonological beliefs and practices in Second Temple Judaism. Some of these texts are concerned principally with defending oneself against demonic influence. This anti-demonic orientation is expressed in one of two fundamental ways: in the first way, which is *exorcistic*, a person is relieved of *current* affliction caused by a demon; in the second way, which is *apotropaic*, preventative measures are taken, via petition or incantation, to ensure safety from *future* demonic harm. Assessments of exorcistic and apotropaic works have benefited scholars of both early Jewish and early Christian literature. However the majority of discussions which intersect Qumran studies with demonology in the Synoptic Gospels (i.e., Matthew, Mark, and Luke) have typically focused on exorcism.[1]

Given the growing interest in apotropaic prayer and the illumination of this tradition by the Qumran material, there have been some recent efforts to broaden the conversation about anti-demonic elements in the gospels. The scholar David Flusser initially noted the similarity between apotropaic pleas in the *Prayer of Levi* (4Q213a), *Plea for Deliverance* (11Q5 column xix), and the Matthean Lord's Prayer (Matt 6:9-13).[2] Flusser's observation has subsequently been engaged more thoroughly.[3] An article by David Lincicum addresses the apotropaic use of scripture in Second Temple texts and amulets.[4] Lincicum initiates his study of scriptural apotropaisms in Jewish practice by comparing them to quotations from Deuteronomy in the Temptation pericope. This possible similarity provides an opportunity for questioning whether or not apotropaic traditions are present in yet another Matthean narrative.

Therefore, this paper analyses the account of the Temptation in the Gospel of Matthew (Matt 4:1-11; cf. Appendix) with the aim of demonstrating the

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1 Two helpful modern surveys of exorcism in the New Testament are: Graham H. Twelftree, *Jesus the Exorcist: A Contribution to the Study of the Historical Jesus* (WUNT 2. Reihe 54 Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1993); and Eric Sorensen, *Possession and Exorcism in the New Testament and Early Christianity* (WUNT 2.157 Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 2002). Both of these works take into account material from the Dead Sea Scrolls.

2 David Flusser, "Qumran and Jewish 'Apotropaic' Prayers," *IEJ* 16 (1966): 194-205; repr. in *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (The Hebrew University, Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1988).

3 See especially Benjamin Wold, "Apotropaic Prayer and the Matthean Lord's Prayer," (paper presented at the annual meeting of the EABS/SBL, Amsterdam, 2012).

4 David Lincicum, "Scripture and Apotropaism in the Second Temple Period," *BN* 138 (2008): 63-87.

presence of apotropaic features in the narrative. Due to an interest in the larger topic of Matthean demonology, the focus of this paper is on Matthew's account rather than the so-called "Q" narrative (Matt 4:1-11; Lk 4:1-13). Building on Lincicum's contribution to the issue of "scriptural apotropaism," two components of the Temptation are examined: (1) the function of Deuteronomy; and (2) the use of Psalm 91. In both of these sections particular emphasis is given to resemblances between the scriptural citations and anti-demonic devices in the Qumran scrolls. Evaluating the apotropaic elements of the text clarifies our understanding of the pericope and has repercussions for grasping the gospel's demonology as a whole. Thus, it is hoped that this endeavour will not only put key aspects of the Matthean Temptation into sharper focus, but also provide avenues for exploring further the demonology in the First Gospel. In order to attain these goals, the quotations of the law attributed to Jesus are considered first, followed by an assessment of the function of Psalm 91 in the narrative.

2. The Apotropaic Use of Deuteronomy

In Matt 4:1 "Jesus was led by the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted by the devil."[5] The ensuing ten verses describe a discourse between Jesus, recently identified as God's son (3:17), and Satan, appropriately described as "the tempter" (ὁ πειράζων) (Matt 4:3).[6] In the narrative, Jesus is confronted with three separate temptations, each one challenging in some way the nature of his "sonship" and mission.[7] What is depicted at a basic level is a righteous figure who is confronted with demonic temptation. In this situation, the portrayed response of Jesus is to quote Scripture; specifically Deuteronomy. The citations come from Deut 8:3, 6:16, and 6:13 respectively. A common

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5 All biblical references are from the *Revised Standard Version* unless otherwise specified.

6 It is quite clear that in the Temptation pericope (and in the context of Matthew's Gospel) that the antagonist "Satan" is a demonic being. The wilderness setting provides appropriate context for this interpretation since the desert was in ancient times thought to be a place of demonic presence (cf. W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, *Matthew I-VII: A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, vol. 1 (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000)). The phrase "the tempter" (ὁ πειράζων) refers to the function or role of the devil; it is not his name. Davies and Allison remark that ὁ διάβολος (the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew שׂטן) "is the same as 'Satan' ([Matt] 4.10; 12.26; 16.23) and Beelzebul (10.25; 12.24, 27)" (Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 355). While Σατανᾶ likely implies the lexical meaning of שׂטן (i.e., "adversary") in Matthew, it is also understood as an epithet for the head or chief evil being (cf. 12:22-30).

7 Satan's temptations do not dispute Jesus' status as Son of God, but rather challenge the nature of this sonship. This is reflected with the Greek εἰ which can be translated "*since* you are the son of God" (Ibid, 360-361). Thus, the way in which Jesus is to minister as God's son is tempted by enticement into self-serving power (4:3), forcing God's hand (4:6), and idolatry (4:9).

reason given for the use of these passages is that the tempting of Jesus in a wilderness setting carries with it a recapitulation of Israel's testing in the desert.[8] Quoting from Deuteronomy plays into this setting and depicts Jesus as a representative of the true Israel; he is faithful to the Torah whereas the sons of Israel were not.

However, covenantal fidelity and the desert wanderings are not the only motifs at work in these Scripture citations. It is possible that Jesus' quotations of Deuteronomy in response to Satan's temptations are being used for an apotropaic purpose. In order to discover whether this is so, it is useful to consider how Deuteronomy and other scriptural texts are used elsewhere to prevent demonic assault. There are several such contexts which may be of relevance for a discussion of the apotropaic elements found in Matt 4:1-11. The first context can be described as "scriptural apotropaism."

2.1 "Scriptural Apotropaism"

Lincicum surveys the use of Scripture in numerous examples of ancient apotropaic formulae and objects that are intended to "ward off" demonic evil. These range from early Jewish and Mesopotamian amulets to later Greek magical recipes and Aramaic incantation bowls. The two earliest amulets mentioned were discovered at the Ketef Hinnom site in Jerusalem, and date from between the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.[9] These small silver scrolls are etched with Hebrew inscriptions requesting God's protection, and the Priestly Blessing (Num 6:24-26) is discernible on at least one of them.[10] A number of Samaritan protection amulets quote passages from Deuteronomy, but these are dated much later.[11] The historical spectrum offered by Lincicum demonstrates that the apotropaic use of Scripture was a common practice

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8 Cf. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 354; and Craig S. Keener, *The Gospel of Matthew: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2009), 137.

9 Cf. Lincicum, "Scripture and Apotropaism," 69.

10 The Priestly Blessing is quoted in Ketef Hinnom I (lns. 14-18) and, possibly, in Ketef Hinnom II (ln. 6). Each scroll requests God's protection from "evil" (ער). In Ketef Hinnom I and (possibly) Ketef Hinnom II the word ער appears with the definite article, leading some to interpret a request for protection from "not just anything evil, but rather *all* Evil" (Gabriel Barkay et al., "The Amulets from Ketef Hinnom: A new Edition and Evaluation," *BASOR* 334 (May, 2004): 68). The phrase רעגה ערב ("the rebuker of Evil") is found in Ketef Hinnom II (lns. 4-5) suggesting possible exorcistic connotations. Although there is no explicit reference to demons in any of these amulets, an anti-demonic context and purpose of the amulets is cautiously accepted by some scholars. Cf. Gabriel Barkay, et al., "The Challenges of Ketef Hinnom," *NEA* 66:4 (2003): 162-171; Barkay, et al., "Amulets from Ketef Hinnom," 41-71; and Lincicum, "Scripture and Apotropaism," 69-71.

11 Lincicum notes that "none of these [Samaritan amulets] predate the 3rd century C.E." ("Scripture and Apotropaism," 67 n. 19).

before, during, and after the first century A.D.

While Lincicum provides a helpful inventory of amulets and incantations, Deuteronomy isn't linked explicitly to early anti-demonic praxis in a way that suggests a direct influence upon Matthew or his source. Still, a passage in the *Damascus Document* from Qumran may offer a "connecting point" between early Jewish apotropaic function and the use of Deuteronomy in the Temptation.

2.2 Observance of the Torah

In a manuscript of the *Damascus Document* (CD-A column xvi lines 4-5) it is translated: "And on the day on which one has imposed upon himself to return *5* to the law of Moses, the angel Mastema will turn aside from following him, should he keep his words."[12] The figure "Mastema" represents the chief of evil beings and is, in this sense, equivalent to the Matthean title "Satan."[13] Thus, it is asserted that sustained adherence to the torah has the result of repelling Mastema. Menahem Kister interprets the passage within the framework of community.[14] According to Kister, returning to the law entails joining the *Yahad* (i.e., the community). Once this is done, Mastema will keep away. The idea that torah observance effectively fends off demonic evil is akin to the "genre of 'apotropaic prayers.'"[15] Further, if every individual outside the community is possessed (as some readings suggest), then the act of joining the *Yahad* is exorcistic.[16] Kister therefore understands membership of the Qumran community, characterised by torah fidelity, as having both apotropaic and exorcistic powers. If this interpretation is accepted, the passage in CD-A provides an example of an early Jewish anti-demonic function of Deuteronomy which remained elusive in Lincicum's article.

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12 Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Vol. 1; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997), 565.

13 In *Jubilees*, the being "Mastema" is depicted as the leader of the evil spirits (e.g. *Jub.* 10:8, 11:5). See also Philip S. Alexander, "The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Comprehensive Assessment* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 199), 341.

14 Menahem Kister, "Demons, Theology and Abraham's Covenant (CD 16:4-6 and Related Texts)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Fifty: Proceedings of the 1997 Society of Biblical Literature Qumran Section Meetings* (eds. Robert A. Kugler and Eileen M. Schuller; Scholars Press, 199), 167-184.

15 Ibid, 170.

16 In Kister's words, "Those who do not belong to the sect are considered to be possessed by evil spirits, while the sect is immune from them." And further, "This means that joining the sect is, in fact, an act of expulsion of evil spirits (not merely in a spiritual metaphorical sense), i.e., of exorcism." (Ibid, 172.) This argument is formed in large part by Kister's evaluation of "sectarian dualism" in texts such as *Damascus Document* and *1QWar Scroll*.

In a similar vein, "the law" is listed by Flusser as one of several common features in many apotropaic prayers. Esther Eshel builds on these features in her assessments of early Jewish apotropaic texts.[17] While neither scholar asserts Flusser's elements as rigid criteria for classifying anti-demonic works, the Torah (or "laws of God") does persist as a presence in a number of apotropaic expressions. When relating Kister's ideas to the Temptation account, it is clear that joining a community is not in view here. However, the apotropaic effect of relying on the Torah described in the *Damascus Document* may be analogous to Jesus' quotations of Deuteronomy in the face of demonic confrontation.[18] Likewise, Jesus' portrayed dependence on the law fits well within the pattern of apotropaic prayer outlined by Flusser and Eshel. This possible anti-demonic connotation of Deuteronomy in the gospel text warrants an evaluation the *other Scripture citation* present in the pericope: Psalm 91.

3. Satan's Use of Psalm 91: An "Anti-Demonic" Feature?

In addition to Deuteronomy, the only other direct quotation in the narrative from the Hebrew Bible is from Psalm 91 (Matt 4:6). The association of this psalm to anti-demonic materials is quite striking. Among the 150 hymns that comprise the canonical Psalter, Psalm 91 readily stands out as an archetypal prayer for protection. It articulates the safety and deliverance promised to those who place their trust in God. Although the assortment of evils mentioned in the prayer is rather nonspecific, there are a variety of ancient traditions in which Psalm 91 was used to seek refuge from demonic harm. The earliest explicit connection between Psalm 91 and anti-demonic material is from Qumran. The manuscript *11QApocryphal Psalms* is comprised of several exorcism incantations together with a version of Psalm 91.[19] The pairing of the biblical passage with the exorcism hymns places the psalm firmly within

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17 Esther Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers in the Second Temple Period," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Esther G. Chazon; Vol. 48 of *Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah*, ed. F. García Martínez; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 69-88; and idem., "Genres of Magical Texts in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Die Dämonen* (eds. Hermann Lichtenberger, Armin Lange, and K. F. Diethard Römheld; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 2003) 395-415. Cf. Flusser, "'Apotropaic' Prayers," 203.

18 Cf. Wold, "Apotropaic Prayer and the Matthean Lord's Prayer," 8.

19 11Q11 is approximately dated to the mid first century AD (Brian Webster, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXXIX: Indices and an Introduction to the* DJD *Series*. (ed. Emanuel Tov; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 434). Psalm 91 is preserved in column vi (cf. Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and Adam S. Van Der Woude, *DJD XXIII: Qumran Cave 11. II (11Q2-18, 11Q20-31)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998)).

the framework of anti-demonic ritual.[20] In later traditions, excerpts from Psalm 91 appear in Aramaic incantation bowls and amulets dating from Late Antiquity to the early middle Ages.[21] The Aramaic translation of the prayer in the Targum of Psalms contains more than a few direct references to demons.[22] Thus, Psalm 91 had a long tradition of being associated with the ability to "ward off" demons. The evidence suggests that this tradition would have been recognised during the time of the composition of the Synoptic Gospels. In light of the connotations of Psalm 91, it is unusual that, in the Temptation, the apotropaic prayer is invoked by Satan (Matt 4:6; Lk 4:10). This enigmatic use of the psalm has been met with various theories from biblical scholars.

3.1 "Inversion" Theories

Among these theories, some have observed that the portrayed exchange in the Temptation narrative carries with it an "inversion" of roles. For example, Andrei Orlov comments on veneration motif in early Jewish apocalyptic texts, and argues that the traditional roles in those motifs are reversed in the Matthean Temptation.[23] "Inversion" theories are also applied to the

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20 On Psalm 91 in 11Q11, see Henze, "Psalm 91," 186-182; and Hermann Lichtenberger, "Ps 91 und die Exorzismen in 11QPsAp⌷," in *Die Dämonen*, 416-421. Some scholars (e.g. Mika Pajunen) temper the strong anti-demonic nature of the prayer argued by others (e.g. Henze) while acknowledging the clear anti-demonic role of the prayer in 11Q11. (Cf. Mika S. Pajunen, "Qumranic Psalm 91: A Structural Analysis," in *Scripture and Tradition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo* (eds. Anssi Voitila and Jutta Jokiranta; vol. 126 of *Supplements to the JSJ*, ed. John J. Collins; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 604-605.)

21 Cf. Lawrence H. Schiffman and Michael D. Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah: Selected Texts from Taylor-Schechter Box K1*, (Semetic Texts and Studies 1; Scheffield: JSOT Press, 1992). In one instance it is noted that the psalm "was known in the early Jewish magical tradition from Talmudic times onward as an anti-demonic psalm" (Ibid, 39). On the adaptation of Psalm 91 in 11Q11 and rabbinic texts, see Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 71-74; and Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 359-365. While the apotropaic use of the psalm in later texts is emphasised and demonstrated, Eshel still refers to the biblical text of Psalm 91 as a "model" of apotropaic prayer, thus giving the impression that the psalm is classified as such. Cf. Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 74.

22 E.g., vss. 5-6 are translated: "You will not be afraid of the terror of *the demons that go about in* the night, nor of the arrow *of the angel of death that de shoots* in the daytime, nor of the *death* that goes about in the darkness, nor of *the company of demons that destroy* at noon." David M. Stec, *The Targum of Psalms: Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes*, vol. 16 in *The Aramaic Bible* (eds. Kevin Catcart, Michael Maher, and Martin McNamara; London: T&T Clark, 2004), 175.

23 He states: "It has been already demonstrated that in the temptation story Satan fulfills several functions traditionally ascribed to angelic figures, such as offices of the psychopomp and the *angelus interpres*. Yet, the elusive adversary is able to mimic not only the duties of angelic figures but also the deity himself. It is therefore possible that in the Matthean account Satan is portrayed as an idolatrous negative replica of the divine *Kavod*." Andrei A. Orlov, "Veneration Motif in the Temptation Narrative of the Gospel of Matthew: Lessons from the Enochic Tradition" (paper presented at the Seventh Enochic Seminar "Enochic Influence on the Synoptic Gospels," Camaldoli, Italy, July 25, 2013) 19.

invocation of Psalm 91 by Satan.[24] Matthias Henze, in his discussion on Luke's Temptation account, offers the following observation:

> By quoting Psalm 91, the demon par excellence inverts the intention of the dictum, originally spoken to console those haunted by evil spirits, and now turns it into a tool for temptation. The point here is not so much that the devil quotes Scripture out of context, as is often remarked. To the contrary: the audacity of the satanic trial can be appreciated to its fullest only when the larger, antidemonic context of the quote is realized… When taken out of context, the devil's quote loses its edge, seems arbitrary and could be replaced by any number of passages from the Hebrew Bible. The force of the temptation lies precisely in the implied context of the quote, i.e., its antidemonic connotations which undoubtedly would have been known to Luke and his original audience.[25]

According to this view, Psalm 91 is employed *because* of its apotropaic overtones. The function of the psalm is inverted from one of apotropaic efficacy to one of demonic aggression. Although Henze's article does not appeal to other instances of this "inversion" tactic, similarities exist elsewhere. In order to place the inversion of the psalm within a larger anti-demonic context, it is helpful to examine a possible parallel from Qumran.

3.2 Anti-Demonic Tactics in *11QApocryphal Psalms*

Part of an exorcism incantation from *11QApocryphal Psalms* (henceforth, 11Q11) column v is reconstructed and translated as follows:

> 4 Of David. A[gainst   An incanta]tion in the name of YHW[H. Invoke at an]y time
> 5 the heav[ens. When]he comes to you in the nig[ht,] you will [s]ay to him:
> 6 'Who are you, [oh offspring of] man and of the seed of the ho[ly one]s? Your face is a face of
> 7 [delu]sion and your horns are horns of ill[us]ion, you are darkness and not light[26]

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24 Erkki Koskenniemi explains that in early Jewish tradition, holy men who were tempted by demons would use Psalm 91 to remind the demons of the created order and cause the demons to flee. However, these typical roles are inverted in the Temptation. Koskenniemi suggests: "It was [Jesus'] alleged special status [as God's son], which led the Devil to use the psalm and invert the usual roles in his attack." (Erkki Koskenniemi, "The Traditional Roles Inverted: Jesus and the Devil's Attack," *BZ* 52 (2008): 268.) I hesitate to accept Koskenniemi's theory since it hinges on the interpretation that Satan is testing *if* (not *since*) Jesus is the son of God (Ibid, 268). See also Craig A. Evans, "Jesus and Psalm 91 in Light of the Exorcism Scrolls," in P. W. Flint, J. Duhaime, and K. S. Baek (eds.), *Celebrating the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Canadian Contribution* (Atlanta: SBL, 2011) 541-55.
25 Henze, "Psalm 91," 185-186.
26 García Martínez and authors, *DJD XXIII*, 198-200.

These lines appear to be instructions for the utilisation of the exorcism formula. This includes the instruction to engage the demon verbally. Line 6 identifies the demon as "offspring of man" and "seed of the holy ones"; a description that suggests an Enochic aetiology of evil spirits which appears elsewhere in the Qumran literature.[27] If this is the case, the demon's "horns" and "face" must be taken metaphorically since the Enochic beings were non-corporal. "Horns" (ינרק) could represent "fear" or "power," in the Ancient Near East, while "face" (ינפ) could simply refer to the entity's presence. In lines 6-7 these attributes are proclaimed to be "empty" (ווש (from אוש)) and an "illusion." Hence, lines 6-7 are more than descriptions of demonic characteristics. Rather, they are, as Philip Alexander denotes, a "strategy of psychological counter-attack."[28] Namely, the practice of disparaging the demon's features as futile is an element of the overall anti-demonic measure conveyed in the incantation.

The "psychological counter-attack" against a demon in 11Q11 can be compared with the "inversion" tool of Satan noted by Henze. In the Qumran text an effective technique is for the exorcist to mock the powerful attributes of the demon, presumably to render the being impotent. In the Temptation this technique is used against the righteous individual; the result being an authoritative anti demon prayer invoked by Satan. In this instance, the psalm would be expressed, not to "ward off" Jesus, but to display the power of Satan and to neutralise any attempt to ward *him* off. Whereas the exorcist in 11Q11 subverts the demon's weapons of intimidation, Satan adopts this method by challenging the effectiveness of apotropaic prayer. In both instances, the tools of influence are mocked. This interpretation not only serves to demonstrate the "force of the temptation" (as Henze observes), but it accentuates the struggle for control in the narrative. A stronger argument for psychological warfare in the gospel pericope is made if Satan's tactic is seen as a response to Jesus' apotropaic efforts with Deuteronomy.

The use of Psalm 91 by Satan is not the only instance of a reverse anti-demonic method to be found in the gospels. In Matthew's version of the Gadarene

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27 According to the tradition in the Enochic *Book of the Watchers* (*1 Enoch 1-36*), a number of angels transgressed and conceived children by human women. These descendants were the "giant," half angelic, half human offspring. The violence wrought by them was punished by God with the biblical flood. Yet, since they possessed angelic lineage, they survived the deluge as spiritual entities. These "spirits of the giants" are, according to this tradition, the origins of demons. Cf. Alexander, "The Demonology of the DSS," 337-341.

28 Ibid, 346. Likewise, García Martínez and authors contend: "Both the face and the horns inspire fear. By proclaiming these to be delusionary, the one who speaks these words negates their awesomeness" (*DJD XXIII*, 201).

Demoniacs (Matt 8:28-34) the possessed individuals, upon meeting Jesus, exclaim "what have you to do with us [τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί], O Son of God." The expression τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί (literally "what to us and to you") is a cryptic phrase which some think could have an apotropaic meaning.[29] The demoniacs follow up the question by calling out the identity of Jesus with the title "Son of God." Use of a formulaic expression along with invoking one's identity arguably constitutes an attempt by the demoniacs to keep Jesus at bay.[30] This language in Matthew 8 does not comment directly on the purpose behind Satan's use of Psalm 91, but it offers precedent from within the Synoptic Gospels for viewing other "inversion tactics" employed by demons.

4. Conclusion

In conclusion, the above analysis reveals that apotropaic features are present in the Temptation pericope. One of these features is the depiction of Jesus' reliance on Deuteronomy. The anti-demonic nature of the Deuteronomy quotations is highlighted when compared to a passage in the *Damascus Document*. Matthew's purpose in ascribing quotations from Psalm 91 to Satan is illuminated by taking into account analogous practices in 11Q11 and elsewhere in the gospels. This interpretation is feasible only when Psalm 91 is viewed as an apotropaic prayer.

These findings have implications for interpreting the Temptation narrative. Matthew sets a stage in which the conflict between Jesus and Satan is "fought out" using apotropaic tactics. This shifts our understanding of the passage. In addition to other possible functions of Deuteronomy, the references demonstrate the anti-demonic nature of the law. Interpreting the pericope in this manner also provides a tenable explanation for something that is often puzzling to biblical scholars; Satan's use of an apotropaic psalm.

The presence of apotropaic elements in the Temptation has repercussions for the larger issue of demonology in Matthew. For instance, it gives clearer shape to the notion of a relationship between Qumran literature and synoptic gospel material. Further, it offers an avenue for investigating apotropaic traditions

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29 This view is briefly mentioned by Twelftree. Interpreting the expression in light of both OT and NT-era uses, Twelftree holds that the demoniac's words "were most likely understood as defense mechanisms against Jesus the exorcist." Twelftree, *Jesus the Exorcist*, 64.

30 In Mark 5:7, the exorcistic language is much more explicit; τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί is followed with the name and title "Jesus, Son of the Most High God" and paired with a command prefaced by the exorcistic "I adjure you by God" (ὁρκίζω σε τὸν θεόν). See also Luke 8:28.

that may occur elsewhere in Matthew. Even a cursory glance at the Matthean Lord's Prayer (6:9-13) reveals its similarity to early Jewish petitions, some of which are apotropaic (e.g. *Plea for Deliverance*). If Matthew retained the apotropaic characteristics from his source regarding the Temptation, might he have also made use of an "apotropaic sense" in his version of the Lord's Prayer? Indeed, a thorough study of apotropaic traditions in the Gospel of Matthew has yet to be offered. At the very least, it is hoped that this paper serves as a useful step forward in the accomplishment of this task.

Appendix:[31]

The Temptation (Matt 4:1-11)

1 The Jesus was led by the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted by the devil.

2 And he fasted forty days and forty nights, and afterward he was hungry.

3 And the tempter came and said to him, "If you are the Son of God, command these stones to become loaves of bread."

4 But he answered, "It is written, 'Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God.'"

5 Then the devil took him to the holy city, and set him on the pinnacle of the temple,

6 and said to him, "If you are the Son of God, throw yourself down; for it is written, 'He will give his angels charge of you,' and 'On their hands they will bear you up, lest you strike your foot against a stone.'"

7 Jesus said to him, "Again it is written, 'You shall not tempt the Lord your God.'"

8 Again, the devil took him to a very high mountain, and showed him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them;

9 and he said to him, "All these I will give you, if you will fall down and worship me."

10 Then Jesus said to him, "Begone, Satan! for it is written, 'You shall worship the Lord your God and him only shall you serve.'"

11The the devil left him, and behold, angels came and ministered to him.

Psalm 91 (vss. 1-6, 11-13)

1 He who dwells in the shelter of the Most High, who abides in the shadow of the Almighty,

2 will say to the Lord, "My refuge and my fortress; my God, in whom I trust."

3 For he will deliver you from the snare of the fowler and from the deadly pestilence;

4 he will cover you with his pinions, and under his wings you will find refuge; his faithfulness is a shield and buckler.

5 You will not fear the terror of the night, nor the arrow that flies by day,

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31   Translations from the biblical text are from the *Revised Standard Version*.

6 nor the pestilence that stalks in darkness, nor the destruction that wastes at noonday.

11 For he will give his angels charge of you to guard you in all your ways.
12 On their hands they will bear you up, lest you dash your foot against a stone.
13 You will tread on the lion and the adder, and the young lion and the serpent you will trample under foot.

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A fitful fungus from a hot, arid climate increases grain yield in cool-cultivated barley

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Abstract

Purpose

The fungus *Piriformospora indica* was first isolated from plants growing in arid, hot desert conditions and has been shown to have significant potential as a biocontrol and biofertilising organism in barley under optimal growth conditions. However, it was not thought to be effective in plants grown in low temperatures and has consequently not been well tested in cold-stressed crops. This study sought to determine the effects of inoculating barley plants with this fungus in cool growth conditions with variable nutrient input.

Methods

Three barley varieties were inoculated with *P. indica* and two other fungal root endophytes, *Chaetomium globosum* and *Epicoccum nigrum*, in a controlled environment under low temperature stress with variable nutrient input, and measured growth, development and yield.

Results

With the higher nutrient input, the *P.indica*-inoculated plants flowered earlier and had 22% greater grain yield than the control. The other two endophytes, *C. globosum* and *E. nigrum*, conferred no significant benefits under either nutrient regime.

Conclusions

Piriformospora indica is easy to culture and propagate, and may have significant biofertilisation potential as a crop treatment for barley grown in cool climates

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provided that a threshold level of nitrogen is supplied. Such treatments may enable the profitable cultivation of barley in previously marginal sites and reduce the carbon footprint of barley through increased nitrogen use efficiency.

Keywords

Barley, biofertilisation, fungal root endophytes, low temperature and nutrient stress, symbiosis.

Introduction

Fungal root endophytes are plant associates that spend most or part of their lives within plant root tissue without inducing pathogenic symptoms (Stone, Polishook, and White 2004; Schulz and Boyle 2006; Weiss et al. 2011). They are known to colonize a wide variety of plants, including many important crops. Benefits to plants colonised by endophytic root fungi include increased yield (Achatz et al. 2010), enhanced resistance to pathogens and herbivores (Waller et al. 2008) and abiotic stress tolerance (Waller et al. 2005).

One particular fungal root endophyte, *Piriformospora indica*, discovered in the Thar desert of north-west India in 1997 (Verma et al. 1998), has been extensively studied (Ghahfarokhi & Goltapeh 2010; Qiang et al. 2011; Ansari et al. 2013; Unnikumar et al. 2013). Very few of these studies have examined the performance of *P. indica* in barley under cold growing conditions, probably due to the fact that the optimal growth temperature of ~35°C for this fungus (related to its provenance) has suggested that it may not perform well in the cooler climates in which barley is often grown. Studies focusing on similar crops in the field, such as wheat, showed no significant benefits for the crop plants deriving from colonization by *P. indica* (Serfling et al. 2007).

Barley is one of the world's most important cereal crops (Newton et al. 2011) and is often grown on poor, stress-prone land in cool climates, and is more cold-tolerant than most other cereal crops (Visioni et al. 2013). Obtaining acceptable yields in such conditions often requires high inputs of chemicals, with consequent economic and ecological costs. High chemical crop inputs may also be a major contributing factor to the carbon footprint of barley (Gan et al. 2012). Biofertilisation treatments using fungal root endophytes may help to reduce these costs while still maintaining yield (Murphy, Doohan, and Hodkinson

2013). While some studies (Achatz et al. 2010) showed that *P. indica* colonized plants to the same degree despite widely different nutrient input, others found a strong link between lower nitrogen input and greater colonisation of barley roots by *P. indica* (Lahrmann et al. 2013). Two other fungal root endophytes, *Chaetomium globosum* and *Epicoccum nigrum*, have also been shown to increase yield and induce pathogen resistance in a range of plant species (Soytong & Ratanacherdchai 2005; Fávaro, Sebastianes, and Araújo 2012).

Our study examined how *P. indica*, *C. globosum* and *E. nigrum* interact with different barley cultivars at low growing temperature and with two different nutrient regimes.

Methods

The methods and results described in this paper are a summary of more detailed procedures and results, respectively, which are available on request.

Experimental setup

Spring barley root samples from the cultivars 'Overture', 'Propino' and 'Sy Taberna' were collected prior to harvest from the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and the Marine (DAFM) trials site at Backweston, Co. Kildare, Ireland (53.348 N, 6.488 W). We isolated 33 individual fungi from the root pieces of the 16 barley plants sampled. Fourteen representative morphotypes were identified by using a combination of morphological and DNA character analysis. Two of the fungal species isolated have been reported as beneficial endophytes, *Chaetomium globosum* (Soytong & Ratanacherdchai 2005) and *Epicoccum nigrum* (Fávaro, Sebastianes, and Araújo 2012). These two species and a laboratory strain of *Piriformospora indica* (*P. indica-*DSM11827 from Deutsche Sammlung von Mikroorganismen und Zellkulturen, Braunschweig, Germany), were chosen as experimental treatments for this study. Cultures for the experimental treatments were grown from single spores.

We used seeds of 3 spring barley cultivars, 'Frontier', 'Propino' and 'Soldo', for this experiment (Goldcrop Seeds, Cork, Ireland). Three barley cultivars were used in order to obtain more comprehensive results because they represent different growth, yield and disease resistance characteristics and have been successfully grown in low temperatures. 360 seeds were sown in 120 x 1 litre plant pots in a growth compost consisting of sterilised coarse vermiculite supplemented by water

absorbing polymer granules (Agricultural Polymers International Ltd.). Equal numbers of seeds were either inoculated with one of the three endophyte cultures (*C. globosum, E. nigrum, P. indica*) or not inoculated (the controls). Pots were placed into controlled environment chambers, with a 9 hour photoperiod at a compost surface illumination of 210 μmol.m-2 s-1, a constant temperature of 8°C and 70% relative humidity. After 70 days, the temperature was raised to 13°C, then raised to 16°C fourteen days later. The photoperiod was gradually extended until it reached 15 hours, 84 days after seed germination. The photoperiod was lengthened and temperature raised to speed up plant development.

Plant cultivation and processing

The plants were given a liquid fertiliser (Bayer Phostrogen®) at each watering after germination. This particular fertiliser was chosen for its relatively low nitrogen content. Half of the plants were given lower nutrient inputs (LO) and half given higher (HI) nutrients. The HI treatment contained the recommended input of fertiliser for hydroponically-grown plants. The nutrient content was calculated from the manufacturers analysis; for the HI nutrient treatments, the total nutrient input per pot was: ammoniacal N = 0.04728g, ureic N = 0.2836g, Total N = 0.3308g, P = 0.208g, K = 0.5292g, Mg = 0.0344g, S = 0.0714g, Ca = 0.0338g and traces of Boron, Copper, Iron, Manganese, Molybdenum and Zinc; for LO nutrient treatments, the total nutrient input per pot was halved for all elements. Development of the plants was monitored and recorded using recognised growth stages (Zadoks et al. 1974). Plants were grown for 147 days (21 weeks) from date of sowing, then harvested and processed. Plant dimensions and both fresh and dried plant parts (shoots, grains and roots) were counted and weighed. The nitrogen (N) and carbon (C) content of the grains was measured using an Elementar vario EL Cube. Approximately 7 mg of crushed and homogenised grain from each sample was used to determine proportions of total N and C. Pieces of root from each plant were incubated on agar culture medium to test for endophyte presence. Data analysis by ANOVA was performed using the Data Analysis modules provide by Microsoft Excel 2010®.

Results

Though there was very little difference in germination success, the *Piriformospora indica*-inoculated plants performed better for nearly all subsequent early growth and development parameters for both LO and HI nutrient input. A strong interaction was indicated between nutrient input and number of days to flowering (2-way

ANOVA, F1,48 = 5.11, P = 0.028), where the HI nutrient input *P. indica*-inoculated plants flowered 5 days earlier than the control (Table 1 and Figure 1). *Piriformospora indica*-inoculated plants matured 7 days earlier than the control for HI nutrient input, but 2 days later for LO.

Table 1. Mean values at harvest for 3 spring barley cultivars (Frontier, Propino and Soldo) inoculated with one of 3 fungal root endophytes, grown at low temperature under two nutrient regimes (LO = lower nutrient input and HI = higher nutrient input). All values are means per pot of 3 plants for each treatment (n = 15). Statistically significant differences of P < 0.05 (2-way ANOVA) between endophyte and control are indicated by *.

Treatment	Nutri-ents	Days to flower	Height cm	Fresh wt. grains g	Fresh wt. shoots g	Dry wt. grains g	Dry wt. shoots g
C. globosum	LO	116	77.1	9.34	**19.81***	3.66	4.75
	HI	121	92.3	11.38	23.40	4.30	4.80
E. nigrum	LO	112	73.6	10.10	18.74	3.79	4.39
	HI	119	91.8	9.05	22.03	3.50	4.87
P. indica	LO	109	74.9	9.42	17.64	3.66	4.29
	HI	**111***	82.3	13.02	25.01	**5.19***	6.29
ALL endophytes	LO	112	75.2	9.62	18.73	3.70	4.47
	HI	117	88.8	11.15	23.48	4.33	5.31
Control	LO	106	68.0	9.36	15.27	4.68	3.97
	HI	116	94.3	11.50	24.41	4.26	5.70
Endos / Control	LO	1.06	1.11	1.03	1.23	0.79	1.13
	HI	1.01	0.94	0.97	0.96	1.02	0.93

When the final harvest characteristics of the plants were analysed (Table 1), it was found that, compared with the *P. indica* treatment, control plants had the greatest mean dry weight of grains with LO nutrient input. However, under the HI nutrient input regime, the *P. indica*-inoculated plants performed better in almost all respects compared with all other treatments. For HI nutrient input, comparison of harvest parameters for *P. indica* treatments and controls indicated

a strong interaction between nutrient input and grain dry weight (2-way ANOVA, $F_{1,48} = 7.59$, $P = 0.008$), where *P. indica* inoculated plants had 22% greater grain dry weight than the control (ANOVA, $F_{1,24} = 4.75$, $P = 0.039$) (Figure 2). Shoot dry weight for the *P.indica*-inoculated plants was also greater than the other treatments, though not significantly. The nitrogen and carbon content of the grains did not differ significantly between treatments or cultivars. All of the root pieces from the endophyte inoculated plants produced growth from root endophytes at the end of the experiment, which matched the morphology of the original inoculants.
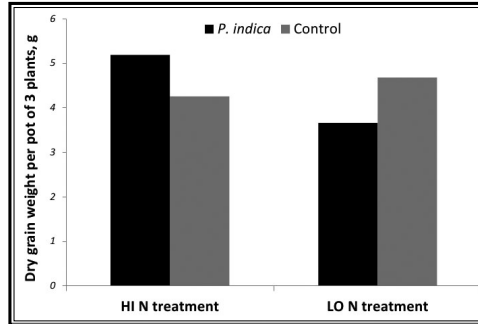

Figure 1: With the higher nitrogen (HI N) input, cold-stressed barley plants inoculated with *Piriformospora indica* flowered 5 days earlier than the control.
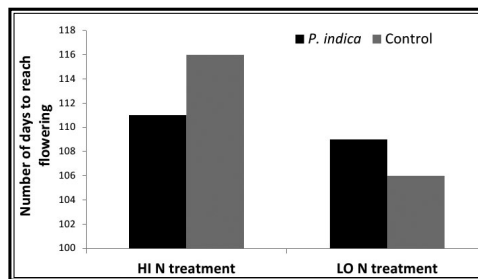
Figure 2: With the higher nitrogen (HI N) input, dry grain weight was 22% greater than the control in cold-stressed barley plants inoculated with *Piriformospora indica*.

Discussion

This study has shown that the improvements in time taken to reach flowering and maturity, and the grain dry weight at harvest due to colonization by the fungal root endophyte *Piriformospora indica* in low temperature stressed barley are positively related to nutrient input. The 22% increase in grain yield represents

a massive economic benefit when projected onto agricultural scales. The shorter time required to reach flowering and maturity indicates that treatments based on *P. indica* inoculation of barley crops may even have the potential to extend the growing season in cooler climates. These results suggest that *P. indica*, despite its origin in hot desert conditions –and contrary to earlier reports (Serfling et al. 2007) - may persist and have significant beneficial effects in barley grown in cool temperate conditions, provided adequate nutrients are supplied. We found similar effects as other studies regarding *P. indica*-induced earlier flowering and higher biomass (Achatz et al. 2010), but only for the HI nutrient input.

The results clearly demonstrate a positive relationship between total nutrient input and the beneficial effects due to *P. indica* colonization of barley grown in low temperature. The fertiliser used to feed the plants has a relatively small nitrogen content (14%) and relatively high phosphorous (10%) and potassium (27%) contents. Most agricultural fertilisers would normally contain a much higher proportion of nitrogen and lower proportions of phosphorous and potassium, so even at the HI nutrient input the amount of nitrogen available to the plants was relatively low. As it has been shown that *P. indica* colonization only produces beneficial effects for the barley with a higher nutrient input, it would seem that there is minimum amount of nitrogen that is needed for the fungus to produce a beneficial effect on barley grown at low temperature (this threshold amount lies somewhere between a total nitrogen input of 0.055g and 0.11g per plant, equivalent to between 4.1 x 10-4 and 8.2 x 10-4g N per plant per day). Fungal endophytes must rely to a great extent on the nutrients they can obtain from the host plant, particularly for endophytes such as *P. indica* which have only a few nutrient scavenging structures external to the plant root (Deshmukh et al. 2006). The endophyte must compete with the host for available nutrients. With the lower nutrient input, the increased grain yield for the control plants relative to the endophyte treated plants indicates that the plant is outcompeting the endophyte and is sequestering most of the available nitrogen at the expense of the endophyte.

With low levels of nitrogen entering the system, the metabolic interdependence between host metabolism and fungal nutrient uptake (Lahrmann et al. 2013) combined with low temperatures may lead to reduced optimal metabolic processes in the endophyte (Sherameti et al. 2005). Low levels of nitrogen and reduced metabolic efficiency may also compromise the ability of the fungus to manufacture the amino acid tryptophan, which has been shown to be a key factor in the establishment of the barley-*P. indica* symbiosis (Hilbert et al. 2012). At low

temperature, *P. indica* can only increase barley grain yield above a certain threshold level of available nitrogen. With nitrogen input below the threshold level, *P. indica* colonization is slightly detrimental for barley yield, which contradicts the widely-held belief that endophytes, and particularly *P. indica*, are always beneficial, or at least neutral, for the host. Even though nitrogen is strongly implicated as the limiting element for *P. indica* efficacy, a role for deficiencies of phosphorous and potassium (or even a micronutrient) cannot be ruled out.

In a recent review (Murphy, Doohan, and Hodkinson 2013) evidence is presented to support the view that endophytes can be either a 'friend or foe' to barley, depending on prevailing circumstances, and the current results seem to support that position. The neutral response of the plants to the proven biocontrol fungi *C. globosum* and *E. nigrum* also supports the conclusion that the particular combination of determining factors (e.g. genotypes, environment) necessary to promote benefits to the plants was not present for these two endophytes.

Higher yield associated with *P.indica* colonization in stressed plants is partly due to the endophyte-induced increase in antioxidant activity (Waller et al. 2005; Ansari et al. 2013; Harrach et al. 2013). *Piriformospora indica* associated stimulation of antioxidant activity in cold-stressed plants may be a contributory factor to the increase in grain yield shown in the current study, but only when the endophyte receives enough nitrogen to function optimally.

Some of the results from this study which contradict the findings from previous work may be directly due to the environmental conditions, particularly low temperature and nutrient status, and represent an important contribution to the growing body of knowledge regarding the *Piriformospora indica*-barley symbiosis. Further experiments, including field testing, which would involve fungal root endophyte colonization of barley using these organisms and others will give new insight into these results. Any further development of fungal root endophytes as inoculants for barley would have to demonstrate their ability to persist in the plant over the long term under field conditions. They would also have to demonstrate that they represent reliable alternatives to chemical treatments. The discovery of previously unrealised benefits associated with these fungi holds great future promise for developing economically and ecologically viable crop treatments for barley.

Conclusions

Reducing agricultural inputs of nitrogen is of critical importance in the development of future strategies for more sustainable and environmentally friendly farming and these results suggest that tailoring the nutrient and endophyte treatment combination may provide part of the solution. Gan et al. (2012) make the point that the key to lowering the carbon footprint of barley is to increase grain yield, reduce nitrogen inputs and improve nitrogen use efficiency. Discovering and developing potentially beneficial endophyte treatments through experimentation such as ours may make a significant contribution towards reducing the carbon footprint of barley.

We have determined that under low temperature and nutrient stressed growing conditions, there is a threshold level of nitrogen input above which *P. indica* colonization will be beneficial for barley. Future global climate change will result in local alterations in growing conditions, and the contribution of fungal root endophytes in enabling successful cultivation of barley in previously unsuitable situations may become crucial.

Acknowledgements

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Grieving students: The response and support of educators in Irish schools

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Abstract

It is estimated that bereavement has affected between 36,000 and 60,000 young people in Ireland. Little academic research has been conducted to ascertain the response of Irish schools to bereavement and grief support. The research outlined in this paper documents the approach and response of Irish primary and post-primary schools regarding policy and provision of support to students who have experienced bereavement as well as providing preliminary analyses of exploratory interviews with key stakeholders. The Bereavement Audit Survey was administered to a representative sample of primary and post-primary schools throughout the Republic of Ireland (N = 1,474). A total of 372 questionnaires were returned (achieved rate of 25.24%). The results demonstrate that in the absence of clear advice and support, Irish schools are being proactive and supportive of the students in their care, however, they also indicate the desire for further support in terms of policy, curricula materials, practice direction, staff support, and a Continual Professional Development programme. Preliminary results from exploratory interviews with key stakeholders with a remit in the area of bereavement and loss support are indicative of a need for current resources to be utilised in a more effective manner to increase confidence, governmental support, and training.

Keywords

Bereavement, education, grief, students, young people.

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Introduction

Grief can encompass many different forms of loss. The grieving process is often associated with death (e.g., the death of a parent, sibling, friend or even a pet). For the purpose of clarification and focus of the research, this paper will discuss the loss of a significant human relationship through death and thus, this research was designed to find the answer to the question: what do we know about Irish young people and the school supports available to them when they have experienced bereavement?

Currently, there are no Central Statistics Office figures available as to the number of young people who have been bereaved in Ireland. However, we do know the number of deaths that occur each year. In 2012, a total of 28,848 people died in Ireland: 14,778 were males and 14,070 were female (Number of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Central Statistics Office, 2014). If one looks beyond these statistics to consider the young people that could be potentially bereft, this number multiplies and quickly becomes a large percentage of the population of this island nation. In an attempt to estimate the number of grieving young people in Ireland, McLoughlin (2012), extrapolating United Kingdom statistics, has estimated that, at present, there could be between 36,000 and 60,000 who have experienced bereavement.

A subsequent study of youth mental health in Ireland (Dooley & Fitzgerald, 2012) found that the notion of "One Good Adult" is important in the mental well-being of young people; for example, a teacher or Guidance Counsellor could be one such adult. Research recognises how teachers play a vital role in recognising a young person's grief as well as aiding the psycho-social wellbeing of those in their care (Donnelly, 2001).

> "While the psychological pain and processes of grief are mostly unavoidable, it is clear the behaviour of those adults relating to young people on a daily basis is a major contributory factor towards what is often referred to as a healthy progress through grief." (Cranwell, 2007, p. 31).

As young people spend one-third of their lives in school, the reactions of teachers and their fellow students are significant, as is the role of the school in ensuring that the needs of those who are bereaved are recognised and responded to in an appropriate manner (Akerman & Statham, 2011; Cranwell, 2007; McGovern & Tracey, 2010).

Following bereavement, grief can advance a lack of motivation which has the potential to interfere with the academic education of the student (Abdelnoor & Hollins, 2004; Capewell, 1999; Dowdney, 2000; Kline, Schonfeld, & Lichtenstein, 1995; Mallon, 2011; Rowling, 2003). Common reactions to childhood bereavement, as observed by Capewell (1999), which may subsequently affect a bereaved child in the classroom environment, include: acting rebellious, substance abuse, psychosomatic complaints, changes in behaviour, performance decline, eating problems, specific fears triggered by reminders of the trauma, overwhelming emotions, and a foreshortened future. These negative outcomes call for appropriate care, training, and support from both the school and its staff. Schools have a role to play in challenging the negative and destructive understandings surrounding death by incorporating a comprehensive approach to loss which would endeavour to develop important life skills in young people so as to improve and strengthen school communities (Rowling, 2003). Bereavement may have short-, medium-, and long-term effects on young people's wellbeing, yet there is little clarity about the kind of support that such young people might need, nor the extent to which it is provided (Akerman & Statham, 2011; Christ, Siegel, & Christ, 2002).

Within Ireland, there has been a paucity of research explaining the nature, incidence, correlation, or intervention relating to bereaved young people. A recent survey of bereavement support services for young people in Ireland (Carroll, 2010) indicates that these services have varying access to training and supervision and do not work to a common set of standards. This research outlines a need for services to demonstrate greater flexibility, more inter-agency working, and greater awareness within communities about the impact bereavement may have on young people and how they can be supported in the future.

Research into the support of bereaved students in Ireland has been limited. However, international research indicated that a lack of training and confidence is prevalent throughout many countries. Among a sample of educators in the US (Wass, Miller, & Thornton, 1990) it was discovered that 40 per cent had received little training in grief with only 21.6% indicating that they had received more than two days of training about suicide. Reid and Dixon (1999) indicated that only half of teachers in the US felt that their academic training prepared them to not at all or minimally handle death-related issues as they arise in the classroom. Mahon, Goldberg, and

Washington (1999) concurred with this finding and found that only one-third of teachers felt qualified to discuss death with students; with almost 82% of teachers indicating that they were interested in receiving additional training on helping children through grief. Wass et al., (1990) indicated that about 11% of public schools in the US currently implement preventative death education programmes, with elementary schools implementing death education 50% less than middle schools and high schools. However, a large percentage of these death education programmes were implemented for two weeks or less.

In a study comparing schools in Australia and England (Rowling & Holland, 2000) all of the Australian schools indicated that individual counselling was offered to students who were grieving. Only four per cent of schools indicated that they received "no training" in the area of bereavement and grief. Ninety-four percent of the Australian schools have reported the existence of a plan to manage critical incidents in schools (Rowling & Holland, 2000).

In Denmark, the bereavement response system that has developed is different from those in other European nations with the development of the bereavement response plan ("b-plan"), which 96% of all schools today use on a voluntary basis (Lltje, 2013). The Danish approach has developed into a strong and successful supporting system for Danish teachers. Over half of the teachers surveyed by Lytje (2012) reported the system to be so effective that they did not feel the need for any further support on the topic. This is a significant finding that highlights the efficiency of the Danish b-plans, especially when taking into consideration that grief work is not covered in the Danish teacher training curriculum (Lltje, 2012). That Danish teachers do not feel they need more support is welcome since many studies (e.g., Holland, 2008; Lowton & Higginson, 2003) have reported that the majority of their samples wanted further training. At the same time, interviews highlighted that the teachers' conceptualisation of a good bereavement response came close to the recommendations given by experts on the topic (e.g., Dyregrov & Yule, 2008; Holland, 2001; Rowling, 2003).

In the UK, 63% of schools indicated that they offered school counselling to grieving students (Rowling & Holland, 2000). Schools were generally less supportive in England when compared to Australia which could possibly have been a result of lack of training among staff (Rowling & Holland, 2000). Only 15% of schools in England have a plan to manage critical incidents in

schools and only 9% include a loss and grief education which is included as an ad hoc classroom topic and not as an ongoing area in the curriculum (Rowling & Holland, 2000). Fifty per cent of schools indicated that there was "no training" in the area of bereavement and grief support with 28% of respondents indicating that the main method of schools learning from grief was their personal experience (Rowling & Holland, 2000). Just 6% of respondents reported that they thought there were enough training opportunities in the area of bereavement and loss (Rowling & Holland, 2000). This concurs with research by Shipman, Kraus, and Monroe (2001) which found that 56% of teachers in the UK feel inadequate in working with young people who have been bereaved. Similarly, Holland (2007), found a "training gap" in the area of loss and bereavement; it was rated highly in importance but schools lacked the skills necessary to support their pupils and 58% of schools continued to report that more training was needed in the area. Cranwell's UK study (2007), noted that many bereaved young people identified a need for someone to talk to among school staff. Cranwell (2007) noted that bereavement support resources needed to be part of the "tool kits" of all professionals responsible for child care. Studies undertaken in UK schools (e.g., Holland, 1993, 2000; Lowton & Higginson, 2003) have indicated that often little is done to support grieving children. This lack of response is mainly attributed to the fact that most UK schools do not have any pre-planned approaches on how to deal with bereavement. Holland (1993) reasons that one of the most effective ways to improve the bereavement response is to introduce formalised approaches outlining how the school should respond.

The research that has been conducted in Ireland (e.g., McGovern & Tracey, 2010) found that Irish schools regard death as a high priority. Research by McGovern and Barry (2010) has indicated that there is a need to take account of the fact that teachers and parents (especially men), whilst positive towards and supportive of death education for students, feel uncomfortable talking to young people about death. In comparing child bereavement, loss responses and needs of schools in Hull (United Kingdom) and Derry (Northern Ireland), Tracey and Holland (2008) reported that training for teachers, pupils, and parents could help to develop a deeper understanding of the effects of bereavement, thus allowing educators to respond appropriately.

While there are many organisations in Ireland that can provide support, these are predominantly aimed at adults; where support is offered to young people,

it is often through trained volunteers rather than professional therapists (Dowling, Kiernan & Guerin, 2007). It is clear that in Ireland, while the research that has been conducted has been helpful, further research is needed to explore what provision is available in primary and post-primary schools in Ireland to support students who have been bereaved. This becomes especially important in the context of the recent guidelines from the Department of Education and Skills (2013) regarding the continuum of support that should be available to every student in primary and post-primary school from every adult. Thus, the next section will outline how a Bereavement Audit Survey (N = 1,474) in early Spring 2013 explored issues on policy, guidance, programmes used, staff response, confidence and competence, educational attainment, and physical and psychological well-being.

Methods

A Bereavement Audit Survey (based on Corcoran & Mc Guckin, 2014; Mc Guckin & Lewis, 2008) conducted in early Spring 2013 in primary and post-primary schools (N= 1,474) across the Republic of Ireland, explored responses on policy, guidance, programmes used, staff response, confidence and competence, educational attainment, physical and psychological well-being. The final results of this audit survey are presented.

Exploratory interviews also took place. Preliminary thematic analyses for these interviews with key stakeholders and organisations with a remit in the area of bereavement and support are also presented.

Ethical Approval

Ethical approval for the study was granted by the Ethics Committee of the School of Education, Trinity College Dublin, Ireland. All schools invited to take part in the survey were informed that they would not be identified individually, and that all data collected would be aggregated for the purpose of analysis and reporting. All those partaking in interviews were told of their right to withdraw at any time and all analyses are presented anonymously.

Sampling and Procedure

The survey was administered to a representative sample of primary schools

(n = 752: 22.79% of all primary schools [N = 3,300]) and all post-primary schools (N = 722) in the Republic of Ireland (N = 1,474 in total). The primary school sample was drawn by random selection from the list of primary schools (including disadvantaged schools [n = 665] and special schools [n = 141]) made available by the Department of Education and Skills (2013a, b). Sampling for the primary school sample reflected proportional weightings to reflect (a) enrolment numbers, (b) location of school by geographical county; (c) classification of disadvantage, and (d) school type (i.e., National School [state funded], Educate Together school [non-religious ethos], Gael Scoileanna [Irish language school]).

Data analyses are presented in relation to 372 returned questionnaires (achieved rate of 25.24%). There were 169 completed questionnaires received from the primary sector (achieved rate of 22.47%) and 203 from the post-primary sector (achieved rate of 28.12%).

Results

Bereavement Audit Results

Results are presented in relation to the three central thematic areas of the Survey (i.e., About your School; About your Staff; About your Students). As well as providing the quantitative data regarding the responses received, pertinent quotes identified through thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) are provided. Due to the unequal numbers of responding primary and post-primary schools, all data analysed is presented without distinction to the two sectors to make it more accessible to the reader. However, three appreciable differences in results occurred between primary and post-primary respondents. These are outlined in Table 1 and are discussed later.

Table 1

Comparison between Primary School (PS) and Post-Primary School (PPS) Results

	Yes		No		Not Sure	
	(PS) % / n	(PPS) % / n	(PS) % / n	(PPS) % / n	(PS) % / n	(PPS) % / n
Is the issue of bereavement addressed in any other policy documents in your school?	49.4 / n = 83	70.3 / n = 137	46.4 / n = 78	21.0 / n = 41	4.2 / n = 7	8.2 / n = 16
Is the area of bereavement addressed in your school curriculum? (e.g., S.P.H.E.)	52.7 / n = 87	73.1 / n = 147	29.7 / n = 49	6.0 / n = 12	17.6 / n = 29	20.9 / n = 42
Has anyone in your school received training in the area of bereavement / loss in childhood?	27.5 / n = 46	69.3 / n = 140	61.7 / n = 103	13.9 / n = 28	10.8 / n = 18	16.8 / n = 34

About Your School

Each respondent was asked a series of questions related to "About your School". The series of questions explored the locality, religious denomination, school policy, organisational and departmental directives, formal procedures and programmes, as well as curriculum areas dealing with bereavement and loss. Presented in Table 2 below is an overview of the pertinent questions that will be explored in this section.

Table 2

Audit questions and responses to "about your school"

Question	Yes % / n	No % / n	Not Sure % / n
Do you have a bereavement policy in your school?	19.9 / n = 72	80.1 / n = 290	-
If you do not have a bereavement policy, are you considering implementing one in the future?	25.8 / n = 77	25.8 / n = 75	49.2 / n = 147
Do you receive any directives from the Department of Education regarding bereavement?	12.3 / n = 45	72.2 / n = 265	15.5 / n = 57

Do you receive information from any other organisation regarding bereavement issues in school?	51.7 / n = 186	41.7 / n = 150	6.7% / n = 24
Have you sought help from outside service if a child has been bereaved?	54.6 / n = 190	37.6 / n = 131	7.8 / n = 27

In relation to the approach adopted by the school regarding policy and support for students, almost two-thirds of schools (58.7%, n = 214) rated the area of bereavement in terms of priorities of importance as either important or very important. However, whilst more than three-quarters of schools (80.1%, n = 290) reported that they did not have a bereavement policy in place. As can be seen in Table 2, seven out of ten schools (74.3%, n = 222) reported that either they would not consider implementing one, or that they were unsure about whether or not they would implement one. Almost three quarters of schools (72.2%, n = 265) reported that they had not received any directives from the Department of Education and Skills. Nearly one-fifth (15.5%, n = 57) of schools were unsure if they had received any directives with less than one third (26.1%, n = 92) of schools reporting that they had a formal procedure in place. One school indicated that they would "wait for the child to initiate the approach" while some schools (n = 8) indicated that the bereavement is "treated sensitively on a case-by-case basis . . . ".

More than half of the schools (60.7%, n = 207) reported that they had a support programme (e.g., Rainbows, Seedlings, Seasons for Growth) in place to help deal with the area of loss. As can be seen from Table 2, more than half of schools (51.7%, n = 186) indicated that they had received information and support from organisations other than the Department of Education and Skills (e.g., Barnardos, Health Service Executive, Institute of Guidance Counsellors, National Educational Psychological Service, Rainbows).

About Your Staff

Section three examined a series of questions entitled "About your Staff". This section explored the form of training received by staff and asked whether staff had requested more information on bereavement and grief. This section also explored whether the religious ethos of the school influenced the way in which staff dealt with their students following bereavement as well as other

areas of loss that students experienced.

As can be seen from Table 1, more than two-thirds of post-primary schools (69.3%, n = 140) indicated that their staff had received training in the area of bereavement and loss, whereas only 27.5% of primary schools (n = 46) indicated likewise. When asked to specify the provider of this training, the majority indicated that it was provided by services such as Rainbows, Seedlings, and Seasons for Growth. The remaining schools noted that, through their educational and professional training, Guidance Counsellors, Chaplains, and Religion teachers were qualified and trained to support students in these areas. Schools indicated that a beneficial form of support for school would be, for example:

> "A programme to train teachers how to cope with bereavement situation[s] and educate teachers on where we can get help [and] advice. . . "

or perhaps a:

> "Module that could be covered with classes – cross curricular – to include all 'loss', allow students to discuss, share experiences. . . "

More than 286 schools reported that another area of loss that may affect aspects of a student's development is that of marital breakdown:

> "I feel quite strongly about the issue of parental sep[a]ration and the traumatic effects it has on young people. There is support after a death but not a lot after sep[a]ration and then there are the access arrangements etc[.] to be dealt with."

About your Students

Section three examined a series of questions entitled "About your Students". These included topics relating to the impact of bereavement on the academic attainment of the student and how, when bereavement occurs, it is communicated to students. This section also explored the issue of whether or not bereavement was an "at home" issue that should be dealt with by the family, and not the school. Additionally, the idea of a "Life Skills" programme, which would deal with issues of bereavement and grief, was introduced and it was asked whether or not a subject like this would be beneficial to educating

and supporting students.

Table 3

About your Students

Question	Yes % / n	No % / n	Not Sure % / n
1. From your experience, does bereavement impact negatively on educational attainment?	66.6 / n = 237	10.1 / n = 36	23.3 / n = 83
2. Do you feel that bereavement is an "at home" issue that should be dealt with by the family (not the school)?	3.8 / n = 14	88.2 / n = 321	8.0 / n = 29
3. Do you feel that your school needs further support in the area of bereavement?	22.9 / n = 83	77.1 / n = 279	-
4. Do you think that a "Life Skills Programme", which could involve coping with bereavement, would be beneficial for students?	85.4 / n = 310	2.8 / n = 10	11.8 / n = 43

More than two-thirds of schools (66.6%, n = 237) responded that bereavement was a factor that could have an impact on the educational attainment of their students. Nine out of ten schools (88.2%, n = 321) felt that bereavement was an issue to be dealt with in school, as opposed to it being an isolated occurrence to be dealt with "at home" by the family.

As can be seen from Table 2, almost eight out of ten schools (77.1%, n = 279) expressed that they needed further support in the area of bereavement and loss. Forms of support indicated to be of interest to schools included a: "A member within staff trained specifically to deal with bere[avement] / sep[aration] issues of student."; "Whole staff training"; or perhaps "… a workshop on grief / loss could be useful for the entire staff . . . ". Almost nine out of ten schools (85.4%, n = 310) felt that a "Life Skills Programme", which could involve coping with bereavement, would be beneficial for students.

Preliminary Interview Results

To triangulate the information provided by the systematic literature review

and by respondents to the Bereavement Audit Questionnaire, it was necessary to investigate the role that organisations play in the support of young people who have been bereaved. Thus, the key organisations with a remit in the area were identified. To date, four interviews have taken place each documenting the approach and response of the various organisations regarding the provision and support available for young people who have experienced a significant human bereavement. Questions explored issues relating to the role of the organisation, availability of the service to young people, the established link between schools and the organisation, and areas where bereavement support needs to be improved both internationally and nationally. Interviews are still being conducted and thus preliminary analyses of the transcripts from the initial completed interviews are presented. The following themes highlight four preliminary areas that have emerged from the data to date: (i) lack of confidence; (ii) lack of training and / or information; (iii) lack of governmental support; and (iv) the human response.

Lack of Confidence

A common theme that emerged is the lack of confidence among educators when supporting bereaved students:

> ". . . they're not confident about supporting those kind of children, they don't know what to say, how to make things worse, how *not* to make things worse."

The notion of "making things worse" was commonly expressed: ". . . many teachers are terrified of saying something that is going to do more damage. . ." With one interviewee noting that ". . . teachers very often … they will say things like, just tell me the words to say, what am I supposed to do?" This lack of confidence could be attributed to the next emerging theme which identified the lack of training and information for educators as a cause of concern.

Lack of training and / or information

A general consensus is that there is ". . . a lack of training and of information and of knowing what to do in particular circumstances." With an agreement that ". . . all teachers need to be trained in bereavement, grief, and loss, and how to make a response." However, there was the concern that the area of

bereavement support in schools is "a closed door" due to lack of knowledge and understanding of the role of the school:

> ". . . what is the role of the school, is it the academic? Of course it is the academic, but it is wider, children are coming to school with more than just the bags on their back . . ."

It was indicated that while teachers may be looking for information, appropriate material may be hard to source:

> ". . . teachers are looking for it but they don't know where to go and I suppose if we are being honest, there is no place."

This area coincided with the next emerging theme which noted that there was a lack of governmental support from the Department of Education and Skills.

Lack of Governmental Support

Any kind of loss can be seen as a barrier to learning, and an area that needs to be supported. However, it was felt that in Ireland there is a lack of "method" and that "… there is no method, there is no direction, no leadership from, you know, from the Department or the Curriculum areas in this matter." Due to this lack of support, it was indicated that the teacher is left to respond in a "human" manner.

The Human Response

Overall, the general consensus of the interviewees was that of the "human response" and how important it was "… to know how to respond humanly." It was highlighted that it was important to know:

> "How to talk, what you can do, reassuring and confidence building in a very human sense rather than coming in at too high a level . . ."

One interviewee relayed a case about a mother who had called a bereavement organisation about her child who had lost her grandfather:

> ". . . she was really upset, her dad had died, this was this child's granddad and the child came home from school that day and nobody in the whole school had known, even though they did know and I am not criticising the teacher here. Perhaps she didn't know how to. . . there's no training about how to meet that in a classroom situation, but this nine year old was devastated because granddad lived with them and nobody mentioned it, and it's that piece that was missing."

This case example demonstrates a lack of confidence, training, and information on how to support young people who have experienced bereavement. If educators received Department of Education and Skills approved training and information about how to respond to those who have experienced a loss, a more appropriate and "human" response may follow.

Discussion

This paper has asserted that there is a distinct lack of empirical knowledge about the nature and effects of bereavement and grief among children and young people in Irish schools. Whilst most knowledge thus far has been gained from clinical research, with the notable exception of previously mentioned research (Carroll, 2010; Dooley & Fitzgerald, 2012; McGovern & Barry, 2010; McGovern & Tracey, 2010; Tracey & Holland, 2008), there is a need to supplement this body of knowledge with the results of theoretically planned and educationally focused research. For the most part, what is known about, or planned for, in the field of Irish education regarding bereavement and grief has a distinct focus on "critical incidents" as opposed to more "normative" bereavement and the ensuing grief responses that are more typical (e.g., Department of Education and Science, 2007).

There are a high number of schools without a bereavement policy or formal procedure in place which poses the question of how equipped schools are at supporting young people who have experienced a significant human bereavement. While it is a positive outcome that schools recognise that the issue of bereavement cannot be divorced from the school environment, and that the school community has a role to play in grief support, nearly three-quarters of schools have indicated that they do not receive directives from the Department of Education and Skills. Thus, schools are receiving information from others organisations throughout Ireland. More than half of schools (54.6%, n = 190) had actively sought help from outside services (e.g., Barnardos, Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services, National Educational Psychological Service, Health Service Executive, Rainbows, Samaritans). While this may appear positive, it raises the issue of working to a common set of standards, as schools may be receiving contradictory information and could be providing students with a varying range of support, including support that is not evidence informed or externally validated for its

accuracy. When responding to such personally upsetting circumstances, it is incumbent upon all in the educational community to ensure that resources, supports, and training programmes are robust and certified, and not just the result of good intentions. While it is positive that more than half of the combined result from primary and post-primary schools are indicating that their staff have received training, when this number is analysed in depth, is seems that the training received lacks accreditation. Schools are indicating that guidance counsellors, chaplains, and religion teachers are trained to support young people in this area; however, there is no specific, obligatory training during these programmes. Furthermore, some schools indicated that their staff were trained during the one- and two-day training sessions provided by Rainbows, Spectrum, Seedlings, and Seasons for Growth. These training days are not accredited or Department of Education and Skills approved. While many schools found these programmes (e.g., Rainbows, Seedlings, Seasons for Growth) supportive, many of the post-primary schools indicated that getting students to participate was difficult:

> "The programme is helpful. The most difficult part is getting a cohesive group of students to commit to it. It does offer a safe environment to address the emotions [and] changes that are part of the grieving experience. It is therapeutic [and] also builds bonds of fellowship among students."

It was interesting to note that while schools already have a Social, Personal, and Health Education Programme (SPHE), which has a strand area that deals with the issue of loss, more than eight out of ten schools (85.4%, n = 310) stated that a "Life Skills Programme" which dealt with bereavement and grief would be beneficial. Combining this with the large percentage who do not have a bereavement policy (80.1%, n = 290) and would not or were "not sure" (75.0%, n = 222) as to whether or not they would consider implementing one, this could leave one to surmise that perhaps there is a need for the development of more practical resources and training for adequate and standardised bereavement support within schools.

Overall, the research has shown that schools are positive, supportive, and proactive whilst also indicating the desire for further support in terms of policy, curricula materials, practice direction, staff support, and Continual Professional Development programmes. Schools have reported their awareness that bereavement has an impact on education and that it is an issue

for the school community as a whole in planning to support a young person through the grieving process.

However, caution also needs to be exercised in relation to the interpretation and extrapolation of these results, in that it could also be argued that the results are not representative of schools across the country, due to the fact that participating schools in the present sample were self-selected, thereby potentially representing only those schools with a positive and proactive approach to such matters (Mc Guckin & Lewis, 2008). As the current research programme was conducted independently of either the Department of Education and Skills or the trade unions, it could be argued that without any potential punitive measure in relation to non-completion of the questionnaire, some principals may have felt less than compelled to either participate in or provide further feedback in this research, especially if they had undertaken little work in this area. Thus, it is entirely possible that the responses reported upon in the current research are from those schools that operated a positive and child-centred pastoral care ethos that extended to the protection of children from the effects of bereavement and grief.

Conclusion

Research has continually and robustly illustrated the negative impact of bereavement on young people across their educational, emotional, social, and physical wellbeing. Acknowledging this research raises the issue of potential barriers to education and how bereavement, grief, and loss affect a young person in the school environment. Therefore, it is timely and necessary that an in-depth programme of research is planned and actioned to investigate the needs of young people bereaved in Ireland and how the education system can provide support. A large proportion of respondents who said they believed that further support is needed in their schools. Thus, additional resources and training for educators is required in order to support bereaved young people. It is of social, pedagogical, and national interest to optimise the bereavement provision available to young people in order to minimise long-term difficulties.

Acknowledgments

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Friendship in the Field:
Ethics and Reflexivity in Auto/biographical Research

by
Connor Tiarnach O'Donoghue

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to explore a model of researcher reflexivity, drawn from anthropological literature and applied to an auto/biographical study of young men in university. Social scientific research can involve significant revelation of self for research participants through data generation tools such as interviews, diaries, photographs and social media, and this can have an impact on researchers, who can often be sensitive to the type of material they are studying, and sometimes deeply affected by it. This paper comes out of life history research completed with participants who lived with the researcher, and with whom he developed a friendship. Auto/biographies were co-constructed across a series of themed, semi-structured life history interviews, supplemented with visual and written data generated by the research participants. The paper addresses issues of researcher reflexivity and ethics when friendship intrudes on research, and looks at a number of models for dealing with this, both in the field and in analysis stages. The paper draws examples from Van Maanen's *Tales of the Field*, Behar's *The Vulnerable Observer*, and Wolcott's *Sneaky Kid and its Aftermath: Ethics and Intimacy in Fieldwork*. The models for ethics and reflexivity provided by these works is analysed and possible applications discussed.

Keywords

Narrative research, auto/biographical research, reflexivity, ethics

1. Introduction

This paper aims to examine some of the dilemmas posed by the issue of personal relationships as they occur in auto/biographical research and to propose a possible model for researcher reflexivity that could be used in the face of such dilemmas. This will be done by taking the example of an auto/

biographical study that I undertook into the lives of four young men, and looking at the relationship that developed between us. Some of the problems that arose in that research will be examined. A number of literary sources on reflexivity will be reviewed, and a multi-part model for reflexivity will be proposed.

1.1 Outline of paper

This introduction will continue with further contextualising information. In the next section (1.2), the background to auto/biographical research will be examined, its usefulness and popularity reviewed and some initial problems posed. In the following section (1.3), the context of this study will be laid out, including the research aims, goals and methodology.

Section (2) then gives a description of the research process, how ethical issues posed at the time of the data generation were dealt with as well as the aftermath of the period of data generation and how personal relationships threatened this study. Section (3) broadly reviews some of the literature on reflexivity.

Section (4) then examines the work of three authors in the field, Van Maanen in 4.1, Behar in 4.2 and Wolcott in 4.3 and reviews their models for reflexivity. Section 5 then discusses the use of these three authors' work in forming a three-part model for reflexivity in auto/biographical research by applying it to this research project. Finally, in section (6), some conclusions are drawn, limitations of the study are noted and possible contributions are outlined.

1.2 Background: Auto/biographical Research

Auto/biographical research, a branch of narrative research, is a form of qualitative inquiry that involves eliciting partial or complete life histories from research participants. Kohli is one of many to credit Thomas and Znaniecki with having created the seminal work which popularised the auto/biographical approach, when they took the life histories of Polish peasants in Europe and America in the early twentieth century. They produced a massive work in five volumes claiming that personal life-records constituted "the *perfect* type of sociological material"[1]. The "Chicago School" of sociology

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1 Kohli, *Biography*, 59.

applied the approach in prisons, in factories, in decaying societies in Europe and emerging ones in Latin America. Interest in the approach declined in the 1960s and Bryman notes a "turn to biographical methods" since the 1990s, which he puts down to a "growth in the interest in the significance of agency in social life"[2].

Faraday and Plummer note three advantages that the life history technique has over other forms of sociological research. The first of these is that life history enables the researcher to see "the subjective reality of the individual… [It] documents the inner experiences of individuals, how they interpret, understand and define the world around them…it comes to lay bare the 'world taken-for-granted' of people – their assumptions and what it is that they find problematic about life and their lives in particular"[3] . The second advantage they note is that the life history technique focuses on process and ambiguity. Much social scientific research is searching for "generalizability [and] imposes order and rationality upon experiences and worlds that are more ambiguous"[4]. The third advantage noted is the focus on totality. Faraday and Plummer claim that psychology cuts off attitude or personality from the totality of life experience, while sociologists separate culture or structures from daily lived experience. Life history allows us to view both the individual and the culture.

Riessman reviews a continuum of narrative types, from a single uninterrupted story, to a complete life history cobbled together from diaries, interviews, observations and visual artefacts[5]. Most psychological and sociological narratives, she claims, come somewhere in the middle. This study is group of four life histories, each principally made up of a narrative told from the subjective perspective of the research participants themselves through a series of interviews, but will also look at the social and cultural world in which they find themselves, addressed in the interviews and supported by documentary and visual data, mainly from the participants' Facebook accounts.

Connell uses life histories as the source of her data in her seminal work *Masculinities*. She claims that they allow her to see "the relation between the social conditions that determine practice and the future social world that practice brings into being… [It] always concerns the making of social life

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2 Bryman, *Social Research Methods,* 441.
3 Faraday and Plummer, *Doing Life Histories,* 252-253.
4 Ibid., 253
5 Riessman, *Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences*

through time."[6] A narrative life story should allow us to see a person in their social world, and this is essential both to a modern sociological understanding of identity as social.

1.2(a) Possible problems with auto/biographical methods

These advantages claimed by auto/biographical researchers, however, can be challenged because of their very subjectivity, because of their dependence on personal relationships and personal tellings of intimate stories. Revelation can be a painful process, both for the subject of a biography, and for the researcher, for the teller and the listener. Researchers in the social sciences can often be moved and touched by the stories they hear and the relationships they form through the process of revelation. This makes narrative research vulnerable to attack, both on ethical grounds and on the grounds of researcher objectivity (and therefore validity).

1.3 Context: Studying young men in university

1.3(a) Research aims

This paper arises in the context of a narrative study that is at the centre of my own PhD in Masculinities. I take Connell and her socially and culturally constructed view of masculinities as the starting point for my study. My aim is to supplement the work of Connell and her peers with the lens of subjectivity provided by Charles Taylor's work on identity. Taylor agrees with mainstream sociology (as represented in my study by Connell) that much of our identity is a product of society, culture and history. However, he also believes in a space for agency and individual subjectivity in the formation of the self. My aim is to examine these views on identity by applying them in the field of masculinities.

My research questions are: 1. How do young Irish male undergraduates formulate their masculine identities in relation to the social and moral space? 2. How can the work of Charles Taylor on identity contribute to the field of masculinities?

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6 Connell, *Masculinities*, 89.

1.3(b) Research methods

In attempting to answer these questions, I worked with four undergraduate men to co-compile their auto/biographies. This research primarily involved a series of lengthy life history interviews (seven interviews of approximately ninety minutes in length with each of the participants) on the following themes: 1. A Timeline of My Life, 2. My Family, 3. My Social World, 4. The Real Me, 5. Me, the Man, 6. My body, 7. My life at university. The themes for these interviews were drawn from the literature on masculinities and from Taylor's work on identity. As well as interviews, written and visual data was generated, from specially-written pieces by the participants and from their Facebook accounts.

1.3(c) The research participants and the researcher

At the time the data generation at the heart of this project took place, I was a 31-year-old, full-time PhD student living in a large apartment in university accommodation, sharing with the four research participants (all of whom were nineteen years old) and nine other young male undergraduates. I had started living there out of financial need and had not initially considered including my own flatmates in the study.

In the semester before the project began, I built up a cautious friendship with my flatmates that reflected the difference in age and life experience between us. Initially, I only saw them about once a week and we had brief conversations in the shared living room. I did not eat with them or use the shared kitchen and we never socialised together outside of Hall. Towards the end of the first college semester, in December 2011, we became Facebook friends. We got to know a lot more about each other's lives. They also began reading my personal blog, which gives a detailed account of my life, and included some long passages on my flatmates themselves.

The choice to ask my flatmates to be the participants in my research was made in the knowledge that, while I was living with them, I was not in a position of financial power, like a landlord, and neither was I in a position of pastoral care. The four research participants were made fully aware of the details of the PhD project and agreed eagerly to participate.

As 2012 began, I began to see some of my flatmates a little more often, including three of the four who participated in the project. As the year went on, and around the time life history interviews started, I began to see them even more frequently, and helped out on a student election campaign that two of the four research participants were running in. Over time, we began to advise each other on relationship and college issues and built up a stock of shared experiences, and so a real friendship began to be formed between me and some of the young men.

2. My research and personal relationships

I made genuine efforts to separate the research relationship I had with my research participants from the friendship I had with my flatmates, attempting to formulate a way in which the researcher-as-friend is "kept out" of the research.

While a close friendship existed between me and and some of the research participants by the time the data generation phase had finished, boundaries were kept to, through which a "research relationship" was maintained that ran parallel to our day-to-day friendship. Interviews never took place in our apartment, and I made efforts to ensure that participants were not aware of, for example, each other's pseudonyms or the timing of interviews. I never sent group emails or messages when arranging meetings or requesting written work, although I often needed to send exactly the same message to more than one person. Although the research participants themselves sometimes brought up the interviews in our shared apartment, I always tried to ensure that these conversations were kept short and factual. I do regularly maintain a public blog, which all four research participants read, as mentioned above, and though I would have mentioned some of the research participants in their capacity as friends, I never mentioned that they were involved in interviews with me and, although I mentioned the interviews on the blog, I never said who they were with or what they were about.

The friendships that we established had limits that mitigate the danger to the research posed by our relationship. I was never drunk in the presence of any of the participants during the data generation phase, though I did occasionally have one or two drinks in their company. I was never alone in any of their bedrooms and any potential danger of any of our relationships

ever being anything more than platonic was avoided.

The interviews were kept separate from our social life. I made sure that we arrived at interview locations separately, that I would always allow them to leave before I did, so as to maintain the barrier between the "research relationship" and the social one. Every interview involved paperwork, and I would regularly refer to the goals of the research during interviews. I also asked the participants to review the process as we went along. All this helped to maintain a "work-like" atmosphere during interviews. The interviews covered some very personal topics, and there was a danger that a faux-counsellor type relationship would arise. There was an element of this in the interviews and two of the participants in particular said that they found the interviews therapeutic. As mentioned earlier, I would often refer to the research goals and keep referring back to the PhD process for this reason. On one occasion, I informed one participant of the availability of the Student Counselling Service. On the only occasion where a participant asked me directly for advice during an interview, I told him that I was not qualified to do this and that that was not my role. He claimed to be happy to continue with the interview in spite of this and we did so.

Thus, on a formal level, I am able to say that I insulated my "self" from the research process, and that I separated the research relationship from the social relationship, at least at a superficial level.

However, there is no doubt that these friendships had the capacity to threaten the research, as I found my "self" intruding, my relationship and feelings for the research participants were not easy to silence. The revelations that they made in the course of the data generation affected me deeply, as did the growing friendship and acceptance I experienced at the hands of a group of men, twelve years my junior. The period of data generation was one where I experienced personal growth and transformation, in my family life and my social life and in my relationship with my sexuality and my body. The young men I lived with, including the participants in the research, played a significant role in some of these changes, inspiring me and encouraging me, but also simply witnessing the changes taking place in my life. These friendships became very valuable to me, and a central building block in these friendships was the time spent together on the research project and the revelations made during that process.

The first time I was due to present a portion of my research publicly, I found myself feeling very upset, and that evening I wrote on my blog:

"Sometimes my PhD makes me feel very, very sleazy. Here I am, taking the details of people's lives, real people, with real lives, and "analysing" them. I felt like such an invasive, creepy, slimeball."

3. Reflexivity: some background

Insulating the research process from the self, from perspectives coloured by experience, by relationships and by attitudes (as outlined in the previous section) may be the professed goal of empiricism, but Bourdieu would dismiss this as "the illusion of absolute knowledge"[7], as no researcher can claim not to have "tainted" their research with their "selves". Even purely quantitive surveys, where the researcher may see themselves as simply adding up verifiable, objective facts, are impacted by the researcher's experiences, relationships and attitudes. A questionnaire on youth mental health that asks about the respondent's sexual orientation, but not about their race suggests that the researcher has already decided that sexual orientation is more likely to be a significant factor in the mental health of the respondents than their race is.

Dauphinée, in her work on the ethics of researching war, agrees. For her, the distance between the observer and the observed is "delusional". [8] It could further be argued that divorcing the self from the research process creates a methodological power imbalance between researcher and researched, as it excludes the voice of all the participants in the research, and, potentially, wrongly conveys the message that the findings are unquestionable. There is no such thing as researcher-free research.

Knowledge is not an absolute, and no findings can be completely insured against questioning.

This paper argues, from the work of Van Maanen, Behar and Wolcott that a balanced and "honest" presentation of data is a realistic and achievable goal that can still result in data from which we can learn.

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7 Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice,* 250.
8 Dauphinée, *The Ethics of Researching War,* 75.

4.1 Van Maanen and the Confessional Tale

Anthropologists conducting ethnographies were among the first academics who had to find a way to be "reflexive". Those white men and women who went to live among tribal people in the South Pacific Islands, in Africa and in South America faced many challenges to the objectivity of their work. The questions they were forced to answer included: "To what extent did you 'go native'?", "How did your presence affect the lives of those who you were studying?", "How do your colonial values and Western moral framework shape your perception of what you report?"

John Van Maanen writes that ethnographers have long realised that they cannot present their work on the basis of an "assumed Doctrine of Immaculate Perception". The writing up of an ethnography is complex and depends on "an uncountable number of strategic choices and active constructions"[9] . One of the principal solutions that the ethnographic community has to this issue is to write what Van Maanen terms a "confessional tale", an attempt to impose some form of academic discipline on ethnographic stories that were in danger of being viewed as "mere journalism".

He goes on to list three conventions of the confessional tale:
The personalised author: The author of the confessional tale is not the "ubiquitous, disembodied voice of the culture". Instead, the author is an "I", who writes in the first person, about what they have seen, heard and done. A first person narrative accompanies the ethnographic narrative, describing the role of the researcher in full, how they came to have the knowledge that they are reporting and how they have put it together, how they have reached decisions about what to include and what to exclude.
The fieldworker's point of view: A confessional tale usually describes the researcher as researcher. It attempts to address questions like: How did the group being studied respond to the researcher? In what ways and at what points did the researcher "go native"? Was the researcher ever excluded or rejected by the groups they studied? Did the researcher make any errors in the generation of data?
Naturalness: A confessional tale will also directly address concerns that others may have about the scientific nature of the ethnography presented. It will show how any errors of judgment or poor decisions made in the research process were mitigated.

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9 Van Maanen, *Tales of the Field*, 73.

Van Maanen sees these three conventions, in one form or another, in many "confessional tales", a large genre within ethnography, and he sees it as pro forma to now include such a confessional tale in the "methodology" section of any ethnographic article, book or dissertation[10].

4.2 Behar and the Vulnerable Observer

Behar (also an anthropologist) describes situations where objectivity, distance and abstraction are called into doubt as core values in social scientific research.

> "But if you're an African American scholar writing about the history of contract law and you discover, as Patricia Williams recounts in *The Alchemy of Race and Rights*, the deed of sale of your own great-great-grandmother to a white lawyer that bitter knowledge certainly gives "the facts" another twist of urgency and poignancy. It undercuts the notion of a contract as an abstract, impersonal legal document." [11]

She calls for the voice of the "vulnerable observer". If abstraction and distance are an impossibility, then position must be stated. She explicitly says that vulnerability is not the same as "anything personal goes" and that the "exposure of self…has to take us somewhere we wouldn't otherwise get to."[12] Vulnerable writing should help us to an understanding of social realities and situations.
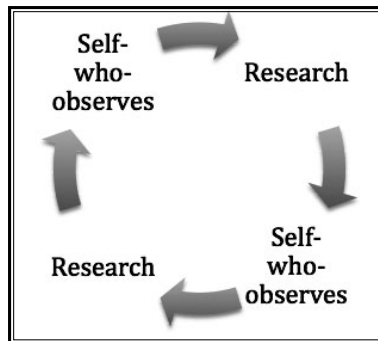

Figure 1: The research cycle

Figure 1 shows the cycle that the "vulnerable" observer presents in their research. This goes further than the "confessional tales" described by Van

10 Ibid., 81
11 Behar, *The Vulnerable Observer*, 13
12 Ibid., 14

Maanen. This is not simply a description of the observer's position and the process of generating data, with all its flaws and failings.

The vulnerable observer asks her/himself how their own position, their own life history, their experiences and emotions coloured the research, and then asks how the research affected their lives and their emotions in turn. If research brings the researcher new experiences and they experience strong emotions as a result, this can easily impact the analysis of any data generated in this process and in turn any conclusions drawn. It will also presumably affect any future research. The vulnerable observer engages in a perpetual cycle, whereby the "self-who-observes" is at the core of any research project and the reporting of it.

For Behar, vulnerable observation is far from a passing or minor trend. The feminist claim that "the personal is political" aligned to a growth in so-called native anthropology, and the increasing numbers of autobiographies in narrative research all mean that the cycle which Behar describes is one that is here to stay.[13]

4.3 Wolcott and the *Sneaky Kid*

In the early 1980s, anthropologist Harry Wolcott discovered a homeless 19-year-old man living in the forest in which Wolcott's own home was located. He befriended the young man, "Brad" or "the Sneaky Kid" and helped him, giving him money in return for jobs, and allowing him to stay on the land without reporting him to the authorities. He also conducted life history interviews with the young man and published the results in an academic journal with commentary on the failures of "the system" to provide him with an adequate education. Wolcott's relationship with Brad deepened to include sexual intercourse for a time. After a few months, it became clear that Brad was becoming increasingly mentally unwell, and he left the forest, and was treated. Two years later, Brad returned and burned down Wolcott's house, attempting to murder him.

The relationship between Brad and Wolcott had clearly changed Brad. Research does not only have an effect on the researcher and on the data, so the need here is greater than the need that the "vulnerable observer"

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13 Ibid., 28.

discussed above has. Not only does the researcher have to speak to how their position, experiences and emotion impact the data, and how the data affects them, Wolcott's story is a call for an account of how the researcher *creates* the data, and even how the researcher *creates* the research participant. Wolcott had a hand in Brad's actions and in his experience of the world, and Brad had a hand in Wolcott's experience of the world. A researcher can constitute *and be constituted by* the process and results of research. The case of Brad and Wolcott is an extreme example, but the elicitation of a detailed life history can have a profound impact on both the researcher and the researched, and can be formative of life itself, as well as of feelings and opinions.

5. Discussion: Applying the Theory to Practice

This brings me back to my own research, and the life history data I generated from four of my flatmates, and how what precedes should be applied to my own work.

5.1 Applying Van Maanen

The first step here is to account for what needs to be "confessed" when describing the methodology of my own data generation.

Here I need to describe my experiences of life in our shared apartment, the fact that I saw some of the research participants more frequently than others. I need to account for the process I used to recruit these research participants, and to note what I did when practical problems arose in the course of the research, how I dealt with one participant not meeting me as often as the others, or a participant asking for advice on his personal life in the course of the interview, as mentioned above. I need to acknowledge the times when I glossed over information that the participants thought was important, or when I asked questions that the participants were surprised by, or that they did not answer.

5.2 Applying Behar

Behar asks what my own position and life experience is, how this impacted the research and how the research in turn affected me. She asks what emotions I experienced, and how and whether the relationships with the partcipants

mattered.

I need to give an account of my position as an experienced teacher and single, 31-year-old gay man, from a suburban, middle-class, evangelical Christian background living among a group of young rural men. I need to give a description of my feelings on having these young men reveal themselves and their stories to me. Hearing tales of my flatmates' experiences of family life, of mental and physical health and illness, of fears and perceived flaws, of sexual feelings and experiences had a profound effect on me, and this needs to be given space in my presentation of the life history data.

5.3 Applying Wolcott

Wolcott's story calls for a deeper examination of how I "created" the data, and how it "created" me.

The research participants were aware of the impact that these narratives were having on me, and that I was more than a "mere note-taker", but a participant in their lives. Some of them, as discussed above, claimed that the life history interviews had a therapeutic effect on them, and one claimed that this had an effect on his decisions and helped him think through certain choices. Another said that the process of being interviewed and writing preparatory answers for the interview questions caused him to view himself differently. Although I was careful to keep the research relationship separate from the social relationship, it would be futile to claim that they had no effect on each other. It is also important for me to acknowledge the ways in which my own relationship with my body, my sexuality and my gender identity shifted over the course of the study and to give an account of this.

6. Conclusions

The three models proposed by the authors accounted for in this paper make for a progressively deeper and more searching framework for reflexivity in auto/biographical research. Van Maanen's "confessional tale" is a call for a descriptive methodology, including the role of the researcher and the first person "I" voice. Behar's "vulnerable observer" is a call for a full account of researcher position and the emotional and experiential impact of the research on the researcher and vice versa. Finally, Wolcott's *Sneaky Kid* is a call to answer questions relating to the constitution of the subject (both the

researcher-subject and the researched-subject) as a result of the research.

6.1 Limitations

This study is a small-scale auto/biographical piece of research conducted in one flat over the period of one university semester, and so it would be difficult to argue for widescale applicability. However, as a researcher, I believe in the potential of the particular to reveal the general, and indeed this is particularly true in a study which aims to discover more about the subjective contributions to identity.

The contribution to knowledge being put forward here is a proposition for a three-stage model of reflexivity, that I found specifically relevant to my own work. Further studies could review the experiences of larger numbers of narrative researchers, examine a wider variety of relationship-types between researcher and researched and review a wider variety of approaches to reflexivity.

6.2 Contribution

The three-part framework proposed above has the potential to provide data that is genuinely reflexive. In the case of my research, this approach produced rich data on masculinities for my PhD, as the lens of my own masculine identity was examined to the same extent as the masculinity of the research partcicpants, by means of the progressive model outlined above. This allowed for the Bourdieuvian ideal of the reflexive researcher, making themselves and their worlds an object of their own study, and turning the instruments of research inward[14].

As Van Maanen acknowledges, "confessional tales" are common practice in the social sciences. This model for reflexivity acknowledges the value in an account of process, but argues for the need to go further and include an interrogation of position, on impact and on authorship. I feel that the interrogation of researcher as creator of data and creator of research participant (from Wolcott) is just as important as an acknowledgement of procedural facts (from Van Maanen).

It does not, however, as May and Perry counsel against, entirely deconstruct

14 Deer, *Reflexivity*, 197.

the data so that nothing meaningful remains to analyse. [15] What is left is a piece of auto/biographical research that has deep, three-layered reflexivity, asking questions about the authorship of data and of the authorship of research participants, and still allows for analysis of both the process and the product of the research.

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15 May & Perry, *Social Research and Reflexivity*, 15.

Exploring the Concept and Determinants of Mental Health of the Tibetan Community in Exile: An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

by
Ciarán Tobin

Abstract

Globally, the focus on mental health (MH) issues has become increasingly important in recent years. However, current Western approaches based on the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM V), have fuelled a contentious debate concerning how modern society should treat mental disturbance. The British Psychological Society (BPS) suggests a 'paradigm shift' within the field of MH, and calls for alternative conceptual approaches away from the current 'disease model'. Furthermore, academic literature reveals a massive imbalance and narrow scope of understanding within Western psychology concerning indigenous approaches to MH. Buddhist ideas have recently become more popular in Western societies, with some suggesting the relationship between religious belief and well-being requires further consideration. Buddhism is an integral component of MH within the Tibetan Community in Exile (TCiE). However, the Tibetan concept of MH appears complex and not clearly defined. Research therefore explored the concept and determinants of MH of the TCiE. Applying a qualitative interpretative phenomenological approach, eight key informant interviewees were purposively selected to reflect an informed expertise from areas such as medicine, religion, and government. A cultural congruence framework was used to gain a grounded, deeper understanding of data. While findings suggest there is technically no medical definition, a concept of MH exists based on Buddhist psychology, also referred to as 'Mind Science'. Results offer a scientifically holistic model of MH and an alternative conceptual model as called for by the BPS. In a pivotal moment in Western MH, findings may provide a vital tool for achieving progress in global MH care.

Keywords

Global mental health, Tibetan community in exile, mind science, Buddhist concept of mental health, interpretative phenomenological analysis

1. Introduction

Alternative conceptual approaches to MH are becoming increasingly popular in the Western world, with a greater number of practitioners believing that traditional and modern approaches may compliment each other and provide a vital tool for achieving progress in global healthcare (Tokar, 2006). Buddhism is an integral component of MH within the TCiE, where research has shown that subjective appraisals and coping mechanisms (primarily religious) help mediate psychological determinants (Sachs et al., 2008). MacLachlan (2006) suggests that the relationship between religious belief and well-being deserves further consideration, and highlights that Buddhist ideas have become more popular in Europe and Northern America where they represent not only a culturally foreign religion but also a way of life, a way of being, that is quite foreign.

The concept of Tibetan MH appears complex and not clearly defined (Kulick, 2012), and as Buddhist ideas and practice become more popular, it has become increasingly important to question just what it is people are connecting to.

Within the current global MH milieu, several problematic issues were identified:

A 2008 survey of top psychological journals by Arnett found that 95% of articles were from Western industrialised countries – which house just 12% of the world's population (Arnett, 2008). Given that a vast preponderance of studies are from Western, educated, industrialised, rich and democratic (WEIRD) societies, this presents a challenge in understanding MH from a global perspective. Arnett's work highlights a massive imbalance and narrow scope of understanding and resources within Western psychology, and further illustrates an inequity within the literature concerning traditional and non-Western indigenous approaches to MH. Additionally, Summerfield (2013) suggests it is a lamentable error of epistemology to assume that phenomena detected in one setting mean the same thing ubiquitously.

The latest publication of the American Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM V) has fuelled a contentious debate concerning how modern society should treat mental disturbance. Professional backlash includes critics such as the BPS along with over 50 American and International organisations suggesting the DSM V classification system has significant conceptual and empirical limitations. Concerned with a noticeable dependence on biological models, continuous medicalisation of normal and

natural experiences, and a lack of emphasis on psychosocial factors; the BPS suggests a 'paradigm shift' within the field of MH is imperative, and further call for 'bottom-up' alternative conceptual approaches away from the current 'disease model' (BPS, 2013).

Globally, it is estimated that unipolar depressive disorders will be the leading cause of the burden of disease in high-income countries by 2030, and it will be number two and three in middle- and low-income countries, respectively (Mathers & Loncar, 2005). However, MH is one of the most neglected and under-funded areas in healthcare (Lancet Global MH Group, 2007).

Daniel Goleman (1991, p.91) highlights an additional problematic area:

> "I contend that the model of mental health one finds in Eastern psychologies – and Tibetan Buddhism is the example par excellence – really overreaches and extends in a very powerful way, our own notion of mental health. What intrigues me is that I was never told a thing about this in my graduate training or in any psychological course, although these psychologies have been applied for more than two thousand years."

As a graduate of psychology, this statement resonates with the author's own academic experience in which the focus was primarily on the pathogenic orientation. This approach failed to explore the nature of mind and what instantiates consciousness. There exists a rationale to explore the implications of expanding the conventional Western MH paradigm into a more inclusive and scientifically holistic model of MH. Enhanced cross-cultural understanding of what we are in relation to each other may be key in delineating progress in global MH development. Tokar (2006) suggests that Tibetan psychologies provide such an opportunity.

2. Background

2.1 Introduction

In the Tibetan Buddhist tradition, the pathway toward MH is a process of cutting through 'materialism' to uncover a clear, egoless, awakened state of mind (Zimberoff & Hartman, 2000). In contrast, the Western perspective of 'materialism' holds that rational behaviour can be fully explained by the working of the brain and the rest of the nervous system, without any need to refer to an immaterial mind that controls our actions (Kolb & Whishaw, 2006).

While conventional psychology represents a Eurocentric and Western concept of MH, recently indigenous psychologies have sought to give credence to more traditional and localised ways of understanding people, as an equally legitimate alternative to European and North American 'mainstream' psychology (Holdstock, 2000).

Although specific conceptualisations vary among indigenous cultures, it is a common perception that maintaining balance among the mental, physical, and spiritual domains is essential to MH (Gould, 2006). There is evidence that religious involvement includes various psychosocial mechanisms associated with better MH (George et al., 2002). Furthermore, when conventional MH services and traditional healing are accessible in indigenous communities, people often avail of both (Patel et al., 2007).

Understandably then, it is necessary to take a closer look at both Western and Tibetan models of MH.

2.2 Western MH: The Hardware and the Content

In attempting to climb onto the lap of the 'hard' sciences and develop an integrated view of the brain, the present Western MH paradigm incorporates many different disciplines such as neuroscience, philosophy and computer sciences. By using a computer operation analogy, this information-processing approach views the brain as the hardware that enables mental processes, or software. Research within cognitive science has found that the content of mental state is in part determined by elements of the external world. This extended cognition view postulates an active externalism in which the human organism is linked with an external entity in a two-way interaction, creating a couple system that can be seen as a cognitive system in its own right (Chalmers & Clark, 1998). Ergo, it is not implausible to suppose that the biological brain has evolved in ways which directly factor in the reliable presence of any manipulable external environment (Chalmers & Clark, 1998). Wilson (2004) urges that the science of the mind should be taking culture seriously and explored beyond the boundary of the individual.

Although we have come along way in our understanding of the structure and function of the brain, psychologists still do not know what instantiates consciousness, or mind.

"There is nothing that we know more intimately than conscious experience, but there is nothing that is harder to explain" (Chalmers & Clark, 1998 p.10).

We can however say with confidence that the brain is an extraordinary plastic biological system that is in a state of dynamic equilibrium with the external world; even its basic connections are being constantly updated in response to changing sensory demands (Ramachandran, 2011).

Conventional Western psychotherapy has traditionally focused on the content (rather than processes) of consciousness in a one-to-one interaction. Thurman argues that this approach is limited in that only those with sufficient resources and time can engage in in-depth analytical treatment. Additionally, the provision of artificial asylum environments and drugs used to dull symptoms can serve to place a problem in stasis with greater chance of deterioration than hope of improvement.

"It is rather like taking a malfunctioning computer with a software problem, lubricating it, warehousing it, adding new hardware components and so forth, all without any software analysis and modification" (Thurman, 1991 p.64).

This strategy, akin to placing a plaster over a wound, fails to tackle the underlying root cause of the problem. It is here that Thurman (1991) suggests that Tibetan psychologies' sophisticated methods of software analysis and modification might make a valuable contribution and help with individual inner re-programming.

2.3 Tibetan MH: The Software and the Process

Even the most sophisticated and innovative hardware cannot function without software. While Western MH approaches are mastering the hardware of the brain, it may be that the software issue has been dismissed (by cognitive science, neuroscience) so as not to appear as a 'soft' science. However, it may seem rational to deduce that 'soft' sciences need to be incorporated in order to instantiate a more inclusive, scientifically holistic model of MH.

Tibetan Buddhist psychology, or 'Mind Science', is based on a comprehensive and thorough knowledge of reality; on an assessed understanding of self and environment (Thurman, 1991). The evaluation of such a process has evolved not as a religious quest, but as a scientific task. It endeavors to help alter perception and cognition, and focuses on the process of consciousness in attempting to free

the mind from negative states.

> "There is a vast array of arts of mental technologies, modification techniques that enable individuals to incorporate and integrate the improved software" (Thurman, 1991 p.64).

The Buddhist contemplative method of mindfulness is an empirical use of introspection, sustained by robust training and rigorous testing of the reliability of experience. Buddhist thinkers see mental life as consisting of a succession of related intentional states of awareness constituting a stream continuum of consciousness (Davidson, 2002). The impermanent and immutable phenomenological entity of the mind is therefore in a dynamic and constant flux of evanescent moments. In its normal state, the mind is mostly unfocused, with thoughts moving from one to another in a dissipative and random manner. In developing mindfulness training and techniques, contemplatives believe that one can develop a highly refined sensitivity to the nature of reality and a transcendent awareness in which the subject may observe the object, or mind. Consequently, a profound psychological shift may occur if this path is pursued diligently. Mindfulness is essential if one is to become consciously aware in a disciplined manner of whatever phenomena may occur within the mind and one's immediate environment (Dalai Lama, 2005). If human inner workings can be reduced to observable, repeatable, and manipulable energies in the brain, then the human mind will become controllable and improvable (Thurman, 1991).

The Tibetan psychological system's basic unit of analysis is the moment-to-moment subjective experience of mindfulness, and reality is viewed through the lens or characteristics that 'flavor' mental factors (Goleman, 1991). Mental factors impinge upon, determine and facilitate the cultivation of a wholesome (positive) or unwholesome (negative) state of MH. The three primary unwholesome factors are known as the three roots of suffering, or 'The Three Poisons'. They include: ignorance (delusion, misperception, confusion), attachment (distortion via desire, clinging, selfishness, addiction), and anger (hostility, hatred, disturbance). Other unwholesome factors include: conceit, afflictive views (distortion in flow of information), and indecisiveness. There are further derivatives that mix with other factors such as from anger; spite, envy, vengeance, and wrath. And from attachment come smugness, agitation, excitement, and avarice.

Wholesome factors are the antidote to the aforementioned and include clarity (sharpness of mind, antithetical to ignorance), detachment (letting go, antithetical to selfish attachment), and loving kindness (antithetical to anger, hatred, aversion, disturbance). Others include compassion, equanimity, considerateness, non-violence, conscientiousness, self-respect, enthusiasm (energy) and faith (questioning). This gives us:

> "…an operational definition of mental health that says simply that the healthiest person is the person in whose mind none of the unhealthy, unwholesome factors ever arise. That is the ideal type, the prototype" (Goleman, 1991 p.95).

While Goleman provides a working definition, Kulick (2012) points out that there is a need for greater clarification in this area.

3. Research Objectives

Research sought to understand:

a) Whether a concept of MH exists amongst the Tibetan community in exile (in contrast to the Western definition of MH that has been developed by United Nations (UN) / World Health Organisation (WHO))

The WHO (2001) defines MH as:

> "A state of well-being in which every individual realises his or her own potential, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work productively and fruitfully, and is able to make a contribution to her or his community."

b) What a traditional Tibetan concept of MH might be.

c) What the determinants of MH are in the context of the TCiE.

4. Methodology

The discussion between the West and Tibetan psychology represents a meeting of disparate paradigms; each with their own distinctive lens on the human experience (Goleman, 1991). In attempting to establish points of convergence, a cultural congruence framework was used.

> "Cultural congruence is grounded in understanding (a) the

worldview of the indigenous community, (b) the influence of one's own worldview, and (c) the skillful integration of knowledge into psychotherapy services" (Rybak & Decker-Fitts, 2009 p.333).

An interpretative phenomenological approach was used to collect and analyse data. Phenomenology is concerned with knowledge and reality as perceived within conscious experience (Smith et al. 2009). In-depth one-to-one, face-to-face interviews were conducted in English, and lasted between 45-60 minutes each. One interview (participant T6) was conducted in Tibetan, and the Gyuto monastery provided a translator. A semi-structured interview guide was used to 'ground' each interview's direction. The analysis stage required the researcher to be selective in aiming to translate themes into a coherent and well-structured narrative account. In attempting to make sense of an enormous amount of very specialised and thought-provoking information, the main challenge was 'grounding' the language of foreign concepts in Western MH language so that the reader might understand. Analysis focused on the descriptive, linguistic, and interpretative levels in attempting to access participants 'lived experience'. As traditional healers are gatekeepers and bridges to the community, collaboration and a working alliance with them can strongly influence the efficacy of the MH provider (Zinck & Marmion, 2011). Accordingly, eight key informant interviewees were purposively selected to reflect an informed expertise in areas such as medicine, religion, and government.

Participant NO:	Participant function:	Interview location:	Website:
T1	Doctor/Tibetan Medical & Astrological Institute	Medical Office	http://www.men-tsee-khang.org/
T2	Doctor/Tibetan Medical & Astrological Institute	Medical Office	http://www.men-tsee-khang.org/
T3	Monk/- Library of Tibetan Works and Archives (Government Office)	Library Office	http://www.ltwa.net/library/
T4	Monk/Institute of Buddhist Dialectics (set-up by Government Department of Religion & Culture)	Dalai Lama Temple Complex Office	http://tibet.net/religion/
T5	Employee/Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama (Government Office)	Dalai Lama Temple Complex Living Quarters	http://www.dalailama.com/
T6	Monk /Office of His Holiness the Karmapa	Gyuto Tantric Monastery Complex living quarters	http://kagyuoffice.org/
T7	Doctor/Tibetan Medical and Astrological Institute	Medical Office	http://www.men-tsee-khang.org/
T8	Employee/ Government Department of Health	Administrative Office	http://tibet.net/health/

Table I: Participant Information

5. Findings & Discussion

Within the TCiE, the main determinant of MH is Buddhist psychology, or 'Mind Science'. The Tibetan perspective of MH is vast and at times complex. Therefore, the most pertinent passages in answering research objectives were selected, and placed under the following section headings in attempting to create a coherent and cogent flow for the reader. Each section is a super-ordinate theme comprised of sub-ordinate themes. Figure 1 provides a thematic overview.
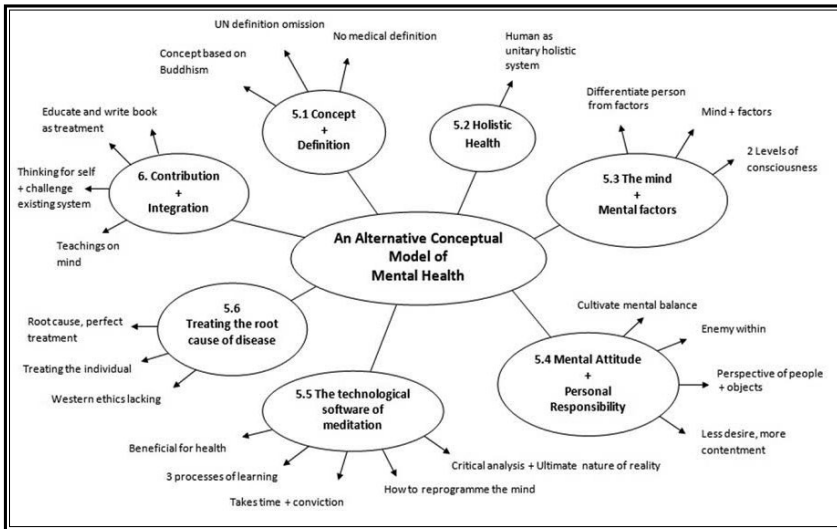

Figure 1: Themes and layout

5.1. Concept & Definition

The Tibetan medical system does not define MH; however a concept of MH exists based on Buddhist teachings. When asked if a concept of MH exists within the TCiE, T3 replied:

> "Absolutely. There is much better information, advice and instruction in Buddhism regarding mental health than anybody. Because there is a process of cultivating mental health where you will be able to fare well through all ups and downs of life."

> "The definition is a mind which is free from the disturbance of these afflictive emotions is called a mind that is healthy."

T3 propounds the dimension of 'cultivating mental health', and offers an

opinion which is not dissimilar to Goleman's and Thurman's (1991) sentiments in section 2.3. T3's definition is more precise than the UN's in that it gets into the actual mind of the individual, as opposed to seeing it from afar, detached, and somewhat ambiguously. This definition identifies more with the internal root causes (afflictive emotions), and further introduces 'instructions' and a 'process' leading to health.

T4 succinctly suggests:

> "A happy mind is a healthy mind. That's the definition."

The UN definition appears incomplete to T5:

> "Being able to contribute to society, doesn't necessarily mean you are ethical. This aspect of ethics that needs to be added. The sense of ethics has been lost in many peoples life because they consider it to be religious, which is not. The UN has to deal with the reality that the world is in, where people are not so religious, maybe they avoid the ethical side."

Within the post 9/11 reality of the modern world, religion has become a 'hot topic' in the field of MH (MacLachlan, 2006) yet remains a sensitive subject. T5's interpretation of the UN definition is therefore noteworthy and contextually pertinent.

Additionally, T1's medical perspective supports Summerfield's (2013) epistemological error argument:

> T1 – "We don't define that. Tibetans generally don't have mental problems because people don't know what is mental problem."

This statement reflects incongruent cross-cultural approaches in conceptualising and defining MH. It further addresses cultural dissonance and highlights the lack of colloquy and models of mediation between Western and Tibetan approaches to MH. T1's response is also key to understanding why defining MH appears multifarious and at times contradictory. In recounting his first lesson on epistemology as a child, the Dalai Lama (2005, p.132) recalls having to memorise the dictum:

> "The definition of the mental is that which is luminous and knowing."

This too, is quite different to the UN definition.

5.2 Holistic Health

Tibetans view the human being as an integrated unitary holistic system where the body enables the mind and in turn the mind is present throughout the body. They see both physical and mental aspects as a unified living system and the human being in context of their religious metaphysic, in a holistic, much wider and deeper context than Western medicine. Bequeathed from Buddhist principles, health entails the balance of body and mind.

> T6 – "We can see things only by using our physical body. And in this channel there are wind that are moving. And this wind, there is the consciousness. This wind has to the power to drag our consciousness up and down or anywhere we pay our attention."

In Buddhist teachings, the breath or 'prana' is said to be the vehicle of the mind because it makes our mind move (Sogyal, 1992), and in this way, the wind or mind are present throughout the body. While the Tibetan word for body is 'lu' meaning 'something you leave behind' (Sogyal, 1992), the Buddhist 'Middle Way' approach to health does not renounce the physical; the body must be a sturdy support for the inward work of exploring the mind (Bodhi, 1998).

Modern-day Western medicine would dismiss the Buddhist ontological and metaphysical context. Thurman (1991) suggests the philosophical error of materialism was born out the Renaissance revolt against spiritualism, religious dogma, and the oppressive control of the church. Consequently, a metaphysical decision was made, from the 17th century to present-day, to rule the mind out of the natural order of Western scientific investigation. Davidson (2002) accentuates that science has sought understanding through manipulation of the material world, whereas Buddhism has historically sought elucidation in inner transformation.

5.3 The Mind and Mental Factors

As discussed in section 2.3, Tibetans discern between mind and mental factors:

> T4 – "Mind and mental factors, there is two. Mind is very pure, lucid and clear. But negative mental factors cloud our mind. We have to differentiate person from his negativities. It's not him, it's a part of him. A calm and clear mind is the antidote for the afflictive emotions."

T4 refers to two aspects of mind. The first, 'pure' and 'lucid' and 'clear' is known

to Tibetans as 'Rigpa'. Sogyal (1992) describes this innermost essence of mind as a primordial, pure, pristine awareness that is intelligent, cognizant, radiant, and always awake. This mind however, is concealed and enveloped within our ordinary mind, known as 'Sem'. The mental factors T4 describes exist here, in an incessantly dissipative and capricious state of mind, which can only function in relation to a projected and falsely perceived external reference point (Sogyal, 1992). In this way, the negative 'mental factors' can be differentiated from the individual as described by T4. In Buddhism, the mind is often analogous to an agitated elephant that can wreak great havoc and destruction – or a wild horse that must and can only be tamed through gentle persistence and familiarity (Dalai Lama, 2011). T4's description also resonates with Sogyal's (1992) description of the mind in meditation – "Calm Abiding and "Peacefully Remaining".

T1 provides a disparate cultural example:

> "In lectures to Western psychology students, I always telling that this word "Psycho" is very harsh for the individual to accept. That makes that patient even worse."

Categorisation or labeling an individual may exacerbate a MH problem. The DSM V identifies psychotic as: Exhibiting a wide range of culturally incongruent, odd, eccentric, or unusual behaviors and cognitions, including both process (e.g., perception, dissociation) and content (e.g., beliefs) (DSM V, 2013). Upon reading this description, T1's observation may appear defensible. Furthermore, Davidson (2002) suggests it is imperative that we remain mindful of the extraordinary diversity of human characteristics, and not be too easily seduced into the illusion of understanding based on the limited lexicon in the traditional biobehavioural nomenclature.

T6 further explains:

> "To know that we have consciousness and it works we need another consciousness. We call this 'Superior Insight.'"

Consciousness and mental factors should be thought of in terms of the functions that are found in a single phenomenologically available mental state (Goleman, 1991) with one factor of mind checking the mind itself. A disciplined first-person systematic empirical introspection is used to investigate the psychological and phenomenological aspects of the mind. This results in what Goleman (1991) describes as a very ancient diagnostic and statistical manual, a model of mind

that analyses different states of mind and categorises them as healthy or unhealthy.

Additionally, T3 asserts:

> "Mental consciousness is the sixth sense in Tibetan Buddhism."

T3's comment can be patently understood by referring to the six-fold typology of mental phenomena found in Buddhist philosophy of mind: sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch and the mental states. Here, the mental states are dependent upon the physical senses, and the entire spectrum of consciousness is said to be adequately encompassed within this six-fold typology (Dalai Lama, 2005). T3's opinion clearly differs from the Western five-fold 'materialism' typology described by Kolb & Whishaw (2006). Moreover, it is also noteworthy that the Tibetan word for Buddhist, 'Nangpa', means 'inside-er': someone who seeks the truth not outside, but within the nature of mind (Sogyal, 1992).

5.4 Mental Attitude & Personal Responsibility

Mental attitude, and taking personal responsibility for how one views external circumstance entails controlling the limitless desires of a boundless immaterial mind, experiencing contentment through cultivating mental stability, and not blaming others for personal mental disturbances.

> T3 – "Your mind should not be like a feather of the bird, which is blown in all directions by slight wind. Your mind should be stable. Through that perspective you are able to cultivate mental balance."
>
> "We have this tendency of addressing the enemy outside. If you are somebody who is really that holistic understanding of the nature of the ultimate reality, then there is no target."

Buddhists believe an enemy can in fact be our greatest teacher in that they may challenge our assumptions and allow us to gain insight into our own limitations (Dalai Lama, 2011). One can develop gratitude and awareness from opposition that may initially appear challenging. T3 suggests that blame is misguided and ultimately it is only in our own subjective interpretation that the enemy exists. This is similar to countering 'transference' or psychological 'projection' in Western MH.

T6 expands on this perspective:

> "Because consciousness is not material, desire or curiosity of mind are limitless. There is no way we can get everything. The best thing is to control our mind. It means having less desire and having more contentment. We don't have the unnecessary expectation so we don't have to face the unnecessary problems."

Western capitalists may not encourage such a practice; Schwartz (2005) however suggests that the secret to happiness is low expectations. The paradox of choice is such that higher expectations and opportunity costs derived from more options subtract from our happiness. Additionally, the Dalai Lama (2011) suggests that happiness doesn't come from desire or wealth but through setting reasonable limits on our desires.

5.5 The Technological Software of Meditation

The word for meditation in Tibetan etymology has the connotation 'to become familiar' or 'to accustom' (Dalai Lama, 2011). It is a general term, yet it is the primary and fundamental psychological technology used for developing and substituting positive mental states for negative mental states. In terms of cognitive science, it is simply the sustained effort to reprogramme perceptual and habitual behaviour (Gardener, 1991). Harrington (2002) describes meditation as a process where you try to integrate what you have learned into your personality, so there is less of a gap between what you know and how you act. Antithetical of 'cognitive dissonance' in Western psychology, this process of mental cultivation brings implicit and explicit behaviours into congruence. This mental cultivation involves habituating or deepening a familiarity with a chosen theme, object, a way of seeing, or a way of being (Dalai Lama, 2011). It is a practical technique that anyone can practice and there is nothing mysterious about this process of transformation (Dalai Lama, 2005).

Scientific interest in meditation has shown beneficial effects such as reduced stress (Pace et al., 2009) and reduced blood pressure and cortisol levels (Carlson et al., 2007). Positive effects have also been found in areas such as depression (Hoffman et al., 2010), and anxiety (Roemer et al., 2008). Meditation has been shown to improve cognitive flexibility (Moore & Malinowski, 2009), and attentional focus (Lutz et al., 2009). Furthermore, Davidson et al., (2003) found that meditation affects brain plasticity and improves immune function.

The Tibetan word for practice is the same as that for attain (Goleman, 1991).

This attainment involves three fundamental stages of learning that amalgamate in meditation.

T3 provides an overview of this process:

> "We first hear by reading book. Now, you think again, half of this sounds true. Then if you repeat the thinking; this book says this, my own personal experience says this. Then you can say it's absolutely true. Then the third state is called meditation which is not a sophisticated thing, which basically means now practise repeatedly. Get habituated with that area. One has to clearly understand that actualising their mental health takes time."

> "There's no push button enlightenment."

Learning on the intellectual level alone does not lend 'true' insight into the nature of 'enlightenment' – an increased intelligence, wisdom, or awareness of the nature of reality (Goleman, 1991). The mind therefore needs to be cultivated over time. Sogyal (1992) emphasizes that Western culture places too much value on the intellect, with many believing it must take extraordinary intelligence to experience such insights. This is a speculative assumption. At times, the intellect may in fact serve to obscure the process. There is a Tibetan saying – if you are too clever, you could miss the point entirely (Sogyal, 1992). T3's comments encourage personal reflection and experiential insight through testing, challenging, and thinking for oneself. Such an approach may prove reasonable, considering the fact that a reassessment of the existing paradigm has become increasingly imperative in light of the BPS's (2013) and Arnett's (2008) findings that challenge the credibility of Western MH.

T4 provides an example of how to reprogramme the mind:

> "If you go thinking about the consequences of anger you will stop getting anger. The opposite of anger is meditating on loving-kindness. Not just one time, but day-after-day, week-after-week, month-after-month, year-after-year. Eventually your mind will be completely transformed."

This process of cognitive transformation takes on greater significance when seen in light of Ramachandran's (2011) and Davidson's (2002) findings on the malleability of the brain; that structures and patterns of the brain change in relation to our actions and thoughts. Accordingly, what one focuses on ultimately becomes internalised, spontaneous and naturally experiential. The Dalai Lama (2011) suggests that brain plasticity offers scientific verification for

meditative transformative processes.

> T5 – "Mindfulness meditation makes you aware what you are doing. Then that builds your concentration. Then you can do critical analysis into the true nature of things which we call 'emptiness'."

In silencing the mind, the gap between thoughts gradually extends. Through this emergent state of meditative quiescence, the true nature of the mind begins to reveal itself. 'Emptiness', in Buddhist philosophy is the 'true nature of things' - the ultimate reality of existence (Sogyal, 1992). From this ontological viewpoint, life is a constant flux of inter-dependent phenomena with no fixed immutable essence – devoid of any inherent independent existence. T5 mentions the cultivation of such discernment, as Tibetans believe that at the root of all emotional and psychological problems lays a fundamental misconception of reality (Davidson, 2002). The Dalai Lama (2005) suggests that the field of quantum mechanics is coming closer to scientifically elucidating the contemplative notion of matter, interdependence, and what constitutes non-essentialist reality, where reality is revealed to be less solid and definable as it appears.

5.6 Treating the Root Cause of Disease

Incongruent analysis in diagnosis and treatment are not uncommon between disparate cultural medical concepts. Treating the root cause of suffering is of primary importance in Tibetan psychology.

> T1 – "Should treat him as your own family. If you treat that root cause of disease then it would be a perfect treatment. Symptomatical treatment is like you are cutting out the branches only, but still its coming. Cutting the branch is not enough, you need treat that root. Then obviously whole tree will be blooming well."

T7 develops this point:

> "We don't treat similar disease with a similar medicine. Your mind, your. My mind, my. Your intellectual, my intelligence, they not same. When the teacher is teaching the class for 30 students, the subject is same to everybody but understanding is different."

Here is a very different conceptual model of diagnosis and treatment than that put forth in the DSM V. Instead of the 'medicalisation of normal and natural responses to their experiences' that the BPS (2013) adduce, the Tibetan 'bottom-up' model sees the patient as a distinct and unique individual, and thus should

be treated as such.

T3 and T7 voice concerns regarding Western treatment:

> T3 - "This mentality to adopt the 'quick fix' solution. Human beings are treated almost like a broken car. They are trying to make us like machine now. To see us exactly like a mindless machine is big mistake. We say when a patient comes in, the doctor's gentle attitude and smiling welcome heals half of the sickness. That means human feeling, genuine concern."

> T7 - "When I go to see Tibetan doctor I say I have no money to pay you fees, he will never say don't come. He say come in. He will also give you food. He will also give you medicine. "When you go to any of the Western, oh okay no time. You don't have nothing to pay then you don't come. Sometimes they scold. These ethics! Very lacking. This is very rich in Tibetan."

Here the Western 'like machine' hardware model and 'quick fix' treatment of the individual, may benefit from what could be construed as a more humane or gentle Tibetan diagnostic method and treatment of the human being. This view supports Thurman's (1991) assertion that only those with sufficient time and resources (in the West) can engage in analytical treatment.

6. Future Research and Conclusions

6.1 Contribution of Tibetan Psychology & Integration with Western MH Model

The overwhelming imbalance in the research literature highlights the failure to acknowledge conceptual models outside the existing Western paradigm, and thus challenges its credibility as it is an exclusively Western concept and project. Educating for changes in the existing way of thinking may prove crucial in closing the gap between East-West conceptual considerations and approaches to MH.

> T4 - "There is not much of explanation of our mind in Western medical science. Teachings on the nature of mind, on the nature and function of afflictive emotions. How to cultivate positive emotions. How to overcome negative emotion. If you could study these topics, I'm sure you can use these as tools. As a complimentary, or as alternative in your psychological science."

Here, Tibetan epistemology, a system that has been progressively developing theory and practice since antiquity (in contrast to its moderate counterpart of modern-day Western psychology), may inform Wilson's (2004) observation, that the science of the mind must be thought of in new ways. Tibetan 'Mind Science' provides a method of attention to the mind that is not reductionally materialistic, but is still systematic, rational and analytic (Thurman, 1991).

> T3 - "Whether in the West or in the East, each individual has to develop awareness about the reality. You should have that capacity to judge, analyse, find things for yourself. Not just following that existing tradition or existing system, but to think and explore and do new things."

The Dalai Lama suggests that a scientist should not be too attached to their own field of research as this may distort the ability to access evidence objectively. In this regard:

> "If scientific analysis were conclusively to demonstrate certain claims of Buddhism to be false, then we must accept the findings of science and abandon those claims (Dalai Lama, 2005 p.3)."

It may be worthwhile to ask whether Western MH practitioners would be so willing to do likewise when faced with similar quandaries and alternative methodologies. Confronting such questions may prove an invaluable approach in future research. Mutual exploration and respect for alternative conceptual models may provide a more complete and inclusive spectrum of MH; and future research may benefit from a shared goal of both ancient Tibetan inner sciences and their moderate counterparts (Goleman, 1991).

> T7 – "Number one is to have this equal respect and understanding each other. If you don't respect anything then you don't know the value. You don't get interest to study, to learn, and research. Writing book can help a person who have problem with the mind, they can read the book and feel very happy. It's a treatment, you know?"

Extending an alternative cross-cultural approach to MH education and treatment, Davidson (2002, p13) points out:

> "Ultimately, the success of cross-cultural research demands a humility that goes beyond sensitivity: it involves a willingness to grant alien notions the same respect as familiar ones."

For a 'paradigm shift' to transpire, greater balance and awareness of alternative literature and consequent techniques applied, are evidently necessary. The

development of cross-culturally congruent models offers a logical perspective and framework for exploring the Western hardware technology of the brain, interfaced with Eastern software applications of the mind. In a pivotal moment within global MH development, perhaps thinking outside the box and in ways that challenge and compliment the current biomedical model may require psychologists to formulate innovative research approaches. If scientists are locked into only one ideology, they may cease to be open-minded, and that surely defeats the purpose of science. Mosig (1989) suggests that the absence of Tibetan Buddhist psychologies from Western introductory psychology textbooks to be a sad commentary on the intellectual myopia of our times. Goleman (1991) contends Tibetan psychology is a prototype 'par excellence' that overreaches and extends in a very powerful way, our own notion of MH. Thurman (1991, p.4) posits:

> "Buddhist psychology offers modern psychology the opportunity for genuine dialogue with a system of thought that has evolved outside of the conceptual systems that have spawned contemporary psychology. Here is a fully recognized psychology that offers the chance for a complementary view of many of the fundamental issues of modern psychology: the nature of mind, the limits of human potential for psychology; the possibilities for mental health, the means for psychological change and transformation."

In light of the problematic issues identified within the current global MH milieu; research findings offer, in a very real sense, a scientifically holistic model of MH and an alternative conceptual model as called for by the BPS (2013).

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